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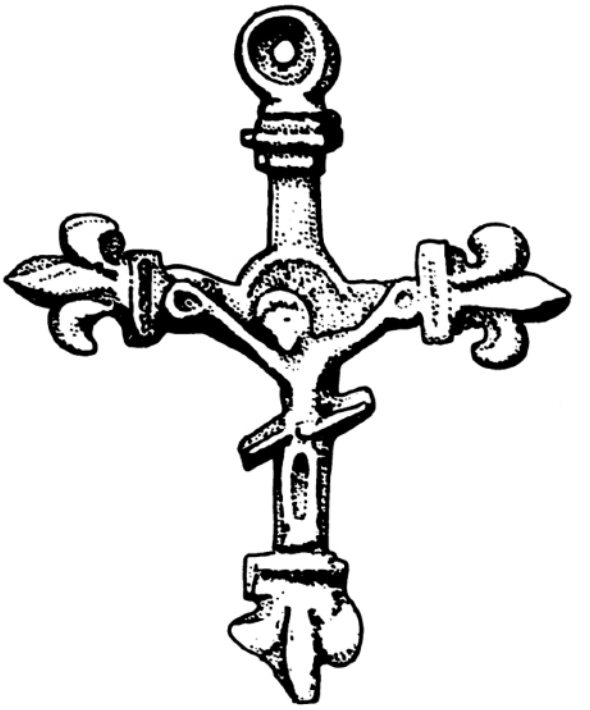

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CONTENTS

PENHOW CASTLE, GWENT: SURVEY AND EXCAVATION, 1976–9 PART 2: REGIONAL AND IMPORTED POTTERY AND OTHER FINDS FROM THE CASTLE DITCH

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with contributions by †George C. Boon, †Barbara Noddle, †Robert J. Charleston, †John Hurst, John Allan, Steve Clarke, Mike Ponsford, Alejandra Gutiérrez, Michael J. Hughes, Hugo Blake, David Dawson, Howard Mason, Jane Read, Tony Ives, John Lewis and Stephen Moorhouse

INTRODUCTION

Penhow Castle is a fortified manor house built on a hill overlooking the main road from Newport to Chepstow; it lies within the eastern boundary of the city of Newport in the historic county of Monmouthshire, now Gwent, in south-east Wales (NGR ST 4236 9086; Fig. 16).[36] The complex of well-preserved stone buildings arranged around its central courtyard includes a mid-12th-century tower; a 13th-century hall, gatehouse and curtain wall; evidence of a major late 15th-century remodelling, and buildings added in 17th century and later (Fig. 17).

In the mid-1970s the castle's owner, Mr Stephen Weeks, embarked on an extensive programme of building restoration and landscaping, with a view to turning the castle into a major visitor attraction. It became clear at an early stage that in this case statutory provisions designed to ensure the protection and conservation of archaeological remains and historic buildings would not be pursued by the relevant authorities. Therefore the writer, at the time based in the Department of Archaeology, University College Cardiff, decided to attempt to record the buildings in advance of these works, and to ensure that below-ground deposits likely to be affected would be removed in a manner which facilitated proper archaeological recording and recovery. The results of building recording and excavation within the castle courtyard were published in an earlier report, in which the structural history and documentary record relating to the site were discussed, and the outlying earthworks of the castle and village described (hereafter *Penhow I*).[37]

Besides the major works on the castle buildings and courtyard, Mr Weeks also intended to use mechanical excavators to lower the ground level on the south side of the standing buildings in order to enhance the castle's visual impact for approaching visitors. The writer suspected that this area of the site – then relatively level – had contained a ditch cutting off the inner courtyard from the outer bailey. He therefore obtained permission to carry out an exploratory excavation (Area A below), using it as a training exercise for the Department's undergraduate students who had already assisted in the building recording and the courtyard excavation. Area A was chosen for this preliminary excavation, not only to provide data relating to the size of the ditch and the character of its fill, but also to explore the relationship of the 15th-century stair tower to the layers infilling the ditch (Figs 17–18).

This excavation demonstrated the former existence of a rock-cut ditch, which Mr Weeks then determined to open up in its entirety. This would have been beyond the scope of a university training exercise within the time-frame set by Mr Weeks, and it was therefore agreed that an application

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[36] In presenting the second part of the Penhow report, the numbering of footnotes, figures and tables is continuous with that in the first part: Wrathmell, S. 1990, 'Penhow Castle, Gwent: survey and excavation, 1976–9: part 1', *Monmouthshire Antiq*. 6, 17–45.

[37] Note 36 above.

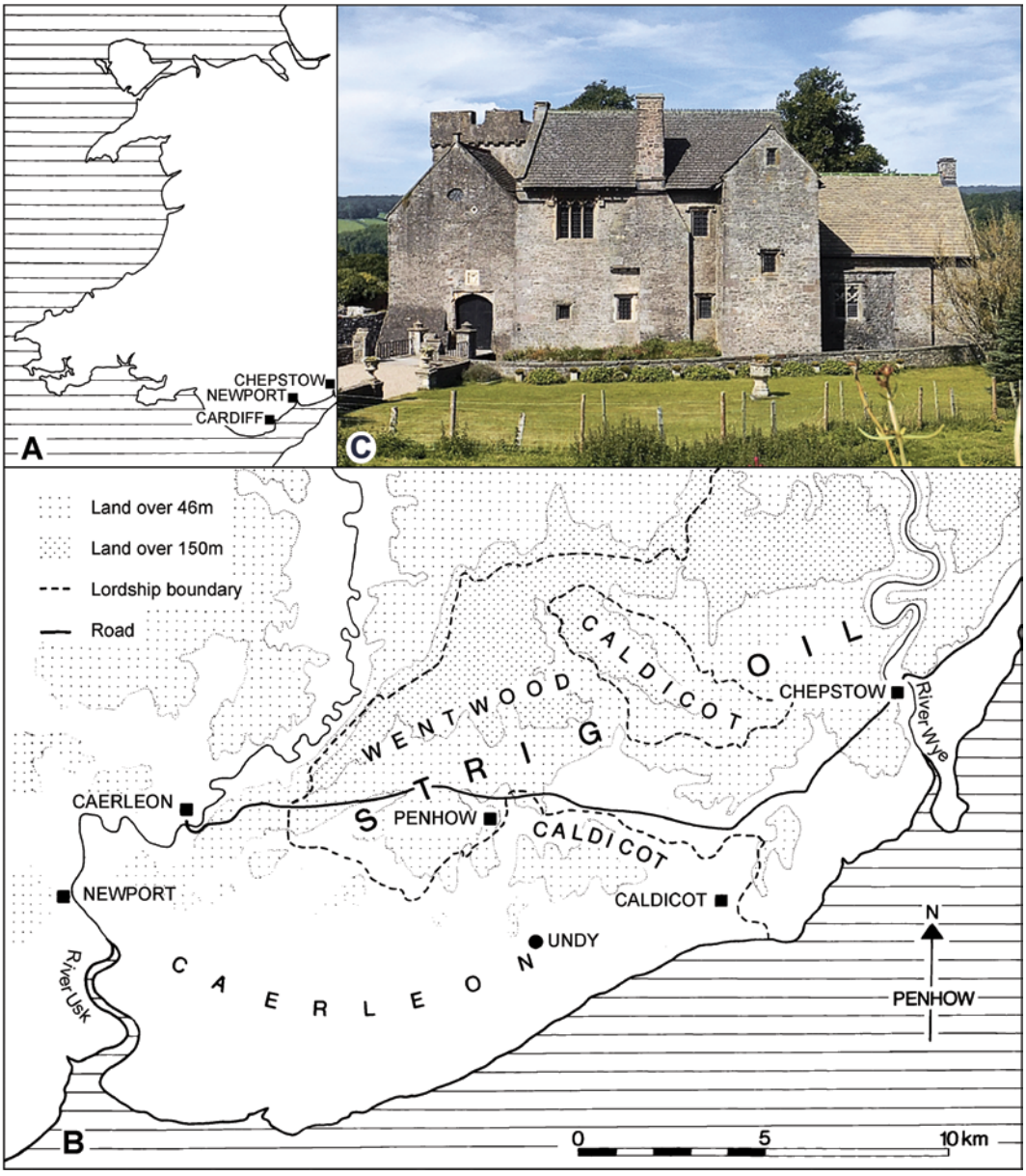

Fig. 16: (a–b), Location. (c), View from the south (courtesy of Joy Strangward, Penarth and District Ramblers).

would be made to the Manpower Services Commission to establish a Job Creation project, to allow continuous excavation of the remaining deposits. For practical reasons, the ditch was divided into a series of blocks, or Areas, which were excavated separately: Area A had already removed one block of ditch fill, thereby separating what became Areas K and H; and a previously unrecorded pipe trench, dug earlier in the century, had removed the ditch fill between Areas K and E.

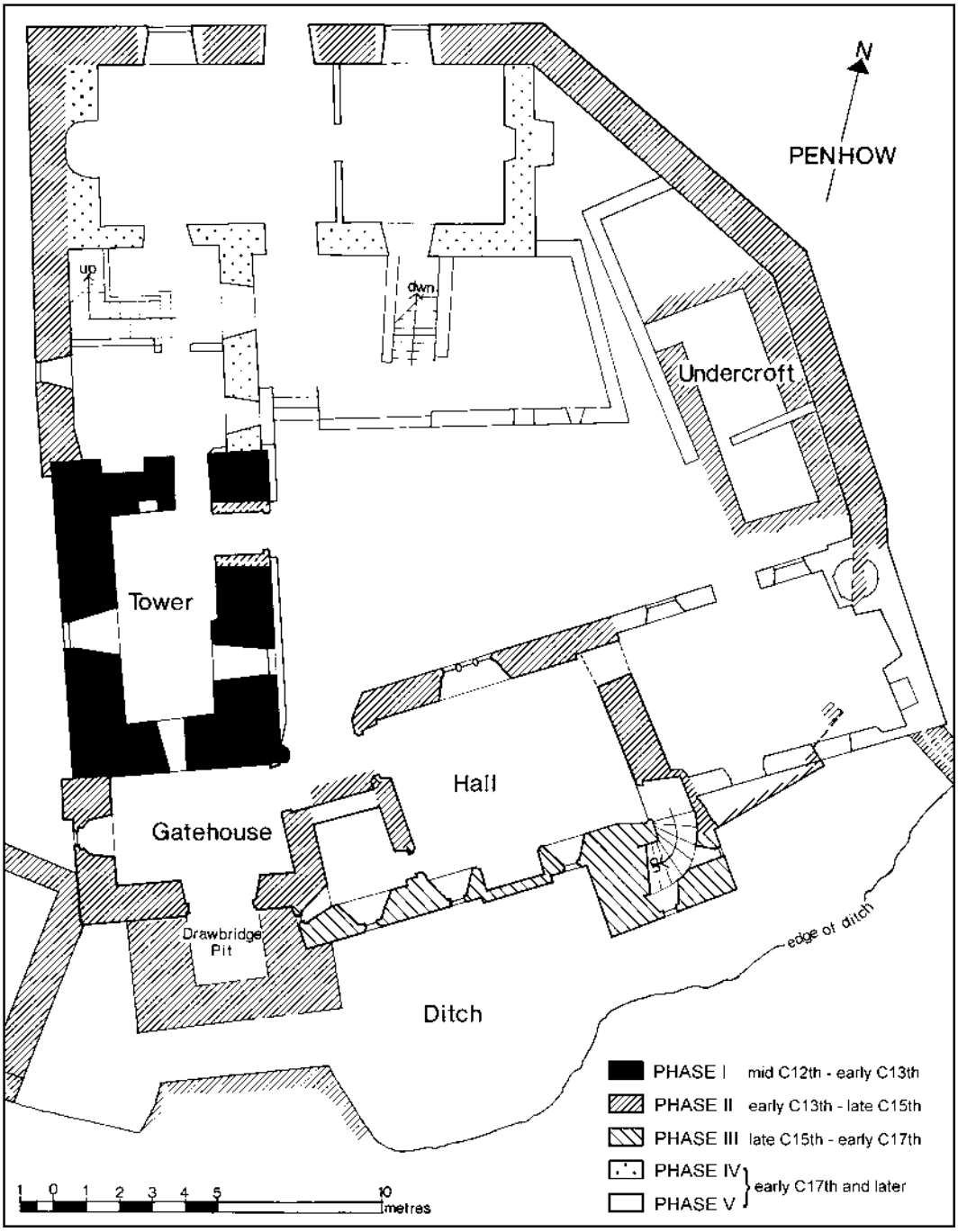

Fig. 17: Site plan.

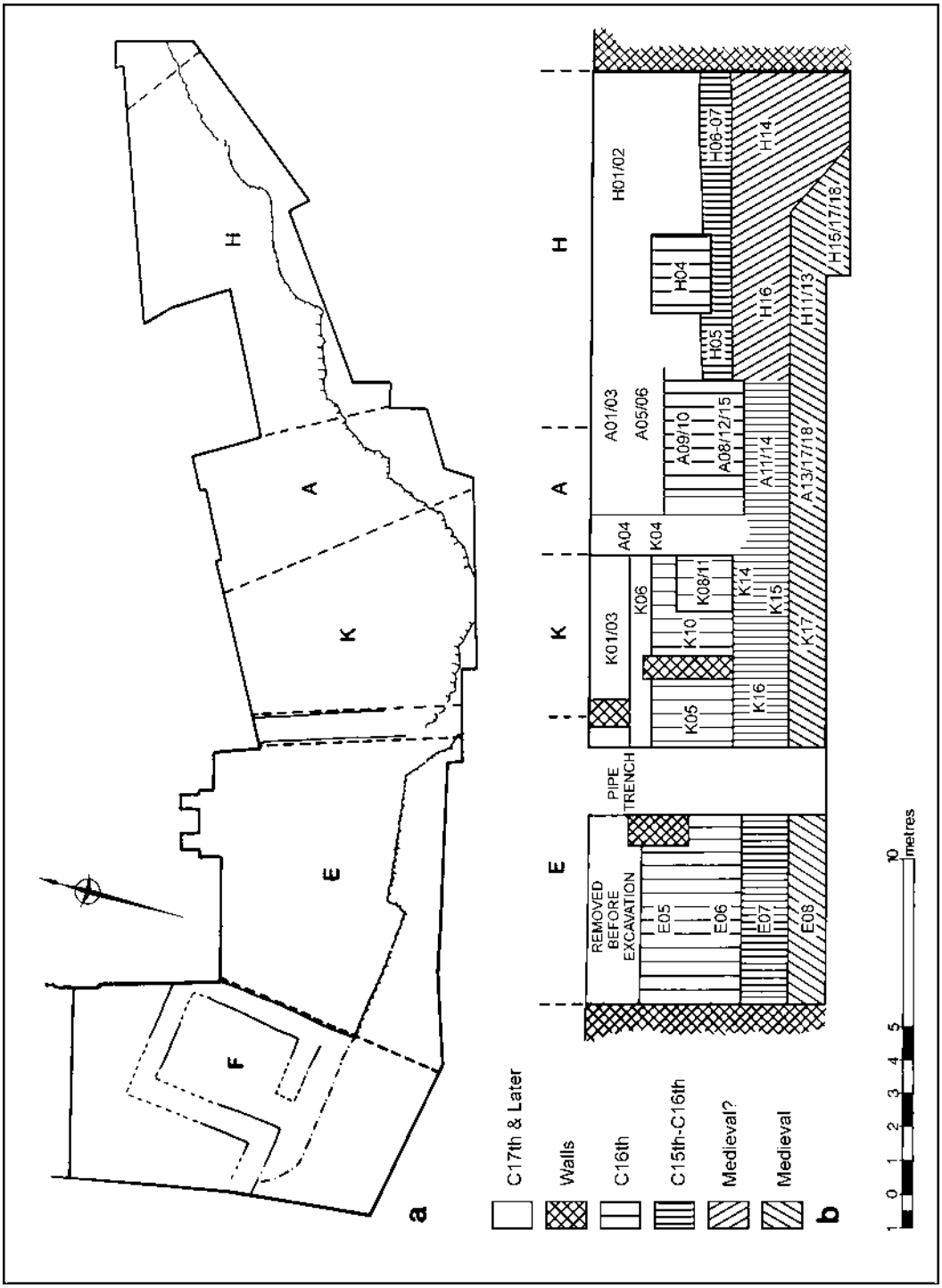

Fig. 18: The areas of the castle ditch, with block diagram showing the relationships of the principal deposits.

The individual areas have been retained as units for describing ditch structures, filling layers and artefacts. Figure 18 shows the layer codes of the areas, correlates them diagrammatically, and divides them into broad historical periods on the basis of artefact dating. The characteristics of the various contexts are discussed within each area description, and are treated more generally in the conclusions.

Area F (Figs 18–19)

Excavation of the area outside the south-west corner of the castle proved difficult and unsatisfactory. It was hoped that investigations here would provide evidence of structural links between the inner courtyard curtain and the bailey wall, the latter presumed to lie beneath the terrace wall on the west (*Penhow I*, 22–4). Although fragments of some walls were recovered, most of the area had been disturbed by pipe trenches and other cuttings excavated over the previous century. For this reason the report on Area F is limited to a discussion of its main features.

The line of the ditch in this area was only partially determined. Bedrock was not as close to the surface as in the areas further east, and here the ditch was cut through the overlying clay. The south side continued on the alignment seen in the adjacent Area E to a point about 1m from the terrace, where it turned northwards. The north side probably turned on a parallel course within the ground obliterated by a long pipe trench. The ditch fill immediately in front of the curtain wall in the north-east corner of Area F was undisturbed.

Immediately east of its turning point, the ditch was occupied by a stone-walled building which was almost square in plan. It measured 3.5 × 2.7m internally, and its walls were about 0.7m thick. The building seems to have been linked to the northern end of the bailey wall, represented by the earlier of two phases of construction upon which the post-medieval wall was founded. This last, significantly, changed alignment here before continuing northwards along the west side of the castle.

The building may have been entered from the ditch bottom on its south side; despite disturbance by a pipe trench it was clear that the south wall had not been bonded into the south end of the west wall. Access to an entrance in this position would have been from Area E by means of a passage between the south side of the building and the south side of the ditch. This access was later blocked by walling. After the building had become disused and its interior filled with earth, a wall was constructed across it to link the corner of the castle buildings to the terrace.

The dating of the square building is uncertain. Its interior could not be fully excavated, but its relationship to the ditch and the phases of ditch fill was determined in Area E. The external face of its east wall extended down to the bedrock floor of the ditch. There was no evidence that it had been cut through the earliest silt layers, though this may have occurred undetected. Both the wall and the later blocking to the south clearly preceded the main ditch fill, which at this point can be dated to the mid-16th century. The building was thus erected at some point during the Middle Ages, presumably as part of the defensive arrangements.

Area E (Figs 18, 20–21)

Introduction

Area E comprised the ditch in front and immediately west of the castle entrance. Its extent was delimited on the west by the square building in Area F, and on the east by a pipe trench which had been cut to the bottom of the ditch prior to the excavations. Pre-excavation clearance had also removed the top 0.3–0.4m of ditch fill, resulting in the loss of 17th-century and later deposits.

The most important features revealed by excavation were the substructures of the drawbridge (Figs 20–21). In the bottom of the ditch, fronting the entrance, were earth and rubble foundations, faced with stone, which formed the sides and outer end of the drawbridge ‘pit’. The foundations

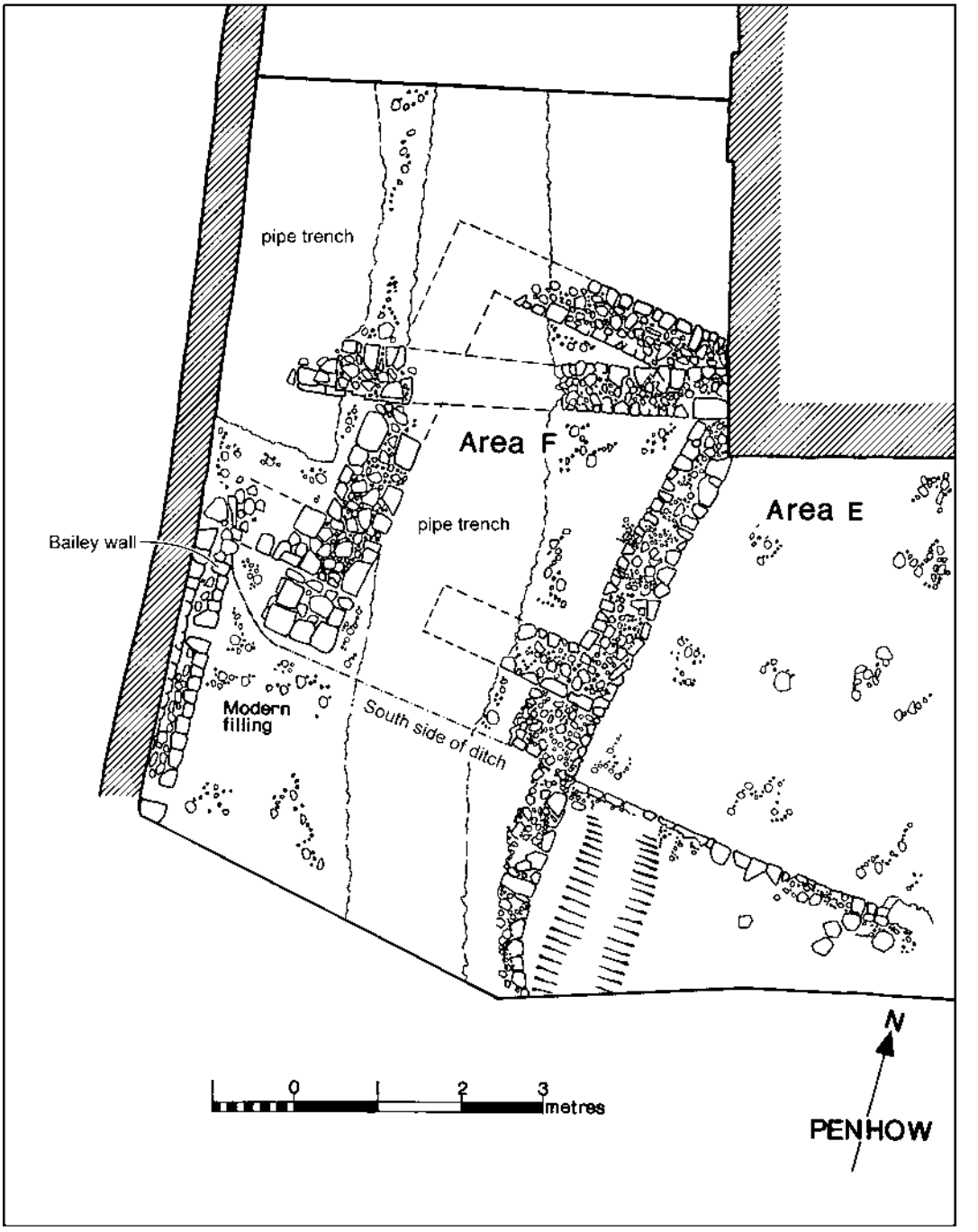
pipe trench
Area F
pipe trench
Area E
Bailey wall
Modern filling
South side of ditch
0
2
3
metres
N
PENHOW

Fig. 19: Area F.

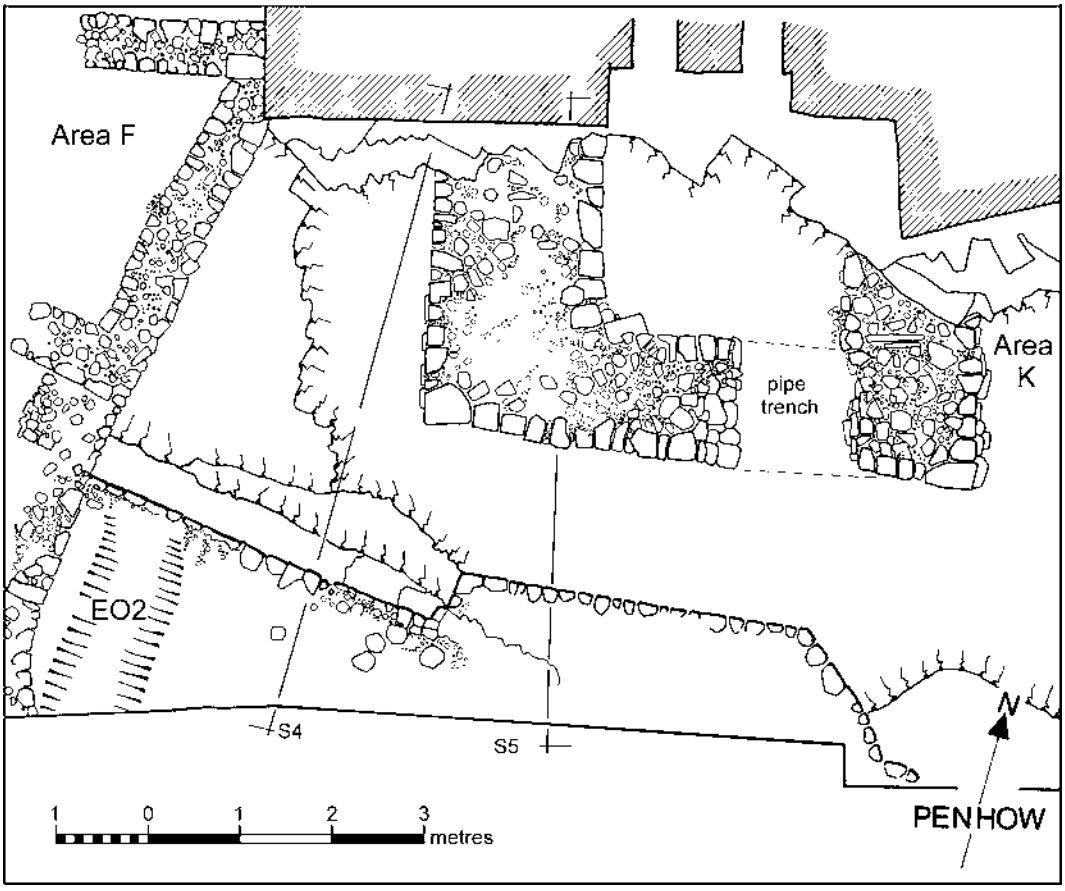

Fig. 20: Area E: substructure of drawbridge.

were 1.5–2m wide, and survived to a height of 0.3–0.4m. It is evident from the artefacts in the overlying deposits that the foundations were no higher than this in the late 15th or early 16th century. They were presumably designed simply to provide a level footing for a timber superstructure.

A comparison of these remains with various types of bridge support identified by Stuart Rigold[38] leads to the conclusion that the east–west foundation in the centre of the ditch supported a self-stable trestle based on sole-plates (hence the need for level footings). The foundations running northwards from the ends of the trestle footing presumably held sole-plates to which the trestle was braced.

The trestle would have received the leading edge of the drawbridge. Evidence of a mobile bridge came primarily from the discovery of two rectangular slots on the northern edge of the excavation. They had been cut out of the bedrock, which extended northwards beneath the entrance threshold, under the flagged floor of the gatehouse, for a distance of 2.1m (Figs 20–1; surrounding masonry shaded). The slots would have allowed movement in the vertical plane to timber arms about 2m long; these would have projected northwards from the bridge axle, and counterweights would

[38] Rigold, S.E. 1975, 'Structural aspects of medieval timber bridges', *Medieval Archaeol*. **19**, 57–9.

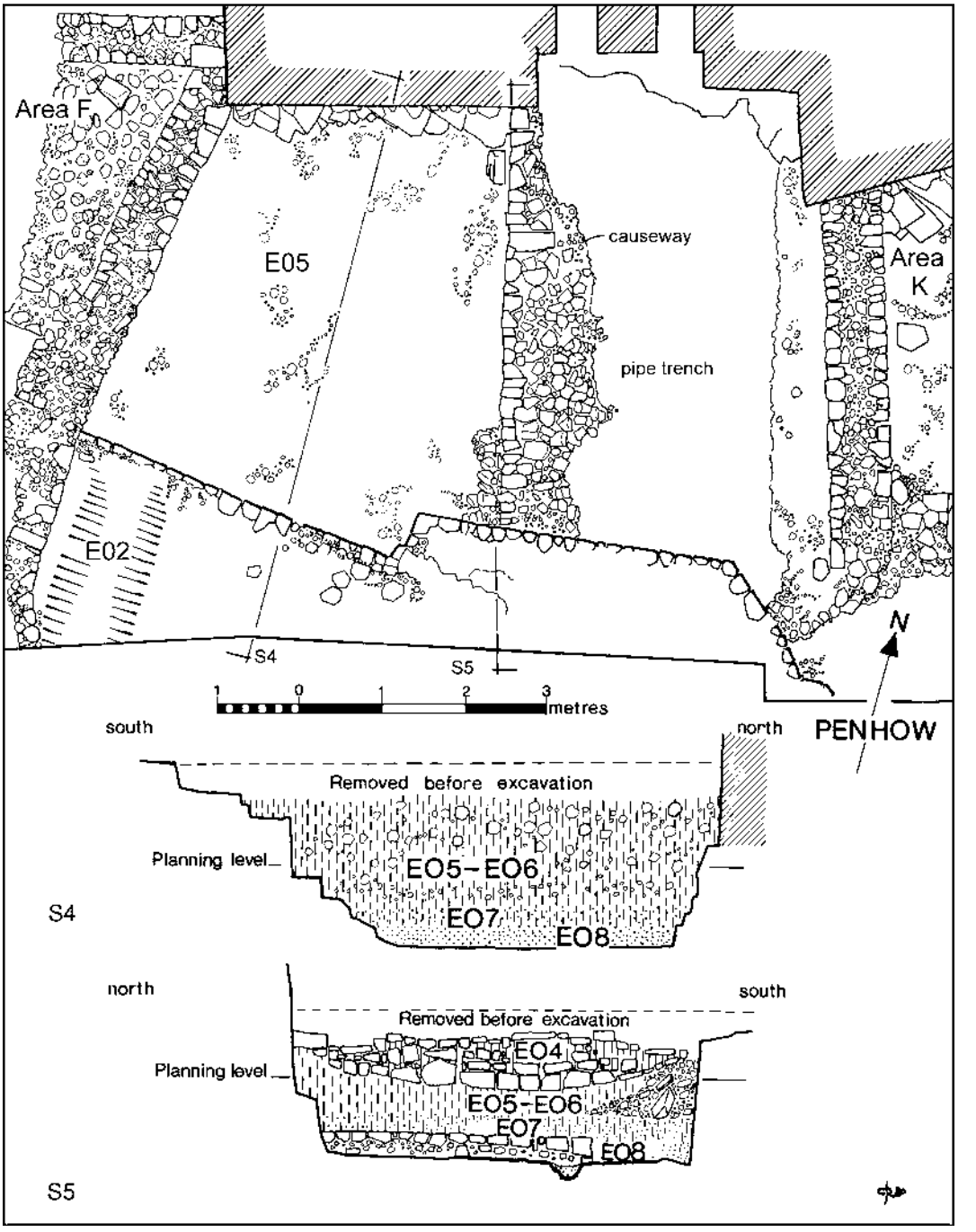

Fig. 21: Area E: later structures.

have been attached to their ends. The bridge would have pivoted at the threshold, and the lintels and jambs of the gateway were recessed to receive the bridge in an upright position. The bridge appears to have measured 2.6 × 2m. A stone bearing which had supported one end of the axle was found in the ditch fill on the west side of the entrance (Fig. 31, S5).

The footing for the ditch trestle is slightly out of line with the castle entrance, and the trestle seems to have been positioned so as to minimise a discrepancy between the alignment of the entrance and that of the stone-faced pier on the south side of the ditch. The gap between the trestle and the pier was perhaps bridged by a retractable gangway. The trestle was presumably composed of two frames, providing a structure of sufficient width to house the ends of both gangway and bridge.

On the north side of the ditch, the castle walls were built directly upon the bedrock edge of the ditch. To the south, the bedrock surface gradually dipped towards the west, and the edge of the ditch was partly formed by natural clay. It had been faced in roughly coursed stone to prevent erosion. A clay-cut drainage gully (Fig. 20, E02) with a fill of red-brown clayey loam entered the ditch close to the south-west corner of the area.

Pottery from drainage gully E02[39]

The fill of gully E02 contained only medieval pottery. At least 12 vessels were recovered. All but two vessels are hand-made coarseware jars of a type (1A2A) described in the first report (from Area G: *Penhow I*, 39–41) and now recognised by Mike Ponsford as 12th-century wares from the Bristol area. One new type is represented:

1C1A-B. Jars and jugs, glazed and unglazed, their bodies similar to those of 1B1, but more uniform and compact, being wheel-thrown.

The deposit therefore contains predominantly 12th-century pottery, but the bowl with internal glaze (Fig. 22, No. 18) is clearly of later medieval date. Further examples of 12th-century Bristol/early Ham Green coarsewares, no doubt residual, were found in overlying deposits (Fig. 22, Nos 19–21).

Vessels from E02 (Fig. 22)

17. Hand-made jar [1A2A], Early Ham Green ware, early 12th century [MP id.] (cat. 213).
18. Bowl [1A2A], smoke-blackened (cat. 211).
22. Wheel-thrown jar [1C1B], glazed internally (cat. 216).

Further examples of 12th-century Bristol coarsewares, residual in overlying 16th-century context E07 (Fig. 22)

19–21. Early Ham Green jars, smoke-blackened, as 17 (cat. 210, 219, 221).

Ditch filling layers in Area E (Fig. 21)

The lowest deposit was red, silty clay (E08) which had accumulated through erosion in the bottom of the ditch. Generally about 0.3m deep, it surrounded the bridge foundations and extended up to the east wall of the building in Area F.

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[39] For the methodology employed in the report see Appendix C. For the abbreviated type names (1A1A, etc) see Tables 2–3; for definitions of the types of pottery already published see *Penhow I*; see also the Discussion (Appendix C below). Names of specialists are abbreviated to their initials, JA – John Allan, HB – Hugo Blake, SC – Steve Clarke, DD – David Dawson, AF – Alice Forward, MH – Mike Hughes and MP – Mike Ponsford.

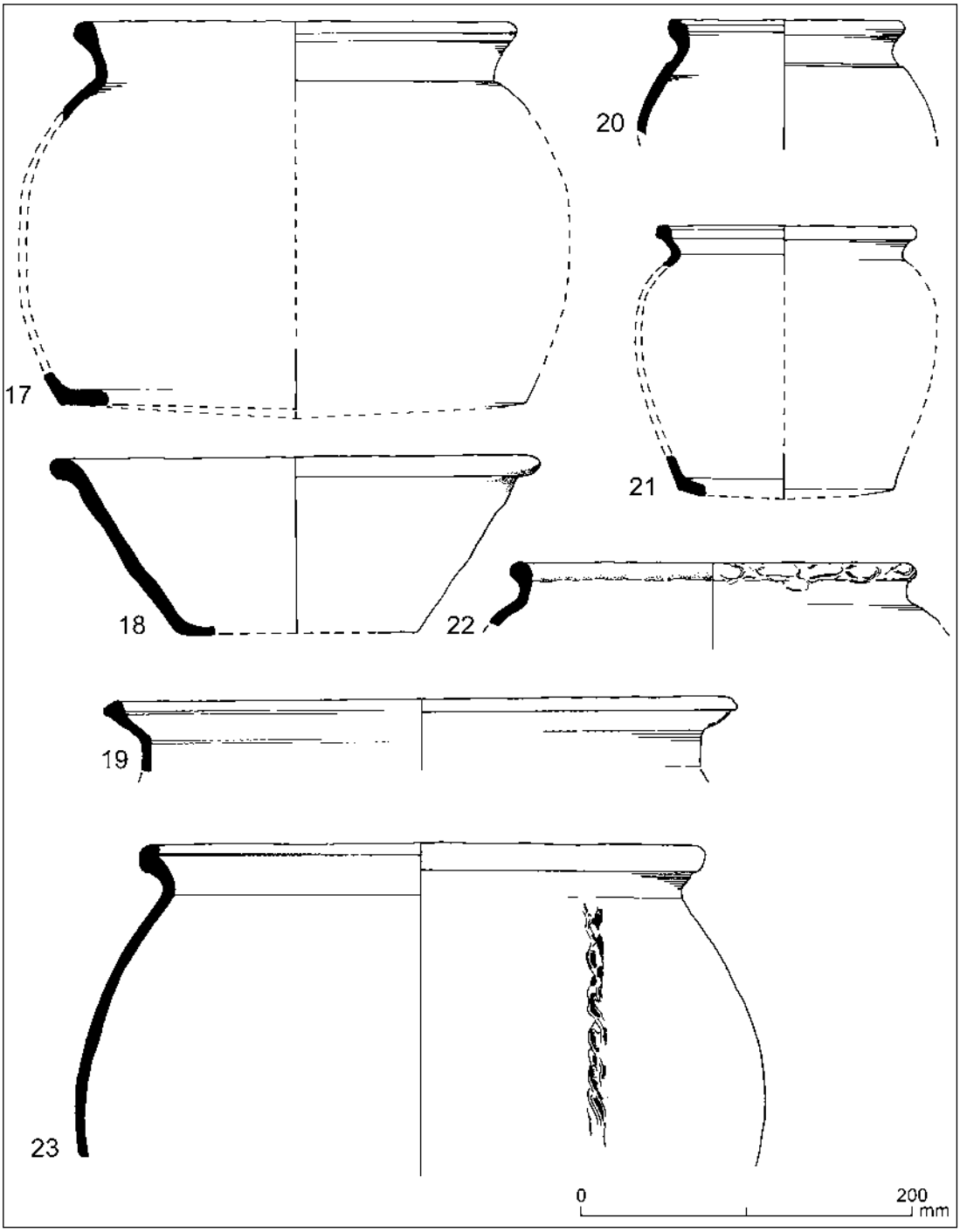

Fig. 22: Vessels from drainage gully E02 (Nos 17–18, 22) and other medieval coarsewares from Area E. Scale 1:4.

Type	Common name	E02	E08	E07	E05–06
1A1A	Hand-built jars (?Bristol area)	1	–	–	–
1A2A	12C Bristol/Ham Green coarsewares	10	2	3	3
1B1A–B	Penhow-type	–	3	2	4
1C1A–B	Wheel-thrown coarsewares	1	1	–	1
1BTW, (1C3B)	Bristol Redcliffe	–	3	2	1
1 other	Misc./unident. med. wares	–	3	–	1
2D1B	Late med buff jugs	–	–	5	–
2A1B	Late med redwares	–	–	4	3
2MTW	Malvernian	–	–	4	79
2WCW	Somerset coarsewares	–	–	–	28
2CTW	Redware cups	–	–	9	16
2SSW	Tudor Green	–	–	2	2
2RSW	Raeren stoneware	–	–	5	4
“	Cologne-Frechen stoneware	–	–	–	1
2 SNM	Italo-Netherlandish Maiolica	–	–	–	1
2IMP	Martincamp	–	–	–	1
2FWW	Saintonge unglazed	–	–	1	–
“	Other French white wares	–	–	–	1
2IMW	Portuguese coarseware (‘Merida’)	–	–	1	1
2IMP	Ligurian *berettino* maiolica	–	–	–	1
Later	Late 17–18C wares	–	–	–	–
TOTAL		12	12	38	148

Table 2. Distribution of pottery in stratified contexts, Area E (Minimum No. Vessels).

Pottery types in the lowest layer of the ditch E08

As is evident in Table 2, the lowest layer of the ditch (E08), representing eroded soil, contained several of the later medieval pottery types recorded in Area G (*Penhow I*, Table 1), broadly datable to the 14th and 15th centuries. The most common vessels are local Penhow-type wares including glazed jugs [types 1B1B and 1C1B] – mainly globular vessels with pinched-out lips, strap handles and sagging bases. An additional type of jug is:

Bristol Redcliffe-type ware [1BTW and 1C3B].[40] Wheel-thrown jugs with pale-fired bodies with a variety of inclusions, some black, usually glazed green. The forms are baluster-shaped, with flat bases, applied spouts and applied thumbed strips of applied strips with, which glaze to brown on a greenish background, and which are employed to form complex decorative motifs. The general type is common around the Bristol Channel[41] and is datable to the period *c*. 1250–1450; Ponsford suggests that the Penhow material is mainly datable to *c*. 1250–1450.[42]

[40] Information from M. Ponsford; see Dawson, D.P., Jackson, R.G. and Ponsford, M.W. 1972, ‘Medieval kiln wasters from St Peter’s Church, Bristol’, *Trans. Bristol Gloucestershire Archaeol. Soc*. **91**, 3–5.

[41] E.g. Lewis, J.M. 1964–6, ‘Some medieval pottery from Cardiff’, *Rep. Trans. Cardiff Natur. Soc*. **93**, 44.

[42] For the general type: Ponsford, M.W. 1998, ‘Pottery’ in Price, R.H. with Ponsford, M.W., *St Bartholomew’s Hospital, Bristol. The Excavation of a Medieval Hospital, 1976–8*, Counc. Brit. Archaeol. Res. Rep. **110**, 138–50. Ponsford notes that after *c*. 1350 the quality goes downhill: vessels become squatter, plainer, and only partially glazed, and have no contrasting clay decoration.

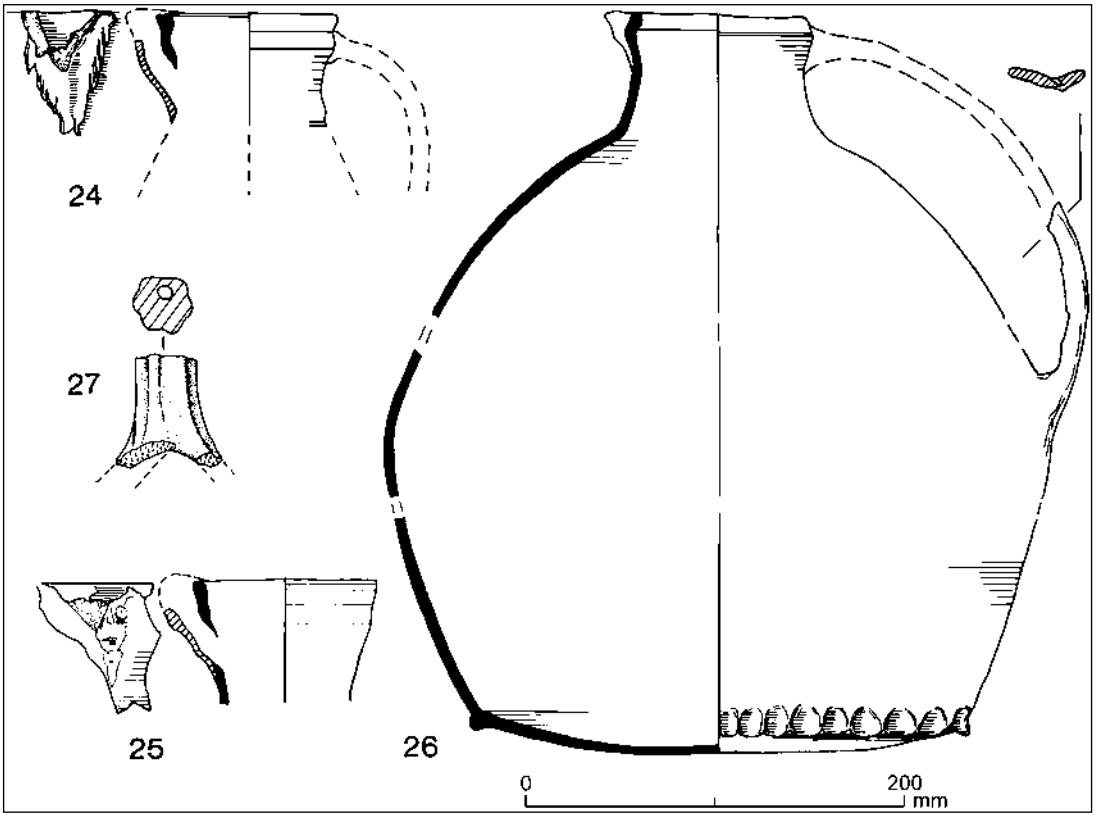

Fig. 23: Pottery from the lowest silt layer in Area E (E08). Scale 1:4.

Pottery from E08, the lowest silt layer in Area E: illustrated vessels (Figs 22–3)
23. Jar [1C1A], Ham Green [MP id.], with applied vertical bands thumbed at intervals (cat. 212).
24. Bristol Redcliffe-type jug [1BTW] with bearded bridge spout and green glaze for which Ponsford suggests a date *c*. 1250–1350 (cat. 204).
25–6. Penhow-type wheel-thrown jugs [1B1B], 25 with face over applied bridge spout, glazed; 26 green-glazed (cat. 205, 206).
27. Roof finial or candle pricket? Fluted column with ?dowel hole and three arms emerging from one end. Possibly North Somerset, cf. Chew Valley Lake material [DD/MP]. (cat. 209).

The main ditch fills (E07–05)
Above E08 was a reddish-brown clayey loam layer (E07) which overlay the bridge footings and represented the lowest layer of deliberate filling of the ditch. Presumably the timber bridge substructures remained in use during the period when E07 was being deposited, but the positions of sole-plates within this layer were not identified. This is not surprising, in view of the similarity of E07 to the layer above it.

The overlying layer E05–06, brown clayey loam with rubble, marks the deliberate filling of the ditch to the level of the surrounding ground. In places it was over 1m deep. The bridge was presumably dismantled at this time, and it was replaced by a rubble causeway, furnished on its west

side with a retaining wall (Fig. 21). A similar though deeper revetment is assumed to have formed the east side of the causeway, where a pipe trench had removed all ditch deposits.

Pottery from the main ditch fills (E07–05)

New pottery types

Layer E07, representing the disuse of the ditch, is marked by the first occurrence of two types of pottery which belong to the late medieval/post medieval transition:

1. Jugs with fine, buff-fired bodies, with globular forms and green glaze [2D1B]. The shape continued the tradition of the 1C1 jugs, but with much smoother surfaces. A few sherds were recorded in E08, but these may have been incorrectly provenanced because of the similarity between the two layers. For example, the vessel in Fig. 24, No. 28 comprised 70 sherds from E07 and three from E08.

2. Quartz-tempered redwares [2A1B]. Handled jars and jugs with very thick, dense bodies containing well-sorted quartz inclusions. The surfaces are fired mainly to red, and the thick cores reduced to dark blue-greys. All have clear lead glazes, green where reduced, and some jars have internal glaze as well. The jugs have pinched-out lips, tall baluster shapes and sparse thumbing on flat bases.

The principal contents of the Area E fills are, however, the main types of early post-medieval wares:

3. Malvernian-type wares [2MTW] with bodies fired uniformly to red.[43] The jugs are mainly globular-shaped, with glazed 'bibs' beneath the pinched-out lip. In addition to these forms, there are straight-sided bowls or pancheons, with internal glaze at the base, and jars with thumbed bands around the neck. Other forms include Fig. 25, No. 37, a chafing dish in the Malvernian tradition.[44]

4. West Somerset wares [2WCW], representing production centres such as Nether Stowey, usually distinguishable from Donyatt,[45] enter the record slightly later than the Malvernian wares: they are absent from E07. Yet the two industries are broadly contemporary in their deposition at Penhow. The bodies are dense, fired to dark red and red-brown. Some are partially slipped in white-firing clay and glazed to yellow and green. The forms include a near-complete chafing dish (Fig. 25, No. 43), bowls and jars, but no jugs.

5. Redware cups [2CTW(1)]. Redwares make up the great majority of the cups in these layers; most have a fine clay body with few visible inclusions, firing to light red when oxidised and grey when reduced, with glaze colours ranging from brown to olive green. Initially it was thought that many were probably made in the Monnow Valley or north Monmouthshire,[46] but inspection of a large sample of these vessels by Steve Clarke in 2012 found that only a few examples come from this area. In fact the variations of fineness, fabric and form indicate a wide range of sources: Malvernian,[47] East and South Somerset, the Bristol–Gloucester area (possibly including the kilns at Falfield), Staffordshire or elsewhere in the Midlands (details in catalogue entries below). Among them are

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[43] Vince, A. 1977, 'The medieval and post-medieval ceramic industry of the Malvern region' in Peacock, D.P.S. (ed.) *Pottery and Early Commerce*, London: Academic Press, 266–74.

[44] *Ibid*., Pl. 6, No. 3.

[45] Coleman-Smith, R. and Pearson, T. 1988, *Excavations in the Donyatt Potteries*, Chichester: Phillimore; Allan, J.P. 1984, *Medieval and Post-Medieval Finds from Exeter, 1971–1980*, Exeter Archaeol. Rep. **3**, 132–5.

[46] Evans, D.H. 1980, 'Wasters from St James's House, Monmouth, Gwent', *Medieval and Later Pottery in Wales* **3**, 40–2; Clarke, S., Jackson, R. and Jackson, P. 'Pottery from a post-medieval kiln at Dixton, Gwent', *Medieval and Later Pottery in Wales* **7**, 14–15 (esp. Fig. 5, No. 2, cf. this report, Fig. 36, No. 135: thumb-impressed decoration).

[47] A very similar cup from Caerleon has been identified as a Malvern product: Vince, *op. cit*. in n. 43, 274.

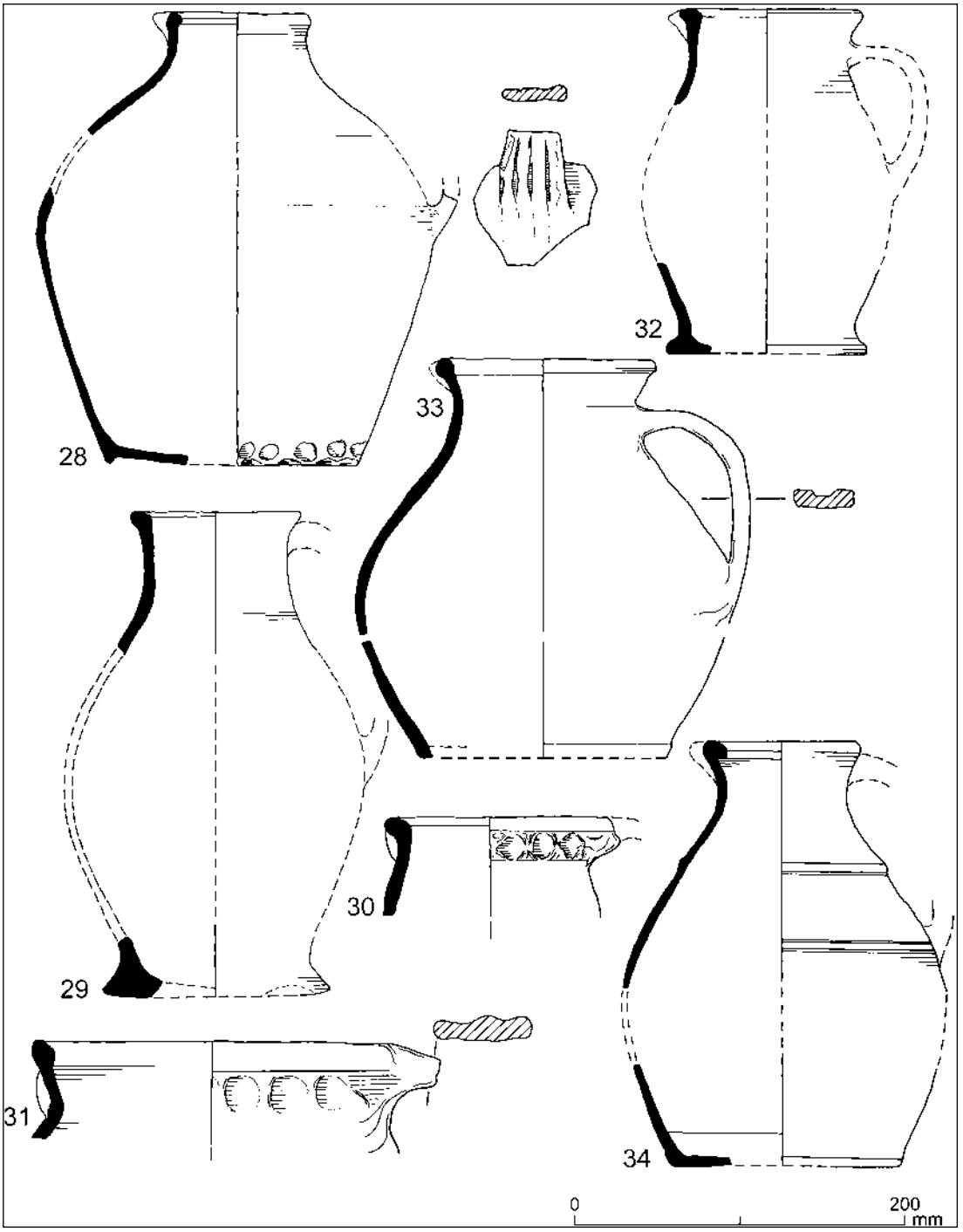

Fig. 24: Vessels from main ditch fill, Area E: coarsewares. Scale 1:4.

several probable imitations of Rhenish stoneware vessels.
6. Tudor Green wares and other southern whitewares [2SWW]. These vessels, including the finer 'Tudor Green' types, form a far smaller proportion of the fineware assemblage. One (Fig. 27, No. 65) copies a stoneware form.
7. Imported wares. There is a wide range of imported vessels; Rhenish stonewares [2RSW] are the most numerous. One Raeren mug (Fig. 27, No. 67) is badly misfired: the upper half of the body has sagged, and a large chip in the rim has been glazed over. It can hardly be supposed that this vessel was bought intentionally, suggesting that the Raeren mugs at least were bought in quantity, by the case or basket, rather than individually. The other types present are plain Saintonge [2FWW], Portuguese micaceous coarseware ('Merida ware') [2IMW], Italo-Netherlandish Maiolica [2SNM], a Martincamp flask and a ?Spanish tin-glazed jug.

Vessels from main ditch fills, Area E: coarsewares (Fig. 24)
28. Late medieval jug [2D1B], glazed green (E07, cat. 160).
29–31. Quartz-tempered redwares [2A1B]. 29 coarse green-glazed jug with slight thumbing on basal flange; 30 green-glazed jug with thumb-applied strip around neck; 31 internal and external green glaze, thumbed applied neck-band (E07, cat. 187; E05, cat. 194; E07, cat. 195).
32–4. Malvernian ware [2MTW] jugs (E05–07, cat. 170, 166, 172).

Vessels from main ditch fills, Area E: coarsewares (Fig. 25)
35–40. Malvernian wares [2MTW]. 35 jar with applied thumbed band around neck, the thumbing pushed down from the rim top, and with internal glaze; 36 jar with horizontal handle; 37 chafing dish bowl with four horns, holes in sides, and internal glaze [DD: some doubts about origin, perhaps West Somerset]; 38 handled jar with unglazed exterior and internal glaze; 39 ?ointment pot with external glaze [DD: perhaps West Somerset]; 40 pancheon with internal glaze (E05–06, cat. 179, 181, 173, 177, 175, 165).
41–5. West Somerset wares [2WCW]. 41 pancheon with internal green glaze over white slip; 42 ?skillet with internal green glaze over white slip; 43 chafing dish, the rim with semi-circular cut-outs, the bowl sides and pedestal thrown in one, the bowl base added; bowl with thin internal and external slip, glazed yellow-green. Several similar vessels were excavated in deposits of the end of the 16th century at Narrow Quay, Bristol;[48] 44 pancheon; 45 jar with internal green glaze on reduced surface, thumbed neckband. (DD: 'thumbed with vessel upside down') (E05, cat. 163, 183, 174, 164, 182).

Vessels from main ditch fill, Area E: finewares (Fig. 26)
46–53. Finely thrown redware cups with hard red bodies and dark brown, metallic green-brown or dark green glazes [2CTW]. Origin uncertain; some may be from Midlands/Staffordshire, others perhaps Herefordshire/Monnow Valley, although none firmly recognised by SC, 46 with applied white pads glazed yellow, possibly from Gloucestershire [MP]; 47 with triangular stacking mark on base (possibly same vessel as No. 46), 52–3 with hard-fired reduced bodies, 53 with blackish glaze (E06–07, cat. 136, 137, 154, 139, 140, 138; E05–06, cat. 156, 151).
54. Cup, Malvernian [AF/MP] with internal brown glaze (E05, cat. 158).
55. Albarello with soft very fine light red body, green glaze (E05–06, cat. 153).

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[48] Good, G.L. 1987, 'The excavation of two docks at Narrow Quay, Bristol, 1978–9', *Post-Medieval Archaeol*. **21**, 25–126, Nos 340–5.

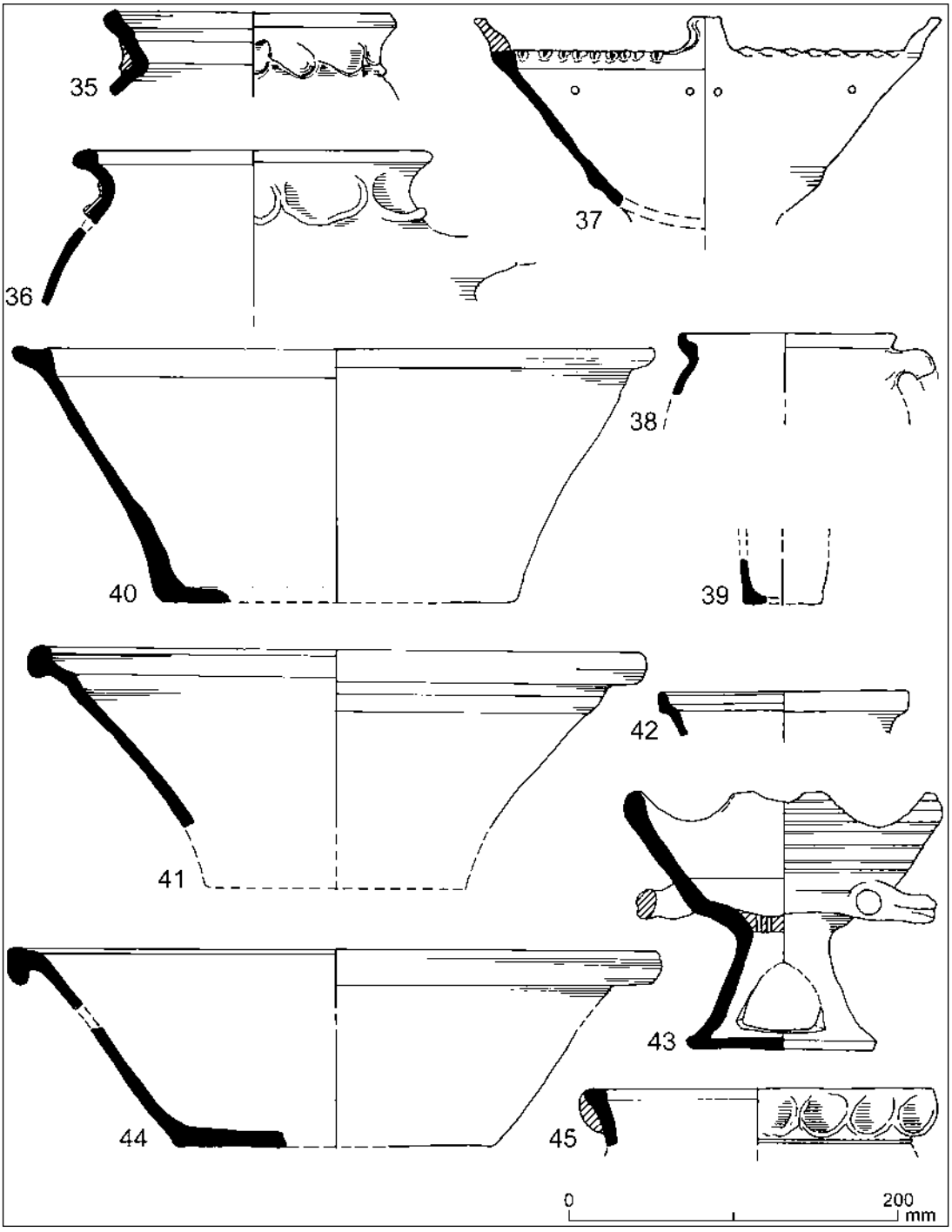

Fig. 25: Vessels from main ditch fill, Area E: coarsewares. Scale 1:4.

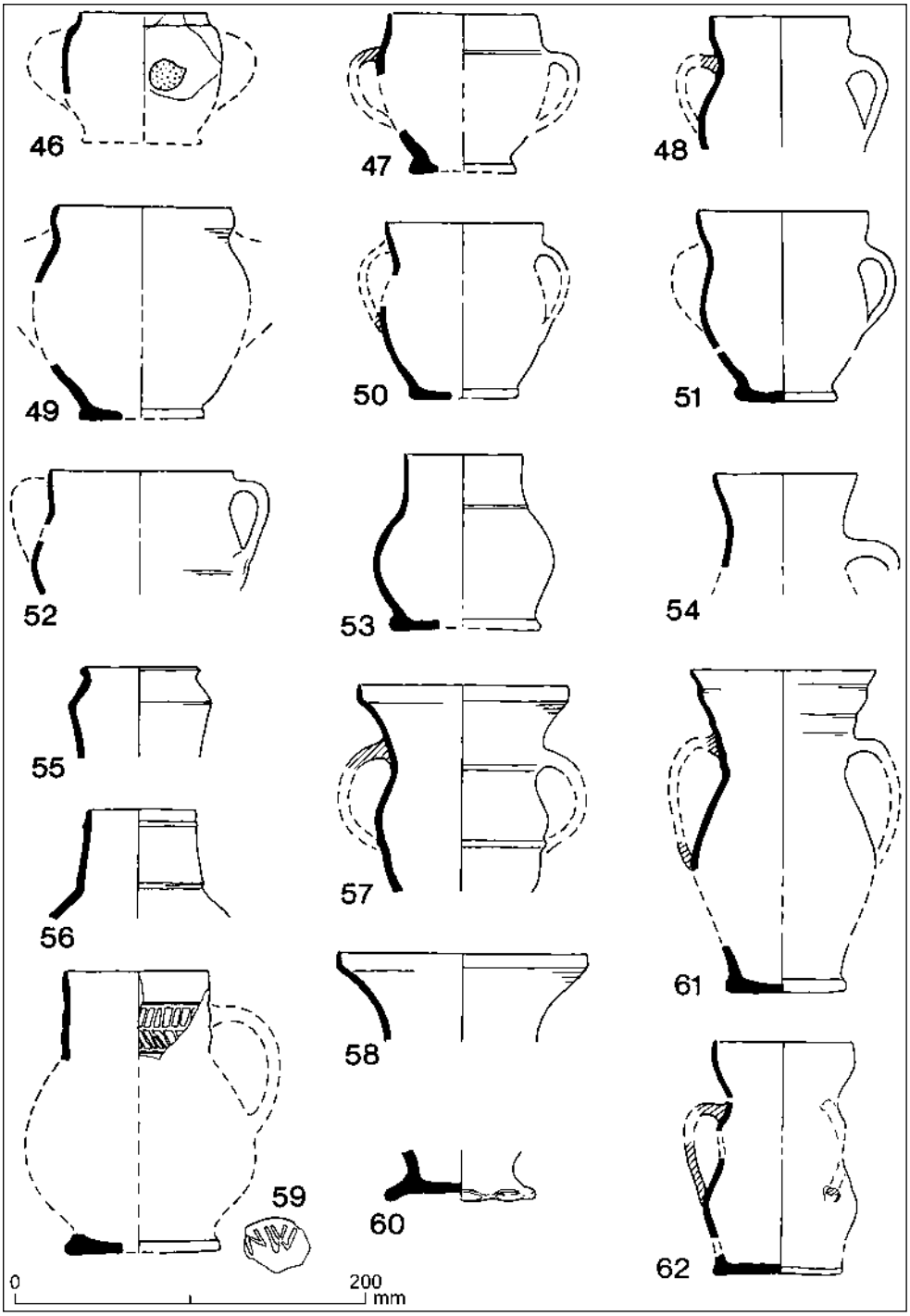

Fig. 26: Vessels from main ditch fill, Area E: finewares. Scale 1:4.

56–60. Cups with light red bodies, metallic glaze. Nos 56, 58 and 60 are attributable to West Somerset [MP/DD]; origins of others uncertain. No. 56 copying Cologne/Frechen stoneware; 57 copying a wide-mouthed metal vessel, with grey body and dark green glaze; 59 Malvernian, copying a Cologne/Frechen mug, with glossy brown glaze, with incised decoration around neck in style of rouletting (?copying a metal mount), and the initials 'NW' on base; 60 copying Raeren/Langerwehe frilled foot, with mottled brown glaze (E05, cat. 149, 152, 142, 157, 155).
61–2. Cups with dark red bodies and pimply black-glazed surfaces, origin uncertain (Midlands?), 62 with three handles (E05–06, cat. 143, 145).

Vessels from main ditch fills, Area E: finewares and imports (Fig. 27)
63. Whiteware ointment pot with green glaze, origin uncertain (E06–7, cat. 237).
64–5 'Tudor Green' cups [2SWW], 65 yellow-glazed copy of a stoneware form (E06–7, cat. 233, 238).
66. Plain Saintonge white ware jug (E05–06, cat. 235).
67–9. Raeren stoneware mugs, 67 heavily distorted and cracked in firing, 69 with rouletted neck band (E06–7, cat. 242, 240, 243).
70. Cologne/Frechen stoneware mug (E05–06, cat. 241).
71. Martincamp type II flask (E05–06, cat. 265).[49]
72–3. Iberian red micaceous coarseware jug and bowl, 72 burnished. Discussed by Gutiérrez (Appendix D below). (E05–07, cat. 228, 230).
74. Italo-Netherlandish Maiolica, analysed by Hughes (Appendix E) and discussed by Blake (Appendix F) (E05–07, cat. 225).
75. Ligurian maiolica bowl with *berettino* decoration: dark blue and yellow (stippled) patterns on light blue ground (E05, cat. 226). [Not seen in 2012, probably retained by owner.] Discussed by Blake (Appendix F).
76. Seville Morisco ware cup/vase with indented walls, discussed by Gutiérrez (Appendix D below). (E05, cat. 246).[50] [Not seen in 2012, probably retained by owner.]

Non-ceramic artefacts from Area E
The main ditch-filling layers, E05–07, contained a wide range of domestic rubbish. The most distinctive group of metal objects was a collection of pins, lace-tags and wire loops, of which only a selection is illustrated here (Fig. 30). In 1980 Christopher Caple commented that lace-tags and pins, when found in association, represent ladies' dress accessories, and that wire loops appear also to be related to finds involving ladies' dress. He suggested that the assemblage may have been derived from cleaning or clearing a lady's chamber in the castle.

Such an interpretation would accord with other objects from these contexts, particularly the thimble (C-13) and jet bead (S-2), and perhaps the candle holder (C-9), casket key (C-11) and ?casket binding strip (C-10). The non-ferrous small-finds in general indicate high-status refuse: layers E05-06 produced five glass vessels (see Appendix B), of which three are imported decorated items.

Some of the remaining objects, such as the horseshoe (I-18) and quern stones (S-3, S-4) are clearly derived from other sources. The axle-bearing stone (S-5) was presumably thrown into the

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[49] Hurst, J.G., Neal, D.S. and van Beuningen, H.J.E. 1986, *Pottery Produced and Traded in North-West Europe, 1350–1650*, Rotterdam Pap. **6**, 102–4.
[50] An identical handle has been found at Carmarthen: Lewis, J.M. and Evans, D.H. 1982, 'Southern European imported pottery in Wales', *Medieval and Later Pottery in Wales* **5**, Fig. 2, No. 3.

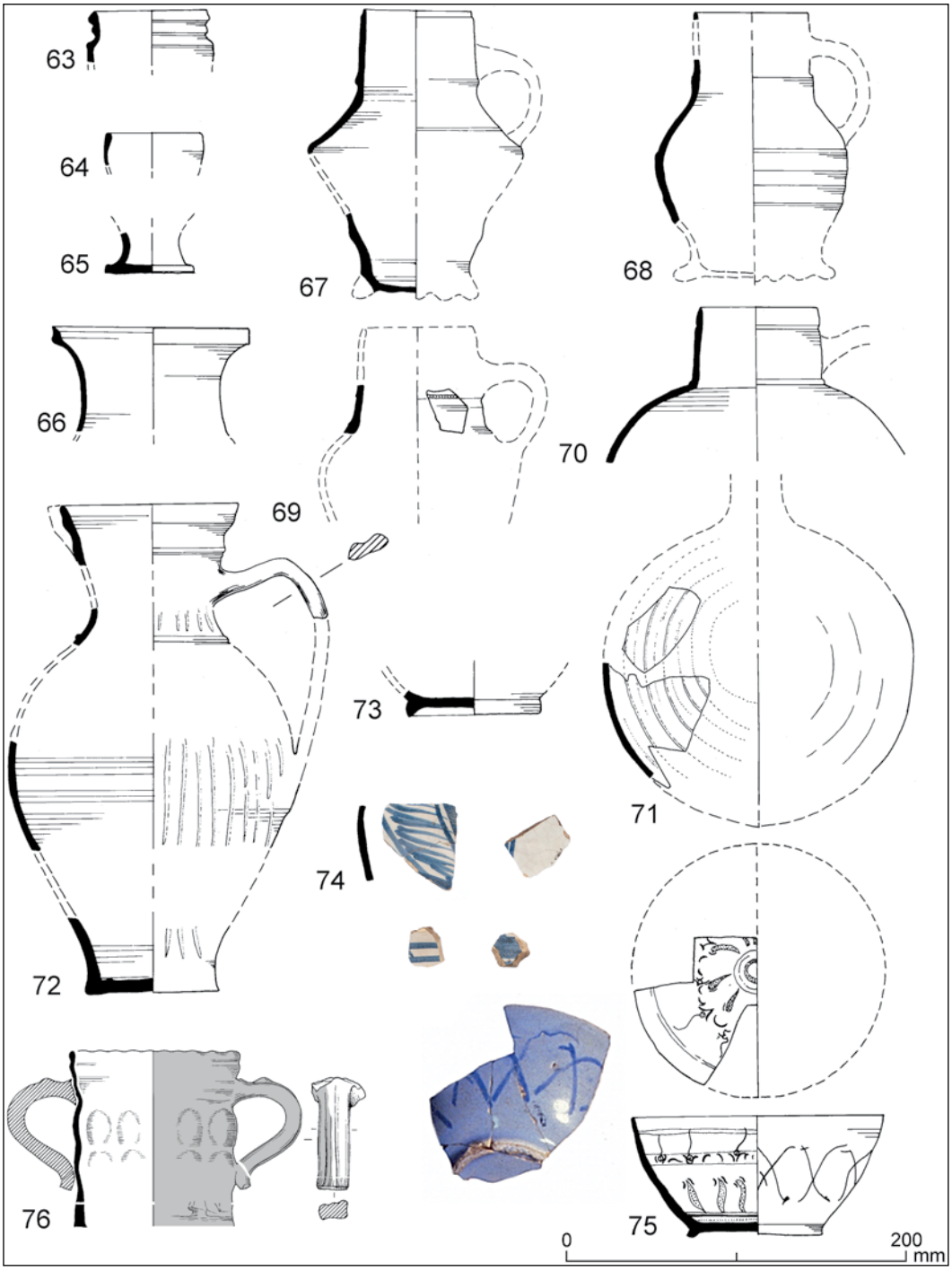

Fig. 27: Vessels from main ditch fill, Area E: finewares and imports. Scale 1:4.

ditch when the drawbridge was removed, and the stud (I-19) may have been used to fasten bridge timbers.

Other objects from this area, not illustrated, are: two nails from E02 (one a fiddle-key type); 38 nails from E05-07; 21 limestone and sandstone discs (diameters 60–120mm); fragments of moulded plaster from E05, and two jettons (E05–06) which are described in Appendix A.

Ironwork from Area E (Fig. 28)

I-10. Buckle with revolving arm (E02; P148)
I-11. ?Heckle tooth, round section, 175mm long (E08; P83)
I-12. Buckle, rectangular with simple, continuous bar (E06; P73)
I-13. D-shaped buckle, with simple, continuous bar (E06; P94)
I-14. Key (E06; P85)

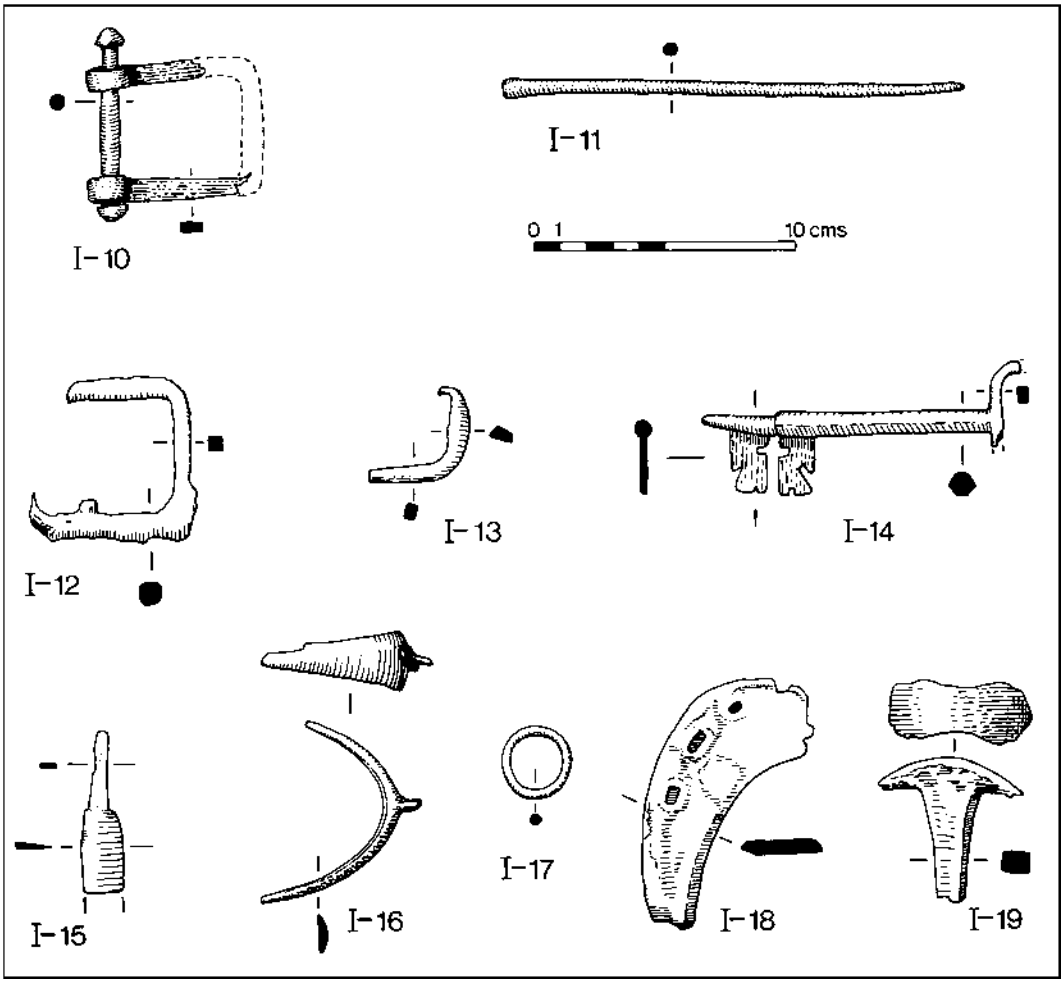

Fig. 28: Ironwork from Area E. Scale 1:2.

I-15. Small whittle-tang knife (E06; P98)
I-16. Spur heel (E07; P111)
I-17. Ring, plain (E06; P95)
I-18. Horseshoe (E06; P84)
I-19. Clench pin or lynch pin (E07; P92)

Copper alloy, ?latten and stone objects from Area E (Fig. 29)
C-1. Gilt mount with punched decoration and rivet hole (E08; PB39)
C-2. Double-looped buckle, with iron pin (E06; PB11)
C-3. Buckle-plate with iron rivets and iron pin-bar (E06; PB10)
C-4. Tag-end (E07; PB19)
C-5. Six linked rings (E06; PB16)
C-6. Small dome-shaped stud (E06; PB8)
C-7&8. Pair of plain rings (E05, E06; PB14, 42)
C-9. Candle-stick socket with hole for extracting the end of the candle (E07; PB20)
C-10. U-section binding strip, possibly from a casket (E06, PB12).
C-11. Key, probably for a casket (E06, PB9).
C-12. Foot of a cast tripod vessel (E06, PB52).
C-13. Thimble of sheet metal (E06, PB17).
C-14. Loop of wire, flattened, with ends twisted together into a hook (E06, PB15).
L-1. ?Latten spoon handle with diamond-shaped knob (E05, PL1).
S-2. Jet bead (E05, Stone 4).

Copper alloy pins, lace-tags, loops and wire from Area E (Fig. 30)
C-16. A selection from a deposit which comprised, in total: 215 pins with heads formed by looped wire; three pins with, apparently, heads formed from solid metal (not examined microscopically); 50 lace-tags; five wire loops with the ends of the wire twisted together, and nine pieces of scrap sheet and wirer (E05-07).

Stone objects from Area E (Fig. 31)
S-3. Upper stone of a quern; the top surface has a rounded edge and two handle holes; lower surface is concave; sandstone (E05).
S-4. Upper stone of a quern; the top surface has a chamfered edge; the original handle position, on the edge, has been broken and replaced by a hole, plugged with lead, in the top surface; lower surface flat; sandstone (E05).
S-5. Bearing for draw-bridge axle, to hold a timber about 0.28m diameter; sandstone (E06).

Characteristics and date of the assemblage from Area E
The complete filling of the ditch in this area was associated with changes in access to the castle. Much of the material, specifically layers E05–06, may therefore have been deposited over a very short space of time. The drawbridge axle bearing was recovered from the lower part of the dump (E06), and the soil above it was brought in, presumably from another part of the precinct and perhaps in the course of only a few days, to support the causeway which replaced the bridge.

The artefacts in these layers may have arrived at their excavated positions in two ways: either in the form of rubbish which came straight from the castle apartments, and which was dumped in the area while the soil was being deposited; or as refuse originally dumped elsewhere, which

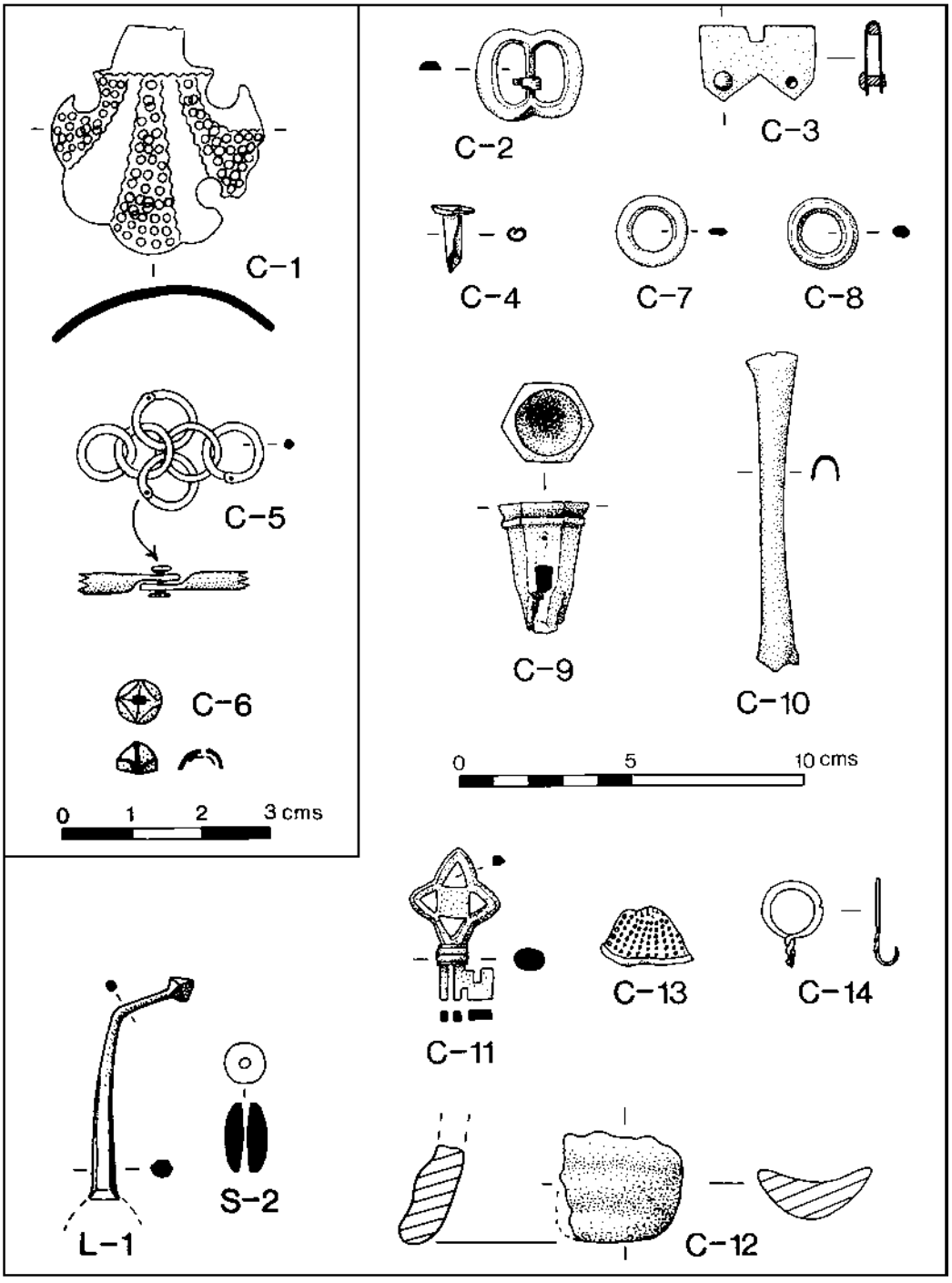

Fig. 29: Copper alloy, ?latten and stone objects from Area E. Scales 1:2 and 1:4.

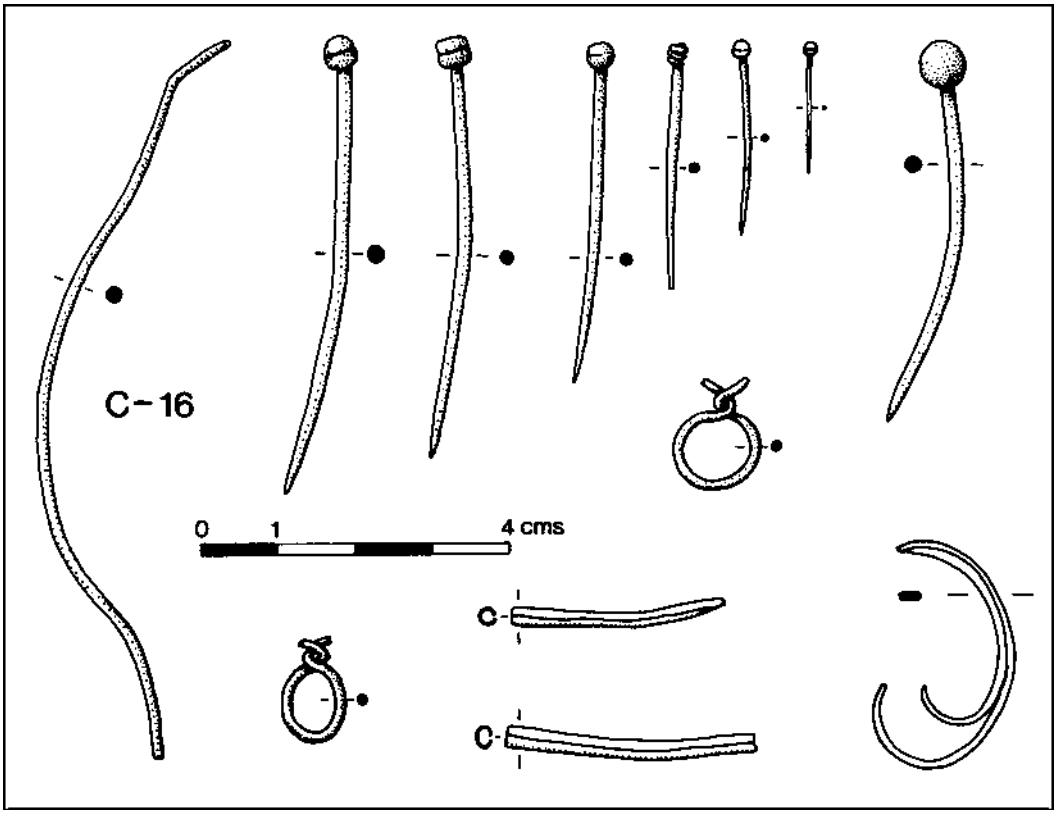

Fig. 30: Copper alloy pins, lace-tags, loops and wire from Area E. Scale 1:2.

arrived in the ditch with the soil. These differences are significant for dating: in the former case the objects from E05-06 would have been in use until shortly before causeway construction; in the latter case they may have been discarded at a considerable time before their redeposition. Both processes may have played a part, and all that can be said is that no fewer than 22 pottery vessels had sherds distributed through both the upper and lower parts of the dump.

The causeway construction has a *terminus post quem* derived from the date of the latest datable objects in these layers. One jetton (Appendix A, J-1) has been assigned to the third quarter of the 16th century, and jetton J-3 to the mid-16th century. Two of the glass vessels (Appendix B, G-2, G-4) could also belong to the later 16th century. A date towards the end of that century would therefore be appropriate.

Layer E07 may have accumulated at a rather earlier date, since the ditch would probably have ceased to be kept clean in the late 15th century, when the double hall replaced this stretch of curtain wall (*Penhow I*, 33–5). There is no sign of a change in the ceramic assemblages of E07 and E05–06; indeed, some of the pottery vessels in the latter dump had sherds recorded in E07. The lack of contrast may, however, be due in part to the problems of distinguishing precisely the extents and interfaces of the discrete layers.

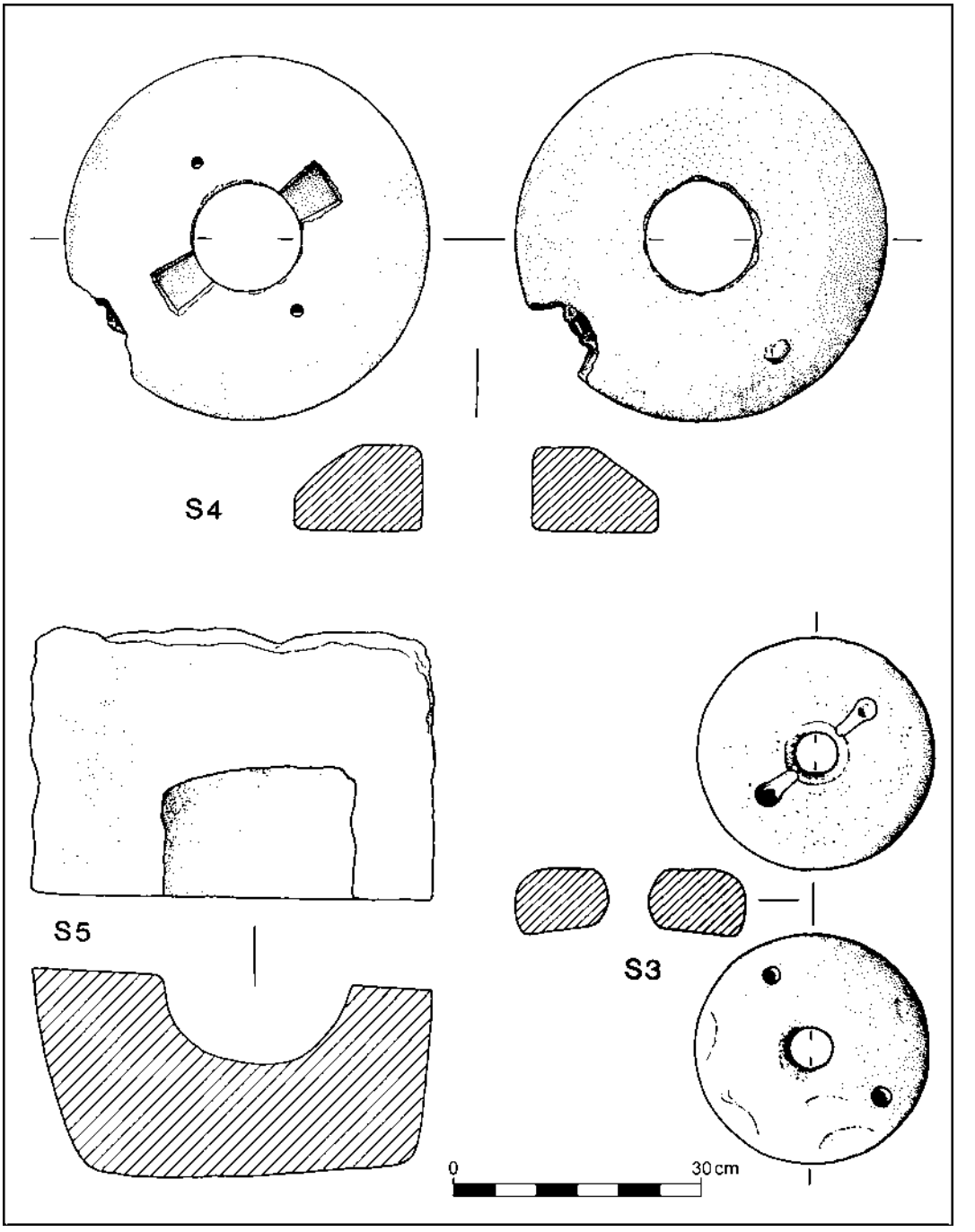

Fig. 31: Stone objects from Area E. Scale 1:4.

Areas K and A (Figs 18, 32)

Ditch filling layers

Areas K and A extended from the site of the drawbridge eastwards along the front of the late medieval hall, as far as the stair tower. They encompassed an exceptionally wide stretch of ditch, and its filling has a complicated history. The lowest layers were, like E08, the result of weathering. They were formed by red clayey loam and loose bedrock (K17, A13/18). Above them, the earliest deliberate filling was marked by mixed dumps of soil and rubble. Near the stair tower the lowest deposit was dark brown silty material A11/14. Further west its equivalents were probably K15 and K14, which contained rubble.

A new stage of filling was marked by the construction of a revetment wall which cut off the southern bulge of the ditch. A red-brown clayey loam, K05, had been dumped behind it. In the north-west corner of the still open length of ditch a heap of refuse, K08/11, had been dumped against the northern bedrock edge. The red clayey loam K10, which surrounded and partly overlay K08/11, was probably equivalent to the A08/12/16 and A09/10 layers around the base of the stair tower. Areas A and K were, however, excavated at different times, Furthermore the floor of the ditch had a very irregular longitudinal profile, because the bedding planes of the rock were not horizontal. Therefore the relationships of various ditch filling deposits were not always clear.

The upper filling material in Area A was represented by layers A03 and A02/04/05. Their equivalents further west were K06 and K03. K06 partly underlay a north-south wall built alongside the entrance causeway. K03 had accumulated after the construction of that wall.

The remaining structural feature here was a buttress (at the junction of the two areas) which had been cut through the ditch fill and was founded against the shelving bedrock edge. It formerly supported an externally projecting oven which had been built against the ground-floor fireplace of the medieval hall. The oven is shown on a 19th-century painting of the building housed in 1980 in the castle. The fill of its cutting (K04) could not be distinguished from the surrounding ditch fill: it was in fact the same material, which had been dug out to install the buttress and then put back in more or less the same stratigraphic order. The approximate extent of the disturbance was marked by a scatter of 18th and 19th-century potsherds, which were recovered from the soil around the buttress as far down as the level of K14.

Pottery from the ditch fill, Areas K and A (Tables 3–4)

The range of pottery types from the lowest silting layers (K17 and A13/18) was largely the same as that found in the equivalent deposit of Area E. The local products (B1A-B; Penhow-type wares) were the most numerous. The only type not represented in Areas E or G (*Penhow I*) was:

1C4B. Jugs with gritted bodies, hard fired to a distinctive red-purple colour. They are mainly large, globular vessels with deeply-slashed handles and pinched-out lips; some have thumbed neck-bands. The lower bodies often have long thumbed indentations running down to the base.

The earliest filling layers contained late medieval pottery types: the local wheel-thrown and hand-built coarsewares (2D1B, 2A1B) along with French and southern whitewares (2FWW, 2SWW). They were superseded by the more extensive dumps of soil and refuse containing the ‘early post-medieval’ wares: Malvernian-type coarsewares, Cistercian-type cups and imported Raeren mugs (2MTW, 2CTW, 2RSW).

The most notable deposit was the refuse heap K08/11, which contained large parts of 28 vessels. Most of these were table wares, and over a third were imported vessels. There were no residual medieval sherds, and there can be no doubt that the pottery had been associated in use

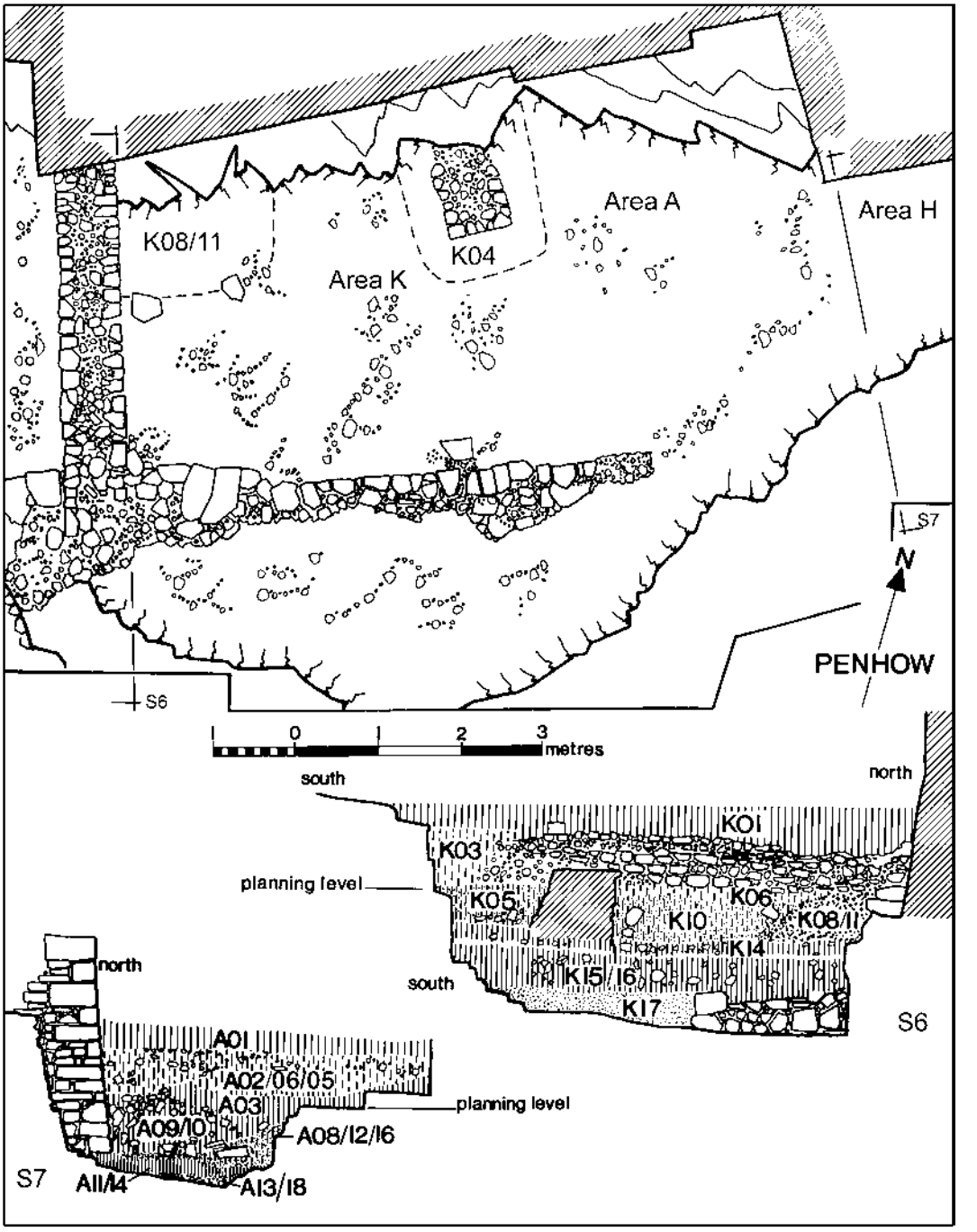

Fig. 32: Areas A and K.

Type	Common name	K17	K14–16	K05	K08/11	K10	K01, 03, 06
1A1A	Hand-built jars	2	–	–	–	–	–
1B1A–B	Penhow-type	6	6	–	–	1	1
1C1A–B	Wheel-thrown coarsewares	3	2	–	–	–	1
1BTW, (1C3B)	Bristol Redcliffe	2	4	–	–	–	–
1 other	Misc./unident. med. wares	5	7	1	–	–	1
2D1B	Late med buff jugs	–	1	–	–	–	–
2A1B	Late med redwares	–	2	–	–	–	–
2MTW	Malvernian	–	–	–	6	1	1
2WCW	Somerset coarsewares	–	2	–	–	5	28
2CTW	Redware cups	–	–	–	11	14	15
2SWW	Tudor Green	–	2	–	–	2	2
2RSW	Raeren stoneware	–	–	–	5	2	3
2 SNM	Italian maiolica	–	–	–	1	–	1
2FWW	French white	–	4	–	–	–	2
Later	Late 17C–18C wares	–	–	–		3	153
TOTAL		18	29	1	23	28	208

Table 3. Distribution of pottery in stratified contexts, Area K (Minimum No. Vessels).

as well as in deposit. Layers K10, A08 and A09/10 produced similar ranges of types, though K10 marked the first appearance of West Country wares (2–3WCW), including part of a Donyatt-type bottle, and of delftwares (3DEW).

The higher levels were dominated by the later post-medieval types: Bristol/Staffordshire yellow slipware cups (3YGW), the later Glazed Redwares and North Devon Gravel-Tempered Wares (3GRW, 3GTW) which become the principal coarseware types. Manganese-glazed and mottled ware cups represent only a minor part of the assemblage.

Vessels from lowest ditch silt K17 (Fig. 33)
77–8. Jars [1A3A], both smoke-blackened (cat. 351 (i); 351 (ii)).
79. Jar, Penhow-type ware [1B1A], smoke-blackened (cat. 355).
80. Small jug, possibly Penhow-type ware [1C2B], glazed dark green (cat. 365).
81–2. Penhow-type wares [1B1B]. 81 jug spout in the form of a face, with blistered glaze (cat. 368); 82 flask or bottle? with external brown glaze (cat. 376).
83. Bristol late medieval jug, rougher than most. Rim with tubular spout representing an animal's snout (cat. 367).
84. Malvernian jug with brick-red fabric, thumbed bands around neck and belly (cat. 363).

Vessels from ditch filling layer K16 (Fig. 34)
85. Tudor Green lobed cup [2SWW] (cat. 231).
86–7. Vessels with compact buff fabric containing small black and brown inclusions, source unknown. 86 carinated cup; 87 jug with thumbed neck-band (cat. 380, 206).
88. Dripping pan [1C2B], probably local.

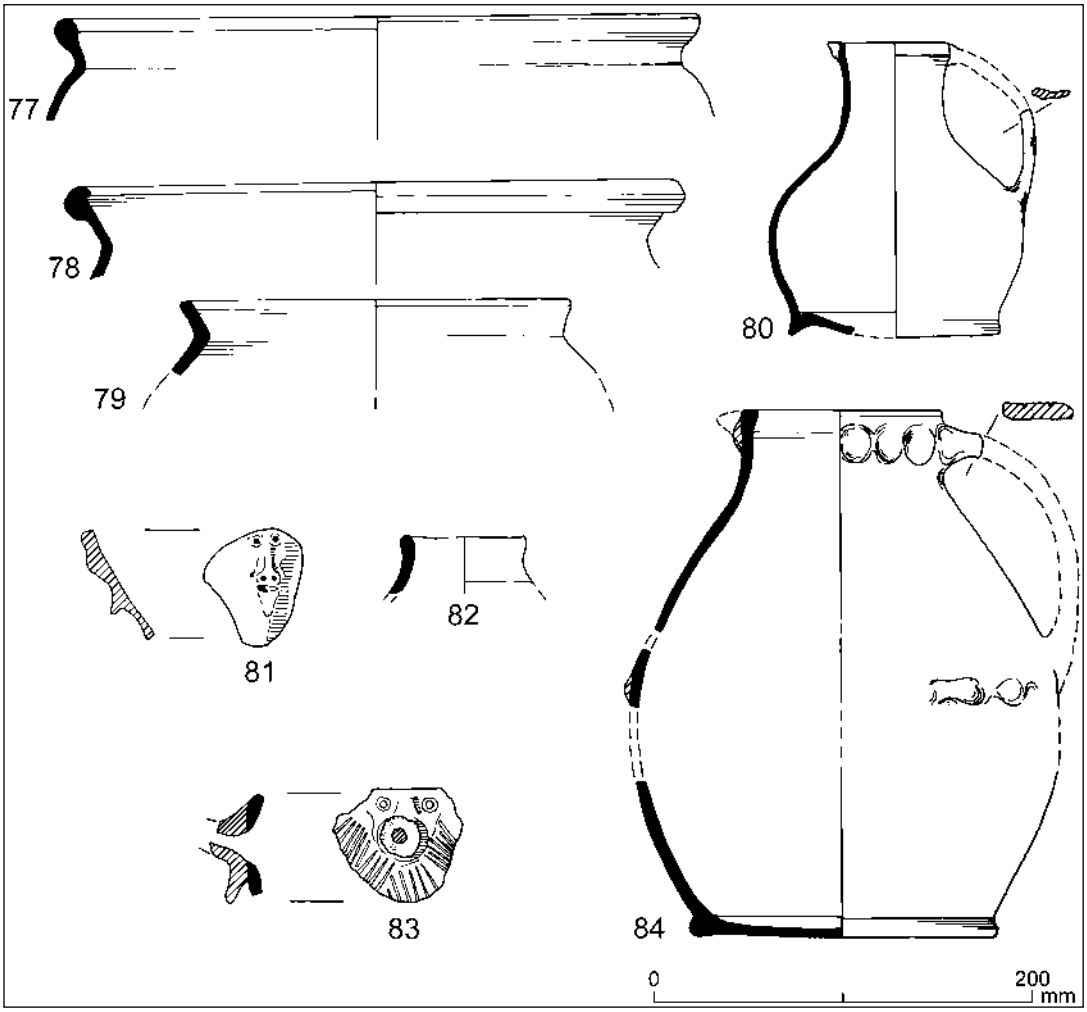

Fig. 33: Vessels from lowest ditch silt K17. Scale 1:4.

89–90. Coarse wheel-thrown redware pitchers, [2A1B], West Somerset [DD]. 89 jug handle with raised indented edges, orange-red surfaces, thick blue-grey reduced core, patchy glaze; 90 jar, reduced green glaze with applied thumbed neck-bands (cat. 383, 330).
91–3. Jugs, type 1C4B; 91 with rod handle, mottled brown glaze; 92 with brown-green glaze and wide, deeply-slashed strap-handle; 93 with applied thumbed neck-band (cat. 360, 358, 357).
94. Wheel-thrown ?chimney pot; external green glaze and ridged surface, 'Bristol Channel' [MP/DD] (cat. 381).

Pottery from the refuse deposit K08/11 (Fig. 35)
95–6. Redware cups [2CTW]. 95 possibly Malvernian, with dark brown glaze; 96 with two handles formed by intertwined strands of clay (cat. 256, 257).

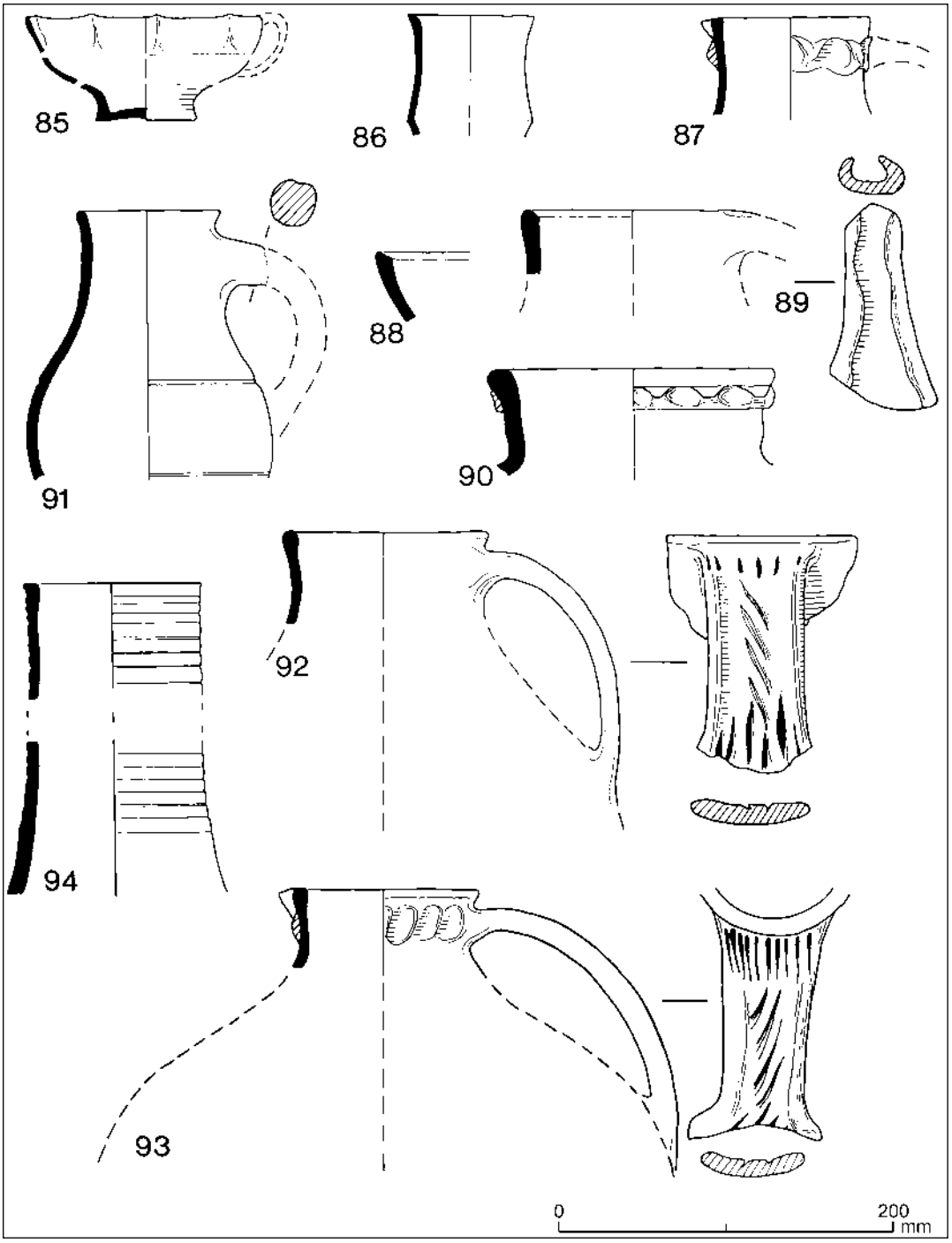

Fig. 34: Vessels from ditch filling layer K16. Scale 1:4.

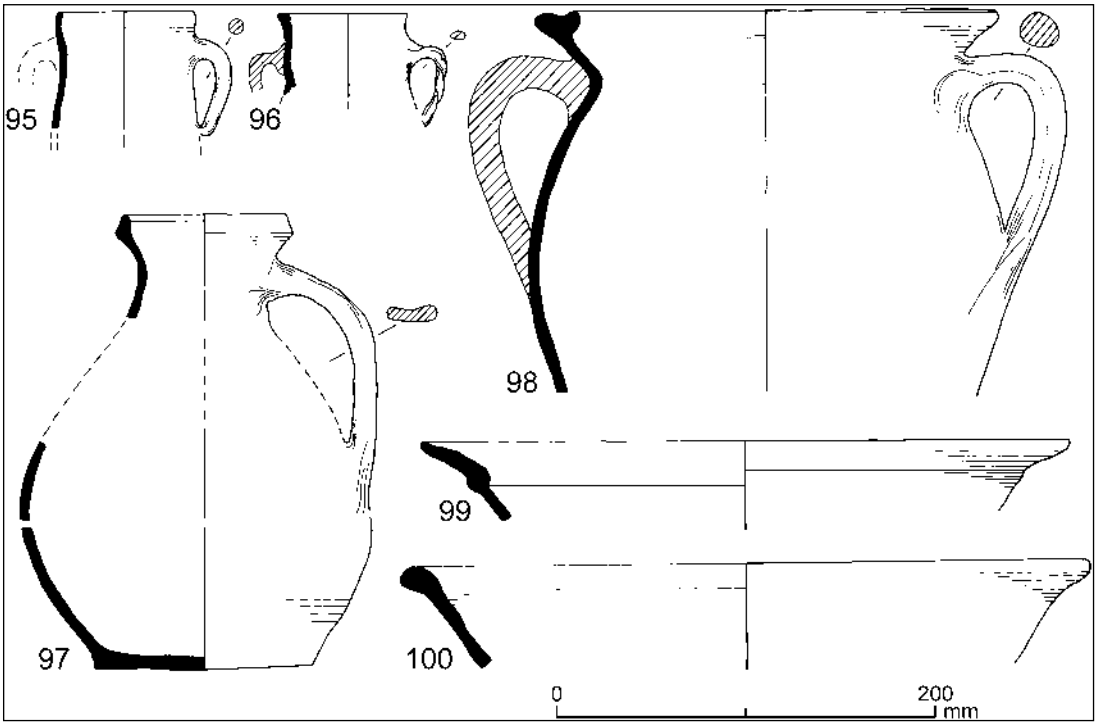

Fig. 35: Pottery from the refuse deposit K08/11. Scale 1:4.

97–100. Malvernian wares [2MTW]. 97 jug with bib of lead glaze below lip; 98 jar with two handles and very patchy glaze on upper body; 99 bowl; 100 bowl (cat. 337, 341, 339(i), 339(ii)). At least 10 Malvernian wares are present in the group.

Imported pottery from the refuse deposit K08/11 (Fig. 36)
101–5. Raeren stoneware mugs (cat. 260, 261, 262, 259, 263).
106. Jug, Iberian red micaceous coarseware; burnished. Discussed by Gutiérrez (Appendix D below). (cat. 229).
107. Imported bowl; brick-red body, green glaze. Not drawn (cat. 294).
108–9. ?Seville lustreware vase bases, discussed by Gutiérrez (Appendix D below). (cat. 292 (i), 293).
110. Seville *Morisco* ware pot with lid, two handles and c*uerda seca* decoration: vertical stripes of blue (cross-hatched), yellow (stipple) and green (horizontal shading) are repeated on the lid; a fragment of a more complex design survives only in one segment of the lid fragment. Discussed by Gutiérrez (Appendix D below). (cat. 244).
111. Italo-Netherlandish Maiolica jug, blue on cream with light brownish border (shown stippled), with 'yhs' trigram within frame with ladder pattern (cat. 268). [Not seen in 2012, probably retained by owner.] Discussed by Blake (Appendix F below).

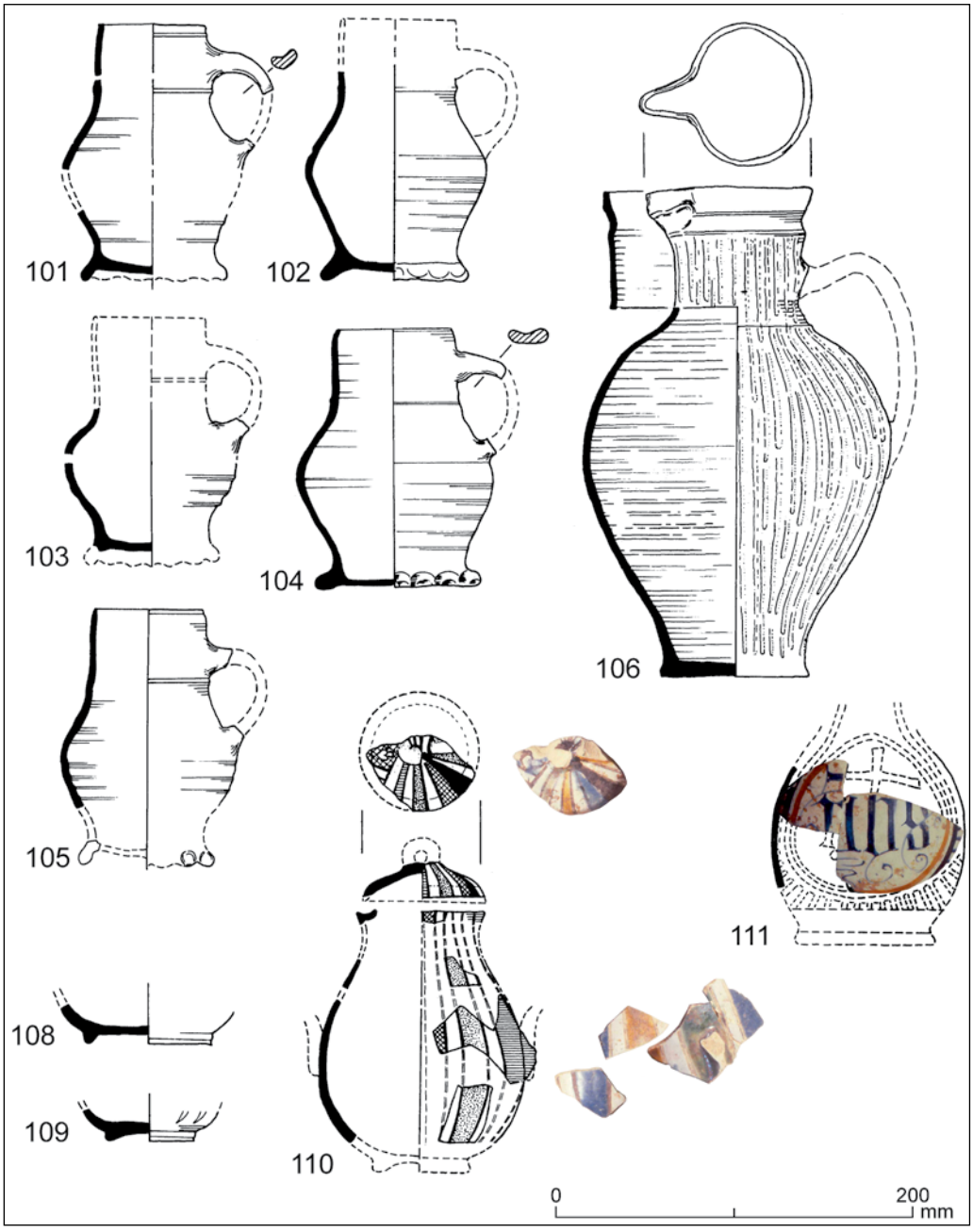

Fig. 36: Pottery from the refuse deposit K08/11. Scale 1:4.

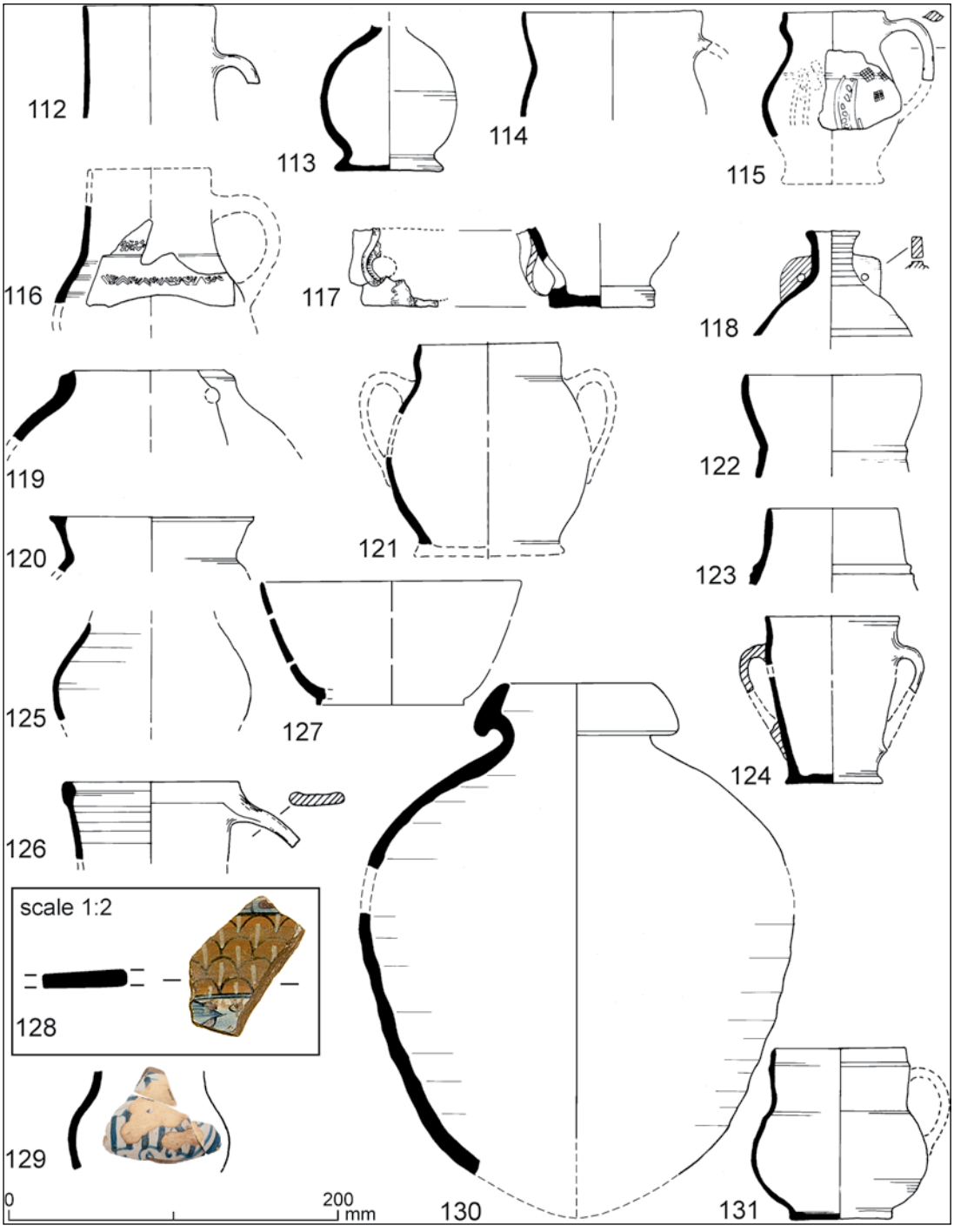

Fig. 37: Vessels from K10 (Nos 112–18) and K06, K03 (Nos 119–31). Scale 1:4.

Vessels from K10 (Fig. 37)
112–14. Fine redwares [2CTW(1)]. 112 cup with fine dense red body and dark green glaze; 113 money pot with light brown glaze; 114 cup with light brown glaze (cat. 252, 258, 254).
115. Cup, possibly Beauvais, since the thick yellow glaze resembles that on Beauvais drinking jugs, although the decoration is unusual; yellow-glazed internally, green-glazed externally, incised and stamped decoration (cat. 290).
116. Mug, Raeren stoneware, with two rouletted bands (cat. 264).
117. Saintonge mottled green-glazed white ware with hole in the side near the base and applied feature (e.g. a hollow handle) around the hole (cat. 284).
118. West Country redware flask, possibly from West Somerset [2WCW] (cat. 247).

Vessels from K06, K03 (Fig. 37)
119. ?Industrial vessel, type 1C2A, holes below neck and internal smoke-blackening, unglazed (cat. 350).
120. Green glazed jar, fired to pink with calcareous inclusions; internal dark green glaze (cat. 278).
121–4. Redware cups with green to dark brown glaze, origins uncertain [2CTW (1)]. (cat. 278, 280, 277, 248).
125. Tudor Green ware money pot [2SWW] (cat. 288).
126. Unglazed Saintonge white ware jug [2FWW] (cat. 289).
127. Ligurian maiolica bowl fragments with *berettino* decoration: dark blue and yellow (stippled) patterns on light blue ground Analysed by Hughes (Appendix E), discussed by Blake (Appendix F). Drawn profile is a tentative reconstruction from overlapping sherds (cat. 226 from E05 with further sherds from 17th-century and later ditch fills K03, K10).
128. Montelupo maiolica dish rim, analysed by Hughes (Appendix E), discussed by Blake (Appendix F) (cat. 270).
129. Italo-Netherlandish Maiolica vessel, lettered 'yhs', blue on white (cat. 269). Analysed by Hughes (Appendix 4), discussed by Blake (Appendix E).
130. Seville olive jar (cat. 291, 651).
131. Cup, manganese-glazed ware (cat. 282).

Pottery figures for Area A
Vessels from lowest ditch deposits A13/18, A08/12/15 (Fig. 38)
132. Handled pitcher, source uncertain [1B1A]; indented rim, square-sectioned handle stabbed along the back (A18, cat. 526).
133. Seville Morisco Ware vase with external copper glaze and internal white tin glaze, discussed by Gutiérrez (Appendix D below). (A08, cat. 514).
134. Pedestal cup, Tudor Green ware [2SWW]; internal copper-green glaze, covering only the rim of the exterior (A15, cat. 512).
135–7. Redware cups [2CTW (1)]. 135 with light brown glaze, finger indentations along body and base, possibly from Monmouthshire [SC/AF]; 136 with two handles and light brown glaze, from Monmouthshire/Herefordshire [SC/AF]; 137 ?cup with full external olive-green glaze, internal glaze on rim only (A12, cat. 474; A08, cat. 479, 477).
138–40. Malvernian wares [2MTW]. 138–9 jars with thumbed applied strips round necks; 139 with yellow-brown external glaze; 140 bowl with internal glaze (A08, cat. 467, 431, 459).

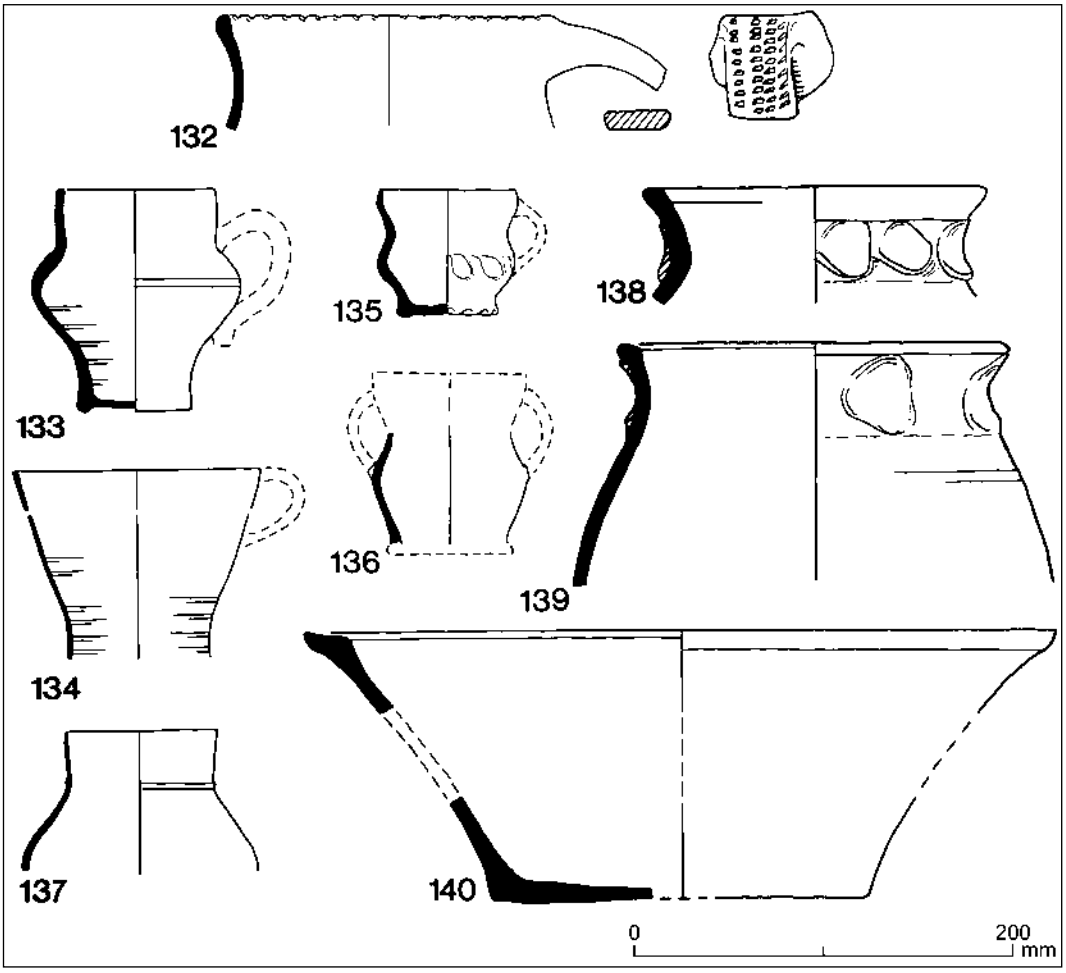

Fig. 38: Vessels from lowest ditch deposits A13/18, A08/12/15. Scale 1:4.

Vessels from the main ditch filling layer A09/10 (Fig. 39)

141. Cup, Tudor Green ware [2SWW] (cat. 511).

142. Cup, coarse white fabric, rich yellow glaze internally and externally; incised decoration. Probably from Beauvais, since the fabric and glaze are similar to those of Beauvais drinking jugs,[51] although the incised decoration is unusual and the glaze is more heavily iron-spotted than usual (cat. 515).

143. Cup, Malvernian; with flecked green-brown glaze (cat. 475).

144. Cup, [2CTW(1)], from Herefordshire/Monmouthshire [SC/AF], metallic brown glaze, with edge of applied dot (cat. 478).

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[51] Hurst, J.G. 1970–1, 'Sixteenth-century Beauvais drinking jugs', *Bull. Groupe de Recherches et d'Etudes de la Céramique du Beauvaisis* **3**, 6–15.

Type	Common name	A13/18	A11/14	A08/12/ 15/16	A09/10	Later
1B1A	Penhow-type	11	–	–	–	–
1B1A	"	4	–	1	–	–
1FWW	Saintonge green glaze	1	–	1	–	–
1 other	Misc./unident. med. wares	–	–	–	1	–
2A1B	Quartz-tempered redware	–	1	–	1	1
2MTW	Malvernian	–	–	5	5	–
2WCW	Somerset coarsewares	–	–	1	5	1
2CTW	Redware cups	–	–	7	8	7
2SSW	Tudor Green	–	–	1	4	1
2FWW	Beauvais yellow glaze	–	–	1	–	–
TOTAL		16	1	17	20	9

Table 4. Distribution of pottery in stratified contexts, Area A (Minimum No. Vessels).

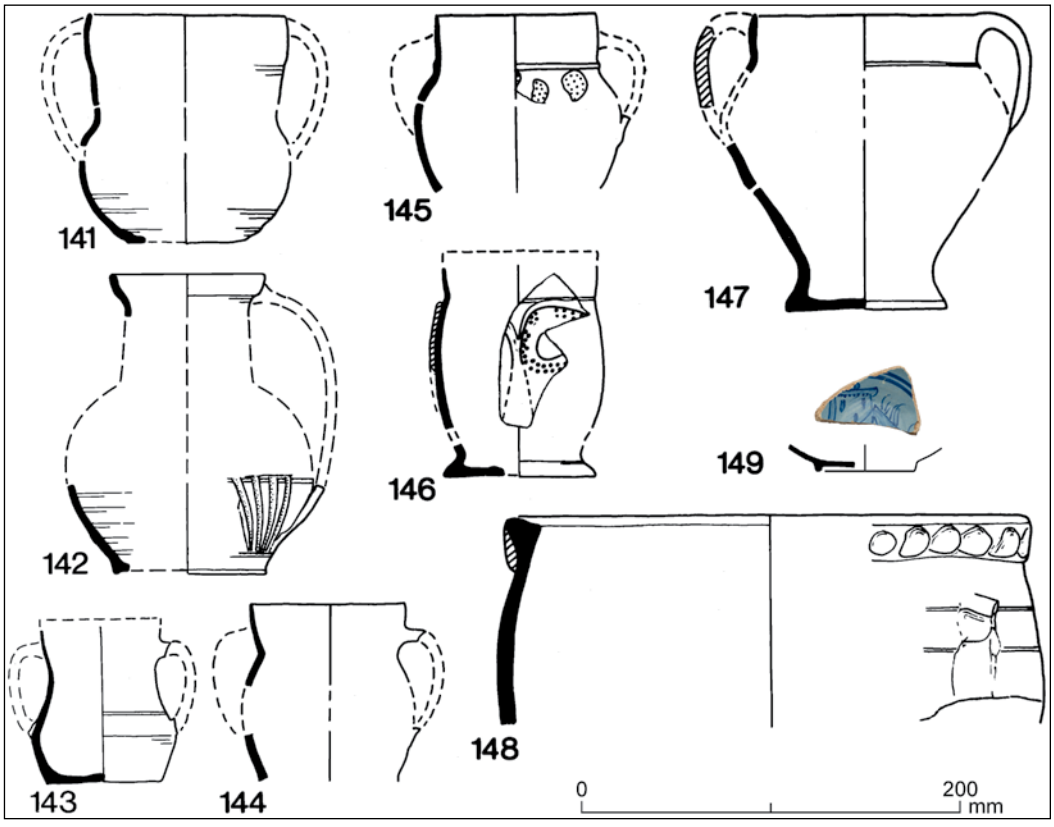

Fig. 39: Vessels from the main ditch filling layer A09/10. Scale 1:4.

145. Cup, fine redware with sparse soft grey stone inclusions, [2CTW(1)], from Herefordshire/ Monmouthshire [SC/AF]; dark brown glaze; applied yellow-glazed pads of white clay on shoulder (cat. 483).
146. Cup, Malvernian, sandy red body with mottled yellow-green glaze; large area of applied decorative feature of complex but uncertain form, ornamented with stabbed holes (cat. 517).
147. Two-handled cup, [2CTW(1)], from East Somerset [DD/AF], orange-brown glaze with iron flecks (cat. 473).
148. Jug or louver with thumbed applied strip around neck. Origin unknown [2A1B]; unusually thick walls, reddish-brown external glaze (cat. 468).

Vessel from overlying layer A06
149. Ligurian maiolica sherd with *berettino* decoration, discussed by Blake (Appendix E) (cat. 520).

Non-ceramic artefacts from Areas K and A
Only a small quantity of metalwork was recovered from these areas. The two objects in the medieval silt, the small pair of shears and the key (I-20, I-21) probably represent accidental loss. Much of the remaining material is likely to have been discarded as refuse: the spur (I-22), the horseshoe (I-24) and cast vessel (C-18), for example will have arrived in the ditch as fragments rather than as complete artefacts. In general terms the items are a mixture of personal, household and equestrian fittings.

Ironwork from Areas K and A (Fig. 40)
I-20. Small pair of shears (K17, P152)
I-21. Key (K17, P151)
I-22. Spur with eight-pointed rowel and curved arms (K16, P158)
I-23. Hook (A16, P185)
I-24. Horseshoe with calkin (A15, P193)
I-25. Bolt (A10, P182)
I-26. Socketed candlestick with angled stem (A10; P180)
I-27. Foot of ?trivet (A09; P194)

Copper alloy, lead and stone objects from Areas K and A (Fig. 41)
C-17. Pin with separate head incised with grooves (K14; PB63)
C-18. Shoulder of cast vessel with ribs (K14; PB55)
C-19. Top half of rumbler bell (A09; PB2)
C-20. Forked belt chape (A10; PB3)
C-21. Pear-shaped mount (A09; PB6)
L-2. Fragments of openwork ?sphere or ?hemisphere; perhaps from a pilgrim's souvenir (A10; PL7).
S-7. Fragment of architectural stonework, decorated with two zones of reeding; ?Roman or ?Romanesque (A10; Stone 18).

Characteristics and date of the assemblage
The depositional sequence in these areas was more varied that in Area E. The lowest weathering layers of the ditch (E08, K17, A13/18) were, however, similar and had presumably accumulated over a lengthy period. Artefacts will have been introduced into these layers by chance rather than by design.

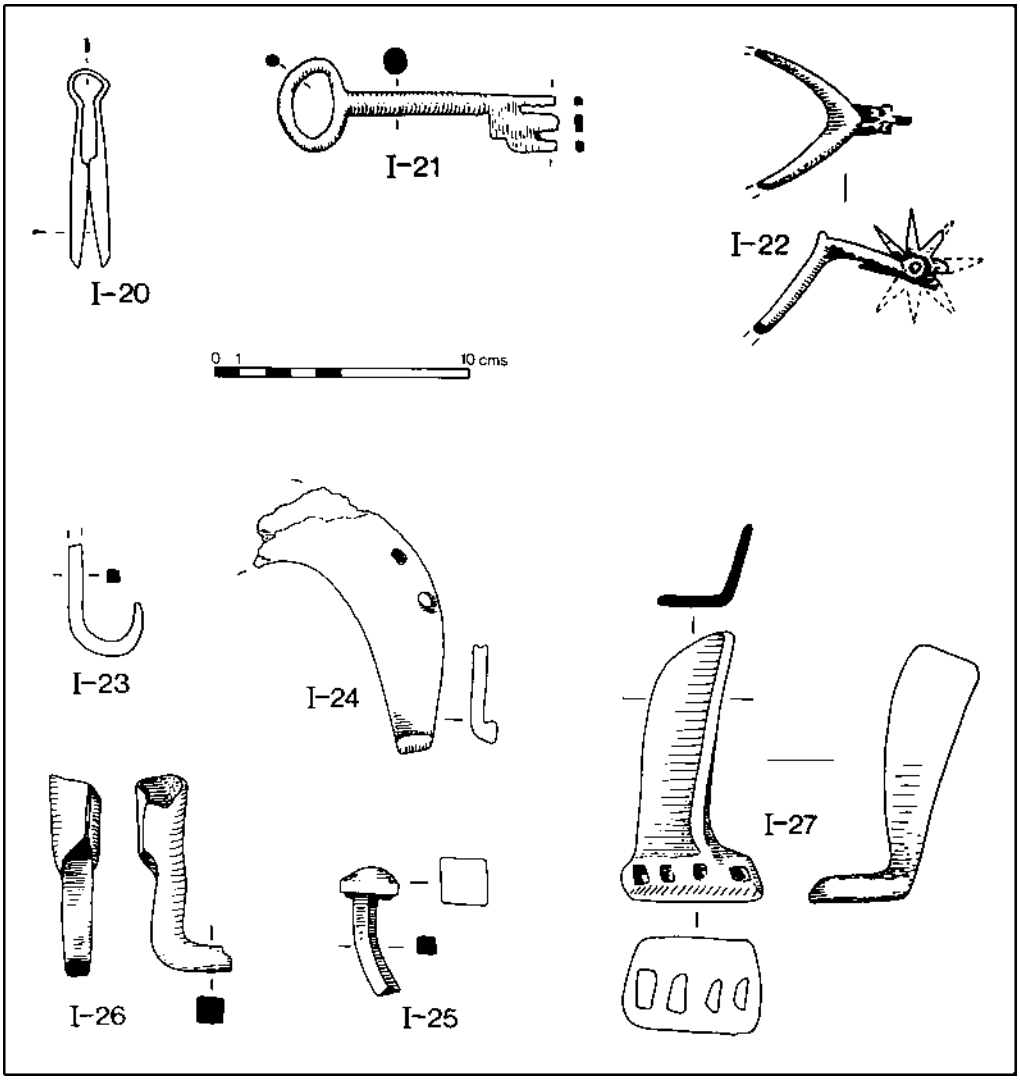

Fig. 40: Ironwork from Areas K and A. Scale 1:2.

The dark soils of layers K14/15 and A11/14 mark the disuse and neglect of the ditch, rather than an organised attempt to fill it up. In Area A the soil projected slightly beneath the lowest stone on the south-west corner of the stair tower; but this pocket may have been created by a piece of bedrock becoming dislodged. It is not proof that the layer pre-dated construction of the stair tower. It is tempting to see the two events – the erection of the stair tower and the disuse of the ditch – as having occurred simultaneously, since the tower served a rebuilt hall which, in effect, partly defortified the castle.

Yet there is no clear evidence of builders' debris in any layer which could, by its contents, be attributed to the late 15th century – to the period when, on architectural evidence, the hall was

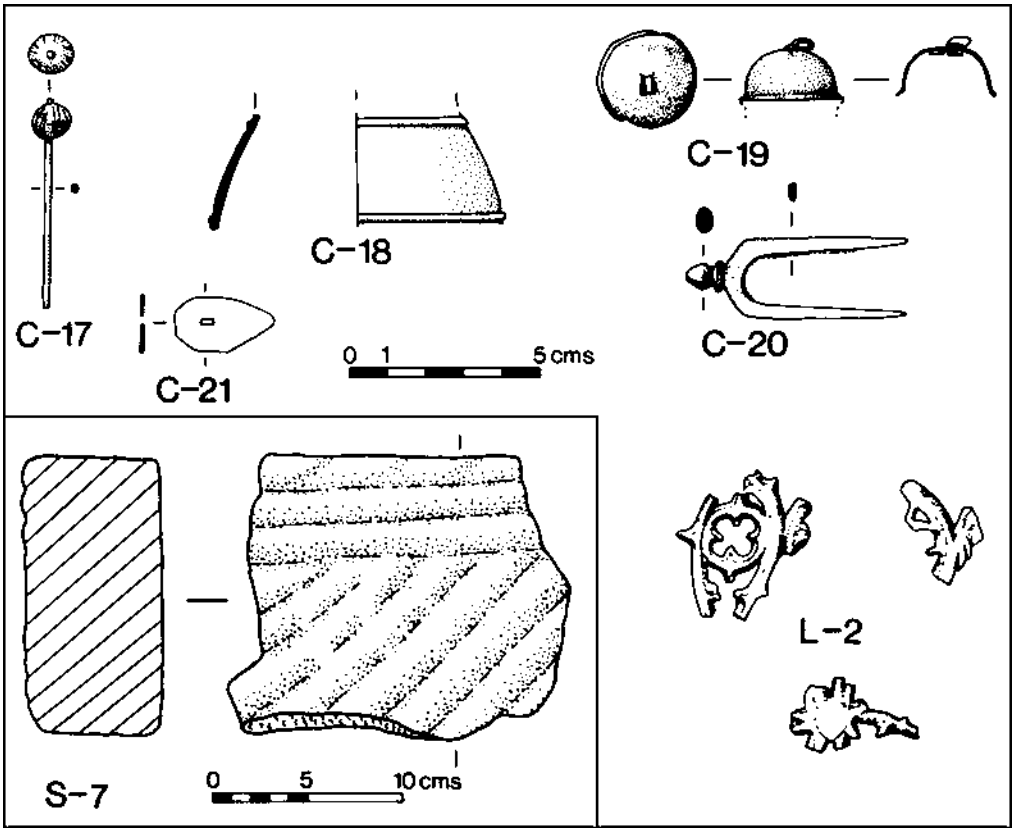

Fig. 41: Copper alloy, lead and stone objects from Areas K and A. Scales 1:2 and 1:4.

reconstructed. Therefore it seems best to assign the creation of these layers to the first half of the 16th century. Some of the artefacts may, nonetheless, have been in use in the 15th century or earlier, since the soil was presumably derived from another part of the precinct, perhaps from the outer bailey.

The K08/11 dump is one of the two primary rubbish tips, the other being H04 (below). It may be recognised as such by the concentration of near-complete pottery vessels, and by the absence of residual medieval sherds. Its location suggests that rubbish had been carried out through the castle entrance onto the northern end of the drawbridge, and thrown to the left (east) side. In view of the forms of pottery and the amount of animal bone (Appendix D), it seems to represent the remains of one or more meals. The character of the faunal assemblage, which contains many small bones including vertebrae which are soon destroyed when deposits are redeposited, confirms that the context was a primary deposit of kitchen waste. The absence of metalwork indicates that more general household waste was not incorporated.

It should be noted that the precise composition of this dump is to some extent a matter of reconstruction. As excavated, the assemblage was contained in a matrix of soil, but this matrix was not an original feature: much of it will have been derived from the dump K10, and will have percolated through the loose heap of bones and pots; some sherds may also have arrived through

this process. Equally, some sherds initially deposited in K08/11 may have become dispersed through weathering if the deposit remained open for a time. This is evidenced by the recovery of sherds from the Iberian Micaceous jug (Fig. 36, cat. 106) in adjacent contexts.

In view of the evidence that ultimate deposit followed immediately upon disuse, the dating of K08/11 should be less problematical than it is for many other ditch layers. The large assemblage of imported pottery offers the closest dating; the association of many Raeren cups with Cologne stonewares, South Netherlands maiolica and maiolica with *cuerda seca* decoration, alongside the absence of the Frechen cups which soon become the most common stoneware type after 1550, shows clearly that the group dates from the early 16th century. One of the glass vessels (Appendix B, G-6) has been attributed to the late 16th or early 17th century. The other fragment (G-7) is from a much earlier vessel, probably a treasured import which had remained intact, perhaps as an ornament, for a considerable length of time. Sherds from two pots (Figs 35–6, cat. 97 and 111) were recovered from E07, beneath the main dump in that area.

The overlying layers of soil and rubble (A08, 09/10 and K10) probably mark the deliberate filling of the ditch. This probably took place at about the same time as the construction of the entrance causeway in Area E, later in the 16th century, using redeposited soil which included some building material. Above them the topmost deposits were characterised by new types of pottery; they also contained mid-17th-century clay tobacco pipes (not included in this report). Clay pipes were almost entirely lacking in the levels below: the handful of small stem pieces (e.g. three from A09/10) was probably the result of percolation.

Area H (Figs 18, 42)

Ditch filling layers

The sequence of deposits in this area was much the same as in E, K and A, though with variations of emphasis. The bottom weathering deposits (H15/17/18) contained a greater quantity of frost-shattered bedrock, perhaps indicating less effort to keep this stretch of ditch free of silt. To the east the material had accumulated against a wall which crossed the ditch from north-west to south-east, and which was founded on the bedrock surface (Fig. 42). To the north there had been some artificial revetting of the ditch side.

The dark brown clayey loam layers above, H16 and H14, were successive dumps of soil, perhaps derived from the adjacent area of the outer bailey. They were overlain by red clayey loam, mortar and rubble layers (H05/06). A heap of domestic refuse, H04, had been dumped on the surface of these layers, against the north side of the ditch. It was sealed by the brown clayey loam and topsoil layers (H01–03). Part of the ditch fill in this area was overlain by the 18th- and 19th-century kitchen wall [not shown on plan]. The western third of the wall was supported by bedrock, the eastern by the medieval wall crossing the ditch, but the central stretch was unsupported; consequently the ditch fill beneath it could not be excavated.

Pottery from the ditch filling layers (Table 5)

The lowest layers, the weathered bedrock and the initial dump of black clayey loam (H15/17/18, H13 and H12/16) contained only medieval pottery in small quantities. One of the coarseware jars was a straight-sided Malvernian pot, the only example of this medieval type from Penhow.

Deposit H14 provided a much larger assemblage, and contained a number of near-complete vessels (Figs 43–4). Most of the finewares (Southern English and French white wares) were comparable to those in similar deposits further west (K14–16); and joining fragments of the Somerset chafing dish (Fig. 44, No. 162) were found in K14. One of the Southern English white wares (Fig.

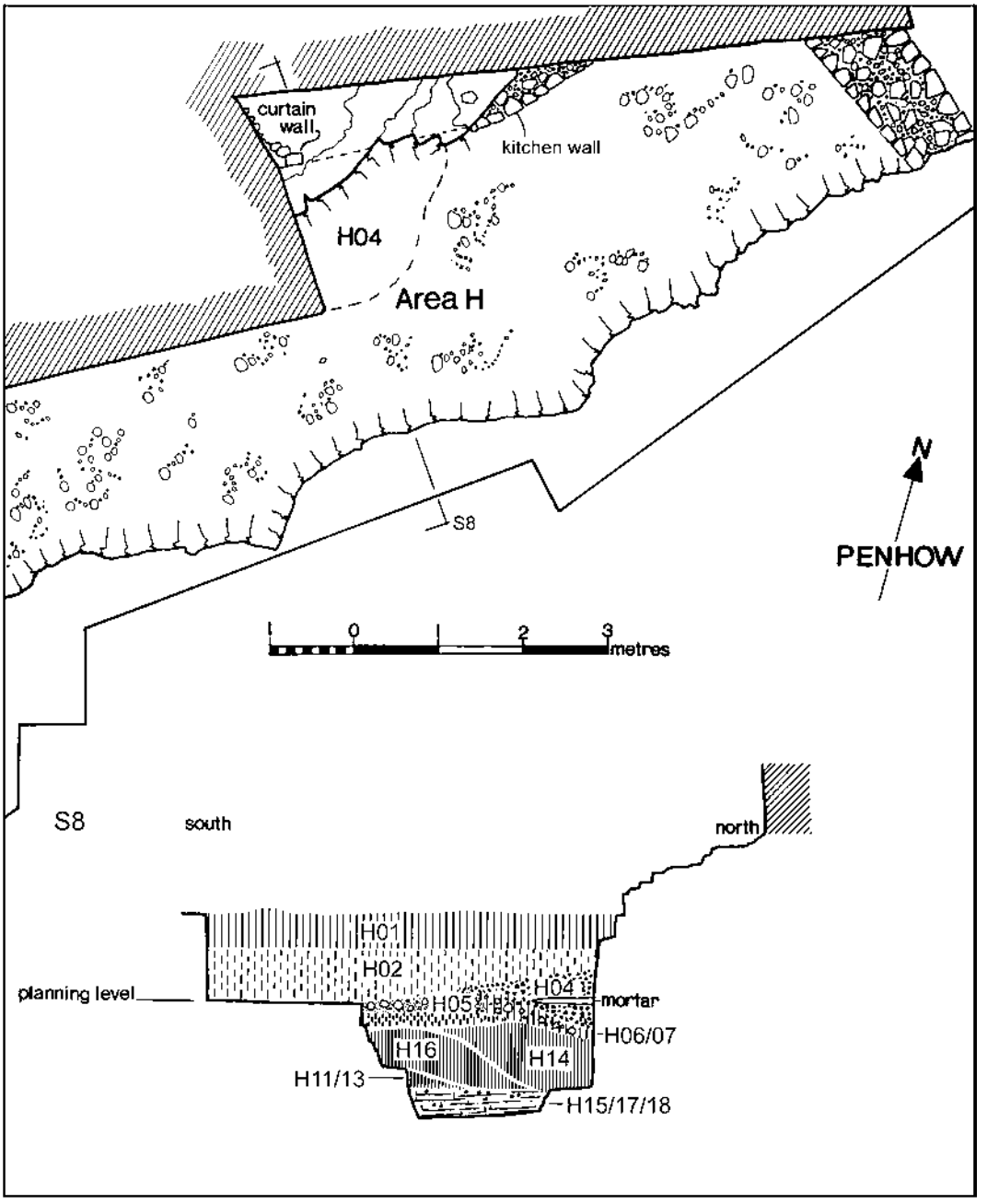
curtain wall
kitchen wall
H04
Area H
S8
N
PENHOW
0
2
3
metres
S8
south
north
H01
H02
H04
planning level
H05
mortar
H06/07
H16
H14
H11/13
H15/17/18

Fig. 42: Area H.

Type	Common name	H15/ 17/18	H11/ 13	H12/ 16	H14	H09	H05/6	H04	H01–3
1B1A	Penhow-type	3	4	2	13	1	–	–	–
1B1B	"	–	–	–	5	–	–	–	–
1B6B	Jugs, shelly inclusions	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1C1A	Coarseware jars incl. Ham Green	–	1	–	3	–	–	–	–
1C4B	Gritty jugs	–	1	–	2	–	–	–	–
1FWW	Saintonge	–	–	–	1	–	–	2	1
1–2 other	Misc./unident. med. wares	–	2	–	5	–	1	2	–
2A1B	Late med redwares	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
2MTW	Malvernian	–	–	–	–	–	–	7	2
2–3WCW	Somerset coarsewares	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	18
2CTW	Redware cups	–	–	–	–	–	–	22	9
2SWW	Tudor Green	–	–	–	5	–	–	2	1
2RSW	Raeren stoneware	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	7
2FWW	French white wares	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	2
	Spanish lustreware	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
Later	Late 17–18C wares	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	148
TOTAL		3	8	2	36	2	2	38	188

Table 5. Distribution of pottery in stratified contexts, Area H (Minimum No. Vessels).

43, No. 151) was a coarse copy of a Tudor Green vessel, itself imitating a Siegburg jug.[52] Two sherds of a lustreware dish (Fig. 43, No. 152) belong to the earliest imported maiolica, datable to the late 14th or early 15th century.

The coarsewares are well represented by 1B1A and 1B1B (Penhow-type) vessels, including a dish or bowl with incurved sides (Fig. 43, No. 153), and a copy of the regional style 1C3B jugs (Fig. 44, No. 158). A new type was also present:

1B6B. A coarse 'muddy' body with plate-like structure and shelly inclusions, reduced to dark grey. The vessels are green-glazed jugs with narrow strap handles and pulled lips; they are poorly finished.

Vessels from ditch deposit H14 (Figs 43–4)
150–1. Southern white wares [2SWW]. 150 Tudor Green ware cup with pedestal base; 151 Jug with coarse white body; external yellow glaze down to the lower handle junction (cat. 640, 644).
152. Malagan-type lustreware dish, discussed by Gutiérrez (Appendix D below). (cat. 650).
153–5. Penhow-type jars [1B1A], 154–5 smoke-blackened (cat. 659, 654, 661).
156–7. Wheel-thrown jugs with calcareous inclusions, origin uncertain [1B6B]. 156 green-glazed with turned bands of zig-zag lines alternating with rows of circular impressions (cat. 683); 157 green-glazed with applied vertical strips thumbed down along the edges (cat. 668).

[52] Pearce, J. 1992, *Post-Medieval Pottery in London, Volume 1, Border Wares*, London: HMSO; Matthews, L.G. and Green, H.J.M. 1969, 'Post-medieval pottery from the Inns of Court', *Post-Medieval Archaeol*. **3**, Fig. 2, No. 27.

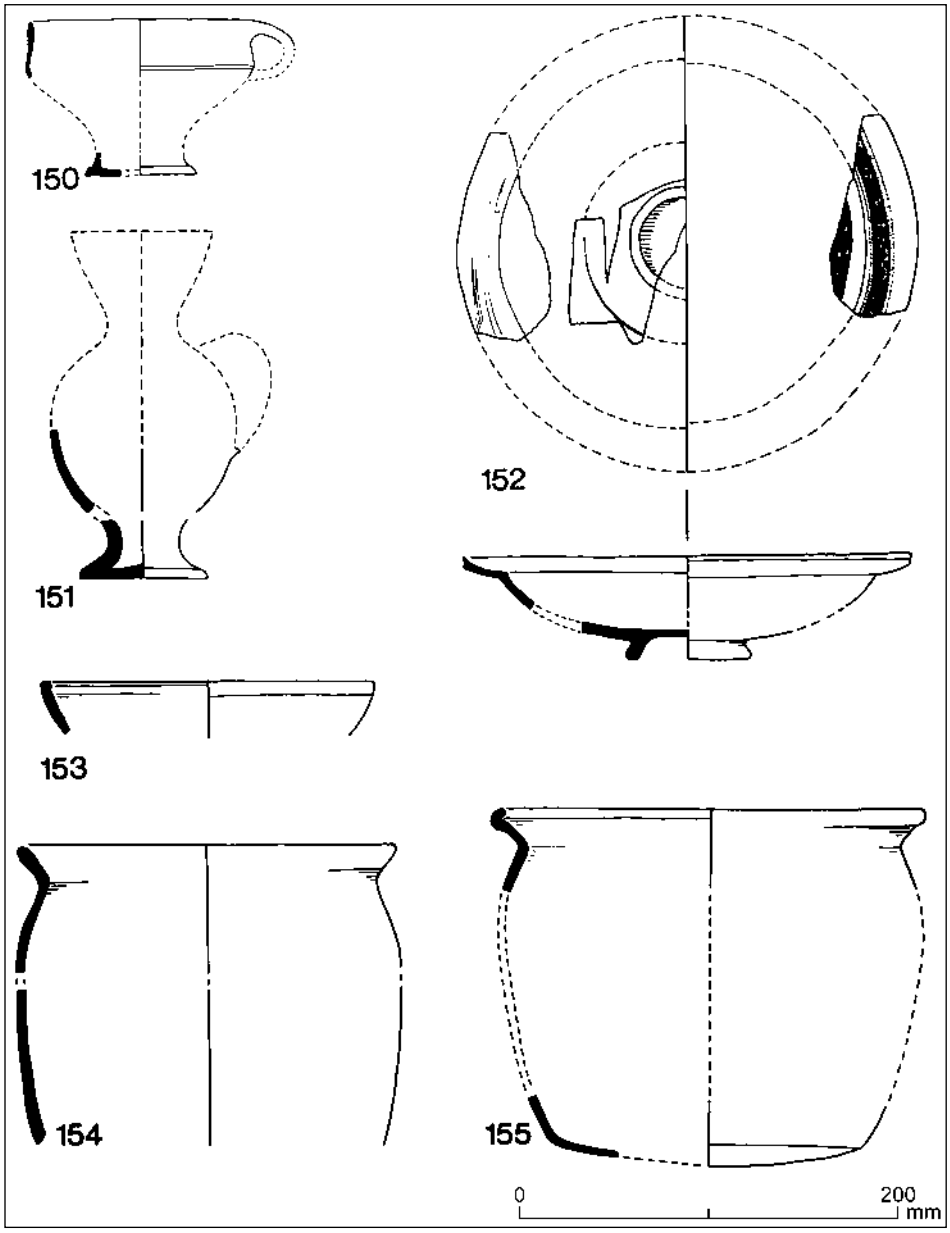

Fig. 43: Vessels from ditch deposit H14. Scale 1:4.

158–9. Penhow-type jugs [1B1B and 1C4B]. 158 yellow-green external glaze, with applied strip and pellet decoration in iron-rich clay, glazed brown; 159 with gritty fabric with external yellow-green glaze (cat. 669, 679).
160. Jug, Bristol Redcliffe-type ware [1BTW], the form imitating Saintonge jugs. Dull green glaze; applied bridge-spout, applied thumbed vertical strips (cat. 682).

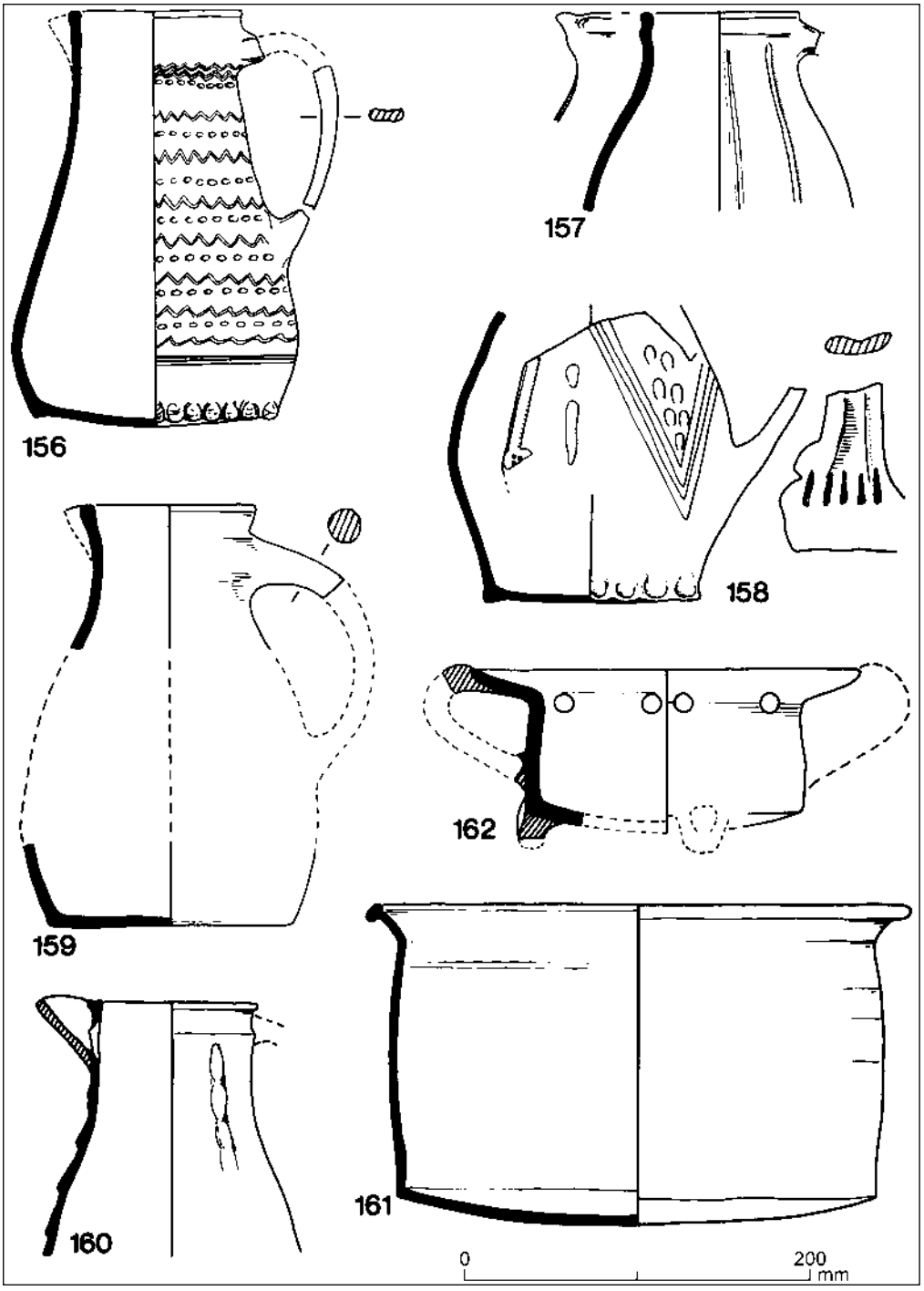

Fig. 44: Vessels from ditch deposit H14. Scale 1:4.

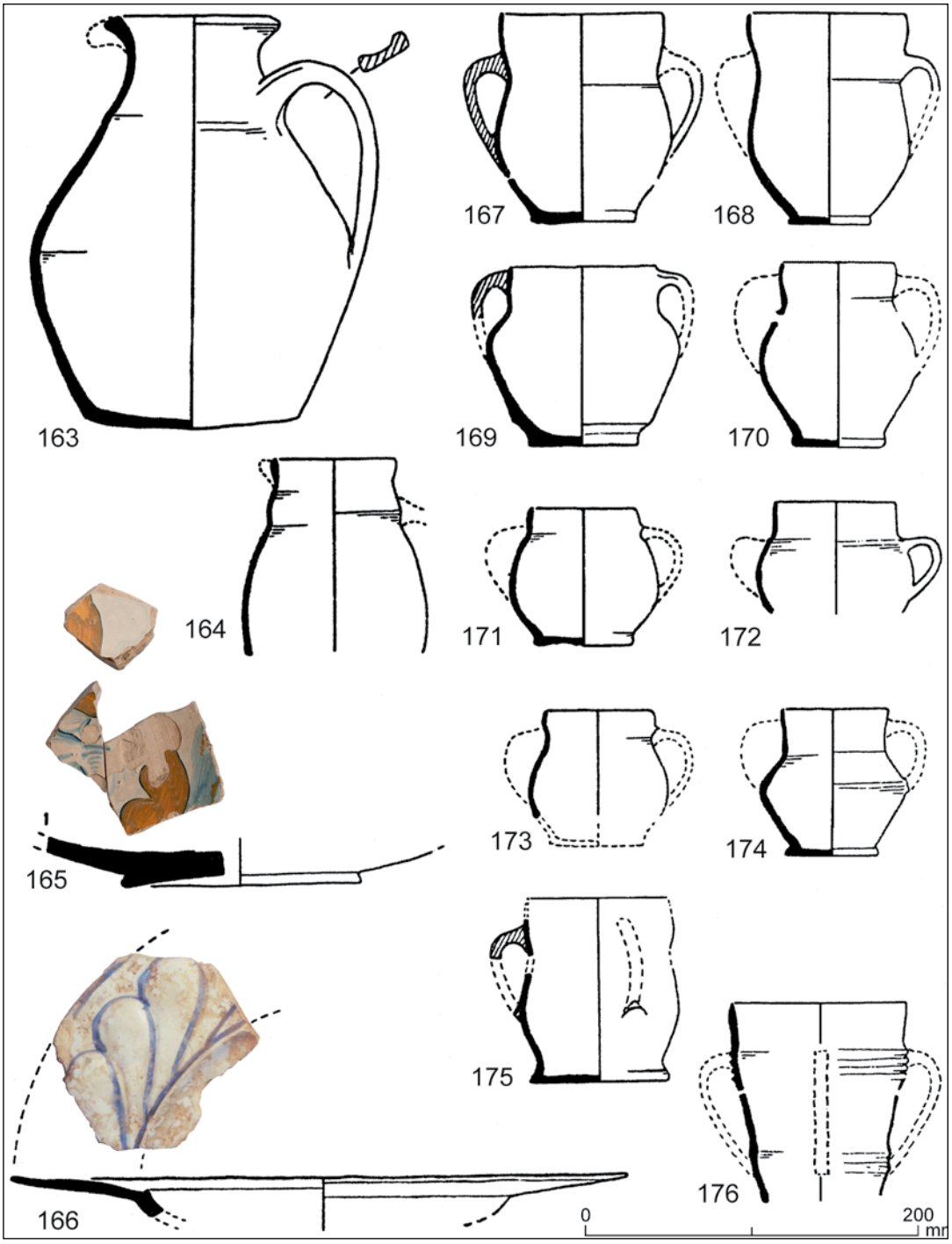

Fig. 45: Vessels from ditch deposit H04. Scale 1:4.

161. Wheel-thrown Penhow-type jar [1C1A]; external smoke-blackening, internal green glaze mainly washed around bottom and lower sides (cat. 686).
162. Chafing dish, probably from Somerset [DD]; sandy red body glazed brown, tripod feet and handle(s) (cat. 591).

Pottery from refuse dump H04

The refuse dump H04 had much the same ceramic composition as K08/11, though it was noticeably more heavily dominated by redware cups (2CTW) and Malvernian coarsewares (2MTW). A cup sherd from this context belonged to a vessel from E07; there were also two West Country vessels (2WCW) including a spouted bowl.

Vessels from deposit H04 (Fig. 45)

163–4. Malvernian-type jugs [2MTW]. 163 with bib of glaze below lip; 164 with reduced body and green glaze [some doubts about attribution of the finer vessel 164] (cat. 595, 677).
165. Montelupo maiolica dish. Analysed by Hughes (Appendix E), discussed by Blake (Appendix F). (cat. 612).
166. Lustreware dish, probably from Seville, with gadrooning outlined in blue, discussed by Gutiérrez (Appendix D below). (cat. 613).
167–76. Redware cups [2CTW]. 167 from West Somerset [MP/DD], with light brown glaze; 168 with dark brown glaze, possibly Midlands/Staffordshire; 169 from South Somerset [MP/DD], with light green glaze; 170 source uncertain, with dark brown glaze,; 171 with purple body and black glaze, probably from Midlands/Staffordshire; 172 source unknown, with red-brown glaze; 173 probably from Midlands/Staffordshire with mid-brown glaze; 174 with light-brown glaze, one or two handles, South Somerset [DD/JA]; 175 with dark green glaze, three handles; 176 possibly from Staffordshire/Midlands, with green-black glaze, four handles (cat. 532, 539, 542, 540, 537, 541, 536, 538, 533, 534).

Overlying ditch deposits

Above H04, the upper layers contained the types found in the 17th- and 18th-century groups in A and K (Table 5).

Non-ceramic artefacts from Area H

The range of objects was similar to that of the other areas of the ditch: personal, household and equestrian fittings. The lowest layers produced only two objects: a buckle (I-28) and a parchment pricker (B-1). The rest can be divided into two parts: those from H14 and adjacent layers, and those from H04. Deposit H14 contained a gilt spur (C-25) and some iron fittings from a box (I-37, d and e). Three similar fittings, certainly from the same piece of furniture, were recorded in context H06, immediately above. H05 produced the most decorative item, a small crucifix designed to be hung around the neck (C-22). The artefacts from H10 should be treated with more caution. They were from the fill beneath the south wall of the 18th-century kitchens; for safety reasons this was removed during building work rather than being excavated archaeologically. The pottery then recovered (including joining sherds) indicated the continuation of H14; but the pincers (I-36), for example, could be later.

H04, unlike dump K08/11, contained a large number of metal objects, much of it riding equipment (including a stirrup C-28), and a little that would have been used in the kitchen or at the meal table.

Ironwork from deposits below H04 (Fig. 46)

I-28. Trapezoidal buckle with revolving bar (missing and double-hinged pin (H13; P117).
I-29. Rectangular buckle with revolving bar and pin (H10; P118).
I-30. Linked rings, probably from mail (H14; P116).
I-31. Large eight-pointed spur rowel (H14; P60).
I-32. Arrowhead, diamond-shaped section (H09; P19).
I-33. Swivel hook (H05; P18).
I-34. Wall hook (H06; P21).
I-35. Wall hook (H10; P121).
I-36. Pincers (H10; P120).
I-37. Casket fittings, all probably from same box:
  a. Pinned hinge with recess for a transverse rib (H06)
  b. Part of a similar hinge (H06)
  c. Pinned hinge of a different length (H06)
  d. Hinge similar to c (H14)
  e. Stapled lock hasp (H14).
I-38. Curved binding sheath with nail holes (H06; P28).

Copper alloy and bone objects below H04 (Fig. 47)

C-22. Cast crucifix with suspension hole (H05; PB22).
C-23. Plain ring (H10; PB26).
C-24. Plain ring (H14; PB28).
C-25. Spur with remains of iron rowel, traces of gilding on the arm (H14; PB27).
B-1. Parchment pricker (H11; Bone 2).

Ironwork from deposit H04 (Fig. 48)

I-39. Purse frame; swivel suspension loop supporting a flattened oval frame which is pierced by holes for fastening the cover; the second, half-frame is pivot-hinged into the first (P4).
I-40. Rowel spur with facetted decoration and six-pointed rowel; remains of a ring terminal (P1).
I-41. Rowel spur with straight arms and six-pointed rowel; one ring terminal, the other arm ending in a vertical slot (P2).
I-42. Rowel spur, rowel and end of shank missing; incised hatched decoration on the heel; the arms have ring terminals (P3).
I-43. Arrowhead, diamond-shaped section, long and slender; found bent, straightened for the drawing (P5).
I-44. Bolt head from a crossbow quarrel (P6).
I-45. Scale-tang knife (P11).
I-46. Socketed candlestick with angled stem (P13).
I-47. Tenterhook (P14).
I-48. U-shaped staple (P8).
I-49. Part of a staple or tie, the surviving end being chisel-shaped (P7).
I-50. Wall hook (P174).
I-51. U-shaped bracket for door bolt (P10).

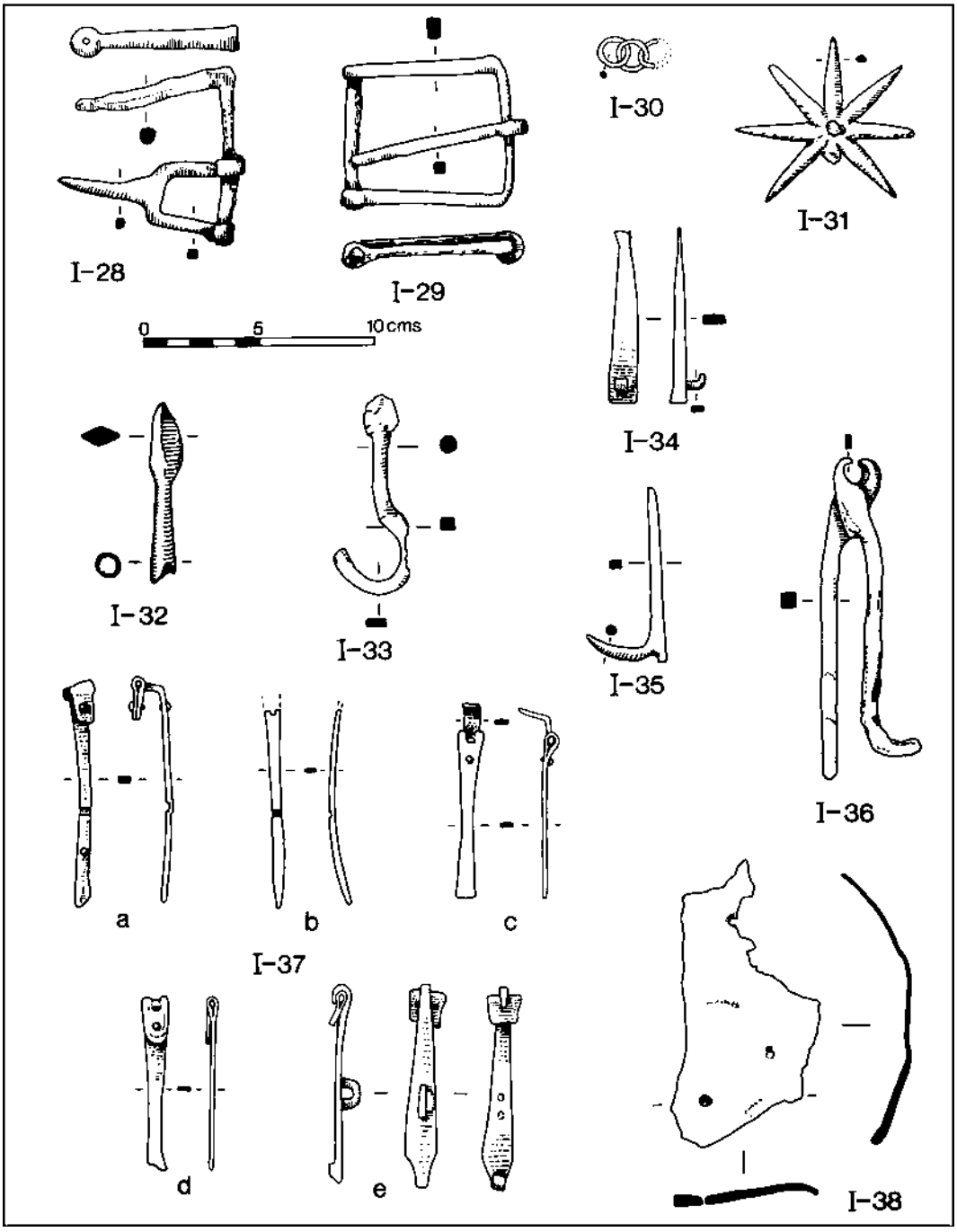

Fig. 46: Ironwork from deposits below H04. Scale 1:2.

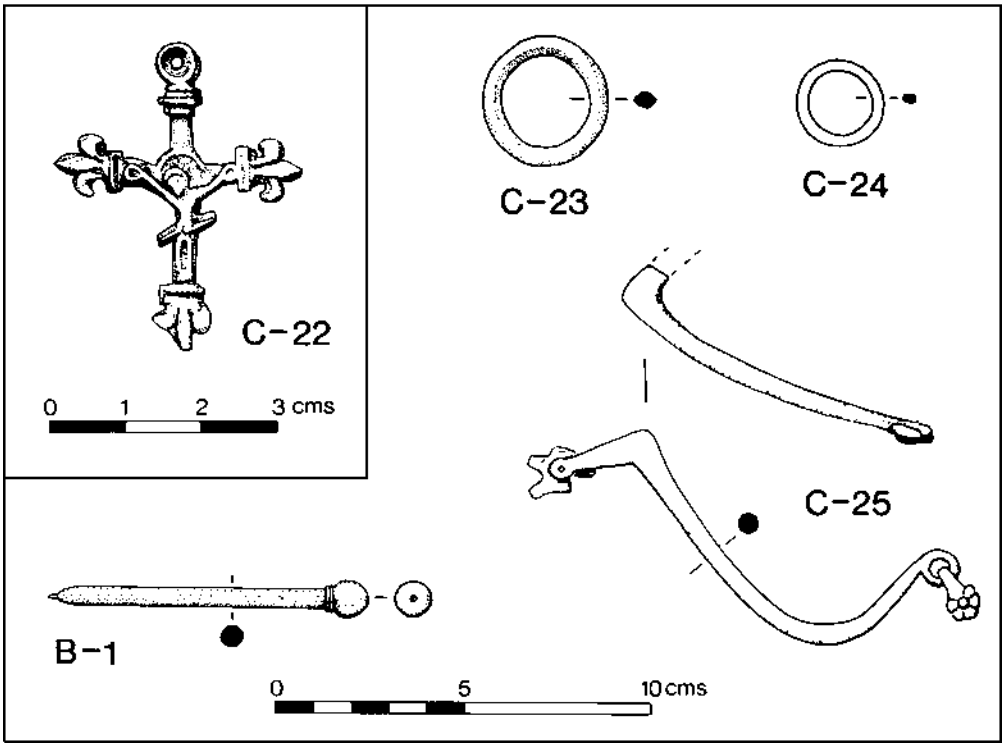

Fig. 47: Copper alloy and bone objects below H04. Scale 1:2.

Copper alloy and bone objects from deposit H04 (Fig. 49)

C-26. Part of an ornamental frame (the rest has been cut off) suspended from a swivel hook (PB21).
C-27. ?Handle or stem formed by two intertwined rods (PB23).
C-28. Part of a stirrup; flattened, expanded foot-rest with triangular tongue in centre (PB70).
C-29. Rim of sheet metal bowl; rim ledge strengthened underneath with a separate strip, the two parts attached together by domed rivets (PB60).
B-2. Tuning peg for a musical instrument, the string hole partly broken away.

Characteristics and date of the assemblage

The similarities of the earliest, weathering layers to those in Areas E, K and A have already been noted. The dark brown clayey loam H14 seems to be a continuation of K14-16: the finewares it contained were of the same types, and indicate a depositional date in the 15th or perhaps early 16th century. The Spanish maiolica, manufactured perhaps a century earlier, is the kind of object that could well have been kept for a long period. The coarsewares, however, present a rather different picture. There are large parts of jugs and jars, some of them almost complete (Fig. 44, Nos 156, 161), which are attributable to a much earlier time and are most unlikely to have been curated for a long period. There are three possible explanations: either the soil, undoubtedly redeposited, was derived from a part of the site which contained a much earlier refuse dump; or the dumping had occurred earlier in the Middle Ages, accompanied by the direct deposition of refuse in the ditch, and had

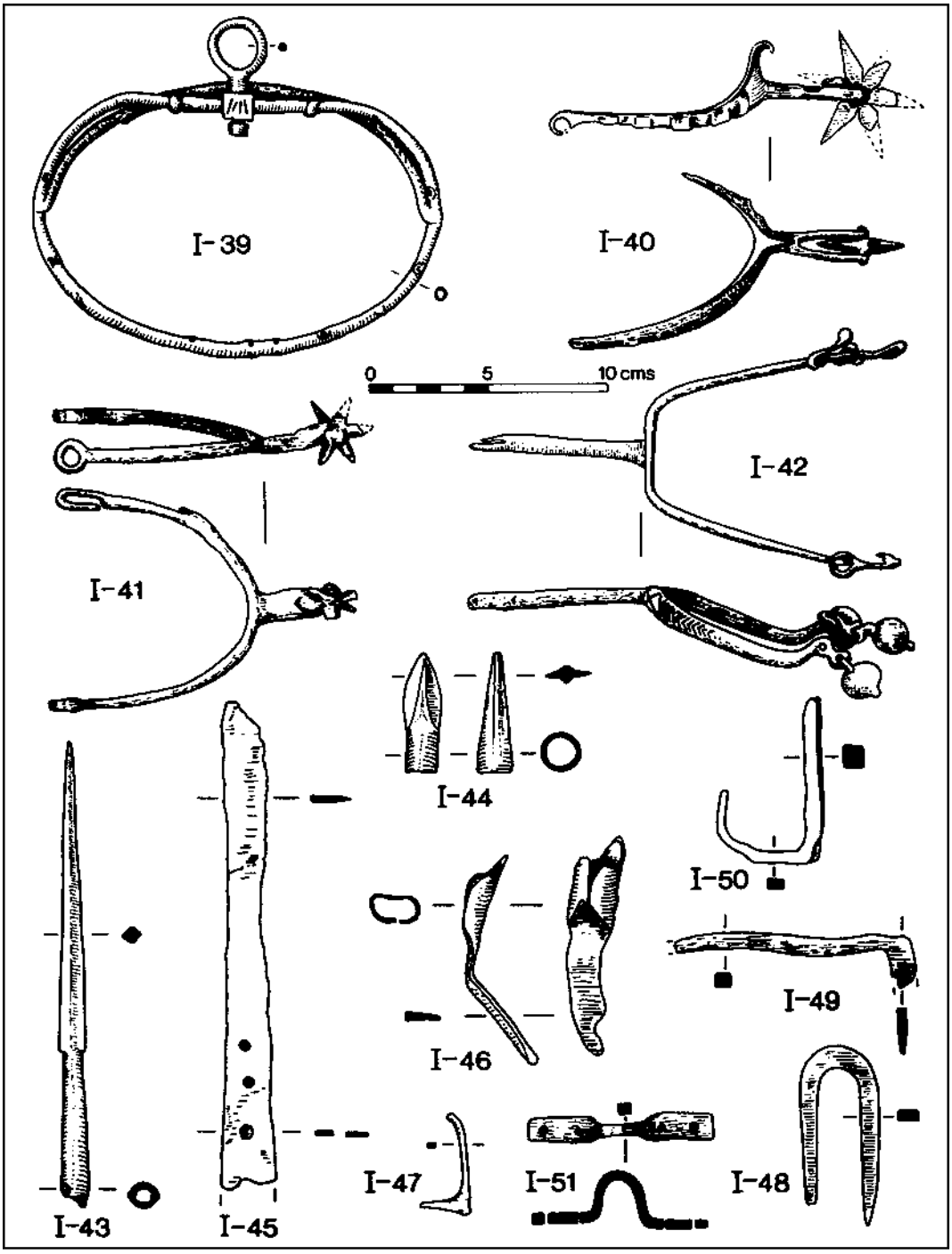

Fig. 48: Ironwork from deposit H04. Scale 1:2.

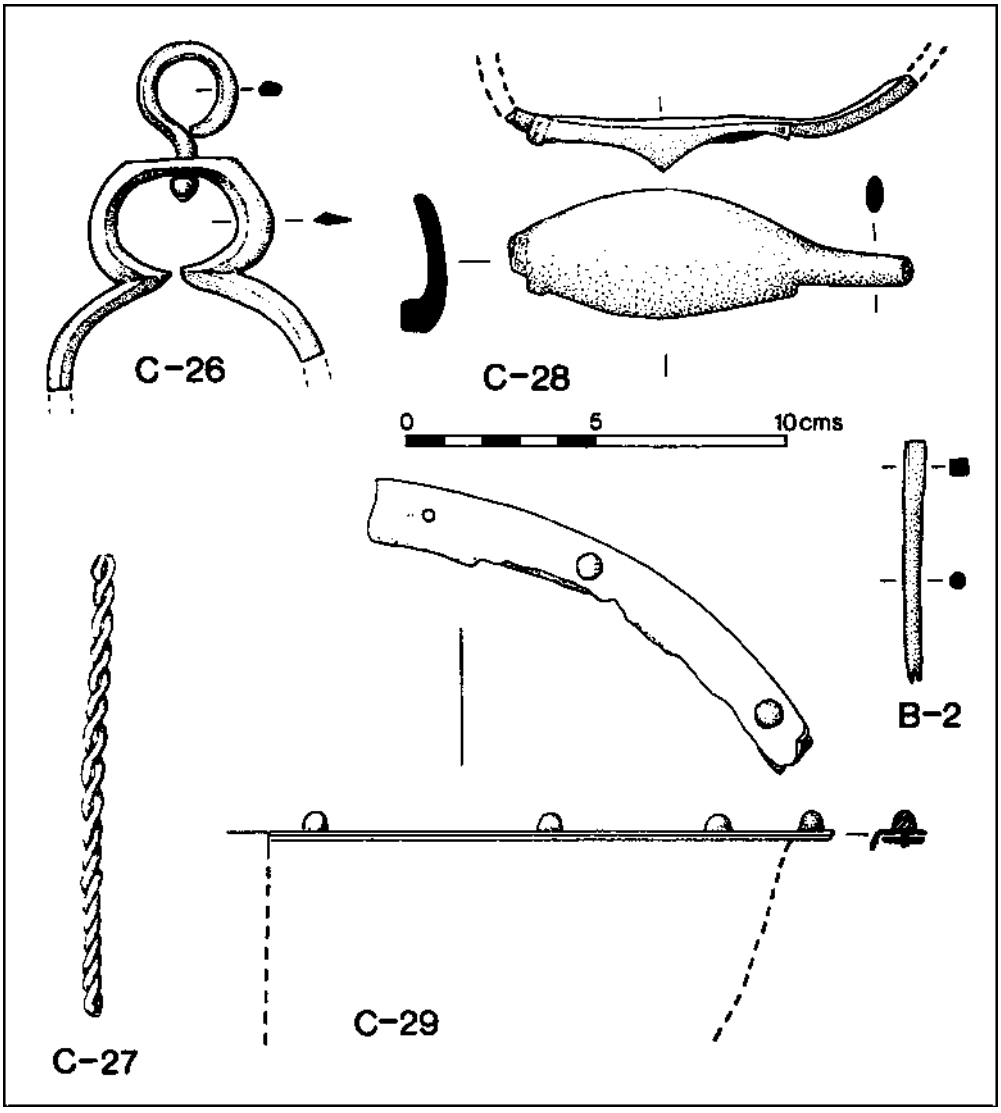

Fig. 49: Copper alloy and bone objects from deposit H04. Scale 1:2.

been left open to contamination for a long period; or there were two separate layers which were not distinguished during the excavation, and which were erroneously combined. The same uncertainties of dating apply, of course, to the metalwork and animal bones.

The other main group from the area, H04, is more easily characterised. It was a refuse tip similar in some ways to K08/11, and attributable to much the same period: the early 16th century. The amount of animal bone (Appendix I) again indicates kitchen refuse, and much of the pottery was in the form of tableware.

The main difference is in the quantity and range of associated metalwork which could not conceivably be regarded as kitchen or dining waste. It seems that H04 was partly a general domestic

refuse dump, since it included iron objects which had been damaged, perhaps awaiting recycling by the blacksmith. The fragments of copper alloy were not damaged artefacts but pieces deliberately cut off, again presumably for re-working.

CONCLUSIONS

The buildings of Penhow castle are an unusually informative group of structures. In particular, they provide evidence of the changes in weighting given by the owners to the needs of defence on the one hand, and to the desirability of suitable domestic accommodation on the other. The story of these changes is clear because there was no single period of massive investment in new structures: new works were never on such a scale as to overwhelm the limitations established by earlier building development, and by the initial defensive perimeter. The reason for this is that Penhow never became a residence of someone with the resources and inclination to sweep all away and start again. Its building history is characterised by low peaks and shallow troughs: the peaks are the addition of new buildings and the reconditioning of others; the troughs are periods of use, deterioration and minor adaptation.

Those medieval habitation sites which, unlike Penhow, have high peaks (one or more) provide a much better indication of the aspirations of their owners at specific times, but they often mask the continuum of building development. For example, they will lead an architectural historian to describe a castle (or church), say, as a 14th-century structure incorporating earlier work, or as a 12th-centuy structure with later additions. Penhow could not be usefully categorised in this fashion.

The excavations have provided minor but significant additions to our knowledge of Penhow's structural history. Most notably, they have demonstrated the existence of a ditch which, by indirect rather than direct evidence, can be attributed to the initial occupation. The layers which filled the ditch tell us little about its initial period of use, but much about the process of neglect and deliberate obliteration. Understanding of such processes is essential for evaluating the artefact record, and the records of other debris within these layers. It must be admitted, however, that our understanding is in this case very imperfect, and could be improved only by extensive excavation outside the ditch.

The ditch deposits generally fall into two categories. First, there are the 'raw' or primary refuse tips, composed of animal bones and artefacts, which were dumped immediately or soon after the objects had been discarded. In these cases the time-lag between manufacture and ultimate deposit was probably short – except, that is, for some of the metalwork and finer imported pottery and glass, which could have been preserved for a century or more. The second kind of deposit is that composed of earth derived from other parts of the site, dumped in the ditch specifically to fill it up. These contained artefacts which were discarded elsewhere after use and arrived in the ditch only after one or more intermediate resting places. In such cases the time-lag between manufacture and ultimate deposit will have been very variable but was potentially far greater.

This time-lag is a critical but ill-defined aspect of dating evidence. The dating of a range of artefacts by association is in practice a definition of their period of manufacture and use. The archaeological association is, however, one of final deposition. For a rubbish tip such as K08/11 the time-lag between the association of manufacture and use and the association of ultimate deposition is short and can therefore be discounted: the pottery mugs and cups could well have been recently purchased and then used at the same table, by people eating the meat represented by the animal bones in the same deposit. The chief problem with such a deposit is that, being composed of large and heterogeneous fragments of objects without an earth matrix, they are liable to be contaminated from above, and incorporated in the surface below.

For redeposited material, however, the gap may be much longer, and any activity which affected the group of objects between initial disuse and final deposition may have introduced new associations, relationships which did not exist in usage. On occupation sites it is often easy to distinguish one aspect of this problem: the occurrence of small pieces of residual material. In ditch deposits the pattern may not be so straight-forward, and may be the result of various alternative processes.

At Penhow as elsewhere, our understanding of these processes relies largely on the character of the ceramic assemblage: the proportion of any one vessel found in one part of the ditch fill, and the pattern of dispersed joining sherds, are both valuable indicators. Other kinds of artefact, metalwork in particular, may not be so amenable to the kind of analysis which helps to characterise a particular context. Nevertheless, they can make some contribution: the disparity in the metalwork components of K08/11 and H04 is striking. Furthermore, the character of a deposit ought to be a major factor in evaluating the significance, and establishing the date, of the non-ceramic artefacts. It is for this reason that most of the 'small finds' in this report have been retained in the basic discussions of the deposits and their assemblages, rather than being separated out and treated by material and function. Only in this way can the study of such artefacts be advanced, and their possible date-ranges properly assessed. Classification of metalwork by function is appropriate to synthesis rather than basic description.

The present report does not attempt to place either the buildings or the artefacts in their wider context. The regional significance of some of the pottery types has, however, already been discussed elsewhere,[53] in studies which indicate that the Penhow assemblage will make an important contribution to our knowledge of the ceramic history of south-east Wales.

APPENDIX 1
JETTONS

By †George C. Boon

1. 31 mm. *OBV*: crown HANS:SCHVILTE[S:]ZV:NOREMP, annulet stops (Hans Schultes, *c*. 1550–74, 'at Nuremberg' but assigned by Barnard[54] to a Low Countries manufacture). The device is in a tressure of six arches with annulets at the points and trefoils in the spandrels, a nude woman standing, holding a drapery about her waist and in her left hand raising a stemmed cup. *REV:* crown zv*NORMPE[RG]*ºHMCTB (the B backwards), the latter part of the legend nonsense; and within a plain inner circle, a fictitious shield of arms quartering France (1 and 4), Hanau (?2) and Hungary (?3); on top and to the sides, scrolls; to the base, left and right, six and five pellets respectively. The comparison suggested has a very similar figure and arms differently arranged, and it also bears Schultes' name. (E05).
2. 22 mm. *OBV:* jumble of 'Lombardic' letters prefixed by a cross pattée, including M, F, R and V, possibly meant for the common AVE MARIA legend; ship (cog) reminiscent of that on English nobles, with flags at stern and bows; waves below. *REV:* similar jumble including A, M, E, F; within a beaded inner circle three fleurs-de-lys alternating with three

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[53] Lewis, J.M. and Evans, D.H. 1982, 'Southern European imported pottery in Wales', *Medieval and Later Pottery in Wales* **5**, 76–95; Evans, D.H. 1983, 'Some current problems in defining late medieval pottery in Wales', *Medieval and Later Pottery in Wales* **6**, 5–16.

[54] Barnard, F.P. 1916, *The Casting-Counter and the Counting-Board*, Oxford: University Press, cf. 189, No. 8 and Pl. xxiii.

small crosses pattées. In general, cf. Barnard[55] for the obverse but rather coarse. A 'stock jetton' of Nuremberg manufacture and of about the middle of the 16th century. (F04)

3. 24 mm. *OBV:* nonsense legend in 'Lombardic' characters including A, O, M, V, B; within plain inner circle, the *Reichsapfel* or imperial orb in its usual trilobite frame, partly doubled, with pellets on either side of the projecting angles. *REV:* similar jumble of lettering; within plain inner circle, three fleurs-de-lys alternating with crowns, each of the last with three annulets above, all around a central rosette. Cf. Barnard[56] for the obverse, not very close – Barnard is not much interested in these very common late types. Another 'stock jetton' from Nuremberg, of much the same date. A little worn and battered, unlike the others. (E06).

Prepared 1981

APPENDIX B
GLASS VESSELS (Fig. 50)

By †Robert J. Charleston

1. Blue glass, ribbed, probably a beaker or goblet. (E02).
2. Beaker of clear colourless glass decorated with applied pads stamped with human masks, only one of which was found; Netherlands,[57] middle or later 16th century (E05–06).
3. Thick blue glass fragment, from a vessel of uncertain form, with stripes of *lattimo*; the technique of decoration indicates a date in the earlier part of the 16th century. (E05).
4. Beaker base of greenish-colourless glass with milled applied thread ring; body with mould-blown decoration of lozenges; Netherlands, late 16th or early 17th century. (E05).
5. (Not illustrated.) Two bottle bases, green glass. (E05).
6. Bowl (?) of green-blue glass, mould-blown with mesh design, folded rim; Netherlands, later 16th or early 17th century. (K08/11).
7. Frilled foot of ?bowl; clear colourless glass; the foot is formed by two tiers of arcading drawn out by tongs, and between the tiers is an applied blue thread; part of the base survives above the upper tier, formed by extremely thin glass with mould-blown radiating rib pattern; Italian, probably of the later 13th or 14th century. (K08/11).

Prepared October 1981

APPENDIX C
DISCUSSION OF THE POTTERY

By John Allan and Stuart Wrathmell

with contributions from Steve Clarke, David Dawson, Alice Forward and Mike Ponsford

INTRODUCTION

The ceramics excavated from Penhow are an outstanding collection, of great importance in understanding the chronology and marketing of pottery in South Wales and the Bristol Channel over the long period from the 11th to the 18th century. The most striking component of the assemblage is

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55 *Ibid*., Pl. xxix, 18.

56 *Ibid*.

57 Chambon, R. 1955, *L'Histoire de la verrerie en Belgique*, Brussels: Librairie encyclopédique, Pl. ix, Nos 33, 34, 37 – the last for a similar if not identical mark.

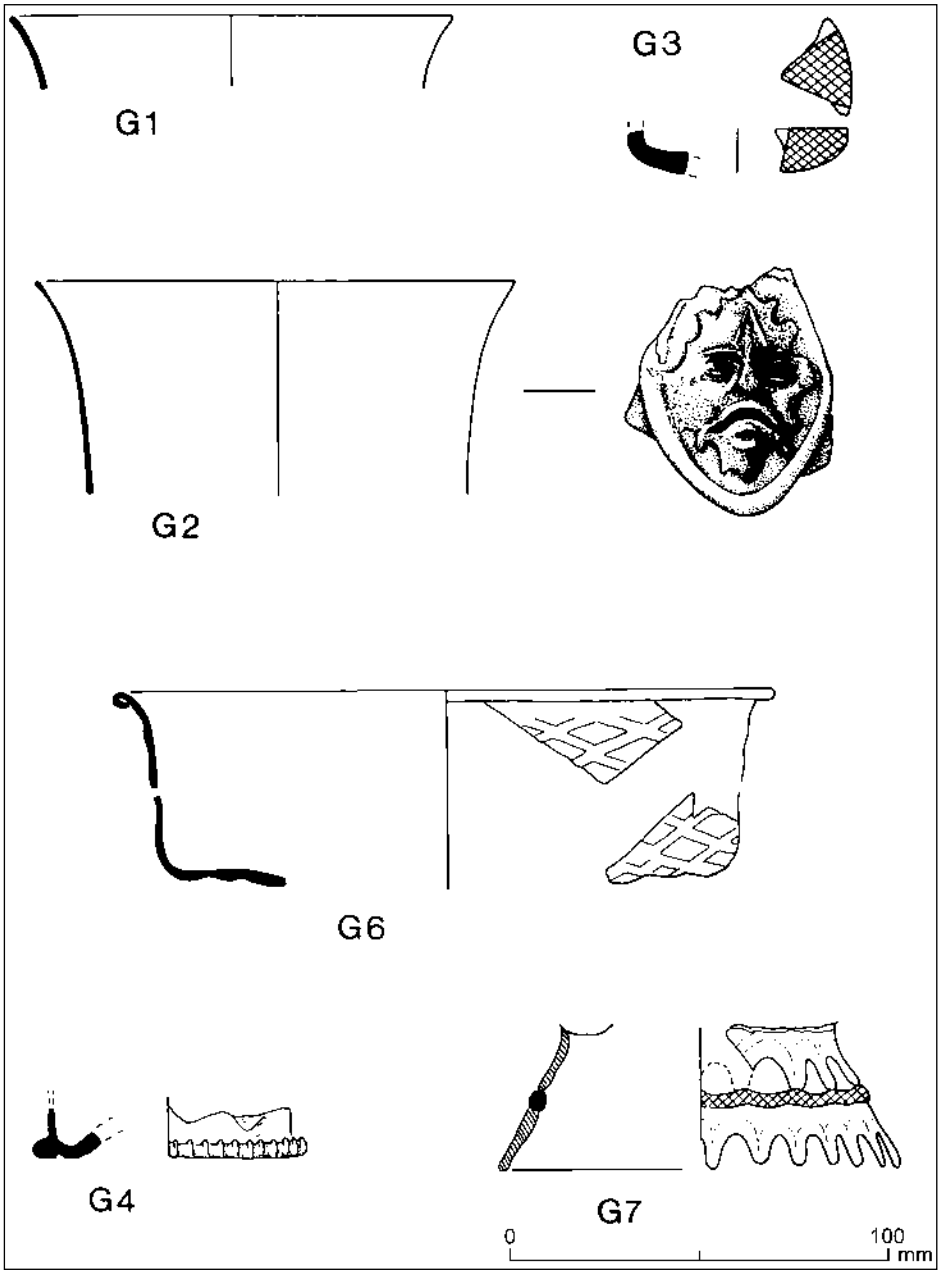

Fig. 50: Vessel glass. Scale 1:2.

the series of large groups of the early to mid 16th-century pottery stratified in the layers backfilling the castle ditch, with their many complete vessels or vessel profiles and their remarkable range of regional and foreign imported wares, but there are also important assemblages of the 12th century, the later Middle Ages, and the 17th/18th centuries, and many other vessels of individual interest.

Methodology

When the second writer (SW) prepared the Penhow pottery report in the late 1970s and early 1980s, he first grouped together all the sherds which appeared to come from each individual vessel, assigning a catalogue number to each. The full catalogue forms part of the site archive held at Newport Museum; the numbers assigned at that stage are quoted in brackets at the end of the descriptions of illustrated vessels in the text above (cat. 00, etc). Vessels were first divided into the following three broad periods:

1. The 12th to the late 15th centuries;
2. The late 15th to the early 17th centuries; and
3. The early 17th century onwards.

Some vessel types appear to span two of these main periods, or are of uncertain date, and are therefore marked 1/2, 2/3, etc. Within these broad divisions, the pottery was then divided into types, each assigned a pottery type code; these are used in the quantification tables and in the descriptions of illustrated vessels. After the broad period codes listed above, letter and number codes of two kinds were assigned: cumulative codes based on fabric, manufacturing techniques and styles; and letter codes for named types. Thus the code 1A1A was given to medieval hand-built jars whose origin was then unknown, whilst 2MTW describes Malvernian-type wares of the late 15th to the early 17th centuries. The full listing of the fabrics is given in the main body of the text (above).

In the years which have elapsed since that work was undertaken, knowledge of the ceramics of South Wales and South-West England has increased considerably; some of the most common wares can now be attributed to specific sources, and the dating of some of the key pottery types has been revised substantially. In this regard Mike Ponsford's work on the ceramics of the Bristol region is of fundamental importance.[58] In preparing an updated pottery report for publication, the team of specialists listed above was assembled by the first writer to re-examine the collection over two study days hosted by Newport Museum. Following this exercise a number of attributions have been altered and the statistical tables revised accordingly. The initials of the specialists who have offered new attributions are given in square brackets at the end of entries in the listing of illustrated vessels. Nevertheless, the structure of the report as first prepared remains unaltered, as does most of the classification. The new information allows a clearer picture to emerge about the overall pattern of pottery supply to the castle; we therefore offer a general commentary, including a reconsideration of the pottery published in *Penhow I*.

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[58] Especially Ponsford, M.W. 1987, 'Evidence for the production of medieval pottery in the West Country, *c*. 930–1750' in Vyner, B. and Wrathmell, S. (eds) *Studies in Medieval and Later Pottery in Wales Presented to J.M. Lewis*, Cardiff; University College; *idem* 1991, 'Dendrochronological dates from Dundas Wharf, Bristol, and the dating of Ham Green and other medieval pottery' in Lewis, E. (ed.) *Custom and Ceramics: Essays presented to Kenneth Barton*, Portsmouth: APE Wickham, 81–103; *idem* 1998, *op. cit.* in n. 42.

THE EARLIER MEDIEVAL POTTERY

When *Penhow I* was published, it was generally believed that the production of glazed pottery around the Bristol Channel developed in the early years of the 13th century. Ham Green ware, the best-known medieval pottery type of the region, was widely thought to date to the period *c*. 1240–1350, although some argued for a starting date as early as *c*. 1200.[59] The excavation of an important stratified sequence at Dundas Wharf, Bristol, in which some deposits were dated by dendrochronological evidence, has shown that Ham Green ware A was made as early as the 1140s; other types of glazed wares made in the Bristol area can also be dated to the early 12th century, and highly decorated pottery in Ham Green B ware was already being produced by the 1170s, and may have come to a close as early as *c*. 1225.[60]

Two important groups of pottery found within the inner enclosure of the castle were published in *Penhow I*. The first and smaller group consisted of at least eleven vessels found in the construction trench of the curtain wall (G07); they consisted solely of unglazed hand-made jars, including two rosette-stamped vessels.[61] At the time of publication their source was unknown, but it was evident that this was an early group, with features typical of Saxo-Norman pottery tradition.[62] Ponsford has re-examined these sherds. Although the origins of some vessels remain unknown,[63] a high proportion can now be attributed to the Bristol area.[64] He has noted parallels to the stamped sherds at Bristol Castle and Mary-le-Port, Bristol.[65] Twenty-eight of the unidentified sherds from G07 can now be identified as early to mid-12th-century early Ham Green wares and related wares made nearby at Pill (Bristol Pottery Type (BPT) 114);[66] another vessel (cat. 71) is a possible example of BPT 71A. A surprise in this group is a single example of the Upper Greensand-Derived pottery made around the Blackdown Hills of south Somerset.[67] Only a single probable sherd of local Penhow pottery

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59 For a summary see Ponsford 1991, *op. cit.* in n. 58, 81–6 and works cited there.

60 *Ibid.*, 89–95. For a summary of Irish evidence which accords with this earlier dating see McCutcheon, C. 2006, *Medieval Pottery from Wood Quay, Dublin*, Roy. Irish Acad. Ser. B, **7**.

61 *Penhow I*, 38, Figs 12.2, 12.3.

62 *Ibid.*, 37.

63 Including *ibid.*, 38, Fig. 12.1 and 12.4.

64 The latter cat. 71.

65 *Ibid.*, Fig. 12. 2, paralleled at Bristol Castle and Mary le Port. For the castle see Ponsford, M.W. 1980, 'Bristol Castle: Archaeology and the History of a Royal Castle', Univ. Bristol MLitt. thesis; *idem* 1974, 'Late Saxon pottery from Bristol' in Rahtz, P. 'Pottery in Somerset, A.D. 400–1066' in Evison, V., Hodges, H. and Hurst, J.G. (eds) *Medieval Pottery from Excavations: Studies Presented to Gerald Clough Dunning*, 120–2. For Mary le Port: Watts, L. and Rahtz, P. 1985, *Mary-le-Port, Bristol, Excavations 1962–3*, Bristol Museum & Art Gallery monogr. **7**. *Penhow I*, 38. Fig. 12.3 comparable to Bath A (Ponsford, pers. comm.).

66 For which see Ponsford 1991, *op. cit.* in n. 58, 92, Fig 4a.1 and 94. Regarding these wares, Mike Ponsford comments: 'In his publication of early Bristol pottery from Dublin, Alan Vince coined the term "proto Ham Green ware" to describe BPT 114; the type is commonly found there. See Vince, A. 1988, 'Early medieval English pottery in Viking Dublin' in MacNicaill, G. and Wallace, P.F. (eds) *Keimelia: Studies in Medieval Archaeology in Memory of Tom Delaney*, Galway, p. 258). The fabric is similar enough to some sherds from the Pill (i.e. Crockerne Pill) waste group to be termed a product of those kilns; their site is only *c*. 2km from the known Ham Green kiln. It is also the most common ware among the early 12th-century dendrochronologically dated wares from Dundas Wharf Bristol (Ponsford 1991, *op. cit.* in n. 58, 91). The fabric has recently been described as 'Pill type coarseware/Proto Ham Green; BPT 114': McSloy, E. 2013, 'Medieval pottery' in Ridgeway, V. and Watts, M. (eds) *Friars, Quakers, Industry and Urbanisation: The Archaeology of the Broadmead Expansion Project, Cabot Circus, Bristol, 2005–2008*, Cotswold Archaeol. Monogr. **5** /Pre-Construct Archaeology Monogr. **15,** 158–9.'

67 Cat. 64A. For a discussion of this pottery type see Allan, J.P., Hughes, M.J. and Taylor, R.T. 2010, 'Saxo-Norman pottery in Somerset: some recent research', *Somerset Archaeol. Natur. Hist.* 1**52**, 165–84.

was noted amongst the vessels examined.[68] In 1990 a date in the first half of the 13th century was proposed for the group.[69] A 12th-century date now seems more probable, although more work is needed on the unidentified vessels. The presence of rosette stamps might even raise the possibility that there was some form of pre-Conquest occupation of the site, although it seems more likely that such stamped wares continued in use into the 12th century.[70]

The second group published in *Penhow I* came from the infilling of the undercroft of Building G, a structure built against the eastern curtain wall, and therefore stratigraphically later than the sherds described above.[71] The later date of the assemblage is evident in its composition: it includes a Ham Green B jug, now dated *c*. 1175–1250,[72] and a range of local Penhow jars which indicate the establishment of the known local pottery kiln.[73] Ponsford's re-examination has shown that a surprisingly high proportion of this material consists of Early Ham Green wares (12 vessels)[74] with one Ham Green/Pill vessel[75] typical of the early and mid-12th century. Single vessels from ?Somerset and a limestone-tempered vessel from the Cotswolds were also noted.[76] In 1990 the dating evidence for this material seemed to indicate a date in the 13th or 14th century, a date before 1300 being preferred.[77] The new chronology favours a date in the late 12th or early 13th century, with much of the material 12th-century coarseware, possibly residual. The absence of Bristol wheel-thrown wares, which circulated widely in the Bristol Channel after *c*. 1250, supports this conclusion.

Twelfth-century Bristol wares were also plentiful in the overlying late medieval deposits of Area G; over 100 sherds of BPT 114 were counted in one layer,[78] and small quantities of these pottery types were recovered throughout the ditch fills published here (Tables 2–5). The overall picture which can be drawn from these finds is that in the 12th century the castle was supplied principally with pottery from the Bristol area, especially from Ham Green, with a few vessels from other parts of South-West England (the Cotswolds, two sources in Somerset and possibly the Bath area). Local production began later – perhaps in the early 13th century.

LATER MEDIEVAL POTTERY

The principal collections of later medieval pottery come from the lowest fills of the castle ditch (E02, 08; K17; A13/17/18; H11/13, H15/17/18). None of them is well dated, and their differing composition (Tables 2–5) suggests that they are not all of the same date. Penhow-type wares are the most common vessel type (27 of the 48 vessels), with Bristol Redcliffe wares the most frequent regional imports (5

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68 *Ibid*., 38, Fig. 12.5.
69 *Ibid*., 37.
70 E.g. at Exeter: Allan 1984, *op. cit*. in n. 45, Nos 498, 579. Mike Ponsford, however, points out (*in litt*. to JA) that in Bristol such stamps usually 11th-century, as at Mary-le-Port and in the case of a single stamp from Bristol Castle. He adds that rosettes are characteristic of Bristol, grid stamps of Bath.
71 *Penhow I*, 38–42, layer G04/09, stratified over layers G10–12.
72 *Ibid*., 41, No. 16. For the dating see Ponsford 1991, *op. cit*. in n. 58, 98.
73 *Penhow I*, Figs 13.7–8 and 14.10–14. For the kiln see Wrathmell, S. 1981, 'A medieval pottery kiln and wasters at Penhow, Gwent', *Medieval and Later Pottery in Wales* **4**, 1–7.
74 Including cat. Nos 14–19, 23, 27–8, 30, 34, 49.
75 *Ibid*., cat. 25.
76 *Ibid*., Fig. 13.9 (attr. D. Dawson) and cat. 31 (attr. A. Forward).
77 *Ibid*., 44.
78 G01, cat. 80, 89.

vessels).[79] There is also one vessel of late Minety ware,[80] a fabric also represented among the residual finds in later contexts. The absence of Malvernian wares and of recognised pottery from Somerset and North Devon may be noted. Given the widespread circulation of Saintonge pottery on coastal sites in South Wales,[81] the very small number of Saintonge vessels from Penhow (three green-glazed jugs and a single sherd of Saintonge polychrome pottery of *c*. 1300)[82] is very striking; it suggests that the collection is not rich in material of the late 13th and 14th centuries.

THE LATE 15TH AND 16TH CENTURIES

The most remarkable aspect of the Penhow finds is the impressive assemblage of late 15th- to mid/late 16th-century ceramics from the castle ditch fills, which ranks as one of the finest collections of this date from a single site in the British Isles. At least 345 vessels are stratified in these deposits (many with complete profiles) and 251 further vessels of this period were recorded in the deposits of later date which overlie them (Tables 2–5).

The assemblage richly reflects the emergence of new practices of eating and drinking at the close of the Middle Ages. The new demand for cups designed to serve the individual at table is reflected in the presence of no fewer than 93 stratified vessels of this form (27% of the stratified vessels).[83] A small part of this market (27 vessels – 17% of the total of 160 cups) was supplied by the ubiquitous Raeren stonewares from Belgium which are found throughout the British Isles, and there are a few Tudor Green wares (Tables 2–5), but most of these vessels are redwares, some of them very finely potted, supplied by English potteries. A wide range of sources is probably represented, although it is difficult to distinguish the origins of the some of them solely by visual examination. Some are Malvernian (Nos 54, 56, 59), others are attributable to West Somerset (Nos 56, 58 and 60), one (No. 46) possibly from Falfield, Gloucestershire, and some may be from Midlands/Staffordshire. We were unable to identify any examples definitely from Herefordshire/the Monnow Valley, but that is another possible source.

A different pattern of pottery supply is evident among the other table wares and the coarser vessels, which form about a third of the assemblage (33% of a total of 198 of 596 vessels: MNV; the figure would be higher if residual material were excluded).[84] These were supplied principally from two English sources: West Somerset and the Malverns. In the deposits of the late 15th–mid 16th century Malvernian wares are more than twice as common as West Somerset products (102 vessels compared with 41) but the situation is reversed in the overlying contexts, showing the rise of the West Somerset potteries in the late 16th/17th centuries (details in Tables 2–5; note the predominance of Somerset products in Table 5, column H01–3). The products of North Devon, which were supplied to Penhow and many other South Welsh sites in the 17th century and later, are absent from these deposits, as are the South Somerset wares from centres such as Donyatt, and coarsewares from Wanstrow and related kilns, which are also represented in small numbers in the later deposits.

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79 Ponsford noted the presence of Bristol Pottery Types 118 (Redcliffe), 118L (late Redcliffe) and 123 (pink ware) in cat. 372 from K16 and K17.

80 The stratified sherd cat. 364 in K16 and K14; the residual cat. 525A.

81 Papazian, C. and Campbell, E. 1992, 'Medieval pottery and roof tiles in Wales AD 1100–1600', *Medieval and Later Pottery in Wales* **13**, 16–20, record 375 Saintonge sherds from Welsh castles and over 1300 sherds from South Wales.

82 Cat. 234 from E07.

83 There are 67 further examples in the overlying deposits (also 27% of vessels by MNV).

84 Stratified and unstratified but excluding the cups considered above.

Site	Total No. of vessels	Imports as % of total collection	Stoneware as % of imports	French & Low Countries wares as % imports	Italian maiolica as % imports	Iberian fine-wares as % imports	Iberian coarse-wares as % imports
Penhow	61	8	46	15	15	10	16
Carmarthen Greyfriars	271	?	19	34	<1	7/14	34
Acton Court	1598sh*	48*	59*	4.5*	6.7*	16*	9*
Cleeve Abbey	21	8	47	19	4	4	19
Glastonbury Abbey	56	Unk.	59	16	3.6	7	9
Exeter (sites to 1980)	503	13	64	24	1.2	5	7

Table 6. Imported pottery in early 16th-century groups in South Wales, the Bristol area and SW England (by MNV, except at Acton Court, where by sherd count; for sources and problems in making this comparison see footnote 85).

Finally, comment should be made on the imports, which are of international interest. A comparison between the Penhow collection and the other major published collections of imported pottery of this period near the Bristol Channel and in South-West England is shown in Table 6.[85]

It will be apparent that in this company Penhow does not appear exceptionally rich, either in the number of imports (61 vessels)[86] or in the proportion they form of the overall assemblage of ceramics (8.4% by NMV). In this regard Acton Court stands out as the extraordinary collection; the contrast between this site and all others in the region would appear still more pronounced if MNVs had been used to quantify this material, since this index exaggerates the proportion of finewares. Nevertheless, Penhow belongs to a select group of high-status sites close to the coast where large numbers of foreign ceramics circulated.

In many parts of Britain early 16th-century collections of imported ceramics in Britain are dominated by Rhenish stonewares, especially the ubiquitous Raeren stonewares. This is true to a lesser extent around the Bristol Channel and in South-West England, but even here they make up about 60% of the total of imported wares in the assemblages from high-status sites such as Glastonbury and Acton Court, and a still higher percentage in the urban context of Exeter (Table 6). At Penhow the 27 Raeren cups and a single plain Cologne vessel form a noticeably lower proportion of the total. The strong competition provided by various more local sources of tableware have been

[85] For Carmathen: O'Mahoney, C. 1998, 'Excavations at Carmarthen Greyfriars, 1983–1990. Pottery, ridge tile and ceramic water pipe', Dyfed Archaeol. Trust Occ. Pap. 2 (electronic version), <http://www.cambria.org.uk/projects/CGF/cfgpot.pdf> accessed 5.10.2014 (including undated material; some sherds may be later in date). For Acton Court: Vince, A. with England, S. 2004, 'Medieval and later pottery' in Rodwell, K. and Bell, R. *Acton Court. The Evolution of an Early Tudor Courtier's House*, London: English Heritage, 299–302, Tables 22–8; see also Vince, A. and Bell, R. 1992, 'Sixteenth-century pottery from Acton Court, Avon' in Gaimster, D. and Redknap, M., *Everyday and Exotic Pottery from Europe: Studies in Honour of John G. Hurst*, Oxford: Oxbow. The totals are not directly comparable to the other figures, since sherd counts only were used in the quantification of this material. For Glastonbury: Allan, J., Dawson, D. and Kent, O., 2015 'The Post-Roman pottery', in Gilchrist, R. and Green, C., *Glastonbury Abbey: Archaeological Investigations 1904–79*, Soc Antiquaries London monogr., 258, Table 8. For Cleeve Abbey: Allan, J. 1999, 'Cleeve Abbey: the pottery', *Somerset Archaeol Natur. Hist*. **142**, 50, Table 3. For Exeter: Allan, *op. cit*. in n. 45, 101–4 esp. Table 6.

[86] Including both stratified material and sherds in later contexts (by MNV).

described above, but this can hardly be the entire explanation for this relatively low figure; the potteries making them could equally have supplied most of the other sites. The strong showing of southern European ceramics is no doubt part of the reason for this.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the imports on all these sites is the substantial quantity of Iberian and Italian ceramics. The remarkable total of 90 vessels of Portuguese red micaceous pottery ('Merida ware') from Carmarthen Greyfriars is one of the most striking features of the imported ceramics of the region.[87] Carmarthen was a significant port,[88] and such coarsewares are usually much less common on inland sites. The substantial quantity of this kind of pottery at Acton Court is therefore another unusual feature of the site. Penhow falls into a pattern of rather lower figures at sites even a few km from the coast; the proportion here is in fact at the higher end of the range.

It is in its collection of Italian and Iberian tin-glazed ceramics that Penhow is most unusual. The totals of eight or nine examples of Italian maiolica and ten Iberian finewares are extraordinarily high; the figure for the proportion of Italian ceramics far exceeds even that at Acton Court. These collections are the subject of separate reports by Gutiérrez, Hughes and Blake below (Appendices D–F). Not only do these vessels point strongly to the high status of the site; they include some highly unusual vessels suggestive of a consumer who sought out exotic and high-quality ceramics for display and use at table.

THE 17TH-CENTURY AND LATER FINDS

The 17th-century and later deposits were rich, not only in ceramics of that period but in residual vessels from the 16th-century deposits below them. They contain, for example, many interesting examples of West Somerset pottery analogous to the material from Narrow Quay, Bristol.[89] Nine figures illustrating this material and the accompanying clay pipes, glass, etc, were prepared for publication but limitations of space have precluded their inclusion in the present report; they deserve separate publication in the future.

APPENDIX D
THE SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE WARES

By Alejandra Gutiérrez

A sizeable assemblage of 131 sherds (2.1kg) of Spanish and Portuguese wares was found during the excavations. It represents at least 18 different vessels (Table 7). Most of this pottery comes from the rubbish dumps and ditch fills surrounding the house, especially from K06/08/10/11/14 (66 sherds) and E05/06/07 (28 sherds). Numerous cross-fits of sherds belonging to a single vessel were found across the stratigraphy, confirming that the fills seem to have been deposited successively over a short period of time, perhaps by carting soil from elsewhere and re-depositing it in these areas. The main cross-fits are across vertical fills in the ditch, for example (K10, K11, K14; E05, E06, E07), and between these fills and surrounding area (K04, K06, K10).

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87 O'Mahoney *op. cit.* in n. 85, 37–9, 60.

88 References assembled in O'Mahoney *op. cit.* in n. 85, 67.

89 Good, G.L. 1987, 'The excavations of two docks at Narrow Quay, Bristol, 1978–9', *Post-Medieval Archaeol.* **21**, 25–126; Good, G.L. and Russett, V.E. 1987, 'Common types of earthenware found in the Bristol Area', *Bristol and Avon Archaeol.* **6**, 35–43.

Context	Cat. No.	No. sherds	g	Pottery type	Form	Fig. No.	No. of vessels
SPANISH WARES							
H14	650	2	38	Malagan-type lustreware	dish	152	1
E05, E06, E07	246	14	72	Seville, Morisco Ware, Half-Dipped Green and White	vase/cup	76	1
K08, K10, K11, K14	244	9	50	Seville, Morisco Ware, *Cuerda Seca*	vase with lid	110	1
K11	293	2	43	Seville? lustreware	vase	109	1
K08	292	1	12	Seville? lustreware	vase	108	1
	613	1	–	Spanish lustreware (not seen)	dish	166	1
A07	650	9	72	Seville, Morisco Ware, Two-Tone Glaze	handled vase	133	1
A08	514	3	14	Seville, Morisco Ware, Two-Tone Glaze	handled vase?	133?	0?
K08	292	2	5	Seville, Morisco Ware, Two-Tone Glaze	handled vase?	133?	0?
K01?	245	1	5	Seville, Morisco Ware	vase		1
H01, H02, H04, K03	651	11	872	Seville-type olive jar	olive jar	651	1
H02		1	15	Seville-type olive jar	olive jar		1?
G03	457	1	16	Seville-type olive jar	olive jar		1
Subtotal		**56**	**1,214**				**11**
PORTUGUESE WARES							
E05, E06		3	160	Merida-type ware	jug base	72	1

Table 7. Quantification of Spanish and Portuguese pottery from Penhow.

SPANISH POTTERY

Most of the Spanish wares from Penhow are finewares (8 vessels), that is, they are covered with a tin glaze, and many come from the Seville area. The only exception is No. 152, which is an earlier Malagan-type lustreware dish with the typical dark fabric and degraded glaze characteristic of products from this area. Sadly no decoration survives, except for a small concentric line of ghost lustre. Close dating of Malagan-type lustreware remains elusive in this country, where most vessels are dated to the 14th century. Production continued into the 15th century but it is hard to find any well-dated wares of these later phases of production and to distinguish between these and residual material. In this case, vessel 152 was found in H14 (dumped soil filling the ditch), in a mixed assemblage of the late 15th–early 16th century together with redeposited material of earlier date, so it cannot be established if this dish is an early example of the 14th century or is later and therefore contemporaneous with the ditch fills.

The rest of the Spanish glazed wares are Morisco Wares from the Seville area in a range of colours and decorations. They include:

— A *cuerda seca* handled vase, perhaps a jug, decorated with vertical bands of coloured glaze separated by lines of black manganese; it was covered by a domed lid decorated in the same style (No. 110);
— A further single sherd from a different vessel decorated with lines of black manganese over tin glaze (cat. 245; not illustrated);
— A Half-Dipped Green-and-White handled vase which is very fragmented but sufficient to show the typical two-colour glaze (half the vessel is green inside and out; the other half is white inside and out), wavy rim, thumbed wall and at least one handle (No. 76);
— Another Two-Tone Glaze vase (No. 133), glazed white on the interior and green on the exterior. This vessel is also very fragmented and several sherds have used to reconstruct the drawing;
— Two different lustrewares vases which look very similar (Nos 108, 109). Both are small fragments from the base; they have lost all painted decoration but the thumbed impressions on the wall are just visible.

A further lustreware dish (No. 166) was apparently absent from Newport Museum at the time of writing and is probably retained in private possession; unfortunately it cannot be identified with certainty from the drawing and photograph alone. Similar examples were made both in Valencia and in Seville, and both arrived in Britain. This type of dish is dated to the 16th century and it is possible that it is a further example from Seville.[90]

Among the coarsewares, at least three olive jars from the Seville area were also found (cat. 651), one with a covering of green glaze on the interior.

Vessel 152 (Fig. 43.152)
Only two sherds were examined; the rim, as depicted, was not seen in 2013 and may be in private possession.
Context: H14, late medieval (2 sherds).
Malagan-type lustreware dish. Greenish-cream fabric with a light grey core. It contains visible inclusions (red ?schist; clay relicts; grey inclusions; some quartz grains and voids). Tin-glazed all-

[90] For parallels and dating see Gutiérrez, A. forthcoming: 'The pottery', in Parham, D. (ed.), *The Studland Bay Wreck*, English Heritage/Counc. Brit Archaeol. monogr.

over. Distinctive white tin glaze, degraded into a yellow or matt white cover. Only a faint/ghost concentric line of lustreware is visible, without any blue decoration.

Vessel 110 (Fig. 36.110)
Contexts: late 15th/16th-century deposit K14 (1 sherd); 16th-century deposits K08 (1 sherd), K10 (2 sherds), K11 (5 sherds).
Seville, Morisco Ware, *cuerda seca*. Jug with lid. Typical Morisco Ware fabric; cream coloured, fine sandy fabric, with occasional quartz grains, clay relicts and voids. Plain white glaze on interior; bands of glaze of different colours (white, black, blue, yellow, green) are separated by lines (2–3mm thick) painted in black manganese.

Vessel 76 (Fig. 27.76)
Contexts: late 15th/16th-century deposit E07 (9 sherds); 16th-century layers E05 (3 sherds) and E06 (2 sherds).
Seville, Morisco Ware, half-dipped green and white. Handled vase/cup. Fine, soft fabric, with tiny flecks of mica and some red (clay relicts?) inclusions. Light brown fabric, soft, with worn edges all-over. Half of the vessel has been white tin-glazed in and out; the other half is (emerald) green glazed on inside and outside. This is very fragmented and the drawing shows a reconstruction based on the surviving sherds. There is no indication of a base and it is impossible to ascertain if this was a tall/taller vase or simple a cup. There is also a single surviving handle. Wavy rim with grooved lines below. Indented depressions on the wall.

Vessel 133 (Fig. 38.133)
Contexts: 16th-century layers A07 (9 sherds), A08 (3 sherds), K08 (2 sherds).
Seville, Morisco Ware, two-tone handled vase. Light brown/cream, fine fabric; worn edges all-over. Scar for a thin handle of round section. Bright (emerald) green glaze on exterior, white tin glaze on interior, green-stained near the rim.

All these sherds have been drawn together as 133 (reconstructing part of the profile) as they seem to belong to the same vessel, although the only joining sherds are the base. The drawing, however, is well paralleled by examples from Seville, where one-handled cups with a straight neck and acute angled wall, very similar to this example, are known in the 15th century.[91]

Cat. 245 (not illustrated)
Context: K01, 17th-century and later.
Seville, Morisco Ware vase. Cream fabric; worn all-over. White tin glaze on interior and exterior; two lines of black manganese have been painted over the glaze. A dribble of green (emerald) glaze is also visible, running over the black.

Vessel 108 (Fig. 36.108)
Context: 16th-century layer K08 (1 sherd)
Seville? lustreware vase. Dark orange fabric with cream margins. Sandy fabric. Grooved foot ring with thumbed impressed wall. White tin-glazed all-over. Blackened tin glaze.

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[91] For example, Pleguezuelo, A. and Lafuente, M.P. 1995, 'Cerámicas de Andalucía Occidental (1200–1600)', in Gerrard, C.M., Gutiérrez, A. and Vince, A. (eds), *Spanish Medieval Ceramics in Spain and the British Isles*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Int. Ser. **610**, Fig. 18.8, No. 7.

Vessel 109 (Fig. 36.109)
Context: 16th-century deposit K11 (2 sherds).
Seville? lustreware vase. Orange fabric with cream margins. Fine sandy fabric. Thumbed wall and foot ring base. White tin-glazed all-over. One faint/ghost line of lustre decoration visible on the exterior surface.

Vessel 166 (Fig. 45.166)
Not found in 2013; probably in private possession (seen only in the illustration).
Context: 16th-century layer H4.
Lustreware dish with blue decoration and impressed gadroons along the flange. Source uncertain (probably Seville). 16th century.

Cat. 291/651 (not illustrated)
Contexts: 17th-century and later contexts H02 (5 sherds), K03 (1 sherd) and unstratified (1 sherd). Further sherds from 16th-century layer H04 (×1) and 17th-century and later H01 (×1), and u/s (×2) seem to belong to the same vessel. A further sherd from H02 is a much thinner wall in a similar type of fabric, but this probably represents a different olive jar.
Seville-type olive jar of the Middle Style. Typical sandy fabric, with well-sorted sand; flecks of mica visible on the surface, together with voids (same size as the sand). Cream-colour surfaces and pink/orange fabric. Heavy grooves from potting.

Cat. 457 (not illustrated)
Context: G03, drainage gully cut into bedrock (1 sherd).
Seville-type olive jar. Coarse sandy orange fabric with cream surface. Green lead glaze on the interior surface.

PORTUGUESE POTTERY

The Portuguese vessels are Merida-type coarsewares in a range of sandy, orange/red fabrics with visible mica flecks. All the vessels are very fragmented and due to the similarity in their fabrics it is difficult to calculate with exactitude the minimum number of vessels present. There are two different rims from as many jugs (Nos 72, 106); two different ?costrel bases; the bases of at least two bowls; and a further small sherd with exterior white slip. Drawing 106 shows the complete profile as recorded 30 years ago. At present only joining sherds from the rim/neck and from the base are present, and are assumed to belong to the same vessel; other sherds have probably been retained privately. The rest of the wall is reconstructed; the handle scar shown in the drawing is also missing at the time of writing. Both Nos 72 and 106 show jug profiles paralleled at other sites in the UK.[92]

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[92] O'Mahoney 1998, *op. cit.* in n. 85, Fig. 7, No. C5 25; Clark, A, 1979, 'The pottery catalogue' in Gaskell Brown, C. *Plymouth Excavations: Castle Street. The Pottery*, Plymouth Museum Archaeol. Rep. **1**, 274; Gutiérrez, A., 2007, 'Portuguese coarsewares in early modern England: reflections on an exceptional pottery assemblage from Southampton', *Post-Medieval Archaeol.* **41.1**, 64–79, Fig. 5, as well as in Portugal, especially Aveiro form 19B: Bettencourt, J., Carvalho, P. and Pinto, I. 2005, *Relatório dos trabalhos de escavação efectuados em 2004 no âmbito do projecto Ria de Aveiro A 2000 (FCT)*, Trabalhos do CNANS **30**, II, Lisbon, 60.

Vessel 72 (Fig. 27.72)
Contexts: Rim: E06, 16th-century (3 sherds). Base: E05 (2 sherds), E06 (4 sherds), 16th-century. Loose handle: E07, late 15th/16th-century (2 sherds).
Merida-type ware from Portugal. Jug. Orange fabric with large flecks of mica and other inclusions, including angular white quartz. With characteristic sand and mica surface under the base (from potting on a sanded surface). Vertical burnished lines.

Vessel 73 (Fig. 27.73)
Contexts: 16th-century layers E05 (1 sherd) and E06 (1 sherd); unstratified (1 sherd).
Merida-type ware from Portugal. Bowl.

Vessel 106 (Fig. 36.106)
Contexts: 16th-century deposits E06 (2 sherds), K04 (6 sherds), K10 (3 basal sherds); 17th-century and later layers K03 (1 rim sherd), K06 (6 sherds).
Merida-type ware from Portugal. Jug. Orange fabric with slighter darker surfaces, sometimes black, with occasional large white quartz and abundant mica flecks. Vertical burnished lines. Sanded base as for Vessel 72.

Cat. 186A (not illustrated)
Context: E05–06 (2 sherds)
Merida-type ware from Portugal. Bowl base. Thin, light fabric, with some brown lead glaze on the exterior surface. Sanded base as for Vessel 72.

Cat. 245 (not illustrated)
Context: K01? (1 sherd).
A small sherd of Merida-type ware from Portugal. Light brown fabric with darker surfaces. Coarse, very micaceous. Thin wall (2mm thick) with a double line of white slip on the exterior surface.

Cat. 609 (not illustrated)
Context: E05 (2 sherds).
Merida-type ware from Portugal. Costrel (?) base. Thick (9mm) wall, dark orange throughout, very micaceous. Sanded base as for Vessel 72.

Cat. No. illeg. (not illustrated)
Context: K05 (1 sherd).
Merida-type ware from Portugal. Costrel (?) base. Light grey core and light cream interior surface. Darker pink/orange exterior surface. Large flecks of mica throughout. Coarse, sandy fabric.

DISCUSSION

This is a striking assemblage of Spanish wares, one that is highly atypical when compared to those from other high-status or urban sites in Britain. On the one hand, Malagan-type lustrewares are not common finds in Britain; they appear at about 20 sites in the country, especially along the south coast, so their discovery here is a rarity.[93] On the other hand, Valencian lustrewares of the 15th

[93] Gerrard, C., Gutiérrez, A., Hurst, J.G. and Vince, A. 1995, 'A guide to Spanish medieval pottery' in Gerrard *et al*. (eds) *op. cit*. in n. 91, 283.

century have not been found at Penhow, even though they were frequent imports associated with high-status sites and occur at more than 100 sites in Britain.[94] Furthermore, Seville Morisco Wares are only found occasionally in Britain and seem to be heavily concentrated in main ports and along the south coast.[95] Most of the examples identified to date tend to be of types made in larger quantities and for export (blue and purple, or plain white wares) whereas the range of decoration and shapes found at Penhow is unusual and, on the face of it, would seem to pre-date the mass-production of better established types of decoration in the 16th century.

The number of *Cuerda Seca* vessels identified in Britain is especially low. This is a technique of decoration that required more time and dedication than a simple glaze and it seems to have been used only between the mid-15th and mid-16th centuries,[96] manufacture perhaps ending when tablewares were required in quantities and speedily. Apart from sites at London, Bristol, Exeter, Winchester and Colchester, there seems to be a discrete concentration in coastal south Wales, where examples have been recorded at Carmarthen, Caerleon and Usk, for example.[97] Other unusual wares are the Half-Dipped Green-and-White cup and the Two-Tone handled vase, early types of Morisco Wares that are scarce in Britain although they have a concentration in Southampton (with at least six vessels; Gutiérrez 2000, 243 and Fig. 5.15, Nos 8 and 9). Thumbed walls are a characteristic of the Seville pottery of this period, together with the manufacture of a variety of jug forms and also cups, usually with two handles, plus variation on the use of glazes as seen here. Plain green-glazed vessels very similar to Drawing 133 were found at Carmarthen.[98]

As for the Portuguese wares, one of the most common Merida-type ware forms found across Britain is the costrel, perhaps because it arrived over such an extended timespan during the medieval and post-medieval periods.[99] At Penhow, although costrels may also be represented, the presence of burnished jugs which are rare outside the main ports of contact with the Mediterranean is certainly noteworthy. In Wales Merida-type wares are more widely distributed than Spanish pottery, but they still seem limited to high-status sites with a particular bias towards castle and ecclesiastical sites, during a period in which contacts and trade with Portugal had increased significantly.[100] Nevertheless, the assemblage from Penhow is notable for both the quantity and range of unusual forms.

All the Spanish and Portuguese wares recovered, except for the Malagan lustreware, can be dated between the end of the 15th and mid-16th century. Sadly it is not clear if the whole assemblage was acquired as a single lot or piecemeal through several decades; the assemblage could potentially represent a single cargo arriving from the west of Portugal, though the quantity and diversity of material found is significant. Whether this simply reflects the local availability of international goods or merely shows direct contacts with individuals involved in the Mediterranean trade is not known. Access to Bristol markets would have been important and this was the main pottery

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94 *Ibid*., 287.

95 Gutiérrez, A. 2013, 'Of sundry colours and moulds: Imports of early modern pottery along the Atlantic seaboard', in A. Texeira (ed.), *Velhos e Novos Mundos. Actas do Congresso Internacional de Arqueologia Moderna*, Lisbon, 949–62, Fig. 7.

96 Pleguezuelo, A., Huarte, R. and Somé, P. 1997, 'Cerámica moderna', in Tabales, M.A., *El Real Monasterio de San Clemente. Una propuesta arqueológica*, Seville, 132.

97 Gerrard *et al*. 1995, *op. cit*. in n. 93, Fig. 20.5A.

98 Although they are only classified as 'Spanish': O'Mahoney 1998, *op. cit*. in n. 85, 40.

99 Gerrard *et al*. (eds) 1995, *op. cit*. in n. 91, 288.

100 Papazian, C. and Campbell, E. 1992, 'Medieval pottery and roof tile in Wales AD 1100–1600', in *Medieval and Later Pottery in Wales* **13**, 22 and 82.

source for the area, supplying other sites nearby such as Chepstow.[101] Both possibilities, personal contacts and redistributive coastal trade, have been used to explain the concentration of discrete groups of less common imported wares either in ports (Exeter, Southampton, London, Plymouth, for example) or at other manor houses, such as Acton Court just outside Bristol.[102] Whichever the case, the completeness of the distribution along the whole of the South Welsh coast,[103] and the quantities recovered from sites such as Carmarthen Greyfriars where at least 90 Merida-type and 28 Spanish vessels were identified, must indicate that trade in such wares was well established and appreciated.

August 2013

APPENDIX E
CHEMICAL ANALYSIS OF ITALIAN MAIOLICA

By Michael J. Hughes

The body fabrics of six tin-glazed vessels (74, 127–9, 149 and 165) were analysed chemically by Inductively Coupled Plasma Spectrometry (ICP) to try to determine their place of production. A major analysis programme on Italian ceramics was undertaken by the British Museum in the 1990s using Neutron Activation Analysis,[104] which has now been continued using ICP.[105] A similar programme of NAA analyses established the chemical composition profile of South Netherlands Maiolica,[106] also now continued using ICP.[107] These ICP projects formed the databases against which the analyses of the Penhow material were compared.

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[101] Vince, A. 1991, 'The medieval pottery' in Shoesmith, R. (ed.), *Excavations at Chepstow 1973–1974*, Cambrian Archaeol. Monogr. **4**, 139.

[102] Vince with England 2004, *op. cit.* in n. 85, 294–8.

[103] Lewis, J.M. and Evans, D.H. 1982, 'Southern European imported pottery in Wales', *Medieval and Later Pottery in Wales* **5**, 76–95.

[104] Hughes, M.J., Blake, H., Hurst, J. and Wilson, T. 1997, 'Neutron activation analysis of Italian maiolica and other medieval Italian ceramics' in Sinclair, A., Slater, E. and Gowlette, J. (eds) *Archaeol. Sci. 1995*, Oxford: Oxbow, 77–81; Blake, H. and Hughes, M.J., forthcoming a, 'An early 14th-century tin-glazed earthenware jar from Norwich and other Archaic Maiolicas excavated in the British Isles' in Edwards, J. and Paynter, S. (eds) *Recent Research and New Discoveries in Glass and Ceramics. A Publication in Memory of Sarah Jennings*, London: Medieval Pottery Research Group; Blake, H. and Hughes, M.J., forthcoming b, 'The provenance of Tuscan pottery found in Britain: the results of archaeometrical research' in Blake, H. and Milanese, M. (eds) *Gran Bretagna e Italia tra Mediterraneo e Atlantico: Livorno – 'un porto inglese'*, Archeologia Postmedievale; Blake, H. and Hughes, M., forthcoming c, 'Archaeometrical research on the provenance of "Mediterranean Maiolica" and Italian pottery found in Great Britain', *10th International Conference on Medieval Pottery in the Mediterranean (X CICM2) Silves–Mértola, 22–27 October 2012*.

[105] E.g. Hughes, M.J. in Allan, J. 2009, 'Pottery and tiles from Godolphin', *Cornish Archaeol.* **48–9**, 277–94; Hughes, M.J. 2009, 'Neutron activation analysis of selected maiolica from the British Museum collection' in Thornton, D. and Wilson, T. (eds) *Italian Renaissance Ceramics. A Catalogue of the British Museum Collection*, London: British Museum, 719–21; Hughes, M.J. 2010, 'Scientific analysis' in Betts, I.M. and Weinstein, R.I., *Tin-Glazed Tiles from London*, London: Museum of London, 44–9.

[106] Hughes, M.J. and Gaimster, D. 1999, 'Neutron activation analyses of maiolica from London, Norwich, the Low Countries and Italy' in Gaimster, D. (ed.) *Maiolica in the North: the Archaeology of Tin-Glazed Earthenware in North-West Europe c. 1500–1600*, London: British Museum, 57–89.

[107] E.g. Hughes 2010, *op. cit.* in n. 105, 44–9; Hughes, M. 2013, 'Chemical Characterization by ICPS of Tiles and Pottery from Carew Manor' (unpub. rep.); for Edinburgh: Franklin, J. 2011, 'Beer jugs, wine bottles and coffee pots – changing ceramic use in post-medieval Edinburgh', *Medieval Ceram.* **32**, 23–34.

Cat. no.	Lab. no.	Al2O3	Fe2O3	MgO	CaO	Na2O	K2O	TiO2	P2O5	MnO	Co	Cr	Cu	Li	Ni	Sc	Sr	V	Y	Zn	As	Rb	Zr *	Nb
74	RN 1	15.2	5.63	4.18	14.0	1.66	1.97	0.67	0.23	0.11	17.9	119	50	62	80	14.4	409	104	28.7	108	14.7	120	149	16.8
131	RN 2	12.8	5.88	5.22	18.1	1.01	1.69	0.57	1.97	0.10	26.4	336	34	44	292	15.1	389	84	26.4	148	34.1	53	50	7.7
129	RN 3	15.1	6.50	2.62	14.3	1.17	2.51	0.77	0.51	0.07	24.8	156	42	47	116	16.4	626	136	27.8	115	14.3	149	251	16.9
128	RN 4	13.6	5.10	2.95	20.0	0.27	2.18	0.61	1.21	0.15	20.0	82	64	57	66	13.0	749	51	33.5	113	9.1	72	167	14.7
149	RN 5	13.5	6.20	5.60	16.5	1.07	1.75	0.64	0.29	0.10	23.1	351	31	37	296	15.7	391	91	28.8	120	30.4	46	106	12.2
165	RN 6	10.6	3.84	2.94	24.2	0.23	1.77	0.39	1.29	0.12	14.2	86	57	46	52	9.7	662	55	25.0	91	7.5	74	77	8.5

Cat. no.	Mo	Cd	Sb	Cs	Ba	Tl	Pb	Bi	Th	U	La	Ce	Pr	Nd	Sm	Eu	Gd	Tb	Dy	Ho	Er	Tm	Yb	Lu
74	0.5	0.22	1.5	6.7	397	4.4	4534	0.4	11.0	2.9	33.0	65.5	7.8	31.6	6.1	1.27	5.4	1.02	4.6	0.93	2.7	0.48	2.7	0.41
131	0.4	0.13	2.0	4.7	364	5.4	5463	13.7	7.9	2.3	25.8	49.8	6.3	25.9	5.3	1.13	4.7	0.93	4.6	0.89	2.5	0.45	2.5	0.36
129	0.7	0.22	5.3	8.2	372	4.4	4438	0.5	10.2	2.9	31.7	64.3	7.3	29.3	5.6	1.23	5.0	0.96	4.5	0.94	2.8	0.53	3.0	0.46
128	0.4	0.47	2.4	3.4	458	1.1	895	1.2	8.9	2.1	35.5	60.3	7.9	32.3	6.3	1.39	5.6	1.05	4.8	1.00	2.9	0.51	2.8	0.43
149	0.7	0.14	2.5	3.4	348	5.9	6007	12.0	8.4	2.2	26.8	52.7	6.6	27.3	5.5	1.21	5.0	1.00	4.6	0.94	2.7	0.49	2.7	0.41
165	0.6	0.36	2.2	4.8	478	0.3	136	0.3	6.7	1.9	27.1	47.2	6.2	25.6	4.9	1.11	4.4	0.84	3.8	0.79	2.3	0.41	2.2	0.34

Chemical element symbols: Al2O3 aluminium; Fe2O3 iron; MgO magnesium; CaO calcium; Na2O sodium; K2O potassium; TiO2 titanium; P2O5 phosphorus; MnO manganese; Co cobalt; Cr chromium; Cu copper; Li lithium; Ni nickel; Sc scandium; Sr strontium; V vanadium; Y yttrium; Zn zinc; As arsenic; Rb rubidium; Zr zirconium; Nb niobium; Mo molybdenum; Cd cadmium; Sb antimony; Cs caesium; Ba barium; Tl thallium; Pb lead; Bi bismuth; Th thorium; U uranium; Rare earth elements: La lanthanum; Ce cerium; Pr praesodimium; Nd neodymium; Sm samarium; Eu europium; Gd gadolinium; Tb terbium; Dy dysprosium; Ho holmium; Er erbium; Tm thulium; Yb ytterbium; Lu lutetium.

The elements AL2O3 to MnO are in weight percent; all the rest are in parts per million (ppm). *The zirconium figure is unreliable due to incomplete dissolution of minerals containing this element (principally zircon).

Table 8. Results of analysis of Italian maiolica from Penhow by Inductively-Coupled Plasma–Mass Spectrometry (ICP–MS).

The six vessels were sampled with a 2mm or 3mm solid tungsten carbide drill and the resulting powder analysed at Royal Holloway, Department of Earth Sciences, University of London by a combination of ICP-Atomic Emission Spectrometry (ICP-AES) and ICP-Mass Spectrometry (ICP-MS) for a total of 47 elements, providing a comprehensive chemical 'fingerprint' of the body fabric (Table 8).

Comparison of the analyses of the Penhow sherds with previous analyses

Initial visual check of the analysis results against previous analyses obtained by ICP (and XRF) on Italian tin-glazed pottery showed that the two *berettino* sherds 127 and 149 are very similar to each other chemically and seem to be Ligurian, fitting with analyses of Savona maiolica. The other four appear to be consistent with previous analyses of Tuscan tin-glazed wares.

Tuscany

Of the four other Penhow sherds, 128 and 165 appeared visually and chemically to be Montelupo products, while 74 and 129 were of the type which has been referred to as Italo-Netherlandish Maiolica.[108] To eliminate the possibility that 74 and 129 were Low Countries products, their analyses were compared against a database of 37 examples of South Netherlands maiolica pottery and tiles, mainly imports found on British sites including Glastonbury Abbey and Cleeve Abbey in Somerset, Edinburgh, Godolphin House, Cornwall,[109] London, and Carew Manor, Surrey.[110]

Detailed interpretation of the ICP analyses was carried out with multivariate statistics, which simultaneously considers the concentrations of many elements in each sample. The multivariate statistics technique of Principal Components Analysis (PCA) was used.[111] The Principal Component analyses were carried out in a series of stages, whereby samples with analyses significantly different from the rest were systematically removed and the PCA re-run in their absence. Descriptions of its application to archaeology have been given elsewhere.[112] The program MINITAB version 16 was used with the 'PCA' procedure.[113] The Excel file containing the original analysis data was read into MINITAB and natural logarithms were taken of all elements before subjecting the data to multivariate statistics; logs are regularly used in such applications.

In the comparison with the South Netherlands ICP database, the two Penhow sherds 74 and 129 separated from all the rest, indicating that they were unlike South Netherlands Maiolica in their chemical composition profiles. Another principal components analysis was carried out to compare

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[108] For INM see Gutiérrez, A. and Brown, D. 1999, 'Italo-Netherlandish Maiolica from Southampton' in Gaimster (ed.) 1999, *op. cit.* in n. 106, 147–50.

[109] Hughes in Allan 2009, *op. cit.* in n. 105, 277–94.

[110] Hughes, M. 2012, 'Report on the Principal Components Analysis of all ICP Analyses Available to date on Italian Ceramics (Revision 1)', unpublished. For Glastonbury: Hughes in Allan *et al.* 2015, *op. cit.* in n. 85, 268–70; for Cleeve: Allan 1999, *op. cit.* in n. 85; 41–75 – a probable flower vase with YHS medallion; for Edinburgh: Franklin 2011, *op. cit.* in n. 107; for Godolphin House, Cornwall: Allan 2009, *op. cit.* in n. 105; 277–94; for London: Hughes in Betts and Weinstein 2010, *op. cit.* in n. 105, 44–9; for Carew Manor, Surrey: Hughes 2013, *op. cit.* in n. 107.

[111] Afifi, A., May, S. and Clark, V.A. 2012, *Practical Multivariate Analysis*, 5th edn CRC Press, Taylor and Francis, Boca Raton FL; Manly, B.F.J. 2005, *Multivariate Statistical Methods: a Primer*, 3rd edn, London: Chapman and Hall; Tabachnick, B. and Fidell, L.S. 2007, *Using Multivariate Statistics* 5th edn, London: Pearson.

[112] See for example Baxter, M. 1994, *Exploratory Multivariate Statistics in Archaeology*, Edinburgh: University Press; Baxter, M. 2003, *Statistics in Archaeology*, London: Arnold; Shennan, S. 1997, *Quantifying Archaeology*, 2nd edn, Edinburgh: University Press.

[113] Ryan, B., Joiner, B. and Cryer, J., 2005, *MINITAB Handbook* 5th edn, London: Thomson Brooks/Cole.

all four against a database previously assembled of all Tuscan ICP analyses obtained to date and of XRF analyses published by Baldi[114] of Montelupo tin-glazed wares and local clays.[115] This indicated that all four fitted within the range of chemical profiles present in the Tuscan database.

Sherd 74 had some chemical similarities to 129, but on the PCA plot had the closest affinities to ICP analyses of maiolica from Polsloe Priory, Devon,[116] a sherd of grotesque maiolica from Kinlochbervie, Scotland,[117] and a neck sherd in all-over blue from Cleeve Abbey, Somerset.[118] Like these, 74 contained relatively high levels of sodium and magnesium, which distinguished it from 129. The Polsloe sherds are Italo-Netherlandish Maiolica (INM), a chemical composition group slightly separate from another group of Italian imports from the UK analysed to date. Sherd 129 was closest in the PCA plot to this other group, which includes a Cantagalli sherd from Plymouth, two Cantagalli comparison sherds,[119] and two Glastonbury Abbey sherds.[120]

Penhow sherd 165 has a clay chemistry profile related to these two, but marked by its much higher level of lime (24.2% calcium oxide); apart from this, it has a very similar analysis to sherd 129, suggesting the use of the same clay but with more added lime. Penhow sherd 128 has a slightly different chemistry again, showing affinities with a sherd from Glastonbury in this 'other' group.[121] Three of the Montelupo source sherds in Baldi's slipped ware, two Montelupo sherds in Baldi's marbled ware MAR group, and two Montespertoli clays were compared.[122] This important result indicates there is a link between sherd 128 and known clay sources exploited for Montelupo tin-glazed ware and definite Montelupo products. These two Montespertoli clays have less lime than sherd 128, but as Baldi suggests, the potters apparently added lime deliberately to the Morzano clay body for many of their tin-glazed wares, though not for the marbled wares which share the same chemistry including lime content as the two Morzano clays.

None of these four Tuscan sherds displays the same clay chemistry as Baldi's tin-glazed ware Montelupo B; neither do they match another distinctive chemical group which also emerged in the same principal components analysis consisting of archaic maiolica from Millennium Bridge, London, and four sherds of INM from Southampton analysed by Alan Vince, to which another from Preston Street, Exeter[123] can now be added. This latter group has a pattern of higher potassium, zinc, cerium and sodium but lower yttrium, lanthanum and manganese compared to other groups.

Liguria

The two *berettino* sherds were characterised by relatively high chromium concentrations (336 and 351 ppm) compared with the other four (82–156 ppm). A visual comparison was made with

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114 Baldi, G. 2003, 'Indagine archeometrica sulle ceramiche di Montelupo', in Berti, F. (ed.) *Storia della ceramica di Montelupo: uomini e fornaci in un centro di produzione dal XIV al XVIII secolo, 5. Le botteghe: tecnologia, produzione, committenze*, Aedo, Montelupo Fiorentino, 87–114, 125.

115 Blake and Hughes forthcoming b &c, *op. cit.* in n. 104.

116 Allan, J. 1999, 'South Netherlands Maiolica in south-west England' in Gaimster (ed.) 1999, *op. cit.* in n. 106, 160, corpus Nos 1–3.

117 Brown, D.H. and Curnow, C. 2004, A ceramic assemblage from the seabed near Kinlochbervie, Scotland, UK, *Int. J. Nautical Archaeol.* **33,** 29–53, item 2.

118 Allan 1999, *op. cit.* in n. 116, 54, No. 17.

119 Curnow, C. forthcoming, 'A majolica jar with grotesque decoration from New Street, Plymouth' in Blake and Milanese forthcoming, *op. cit.* in n. 104.

120 Blake in Allan *et al.* 2015 *op. cit.* in n. 85, 270, vessels 214 and the net dish 215.

121 *Ibid.*, vessel 1991/45/2.

122 The sherds of Baldi's slipped ware ING are MTL 86, 88 and 90. The two sherds in Baldi MAR group C are MTL62 and 89. The two in Montespertoli clays are Morzano MOR1 and 2.

123 Allan 1999, *op. cit.* in n. 116, 157–66, corpus no. 6.

Neutron Activation Analyses (NAA) of Ligurian maiolica biscuit sherds analysed as part of the British Museum Italian maiolica NAA programme.[124] These Ligurian biscuit fragments consisted of two from Albisola, three from Genoa and two from Savona; despite their small numbers, each site showed a different chemical profile from the others (Genoa had low chromium compared with the other two sites, less than 200 ppm). The two Penhow sherds 127 and 149 fitted consistently across the elements with the composition of the Savona biscuit sherds.

One caution about the identification with Savona relates to the very few analyses of biscuit wares available for comparison. Fabbri *et al*. analysed 31 samples from excavations in the three cities, though very few were biscuit wares.[125] Their results suggested that eight of the twelve Genoa sherds analysed were produced in Genoa (low chromium was a feature) while the other four were from Albisola or Savona; the analysis was unable to distinguish between their products. Given these findings, it is possible that the NAA differences between Albisola and Savona may arise from the biscuit wares being from specific kilns in each city which happen to have used different clays, assuming that the analyses of Fabbri are more typical of the range of clay compositions in use by the potters of each city. In view of this, it may be prudent provisionally to assign these Penhow sherds to 'Savona/Albisola' rather than to Savona alone which the NAA data suggests. However, both the NAA data and Fabbri *et al*.[126] (1996) agree on the chemical pattern typical for Genoa sherds, and that the pattern is chemically distinguishable from that of the other two localities.

There are not to date any ICP analyses of Ligurian biscuit wares or wasters, and apparently only one from consumer sites, namely one from Acton Court analysed by Alan Vince which showed the chemical profile of Genoa maiolica.[127] Seven sherds identified as 16th-century Ligurian *berettino* identified by John Hurst from the London Mint site were analysed by NAA as part of the British Museum programme.[128] Of these, two showed the characteristics of Genoa maiolica and the other five of Savona maiolica. Two more sherds from the Mint also selected by John Hurst, of polychrome on blue, showed more ambiguous NAA results which would need formal statistical tests to clarify. A Ligurian sherd from Colchester analysed by NAA also showed the Savona chemical pattern, while a sherd from Lincoln provided by John Hurst[129] was Genoese. Two other sherds from London excavations[130] were also Genoese.

In conclusion, the two Ligurian sherds 127 and 149 are chemically similar to each other and analysis suggests they originate in Savona. These Ligurian sherds are readily distinguishable from the other four sherds which appear to be attributable to various chemical composition groups previously established for Montelupo, or earlier analyses of Italo-Netherlandish Maiolica. Of these four, sherd 128 has the closest chemical links to the Montespertoli source clays and pottery from Montelupo itself. The other three have chemistries related to each other (none are identical), but are close to different previously-identified chemical groups among INM imports found on a number of sites in England and Scotland.

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124 Analyses in Blake and Hughes forthcoming a, *op. cit*. in n. 104.

125 Fabbri, B., Viale, M. and Nannetti, M.C. 1996, 'Caratteristiche chimiche per un inquadramento storico-tecnologico della maiolica rinascimentale ligure', *Faenza* **82.4–6**, 212–26.

126 *Ibid*.

127 Vince with England 2004, *op. cit*. in n. 85, 308.

128 Unpublished analyses.

129 British Museum Lab. No. 50725Z – L640.

130 From Holy Trinity Priory and the Victoria Embankment (BOY86) site respectively.

APPENDIX F
ITALIAN CERAMICS FROM PENHOW (Fig. 51)

By Hugo Blake

ITALIAN MAIOLICA

At least nine Italian or Italo-Netherlandish tin-glazed wares were recovered from Penhow. Seven vessels were submitted to the writer. The other two, which were among the most eye-catching pieces (Nos 75 and 111), were not available for examination and are believed to be in private possession; they are described from photographs and drawings. Sherds from six vessels were submitted for ICP analysis (ICP lab analysis reference numbers RN1–6).

Italo-Netherlandish and related

These were discussed at two conferences in 1997 and 1999.[131] They were made in Italy between about 1475 and 1525 and in the Low Countries in the first half of the 16th century.[132]

Vessel 74 (Figs 27.74, 51.74)

Seven slightly curving body fragments of closed form and one straight circular rod handle fragment with two adjacent flattened sides, from another vessel.[133] Fairly hard, granular (×20), buff fabric. Int. throwing ridges on body fragments. Slight concentric incision and ridge towards ?base of vii). Glaze missing from most of viii), ext. crackled on iii), iv) and vii), int. curdled on i)–iii) and vii), incipient pinholes int. v). Smooth, glossy, opaque white glaze covers both sides; bluish-white over most int. iii). Dark blue decoration: i)–ii) oblique band of slightly undulating almost horizontal strokes, thicker to ?left and terminating to a point ?right, 1–4mm thick, flanked by two slightly curving lines, 3mm, parts of ?broader lines, horizontal ?below, >5mm, and sloping upper right, >7mm wide, trace of blue line lower ?left iii) parts of two vertical lines 3mm wide on ?left corner; v) two horizontal lines, 3–4mm, between them at left edge part of oblique line, 2mm wide; vi) 13mm-wide horizontal band, parallel to >2mm wide with wide oblique band joining other side; (iv), vii)–viii) plain.[134]

Context: late 15th/16th-century filling of ditch (E05–07), perhaps derived from cleaning or clearing a lady's chamber in the castle.

ICP analysis RN1 of sherd ii (cat. 225): similar to some lower Arno valley Italo-Netherlandish Maiolica (INM) and some other Italian Renaissance types found in Britain, which have close chemical affinities to Montelupo and nearby Montespertoli clay samples.

Sherds i)–ii) resemble the filling between the medallion and the vertical margins of the 'Faenza-type' jugs found at Gateway House, London, and in Southampton.[135] Sherd vi) could be part of the medallion surround; iii) the vertical and v) the horizontal framing; iv) the unglazed part under the

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[131] Gaimster (ed.) 1999, *op. cit.* in n. 106; Veeckman, J. (ed.) 2002, *Majolica and Glass: from Italy to Antwerp and Beyond. The Transfer of Technology in the 16th–early 17th Century*, Antwerp: Stadt Antwerpen.

[132] Blake, H. 1999, '*De Nomine Jhesu*: an Italian export ware and the origin of maiolica pottery-making in the Low Countries', in Gaimster (ed.) 1999, *op. cit.* in n. 106, 25, 27–8; Hurst *et al.* 1986, *op. cit.* in n. 49, 117.

[133] Joining sherds i–ii) 52 × 52mm, 4–6mm thick; iii) 39 × 41mm, 5–6mm thick; iv) 39 × 26mm, 5–6mm thick; v) 21 × 33mm, 7–8mm thick; vi) above ?base protuberance, 23 × 21mm, 8mm thick; vii) 27 × 34mm, 7–10mm thick; viii) straight circular rod handle 22mm long, with two adjacent flattened sides, 11–13mm in section.

[134] Sherds i–ii) marked 'PH78 6'; (iii) not marked; iv–v, viii) 'PH78E06'; vi) 'PH78E07'; vii) 'PH78E05'. Bag marked 'PH78 E05–07 MAIOLICA JUG × 8 225 2012.28'.

[135] Blake 1999, *op. cit.* in n. 132, 43, 45, Fig. 2.1; Platt, C. and Coleman-Smith, R. 1975, *Excavations in Medieval Southampton 1953–1969*, **2**, *The Finds*, Leicester: Leicester University Press, Nos 1158, 1348.

handle; and vii) the unglazed foot. There are no traces of polychrome decoration which would have been applied within the medallion.

However, the small circular rod handle viii) does not belong to a jug of this shape and size, which would have had a strap handle. Instead, it probably came from a smaller two-handled mug or single-handled jug, whose handles had a 'resting' lower terminal,[136] both forms characteristic of the more globular Italo-Netherlandish Maiolica.

Vessel 111 (Figs 36.111, 51.111)
Absent from collection in 2012; description based on photograph and drawing. Not available for ICP analysis.
Two joining body fragments of closed form.[137] Opaque white glaze ext. Dark blue decoration of left terminal of cross and most of black-letter 'yhs' with tendrils, enclosed by yellow-orange line (shown stippled), *c.* 3mm wide, and traces of blue ladder medallion.
Context: 16th-century refuse in ditch (K08/11).
As noted below (No. 129), the trigram within a medallion on a closed form is typical of Italo-Netherlandish Maiolica, as is an orange-yellow or brown circle and dark blue ladder medallion, but I am unaware of an item with a freestanding yellow/brown circle.[138] An unusual two-handled mug from Southampton, whose chemical analysis and late 15th- (if it is not early 16th-) century context suggest is Italian, was painted only with single concentric yellow lines below the rim and above the base and with a brown-filled yellow trigram on the body.[139] A typical Dutch dish from a context datable to the first half of the 16th century in Alkmaar in the northern Netherlands bears a trigram similar to No. 111, encircled by separate blue, orange-brown and yellow lines.[140] So, this piece may not be Italian.

Vessel 129 (Figs 37.129 of i)–iii), 51.111 of i)–v))
Five fragments of globular closed form, with upright lower neck, and straight-sided lower body. Areas of glaze missing on ext., half or more on i)–iv). Hard, granular (×20), buff ('slightly yellowish drilled powder') fabric. Throwing ridges int. and, where glaze missing on ext., fine concentric lines. Smooth, glossy, opaque white glaze ext., bluish white int. Dark and medium blue decoration ext. i–iii) Parts of cross and black-letter 'yhs', 4mm, tendrils 1mm, enclosed by traces of concentric narrow and broad lines, 2mm and 4mm wide. iv) Parts of broad petal-like strokes, *c.* 10mm wide, fanning out from common base, and traces of two lines at edges of ornament. v) Alternating wide and narrow horizontal lines above ?base, >3, 2, 5, 1mm, below two oblique strokes, 4mm wide.[141] For further dimensions see footnotes.[142]

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136 Blake 1999, *op. cit.* in n. 132, Figs 2.3.8, MoL 23044; 2.2. Upper Thames Street, London.
137 *c.* 110 × 75mm (calculated from photograph and drawing).
138 Allan 1999, *op. cit.* in n. 116, Fig. 12.1.9; Hurst, J.G. 1999, 'Sixteenth-century South Netherlands Maiolica imported into Britain and Ireland', in Gaimster 1999, *op. cit.* in n. 106, Fig. 4.3.1.
139 Vince, A. and Brown, D.H. 2002, 'Characterisation and identification of tin-glazed ceramics using Inductively-Coupled Plasma Spectroscopy', in Veeckman 2002, *op. cit.* in n. 131, 466–8, Fig. 1; Gutiérrez, A. 2000, *Mediterranean Pottery in Wessex Households (13th to 17th Centuries)*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. **306**, 153, Fig. 5.16.1.
140 Ostkamp, S., Roedema, R. and van Wilgen, R.P. 2002, 'The introduction of majolica in Alkmaar', in Veeckman 2002, *op. cit.* in n. 131, 458, Fig. 24; Ostkamp, pers. comm.
141 Sherds i–iii) marked 'PH78K06'; iv) 'PH77 A06'; v) 'PH78K03'. Bag marked 'P78 K06 MAIOLICA (×5) 269 / DRAWN 129 2012.28'.
142 Joining sherds i–iii) 71 × 61mm, 6–7mm thick; iv) 36 × 46mm, 6–7mm thick; v) above ?base protuberance, 29 × 31mm, 6–8mm thick.

Context: 17th-century and later upper ditch fill (A06, K03, K06).
ICP analysis RN3 of sherd ii (cat. No. 269): closest to Cantagalli, who made 'revival' pottery in Florence a century or so ago with Montespertoli clay, and two samples from Glastonbury, one of which resembles a known Montelupo type.[143]
The 'yhs' trigram surmounted by a cross within a medallion on a globular body with an upright neck (i)-iii)) is typical of Italo-Netherlandish Maiolica.[144] The medallion is often flanked by thick palm-like sprays (iv)) and, when framed, also by concentric bands and lines to the base edge (v)).[145]

Montelupo
The products – in particular their decoration – and history of this pottery community in the lower Arno valley have been examined in five volumes, later summarized and in part modified in a book on the then new museum display.[146] The forms and their chronology derived from archaeological contexts were the subject of a more recent doctoral thesis.[147]

Vessel 128 (Figs 37.128, 51.128)
Slightly convex brim fragment.[148] Fairly hard, smooth, off-white fabric. Fine concentric lines on unglazed ext. Smooth, thin, opaque white glaze int., yellowish pink over two-thirds ext. Dark blue-defined decoration of orange-yellow band, mostly covered with browner band, and marked with imbricated pattern and greyish-white short vertical lines, flanked by traces of motifs with some grey red-filled elements on a mostly pale blue ground, to the cavity side ?lozenge bearing mauve-filled semi-circles.[149]
Context: 17th-century and later ditch fill (K06).
ICP analysis RN4: affinities with Montelupo products and Montespertoli clay.
Orange-yellow bands painted with a horizontal scale pattern characterize the *contorno a ghirlanda* ([stylized] wreath border) decorative type assigned to *c*. 1480–1510.[150] A brim decorated with a similar wreath has been found in Exeter in an assemblage datable to *c*. 1500–30.[151] The scales on a variant are marked with a white vertical line.[152] A vertical blue imbricated pattern marked with an upright orange line on a plain white ground is a characteristic of the *settori puntinati* (stippled sectors) type's ornament of *c*. 1480–95, one example of which is also decorated with lozenges

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143 Blake, H. and Hughes, M.J. in prep. 'The provenance of Tuscan pottery found in Britain: the results of archaeometrical research' in Blake and Milanese forthcoming, *op. cit.* in n. 104; Allan *et al*. 2015, *op. cit.* in n. 85, Fig. 14.215.
144 Gaimster (ed.) 1999, *op. cit.* in n. 106.
145 Blake 1999, *op. cit.* in n. 132, Figs 2.2 Upper Thames Street, London, 2.3.8; Hurst 1999, *op. cit.* in n. 138, Fig. 4.1.2.2; Gutiérrez and Brown 1999, *op. cit.* in n. 108, Fig. 10.1.5.
146 Berti, F. 1997–2003, *Storia della ceramica di Montelupo: uomini e fornaci in un centro di produzione dal XIV al XVIII secolo*, Montelupo Fiorentino: Aedo, 5 vols; *idem* 2008, *Il Museo della Ceramica di Montelupo: storia, tecnologia, collezioni*, Florence: Polistampa.
147 Fornaciari 2011–12, 'La maiolica di Montelupo Fiorentino: morfologia e cronotipologia dal XV al XIX secolo', Siena: Università degli Studi di Siena, PhD dissertation.
148 34 × 42mm, 7–8mm thick.
149 Marked 'PH78 K06'. Bag marked 'PH78 K06 MONTELUPO 270 / DRAWN 128 2012.28'.
150 Berti, F. 1998, *op. cit.* in n. 146, **2**, 115–16, Pls 50–6; *idem* 2008, *op. cit.* in n. 146, 287–9, Pls 29c–i.
151 Allan, J.P. forthcoming, 'Italian ceramics in south-west England, 1450–1750', in Blake and Milanese forthcoming, *op. cit.* in n. 104.
152 Cora, G. 1973, *Storia della maiolica di Firenze e del contado: secoli XIV e XV*, Florence: Sansoni, 153, Pl. 269b top left.

Fig. 51: Italo-Netherlandish and Italian maiolica. Scale 1:2.

bearing orange filled semi-circles on a ground partly marked in light blue.[153] However, I have not noticed a vertical imbricated orange-yellow band nor upright white marks on each scale as on No. 128. A similar two-tier vertically imbricated band with upright marks in dark blue on an orange-yellow ground on a brim found in Rome and datable to around 1500 has been attributed to Deruta or Rome. It is 340mm in diam. and has an orange-yellow lead glaze on the reverse.[154] The 'grey red' and 'mauve' is the red applied sparingly to many Montelupo products datable to the first quarter of the 16th century, and extensively to MMAB's most prized item, now called the *Rosso di Montelupo*, signed by a known Montelupo potter and dated 1509.[155] Similar small red touches to those on No. 128 are on one of the *contorno a ghirlanda* items in the 2014 redisplay of the ceramics museum at Montelupo[156] which is also decorated with a row of marked upright plain pointed petals.[157] The yellow-orange horizontally imbricated bands on a pair of fine *contorno a ghirlanda* pedestal bowls are marked by dark 'upright' lines and pairs of white arcs. Their cavity walls are covered by barely visible *bianco sopra bianco* (white [paint] on white [glaze]) ornament and their upper margins with red on white chequered bands.[158] These pedestal bowls were found in the workshop of the potter who signed the exceptional *Rosso di Montelupo* basin.

Vessel 165 (Figs 45.165, 51.165)
Three fragments of concave footed base and lower side of dish. i) Base and side; ii) base; iii) side.[159] Black material attached to and signs of burning incl. on break of ii). Contour-like discolouration of glaze near broken edges of iii) caused by ?water absorption. Parts of glaze missing from int. i) and ii). Fairly hard, smooth, off-white fabric. Fine concentric lines on unglazed ext. side and int. where glaze missing. Incised concentric line on ext. base. Smooth, thin, opaque white glaze int. Dark blue-defined dec. of left-facing probably female profile with brown orange-yellow hair. i) and ii) marked with pale blue strokes. Two irregular brown strokes on pale blue area beyond hair on i).[160]
Context: Mid-16th-century kitchen refuse dumped in ditch (H04).
ICP analysis RN6 of sherd i (cat. No. 612): related to Nos 74 and 129.
Berti[161] calls this decoration *figurato atipico*, because without the surrounding ornament it cannot be assigned to a type in his classification.[162] Of the published representations of human busts in a similar palette and with comparable anatomical shading, only two show the left profile of women

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153 Berti 1998, *op. cit.* in n. 146, **2**, 108–9, Pls 18–20, Pl. 20 with lozenge.
154 Ricci, M., and Vendittelli, L. 2010, *Museo nazionale romano: Crypta Balbi, ceramiche medievali e moderne*, **1**. *Ceramiche medievali e del primo Rinascimento, 1000–1530*, Milan: Electa, cat. II.2.120.
155 Cora 1973, *op. cit.* in n. 152, 112–13, 157, Pl. 276b; Berti 1998, *op. cit.* in n. 146, **2**, 129–30, 133, Pls 106–7, 120–1; *idem* 2002, *op. cit.* in n. 146, **4**, 166–8, 182–6; *idem* 2003, *op. cit.* in n. 146, **5**, 50; *idem* 2008, *op. cit.* in n. 146, 278–81, Pls 25a–b; *idem* pers. comm.; MMAB display information.
156 Now part of MMAB – Montelupo Museo Archivio Biblioteca.
157 MMAB, animals and flowers, case 3, No. 1, top right.
158 Berti 1998, *op. cit.* in n. 146, **2**, 116, sub-group 23.4.2, Pls 51–2; *idem* 2008, *op. cit.* in n. 146, 289, Pls 29d–g.
159 Sherds i) 86 × 75mm (base diam. *c.* 160 estimated from ⅛ circumference), foot 7mm high, surviving side height *c.* 30mm, base 16–20mm and side 9–12mm thick; ii) Base 66 × 34mm, 15–21mm thick. iii) Side 55 × 62mm, 9–15mm thick.
160 Sherds i–ii) marked 'PH78F19'; iii) 'PH78H04'. Bag marked 'PH78 H04/F19 MONTELUPO ×3.
161 Berti, pers. comm.
162 Berti 1998, *op. cit.* in n. 146, **2**, 124–6.

with orange hair arranged like No. 165.[163] However, on both dark lines indicate strands of hair unlike the poorly differentiated yellow-brown wash on No. 165; and the margins of the hair are not defined by a dark blue line as on No. 165. The dates assigned to all the busts listed in n. 163 lie between 1480 and 1520. It is unclear how the Penhow fragments relate to each other. The largest may show a free lock of hair on the bare neck or upper shoulder.

Ligurian

Predominantly blue decoration on a paler blue (*berettino*) – as the items found at Penhow – or white tin glaze (*bianco-blu*) typify Ligurian post-medieval maiolica (*maiolica ligure*). The earliest examples of Renaissance maiolica made in Liguria consist of jugs decorated with ladder medallions (*a scaletta*) and in blue, yellow and ochre, which were excavated in Savona in a context datable to the last quarter of the 15th century.[164] Similar jugs together with the first *berettino* drug jars, the latter with decoration not yet paralleled in Liguria, were found in the 1516 *Lomellina* shipwreck, both forms painted also in orange.[165] However, *berettino* was not found under a 1514-dated pavement in Genoa, where it first occurs in contexts datable to the second quarter of the 16th century, when it may have been introduced by potters from the Marches.[166] The presumed earliest items, whether made in Genoa or Savona, are in a pink or red fabric.[167] In the middle of the 16th century the characteristic open forms in a buff fabric, mostly covered with a *berettino* tin glaze and decorated in various types and combinations of what is called the 'calligraphic' style, characterized by a fine

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[163] Berti 1998, *op. cit.* in n. 146, **2**, Fig. 12, Pls 18–19, 50, 67, 70, 77, 84–5, 94–5, 112, 117–18 – the two: Pls 67, 84–5; Bojani, G.C., Ravanelli Guidotti, C. and Fanfani, A. (eds) 1985, *Museo internazionale delle ceramiche in Faenza. La donazione Galeazzo Cora: ceramiche dal medioevo al XIX secolo*, Milan: Fabbri, **1**, cat. 524; see also Ricci and Venditelli 2010, *op. cit.* in n. 154, cat. II.2.36.

[164] Lavagna, R., Varaldo, C. and Benente, F. 2011, 'Un contesto chiuso della fine del Medioevo: le ceramiche del pozzo nello scavo dei Cassari a Savona', in *Atti XLIV convegno internazionale della ceramica*, Savona: Centro ligure per la storia della ceramica, 82, 85–90.

[165] Thirion, G. 1993, 'L'épave de la *Lomellina*', in Abel, V. and Amouric, H. (eds) 1993, *Un goût d'Italie: céramiques et céramistes italiens en Provence du moyen âge au XXème siècle*, Aubagne: Narration, Figs 38–9; Varaldo, C. 1994, 'Maiolica ligure: contributo della ricerca archeologica alla conoscenza delle tipologie decorative del vasellame', in *Atti XXVII convegno internazionale della ceramica*, Albisola: Centro ligure per la storia della ceramica, 311. The similar bluish tin-glaze of the Montelupo open ware retrieved from the same wreck suggests that the anomalous *berettino* on the Ligurian drug jars and jugs may be due to post-depositional discolouration (cp. Figs 2–3, 5 with Figs 1 and 6 at <http://archeonavale.org/lomellina/fr/l_12.html>).

[166] Milanese, M. 1990, 'La maiolica ligure cinquecentesca: un bilancio del contributo dell'archeologia', in *Castelli e la maiolica cinquecentesca italiana: atti del convegno in Pescara 22/25 aprile 1989*, Pescara: Umberto Sala, 195–6; *idem* 1993, 'Italian pottery exported during the 15th and 16th centuries', *Medieval Ceram.* **17**, 26–7; *idem* 1980, 'Il contributo del metodo archeologico stratigrafico alla conoscenza della maiolica ligure d'uso dei secoli XVI e XVII', *Faenza* **66**, 338; Marzinot, F. 1979, *Ceramica e ceramisti in Liguria*, Genova: Sagep, 151–4.

[167] Gardini, A. 1992, 'Alcuni dati dell'archeologia urbana a Genova per lo studio della maiolica ligure di XVI secolo', in *Atti XXV convegno internazionale della* ceramica, Albisola: Centro ligure per la storia della ceramica, 97, 99; Varaldo, C. 1975, 'La ceramica a Savona nel passaggio tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna: i primi esempi di maiolica cinquecentesca', in *Atti VIII convegno internazionale della ceramica*, Albisola: Centro ligure per la storia della ceramica, 65, 68; *idem* 1992, 'La maiolica ligure del Cinquecento nello scavo della cattedrale di Albenga', in *Atti XXV convegno internazionale della ceramica*, Albisola: Centro ligure per la storia della ceramica, 172; Lavagna R. 1992, 'Tipologie della maiolica del Cinquecento dagli scavi del Priamàr a Savona', in *Atti XXV convegno internazionale della ceramica*, Albisola: Centro ligure per la storia della ceramica, 136.

line, as well as more realistic themes common to other Italian regions, were established.[168] *Bianco-blu* was made alongside the predominant blue tin-glazed ware and was decorated in similar and in less refined styles executed with a broad brush. It became common in the 17th century, when there are fewer dated contexts in Liguria.[169] Towards the end of that century *berettino* was still made in Albisola, but now covered with a landscape scene.[170]

However, a systematic examination of what decoration has been found on what forms when and where has not been undertaken since the pioneering work of the 1960s; nor have the wasters of the three main production centres at Genoa, Savona and nearby Albisola been published fully.[171] Despite, for example, apparent distinctions in the tone of the blue glaze and the suggestion that the earliest *calligrafico a volute tipo A* may be Genoese, some Ligurian experts feel unable to ascribe any single 16th-century item to a particular centre.[172] The most recent, clearest and well-illustrated review of excavated Ligurian Maiolica is of the finds in Barcelona.[173]

Vessel 75 (Figs 27.75, 51.75)
Absent from collection in 2012; description based on photograph and drawing. Not available for ICP analysis.
Four joining fragments of rounded bowl, 70mm high, with simple rounded tapered rim, diam. 148mm, and recessed base, diam. 80mm. Glossy light blue opaque glaze, also covering flat base edge. Decoration of irregular dark blue overlapping arcs ext., and int. of concentric lines in centre, undulating motifs, and band on side (int. dec. motifs located differently in plan and in section on drawings). Motifs filled in yellow (shown stippled on drawing).
Context: No. 226 from 16th-century filling of ditch (E05), perhaps derived from cleaning or clearing a lady's chamber in the castle.
The form has been found in a 1544 destruction level at Savona and below a 1582/86 pavement in Albenga.[174] The central motif as drawn from above resembles the circles surrounded by radiating needle leaves (*a foglie e raggiere*), often associated with *calligrafico a volute C* and sometimes *a*

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168 Farris, G., and Ferrarese V.A. 1969, 'Contributo alla conoscenza della tipologia e della stilistica della maiolica ligure del XVI secolo', in *Atti del secondo convegno (Albisola, 31 maggio – 2 giugno 1969)*, Genoa: Centro ligure per la storia della ceramica, 11–45; Milanese 1990, *op. cit.* in n. 166; Varaldo 1994, *op. cit.* in n. 165; Restagno, D. 1994, 'La maiolica a smalto berettino e bianco e blu di Albisola: dati archeologici e loro collegamento con le fornaci antiche localizzate attraverso l'analisi dei catasti', in *Atti XXVII convegno internazionale della ceramica*, Albisola: Centro ligure per la storia della ceramica, 324–5.

169 Gardini 1992, *op. cit.* in n. 167, 97; Varaldo 1994, *op. cit.* in n. 165, 313; Milanese 1990, *op. cit.* in n. 166, 340–1.

170 Bernat, C., Ciccotti, M., Giacchino, G. and Restagno, D. 1987, 'Lo scavo della fornace Giacchino (Albisola Superiore – agosto/settembre 1983): parte seconda – la maiolica', in *Atti XX convegno internazionale della ceramica*, Albisola: Centro ligure per la storia della ceramica, 163–4, Pl. 1.

171 Milanese 1990, *op. cit.* in n. 166, 194–5; *idem* 1993, 'Italian pottery exported during the 15th and 16th centuries', *Medieval Ceram.* **17**, 26; now also Restagno 1994, *op. cit.* in n. 168, 324–6.

172 Farris, G. 1990, 'La maiolica ligure nel '500', in *Castelli e la maiolica cinquecentesca italiana: atti del convegno in Pescara 22/25 Aprile 1989*, Pescara: Umberto Sala, 201; Lavagna 1992, *op. cit.* in n. 167, 138; Milanese 1993, *op. cit.* in n. 171, 26.

173 Beltrán de Heredia Bercero, J., and Miró i Alaix, N. 2010, *The Ceramics Trade in Barcelona in the 16th–17th Centuries: Italy, France, Portugal, the Workshops of the Rhine and China*, Barcelona: Museu d'Història de Barcelona, 26–50, 104–30, 132–3.

174 Lavagna 1992, *op. cit.* in n. 167, 136; Varaldo 1992, *op. cit.* in n. 167, 173–4.

quartieri (segmented) borders.[175] However, that drawn on the inner side of No. 75 is closer to those on the walls of the more schematically *a raggiera* decorated *berettino* bowls found in Rome.[176] The interlaced arcade (*a cestino*) on the reverse is a poorly executed example of the one-stroke version common on Ligurian Maiolica open forms.[177] Touches of yellow are known but rare both in Liguria and abroad.[178] Most of the contexts cited are datable to the second half of the 16th century.

Vessel 127 (Figs 37.127, 51.127)

Six fragments from the rim (i)–iii)), side (iv)–v)) and lower side and base (vi) of at least two rounded bowls with simple rounded tapered rim and recessed base, latter diam. *c*. 90mm (estimated from ⅕ circumference), Glaze missing in parts from int. and ext. iv) and ext. v).[179] Fairly hard, granular, buff fabric. Three concentric incised lines, 50mm apart, visible on ext. v), where glaze missing. Smooth, glossy, thick, very pale blue opaque glaze on both surfaces (including base edge). Dark blue decoration. Int. i)–iv) horizontal band enclosed by pairs of concentric lines, only single above i), enclosing pinnate raceme, on (i) interrupted by rounded flower with shaded half towards rim. (Single line above suggests that i) could *perhaps* be from a different vessel from ii)–iii)). Similar band on v) with engrailed line over upper concentric line. vi) painted with apparently incompatible ornament of partly hatched and shaded motifs within curved plain spaces on a shaded ground, enclosed by pairs of lines, one 1mm wide, and the other widely separated paler pair >2mm wide. Traces of overlapping arcs, 2mm wide, on ext. of all, bar iii). (Traces ext. arcs suggest that either v) or vi) from another vessel.)[180]

Context: 16th-century (E05, K10) and 17th-century and later (E01, E04, K03) ditch fills.

ICP analysis RN2 of sherd vi (cat. No. 227): fits Savona biscuit samples of Ligurian maiolica, but Albisola cannot be excluded, although Genoa can. If vi) from separate vessel, the analysis has no bearing on the origin of i)–v).

Sherds i)–v) display decoration typical of *calligrafico a volute C* borders.[181] An open fragment with the border band repeated on the side was recovered in Genoa.[182] Closer parallels have been found in

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[175] Cameirana, A. 1969, 'Contributo per una topografia delle antiche fornaci ceramiche savonesi', in *Atti del secondo convegno (Albisola, 31 maggio – 2 giugno 1969)*, Genova: Centro ligure per la storia della ceramica, Pl. 10; Restagno 1994, *op. cit.* in n. 168, Pl. 1.4; Ricci, M. and Vendittelli, L. 2013, *Museo nazionale romano: Crypta Balbi, ceramiche medievali e moderne, **2**. Il Cinquecento, 1530–1610*, Milano: Electa, cat. III.4.5.3–4; Beltrán de Heredia Bercero and Miró i Alaix 2010, *op. cit.* in n. 173, Pl. 29.7.

[176] Ricci and Vendittelli 2013, *op. cit.* in n. 175, cat. III.4.10.3.

[177] Farris and Ferrarese 1969, *op. cit.* in n. 168, Pl. 9.9; Lavagna, C. 2011, 'La maiolica ligure del XVI secolo', in *Ceramiche della tradizione ligure: thesaurus di opere dal Medio Evo al primo Novecento* (ed. C. Chilosi), Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 32; Jaspers, N.L. 2011, '"Clean, cheap & truly more enjoyable": Italian maiolica excavated in the Netherlands (1550–1700)', *Archeologia Postmedievale* **15**, 15.

[178] Lavagna 1992, *op. cit.* in n. 167, 136; 2011, *op. cit.* in n. 177, 35–6, cat. 19 right, 22; Ricci and Vendittelli 2013, *op. cit.* in n. 175, cat. III.4.7.2; Lister, F.C. and Lister, R.H. 1976, 'Ligurian maiolica in Spanish America', in *Atti IX convegno internazionale della ceramica*, Albisola: Centro ligure per la storia della ceramica, 314–15; Beltrán de Heredia Bercero and Miró i Alaix 2010, *op. cit.* in n. 173, 34, Pl. 29.2; Jaspers 2011, 'Ligurian maiolica from Dutch soil (1550–1700): an archaeological contribution to the typology of decoration and morphology of Ligurian export wares', in *Atti XLIV convegno internazionale della ceramica*, Savona: Centro ligure per la storia della ceramica, 14.

[179] Sherds i–iii) rim: i) 38 × 35mm, ii) 21 × 31mm, iii) 22 × 15mm; iv–v) side: upper iv) 37 × 18mm, lower v) 42 × 31mm; vi) lower side and base, 38 × 34mm. Flat base edge 4mm wide, 4mm thick, side 4–6mm thick.

[180] Marked i), iii) 'PH78E04', ii) 'PH78K10', iv) 'PH78E05', v) 'PH78K03', vi) 'PH78E01'. Bag marked 'PH78 K03 BERETTINO (×6) 227 2012.28'.

[181] Farris and Ferrarese 1969, *op. cit.* in n. 168, Pl. 9.3–4 for v), Pl. 9.3.5 for i–iv).

[182] Milanese, M. 1977, 'La ceramica dei secoli XVI e XVII di vico Carità in Genova', in *Atti X convegno internazionale della ceramica*, Albisola: Centro ligure per la storia della ceramica, 252, Pl. 5.63.

Corsica and Sicily on dishes with an everted rim which also share No. 127's upper-shaded flower on their side bands; only a plate from Corsica does not have an engrailed line under its upper band and has the upper-shaded flower on both bands.[183] C is one of the commonest types in the 1544 demolition layer in Savona, but amongst the least popular in the succeeding phase.[184] Yet in Rome type C is amongst the most frequent from contexts datable to the second half of the 16th century and at Barcelona it 'stands out' in those of the late 16th and early 17th century.[185] However, the ornament on a small bowl from an early 17th-century cesspit in Amsterdam is not as finely executed as that on No. 127.[186] For long the year 1568 painted on the reverse of a base has been taken to date type C, but the decoration on its obverse is type B. Its original publication alongside two different rim fragments bearing the characteristic type C border is misleading.[187]

Although abstract borders were sometimes combined with realistic central ornament,[188] the pairs of lines around the centre of vi) differ from those on the other fragments. The hatched leaves on a shaded ground resemble those on *a quartieri* brims found in Savona and Albisola.[189] Parallels for similar motifs in the cavity have been found at Rome and Denia in Spain, although none of these are identical to No. 127.[190] *A quartieri* forms only a small proportion of the Ligurian maiolica in the 1544 demolition layer at Savona and in the following phase, whereas it is the commonest group in Rome where it has been found in contexts datable to the second half of the 16th century.[191] At Barcelona it and type C are the main types of *berettino*.[192]

Vessel 149 (Figs 39.149, 51.149)
Fragment of bottom of bowl with ring base, flat base edge and rounded body.[193] Hard, granular, buff fabric. Smooth, glossy, very pale blue opaque glaze on both surfaces, except base edge. Dark blue decoration of tower and gable of building sketched in lines, with curving lines to right, partly filled with broader light blue strokes. Enclosed by two concentric lines.[194]

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183 Guastella, C. 1976, 'Ceramiche rinvenute a Catania presso la chiesa di S.M. della Rotonda', in *Atti IX convegno internazionale della ceramica*, Albisola: Centro ligure per la storia della ceramica, 240–1, Pl. 8.135; Richez, F. 1993, 'La vaisselle conventuelle de l'épave du Brocciu', in Abel and Amouric (eds) 1993, *op. cit.* n. 165, 50, Fig. 44.5,7.

184 14.7% cp. 1.7%: Lavagna 1992, *op. cit.* in n. 167, 135, 137.

185 Ricci and Vendittelli 2013, *op. cit.* in n. 175, cat. 314–15; Beltrán de Heredia Bercero and Miró i Alaix 2010, *op. cit.* in n. 173, 32–4, 69; Beltrán de Heredia Bercero, J. 2011, 'Génova y las importaciones de mayólica ligur en Barcelona: los testimonios arqueológicos y las fuentes documentales', in Pessa, L. and Ramagli, P. (eds) 2011, *Terre genovesi: ceramica a Genova tra medioevo e rinascimento*, Genoa: De Ferrari, 12.

186 Baart, J.M. 1983, 'Ceramiche italiane rinvenute in Olanda e prime imitazioni olandesi', in *Atti XV convegno internazionale della ceramica*, Albisola: Centro ligure per la storia della ceramica, 164, Fig. 15.

187 Cameirana 1969, *op. cit.* in n. 175, 67, Pl. 3; Farris and Ferrarese 1969, *op. cit.* in n. 168, 40; Marzinot 1979, *op. cit.* in n. 166, ill. 185–7.

188 Farris and Ferrarese 1969, *op. cit.* in n. 168, 26–7, 36.

189 Cameirana 1969, *op. cit.* in n. 175, Pl. 11; Bernat, C., Ciccotti, M. and Restagno, D. 1992, 'Una discarica di ceramica cinquecentesca sotto la vecchia ferrovia ad Albisola Marina', in *Atti XXV convegno internazionale della ceramica*, Albisola: Centro ligure per la storia della ceramica, Fig. 1.6.

190 Ricci and Vendittelli 2013, *op. cit.* in n. 175, cat. III.4.7.5–6; Gisbert, J.A., and Bolufer, J. 1992, 'Maiolica italiana en el registro arqueologico de la ciudad de Denia (Alacant): catalogo y algunas consideraciones entorno a su contexto material', in *Atti XXV convegno internazionale della ceramica*, Albisola: Centro ligure per la storia della ceramica, 11, Pl. 2.1.

191 Lavagna 1992, *op. cit.* in n. 167, 135, 137; Ricci and Vendittelli 2013, *op. cit.* in n. 175, cat. 318–19.

192 Beltrán de Heredia Bercero and Miró i Alaix 2010, *op. cit.* in n. 173, 69.

193 54 × 34mm; ring base, 50mm diam., flat base edge 3mm wide, and lower rounded body of bowl, surviving height 16mm, thick 4mm, 5–6mm near int. base.

194 Marked 'PH77 A06'. Bag marked 'PH78 A06 BERETTINO 520 2012.28'.

Context: 17th-century and later upper ditch fill (A06).
ICP analysis RN5 (sherd cat. No. 520): similar to No. 127.
Representations of a farmstead or hamlet (*a paesi*) within a medallion in the cavity occur with both crude versions of type C and *a quartieri* borders.[195] The 'minimal' proportion found in the 1544 layer at Savona has been taken to indicate that *a paesi* was (then) mainly made in Genoa, but its numbers increase in the second half of the century.[196] This motif combined with type C was found beneath the 1582/86 pavement in Albenga.[197] Fragments from two sites in Albisola are decorated with a gabled house and tower, 'machicolated' at the first site like No. 149.[198] A similar composition found in the Netherlands is associated with an *a quartieri* border.[199]

DISCUSSION

Provenance

The Italian tin-glazed wares discussed in this Appendix belonged to nine or more items, of two distinct periods: the Italo-Netherlandish and Montelupo types of around 1500; and the *berettino* of the second half of the 16th century and perhaps a little later. They were made in two areas: the earlier two from the upper end of the lower Arno valley – but No. 111, which is not available, could be from the Low Countries – and the Ligurian Maiolica from the Savona district to the west of Genoa. The ICP analysis confirms the assignment to Montelupo of some of the Italo-Netherlandish Maiolica, but it should be borne in mind that at this time Montespertoli's clay was transported for special projects to, for example, Pistoia.[200] From a British perspective the precise provenance within these Italian regions may not be significant.

Imitations of Montelupo and Ligurian maiolica were made in other west Mediterranean centres, in some of which potters from north-west Tuscany and central Liguria set up workshops.[201] Migrants' products may be difficult to distinguish visually, as is the case with Italo-Netherlandish Maiolica, where analysis of the chemical composition of the fabric of samples with the same form and decoration showed that some were made in Italy and others in the Low Countries.[202] It has been suggested that in Rome imports and imitations, including those by immigrant potters, may be distinguished by decorative colours, local forms and ornamental details not known in the prototypes.[203] However, ICP has identified items at Penhow (No. 128) and Glastonbury with no exact counterpart yet published in Montelupo as made there.[204]

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195 Farris and Ferrarese 1969, *op. cit.* in n. 168, 36–7, Pl. 10.3.
196 Lavagna 1992, *op. cit.* in n. 167, 37, *idem*, 1996, 'Maiolica ligure', in *Museo archeologico di Savona al Priamàr* (ed. R. Lavagna), Genova: Sagep, 71.
197 Varaldo 1992, *op. cit.* in n. 167, 173, Fig. 26.
198 Restagno, D. 1992, 'Elementi per la conoscenza della produzione locale di ceramica da uno scavo nel quartiere Isola di Albisola Marina', in *Atti XXV convegno internazionale della ceramica*, Albisola: Centro ligure per la storia della ceramica, 108, Pl. 5.3; Bernat *et al*. 1992, *op. cit.* in n. 189, Fig. 1.7.
199 Jaspers, 2011, *op. cit.* in n. 178, 13, Fig. 2.2.
200 Marquand, A. 1921, *Benedetto and Santi Buglioni*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 180.
201 e.g. Ragona, A. 1992, 'Influssi liguri nella ceramica caltagironese nei secoli XVI, XVII e XVIII', in *Atti XXV convegno internazionale della ceramica*, Albisola: Centro ligure per la storia della ceramica, 235–40; Beltrán de Heredia Bercero and Miró i Alaix 2010, *op. cit.* in n. 173, 28–9.
202 Hurst 1999, *op. cit.* in n. 138, 93–5; Hughes, M.J. and Gaimster, D. 1999, 'Neutron activation analyses of maiolica from London, Norwich, the Low Countries and Italy', in Gaimster (ed.) 1999, *op. cit.* in n. 106, 66; Blake 1999, *op. cit.* in n. 132, 30.
203 Ricci and Vendittelli 2010, *op. cit.* in n. 154, 178; *idem* 2013, *op. cit.* in n. 175, 222.
204 Allan *et al*. 2015, *op. cit.* in n. 85, Fig. 8.19.215.

Successive transfers of potters from Liguria to Seville have been recorded and it is likely that *berettino* was made in the second half of the 16th century by migrants in that city.[205] However, the only chemical analyses I am aware of are of broader-brush types found in the New World, indicating their origins in both Seville and Liguria.[206] As the large group identified as from Seville came from a ship probably wrecked in 1622, perhaps these types were made in and exported from Seville only in that century when many more Ligurian potters emigrated to Iberia.[207] Two other items of analysed Seville *berettino* excavated in London have not apparently been published.[208] These and a 17th-century blue on white plate found in Colchester show that Ligurian-style pottery made in Seville reached places outside the Spanish dominion.[209]

Quality and quantities

In 1988 Hurst observed that, of the 47 sites where Montelupo maiolica had then been identified in the British Isles, at only seven did they include items with decoration typical of the first half of the 16th century.[210] Later he contrasted this low figure with the 115 sites where the contemporaneous Italo-Netherlandish Maiolica had been recognised – at this time the second most common imported pottery after Raeren stoneware, which had been identified at 300 sites.[211]

The red and white paints on No. 128 suggest it was once finely decorated. Only one of the many 'Montelupo' products excavated at the Priamàr fortress in Savona has some trace of red ornament. This unusually large and well decorated plate, 360mm in diam., was found in a 13th-century cistern with other high-quality ceramics and glass, datable to around 1500. The cistern was presumably filled and covered in the 1542–3 restructuring of the Palazzo della Loggia, the

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205 Marzinot 1979, *op. cit.* in n. 166, 152–3; Ray, A. 2000, *Spanish Pottery, 1248–1898: with a Catalogue of the Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London: V&A Publications, 157.

206 López Torres, P., and Rueda Galán, Ma. M. 1998, 'La imitacion de la «berettina» en las producciones sevillanas', in *Atti XXV convegno internazionale della ceramica*, Albisola: Centro ligure per la storia della ceramica, 171–7; Gutiérrez 2000, *op. cit.* in n. 139, 51, Fig. 2.34; Deagan, K. A. [2003 – undated, updated reprint of 1987 edn], *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean, 1500–1800*, **1**. *Ceramics, glassware, and beads*, Washington, D.C: Smithsonian Institution Press, 63–4, 70, Figs 4.31, 37; Kingsley, S.A. 2014, 'The deep-sea Tortugas shipwreck, Florida (1622): the ceramic tablewares', in Stemm, G., Kingsley, S.A. and Gerth, E.C. (eds), *Pottery from the Tortugas shipwreck, Straits of Florida: a Merchant Vessel from Spain's 1622 Tierra Firme Fleet*, Oxford: Oxbow Books, 18; Hughes, M.J. 2014, 'Chemical analysis of pottery from the Tortugas shipwreck (1622) by plasma spectrometry (ICPS)' in Stemm *et al*. 2014, this note, 217; Myers, J.E., de Amores Carredano, F., Olin, J.S. and Pleguezuelo Hernández, A. 1992, 'Compositional identification of Seville majolica at overseas sites', *Hist. Archaeol*. **26:1**, 138; Lister, F.C. and Lister, R.H. 1982, *Sixteenth Century Maiolica Pottery in the Valley of Mexico*, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, Fig. 3.44.p.

207 Carta, R. 2011, 'Commercianti e artigiani genovesi a Granada tra il XV e il XVI secolo, attraverso le testimonianze archeologiche, le indagini storiche e i dati d'archivio', in Pessa, L., and Ramagli, P. (eds) 2011, *op. cit.* in n. 185, 24; Kingsley, S.A., Gerth, E.C. and Hughes, M.J. 2013, 'Ceramics from the Tortugas shipwreck: a Spanish-operated *navio* of the 1622 Tierra Firme fleet', *Ceramics in America 2013*, 78.

208 Cotter, J.P. 2000, *Post-Roman pottery from Excavations in Colchester, 1971–85*, Colchester: Colchester Archaeological Trust, 296; Blackmore, L. 2010, 'Imported pottery' in Grainger, I. and Phillpotts, C. (eds) *The Royal Navy Victualling Yard, East Smithfield, London*, London: Museum of London Archaeology, 97–106.

209 Cotter 2000, *op. cit.* in n. 208, 296.

210 Hurst, J.G. 1991, 'Italian pottery imported into Britain and Ireland', in Wilson, T. (ed.) *Italian Renaissance Pottery*, London: British Museum, 213–14, Table 1. However, he listed Penhow as a later Montelupo type: Hurst 1991, *op. cit.* in this note, 225.

211 Hurst 1999, *op. cit.* in n. 138, 95.

residence of the governors of Savona and where Ferdinand II of Aragon stayed in 1507.[212] Baldi[213] proposes that Montelupo's red pigment was made of unstable haematite which would have required an additional firing at 600°C, demonstrated by a plate dated 1514 displayed in Montelupo's Museo Archivio Biblioteca[214] where the red paint applied to two of the Medici balls has peeled off revealing the underlying yellow colour of the coat of arms.[215] White paint too was a special feature, although the marks on the wreath are not as refined as *bianco sopra bianco*.[216] Berti[217] has commented on the unusual care taken in the anatomical shading in light blue on busts like that on the other Montelupo item, No. 165, whose ornament Fornaciari[218] has placed in his best-quality category.

Whereas at this time the complexity of the decoration and the pigments deployed could increase the price paid to a Montelupo potter by between 30 and 65 per cent, a large dish like Nos 128 and 165 cost twice as much as a medium-sized one, thrice a small one and six times as much as a small bowl.[219] They may also have increased in price disproportionately to smaller items by the time they were sold abroad. Small items of Spanish lustreware were twice as expensive in Florence as at Valencia and bigger ones cost three to four times more.[220]

In 1988 only sixteen examples of Ligurian *berettino* were known from as many sites in the British Isles, but Hurst reckoned that many more may have been wrongly classified (and ignored) as north European.[221] Allan's re-examination of the finds from Plymouth, where 228 *berettino* sherds from at least 74 vessels have been identified, bears this out.[222] At the Royal Mint site in London, for example, most of the Italian imports recognized are Ligurian and only a smaller group Tuscan.[223] In

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212 Benente, F. 2002, 'Lo scavo della Loggia: analisi della sequenza stratigrafica', in Varaldo, C. 2002 (ed.) *Archeologia urbana a Savona: scavi e ricerche nel complesso monumentale del Priamàr*, **2**, *Palazzo della Loggia (scavi 1969–89)*, Bordighera: Istituto internazionale di studi liguri, **2:1**, 89; Varaldo, C. 2002, 'Lo scavo della Loggia: problematiche storiche', in Varaldo, C. 2002 (ed.), *op. cit.* in this note, **2:1**, 43; Ventura, D. 1991, 'La maiolica del centro Italia negli scavi del Priamàr a Savona' in *Atti XXIV convegno internazionale della ceramica*, Albisola: Centro ligure per la storia della ceramica, 131–2, Fig. 8, Pl. 1.10; *idem* 2002, 'Maiolica del centro Italia', in Varaldo 2002 *op. cit.* in this note, **2:2**, 294–5, Pl. 8.1010; *idem* 2002, 'Vasellame vitreo di età medievale e postmedievale', in Varaldo 2002, **2:2**, 422.

213 Baldi, G. 2015 (April 24), 'Pigmenti, colori e realizzazioni estetiche nella maiolica di Montelupo: quando l'indagine scientifica incontra l'arte', lecture at *I venerdì al MMAB*, Montelupo Fiorentino; Berti, F. 2014, 'I mutamenti economici e sociali del XVII secolo e la produzione ceramica a Montelupo ed in Toscana', in *La ceramica nel Seicento tra Lazio, Umbria e Toscana: atti della prima giornata di studi a Civita di Bagnoregio, 19 maggio 2012* (ed. L. Pesante), Florence: Polistampa, 28, n. 32.

214 MMAB, *Rosso* room, case 3, No. 5.

215 X-ray fluorescence of similar red ornament on a tin-glazed tile made in Antwerp perhaps before 1550 shows that it is 'mainly composed of iron': Wilson, T. 2011, 'An Antwerp tile from Tudor England', in Dunsmore, A. (ed.), *This Blessed Plot, this Earth: English Pottery Studies in Honour of Jonathan Horne*, London: Paul Holberton, 136, n. 20.

216 Thornton, D., and Wilson, T. 2009, *op. cit.* in n. 105, 180–1.

217 Berti 1998, *op. cit.* in n. 146, 125.

218 Fornaciari, A. 2010, 'La maiolica di Montelupo: un indicatore di status socio-economico?', in *Pensare/classificare: studi e ricerche sulla ceramica medievale per Graziella Berti* (eds Gelichi, S. and Baldassarri, M.), Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 117–18, Table 3.

219 Fornaciari 2010, *op. cit.* in n. 218, 113–16, esp. 114.

220 Spallanzani, M. 2006, *Maioliche ispano-moresche a Firenze nel Rinascimento*, Florence: S.P.E.S., chs 3–4, esp. Tables 2, 4; Blake, H. 2011, 'Spanish lustreware and Italy', presented at the *Die Wunder der Welt: Lüster und Luxus in europäischen Netzwerken des Austauschs* conference, Berlin.

221 Hurst 1991, *op. cit.* in n. 210, 214.

222 Allan forthcoming, *op. cit.* in n. 151, esp. Table 2.

223 Blackmore 2010, *op. cit.* in n. 208, 99.

Barcelona Ligurian Maiolica outnumbers by far other Italian imports.[224] In the Netherlands before about 1600 Ligurian *berettino* forms between two thirds and three quarters of them.[225] In the first half of the 17th century, now together with blue-on-white and Ligurian imitations of Faenza's *compendiario* style, this region continued to supply a similar share of the Italian finds in the Netherlands.[226]

Rounded bowls like those at Penhow have been reported in Barcelona and are much less common than dishes at Plymouth and in the Netherlands.[227] As noted under the description of No. 75, decoration enhanced by yellow touches is unusual and thus, like the Montelupo red, may be a sign of distinction.

In the last decade of the 16th century and in the early 17th century Livorno became the most attractive port in the Mediterranean for north European merchants and shipping. The Dutch and the English were the largest of these nations to establish a presence there, the former then outstripping the latter both in the number and size of their ships. Both nations also traded directly with Genoa.[228] This development may explain the increase at this time in the quantity of Ligurian and Tuscan pottery in Britain and the Netherlands.

Function

The representation of the sacred trigram – the abbreviation of Jesus's name as 'yhs' – on two INM items (Nos 111 and 129) points to their devotional purpose.[229] That this ware and the related Faenza-type jugs had a particular religious significance in north-west Europe and not a more mundane function is also suggested by their depiction in Marian but not in dining scenes.[230]

The large size and almost unglazed backs of the two Montelupo pieces (Nos 128 and 165) indicate that they may have been made for display rather than for the table. Fornaciari (pers. comm.) reckons that both Penhow items may have belonged to large dishes about 270mm in diameter. According to Hurst, the tin-glazing of both sides is a characteristic of Montelupo ware found in Britain.[231] However, Fornaciari (pers. comm.) says unglazed backs are known on both large and small open forms in excavations in Tuscany. They may be referring to different periods and types. This issue could be clarified if the reverse of items were more readily visible in museums and more frequently described and illustrated in publications. In Italy vessels on which female busts are depicted (as No. 165) are considered to have been one of the gifts a betrothed may have made to his fiancée.[232]

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224 Beltrán de Heredia Bercero and Miró i Alaix 2010, *op. cit.* in n. 173, 12, 26, 31.

225 Jaspers 2011, *op. cit.* in n. 177, 12–13.

226 Jaspers 2011, *op. cit.* in n. 198, 17, 23.

227 Beltrán de Heredia Bercero and Miró i Alaix 2010, *op. cit.* in n. 173, Pl. 26 upper right; Allan forthcoming *op. cit.* in n. 151; Jaspers 2011, *op. cit.* in n. 177, 13; Jaspers 2011, *op. cit.* in n. 198, 13, Fig. 1:5.

228 Frattarelli Fischer, L. 1988, 'Città fondata e sviluppo demografico: Livorno dal 1427 al 1750', in *Vita, morte e miracoli di gente comune: appunti per una storia della popolazione della Toscana fra XIV e XX secolo* (ed. C.A. Corsini), Florence: La Casa Usher, 124; Engels, M.-C. 1997, *Merchants, Interlopers, Seamen and Corsairs: the 'Flemish' Community in Livorno and Genoa (1615–1635)*, Hilversum: Verloren, 117, 119, 225–6.

229 Blake 1999, *op. cit.* in n. 132, 28–9, 32 n. 54.

230 Gaimster, D.R.M. 1997, '"Distant voices, still-lifes": late medieval religious panel painting as a context for archaeological ceramics', in *Papers of the 'Medieval Europe Brugge 1997' conference*, **10**. *Method and theory in historical archaeology* (eds G. De Boe and F. Verhaeghe), Zellik: Instituut voor het Archeologisch Patrimonium, 43.

231 Hurst 1991, *op. cit.* in n. 210, 213.

232 Wilson, T. 1987, *Ceramic Art of the Italian Renaissance*, London: British Museum, 144; Ravanelli Guidotti, C. 2000, *Delle gentili donne di Faenza: studio del 'ritratto' sulla ceramica faentina del Rinascimento*, Ferrara: Belriguardo, esp. ch. 1; Bayer, A. (ed.) 2008, *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 76–7.

The Ligurian maiolica from Penhow consists of three or more small rounded bowls. They may have been used on the table as drinking vessels or as containers for sauces.

CONCLUSIONS

In Italy maiolica of the kind found at Penhow is thought to have been consumed by the upper-middle 'class'. Their superiors would have commissioned sets; and the lower-middling 'sort' made do with slip-coated and lead-glazed wares.[233] The monetary and rarity value of Italian maiolica in Britain depends on when and where they were consumed. At times mariner communities had readier access to exotic pottery.[234] The Mediterranean pottery at Penhow may have come via south-west English ports.[235] Apart from the added cost of redistribution,[236] the relative rarity, size and decoration of the Montelupo platters suggests that the Bowles family – who resided at Penhow *c*. 1500[237] – had refined tastes. Although that for maiolica was perhaps acquired earlier with the Malagan-type lustreware dish,[238] could the female figure on No. 165 be a precocious indication of the adoption of Italian Renaissance courting practices? The Italo-Netherlandish Maiolica points to the family's particular, perhaps more cerebral, religious devotion.[239] The later and commoner *berettino* are unusual in both shape and for the added colour on one. They show that the tenants, who succeeded the Bowles at Penhow[240] participated in a fashion relatively popular elsewhere in Britain.

APPENDIX G
A NOTE ON THE WEST SOMERSET POTTERIES

By David Dawson

Upon re-examination of the pottery from Penhow Castle in 2012 and 2013, it has become clear that a substantial amount of the collection derives from the red earthenware potteries of West Somerset. This group of production sites has been identified from pottery waste from a number of sites across West Somerset. They were first characterised by the discovery of a kiln and pottery waste in the construction of the Nether Stowey Bypass in 1968, published in outline by Richard Coleman-Smith and Terry Pearson.[241] A large 16th-century assemblage of ware identified to Nether Stowey was excavated from Narrow Quay, Bristol.[242] Since that date, further production material from the 16th to 18th century has been identified by Pearson from Wrangway[243] and by Dawson from Langford Budville and Crowcombe. Later 19th-century wares from the Chandos glass-cone, Bridgwater[244]

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233 Fornaciari 2010, *op. cit.* in n. 218, esp. 115–16, 123–4; Ricci and Vendittelli 2013, *op. cit.* in n. 175, 309.
234 Allan forthcoming *op. cit.* in n.151.
235 Gutiérrez, Appendix D above, Discussion.
236 Allan 1984, *op. cit.* in n. 45, 103.
237 *Penhow I*, 20.
238 Gutiérrez, Appendix D above, No. 152.
239 Blake 1999, *op. cit.* in n. 132, 29.
240 *Penhow I*, 20.
241 Coleman-Smith, R. and Pearson, T. 1970, *Excavations at Donyatt and Nether Stowey*, Southampton: Donyatt Research Group, 6–8.
242 Good *op. cit.* in n. 89, 21, 25–126; Good and Russett *op. cit.* in n. 89, 35–43.
243 Dawson, D. *et al.* 2010, 'Archaeology and the M5 motorway; the gazetteer of sites in Somerset', *Proc. Somerset Archaeol. Natur. Hist. Soc.* **145**, 49.
244 Boore, E. and Pearson, T. 2010, 'Red earthenware pottery from the Chandos Glass Cone, Bridgwater', *Proc. Somerset Archaeol. Natur. Hist. Soc.* **153**, 131–50.

also seem to belong to this group of sandy red earthenware, though this is often tainted with specks and larger lumps of limestone which cause characteristic spalling. It is possible that on further analysis the products of the pottery at Dunster may also prove to part of this general group.[245] Wares discarded after use have been identified from Taunton Castle and from George Street, Bridgwater.[246]

Most of the wares are utilitarian – bowls, jars, bucket-handled pots, chafing dishes, pancheons and pipkins with plain internal lead glazes. The rims of these wares are often strengthened with a thumbed applied strip; the bases are often knife-trimmed. The range produced in the 16th century included unglazed platters (Crowcombe). Trailed, wet-slip and knife-cut sgraffito are common in later plates and dishes.

Allan has summarised the difficulty in identifying any of this type of ware had it occurred in Exeter.[247] However the recent application of a well-tried technique of geological mineralogical analysis to pottery seems to validate the similarity between samples from these production sites and their distinctiveness from products of other centres such as South Somerset (e.g. Donyatt) and East Somerset (e.g. Wanstrow).[248] The four samples from West Somerset belong to a common group A. 'The clay composition of the matrix is dominated by Fe-Al-K silicates with some muscovite/illite. This type has little or no kaolinite. Inclusions are predominately quartz and K-feldspar. Plagioclase-feldspar and calcite are absent from both matrix and inclusions. Glauconite is locally significant'.[249]

Most of these identified production centres have ready access by water and road to the port of Bridgwater, which would have been the most likely outlet by which these wares reached South Wales.[250] Minor harbours such as Combwich, Lilstock, Watchet, Dunster Hawn and Minehead may also have had a part to play.

APPENDIX H
ROOFING MATERIALS (Fig. 52)
By Stuart Wrathmell

The ditch produced only a small quantity of stone roof slabs: eight sandstone tiles were recovered from the late 15th- and 16th-century dumps. There were also two possible fragments of ceramic roof furniture, which have been described in the main text (Fig. 23, No. 27; Fig. 34, No. 94).

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[245] Dawson, D. and Kent, O. 2007, '"Animated Prospect:" an 18th-century kiln at the Pottery House in the Old Park, Dunster, Somerset' in Finch, J. and Giles, K. (eds) *Post-Medieval Estate Landscapes: Design, Improvement and Power*, Soc. Post-Medieval Archaeol. Monogr. **4**, 95–112.

[246] Dawson, D. and Dawson, N. forthcoming, 'The pottery' in Webster, C.W., *Taunton Castle: Archaeological Research 1998–2013*, Taunton: Somerset Archaeol. Natur. Hist. Soc. and Somerset County Council; analysis of George Street, Bridgwater by J. Allan and G. Langman.

[247] Allan, *op. cit.* in n. 45, 98.

[248] Andersen, J.Ø., Rollinson, G.K. and Dawson, D.P. 2015, 'Visualisation, quantitative methodology and matrix-inclusion separation of pottery using QEMSCAN: examples of medieval and post-medieval pottery from Somerset' in *Insights from Innovation: Studies in Honour of the Ceramic Legacy of Professor David Peacock*, Southampton: University Press.

[249] Anderson, J., Dawson, D. and Rollinson, G. forthcoming, 'Mineralogical report on ceramics' in Webster, C.W., *Taunton Castle: Archaeological Research 1998–2013*, Taunton: Somerset Archaeol. Natur. Hist. Soc. and Somerset County Council.

[250] Dunning, R (ed.) 1992, 'Bridgwater: economic history' in *A History of the County of Somerset* 6, *Andersfield, Cannington and North Petherton Hundreds (Bridgwater and Neighbouring Parishes)*, 213–23, London: Victoria County History, accessed 6 March 2014 at <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=18644>.

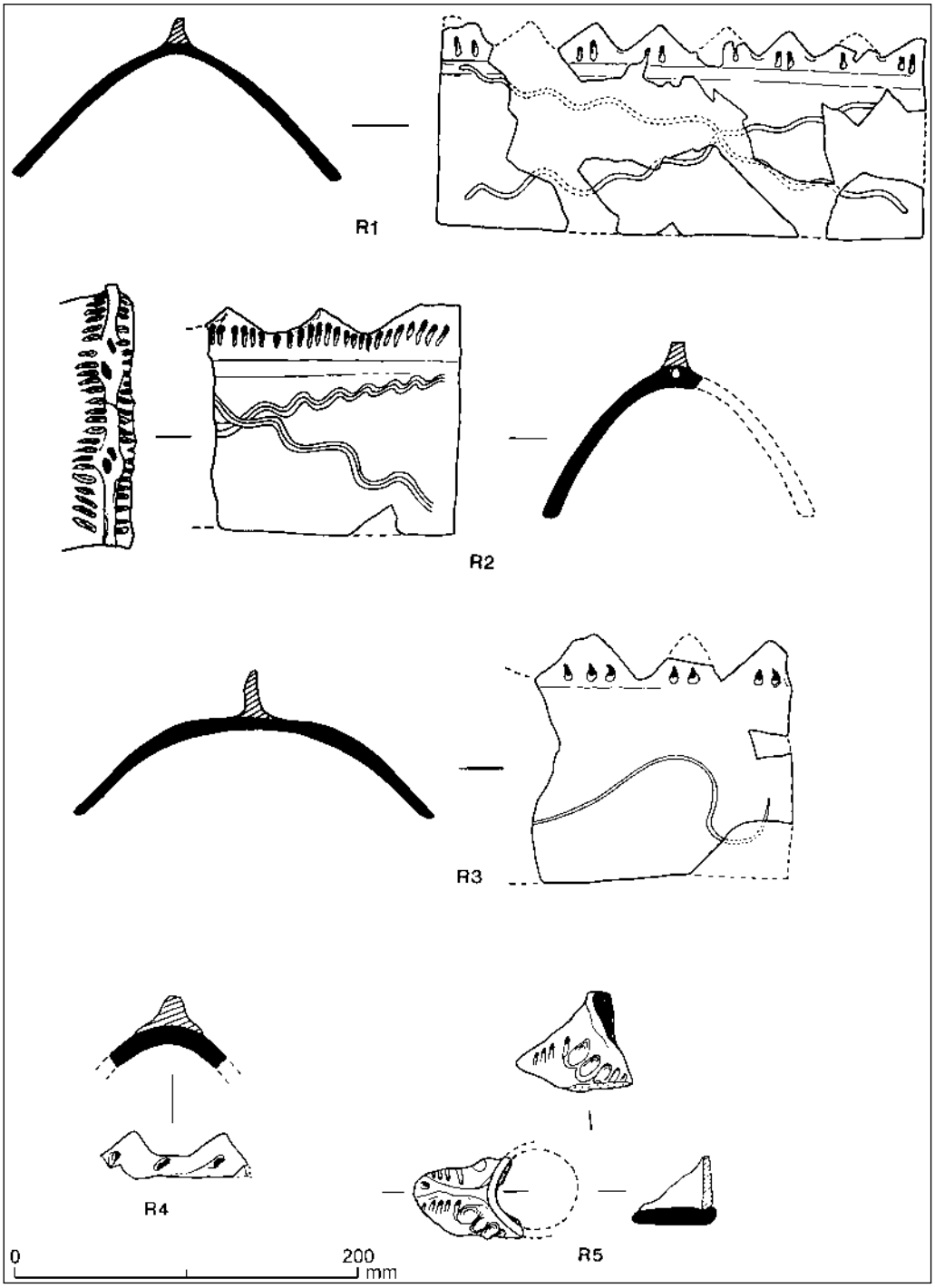

Fig. 52: Roofing materials. Scale 1:4.

Pottery ridge tiles were more numerous, and have been classified into two types. Type 1 has been further subdivided into various styles:

Style A (Fig. 52, R1) Compact body with grits only just visible to the naked eye; well-made, thin tiles with single wavy lines in X formation; crests formed by continuous applied strips of clay, knife-cut to produce crests but also thumbed along the sides, to key the strip to the tile; stabbing in sides of crests; fired to buff-coloured surfaces with reduced core, patchy lead glaze. Total of four tiles. (K17)

Style B (Fig. 52, R2) Less compact, with grits up to 1mm; rather thicker tile with double lines in X formation; larger crests as compared with Style A; more stabling along the sides of the crests, in the interstices of the crests and in the ends of the tiles. Total of four tiles. (E07)

Style B(i) (Fig. 52, R5) The same style of ridge tile with an applied 'sleeve' on one end, probably for a finial. Total of three tiles. (E07)

Style C (Fig. 52, R3) Similar body to Style B, but with fewer stabbings along the crests, and uneven amounts of stabbing on each side. Total of 12 tiles. (H14)

Style D (Fig. 52, R4) Similar body to Style B, but with thicker, more crudely moulded crests. Total of seven tiles. (K16)

The Type 1 tiles cannot be precisely dated, but enough were found in the lowest ditch weathering layers (mainly K17) to indicate that they were removed from buildings before the late 15th century. The variations in style presumably mark different roofing or re-roofing events before that period.

Type 2 tiles have red-fired, sandy bodies, with brown or mottled green-brown glaze. The crests are plain and small, and asymmetrically cut. None of these came from the lowest ditch silting deposits, an absence which may be chronologically significant.

APPENDIX I
ANIMAL BONES

By the late Barbara Noddle

Introduction and methods

The bones were very well preserved though very fragmentary; 81% of the total weight of 63.8kg were identified. They were studied within the periods supplied by the excavator, also used for the pottery analysis. Their dates, set out in Table 9, are:

Period 1: the 12th to the late 15th centuries;
Period 2: the late 15th to the early 17th centuries; and
Period 3: from the early 17th century onwards (the overlaps indicating uncertainties of dating).

In addition, particular dumps of material have been further defined: Period 2a, dating between the late 15th and early 16th centuries; and 2b, dating to the mid/late 16th century. The majority of the bones came from the two Period 2b groups, rather later than the majority of medieval sites published elsewhere. These bones are therefore of considerable interest, as they come from an area and a period not widely studied.

Period	Total	Cattle	Sheep	Pig	Horse	Deer	Dog	Poultry	Other
1	a: 199	103	14	61	3	3	1	12	2
		52%	7%	31%	2%	2%	0.5%	6%	1% (fish)
	b: 67	22	7	18	3	5	1	11	
		33%	10%	27%	4%	7%	1%	16%	
2a	a: 108	75	9	21	–	2	1	–	–
		69%	8%	19%	–	2%	1%	–	–
	b: 16	5	4	3	–	3	1	–	–
		31%	25%	19%	–	19%	6%	–	–
2b	a: 1246	780	190	165	–	74	7	23	7 c
		62%	16%	13%	–	6%	1%	2%	1%
	b: 57	23	11	15	–	8	3	7	–
		33%	16%	22%	–	12%	4%	10%	–
2	a: 257	139	39	50	2	16	–	11	–
		54%	15%	19%	1%	6%	–	4%	–
	b: 57	17	12	15	3	6	–	4	–
		30%	21%	26%	5%	11%	–	7%	–
3	a: 356	195	51	82	10	10	4	4	–
		54%	14%	23%	3%	3%	1%	1%	–
	b: 74	24	14	19	6	4	4	3	–
		32%	19%	26%	8%	5%	5%	4%	–

a = fragment count; b = minimum number of individuals; c = small mammals.

Table 9. Animal bones: proportions of species.

Proportions of species were determined both by a simple identified fragment count and by the establishment of minimum numbers of individuals (MNI). This index has been the subject of considerable criticism recently, mainly because it is not susceptible to detailed mathematical treatment; but this assumes that excavated bone is a constant proportion of that discarded on the site, which is manifestly not the case. Also the concept cannot be applied where a carcass has been widely dispersed by the retail trade, which does not apply here.

Anatomical analysis has been carried out on the cattle bone, which makes up the vast majority of the fragments. This gives both taphonomic information and also suggests what was happening to the carcass on the site. Complete bones and frequently occurring mature bone fragments were measured according to the recommendations of von den Driesch.[251]

Proportions of species

The proportions of species are set out in Table 9. These are expressed both as fragment counts and minimum numbers of individuals (MNI), using the definition of Greyson.[252] These data are also expressed as percentages. The total number of fragments was 2166, over half of which came from

[251] Von den Driesch, A. 1976, *A Guide to the Measurement of Animal Bones from Archaeological Sites*, Peabody Museum Bull. **1**.

[252] Greyson, D.K. 1973, 'On the methodology of faunal analysis', *Amer. Antiq*. **39**, 423–39.

the two large Period 2b groups, and the MNI 288 (as it was assumed that each context contained bones from different individuals, these numbers are not so disproportionately divided). Cattle predominated at all times, and sheep and pig were almost equal in number, pig being slightly more numerous except in Period 2b. Horse and dog were present in periods other than 2a and 2b but in very small quantities. Very few goat bones were recorded, but there were doubtless more present which could not be distinguished from sheep. Deer, mostly red deer, were rather more numerous and so were bird bones, principally domestic poultry.

Anatomical analysis

Table 10 presents an anatomical analysis of the cattle bone, divided into broad groups. Ribs were not included in this or any other part of the analysis, being discarded with the unidentified bones. The proportions of the different bones found differ markedly from those present in the living animal, as is always the case with excavated butchered assemblages. The proportions also differed from other sites from the medieval period examined by the author (mainly urban ones). Loose teeth were scanty except in Period 2a, indicating either that heads were not included in the deposit or that attrition in the ground was minimal; since a number of mandible and skull fragments (the latter not included in the analysis) were found, the latter would appear to be the case.

Metapodials and phalanges were few compared with many sites; these may have been dealt with elsewhere, the phalanges going to the tanner with the hide and the metapodials to a bone workshop. Period 2a was something of an exception to this but was so small (75 fragments) that any deductions drawn from it are suspect. The large numbers of vertebrae, which are fragile and readily lost when bone is secondarily deposited, indicate that this was kitchen waste excavated from where it was initially deposited, particularly the Period 2b groups which contained several almost complete backbones.

Age range of individuals

This has been calculated for the major domestic species and is set out in Table 11. Chronological ages are not used, since the standard data were derived from animals from the last part of the 19th century, after livestock had undergone selection for rapid growth and early maturity. Instead, stages of maturity designated newborn, juvenile, immature and mature are employed, and these are based upon both dental and bone maturation evidence (teeth erupt in a regular sequence and long bones mature in three groups). Modern animals would fulfil the criteria at under 4 months (newborn), up

Part	Period 1	Period 2a	Period 2b	Period 2	Period 3
Mandibles	4	6	3	2	4
Vertebrae	14	11	37	20	19
Upper fore limbs	23	20	15	15	13
Upper hind limbs	17	17	21	21	13
Carpals, tarsals	6	5	12	9	7
Metapodials	3	13	3	5	8
Phalanges	5	5	3	6	4
Loose teeth	9	17	5	6	9

Table 10. Animal bones: anatomical analysis of cattle (%).

to 18 months (juvenile), up to 4 years (immature) and mature animals would be older than this, but the animals from which these bones came would have achieved these maturation stages at a greater age.

Actual figures are used in Table 11 as there are not sufficient data to justify the use of percentages. There were more mature cattle present at all periods than any other age group, but there were nearly as many immature ones. The best beef would have come from immature cattle, but animal husbandry primarily for meat production is expensive, since the animal only yields its hide and carcass, whereas an older animal may also have produced offspring or have been used for traction. The relatively high numbers of immature animals therefore indicates a fairly opulent household, able to afford the best quality. It is difficult to interpret the status of the younger animals. It is not thought that medieval cattle would have produced good veal, but on the other hand these animals might have been anticipated casualties when fodder was short in the winter, for example.

The same arguments apply to sheep and pigs, but numbers are too low to reach any firm conclusions, particularly in the case of sheep. Since pigs have more offspring than the other species and have no economic function other than meat production, a high proportion of immature animals might be anticipated but there were in fact quite a lot of mature animals as well. Perhaps pigs were maintained extensively so that it would be difficult to determine exact age before slaughter.

Period		**Cattle**	**Sheep**	**Pig**
1	N	2	–	1
	J	1	–	1
	I	4	1	7
	M	7	–	3
2a	N	–	–	–
	J	–	–	–
	I	1	2	1
	M	2	–	–
2b	N	3	–	2
	J	1	1	1
	I	5	3	4
	M	8	6	7
2	N	2	–	1
	J	3	1	–
	I	4	4	3
	M	7	3	3
3	N	4	–	3
	J	4	–	–
	I	6	2	5
	M	7	5	5

N = newborn; J = juvenile; I = immature; M = mature.

Table 11. Animal bones: age range of individuals.

Type of animal present

Animal bones do not yield sufficient evidence of definite breeds which in any case are not thought likely to have existed at this time, though the animals from an area probably resembled each other. The shape of horncores, when these are found, provides the best evidence for appearance. Bone measurements give an estimation of size, but unless the animal has been exceptionally well fed, particularly when young, adult size may be the result of husbandry as well as genetic potential. In some instances bone shape may yield genetic information, as may other non-metrical factors.[253] These will be discussed for individual species.

Cattle

The dimensions of the cattle bones are set out in Table 12. There is a fairly wide spread of sizes at all periods, as is to be expected when sexual differences are taken into consideration along with fluctuations of climate between one growing season and another. However, when there are sufficient measurements for any one bone, in particular the length of the first phalanx, there does seem to be an increase of size with time. There were unfortunately no measurable horncores present so nothing can be said about the appearance of the animals.

A non-metrical feature which probably has some bearing on the genetic status of the animals is the position of the nutrient foramen of the femur. In the majority of cattle of the medieval period this is lateral to the adductor fossa on the posterior distal surface of the shaft but in the majority of Penhow bones the position is like that of more recent animals, above the fossa;[254] for Period 2b there were six lateral specimens, nine medial and one, both (an uncommon situation not previously observed in archaeological material).

Sheep

Although sheep bones were much fewer, information about type can be gained from the shape of the scapula and the shape of the horncore. The measurements are set out in Table 13. In general, the more primitive a sheep is, the longer the neck of the scapula in relation to its width.[255] In the present day Welsh Mountain sheep, a fairly primitive breed, the ratio is about unity, whereas at Penhow there were a number of specimens more modern than this. Both the horned and polled male skull fragments were found, the polled one in Period 2, the horned one from 2b. However, this was a short, misshapen specimen curving and growing laterally at right-angles to the face, of a type observed in rams of breeds normally polled. There was also a female specimen, also in group 2b, strongly elliptical in shape, which is a character of the primitive Soay breed. Perhaps 'improved' males had been acquired for cross-breeding.

Pigs

The measurement of the pig bones are set out in Table 14. There are a few exceptionally large specimens, two distal humeri and one lower 3rd molar. Larger specimens are usually thought to derive from wild boar, but in this instance the bone seemed too soft and porous to have derived from a wild animal and more likely to have come from animals confined to sties. Also, three specimens of

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253 Noddle, B.A. 1983, 'Size and shape. Time and place: skeletal variation in cattle and sheep' in Jones, M. (ed.), *Integrating the Subsistence Economy*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Int. Ser. **181**, 211–38.

254 *Ibid*.

255 *Ibid*.

(a) Complete bones

Bone	Period	Length	Proximal width	Distal width	Midshaft width
Radius	1	265	77	–	41
Metacarpal	2	190	62	59	36
	3	163	52	49	30
	3	182	60	61	–
Metatarsal	2	204	38	42	23
	2b	210	46	47	27
	3	215	49	52	27

(b) Parts of bones

Bone	Part measured	Period	Measurements
Scapula	Shaft width*	1	46, 47
		2b	37(2), 38, 45, 46, 47(2), 48, 49, 51, 54
Humerus	Distal width	1	78
		2	63, 66, 80
		3	69
Radius	Proximal width	1	69, 81
		2	76, 80, 88
		3	71
	Distal width	1	63
		2a	67
		2	63
		3	75
Metacarpal	Proximal width*	1	59, 62
		2a	57, 58
		2b	65, 72
		2	63
		3	75
	Distal width	2	52
Tibia	Distal width	1	53
		2a	65
		2b	55, 57(2), 60, 63(2)
		2	51, 56, 59, 64
		3	54
Astragalus	Max. length	1	55, 57, 63
		2a	56, 61
		2b	60, 63, 64, 66
		2	61, 68
		3	54, 57, 59
Metatarsal	Proximal length	2b	39, 42
		3	45
	Distal width	2b	44
		3	44

1st phalanx	Length	1	51, 59
		2a	58, 59
		2b	54, 56, 60(3), 61(2), 63, 65, 69
		2	64(4), 65(2)
		3	50, 58, 59, 62, 69, 70
Lower 3rd molar	Length	1	40
		2a	33, 34, 37
		2b	34, 35(5), 37(2), 38(2)
		2	38
		3	33, 35, 36
	Estimated body weight (kg)*	1	155, 207
		2a	196, 210
		2b	187, 213, 245
		2	186
		3	155, 168, 240

* May not be fully grown. Figures in brackets are repeated measurements. Body weights are estimated by the method in Noddle 1973.

(c) Cow horn

Period	Greater basal diam.	Least basal diam.
2	25	15
3	25	18

Table 12. Measurement of cattle bones (mm).

distal humerus which were not exceptionally large bore a radial split on the medial condyle. This is a universal feature of the modern pig and its genesis has been described by Kincaid.[256] This would also seem to be a sign of intensive husbandry and thus contradict the evidence of the age range. Other evidence of sty husbandry included a mandible with the 1st molar much more worn than the other teeth. This has been observed in modern animals which chew the bars of their enclosure when bored. Another 'lesion' common in modern pigs (and other species) is a cleft in the joint surface of the scapula. The posterior part of a skull from H10 (group 3) was slightly concave when viewed in profile, whereas the wild pig is quite straight. Large pigs have been found at Jarrow[257] and there is a record of an enormous animal in Northumberland in 1543.[258]

[256] Kincaid, S.A. 1983, 'Observations on the postnatal morphogenesis of the porcine humeral condyle and the pathogenesis of osteochondrosis', *Amer. J. Veterinary Res.* **44**, 2095–2103.
[257] Noddle, B.A., unpub.
[258] Martin, W.C.L. 1856, *The Hog*, London: Routledge; Noddle, B.A. 1975, 'A comparison of the animal bones from eight medieval sites in Southern Britain' in Clason, A.T. (ed.) *Archaeozoological Studies*, Amsterdam: North Holland Pub, 383–96.

(a) Complete bones

Bone	Period	Length	Proximal width	Distal width	Midshaft width
Humerus	2	127	33	27	–
Radius	2b	140	28	24	17
	2b	146	31	30	19
Metacarpal	1	103	20	22	12
Metatarsal	2	120	21	23	13

(b) Parts of bones

Bone	Part measured	Period	Measurements
Humerus	Distal width	2	26, 27, 29
		2b	26, 27(2), 28(2), 29
Radius	Proximal width	2b	28, 30
		2	30
		3	30, 33
Metacarpal	Proximal width	1	23
		2	22(4), 23(2)
Tibia	Distal width	2b	24, 25(2), 28
		3	26
Metatarsal	Proximal width	2	21(2), 22(3)
Lower 3rd molar	Length	2	18, 20, 21(2)
	Ratio neck width/	2b	0.86, 0.89, 0.95(2), 1.05
	neck length	2	1.0, 1.05

Table 13. Measurement of sheep bones (mm).

(b) Parts of bones

Bone	Part measured	Period	Measurements
Scapula	Mid-shaft width	2b	25, 26, 29
		2	27
		3	20
Humerus	Distal width	2b	33, 36
		2	32, 33(2), 34, 35
Tibia	Distal width	2	31, 34
Lower 3rd molar	Length	2a	30
		2	32(2), 35

Table 14. Measurement of pig bones (mm).

Species	Bone	Part measured	Period	Measurements
Horse	Metatarsal	Proximal width	2	47
Red deer	Scapula	Shaft width Distal	1	36
	Tibia	width	2	45
	Metatarsal	Proximal width	2	37
		Distal width	2b	32
Fowl	Ulna	Length	1	68, 73, 74
Goose	Tarsometarsus	Length	2b	100

Table 15. Measurement of bones of other species (mm).

Other species

There is little to be said about the other species recorded, other than the deer bones (Table 15). The dimensions of these bones in the medieval period are very variable; besides the marked size differences between the sexes, there is considerable difficulty in distinguishing the post-cranial parts of red and fallow deer. However, the bones here measured are all large and come from red deer, which were presumably obtained from the Wentwood. Red deer in Wales retained their prehistoric size until exterminated when woodland was destroyed during the Industrial Revolution.[259]

Abnormalities and pathology

A number of abnormalities and variations have been dealt with in the description of the individual species. Shortening of the mandibular tooth row is common in cattle of all periods. At Penhow there was an instance of a mandible lacking the 2nd premolar, and one out of 18 lower third molars lacked a posterior cusp. Several instances of holes and erosions were found on the proximal and distal joint surfaces of first and second phalanges from all period except the first. These have been described by Baker and Brothwell,[260] and are very common in modern stock, perhaps being a sign of rapid growth. There were also two cases of frank pathology in bovine phalanges, a 1st phalanx with arthritis of the proximal joint and a case of osteomylitis on the medial shaft suggestive of interdigital infection (foul in the foot), both from Period 2. From Period 2a there was a pelvic girdle with a small hole in it, probably the result of an abscess.

There were only two instances of pathology among the sheep bones. One was a distal humerus with a lateral exostosis from Period 2; in modern animals this seems to be the result of frequent small blows as when animals are overcrowding at the trough. It is very tenuous evidence of sheep being housed in the winter. The other specimen was a mandible from group 2b, which exhibited molars and premolars at an angle to each other which would probably have resulted in periodontal disease had the animal lived longer.

There were also two instances of abnormal pig bones. From Period 1 there was a frontal bone which had healed following a severe blow above the eye. Whilst this may have been an abortive attempt at slaughter it is more likely to be the result of someone defending himself against an

[259] Noddle, B.A. 1982, 'The size of red deer in Britain past and present, with some reference to the fallow deer' in Limbrey, S. and Bell, M. (eds) *Archaeological Aspects of Woodland Ecology*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Int. Ser. **146**, 315–33.

[260] Baker, J. and Brothwell, D. 1980, *Animal Diseases in Archaeology*, London: Academic Press.

aggressive animal; a similar lesion has been observed in a modern dog. From Period 2 there were a tibia and fibula fused together; this may simply be the result of old age.

Comparison with other sites

The author has worked on assemblages from a number of medieval sites, mainly urban.[261] Penhow exhibits a number of differences from the majority of these (which are rather earlier in date), in species composition, age range of individuals and size of animals. The proportion of sheep is lower at Penhow. There is a higher proportion of mature individuals and the cattle are rather larger. The proportion of poultry is also higher than sites in the same area, Chepstow and Hereford, but not as high as sites in East Anglia. The younger age range found at urban sites may be due to economic factors; the large demand of a town may well influence the local agriculture, so that stock is deliberately bred for meat production. The larger size range may simply be the result of good grazing which is still available in the immediate environment of Penhow. The presence of large groups of undisturbed kitchen waste may be a feature of an opulent site; similar large groups were found at Bristol Castle though these were not fully collected on this rescue excavation.[262]

Summary

Although the animal bones from Penhow do not differ greatly from the average late medieval assemblage, they do produce some interesting information about the local livestock and the taphonomy of the site. Much of the assemblage comprises cattle bone including two groups of almost-complete skeletons. The age range of the animals suggests that the cattle were being deliberately bred for meat production, indicating an opulent consumer. The animals themselves were rather larger than those of earlier medieval sites including Hereford and Chepstow. Sheep were either polled or crossbred horned and polled stock, and were of a 'meatier' conformation than many medieval animals. Pig bone also showed some modern trends, though there was contradictory evidence as to whether these animals were maintained extensively or confined to sties. The deer present in the sample were large animals, as have been found previously in medieval Wales. Poultry, principally fowl, formed a more substantial part of the diet than at other local medieval sites, but in terms of meat weight, their contribution was not great.

Prepared 1986

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[261] Noddle, B.A., 1985, 'Environmental evidence. The animal bones' in Shoesmith, R. (ed.) *Hereford City Excavations, Volume 3: The Finds*, 84–94 and MF 808–910; Noddle, unpub.

[262] Noddle unpub.

Finally I would like to thank Oliver Blackmore, Curator of Archaeology of Newport Museum and Art Gallery, for his much-valued work in helping bring the present publication to a conclusion and hosting the study days at Newport Museum, and John Allan, who undertook the time-consuming task of preparing the final submitted text.

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A STUDY OF A MAGNIFICENT REMNANT OF A TREE OF JESSE AT ST MARY'S PRIORY CHURCH, ABERGAVENNY: PART TWO

By Muriel Adams

THE SURVIVAL OF ABERGAVENNY'S MEDIEVAL MONUMENTS AND REFLECTIONS ON THE COMMISSIONING OF ST MARY'S TREE OF JESSE

The buildings of St Mary's Priory Church vary in origin from the twelfth to the twenty-first century. The older parts have considerable significance for, as noted in Part One of this study,[1] John, second baron Hastings, lord of Abergavenny, commissioned considerable new building in 1320 as part of his promise to reform the house after a papal investigation into its failure to maintain the Benedictine Rule.[2] It may not have been 'an outstandingly rich house', but it has been observed that it still contains, 'one of the finest collections of medieval alabaster tombs in the country'.[3] As noted earlier, these monuments have deservedly been given considerable academic attention. The fourteenth century Herbert chapel houses three alabaster tombs: those of Sir William ap Thomas of Raglan (d. 1445), who first took the name Herbert, and his second wife Gwladys (d. 1454), the damaged tomb of Sir Richard Herbert of Coldbrook, Sir William and Lady Gwladys's second son, executed after the Battle of Banbury in 1469, and his wife Margaret, and, encased within an elaborate window arch, the tomb of Richard Herbert of Ewyas (d. 1510), the illegitimate son of William Herbert, first earl of Pembroke and the last scion of the Herbert family to be interred at St Mary's. The freestone tomb of Sir Lawrence de Hastings, who died of the plague in 1348, now lies at the west end of the chapel, although it has not always done so, and it is thought that the window recess tomb that lies nearby is that of his brother, Sir William de Hastings (d. 1349).[4] On the north side of the chancel are two reconstructed tombs bearing female figures of an early date. One is of an unknown member of the Hastings family and the other has been identified as Eva da Braose (d. 1246), whose high status is indicated by the large armorial shield she bears upon her breast. The wife of William de Braose, lord of Abergavenny, she holds a heart in her hands, suggesting that only her heart was transported to St Mary's for burial.

In addition to the wooden figure of Jesse there are two other wooden artefacts that may be considered among St Mary's treasures: the medieval monastic choir stalls and a beautiful wooden effigy of a slender young man carved from a single piece of oak, 'The calm and easy pose of the figure, and the mild and placid expression of the features, which together with all the accessories of the various parts of the armour are most carefully executed, shew that it was the work of no mean hand'.[5] Octavius Morgan and Alfred C. Fryer suggest that the face of the effigy is probably a portrait, although both misidentify the figure, Morgan as that of George de Cantelupe who died

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1 *Monmouthshire Antiquary*, *XXXI* (2015), 45–62.

2 Cowley, F. G. *The Monastic Order in South Wales, 1066–1349* (University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1977), 109–12.

3 Crossley, Fred H. and Ridgway, Maurice H., 'Screens, Lofts and Stalls Situated in Wales and Monmouthshire', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, Vol. CVIII (1959), 20.

4 Lindley, Phillip, 'Two Fourteenth-Century Tomb Monuments at Abergavenny and the mournful end of the Hastings Earls of Pembroke', Kenyon, John R. and Williams, Diane, eds., *Architecture and Archaeology in the Medieval Diocese of Llandaff* (British Archaeological Association Conference Transaction Series, Cardiff, 2006), 140–2.

5 Morgan, Octavius, *Some Account of the Ancient Monuments in the Priory Church, Abergavenny* (Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association, Newport, 1872), 21–3.

in 1273 at the age of twenty, and Fryer as that of the son of Henry Hastings, first baron Hastings, who died in 1313.[6] The current view, as Claude Blair asserts, is that the figure was sculpted in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, thus connecting the effigy with John, second baron Hastings. When the poet Thomas Churchyard visited St Mary's church in 1586 he found this effigy, 'layd within a window right/ Full flat on stonie wall/ Where now he doth in open sight/ Remaine to people all'.[7] Churchyard's poem is the first documentary evidence relating to the medieval monuments at Abergavenny and, as such, has been of exceptional interest and use to historians. A further source of historical information about St Mary's Priory Church is the diary of the Civil War soldier and antiquarian Richard Symonds. In 1645, at the time of his visits, a gilded rood-loft and old organ were still in place, but they have since disappeared. Symonds, too, found the effigy of John Hastings, 'At the bottome of the window … two cushions under his head, cross-legd, a loose coate and belt', and added, 'They call him the builder of the church'.[8] It is generally agreed among art historians that this remarkable survivor is probably a product of the Westminster school which despatched its work across England and Wales and was at its busiest in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.[9] The antiquarian Albert Hartshorne, basing his opinion upon the works' close stylistic characteristics, believed that the sculptor of Abergavenny's wooden knight came from the same London workshop as the sculptor of the stone effigies of Edmund, Earl of Lancaster (d. 1296) and Aymer of Valance, Earl of Pembroke (d. 1323), which are both in Westminster Abbey.[10]

The oak choir stalls once housed boys from the local grammar school for their Saturday morning service in Welsh. They caused considerable damage to the stalls by scratching their names and other images on them, but it is possible that the stalls' regular use for this purpose assisted their survival.[11] Crossley and Ridgway judged the carving on the stalls to be of great significance because it was in the Welsh tradition. They also pointed out that the simpler seats on the north side of the choir were of a somewhat later date than those of the south.[12] The first seat on the south side of the entrance to the choir-stalls, the traditional seat for the head of the house, bears the name of Wynchester, the prior who was in office between 1493 and 1516, thus providing a range of dates within which it was constructed. The first seat on the north side, probably intended for the commissioner of the stalls, and both seats at the east end are specially carved dignitary stalls. The deeply-carved canopy of the dignitary's stall at the east end of the north stalls has a large double Tudor rose at its centre.

Charles Tracy, in a later investigation, agrees that the north side of the choir, being non-Gothic, is later; he also suggests that the north and south stalls were made by different workshops.[13] He sees

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6 Fryer, Alfred C., *Wooden Monumental Effigies in England and Wales* (Elliot Stock, London, 1924), 91.

7 Churchyard, Thomas, *The Worthiness of Wales*, first published 1587 (Spencer Society, London, facsimile edition, 1876), 55.

8 Long, C. E., ed. and Roy, Ian, *Richard Symonds's Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army*, Camden Classic Reprints 3 (Cambridge University Press, University College London, 1997), 234.

9 See, for example, Rock, Vivienne, 'The Medieval Monuments at St Mary's Priory Church, Abergavenny, Gwent', *Medieval Life*, Issue 3, 1995, 17–19 and Blair, Claude, 'The Wooden Knight at Abergavenny', *Church Monuments*, Vol. IX, 1994, 36.

10 Fryer, *Wooden Monumental Effigies in England and Wales*, 38.

11 Knight, Jeremy, 'The Parish Churches', Griffiths, Ralph A. (general ed.) *The Gwent County History, Volume 2*, *The Age of the Marcher Lords, c. 1070–1536* (University of Wales Press on behalf of the Gwent County History Association, Cardiff, 2008), 175.

12 Crossley and Ridgway, 'Screens, Lofts and Stalls Situated in Wales and Monmouthshire', p. 22.

13 Tracy, Charles, 'The Choir-stalls at the Priory Church of St Mary, Abergavenny', *Journal of British Archaeological Association*, no. 155, 2002, 209.

a Welsh style in some of the north side tracery but believes the south stalls to have West Country characteristics noting, 'The plain stall standards, with conventional angels holding shields are typically English of the second half of the 15th century'.[14] He also suggests that the tenure of Prior Wynchester (1493–1516) would embrace the manufacture of first the south stalls and, about ten years later, those at the north end of the choir, for dendrochronological sampling indicates that the south stalls were constructed *c*. 1493 and the north by *c*. 1512.[15] Such a hiatus would be good reason for the carpenters who made the earlier choir-stalls, artisans from Somerset, perhaps, to be unavailable to produce the later ones. They would have needed to travel elsewhere in pursuit of employment or, if apprentices, further training. It might also have been the case that Welsh carpenters were preferred for the later commission, for there were skilled carpenters in the region. As already noted, those who sculpted the rood-screen and loft of *c*. 1500 in Patrishow in Breconshire were highly skilled in the Welsh style and more than capable of making and decorating St Mary's north choir-stalls and the Tree of Jesse also.

The skills of Welsh craftsmen may also be admired in the carving of misericords, small shelves on the underside of folding seats on which monks leaned during long services. Like their counterparts across Europe, they appear to have been under no constraint when choosing from a wide range of misericord images to carve. It would not have been fitting to lean on religious images, so woodcarvers designed scenes of people at work, animals, heraldic devices and many other subjects. They would not, of course, have been seen by the general population which might explain why some misericord carvings appear decidedly ribald.[16] There are none such in St Mary's, but there are several that make political statements. One, on the south lateral stalls, shows a closed Tudor crown, a Tudor Rose and Prince of Wales feathers. The south stalls also bear carved grotesque beasts, including lions and wyverns, which, according to Bradney, have strong Herbert connections.[17] They are also reminiscent of the 'King's Beasts', commissioned by Henry VII and seen on the roof-line of St George's Chapel, Windsor, where Henry originally intended to be buried.[18] Tudor dragons are also in evidence on the choir stalls as, on the north stalls, is the pomegranate, fertility symbol and emblem of Katherine of Aragon (1485–1536). The marriage of Katherine of Aragon and Prince Arthur in 1501 or the betrothal of Katherine and Prince Henry in 1502 would have provided good reason for the underwriting of the installation and/or refurbishment of the choir-stalls.

On the same basis, it is not unreasonable to speculate that the victory of Henry VII at Bosworth in 1485, widely celebrated in Wales, could well have been the stimulus for the commissioning of the Tree of Jesse at the end of the fifteenth century, especially since almost contemporaneously with the installation of the Tree of Jesse at St Mary's Priory, supporters of the Tudor dynasty in north Wales were commissioning Tree of Jesse windows at several churches. The monarchs of France, as already discussed, promoted themselves in the twelfth century through commissioning stained glass windows in which the kings of the House of David were prominent.[19] One may well discern the same hubris in north Wales in the new windows at the churches of St Bridget, Diserth, St Dyfnog,

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14 Tracy, 'The Choir-stalls at the Priory Church of St Mary', 218.

15 *Ibid*., 226.

16 See Hardwick, Paul, *English Medieval Misericords: The Margins of Meaning* (Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2013).

17 Bradney, Sir J. A. *A History of Monmouthshire, Part II, the Hundred of Abergavenny* (Mitchell Hughes and Clarke, London, 1923, reprinted by Merton Press, 1993), 181.

18 Morgan-Guy, John, 'Arthur, Harri Tudor and the Iconography of Loyalty', Gunn, Steven and Monckton, Linda, eds., *Arthur Tudor, Prince of Wales* (The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2009), 55.

19 Mâle, Emile, *The Gothic Image*, first ed. 1910 (Collins Fontana Library, London, 1961), 166–8.

Llanrhaeadr, and at All Saints, Gresford, where Thomas Stanley, Earl of Derby, step-father to Henry VII, probably at the behest of his wife, Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII, underwrote the creation of a magnificent east window on which the Tree of Jesse was represented on the upper tracery. The Gresford window was in place by 1498. Margaret Beaufort was known as an extremely devout woman, but she was also one of the more politically experienced at court and highly conscious of her personal status.[20] As a member of the Beaufort family, honour and lineage were of particular import to her for, in 1407, during the reign of the Yorkist, Henry IV, the Beaufort family had been disqualified from taking the throne by Act of Parliament. Nevertheless, it was through his mother's Beaufort heritage that Henry Tudor claimed the throne. Margaret was great-great-granddaughter of King Edward III and the only daughter of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, who was grandson of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and his mistress Katherine Swynford.[21] There is no evidence to support the suggestion that the Tree of Jesse was portrayed in Gresford's east window at Margaret Beaufort's suggestion in order to promote Henry VII, but perhaps it does not stretch credulity too far to believe that in beautifying the churches of north Wales in praise of God, she was also establishing herself as a benefactress in the region and, by connection, supporting Henry's claim to the throne.

An alternative view suggests the number of new windows was due to a combination of the cult of the Virgin which gained momentum during this period and the ecclesiastical decision to offer pictures rather than words as a more direct means of communicating the teaching of the church.[22] Lord, though, warns against believing that there was a peculiarly intense devotion to the Virgin in the northern Marches. Instead he proposes that the proliferation of images of Mary, including those on Trees of Jesse, simply reflects regional patterns of patronage and accidents of survival.[23] One can only be thankful for such accidents, but in relation to regional patterns of patronage, while noting that images of the Virgin Mary attracted pilgrims to shrines all over Wales, Williams gives special attention to an image of the Virgin at All Saints Church, Gresford, as one that brought significant numbers of pilgrims and, consequently, funds, to the flourishing town.[24]

It probably does not need repeating that St Mary's Priory Church lacks any documentation that might indicate the commissioner of its Tree of Jesse. Information may be gleaned, of course, in other ways. Gray offers several examples, such as the display of a family's coat of arms on stained glass windows.[25] The additions to Mathern Church and St Mary's Priory, Usk, referred to earlier, incorporate the arms of the churches' patrons, namely Bishop John Marshal and William Herbert.[26] The powerful Herberts were also concerned with matters of heredity, for the first of them, Sir William ap Thomas (d.1445), was only the fifth son of a Monmouthshire family, albeit astute enough to marry favourably and to enter the service of the Beachamps. Having made himself indispensable to that family and others, he is said to have fathered many sons and daughters, some legitimate and some not, who, as adults in south Wales, worked in the 1450s and 1460s to enrich and empower the family and left their mark in armorial devices wherever their influence held.[27]

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20 Royle, Trevor, *The Wars of the Roses* (Abacus, London, 2010), 421.
21 *Ibid*., 419.
22 Williams, Glanmor, *Wales and the Reformation* (University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1997), 16.
23 Lord, *Medieval Vision*, p. 208.
24 Williams, Glanmor, *The Welsh Church: from Conquest to Reformation* (University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1976), 493.
25 Gray, Madeleine, *Images of Piety: The Iconography of Traditional Religion in Late Medieval Wales*, BAR British Series 316, 2000, 60.
26 Knight, 'The Parish Churches', *Gwent County History, Volume 2*, 171.
27 Griffiths, Ralph A., 'Lordship and Society in the Fifteenth Century', *Gwent County History, Volume 2*, 263.

When Richard Symonds came with Charles I to the region in 1645 and visited St Mary's, Abergavenny, he described the, 'east window of this chapel, very faire', upon which was, 'The kneeling figure of a man, his coat embroidered with the arms of Herbert … and under is written: "*Orate pro a'i'abus Will'i Thomas militis et Alicie ux'is sue qui istam capellam et fenestram vitrari fecerunt*"'.[28] [Pray for the souls of William Thomas, Knight, and of Alice his wife, who made this chapel and glass windows.] He further noted the windows of the Herbert Chapel featured, 'the arms of the Herberts, John of Gaunt and allied families and in "old glass" those of the Hastings lords of Abergavenny'.[29] These are clear indications, no longer extant, of the strong connections that powerful families of the region had with St Mary's Priory.

If the foregoing at least narrows the range of conjecture concerning the patron of the Tree of Jesse, the survival of an extremely informative document also makes it possible to understand the terms in which he would have commissioned the chosen craftsman. In 1470 a contract was drawn up for the erection of a stone Jesse Tree reredos for the Lady Chapel at St Cuthbert's church in Wells. The 'endenture' was agreed between, 'Maister William Vowell, Maister of Towne of Wellis, William Stekylpath and Thom's Coorsett … Wardeynes for our lady Awter', and John Stowell, freemason. In the contract, John Stowell is given general guidance as to the:

> frounte Innyng to the Awter of our lady … In which frounte shal stande thre stagis of Imagery acordyng to the genelogy of our lady … Imagery, such as can be thought by the Maister and his Brothers most acordyng to the storye of the said frounte. In the lowest p'tie of which stagis shal be a Jesse:– the which Jesse shal lynyally runne from Image to Image through alle ye foresaid frounte.[30]

The copy is displayed at St Cuthbert's alongside the scant but powerful remains of the Tree, the outline of a reclining figure of Jesse hacked from the wall by Reformers during the reign of Edward VI (Fig. 4),[31] and twenty-one empty stone niches, once holding smaller figures, that rise around the two light window. Central to Edwardine reform, advises Duffy, was, 'the necessity of destroying, of cutting, hammering, scraping, or melting into a deserved oblivion the monuments of popery, so that the doctrines they embodied might be forgotten'.[32] At St Cuthbert's they performed the task with a will, and by plastering over the Jesse and hacking the other images to pieces obliterated all until the plaster was removed in 1848.

At St Cuthbert's, the parish church, the burgesses appointed the churchwardens and were responsible for the fabric of the church. They put the necessary funding in place and worked with the Chapter of Wells Cathedral to maintain and beautify the building.[33] At St Mary's Priory the fifteenth-century commissioners of the Tree of Jesse and the monastic choir stalls would have had high social position, wealth, and a connection with St Mary's; they would have been drawn from the region's nobility. John Morgan-Guy suggests that Sir Charles Somerset (*c*. 1460–1526) and his wife, Elizabeth Herbert (*c*. 1476–1507), who lived in considerable style at Raglan castle, were probable patrons of the stalls. Both were closely connected to the court of Henry VII, who had, in fact,

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28 Long, ed. and Roy, *Richard Symonds's Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army*, 235.

29 Knight, 'The Parish Churches', *Gwent County History, Volume 2*, 178.

30 See copy of the contract for erecting the 'Jesse' in St Cuthbert's Church in Appendix 1.

31 The figure number follows on sequentially from figures 1 to 3 in Part One of this study, published in *Mon. Ant. XXXI* (2015), 45–62.

32 Duffy, Eamon, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (Yale University Press, London and New Haven, 1992), 480.

33 Ayers, Tim, *The Medieval Stained Glass of Wells Cathedral*, Part 1 (Oxford University Press for the British Academy, Oxford), xc.

Fig. 4: Remnant of a 15th century stone figure of Jesse at St Cuthbert's Church, Wells, Somerset. *Photograph: The author.*

arranged their marriage in 1492. Charles was related to the king through the Beaufort family, being the legitimised son of Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerset. He was a supporter of Henry VII and was knighted at Milford Haven in 1485 when Henry began his march to Bosworth. He remained in the trust of the king throughout his reign and conducted business on his behalf at home and abroad.[34] Elizabeth Herbert, granddaughter and heir of William Herbert, was the daughter of Mary, Elizabeth Woodville's sister and was, therefore, first cousin to Henry's queen, Elizabeth of York, daughter of Elizabeth Woodville. Elizabeth Herbert had close connections with St Mary's Priory, where many members of her family were buried, and she and her husband were well-known patrons of the arts.[35] Charles and Elizabeth appear exceptionally well placed to finance the refurbishment and decoration of the choir stalls complete with their many references to the Tudors and Katherine of Aragon. They would have known both Prince Arthur and Prince Henry from childhood and possibly saw their investment as honouring either Arthur and Katherine at the time of their marriage, November 1501, or the betrothal of Henry and Katherine in 1502. But because they, themselves, were not married until 1492, it is unlikely that they were also patrons of the Tree of Jesse. Account must be taken

34 Robinson, W. R. B., *Early Tudor Gwent: 1485–1547* (Robinson, Welshpool, 2002), 3.
35 Morgan-Guy, 'Arthur, Harri Tudor and the Iconography of Loyalty', 55–6.

of the time needed to produce a work such as the Jesse. The half-trunk of oak would have been hollowed out and carved when still green and it would not have been passed to the painter until well seasoned. The carving on the Jesse is between six and eight inches thick and Galvin suggests that it takes approximately one year to season one inch of oak.[36] For the Tree to be installed at the end of the fifteenth century, around 1495, it would have had to be sculpted *c*. 1487, two years after the victory of Henry VII at Bosworth and about a year after Jasper Tudor was made lord of Abergavenny.

There is much to commend Jasper Tudor (d.1495) as patron of the Tree of Jesse. He was son of Owain Tudor the second husband of Henry V's queen, Catherine, and half-brother to Henry VI to whose Lancastrian cause he was devoted. He and his older brother Edmund were created earls in 1453, 'and given precedence over all the other earls within the kingdom'.[37] Earl Edmund, still a young man, died of the plague in 1456, in Carmarthen Castle, when a prisoner of the Yorkist, Sir William Herbert, leaving his very young widow, Margaret Beaufort, expecting a child. Her son, Henry, was born at Pembroke three months after Edmund's death.[38] During the dynastic struggle known as the Wars of the Roses, that pitted Yorkist against Lancastrian for more than thirty years, although allegiances were far from fixed, Jasper Tudor was steadfast in his commitment to Henry VI, Margaret Beaufort, and her son, Henry. He was an experienced military leader but was almost inevitably faced by greater Yorkist forces during this period and suffered many defeats. After one such defeat, at Mortimer's Cross, in 1461, his father, Owain, was captured and executed in the market-place at Hereford. It was not until 1485 that Henry Tudor and his uncle sailed from Normandy to Milford Haven. Gathering troops on the way and flying a red dragon standard, they marched up the west coast of Wales, struck east at Machynlleth and crossed into England to meet the armies of Richard III on 22 August 1485 at Bosworth, where Richard died and Henry VII was crowned on the battlefield. It is not known whether Jasper Tudor was at Henry's side at Bosworth but, in view of his history, it is almost unthinkable that he was not. By December, 1485, he was one of Gwent's most powerful figures, lord of Abergavenny, Newport, Caldicot, and Magor, and, 'steward of the duchy lordships of Monmouth and Three Castles (and constable of their castles)'.[39] He had given his life to supporting Henry's cause and, after victory, was entrusted with the task of establishing Tudor rule in Wales.

Jasper had more than earned a dignitary's place in the choir stalls of St. Mary's Priory. Moreover, he is known to have been a benefactor of St Mary's, writing to Prior Wynchester in 1493 as 'Jasper, brother and uncle of kings, Duke of Bedford and Earl of Pembroke', granting, 'the priory of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Abergavenny and the convent of the same place … the whole of our forest of Moile to pasture and water their cattle in'.[40] He certainly extended his patronage to church building elsewhere in south-east Wales; for example, he is known to be the commissioner of the north-west tower of Llandaff Cathedral, which has long been called 'Jasper's Tower',[41] and is thought to have commissioned the perpendicular west tower at St Woolos Cathedral in Newport.

The commissioning of the Tree of Jesse was a significant declaration of wealth and power. Jasper Tudor was the epitome of both until his death in 1495. The oak from which the Tree of

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36 Galvin, personal conversation, 22 November, 2012.

37 Williams, *Renewal and Reformation*, 180.

38 Royle, *The Wars of the Roses*, 214–15.

39 Griffiths, 'Lordship and Society', *Gwent County History, Volume 2*, 270.

40 Jackson, Alfred, *The Jasper Tudor Document*, undated, Gwent Archives, unpublished papers, D 992.4. See copy of Jasper Tudor's letter, in Appendix 2. The original document is also held by Gwent Archives, ref. Gwent Archives, Misc. MSS 349.

41 Gray, Madeleine, 'The Pre-reformation Church', *Gwent County History, Volume 2*, 337.

Jesse was carved might well have come from his forest of Moile in the Marches. There is a counter argument that he did not have an enduring connection with Abergavenny, living principally in England after 1485 and rarely visiting Wales. Moreover, in his will he gave little consideration to churches in Wales, save for a few small gifts and nothing to St Mary's Priory.[42] But perhaps this was because in addition to the benefits to be derived from his forest of Moile he had endowed the priory with a magnificent Tree of Jesse during his lifetime. He had underwritten projects at religious houses in Newport and Cardiff, two of his lordships, and it is reasonable to suggest that he did the same for another, at Abergavenny. It is certainly a Tudor influence that saw St Mary's spared the damage suffered by many monasteries at the dissolution, whether it was Jasper Tudor's relationship with the priory that was the more telling, or the Herbert family's connection with the Tudor monarchy we cannot say with certainty, but in either case it was central to the preservation of the priory's important and fine monuments.

From Priory to Parish Church

By the early summer of 1535, Thomas Cromwell, chief minister to Henry VIII and second only to the king in spiritual matters, was openly supporting criticism of traditional Catholic practices – 'the observation of fasts and holidays, the invocation of saints, the veneration of images and relics, pilgrimages, and the cult of intercession on behalf of the dead in Purgatory'.[43] Sir Thomas More, one of the most successful legal advocates in London, Lord Chancellor of England from 1529 to 1532, a deeply religious man, faithful to the cult of the saints and the doctrine of Purgatory, was executed in the summer of 1535.[44]

In 1536, Parliament approved an Act for the dissolution of all monasteries having fewer than twelve inmates, with the stated aim of bringing about religious and moral reform. 'It would be naïve, however', writes Williams, 'not to conclude that uppermost in the minds of king and minister were considerations of financial gain'.[45] Cromwell now gave his full attention to the dissolution of the monasteries and the sale or transfer to the royal treasury of anything of value, including lead from the rooftops with inevitable consequences for the structure it protected. 'All other assets like glass, vestments, missals, candlesticks, organs, timber and other furnishings were auctioned on the spot'.[46] St Mary's Priory was poorly endowed and, with only five monks, undoubtedly small. It prepared for a visitation by the King's agents with trepidation and was not alone in this for, 'By 1536, there were perhaps only around forty male religious and five nuns left in the new county of Monmouth'.[47] Henry VIII's commissioners were instructed to demolish the fabric of the ecclesiastical buildings but, on occasion, this proved too costly and they satisfied themselves with making them uninhabitable. Benedictine churches, which had long been used for worship by local people, were left standing and continued to serve their communities. This was the case with St Mary's, for well before the dissolution of the monasteries parishioners had worshipped at St Mary's and contributed to maintaining and embellishing it.[48]

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42 Williams, *The Welsh Church*, 475.
43 Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 379.
44 Hughes, Philip, *A History of the Church*, *Volume 3: The Revolt Against the Church: Aquinas to Luther*, first pub. 1947 (Sheed and Ward, London, 1979), 461.
45 Williams, *Wales and the Reformation*, 85.
46 Williams, *Renewal and Reformation*, 289.
47 Williams, David, H., 'The Religious Orders', *Gwent County History*, Volume 2, 200.
48 Knight, *Gwent County History, Volume 2*, 180.

In 1536, Abergavenny's burgesses, probably alerted by news of the dissolution of the monasteries, applied successfully to adopt St Mary's Priory as a parish church and make the site of the previous parish church of St John into the foundation of a grammar school, which they were astute enough to name King Henry VIII School.[49] They had, nevertheless, to contest the commissioners' desire to take all four church bells, commonly seized to be melted down and transformed into cannon, arguing that they were the property of the parish not the priory. Showing considerable confidence in their town and region, the burgesses called several aged witnesses to present evidence to the commissioners. Their determination to retain the bells did not sit well with some later commentators, 'The people of Abergavenny cared not what became of the vessels and vestments that had been used in the holy offices of the church; but they had subscribed for the bells, and were consequently not going to give them up without a struggle'.[50] It is not possible to say how deeply the parishioners cared about other property of the priory but townsmen swore that funds for the bells had been raised by the usual methods of subscription and by the efforts of groups of townspeople travelling the country organising games and plays:

> M'dd [Meredith] ap Po'll ap John … deposeth upon his othe taken at the forsaid tyme that he paid viij*d*. for his parte to the byenge of the same bells. And also saieth he never sawe no man pay anythynge for the same bells but only the towne and the countrie that they gate upon theym w'th games and plays.[51]

Another of the witnesses testified that his father, being a smith, had not only given money to assist with the costs, but had also worked on the bells and helped place them in the tower. Testimony such as this eventually persuaded the commissioners that the town should retain the bells.[52]

No record has been found of the parishioners' attitude to the Tree of Jesse, but their readiness to speak up for prized parish possessions might just have extended to the Jesse Tree, at least to the extent that it was not totally destroyed but left as some ambiguous Christian image. When Thomas Churchyard visited the priory church in 1587, during the reign of Elizabeth I, he recorded in a note to his poem, *The Worthiness of Wales*, 'In this church was a most famous worke in manner of a genealogy of Kings, called the Roote of Jesse, which worke is defaced and pulled down in peeces'.[53] That the sculpture was still famous up to half a century after it had been severely damaged says a great deal about its original magnificence. It was almost six decades later when the Royalist soldier Richard Symonds noted, 'a large statue of Jesse, and a branch did spring from him and on the boughs divers statues but spoyld',[54] and, in 1789, as we have seen, Archdeacon Coxe mistook Jesse for a huge figure of St Christopher.

Coxe found the Jesse, 'in the middle window of the north aisle of the choir'.[55] When Symonds visited it was, 'At the east end of the north aisle'.[56] This strongly suggests the sculpture lay near the east window of the Lewis Chapel not far from the position occupied by the Jesse today. Since

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49 Williams, *Wales and the Reformation*, 136–7.

50 Owen, Edward, 'The Bells of the Priory Churches of Abergavenny and Brecon', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, xvii (Fifth Series, 1900), 294.

51 Extract from *Public Record Office, Court of Augmentations: Miscellaneous Books*, vol. 117, f. 18 quoted in Owen, 'The Bells of the Priory Churches of Abergavenny and Brecon', 296.

52 Davies, J. Conway, 'Welsh Monastic Bells', *Wales*, Vol. VI, no. 3 (Autumn 1946), 76–7.

53 Churchyard, *The Worthiness of Wales*, 51–2.

54 Long, ed. and Roy, *Richard Symonds's Diary*, 238.

55 Coxe, *A Historical Tour in Monmouthshire*, 193.

56 Long, ed. and Roy, *Richard Symonds's Diary*, 238.

Coxe had mistaken the figure of Jesse for that of St Christopher, featured in so many churches, it is possible that others made the same mistake which would explain why Jesse was still lying upon his window ledge close to the Lewis Chapel one hundred and fifty years after Symonds saw it there.

The magnificent Jesse Tree reredos at Dorchester Abbey in Oxfordshire, a combination of sculpture and painted glass, shows that such a combination can be inspiring. Might Abergavenny's Tree of Jesse have framed the stained-glass east window of the Lewis Chapel to present an imposing altar reredos? Might it even have formed the reredos behind the main altar? It was splendid enough for this most important position but we do not know, we can only speculate about its original placement. What is certain is that in addition to its religious message it was a major statement of wealth and power and, as such, was meant to be seen and admired.

The story of Abergavenny's bells speaks strongly of a community with a clear attachment to its church. It was not the parishioners who damaged the Jesse Tree, nor could they prevent the destruction of the spreading boughs and the figures they supported. Parishioners down the centuries deserve our thanks for the part they have played in preserving the unique figure of Jesse, a figure that speaks of the history of the town of Abergavenny and the region of Gwent. What they have preserved is a magnificent, apparently indestructible, remainder, the extraordinary quality of which has begun to be recognised outside Gwent. Its significance in the world of medieval sculpture was recognized in 1996 when Andrew Graham-Dixon described it as, 'one unarguably great wooden figure'.[57] The carving was moved from St Mary's for the first time in autumn 2001 and taken to London where it was exhibited to great acclaim in the Tate Britain exhibition *Image and Idol*, *Medieval Sculpture* and given pride of place on the covers of the exhibition's commemorative catalogue.

Conclusion

The figure of Jesse, father of David, at St Mary's Priory Church, is a unique religious artefact. Although its significance might have been misunderstood at various times in the past, it has been venerated down the centuries. As a triumph of medieval craftsmanship it can be discussed in terms of the criteria employed by leading modern art historians. The application of modern conservation techniques revealed craft skills – richness of detail and costly decoration – previously unrecognized and unappreciated. Consideration given in this study to the working methods of craftsmen in wood in the fifteenth century and to the time needed to carve and paint such works as the Tree of Jesse, was doubly helpful in that it not only illuminated the lives of these workers but also informed discussion about patronage of the sculpture.

First-hand examination and analysis of Abergavenny's Jesse, and other Trees of stone and stained glass in England and Wales, supported by research into a variety of images in France, developed an awareness of the many different and highly original forms the Tree might take, and also an appreciation of the political purpose that sometimes underpinned patronage of a Tree of Jesse, whereby the family tree of the House of David was appropriated in order to reflect the lustre of another royal house. Detailed examination of a significant number of European manuscript illustrations proved particularly enlightening in the context of the role of visual imagery in communicating Biblical teaching and the development of literacy skills long before the days of mass education.

Stripped of the branches that rose from his breast and the prophetic and regal figures they supported, Abergavenny's Jesse has from time to time been moved about St Mary's Church. However, reference to first-hand accounts of visits to the church by Thomas Churchyard in 1587,

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[57] Graham-Dixon, Andrew, *A History of British Art* (BBC Books, London, 1996), 24 and Plate 7.

Richard Symonds in 1645 and Archdeacon William Coxe in 1798, supported by knowledge of the unchanged positions of medieval sculpted Trees of Jesse in other places of worship in England, reinforce the argument that Abergavenny's great Tree was intended to stand, as it presumably did until the Reformation, as a magnificent reredos, the backdrop to one of the principal altars of the church, to magnify the Incarnation of Christ and the glory of the Blessed Virgin in medieval eyes.

Who it was raised the Tree of Jesse in St Mary's Priory we cannot tell beyond doubt. Documents that might have named the patron have been lost. It is possible, nevertheless, to consider the context within which the Tree was created. The late fifteenth century saw Henry VII, the first of the Tudor dynasty, on the throne of England. He determined to bring stability and prosperity to his realm by distancing himself from the minor feuds and major battles that had characterised the Wars of the Roses, in which his family had played a major role. There were rewards for those who had supported him, among them his uncle, Jasper Tudor, with whom he had shared a long exile, and Charles Somerset, who sailed with Henry across the English Channel and was knighted when the small fleet landed at Milford Haven en route to Bosworth, and Lord Stanley, who, according to Polydore Virgil, crowned his stepson with King Richard's crown circlet on the battlefield and was created Earl of Derby.[58] It seems reasonable to propose that they, with strong Welsh connections, wished to honour him in Wales: the powerful Stanleys, probably led by Margaret Beaufort, in the north, and Charles Somerset and Elizabeth Herbert in the south. Nevertheless, the figure most closely connected with the physical survival of Henry Tudor and the beginning of the Tudor dynasty is undeniably Jasper Tudor.

If, as seems certain, the commissioning of the Tree of Jesse was in celebration of Henry's ascent to the throne, who was more likely to be patron than he, who had become an extremely powerful and wealthy man in the region at the end of the fifteenth century and a known patron of St Mary's Priory. It is even possible that *c*. 1487 the oak from which the Tree of Jesse was carved was felled in his forest in the Marches. While yet conjecture, this argument has at least a rational basis, for Jasper Tudor's history of loyalty to his king suggests that he might well have been the 'onlie begetter' of an image that as a work of art and as an expression of religious feeling reflected both the triumph and the piety of Henry VII and must once have been a marvel to behold.

APPENDIX 1
COPY OF THE CONTRACT FOR ERECTING THE 'JESSE,' AT THE ALTAR OF THE B.V.M.. IN ST. CUTHBERT'S CHURCH, WELLS.

"Here Begynneth the endenture bytwixt Maister William Vowell Maister of Towne of Wellis, William Stekylpath and Thom's Coorsett of the one p'tye, chosen Wrdeynes for our lady Awter, And John Stowell ffreemason of the other p'tye, for the making of the ffrounte of the Jesse ate our lady Awter at Seynt Cuthbertus Churche in Wellis aforesaide.

"This Endentu' at Wellis in the Schire of Som't the xxv day of ffebr', the yer' of our lord mcccclxx and the yer of King Harr' the vi from the bygynnyng xlix bytwene Maister awilliam Vowell Maister of the Cite of Wellis, William Stekilpath and Thom's Coorset, Wardeynes of our lady Awter in the Church of Seynt Cuthbert in Wellis forseid on yat oon p'tie And John Stowell of

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[58] Royle, *The Wars of the Roses*, p. 413.

Wellis foresaide, freemason, on that other p'tie. Witnesseth that the saide John Stowell hath take to make, and shal make or do to be made, wel sufficiently and werkmanly and pleynorly p'forme, and within xvi monythes next suyng the dat' of this endenture all the workmanship and masonry crafte of a frount Innyng to the Awter of our lady within the Church of Seynt Cuthbert of Wellis forsaide in the South yle of the same, the which frounte shal extend in brede fro the koyne of the Arch beying in the north party of the saise awter into the Angill beying in the south side of the Awter forsaid. Also the said frounte shal A Rise in heath from the growdyng of the said Awter vnto the Wal plate of the yle foresaide, or ellis litel tak so as it may most conveniently be p'porcened and most stablisht. In which frounte shal stande thre stagis of Imagery acordyng to the genelogy of our lady with there basynges hovelis and tabernacles well and werkemanly made & wrought. Ther shal also arise from the basynges of the saide frounte bytwene Image and Image Coorses wel and werkemanly wrought, trayles rennynge in the saide courses acordyng to the werkes foresaid, with two wyngis coming out from the said frounte after the brede of the Awter freitht with Imagery, such as can be thought by the Maister and his Brothers most acordyng to the storye of the said frounte. In the lowest p'tie of the which stagis shal be a Jesse; – the whych Jesse shal lynyally runne from Image to Image through alle ye foresaid frounte, and coorses as werkmanly as it canne be wrought: To all the which werkes and businesse the foresaide John Stowell shal fynde or do fynde alle man' of stuffe, as wel freeston, fair and p'fitable, as rough ston, lyme, sonde, Iryn, ledde, and scafote tymb', and alle other stuffe necessar' to ye saide werkes to be had, for the which workmanship and stuffe, as it is above writt, the foresaide John Stowell shal have and receive of the saide maister or Wardeynes, or of ther deputed xl*l*. in goode & lawful money of ynglond, in such wise, and at such tyme as it sayth herafter; furst, at the sealing of this Indenture xl*s*.; and after yat wekely, as it may be vnderstand that the werke goith forth. Alle the residewe to be paide ate the end of the foresaide werkes, sayve allewey before that the saide Maister and Wardeynes have remaining in ther hands tyl the foresaide werkes be p'fectly ended c*s*. For alle the which covenants wel and trewly to be p'formed the saide John Stowell byndeth himselfe his eyris, and his executors by obligacon in xx*l*. to be paide to the saide M' William Vowell or to [his] assignes, if so be it that the saide John breke any of the Covenants foresaide.

"In Witnesse wherof ye parties foresaid have put their seales, &c."

Printed on the occasion of the Visit of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society to the City of Wells, September 9th, 10th, and 11th, 1863.

APPENDIX 2
JASPER TUDOR'S GRANT TO PRIOR WYNCHESTER

'Jasper, brother and uncle of kings, Duke of Bedford and Earl of Pembroke. To all to whom our present letters shall come Greeting. Know all men that we the said Duke have given granted and by this our present writing have confirmed to William Wynchester prior of the priory of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Abergavenny and the convent of the same place and to his successors together with their servants the freedom to come and go with all their oxen and cattle in and upon the whole of our forest of Moile to pasture and water their cattle in and upon the whole of our said forest. At the same time to dig all stones whether general or tile in and upon the whole of our said forest and also to gather dry wood there blown down by the wind so often as may be without restriction or any disturbance or seizure by our foresters or other of our officers there for the time being. To have and

to hold the said right of entry and leaving to the said priory and convent and their successors and servants of us and our heirs for ever. Rendering therefore to us and our heirs yearly six pence of lawful money of England at the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St Michael the Archangel equally. And we the said Duke and our heirs the said right of entry and leaving with its appurtances to the prior of the said priory and convent and to their successors and servants in the form of these premises against all men will warrant and for ever defend. In witness whereof to these presents I have caused to be affixed the seal of the Chancery of our said lordship. This is witnessed by Walter Herbert, knight, then steward of Abergavenny, Jenkyn ap Powell, supervisor of our said lordship, John Thomas, master sergeant, Richard ap Llewellin ap Morgan, master forester, William Barry and others. Given at Bergevenny aforesaid the fourth day of April in the eighth year of the reign of King Henry VII (1493).'

Translated from the Latin by Alfred Jackson, undated, unpublished, Gwent Archives, D992.4.
The original document is also held by Gwent Archives, ref. Gwent Archives, Misc. MSS 349.

LLANTARNAM ABBEY – THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF A WATER-MANAGED LANDSCAPE: PART ONE – THE DOWLAIS BROOK

By David Standing

Introduction

The Monastic Wales Project was conceived to counteract the disparity of knowledge that exists between the medieval religious houses of Wales and those situated east of Offa's Dyke. The project has since been elevated to clarify the importance of the Welsh foundations within the overall monastic map of Europe. Yet within Wales, let alone Britain and Europe, the archaeological landscape study of Llantarnam Abbey is in a sad state of affairs. There are many reasons for this. Primarily, the main instigator was the lack of research carried out during the development of Cwmbrân new town by Cwmbrân Development Corporation. The subsequent expansion of the town follows their lead with a non-archaeological approach; each new build steadily obliterating the medieval landscape maintained by Llantarnam Abbey over a significant number of years. Inspired by the work of David Austin and Jemma Bezant carried out at Strata Florida, Llantarnam's mother house, the following study formed part of a four year intensive landscape study as part of the Regional History MA programme at the University of Wales, Newport, Caerleon Campus.

Llantarnam Abbey took its place among the Welsh Cistercian abbeys as the revival of political power supported the growth of the Order during the twelfth century (Gray 2005: 17, Williams 2001: 3–7). Although various dates are suggested for the year of its foundation (Williams 1967: 131–48, Gray 2005: 17), it can be safely assumed to have been founded in the last quarter of the twelfth century. It was to remain active for over three hundred and fifty years before the suppression of 1536 finally closed its doors on 27 August 1536 (Mahoney 1979: 144). Later that century, the immediate abbey environs and its vast tracts of land – namely, the later manor of the Magna Porta – were sold into the hands of the Morgan family (Mahoney: 149).

The landscape that can be associated with the abbey stayed largely intact until the development of Cwmbrân new town began in 1949. The town planners, gripped by the need for quick development after the Second World War, did not implement any archaeological landscape investigation. Perhaps one reason for that is illustrated in Philip Riden's 1988 publication, *Rebuilding a Valley*. Drawing on 'the corporation's own records and the papers of its successive sponsoring ministries, including those less than thirty years old', Riden describes the medieval landscape:

> In the Middle Ages, settlement in the lower eastern valley presumably consisted of dispersed farmsteads and small farmsteads whose holders cultivated the flatter land in the valley floor and grazed sheep on the extensive moorland waste, Mynydd Maen, which divided the Afon Lwyd valley from its neighbour to the west.

Monastic studies have improved extensively since Cwmbrân's initial development. A re-assessment of Llantarnam abbey's landscape would prove a valuable exercise before further evidence is lost to the developer. Due to the scale of the early civil engineering work, it would be natural to assume that there would be little of archaeological interest available for investigation. While that is true to a great extent, it is not an accurate appraisal. It is fortunate that the wide-scale development left considerable areas of the landscape intact. This was due to the development corporation employing the Garden City concept inspired by Ebenezer Howard in the late Victorian period (Hall & Ward: 2014).

Many monasteries were endowed with large tracts of land and Llantarnam Abbey was no different, with eighteen granges to inflate its income (Williams 2000: 2–10). Unlike a secular landlord, monasteries had stability of land ownership which enabled them to change, manage, and create landscapes over long periods of time. Their ability to transform a landscape by improving agriculture, canalising existing water systems for irrigation, drainage and transport, along with constructing mills, enabled them to develop their lands in a way that can still be traced in the modern landscape (Bond: 2004). One of the biggest imprints the Cistercians had on the landscape was through hydraulic engineering. Citing the influence of water systems that the Abbeys of Bordesly, Byland and Rievaulx implemented on their immediate environs, Mick Aston (2009: 90–2) states:

> Many more examples could be cited since almost every Cistercian foundation demonstrates something of the same skills and similar impact on the landscape.

If the Cistercian order had such an impact on the landscape through their water engineering in the case of 'almost every foundation', would it not be reasonable to assume that the monks of Llantarnam did the same? That being so, it was decided to focus the study on the current water systems within the late manor of the Magna Porta, while attempting to trace extant systems mapped during the Ordnance Survey. During a study of this kind, it is impossible to date all of the systems to the medieval period. However, it is widely accepted that many monastic systems were re-utilised by post-medieval industrialists such as occurred at both Neath and Tintern abbeys (Ludlow 2002: 88). Future excavation could provide the evidence pinpointing which systems are solely post-medieval in date. With these removed from the picture, a greater understanding of the monastic landscape could be achieved.

In comparison with other monastic sites in Europe, it quickly became apparent that as an established abbey, Llantarnam had been poorly investigated. The lack of investigation by the development corporation may be attributed to the following:

1. There are no standing buildings of note; antiquarians never gave the site the same attention that other monastic sites enjoyed. Even when the site attracted an antiquarian, there was nothing to entice further visits for those with an archaeological interest. Writing in 1799, Archdeacon Coxe (1801) describes it as:

   > …a large antiquated mansion, damp, dreary and having long been untenanted, exhibits an appearance of gloom and decay, rendered still more melancholy by a few traces of former magnificence.

2. Following the Cistercians' 350-year tenure, the monastery was the centre of a gentry estate. After that line of occupancy was broken the site became a private estate and has remained so until the present day. This has resulted in the site becoming forgotten within the landscape as permission has always had to be granted for access.
3. Like many other Cistercian houses, Llantarnam suffers from a paucity of historical documents (Williams 1967: 131). Many of the abbey's early records would have been lost when the abbey suffered a serious fire towards the end of the fourteenth century (Williams: 138), while Mahoney (1979: vi) suggests that many later records would have been lost after the dissolution as the commissioners had received no instruction on what to do with books and literary manuscripts. Although rarely mentioned, one other episode in Monmouthshire's history may also have had a major effect on documents relating to Llantarnam Abbey. In August 1646 parliamentarian

forces destroyed the library at Raglan Castle; it has been described as an 'irreparable loss to the literature of Wales' (Gwawdrydd 1820: 24).

4. The archaeological excavations for the site have not been adequately published. Further, no individual, institution, or society has carried out, and published, an in-depth landscape survey investigating the evidence that Aston and Bond indicate should be there.

These highlighted points have resulted in Llantarnam Abbey having an archaeological identity of poor repute. This is clearly illustrated by the latest reports carried out prior to development close to the abbey (Cotswold Archaeology, Gwent Glamorgan Archaeological Trust: 2011). Since a landscape survey of Llantarnam Abbey has never been carried out, those carrying out a desktop survey are at a distinct disadvantage as a multi-disciplinary approach is required to fully understand what may be found in the landscape (Bond 2004: 13). Landscape surveys are not required by current planning law so the results from desktop reports repeatedly emphasise Llantarnam Abbey's archaeological identity problem. Without an adequate archaeological investigation of the surrounding landscape, there is nothing in the historical environment record to report on. It is a vicious archaeological circle which can only be rectified by an extended landscape survey.

To paraphrase the latest report by Cotswold Archaeology (2012), Llantarnam Abbey is portrayed as being an insignificant, poor foundation, with a small population of monks and its outer precinct smaller than that of Tintern Abbey. While that may have a ring of truth to it regarding Llantarnam just prior to the dissolution, it overlooks the fact that 'Hardly any abbey was free from financial embarrassment prior to the suppression' (Williams 2001: 80). Cotswold also omit to say how politically important Llantarnam Abbey probably was from its foundation and for the following centuries (Gray 1998: 20–4). To address one point of the Cotswold report, there is no evidence to suggest that the size of Llantarnam's precinct was smaller than that of Tintern Abbey. It is guesswork influenced by the fact that Tintern has enjoyed a considerable amount of historical and archaeological research, while Llantarnam has not. One historical document alone suggests that Llantarnam's precinct may have been quite large. Sometime prior to 1317 the abbey was described as 'the richest and best enfeoffed of all Morgannok (Morgannwg) … where they were formerly wont to be 60 monks and …[more] serving God' (Rees 1975: 286). That is some claim; the Cistercian sites established by 1314 would have included the abbeys of Grace Dieu, Margam, Neath and Tintern. There was no standardised length for a Cistercian abbey church; its length was decided by its prosperity, community size and its wealth (Williams 1998: 213). The size of the outer precinct would be influenced by an abbey's resources, what lands it held, along with whether it had a home farm or not (Aston 2009: 102). All of this directly leads to the possibility of Llantarnam Abbey having a large abbey church, a considerable claustral complex along with a sizeable precinct.

And yet there is no need for Llantarnam Abbey to have been neglected by archaeologists in this way. From the late twelfth century through to the middle of the twentieth, much of Llantarnam's land remained predominantly agricultural. It is a period of agricultural dominance spanning over 600 years. The Morgan family would not have purchased its lands if they had been unprofitable and the land would not have stayed agricultural for so long if it had been unproductive. It was not until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century that industrial manufacturers began to have an impact on the monastic landscape and even then the industries were scattered over a large geographical area. That being the case, the series of topographical investigations carried out by the Ordnance Survey can point to many areas of prospective research. As good a resource that the OS is, it is only an indicative source. Many landscape features were overlooked during the first survey and as such many features in the landscape were either unobserved or just plainly missed. As these

mistakes were later rectified it can mislead the cartographic researcher into believing that newly recorded features on successive editions were constructed between the years of each edition, which is simply not the case (Harley and Oliver 1992: vii–xxvi).

Water Supply

Cistercian monasteries were normally sited close to a reliable source of water. Ideally, this would be at a confluence between a rapid flowing river and a gentler flowing stream. The need for large volumes of controllable water was essential for a variety of reasons – brewing, cooking, driving mills, sanitation and transport. For some of these volume and flow rate rather than purity was preferred. Mill wheels and latrines required volume and energy while the supply for the kitchens had to be pure and reliable for sanitation purposes (Bond 2005: 66–9).

Llantarnam Abbey is situated between the fast-flowing Afon Lwyd and the gentler-flowing Dowlais Brook. Bond has grouped the inland geographical position of the abbey's water supply with that of the abbeys of Bordsley, Buildwas, Cwmhir, Grace Dieu II and Tintern (Bond: 68). The source of the Afon Lwyd rises near Garn-yr-erw in the hills surrounding Blaenafon, approximately 20km northwest of the abbey. Tributaries of the Dowlais Brook, or Black Stream (Morgan 2005: 88), rise approximately 6km west of the current abbey site, on the hills of Mynydd Maen. Multiple springs, spanning a distance of over 2km, emerge on and just above a plateau just below the summit of Mynydd Maen, at a height of approximately 250m. After falling an initial 190m over 3km, an average gradient of 1 in 15, the tributaries then merge, with the resulting water course adopting the name Dowlais. The brook then flows along slightly undulating ground for a further 4km, falling just a further 40m in height, before entering the Afon Lywd (ST32509250).

The Afon Lwyd and Dowlais Brook have one thing in common prior to supplying water to Llantarnam Abbey: both water courses also supply many of the grange farms associated with it. The Dowlais and its tributaries supply the granges at the Dorallt, Llandderfel and St Dials, while the Afon Lwyd supplies Cilgoegan (Pont-y-Moil) and Gelli Lâs (Llantarnam Grange). The grange at Ysgubor Cwrt (Court Farm) is supplied by both. Secondly, the water levels of both courses are now artificially high due to modern-day drainage systems. If these drainage systems were removed and the landscape was restored to agricultural practices containing pasture, meadows and woodland, as it would have been in medieval times, the levels of both water courses would, in all probability, reduce significantly. The increased levels of both water courses have led to large scale flood protection works being placed within their channels to reduce bank erosion. Consisting of large rectangular masonry blocks, or large core aggregate, the flood defences inhibit historical investigation.

The Canalisation of the Dowlais Brook

Identifying water channels that have been subjected to human modification requires finding discordant geomorphological features which are not likely to result from natural causes. The reasons for this are that they are unstable unless continually managed. Three major indicators are normally very clear; straight sections of channel, stepped downstream profiles of the channels and channels retained behind banks that are above that of the floodplain level.

Although straight sections of channels, stepped profiles and raised levees can occur naturally, it is the size and scale of these features that are the key to identifying human modification of a water channel. The first of these features, straight sections of channel, are straightforward to identify, most effectively using maps or aerial photography. The two remaining features require fieldwork. Once the three main principles of human modification of a watercourse have been identified, it is necessary to categorise them. Rhodes (2007: 142–4) supplies a list of reasons for artificial modification which

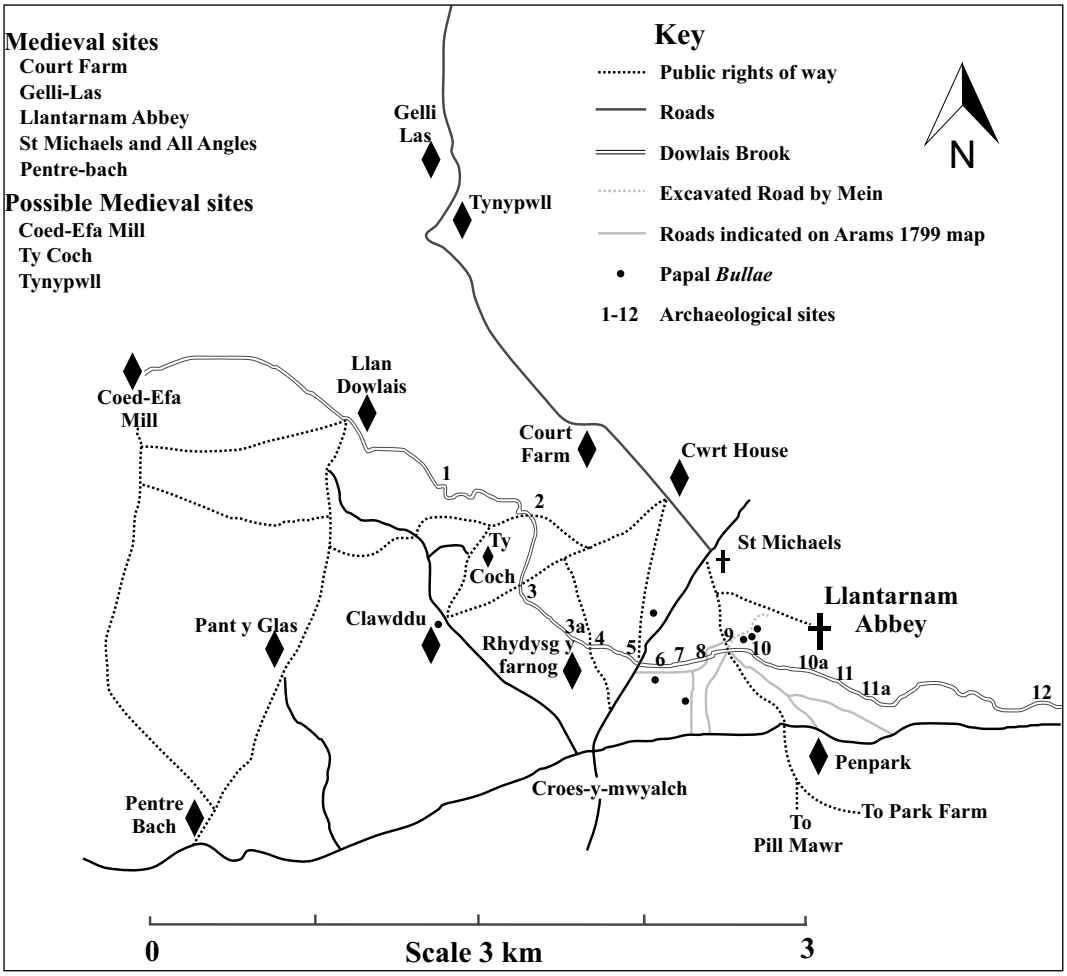

Fig. 1: Llantarnam Abbey and its immediate environs showing the Dowlais Brook and the fifteen sites targeted for field investigation. The additional sites discovered, not evident on the 3rd edition OS map sheet XXVIII N.W., were given a supplementary letter. Sites of discoveries of papal *bullae* are shown to indicate possible medieval communication routes. *Drawn by David Standing*.

include mill construction, river crossing, improving navigation, fishing, flood protection, defence, provision of water supply, provision of drainage, boundary modification and modification of flow rate.

Indicators for human modification within a water channel can include bank reinforcement, building materials (dressed masonry within the channel), sudden directional change, a change in the number of channels, silted channels no longer in use, pairs of parallel channels and sections that are parallel with other landscape features such as roads and settlements (Rhodes: 151). Where a watercourse has been modified, mainly to improve ease of navigation through reducing bends and a reduction in distance, the gradient of the new channel is inevitably steeper than that which it replaces. Flow velocity will increase, which in turn can lead to erosion and widening. As channels

are straightened for transport, control of the watercourse is necessary through the construction of further modifications such as weirs, sluices and bank reinforcement (Rhodes: 143).

The 1920 3rd edition Ordnance Survey map indicates that there are various features present in the Dowlais Brook that match Rhodes's specification for it having been subject to human modification. Twelve sites of interest were immediately picked out for field investigation. A further three sites added as structures, not evident on the OS map, were located during the primary investigation. The structures identified through cartography have been numbered, while the additional sites found through the primary field investigation have been allocated a supplementary letter (Fig. 1). The straight sections of the Dowlais are relatively simple to recognise. However, to the north-west, a number of sharp meanders or loops are present. These may be regarded as negative evidence for the canalisation of the Dowlais but are easily explained through the study of fluvial geomorphology.

The key indicators for understanding water migration are found in the causes behind water channel form change. At a local level, the scale of these features can be in metres, rather than the hundreds of metres that may be encountered on the floor of a wide valley flood plain. Within a straight canalised water channel, the water velocity is reasonably consistent across the breadth of the channel. Any disturbance to a straight channel flow through lack of management, such as not clearing a submerged tree trunk, collapsed bankside structure, or a dead animal, can cause an independent flow disturbance leading to a build-up of a bar where the blockage occurs. This leads to a change in the water velocity in different parts of a channel. Water flowing on the outside of a bend in a channel has a greater flow, and therefore greater velocity and depth, than water on the inside of the bend. The faster flowing water can then implement bank erosion by carrying its load at pace, while the slower moving inner bend tends to deposit its load, increasing the size of the bar. Once a disturbance to the flow has been produced, it is unlikely that the flow will do anything other than intensify the situation. As the disturbance develops, the varying velocities of the inner and outer channels decrease and increase respectively. This leads to even greater erosion of the external bend with further accumulation of depository material on the inner bend. Therefore, the smallest interference to a straight channel flow can develop into a sharp meander loop which would then lead to positive feedback back into the straight channel (Rhodes 2007: 138–9). The blockage and effect of positive feedback is quite evident in the Dowlais brook. The original line of the canalised bank is unmistakable at various locations along its length and is combined with evidence of long term fluvial deposits caused by unmanaged blockages.

Structures in the Dowlais

Site 1 (ST32981935) is a weir built to control water for a mill race. The 1st edition OS map has this as a quite large, complicated structure, built on an angle within the brook. On initial inspection there appear to be no remains left of this structure. The area has been subjected to aggressive flood defence measures consisting of caged aggregate not only on both banks of the watercourse but also the bed of the brook. Regardless of the initial appearance, the site still offers an opportunity for invasive investigation. The parallel leat systems have extensive remains in the surrounding fields while the greater part of the weir itself is now covered in soil. Lime mortar could be observed by crawling under the caged aggregate when the level of the brook was low.

Site 2 (ST33001934) is now a modern footbridge consisting of large concrete bank reinforcements with a bridge spanning the brook. Any possible evidence has been destroyed although the possibility of it being an important crossing during the medieval period should not be discounted as it still remains as a public right of way. An investigation into the road or trackway leading up to the crossing may provide evidence for its original size and date.

Site 3 (ST33021932) was difficult to investigate. The depth of water increased significantly to the point where walking in the watercourse was not possible. Observations from the banks produced no evidence for remains either in the brook or in the surrounding landscape. It is comparable to site 2 in that it crosses the brook as a modern bridge constructed to carry the public right of way over the watercourse.

The location for site 3a (ST33021928) has evidence for what may have been a possible crossing (Plate 1) that has since migrated to that of site 4 (Plate 2), the current public right of way. The only remains are on the north bank of the Dowlais which have been heavily disturbed by modern construction work. It does not appear to have extended into the watercourse. If the surviving remains are the extent of its original width, it measured just over 2m wide. It is impossible to tell if it may have been a larger structure as the eastern fragment has been subjected to prolonged bioturbation. The western half is the most complete, extending into the bank for 1.5m. Regardless of its original width, the existing remains suggest it would have been a substantial structure, probably to support a wooden footbridge.

Site 4 (ST33021929) is an existing bridge that is on a public right of way. Built directly onto bedrock, it is predominantly a stone structure with a brick arch spanning the water channel (Plate 2). On first inspection the bridge abutments appear to have different architectural features, the north side displaying a triangular water cutter while the south curves gently in the bank. A closer examination from within the brook suggests that the south bridge abutment also had a water cutter but bank encroachment has made it invisible from above. The evidence implies that the water channel was previously much wider than its current form; however, this is not apparent through cartographic

Plate 1: Site 3a was at least 2m wide while extending 1.5m into the current bank. *Photograph: D. Standing.*

Plate 2: The bridge located at site 4 is 4.2m wide and 2m high. Probably rebuilt in the 19th century, the architectural and geomorphological evidence indicate the Dowlais Brook had a much greater width at the time of its construction. *Photograph: D. Standing.*

study. The bridge shows clear signs of being rebuilt on an earlier structure, probably during the nineteenth century.

Sites 1–4 lie within the grange of Ysgubor Cwrt and suggest a great deal of trade and communication passing back and forth over the Dowlais brook. There is a strong possibility that the locations of the bridges, possible bridge abutments and rights of way are medieval in origin. The principal farms in the locality were noted by the antiquarian J. H. Clark in the middle of the nineteenth century (1869: 167). They were: The Court, Tynypwll, Llandowlais, Penpark, Pantyglas, Ty Coch, Rhydysgyfarnog, Gelly Las and Clawddu. All of these farmsteads lie in close proximity to Llantarnam Abbey and are on the granges of Ysgubor Cwrt, Pentre Bach and Gelli Lâs. The main road running from St Michael's Church, past Court Farm and then on towards Gelly Las, carried the medieval pilgrimage route from Llantarnam to Penrhys. It was part of the boundary of land given for Llantarnam's foundation by Hywel ab Iorwerth in the late twelfth century (Gray 1998: 27–8). Court Farm is Ysgubor grange, Gelly Las was Gelli-Lâs, while Pentre Bach was originally Cefn Mynach (Williams 2000). Further sites in the area can be considered as being medieval in origin. Coed-Efa Mill may be earlier than first thought (Burchill 2005: No. 40); Cwrt House as it appears on the unrevised first edition OS map is clearly linked to Court Farm, and the early seventeenth century farmstead at Ty Coch, which may be on an earlier site. Tynypwll is in close proximity to Gelli-Lâs and was probably part of that grange. It sits on one of the leats feeding Llantarnam's mills and appears to be a mill complex as it has head and tail races, along with a large

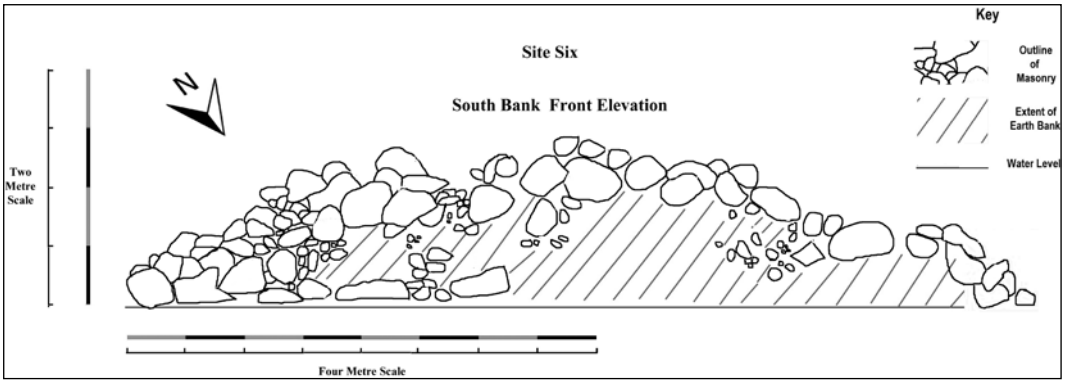

Fig. 2: Front elevation of site 6 within the southern bank of the Dowlais. *Recorded by D. Standing.*

mill pond. The place name translates as 'House in the Pool'. Taking the location, design and name into account, there is no reason why a tentative medieval date cannot be attributed to Ty'n-y-pwll. Further investigation of Ty'n-y-pwll would be very problematic as it now sits under the Grange Industrial Estate.

Site 5 (ST33041928) is a bridge constructed in the nineteenth century to carry the turnpike road across the Dowlais. It has a stone vaulted roof along with twentieth century additions as it has become necessary to widen the road. There is no indication of the bridge being anything other than of a nineteenth century date.

Site 6 (ST33051928) is shown as a weir on the OS map, with the Dowlais brook widening, quite considerably, just downstream of the structure. During the first observation at this location no remains of this weir were visible. A further survey of the banks from within the Dowlais indicated that small traces of masonry were in place and that these remains may have been that of the weir. It was decided that a third investigation should be undertaken during winter as vegetation would be significantly reduced. This revealed that the north bank remains of the weir appear to have been heavily disturbed to allow a brick built storm drain. The south bank, although in a poor state, retains an outline of its original form. It is not mortared, relying instead on a simple dump construction technique of large boulders and sheer size. The south bank remains suggest the weir could have been up to 8m wide, rising to a height of 1.5m. The bed of the Dowlais between the two banks is littered with masonry of similar size to that which remains on both banks. With the apparent removal of the weir in the northern bank and the dilapidated state of remains in the southern, a decision was made to record the front elevation of the weir on the southern bank before further damage took place.

Site 7 (ST33071928) was initially discovered during late 2010 and is marked as a weir. The archaeology on the river bed could be clearly seen with traces of the weir rising on both sets of banks. During subsequent field visits it was noted that after periods of heavy flooding the remains were steadily deteriorating. The decision was made to clean up the remains for archaeological recording before further losses to the structure were incurred (Fig. 3). The remains at site 7 were faced with well-dressed rectangular masonry with river washed cobbles used as an infill. Large, flat through stones were used to bind courses by being placed horizontally through the structure. The weir was constructed using lime mortar, which was bright white in appearance. The weir spanned 8m from the south to the north bank of the Dowlais, with a width of just less than 2m. There is

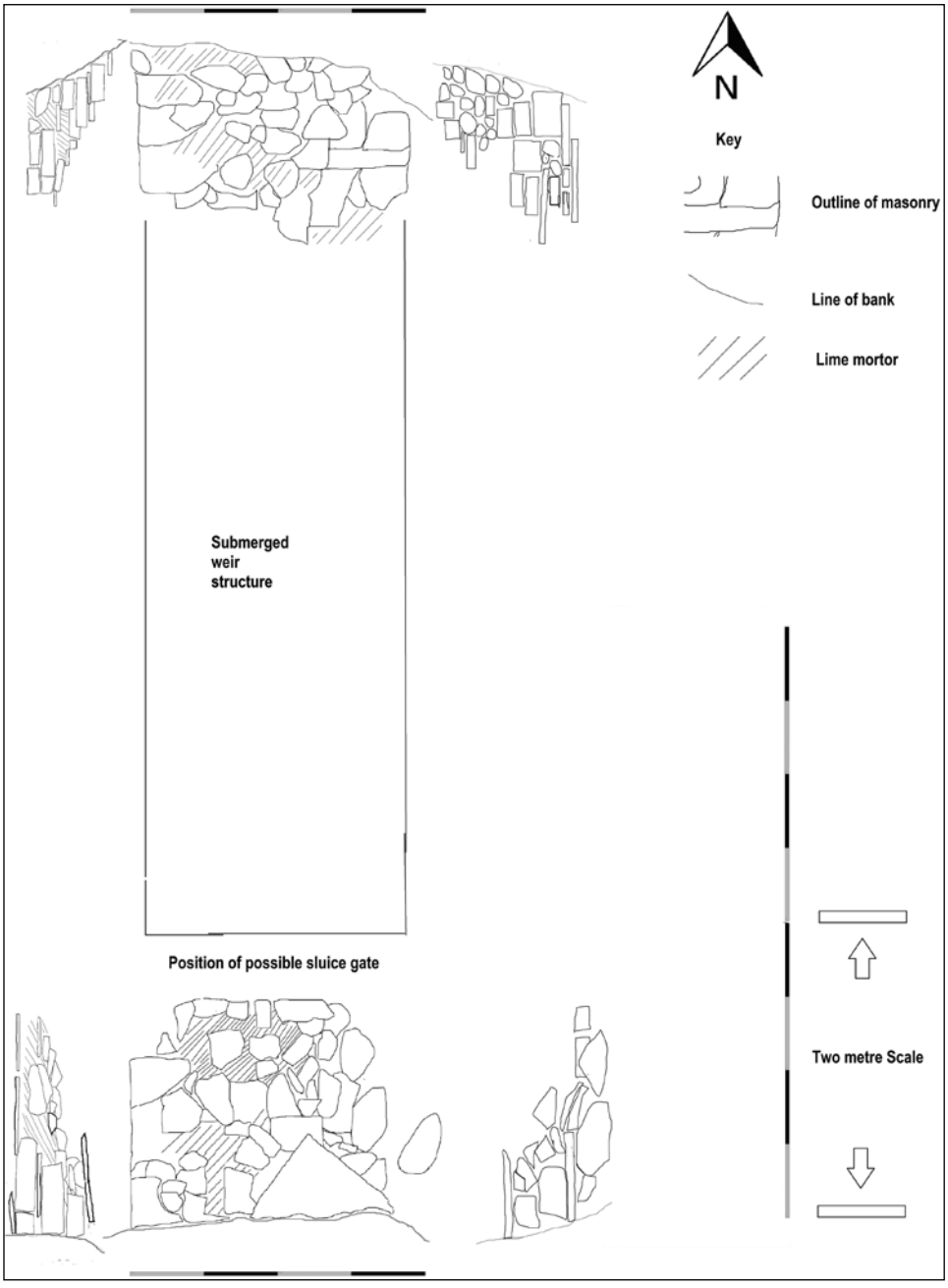

Fig. 3: The remains of the weir at site 7 were recorded prior to further damage by flood attrition. The possibility of a sluice gate was recorded close to the southern bank. *Recorded by D. Standing*.

evidence for a sluice gate close to the southern bank. The sides of the possible sluice gate were straight with what appeared to be two recesses for the siting of a sluice gate on the upstream edge of the weir. An interesting feature on the southern bank was noted but not recorded; it appeared to be a cobbled trackway leading towards and therefore over the weir. The impression that it was used as a footbridge is supported by an inspection of Aram's 1799 map (POPMS 2008: 049) which indicates a trackway leading from Malthouse Lane and crossing the Dowlais in this vicinity. The sluice gate would have been opened to drop the water level to allow safe passage.

The footpath crossing that once occupied site 8 (ST 33071928) has completely disappeared under the new bypass road for Llantarnam, which passed directly over its location. Nothing was noted in the archaeological watching brief undertaken by GGAT (1990).

The archaeology for site 9 (ST33081928) is still *in situ* with a substantial structure crossing the width of the Dowlais. Marked as a weir, extensive remains are visible across the Dowlais and the south bank (Plate 3). The north bank has been covered by a large concrete structure for a gas main, hampering any worthwhile observation. The remains are 6m wide but the length varies between 8m and 10m, because the south bank is irregular. A huge amount of dressed masonry has been removed from these remains through water attrition although they can be observed immediately downstream on the bed of the watercourse. In the centre of the structure there is a low sluice gate which is still operational. The evidence of two other sluice gates can be found at a higher level than that of the first.

Plate 3: Looking upstream from the southern bank at site 9. Measuring just over 6m wide and holding evidence for up to three sluice gates, this bridge would have been a vital communication and supply route during the medieval period. *Photograph: D. Standing*.

Plate 3.1: Looking north across the remains at site 9 from the southern bank of the Dowlais Brook. *Photograph: D. Standing.*

Plate 3.2: The outlet for the lower sluice gate at site 9. *Photograph: D. Standing*.

Plate 3.3: The evidence for the northern sluice gate within site 9. *Photograph: D. Standing*.

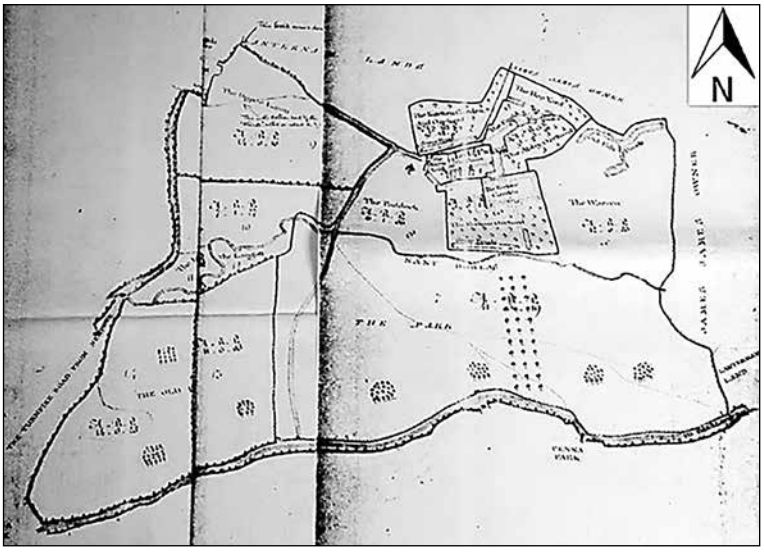

Fig. 4: Aram's 1799 map of Llantarnam Abbey showing the main crossing over the Dowlais Brook at site 9. Torfaen Museum Trust (POPMS 2008: 049).

Additional evidence suggesting site 9 was a bridge rather than a weir is quite compelling. Aram's 1799 map for the Llantarnam estate shows a road leading out of the abbey's grounds and crossing the Dowlais at this location (Fig. 4). The road leaves the estate to the south-west of the Paddock, crosses the Dowlais and then bisects a field, called The Park, to join Malthouse Lane north-west of Pen-y-Park farm. The extinct line of the road can be followed along a hollowed way towards Malthouse Lane. Hollowed ways are the result of a continuous traffic along a certain route over a prolonged period of time, many of which have been suggested as being a particular aspect of medieval landscape archaeology (Brown 1987: 44–69). The road can then be traced on the early OS maps in a southerly direction for a distance of 0.5km before turning south-east towards Park Farm. Excavations in 2012 by members of the University of Wales Newport, were carried out on this section of trackway less than 0.5km north-west of Park Farm. Trench PF2 produced evidence for a metalled trackway 2.8m wide. A cobbled surface containing wheel ruts was discovered with an earlier metalled surface just below. A probable drove way ran alongside, and adjacent to, the trackway. Immediately below the metalled road, a carbon layer was excavated which produced a C14 date of AD 1160 to 1260: 'The intercept of the radiocarbon age with the calibration curve produces a date of AD 1220.' (Howell 2013: 39–47). This is a date remarkably close to Llantarnam Abbey's foundation during the late twelfth century.

As the road from Malthouse Lane turns southeast towards Park Farm, there is an indication on the OS maps that it branched at this location in the form of a spur, suggesting that it also continued in a southerly direction. Williams (2001: 266) points out that Llantarnam Abbey had an unusual landholding that extended from the ridge that Malthouse Lane straddles, down to Pill Mawr on the River Usk. This route provides the most direct access to the river Usk from Llantarnam Abbey. It promotes the possibility for the abbey's water borne trade that perhaps has not been thoroughly examined before. This may be through past documents indicating that Llantarnam's trade was predominantly exercised through the port of Caerleon. To press home that point, the archaeological report on the medieval shipwreck discovered in 1994 at Magor Pill outlines the monastic trade

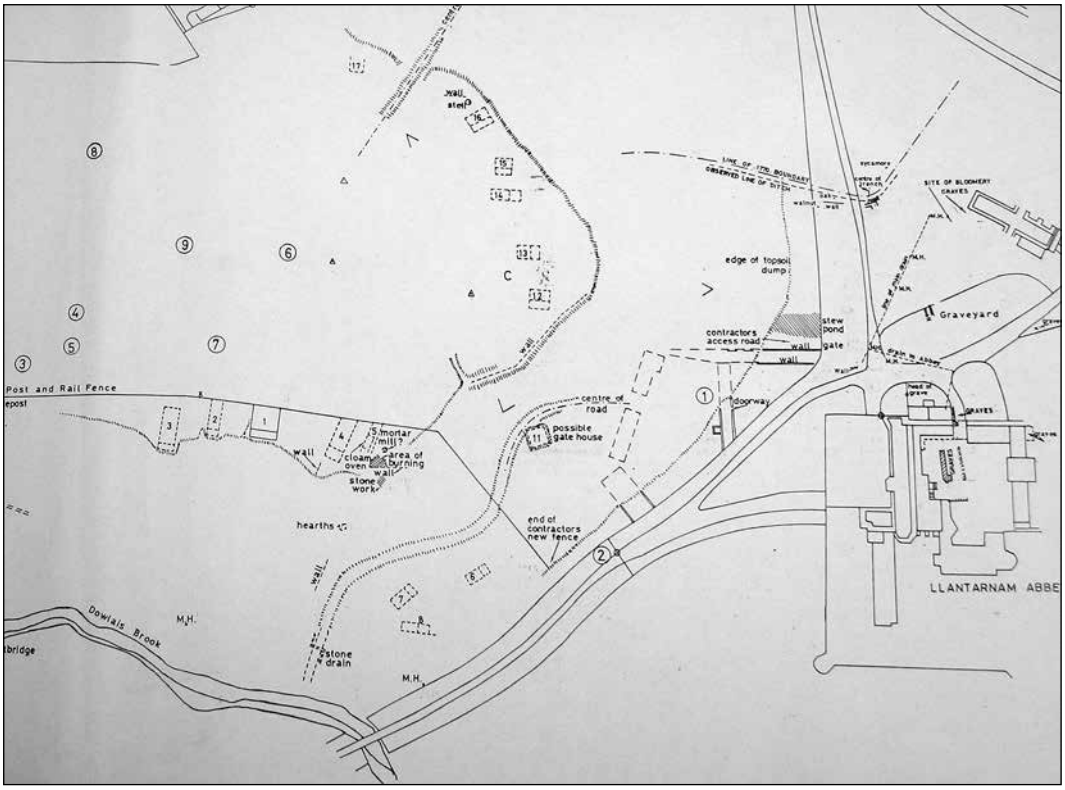

Fig. 5: Archaeological survey at Llantarnam Abbey – 1980/81. Geoffrey Mein and The Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association. A probable industrial site is shown close to the abbey precinct. Torfaen Museum Trust (POPMS 2008: 049).

possibilities that could have benefited from its trade (Nayling 1994). Llantarnam Abbey is a glaring omission within that publication although it should be pointed out that Nayling would not have been aware of this bridge, or its associated route systems, due to the lack of past investigation.

Further evidence for a bridge can be found through Mein's excavations (1982: 47–52) (Fig. 5). A continuation of the road illustrated on Aram's map was located and surveyed. Although it appears not to have been surveyed right up to where site 9 is located, it is close enough to suggest it would not have altered in course that close to the Dowlais brook. With a width of 6m, this suggests the bridge is a continuation of the excavated road. If Mein was correct with the medieval dating of the buildings close to the road, and it is accepted that the road led to and from a wharf on the river Usk, the bridge located at site 9 would have been responsible for carrying one of the major communication and trade routes both in and out of the medieval complex. This would not have been restricted to trade within Wales, or Britain, but would have included Europe also.

Site 10 (ST33091928) is an early nineteenth century bridge that was constructed at the time of the main house undergoing a major re-building programme by the architect T.H. Wyatt on behalf of R.J. Blewitt. Built of sandstone, it has a single arch span with low parapets that are turned outwards to octagonal end piers. In 2003 it was given a grade II listing as it was 'an attractive estate bridge of the early nineteenth century' (CADW, 2003).

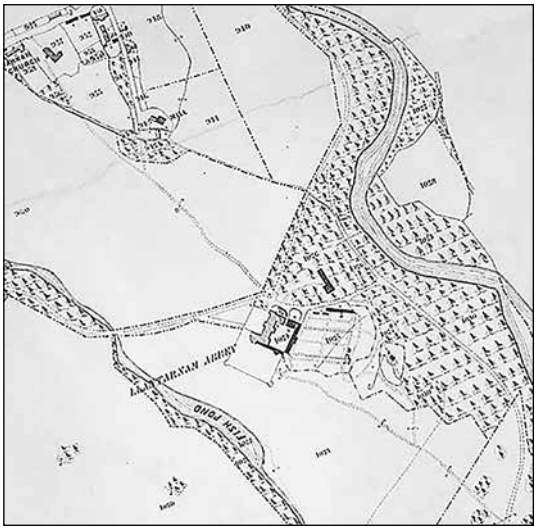

Fig. 6: The fishpond on the 1848 Llanfihangel Llantarnam tithe map.
Torfaen Museum Trust (POPMS 2008: 049).

Site 10a (ST33101927) and site 11 (ST33121927) are the remains of a weir and dam for a fishpond which is marked on the 1848 tithe map (POPMS 2008: 049) (Fig. 6). The standing remains of site 11 are remarkably intact. The north bank weir measured 1.85m high and had a length of 4m (Plate 4). The south bank remains are considerably smaller, 1.85m high by 2m in length. The north

Plate 4: Looking downstream at the northern bank remains of the fishpond dam. Just above the 1m high mark, there is evidence for the dam being rebuilt during the post medieval period. The archaeology remaining within both banks and across the Dowlais is considerable. *Photograph: D. Standing*.

Plate 4.1: The bed of the Dowlais showing paving slabs laid in the stream bed. *Photograph: D. Standing.*

bank showed signs of possibly being rebuilt at a height of 1m from the bed of the brook. The bed of the Dowlais is lined with flagstones across the width of the structure with the walls springing upwards off them (Plate 4.1). It is marked as a footbridge on the OS map.

The back weir was difficult to locate. The remains were small and covered in dense vegetation and so investigation from either bank proved fruitless. Even when discovered, and the location noted, the remains were constantly missed while walking the Dowlais. As with site 7, it was decided that the weir should be cleaned and recorded (Fig. 7). At its deepest, the depth of water was 350mm between the north and south banks; however an attempt was made to locate possible remains on the bed of the Dowlais brook. Mortared remains were visible in shallow water but the centre of the weir could not be viewed due to silt obscuring the view. Trowelling underwater revealed lime mortar between the *in situ* masonry within the banks but it could only be observed for a brief moment, the flowing water replacing removed silt almost immediately. Even so, an attempt was made to clean the whole bed of the Dowlais where the weir would have been to try and locate evidence for a sluice gate. Although there was no suggestion of a sluice gate, this should only be taken at face value due to the nature of the investigation.

The outline of the fishpond can be followed through a long earthwork 137m in length. Although not visible close to the fishpond back weir, the earthwork becomes increasingly prominent as it turns south-easterly towards the fishpond dam. As the earthwork joins the dam, it is lined with masonry for a distance of 2.75m which, at its lowest level, lines up with the rebuilt masonry evident in the dam structure. The location of the masonry structures and their relationship with the earthworks were recorded with the outline of the stew ponds superimposed onto the plan (Fig. 8).

Aram's map places two stew ponds at this location. The first is parallel to the Dowlais in the same location as the fishpond indicated on the tithe map, while the second is slightly to the east of the first and is aligned north to south. The current remains can be presumed to be that of the stew

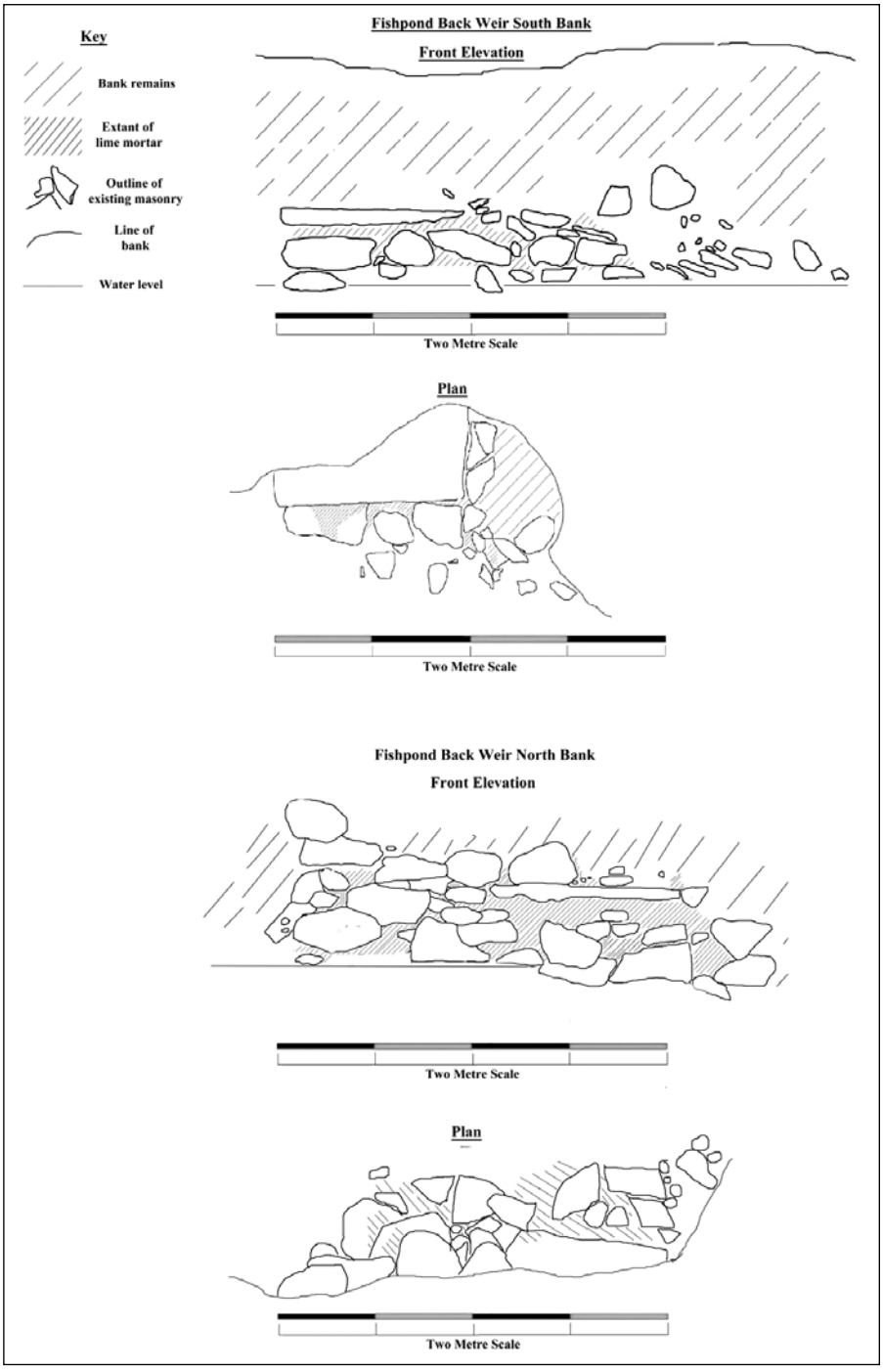

Fig. 7: The back weir for the fishpond indicated on the Llanfihangel Llantarnam 1848 Tithe map. *Recorded by D. Standing*.

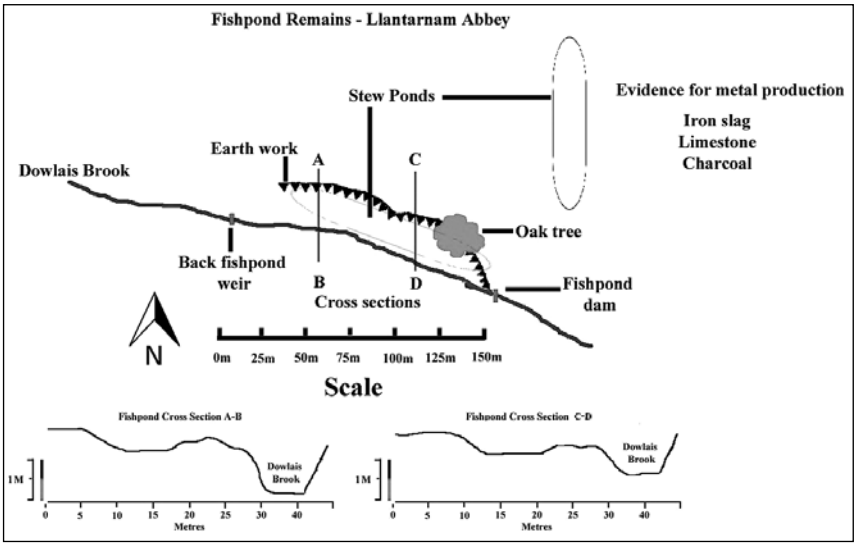

Fig. 8: The recorded remains of the fishpond between sites 10a and 11. The stew ponds recorded by Aram have been superimposed along with the evidence of the iron production site. *Recorded by D. Standing*.

Plate 5: The stone lining of the fishpond that adjoins site 11. The masonry lines up with the evidence for the rebuilt dam structure within the north bank of the Dowlais. *Photograph: D. Standing*.

pond running close to the Dowlais. There is evidence for the pond being separated from the Dowlais as the ground rises from the earthwork of the later fishpond towards the Dowlais. This may be the original edge of the stew pond after it had been removed to open up the ground to accommodate the later fishpond. There is no indication in the landscape of the second pond. From cartographic evidence alone, it appears that there were two stew ponds at this location prior to 1799. Sometime between 1799 and the 1848 tithe survey the second stew pond was filled in, while the first was modified to become the fishpond shown on the tithe map. The fishpond then fell out of use by the time of the first revised edition of the OS. It is possible that the first alteration of the stew pond was for its use as a garden feature (Currie 1990: 22–46). This would account for the possible rebuilt dam structure in the Dowlais along with the partial lining of the fishpond. It would also corroborate additional evidence on Aram's map as the 'old fish ponds' are positioned to the north-east of the stew ponds, close to the Afon Lwyd.

Further evidence associated with this section of the water system presented itself during spring 2014, when for the first time during this study the field to the east of the second stew pond was ploughed. This produced evidence of iron production with an abundance of iron slag, iron stone, limestone and charcoal, all visible on the surface along with a large masonry scatter. It is possible that the site of the second stew pond was originally a mill pond for the production of iron. However, there is no evidence for head or tail races either on the ground or through cartographic analysis. The name of the field on the tithe map apportionment is 'Fishpond Field'. The surviving fishpond earthwork was surveyed and cross sections plotted across the site of the stew pond next to the Dowlais.

The north and south banks of site 11a (ST33121927) contain structures that have been constructed for bank stability. The walls may have been built during different time periods as both structures have varying components; the size of the masonry differs and the form of each structure varies. The remains in the north bank appear complete, are 20m long and 1.5m high, with the west and eastern ends curving back into the bank for a length of 0.5m. The structure also curves out of the perpendicular into the bank. In contrast, remains for the south bank structure are sporadic, approximately 6m in length, while rising 2m above the brook. The remains appear straight and vertical, constructed using dressed masonry considerably smaller in size to the wall on the opposite bank. Soil has accumulated to such an extent on the south side of the brook that the wall is up to 3m from the water's edge. In spite of this, there is a small section of the wall lining the water's edge, indicating that the wall was constructed to line the Dowlais. Along with site 11, the remains in both banks are linked through the bed of the Dowlais by large, flat, dressed masonry acting as foundation which both walls sit upon. Towards the centre of the Dowlais, and bedded into the paved foundation layer, the remains of a wooden sluice gate were discovered still *in situ*. At 1m long and 0.09m wide it would have been a substantial gate capable of controlling a large volume of water.

Site 12 is a modern concrete structure linking Malthouse Lane with Ty Isaf farm. There were no visible signs of any earlier features other than that the crossing is on the first edition OS map. However, it should be noted that it was originally on the line of a public footpath linking the motte and bailey castle on Malthouse Lane (Phillips 2006: 117) to Ty Isaf farm. Bradney (1923: 239) describes Ty Isaf as, 'The farmhouse, known as Ty-Isha', which 'lies between the mansion and the river. It is an ancient building and has a stone staircase'. Taking into consideration the close proximity of Ty Isa to the current abbey buildings, along with the medieval motte and bailey, the location of an early crossing at this location should not be discarded.

Plate 6: Site 11 – The north bank. The masonry curves out of the perpendicular into the bank. At over 20m long, they appear to be complete. *Photograph: D. Standing.*

Plate 7: Site 11 – The south bank. Providing evidence for the Dowlais Brook being walled along its possible outer precinct boundary. *Photograph: D. Standing.*

Plate 8: Running parallel to the Dowlais, the evidence for a barge gutter circumventing the weir at site 6 is nearly 135m in length. *Photograph: D. Standing*.

Conclusion

The evidence for the canalisation of the Dowlais brook should come as no surprise. Monasteries canalised water systems from as early as the tenth century (Bond 2004: 303). The diversions of streams or rivers enlarged precincts so that buildings could be accommodated, which is evident at both Cleeve Abbey in Somerset (Gilyard-Beer 1960: 18) and Dieulacres in Staffordshire (Fisher 1969). At Bordesley Abbey in Worcestershire, the identification of the original course of the river Arrow can be deducted from detailed contour maps and earthworks. Originally south of the abbey site, the river was straightened, opening the abbey precinct so that an elaborate water leat system could be constructed along the floor of the valley (Aston 2009: 90–1). In Yorkshire, Rievaulx Abbey had a series of land grants requiring the redirection of the river Rye. This would have enabled Rievaulx to extend its precinct westwards (Aston 2009: 90–2). The river Churnet at Dieulacres was re-directed to gain more useable space for buildings to the south of the abbey which was then protected from flooding by a complex system of drains and culverts (Fisher 1969).

In all probability, the monks based at Llantarnam were responsible for the canalisation of the Dowlais brook. Although the research on the abbey precinct is ongoing, the evidence suggests that the Dowlais brook formed part of the precinct boundary to the south and west. Equivalent evidence from Llantarnam's mother house provides an interesting comparison. Both houses have remarkably similar landscape settings. At Strata Florida, the Afon Glasffrwd displays clear signs of being diverted. It was moved close to the side of the valley wall and was contained by a wall and banks, the remains of which can still be traced. This would have opened up space for the precinct (Austin 2004: 196). The level of the water would have been easily controllable by the series of sluice gates and such is the height of the channel, the Dowlais would not have needed banks for containment. However, from the current Magna Porta entrance (ST3041792756) southwards the Dowlais has also been canalised close to the valley wall. Additionally, it still contains traces of being walled at site 11. This suggests that at the time of the abbey's foundation, the monks sent from Strata Florida introduced a similar layout to that already in use at the mother house. It is well known that monks and *conversi* were also masters of many crafts; what is perhaps not always appreciated is that they were architects and planners, many of whom may well have been sent from the founding house (Williams 1998: 196–9). As the precinct buildings were being planned, the canalising of the Dowlais would have been necessary to open up the necessary space for them. In that event, this work was probably carried out by the end of the twelfth century if this was Llantarnam's original, and only, foundation location, or the thirteenth century if it underwent a change of site (Williams 2001: 14–16).

That the Dowlais was used for medieval water transport should not be doubted. The Dowlais channel was capable of holding a volume of water much higher than it does today due to the height of its banks. With a systematic series of weirs in place, along with its gentle gradient, the Dowlais brook would have resembled the industrial canals that we can still witness today; the water would have had depth with the current appearing still. During the study, additional evidence was discovered that indicates that the Dowlais may have been canalised some 4km from the abbey. The weir outlined at site one would have provided the necessary depth upstream for this to have been possible.

The notion of the Dowlais being used for navigation up to 4km west of the claustral complex creates an interesting set of possibilities. Although probably used for the transport of agricultural produce from the granges on Mynydd Maen when the abbey was up and running, it is conceivable that building materials were initially transported by barge for the construction of the main buildings. It is known that stone and timber were conveyed using water transport at a number of abbeys in Britain (Bond 2004: 302–2; Aston 2009: 146–7; Williams 1998: 180). However, it is thought that weirs were a form of obstruction (Bond 2004: 303). If a single weir was placed on a long water

system that would probably be the case. An isolated weir would create a water cascade, thereby creating a formidable obstruction for water-borne traffic.

The Dowlais, however, possesses a string of weirs along its length. Consequently, the difference in water level between each weir would not be as great as a single weir creating an obstruction. Multiple weirs along a water channel gave the operators control of the water, making transport possible by reducing the water velocity while increasing depth. A barge can easily pass over a weir by the use of a flash-lock, the technique being widespread in the medieval period (Blair 2007: 10). The flash-lock system involves wooden paddles being placed in a slot along the top of the weir. This inflates the height of water on the side of the barge. When the paddles are released, the flood of water carries the barge over the weir (Plate 8).

The problematic weir, if this technique was used at Llantarnam, is at site 6. At nearly 8m wide, and with its method of construction, the flash-lock system would be inoperable as damage to the barge would have ensued. Nevertheless, flash-locks were not the only means of by-passing weirs in the medieval period. A 'barge-gutter' is a water channel that branches away from the main channel to circumnavigate obstruction before re-joining the channel downstream. Barge-gutters create an elongated oval island between it and the main channel (Blair 2007: 10). Wooden sluice gates placed at each end of the barge-gutter would provide control, along with the opportunity for barges to navigate both up and downstream. The evidence for a barge-gutter by-passing the weir at site 6 is quite clear in the landscape

Although heavily silted, the channel is visible for much of its length. The barge-gutter leaves the Dowlais 95m upstream from the weir. It is traceable for 20m, then there follows a 37m gap before it becomes evident again for a further 70m before re-joining the Dowlais brook 30m downstream of the weir. At its widest, the channel measures 4m wide. Immediately below the weir the Dowlais has been widened to such an extent that it resembles a small lake. An attractive, albeit highly speculative, suggestion would be that the widening of the Dowlais brook at this point may have been for its use as a mooring point for the medieval barges that travelled up and down the water system.

This begs the question of exactly where these materials were being delivered to? Published in 1982, A.G. Mein carried out the rescue archaeology as two lagoons were built to protect against the rising level of the Dowlais during flood. Mein did remarkably well to record the archaeology; the situation was troublesome due to the speed of development and trying weather conditions. Examination of unpublished excavation plans and finds from Mein's work can be viewed at Torfaen Museum (POPMS 2008: 049). Mein deduced that the recorded remains were a deserted medieval village that was started sometime in the thirteenth century before being abandoned sometime in the eighteenth. Producing archaeological evidence of prolonged use, this site was obviously not deserted. Considering the results of this study a more prudent evaluation of the archaeology can now be applied.

Monastic precincts retained a lot of buildings; these were essential to the upkeep and running of the abbey, with many of them located along the skirts of the outer court (Williams 1998: 204). During the construction of a monastery, it was necessary to have an industrial complex to supply the resources required, not only to complete the work, but also to provide continuing maintenance. These would have been within the precinct and resembled builder's yards, with facilities for storage, stone, timber and lead working along with a mortar mixing area (Aston 2009: 101). If the Dowlais can now be considered as one boundary of the outer precinct, the buildings excavated by Mein are situated along the outskirts of it, close to the Dowlais, with some of them placed along a road or trackway leading from the bridge linking the river Usk to the abbey. They vary in size from quite

large to small, are constructed with well-dressed mortared stone; they had tiled roofs ridged with green glazed tiles, and are spread out over a large area. There is evidence for some of them being enclosed, while others are separated, by a long wall with a possible gatehouse between them and the current buildings. A further gatehouse was excavated close to the tithe barn. A mortar mixing area was recorded along with hearths, a cloame oven, and a stone lined water supply, marked as a drain, leading towards it. The buildings are situated in the perfect position to be supplied from both internal and external trade; a more realistic approach would be for these remains to be looked at as a monastic industrial centre supplying and maintaining the buildings situated on the current abbey site from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries. This leads to the strong possibility of a gatehouse being situated on the banks of the Dowlais close to the bridge at site 9. Further, after crossing the Dowlais at site 7, the minor trackway recorded by Aram immediately turns south-east to run parallel with the Dowlais before joining the main road just after the larger crossing. Gatehouses had two entrances, the larger for horse-drawn vehicles with the smaller for pedestrians. Not only would it have been one of the main entrances to the outer precinct, gatehouses were used to greet visitors and as a point of trade (Williams 1998: 200–2).

To give a clearer picture of the situation, the archaeological remains in the Dowlais have been mapped out along with the public rights of way. The primary farmsteads in the area have been added along with buildings of confirmed and probable medieval date. The current road system has been added as they probably overlay, or at least are very near to, the medieval route system. Added to that are the trackways surveyed by Aram and excavated by Mein. Plotting the road system and public rights of way presents a complex system of possible ancient trackways between known and possible medieval sites. Control of the Dowlais while utilising the crossing points over the brook would have been an integral part of that system. Employing a multi-disciplinary archaeological approach towards water systems situated on Cistercian sites can lead to a greater understanding of the overall landscape, and the discovery of further remains yet to be recorded. Llantarnam abbey has proved to be no different.

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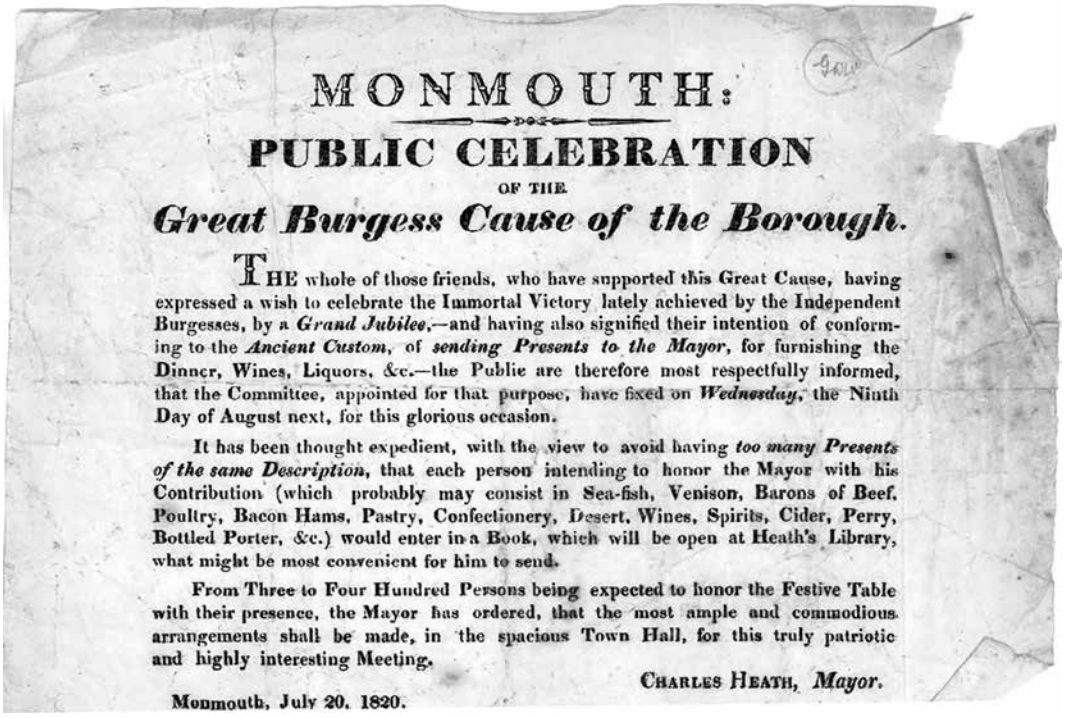

MONMOUTH:

PUBLIC CELEBRATION

OF THE

Great Burgess Cause of the Borough.

THE whole of those friends, who have supported this Great Cause, having expressed a wish to celebrate the Immortal Victory lately achieved by the Independent Burgesses, by a *Grand Jubilee*,—and having also signified their intention of conforming to the *Ancient Custom*, of *sending Presents to the Mayor*, for furnishing the Dinner, Wines, Liquors, &c.—the Public are therefore most respectfully informed, that the Committee, appointed for that purpose, have fixed on *Wednesday*, the Ninth Day of August next, for this glorious occasion.

It has been thought expedient, with the view to avoid having *too many Presents of the same Description*, that each person intending to honor the Mayor with his Contribution (which probably may consist in Sea-fish, Venison, Barons of Beef, Poultry, Bacon Hams, Pastry, Confectionery, Desert, Wines, Spirits, Cider, Perry, Bottled Porter, &c.) would enter in a Book, which will be open at Heath's Library, what might be most convenient for him to send.

From Three to Four Hundred Persons being expected to honor the Festive Table with their presence, the Mayor has ordered, that the most ample and commodious arrangements shall be made, in the spacious Town Hall, for this truly patriotic and highly interesting Meeting.

CHARLES HEATH, *Mayor.*

Monmouth, July 20, 1820.

A celebration of the 'Immortal Victory lately achieved by the Independent Burgesses' in the 'Great Burgess Cause' of the Borough of Monmouth, 1820. This was celebrated whilst Charles Heath was mayor as an independently nominated elected burgess. The 'Great Burgess Cause' and its 'Immortal Victory' was an assertion that a burgess could be elected for office in Monmouth without the prior nomination of the Common Council.

Gwent Archives, Misc. MSS 469.

SUBSCRIBERS AND ASSISTANTS: HEATH'S GUIDES AND THE POLITICS BEHIND THE PICTURESQUE

By Julian Mitchell

I

The political struggle between the duke of Beaufort and the burgesses of Monmouth in the period following the end of the Napoleonic war has been written about at length by Keith Kissack and Dr John Sleigh.[1] The duke not only controlled one of the two Monmouthshire county seats in Parliament, and put in more or less anyone he chose (sometimes a family member) as MP for the boroughs (of Monmouth, Usk and Newport), but also closely controlled Monmouth itself through its Common Council of fifteen members whom he appointed from among the burgesses, and who themselves appointed the mayor and other municipal officials. How the duke had acquired the 'right' to appoint, is not clear, in fact he seems simply to have assumed it; but exercise it he did. In 1819 the burgesses who were not part of the Common Council rebelled, claiming it was the burgesses as a whole who had the right to appoint the mayor and bailiffs, and choosing Charles Heath, a burgess since 1807, printer, book-seller, stationer, guide-book writer (and sometime dealer in tea and fishing tackle) as mayor. In order to make good their claim, the burgesses went to law and at first seemed to be successful. But the law is always expensive, and the duke was very rich, which the burgesses were not, and so was able to hold on till the reforms later in the century, starting with the first Reform Bill of 1832.

Though they retained political control in Monmouth for so long, the Beauforts rarely appeared there, except for such events as the opening of the Naval Temple on the Kymin, or the races, leaving management to their agent, who usually occupied Troy House. This aristocratic absence caused a social vacuum, filled in part by the Haberdashers Society in London through the William Jones Charity. Not only did it appoint the head and other masters of Monmouth School, but lecturers in Monmouth and Newland, five miles away. The town was also the social centre for the gentry of the Forest of Dean around Newland and Clearwell.

This article explores the list of subscribers to Heath's *Historical and Descriptive Accounts of the present and ancient state of Ragland Castle* of May 1797.[2] There were no subscribers as such to *The History of Monmouthshire* by David Williams (1796) or *An Historical Tour through Monmouthshire* by William Coxe (1801), but Williams listed those who had ordered in advance the prints by John Gardnor which illustrated his book, and both he and Coxe thanked local people who had assisted them in their researches.[3] Comparing all three, I suggest that political antagonism can be found even in such apparently neutral publications.

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1 Kissack, Keith, *Monmouth, The Making of a County Town* (Phillimore, Chichester, 1978), henceforward referred to as KK (1), 56–109; Sleigh, Dr John, *Monmouth and the Somersets* (Monmouth Field and Antiquarian Society, nd); Escott, Margaret, 'Parliamentary Representation', *Gwent County History, Volume 4, Industrial Monmouthshire, 1780–1914* (University of Wales Press on behalf of the Gwent County History Association, Cardiff, 2011), 265ff.

2 Referred to henceforth as *Ragland 1797* (2). The full title is longer. All further references to Heath's guides are by their short titles and dates.

3 I have described the surprising publication of two county histories so close together in 'A New Look at Colt Hoare', *The British Art Journal*, vol 13, no 3 (Winter 2012/13), 61–8 (henceforward JM 1).

II

Charles Heath was born in 1761, in Hurcott, a hamlet on the edge of Kidderminster, where his family had had a paper mill since at least 1719.[4] He went to school in Hartlebury, a few miles away. There had been a grammar school there for many years before it became the Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth in 1558.[5] He was then apprenticed to a printer in Nottingham. There follows a gap in his life till 1790 when, being 'disengaged at that time from business' for no given reason, he came to Raglan to visit his friends the Chambers, who kept the Beaufort Arms. (Mrs Chambers came from Broadwaters, the next hamlet to Hurcott).[6] This seems to have been his first visit and he was deeply impressed by the ruins of the castle. He was feeling great regret at having left his birthplace, and asked himself, if he felt so strongly, 'What must have been the feelings of the nobleman, on being compelled to resign this spacious edifice – who had the right of calling himself Owner of the Demain?' He was introduced to the vicar of Raglan, the Rev John Jones, 'an antiquary of some note' (*see Subscribers List below*), who lent him 'An account of the building when in its splendour'. This seems to have been what gave him the idea of publishing a guidebook. The following year he set up business in Monmouth and started writing and publishing his guides to Monmouthshire and the Wye.

The first of these was to Raglan, and contained only the *Descriptive Account of Ragland Castle* given him by Jones, and a *List of the Household and Method of Living, at Ragland Castle when inhabited by the Earl of Worcester, in the reign of King Charles the First, from1628 to 1645*, which he had found in an old provincial newspaper.[7] With these two documents, each of six short pages, but 'being equally a novelty to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood as to myself' he went to press on 23 June 1792.[8] The documents were to appear in all subsequent editions. The first edition seems to have soon sold out, as Ifano Jones recorded a second, in which Heath said 'A few copies only of this impression are printed off, in order that the Publisher may have it in his power more frequently to correct and enlarge'.[9]

Heath was a busy man, and correction and enlargement took him five years. Guides to *Tintern* and *Piercefield and Chepstow* appeared in 1793, the latter with an advertisement at the back for a new edition of *Ragland* in preparation, 'from new materials, and local information'. (It also advertises an *Abergavenny*, never to appear). The *Scenery of the Wye* followed in 1795 and the *Excursion Down the Wye* in 1796. Meanwhile he was encouraged by, among others, Daniel Tregoze, of Tregeirog in Llanishen, described only as 'A Well-Wisher to Mr Heath's Interest' in the two versions of *Ragland* 1797, but named after his death in that of 1801. Tregoze, who was a magistrate

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4 Society of Antiquaries of London, Prattington Collection, Vol XXX, name index, unnumbered. Hurcott is called Hircott in Nash, Treadway, *Collections for the History of Worcestershire* (London, 1781, *et seq*) Vol 2, *passim*.

5 Heath, *Ragland*, 1801, unnumbered, 9; Nash, Treadway, *op.cit*., Vol 1, 570.

6 *Tintern* 1803, preface, 1.

7 David Williams, who printed it in his *History of Monmouthshire* (London, 1796) as appendix LIV, 132–9, later told him it had first appeared in the *Antiquarian Repertory*.

8 Jones, Ifano, *A History of Printing and Printers in Wales to 1810 ...also A History of Printing and Printers in Monmouthshire to 1823* (William Lewis, Cardiff, 1925), 223–6. Jones was The Welsh Librarian, Cardiff, and his work was, in part, a corrective to the many errors in William Haines's 'Notes on the Bibliography of Monmouthshire', *The Library*, 1896, 239–45. He lists the pamphlet as 'edited by Heath'. Where he got the exact day in June is not known; perhaps from the 1792 publications, which he claimed to have seen but which I have been unable to trace. All copies of what was a very slim pamphlet may now have disappeared. Heath himself merely gives the month in the footnote on the first page of the *Descriptive Account* in *Ragland 1797* (1) (*see below*).

9 Jones, Ifano, *op.cit*., 225.

and had been sheriff in 1756, gave him information gathered over many years from 'several very old people whose fathers and other relatives had lived in the days when the Castle was in its perfect state.' This amounted only to four pages, added to the *Descriptive Account*, and is mostly about what had been found in and around the castle by David Evans of Castle Farm. Heath himself read Rushworth's *Historical Collections* for the letters between Fairfax and the earl of Worcester,[10] and in1795 he learned more about Fairfax from an unidentified fellow of the Society of Antiquaries who visited his shop in Monmouth. Then the pavement of the chancel of Raglan church fell in and Heath was able to examine the tombs in the Beaufort vault. With this and much other new information, he published two very similar new editions in March and May 1797.

Both have the same title page and begin with two contents pages, followed by 38 (1) and 32 (2) pages of unpaginated introductory material. Pagination then begins with *The Descriptive Account* and continues to the end. *Ragland* (1) has 108 pages, *Ragland* (2) 98. Though there are many small changes between the two, the material is basically the same, though often reset. But where *Ragland* (1) has a footnote dated March 1797 on the sixth page of the *Descriptive Account* (which is where Heath says he published his first guide in June 1792), *Ragland* (2) has it on the first. *Ragland* (2) also contains a page with a 'List of Subscribers' and two 'Errata' which I have found tipped in at the beginning of the guide in one copy, and at the end in another.

Heath's bibliography is complicated, given the constant revision of his texts, and his binding of different sections printed at different times into one booklet, as demand required or the fit took him. And though he may well have set and printed his footnote in *Ragland* (2) in May 1797, the *Subscribers List* cannot have been completed till after 2 August, for that was the day on which Sir Richard Colt Hoare reached Monmouth on his Wye Tour, met Heath, and noted in his diary: 'Heath, printer, has published several tracts respecting the topography of this neighbourhood and intends to add more'.[11] He subscribed for two copies of the forthcoming *Ragland* and anything else of the sort that Heath might publish. (Perhaps the second copy was for Archdeacon Coxe whom Hoare was soon to commission to write his *History of Monmouthshire* (1801), illustrated by himself.) Heath must have been compiling the *List* for some time, for it has forty-five names, which he boasts were 'rendered more valuable by being unsolicited'.

III

Heath had arrived in Monmouth at a time when radicals were still excitedly imagining a future of liberty, equality and fraternity. 'Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive', wrote the then enthusiastic Wordsworth. Even more enthusiastic was David Williams. A controversial radical and deist, he was invited in 1792 to be a French citizen and to help with the drafting of a new French constitution. But he soon saw the revolution crumbling into 'criminal confusion' and faction, and disapproved so strongly of the execution of the king and the behaviour of the Jacobins that Robespierre accused him of treachery and hypocrisy. He left Paris and returned to Britain to work on his *History of Monmouthshire* (1796) in which it is clear that his basic political views had not been altered by his disappointments in France. James Greene, the MP for Arundel who lived at Llansantfraid and entertained Williams, Colt Hoare and Coxe, though not all at the same time, was another whose enthusiasm for the French revolution soon evaporated.[12]

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[10] Worcester had in fact become a marquess in November 1642.

[11] Thompson, M.W. (ed), *The Journeys of Sir Richard Colt Hoare through Wales and England 1793–1810* (Gloucester, 1993), 82.

[12] JM 1, 62–5, and *see below*.

There is no evidence about Heath's own politics at this time, but that he was sympathetic to the radicals seems clear from a letter he got in August 1794 from Samuel Taylor Coleridge, who was looking for volunteers for his idealistic 'pantisocratic' community on the banks of the Susquehanna river in America. Coleridge had met Heath's brother, a Bristol apothecary, who suggested he should invite Heath as a 'fellow-citizen' to join the 'small but liberalised party' which was planning to emigrate.[13] Heath's reply is not recorded, and nothing came of the plan. But the fact that he was approached suggests that he was thought by his own brother to be 'liberalised'.

After Wordsworth's period of bliss was over he settled 'Not in Utopia – subterranean fields – Or in some secret island, Heaven knows where ! But in the very world, which is the world Of all of us, – the place where, in the end We must find our happiness, or not at all!'[14] For Heath that place was Monmouth.

IV

The Subscribers

The subscribers are listed in the order in which Heath placed them and as he described them, with their orders if for more than a single copy. The dates on which people were made burgesses of Monmouth are taken from Gwent Archives, D10/1/227. B = Bradney, *The History of Monmouthshire*, vols 1–4, London, 1904–33, vol 5, edited by Madeleine Gray, Cardiff, 1993; JP = a subscriber to the *Poems* of John Powell, 1783 (*see below*); JM (1) = 'A New Look at Colt Hoare', *British Art Journal*, vol xiii, no 3, Winter 2012/13, 61–8; JM (2) = Julian Mitchell, *The Wye Tour and Its Artists*, Logaston, 2010; KK (1) = Keith Kissack, *Monmouth, the Making of a County Town*, Lavenham, 1978; KK (2) = Keith Kissack, *Monmouth School and Monmouth, 1614–1995*, Hereford, 1995; RHT = Richard Hanbury-Tenison, *The High Sheriffs of Monmouthshire and Gwent*, self-published, 2008; W = W.M. Warlow, *A History of the Charities of William Jones*, Bristol, 1899.

I have been able to trace all but three of the forty-five subscribers. The *List* begins with the two most important local antiquarians.

Rev. P. Griffin, F.A.S.

Dr Philip Griffin (d. 1802) was the son of Thomas Griffin, Admiral of the White (d.1771). The family owned Goodrich Castle, and lived at Hadnock on the English side of the river outside Monmouth which Dr Griffin inherited from his brother, also Thomas (JP). He and his brother George were both Herefordshire JPs. George built Newton Court in Dixton, *c*. 1799–1802.[15]

Griffin was an antiquary who possessed documents which Heath was hoping to publish, but they were already promised to David Williams for his *History* of the county.[16] In his introduction

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[13] Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, *Collected Letters* (ed) E.L. Griggs (Oxford, 1956–71), Vol I, 96, 29 August 1794.

[14] Wordsworth, William, *The Prelude* (London, 1805), Book XI, lines 382ff.

[15] Newman, J, *The Buildings of Wales, Gwent/Monmouthshire* (Penguin Books/University of Wales Press, London, 2000) 216; Duncomb, John, *Collections towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford* (Hereford, 1804), Vol 1, 117 and 118.

[16] Heath noted in his own copy of Williams's *History* in Monmouth Museum that 'Dr Griffin would have assisted me in my collections for the county of Monmouth and the River Wye, if he had not held himself pledged to Mr. Williams by a Promise made long before I had the pleasure of being known to him.' Quoted in Matheson, Suzanne, '"Ancient and Present": Charles Heath of Monmouth and the Historical and Descriptive Accounts...of Tintern Abbey 1793–1828', Colbert, Benjamin (ed), *Travel Writing and Tourism in Britain and Ireland* (Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2012), 50–67, fn.36.

(pp ix–x) Williams writes of Griffin's library at Hadnock that it consisted 'principally of books relating to British antiquities'. He praises 'the zeal and liberality of a mind, eminently honest and disinterested'. He adds that Griffin seems to have thought of writing a history of Monmouthshire himself, but 'his disposition and taste are directed principally to the origin and connections of families, and to the descent of property'. Such was not what the radical Williams had in mind: he thanks Griffin for his assistance, and is anxious to make the point that his own work would not preclude 'a history of powerful and opulent families, written by a Clergyman, uninfluenced by patronage or the desire of preferment, and with a scrupulous regard to truth'.

Griffin ordered one set of coloured prints and 1 large proof of Gardnor's illustrations to Williams's *History*.

Rev. John Jones, the Pisthill, Rector of Llansanfraed, &c.
John Jones (d.1812, aged 68) was the 'antiquary of some note', who gave Heath the *Descriptive Account* of Raglan in 1791, which may have started him thinking of publishing guide-books. Heath later particularly thanked him for his help with his 1803 *Tintern*. He possessed a manuscript principally of Monmouthshire pedigrees, which Dr Griffin supposed to be a copy of Percy Enderby's notes for *Cambria Triumphans* (1661) or a commonplace book preparatory to the publication of a history by Jones himself. David Williams would have liked to have had this MS as an appendix to his *History of Monmouthshire*, but Jones wanted to publish it himself, though he never did.

He was a nephew of Henry Jones, the last of his family to own the Llansantffraid estate. He was rector of Llansantffraid (1770), Wonastow (date not given in B I, i) and Llanfihangel Nigh Usk (1790), perpetual curate of Kemeys Commander (1780) and vicar of Trostrey (1780). He owned an inn at Llanarth called Rhyd-y-gravel, and a house called Llan-Wilym in Llanfihangel Nigh Usk, which he bought from Dr Griffin (*above*).

The 'Pisthill' was on the road from Clytha to Bettws Newydd and had been bought by his father Walter in 1772. 'Pistill' in Welsh means a spring or well, but Jones changed its name to Hillgrove, which is what it is still called today. This may be an indication that he was typical of his time in thinking of Monmouthshire as an English rather than a Welsh county. After his death Heath wrote at length about the view from the house in the 1813 *Raglan*, and referring to his kindness.

He ordered one set of Gardnor's prints. Archdeacon Coxe thanked him for his help.

B, I, i, 40 & ii, 308, 313, 318–21, 327–9; Heath *Ragland*, 1819 preface; JP.

Henry Barnes, the Fort.
The Fort is what is now called Sellarsbrook in Ganarew, a few miles north of Monmouth. The Barnes family was active in Monmouthshire life for more than a century. A Barnes was mayor of Monmouth four times between 1705 and 1736, and a Henry was High Sheriff in 1748. His son Baynham Barnes was vicar of Rockfield (1737) and Dixton (1738), then headmaster of Monmouth School from 1738 till his death in 1758. Heath's subscriber was Baynham's son or nephew. He was educated at Oriel and Exeter Colleges, Oxford, was an officer in the militia, a JP for Herefordshire, DL for Monmouthshire (1789) and High Sheriff in 1796. He owned property in Overmonnow. Four of the Barneses – Henry, Mrs, Aubrey and the Rev Mr W – subscribed to four copies each of the *Poems* of the Rev. John Powell, 1783 (*see below*). So it seems likely that he was a relation.

B I, i,12, 25; Heath, *Monmouth* 1804, 8; JP; KK (1) 33–5; KK (2), 115–17; RHT 65.

Mrs. Probyn, New-Land.
The Probyns, along with the Rookes of Newland and the Wyndham/Edwins of Clearwell (*see below*), headed local society,[17] and this is probably Sophia, née Dalton, wife of Edmund Probyn of Newland House. He was a great-nephew of Lord Chief Justice Baron Probyn (d. 1742). His father, born John Hopkins, changed his name to Probyn on inheriting his uncle's estates, and was MP for Wootton Bassett from 1754–61. He died in 1773. Edmund himself was high sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1767 and of Monmouthshire in 1777. He was a deputy warden, a verderer and a woodward of the Forest of Dean. He was also lord of the manors of Huntley, Leigh, and Longhope. He died in 1819.

There were other Probyns in the village, many of whom have memorials in Newland church – as did Edmund Probyn's butler. In August 1775 a Mrs Probyn, probably this one, 'bespoke' a play in Monmouth.[18] Two Probyns of Newland, and one of Winterbourn subscribed to J. Powell's *Poems* in 1783.[19]

JP. Bigland, Ralph, *Historical Monumental and Genealogical Collections relative to the County of Gloucester*, four vols (ed) Brian Firth, The Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 1989–99, vol 2, 479 760, 801–2, vol 3, 913ff. RHT 72.

Sir William Forbes, Bart, Big's Wear House, two copies.
This is Sir William Forbes of Craigievar, 5th Bart, b. 1755, d. 1816. Bigsweir House was rebuilt in 1755 by James Rooke, who inherited it through his wife, the Catchmay family heiress. It belonged at this time to General Rooke, so must have been let to Forbes. Was he here for the salmon fishing?

Bigland, *op.cit.*, Vol I, 237; Burke's *Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage*, 197th edn, 2003, p.1456; *VCH Gloucestershire*, V, 262.

Sir Richard Hoare, Bart, Stourhead, Wiltshire: 'two copies – and what further Topographical Accounts of Monmouthshire the Writer may hereafter publish'.
This, the longest order on the *List*, was made when Colt Hoare, as he is usually called, visited Heath's shop in August 1797. He was an immensely rich member of the banking family, though forbidden, out of political caution, to take part in banking activity himself. He was as much an archaeologist as an historian, and an accomplished topographical artist.

He ordered one set of proofs of Gardnor's prints, which, along with Williams's text, may have displeased him, as he shortly afterwards commissioned Coxe to write a very different history of the county which he illustrated himself.

The question has been asked why Colt Hoare, who had no known connection, financial or political, with Monmouthshire, should have been eager to commission a county history when Williams had just published one. Apart from his distaste for Williams, there is copious evidence of his own love of Wales and Welsh scenery – he built himself a fishing lodge on the shore of Lake Bala. And it is worth noticing that one of his closest friends was Henry Penruddocke Wyndham, author of two editions of a *Tour through Monmouthshire and Wales* in 1775 and 1789. Wyndham was the Whig MP for Wiltshire, and he and Hoare spent much time and money investigating barrows. Thus Wiltshire and Monmouthshire were already linked in the early literature of British travel.

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[17] For an account of this 'most agreeable neighbourhood' and its parties, see my 'Francis Grose in Monmouthshire, 1775', *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*, XXV–XXVI (2009–10), 85–107.
[18] 'Francis Grose in Monmouthshire, 1775', *op.cit.*, 103.
[19] Published in 1783.

Hoare may have supported his Whig friend, but he was certainly no radical, and though he subscribed to Heath's next *Ragland*, it was before he knew anything about his political views. Though he visited Monmouth several times again his published diaries do not mention Heath after the meeting in 1797. Nor is Heath acknowledged for help by Archdeacon Coxe.

JM (1).

Mr. Prosser, Surgeon, Monmouth.
The Prossers were one of the leading families of Monmouth and strong supporters of the duke of Beaufort. A John Prosser, surgeon of Monmouth, died in 1771, aged 40, and was buried at Hewelsfield and this is probably his son Edward Bond Prosser, who was also a surgeon. He was enrolled as a burgess in 1785, and was the mayor chosen by the Common Council in 1819 only to be replaced by Heath.There is a probable connection of the Rev. Thomas Prosser, appointed lecturer of Monmouth School in September 1779, headmaster 1780, burgess in 1789, and lecturer, 1793, when he lived in a house near Wye Bridge, with an orchard between his garden and the river. He was a member of the Monmouth Common Council from 1802, becoming mayor in 1806, 1813, 1816 in which year he became vicar.

Bigland, *op.cit*., Vol II, 734; Heath, *Monmouth* 1804, under 'Wye Bridge'; JP; KK (2) 56ff; W160 ff,181 ff, 331.

Mr. T. Davis, Eastham, Worcestershire, two copies.
Thomas Davis (1767–1828) has a memorial in Eastham church near Tenbury Wells, where he is conventionally described as 'An honest and a good man, a sincere friend and the best of husbands and fathers'. He died at Orleton, a hamlet within the parish, and once the home of the lexicographer and antiquarian Thomas Blount (1618–79). Did that give Davis an interest in local history? Only four people ordered more than one copy, and Eastham is not far from Heath's birthplace, so, though six years younger than Heath, he may well have been a friend.

Rev. John Powell, Monmouth, Rector of Llansoy, two copies.
John Powell (1761–1836) was the son of John Powell, vicar of Llangattock Vibon Avel (1805–18, d. 1819), one of a very widespread family in the county. John was educated at Wadham College, Oxford. A man of some energy, he worked his way up from usher (1780) of Monmouth School, when he was still under age, to be headmaster in 1793. On the way he was made a burgess in 1786. He was a versifier, and his *Poems on Various Subjects*, published at his own expense in 1783, were dedicated to the Worshipful Company of Haberdashers, who, as noted above, were responsible for appointments to Monmouth School. Among the subscribers to his volume were the Haberdashers' warden, Edward Bridges, and governor, James Roberts, and it has been suggested to me by C.S.L. Davies of John Powell's own college, Wadham, that John's uncle, Walter Powell, a Lombard Street banker, who undertook the repair of his house when John became usher, may also have been a Haberdasher. Such connections obviously helped Powell up the scholastic ladder.

The eleven odes and elegies are mediocre, and according to the writer of the 1784 catalogue of the *Monthly Review* were 'neither from their elegance, multiplicity, nor importance…intitled to much notice'. The reviewer goes on to sneer at the Haberdashers as his patrons.[20] There is mention in the 'Elegy on the Death of a very Young man' of 'Ye ruder winds that roar on Kymmin Hill' and

[20] I owe this reference to Dr Bartle, the archivist of the Haberdashers Society.

in 'On the Death of a Lover' of 'the doleful deep-ton'd bell, From yonder Church, which Munnow's waters lave', presumably St Thomas's Overmonnow. The Wye's 'pellucid [sic] streams' also get a conventional mention, and the river is called 'meandering' in the 'Ode to Philander'. Local references are otherwise absent. Only the final 'Poem on Peace', urging an end to the mismanaged military resistance to American independence, is of interest to a modern reader. George III had wanted to carry on the war, but public sentiment was against him, and Lord North had had to resign in March 1782. The Whig marquess of Rockingham took over, but his death the following July led to a political crisis, mainly about the terms of a peace treaty. Shelburne succeeded Rockingham and Pitt the younger, then 23, became the youngest ever Chancellor of the Exchequer. Pitt had followed his father in arguing strongly for recognition of American independence, as well as general political reform. But George III was hostile, and North's supporters, joined with those of Fox, were still the majority in the Commons, and able to defeat the government. Shelburne resigned on 23 February 1783, which dates Powell's poem, for it bemoans the fact that 'Pitt's out of place and Shelburne not Premier'. The poem indicates Powell's public position as a supporter of reform – at least before the French Revolution.[21]

No less than fourteen different Powells subscribed to John's *Poems*, four of them clergymen, and most of them, presumably, relations. The Barneses may have been relations as well (*see above*).

He was curate of Dixton, Monmouth, Raglan and Llandenny, as well as rector of Llansoy. In 1823 he retired from the headmastership and became lecturer.

Not to be confused with J. Powell, the liquor merchant of Monmouth.

B II, i, 205–6, ii, 228; K(2) 41–7; W 169ff; and for an example of Powell's verse, 206–7.

Rev. Walter Powell, Monmouth.
Brother of the above. Educated at Jesus College, Oxford, curate of Penrhos, 1796, also Bromsgrove. He was made a burgess of Monmouth in 1797. Died 1806. His posthumous son became archdeacon of Madras.

B I, i, 135, ii, 206 & II, i, 100.

William Harrison, Esq. the Ton, near Ragland.
William Harrison of Red Lion Square, London, had the Ton as his country estate, and was High Sheriff of Monmouthshire in 1791. Born in 1728, he was the son of John Harrison, 'the inventor of the pocket time-piece or watch and other mechanical contrivances', and was closely involved in testing his father's inventions. He was made FRS in 1761.

B II, I, 33; RHT 76.

James Greene, Esq. M.P. Lansanfraed.
James Greene (1759–1814) was the son of a Spanish merchant. He was the Whig MP for Arundel from 1796–1802, as a placeman of the duke of Norfolk,[22] and active against the Beaufort/Tory stranglehold on Monmouthshire politics. He had considerable property at Turton in Lancashire, inherited through his mother, and it is not clear why he decided to rent Llansantffraid from the

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[21] Turner, Michael J., *Pitt the Younger, A Life* (Bloomsbury, London, 2003), 33–51; Hague, William, *William Pitt the Younger* (Harper Collins, London, 2004, pbk 2005), 95–150.
[22] Escott, *op.cit.*, 267.

Rickards family, though he did have a connection with Monmouthshire through his second wife, Annie Brigstocke (1762–1810) of Blaen Pant, Carmarthenshire, who was a relation of Frances Elizabeth Brigstocke (1750–1823) who married Richard Lewis in 1772 (*see below*). Heath said Greene 'considerably beautified and improved the premises, and rendered the mansion a charming residence'. An intriguing character, who narrowly escaped from France in 1803 at the end of the Peace of Amiens, he had written the previous year:

> Like many others of my friends I was carried away by the phantasms of liberty exhibited by the French revolution… Subsequent events have taught me the folly of forming such rash judgements and most heartily have I repented of the countenance that I gave at that time to the wild schemes of visionary liberty.[23]

This places him with Wordsworth and, probably, Heath. His wife was allegedly very rich, but when he died (in a pub in Raglan), he was separated from her, and though he claimed to be worth a quarter of a million he owed £1,500.[24] He is buried in Llansantffraid. He was a keen local historian, encouraging both David Williams and William Coxe, and having them, and Sir Richard Colt Hoare, to stay while they fished and pursued their different researches into the county. One of his five daughters married Hoare's half-brother Peter-Richard Hoare. John Haines, who built most of Llangattock Nigh Usk, came into the county as part of his entourage.

B I, ii, 318, 322, 344; JM (1) 65–6.

John Jones, Esq. Llanarth.
This John Jones was the son of Philip of the very well-connected Joneses of Treowen and Llanarth. He built the imposing Llanarth Court, probably shortly before 1793. He married his cousin Mary Lee of Llanfoist, daughter of the Richard Lee who sold Clytha to John's uncle. William Jones, who built Clytha Castle in 1790. (William was not a subscriber, but Heath thanked him for his help with some coats of arms.)

John Jones died on 28 June 1828. After a long legal battle, his son changed the family name to Herbert in 1848. They have retained it ever since.

B III, 114–21; Newman, J., *Gwent/Monmouthshire*, London, 2000, 264.

Miss Davis, Monmouth.
There were two successive vicars of Monmouth called Davis, father and son. John Davis (Queens, Oxford), vicar 1772–98, was previously rector of Grosmont, 1746–83, and Llangua (1748–66) (and possibly Skenfrith from 1760). Bradney says he was wealthy. He was mayor of Monmouth in 1777 and 1786. When he died his son, Duncombe Pyrke Davis (also Queens, Oxford) succeeded him (*see below*). Since Heath makes no connection here between the vicars and Miss Davis, she is probably one of a number of other Miss Davises in and around Monmouth. A Miss S. Davis subscribed to Powell's poems in 1783.

B I, i, 2, 12, 67, 85, 92, ii, 342, W 168.

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[23] *The History of Parliament online.org*/volume 1790–1820/member/Greene—James 1759–1814.
[24] I owe this to John Evans, who is preparing an article on Greene and the many puzzling features of his life.

Mrs. Clifford, Perrystone, near Ross.
This is Eliza Maria, b. 1745, daughter of John Lewis of Llantilio Crossenny and Mary Powell (*see* Lewis *below*). She married William Morgan Clifford of the Argoed in 1775. He was originally a Morgan, descended from the Morgans of Tredegar, but changed his name in 1756 in order to inherit the Clifford estates. He was made a burgess in 1789, when he is listed in the roll as of Lincolns Inn. When Perrystone Court, in the Herefordshire parish of Yatton, was acquired is not clear, but their second son, Colonel Morgan-Clifford, inherited a great deal of property in Monmouthshire and Herefordshire.

B II, ii, 143.

Rev. L. Booker, L.L.D. Dudley, Worcestershire.
Luke Booker (1762–1835 or 6), was curate at Dudley Grammar School in 1789, rector of Tidston Delamere (1805), near Bromyard, and vicar of Dudley from 1812 to 1835. He was made a Chaplain in Ordinary to the Prince Regent, later George IV, in 1814. In 1825 he wrote a *Descriptive Account of Dudley Castle*, praising the area for its wealth and teaming activity. He was an opponent of reform, though *The Monthly Review* criticised him in 1809 for addressing an audience of Druids and Free Masons. 'Released from the arduous duties of a populous parish, surrounded by mines and manufactories', he regularly spent his summer holidays in Monmouth and claimed to have climbed Symonds Yat at least ten times by 1832. He was the author of *Poems on Subjects Sacred, Moral and Entertaining* (two vols, 1785), *Miscellaneous Poems* (1791) and *The Springs of Plynlimmon: A Poem* (with copious notes), Wolverhampton, 1834, which is mostly about the Wye.

He must have known Heath well, as he contributed a poem to the last page of both 1797 *Raglands*, entitled 'An Address to the Ivy Tree, by the Rev. Dr. Booker, on his planting some ivy round the ruins of Dudley Castle, in Worcestershire', and he contributed an 'Original Sonnet Composed on Leaving Tintern Abbey (with a party of friends for Chepstow)' in the 1803 edition of *Tintern*.

His wife was the daughter of Thomas Blakemore, of Littleton Hall, West Bromwich and Anne Partridge of Ross (of an ironmaster family whose generosity Booker praised rather than that of the more famous John Kyrle). Richard Blakemore (1775–1855), his brother-in-law, of Velindre House and the Melingriffith tin plate works, was a great ironmaster in the Forest of Dean and south Wales, JP and DL of Monmouthshire as well as MP for Wells. He bought Hadnock in 1822, pulling down the house and using the materials to rebuild Wyaston Leys on the great bend of the Wye just above Monmouth, adding a deer park and removing local cottages to do so. He adopted Booker's son Thomas as his heir. Thomas (1801–58) changed his name to Thomas Booker-Blakemore and became MP for Herefordshire from 1850 till his death.

B I, I, 125; Brooks, Alan and Pevsner, Nikolaus, *op.cit.*, 242; JM (2), passim; *Wikipedia* under Luke Booker, Richard Blakemore and Thomas Booker-Blakemore.

Rev. R.B. Richardson, Bradford, Wilts.
Benjamin Richardson (Christ Church, Oxford, deacon 1780, priest 1782), became curate of Bradford on Avon in 1783. In 1796 he became vicar of Farley or Farleigh Hungerford, very close to Bradford on Avon, and remained there till he died in 1832. He is described in a footnote in *Observations on The Present State of Ragland Castle* in both 1797 editions of *Ragland* as one 'whose acquaintance I have the pleasure to share in' and whose opinion of the stone of the Fountain Horse is quoted. He

was then engaged on 'A Series of Medals delineating the Druidical Antiquities of Great Britain'. Richardson is also specially picked out for thanks in the Preface to the 1803 *Tintern*. His 'talents, eminent as they are, in the wide field of literature, are not more to be admired, than the virtues which adorn the Man. Friend, whom my heart reveres, permit this public declaration of my esteem and value for your character!'

Mrs. J. Tyler, Monmouth.
The Tyler family had lived at Mitchell Troy for many years, before becoming lawyers. James Tyler of Monmouth married Anne Endel, also of Monmouth. He died in 1794, but she lived on till 1834. They were the parents of James Endel Tyler (1789–1851), burgess 1812, who married Elizabeth Anne Griffin, co-heir to G. Griffin (*see above*). According to Warlow he was only the second boy from Monmouth School to graduate from Oxford or Cambridge (in 1809). He brought to the marriage local properties in Llangarren, Welsh Newton, Whitchurch and Newland, and after a spell as a tutor at Oriel College, Oxford, he became rector of St Giles in the Fields, London, 1826, and then a canon of St Paul's cathedral. His brother became a solicitor, and his sister married James Powles, another. The firm of Powles and Tyler acted for the duke of Beaufort during the political troubles in Monmouth after 1815.

B I, i, 13, 24 &25; II, 171: Archives Wales: NLW: Newton Estate Records; K(1) 64ff; Sleigh, *op.cit.*; W, 309.

Mr. Chambers, Beaufort Arms, Ragland.
Heath spent a few days with Mr and Mrs Chambers when he first visited Monmouthshire, having known Mrs Chambers from his youth in Kidderminster. In his *Monmouth*, 1804, Heath says the Chambers keep 'a very good INN' where the visitor 'will meet with an excellent bottle of *Horatian beverage*, a clean house, post chaise, with other pleasant and necessary accommodation.' The Beaufort Arms is regularly cited as a place where Heath's guides could be bought. Thomas Chambers of Raglan, described as a farmer, was made a burgess in 1804.

Heath *Tintern*, 1803, *Monmouth*, 1804.

Mr. W. Duberley, Monmouth.
The Duberley or Duberly family began as Monmouth tailors. William was born in 1767, two years after a James Duberley (b.1727) was high sheriff. The most successful was William's uncle, another James, who went to London and made a very large fortune operating out of Soho Square and supplying clothing to the army. He bought and rebuilt Dingestow Court before selling it to Samuel Bosanquet in 1801. James also had extensive property in neighbouring parishes, as well as in Oxfordshire and Middlesex.

In *Monmouth* (1804), under 'Gibraltar', Heath refers to the late William Duberley, whose widow was still living at Gibraltar, originally a day labourer's cottage, an easy walk from Monmouth. Its rude and neglected appearance had been transformed by Duberley into a neat and comfortable house 'for the occasional retirement of his family, and the pleasure of passing a social hour with his friends'. With 'the infinite variety and beauty of the views which from every aspect captivate the eye, we may, without the dread of exaggeration, pronounce it the most delightful country box in the neighbourhood.' The site is now a retirement home. Heath also refers to 'the handsome house of Mrs Duberley, mercer' in the Market Place. It was built by her late husband's father George.

A William Duberley died in 1807 and is buried in Monmouth churchyard where he is said to have been 36: presumably not the one here.

B II, 1, 57–8; Heath, *Raglan*, 1804, 16, and *Monmouth*, 1804, under the Market Place; Newman, J., *op.cit*., 212; RHT 70; Jenny Uglow, *In These Times*, London, 2014, p.47, fn 4, quoting *The Survey of London*, 1966, vols xxxiii and xxxiv under St Anne's Soho, 57–9.

Richard Lewis, Esq, Lantilio.
Mrs. Lewis, ditto.
These are Richard (1749–1836) of Llantilio Crossenny, a burgess in 1790, and Frances Elizabeth Brigstocke (1750–1823) of Blaen Pant in Carmarthen, a relation of James Greene's second wife Annie Brigstocke. A famous breeder of foxhounds, Richard was the son of John Lewis of Llwynyffortun, Carmarthenshire (high sheriff 1749) and Mary Powell, a direct descendant of the well-known Civil War diarist Walter Powell, heiress of Llantilio Crossenny, and subject of much scandal after the publication of *The True Anti-Pamela* by her discarded lover James Parry in 1741. Richard's sister Eliza Maria, married William Clifford (Morgan) of the Argoed (*see above*). Both subscribed to John Powell's *Poems*.

B I, i, 95–6; C. and J. Mitchell. *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*, XXVII, 111–25; JP; RHT 67: memorial in Llantilio Crossenny church.

Mrs. E. Lewis, London.
Perhaps a relation of the above?

Rev. J. George, B.D. Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford.
John George (1764–1847), rector of Aston Clinton (1799), then vicar of Grosmont, 1803–47. Married Jane Powell (d.1838), daughter of Rev William Powell, JP and vicar of Llantilio Pertholey, and uncle of John and Walter (*see above*).

B I, i, 87–8, I, ii, 205; JP.

Daniel Williams, Esq., Wonastow.
Daniel Williams was steward to Thomas Swinnerton of Wonastow Court. As Swinnerton lived in Staffordshire, Williams lived in the Court himself. He died on 18 June 1804 aged 79 and has a memorial in Wonastow church. Heath thanked him for help.

B I, i, 40 & II, ii, 178; Heath, *Raglan* 1797 (1), 3.

Rt.Hon. the Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, Lanvihangel Cilcornell.
Edward Harley, 5th Earl, born 1773, succeeded to the title in 1790. He was the son of the Bishop of Hereford (d.1788) and matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford in January1791, moving rapidly to MA in October 1792. In 1794 he married Jane Elizabeth Scott, who had so many lovers that her family of beautiful children was known as the Harleian Miscellany, since their paternity was so various. Oxford owned more than 18,000 acres in the west of Monmouthshire, including 12,000 in Cwmyoy. On his death, he was described by Archer Clive of Whitfield, Herefordshire, as 'a capital Farmer thoroly understanding in Stock and all Country matters'.[25] The family seat was Brampton Bryan in

[25] *The Diary of Archer and Caroline Clive*, 1 Jan 1849, unpublished MS, private collection.

Herefordshire, and Llanvihangel Court at Llanvihangel Crucorney was shared at this time between a farmer and the agent of the estate.

B, I, ii, 234–5; Cokayne, G.E., *The Complete Peerage, Volume X*, 1945, 269.

Rev. T. Thomas, New-Land.
Thomas Thomas was master of Bell's Grammar School in Newland, and perpetual curate of Coleford. A Rev Thomas Thomas is buried in Tidenham, where he became vicar in 1802; d. 1838, aged 69.

Bigland, *op.cit*., Volume III, 1318,1321,1323; VCH *Gloucestershire*, V, 133; Verey & Brooks, *op.cit*., 762.

Rev. Ezra Powell, Treleg.
Son of Howell Powell, who preceded him as curate, Babington lecturer and schoolmaster at Trellech. He subscribed to John Powell's *Poems* and may be assumed to be a relation.

B II, ii, 150,152,154; JP.

Rev. John Harward, Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford.
Mr. T Harward, ditto.
These long-lived brothers were the sons of Michael Harward of Hartlebury, near Stourport in Worcestershire, where Charles Heath went to school. The family lived at a brick mansion called Winterfield. John was born in 1761, making him Heath's contemporary. Thomas was born in 1776. Both attended Worcester College, Oxford. John took his BA in 1782, his MA in 1785, and became rector of Icomb in 1792 and held the living till his death in 1855, aged 96. He was also vicar of the Worcester College living of Denchworth, near Wantage, 1796–1823. In 1808 he was made head master of Hartlebury Grammar School (salary £66pa.) where he and Heath may have been fellow pupils.

Thomas took his BA in 1797, his MA in 1800, when he was ordained. He was a fellow of Worcester College, holding various offices, and (briefly) vicar of Marston. But it seems the family came first. In 1813 he became curate of Astley near Winterfield, where he died in 1856, aged 81.

Bigland, Vol IV, p. 1423; *A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools in England*, Vol 2, p. 1818.

Thomas Hooper, Esq. Pantygoitre.
Hooper was a medical doctor, born in 1740, and according to Joseph Farington was 'said to be a friend to the new democratic principles'.[26] The family was from Worcester. With John Morgan of Tredegar, he commissioned David Williams to write his *History*. But Morgan died almost at once, and Williams said he owed 'much of the practicability of forming any plans for the undertaking, to having been, in sickness and in health, domesticated at Panty Goetre, by Dr and Mrs. Hooper.' Several of the illustrations by John Gardnor are from the grounds of the house. Mrs Hooper was Mary, sole daughter of William Winsmore, high sheriff in 1766, who sold her husband the property in 1770. He rebuilt the house in red brick, exciting much local comment. (Williams quotes Capability Brown as saying a red brick house in the country 'puts the vale in a fever'.) It was later

[26] Garlick, Kenneth, and Macintyre, Angus (eds), *The Diary of Joseph Farington* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1979), 6, p.1408.

plastered. High Sheriff in 1780, Hooper died in 1805, aged 65, and has a memorial in Llanfair Kilgeddin church.

B I, ii, 389 & n, 407, 413; RHT 69 & 73; Williams, *A History of Monmouthshire*, 1796, xi.

Mr. Williams, Author of the History of Monmouthshire.
It seems no accident that Williams should follow Hooper in the *List*. Williams was probably the best known of Heath's Subscribers outside Monmouthshire. Born in 1738 near Caerphilly, he had become a leading figure in radical religious circles in London by the early 1770s.The loss of his wife and child led to a religious crisis, and he turned to politics, with a popular satire on George III. In 1792 he was invited to go to Paris to be an honorary citizen of the new France, and to advise on its constitution. He attended the trial of Louis XVI, but was shocked by the 'criminal confusion' into which the revolution had fallen and was accused by Robespierre of being a traitor and a hypocrite. On his return he was invited to write his *History of Monmouthshire* (*see above*, Thomas Hooper). Though Heath subscribed to it, he was later rather sniffy about Williams's failure to add to knowledge about Tintern.

JM (1), *passim*: Matheson, *op.cit*., 62–4: Jones, Whitney R.D., *David Jones, The Anvil and the Hammer*, Cardiff, 1986.

Mrs. Hobbes, Monmouth.
Dr Thomas Hobbs, a Monmouth physician, was made a burgess in 1791. Perhaps this was his wife or widow.

B I, ii, 373; Gwent Archives, D591/35/11/14.

Rev. T. Hughes, Monmouth.
1757–1802 or 1806. Son of John Hughes of the Mardy, Llanvihangel Ystern Llewen. Educated at Jesus College, Oxford. Usher at Monmouth School, 1793, vicar of Rockfield, 1795, burgess 1797, later master of the Colwall Grammar School, Malvern.

B I, I, 34,104, 133, 136; JP; W 174ff, 315.

Rev. Charles Phillips, Monmouth, vicar of Ragland.
1771–1819. Educated at Oriel College Oxford. Vicar of Llanfihangel Vibon Avel (1805–18), St Maughans, Raglan, Llandenny, and rector of Llanrothal. Acting JP. The family was from Lower Hilston. His brother Thomas was town clerk of Monmouth in 1791 (*see below*).

B I, i, 52, 58, 61.

Major Probyn (18th, or Royal Irish Fusiliers), New-Land.
Major Thomas Probyn was another of the Newland family. He was made a major in 1795. He does not appear in Bigland.

Army List, 1795.

Major M'Kinnon, Exeter.
Captain William M'Kinnon became a major on 18 Nov 1790. He was in the 63rd or West Suffolk Regiment of Foot, known as the Bloodsuckers, which had fought in the American War

of Independence, and in the Caribbean. They were sent to the Caribbean again in 1794, but the transport ship sank with the loss of 150 lives, which may explain why M'Kinnon is not recorded in the annual *List of the Officers in the Army and Marines* after 1793. He subscribed, as W. Mackinnen, Esq, to J. Powell's *Poems* in 1783, so he must have had some connections with the area, which makes it strange that Heath seems not have known of his death.

Army Lists 1790ff; JP.

Mr. Thomas Phillips, Monmouth.
Phillips was an attorney, the brother of Rev Charles, *above*. He was made town clerk of Monmouth in 1791. He had very little to do, but was compelled to leave the town to escape sheriff's officers for 15 years, though interfering from a distance. On return he demanded and got payment for time away.

B, I, i, 3, 52, 58, 75; Gwent Archives, D1838; K (1) 60, 65–6, 85–6.

Mrs. Edwin, Clearwell.
Charles Edwin of Clearwell Castle was born a Wyndham, but changed his name so his family could eventually inherit the Dunraven estates in Glamorgan. He was a JP, and chief forester in fee and bowbearer and woodward of the Forest of Dean. His first wife was Eleanor Rooke, daughter of James Rooke of Bigsweir. She died in 1765, three years into the marriage. His second wife, the Mrs Edwin here, was Charlotte, daughter of Robert Jones of Fonmon Castle, in Glamorgan. The Wyndham/Edwins, Probyns and Rookes headed the social life of Newland and its surroundings (*see* Mrs Probyn *above*).

Bigland, Vol II, 479; Rudder, Samuel, *A New History of Gloucestershire* (1779) 568; VCH *Gloucestershire*, 211, 258–9, 370; *Wikipedia* under Charles Edwin.

- - - Gould, Esq. London.
Heath would surely have known if this was a relation of the Charles Gould who married the heiress of Tredegar and became Sir Charles Morgan of Tredegar. As it is Heath was clearly not well acquainted with him. He may therefore have been a tourist.

Rev. D. Davis, Monmouth, rector of Whitechurch [Whitchurch].
Duncombe Pyrke Davis was the son of the Rev. John Duncombe Davis, vicar of St Mary's, Monmouth, 1772, and patron of English Bicknor, which is where Duncombe Pyrke became vicar in 1780, before succeeding his father in Monmouth: no case here of family holding back. He was a JP for Herefordshire and contributed a poem on the Abbey to *Tintern* (1793). Later editions, though referring to him, give no author of the poem. He was thanked for his assistance by Coxe. He died on 8 April 1815, and has a monument in St Mary's.

The Duncombe Pyrkes after whom he was named lived in Abbenhall and Little Dean, on the eastern side of the Forest of Dean.

B I, I, 12; Bigland, I, 190, 3 &4, II, 471; Heath, *Monmouth* 1804, 28; Duncumb, *op.cit*., 118.

James S. Evans, Esq. New-Land.
I have not been able to find anything about this subscriber.

Mr. Callendar, Attorney, Monmouth.
Thomas Callendar is referred to several times in Heath's *Monmouth* 1804, and is recorded as having sung a song at the banquet for Lord Nelson in August 1802. He lived in one of the 'most tasteful and convenient houses in the borough', where the judges on circuit between Gloucester and Hereford stayed for the Assizes. He died in 1810, aged 63, and has a monument in St Mary's church, Monmouth.

B I, i, 1; Heath, *Monmouth*, 1804, unpaginated.

Mr. Walker, Hereford, Printer of the Hereford Journal.
David Walker was editor of the *Hereford Journal* from June 1791 to March 1802. His printing office was in High-Town. Among many other things he printed John Price's *An Historical Account of the City of Hereford* (1796), and Uvedale Price's *Dialogue on the Picturesque and the Beautiful* (1801). The former contains a 'Topographical Account of the city', a sort of guide, which would have been of particular interest to Heath. In politics the two printers seem to have had similar views, as Walker consistently supported the Whigs against the Tories, both in Hereford and Gloucester, to whose *Journal* he moved in 1802.

Morgan, F.C., 'Herefordshire Printers and Booksellers', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalist Field Club, 1939–41* (Hereford, 1944), 114 and 124. VCH *Gloucestershire*, Vol 4, 154–9.

Mr James Wathen, Hereford.
'Jemmy Sketch' (1751–1828), came from a Hereford family of glovers, but gave up gloving to be a prodigious walker and sketcher – up to 30 miles and 30 sketches a day. He is mentioned in several tourists' diaries as acting as occasional Wye Tour guide. After inheriting money, he travelled very widely, not only throughout Britain and Europe, but to India and China.

Whitehead, David, and Shoesmith, Ron, *James Wathen's Herefordshire 1770–1820*; JM (2), passim.

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Heath describes the demand for guides in the preface to *Tintern* (1803):

> As the season proceeded, my house was much resorted to by the respectable travellers who passed thro' the town, requesting me to afford them any information relating to the beautiful scenes they intended to visit in Monmouthshire, which my residence might enable me to impart, – adding, that even fragments would prove acceptable…….With these materials I went to press; and as the number of copies printed was small, they did not long remain unsold.[27]

Respectable travellers may well have bought his guidebooks, but it was almost exclusively local people who are listed in the second 1797 *Ragland*. Nine of the forty-five subscribers were burgesses of Monmouth or their wives or widows. Of the fourteen clergymen, ten were local; and three others were Heath's Worcestershire friends. The sixteen larger landowners were led by the earl of Oxford and Mortimer, who possessed great swathes of western Monmouthshire, though he lived in Herefordshire. The others included such major local gentry as Lewis of Llantilio Crossenny, Jones of Llanarth, Hooper of Pantygoitre, Harrison of Raglan, Edwin and Probyn from Newland, and Clifford of Perrystone, Herefordshire, but with large local possessions. What Sir William Forbes was doing

[27] Heath, *Tintern*, 1793, Preface.

at Bigsweir, and for how long, I do not know, but he would certainly have counted as gentry, as would have the enigmatic figure of James Greene who rented Llansantfraid. Of the remainder there were two families of Monmouth surgeons, two of lawyers, an army supplier living at Dingestow, the Swinnerton steward at Wonastow, the town clerk and his brother, and from Hereford a well-known Wye Tour guide and a Whig printer. Interest in local history, then, was confined, as one would expect, to the educated – though that is not to say that others did not buy the guides when they were published.

Of genuine 'respectable travellers', the only certainty is Sir Richard Colt Hoare. Major M'Kinnon of Exeter may have been another, though he did have a slight Monmouth connection as a subscriber to John Powell's *Poems*, and perhaps his appearance next to Major Probyn, the only other army officer in the *List*, means he was staying with him at Newland. Mrs E. Lewis is similarly listed next to the Lewises of Llantilio Cressenny and may have been part of that family. - - - Gould, Esq., of London, may have been a tourist, but that is speculation. James S. Evans of Newland, whoever he was, lived too close to Monmouth to count as one. So Heath was hardly depending on casual tourist trade. Nor on that of local freemasons; though he was later to become a member of the Royal Augustus Lodge, there was none functioning in the town in 1797.[28]

There are no iron masters or industrialists on the *List* (though Luke Booker had connections with them) and no farmers as such. But there are more glaring absentees, most notably the largest of all Monmouthshire landowners, the duke of Beaufort, who might have been expected to take some interest in Raglan castle since he owned it. It is true that the Beauforts had lived at Badminton for more than a hundred years, and hardly ever visited Monmouth, but they kept tight control of its political life and it is hard not to see significance in the fact that neither the duke nor any of the Somerset family nor his local agents subscribed. The duke and two of his sons had ordered Gardnor's prints in advance from David Williams, and perusal of the text, which was often critical of the Somersets and their origins, may have made them wary. But it may also be significant that the duke's name is the first to be thanked, and profusely, in the more acceptable Coxe, which, as I have argued elsewhere, was written in part at least to offer a more conservative version of local history than that of David Williams.[29]

Heath was not, of course, attempting a general history of the county, like Williams and Coxe, though Williams, who was a subscriber, acknowledged help from some of the same sources – Greene, Griffin, Jones of Pistill and Hooper, all of whom, like Heath himself, ordered Gardnor's prints. The list of people who assisted Coxe is very much longer. It has 37 names if we include the two sons of Owen Tudor, but includes only four of Heath's subscribers – Greene (the only person common to all three), Jones of Llanarth, Lewis of Llantilio Crossenny, and Duncombe Davis. It also includes most of the gentry of the county and some very prominent Beaufort supporters in Monmouth. The Rev. Thomas Prosser was a member of the Monmouth Common Council from 1802, and mayor in 1806, 1813, 1816, and 1818; and the Rev. William Powell was mayor in 1790, 1793, 1803 and 1811. Both were leading figures on the side of the Common Council in the battle with the burgesses, Powell sometimes literally as well as metaphorically.[30] Strikingly, Heath goes altogether unacknowledged by Coxe, while his rival bookseller Owen Tudor gets praised, though Tudor published no local history, even if he did deal in prints.[31] Perhaps a deliberate snub was intended.

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28 James, F. Hubert, *Freemasonry in Monmouthshire* (R.H.Johns, Newport, 1924) 34 & 39.

29 JM 1.

30 B, I, I, 13; Heath, *Monmouth*, 1804, under Wye Bridge; KK (1), 56 et seq; Sleigh, *op.cit*., 15; W 160 ff, 181 ff, 331.

31 Viz, the print of Chepstow, in JM (1).

What conclusions can be drawn? First, Monmouth had a sizeable number of educated people, Whigs and Tories, who were sufficiently interested in the history of the area to encourage Heath to produce local guides. This must have been partly due to the presence of the school, but there was support too from the town lawyers and doctors as well as clerics and schoolmasters. There were also a number of gentry in the neighbourhood, some of whom actively supported the publication of the two county histories as well.

Second, though both liberals and conservatives supported Heath's venture in 1797, there is no such thing as neutral history or guidebook writing, and sides were already manoeuvring themselves for the political excitements which would shake Monmouth twenty years later. The Beauforts' control of the borough parliamentary seat was under attack in Newport as well as Monmouth, where another printer, Samuel Etheridge, a close friend of John Frost, was a leading figure in the opposition. He dedicated his 1826 reissue of Nathan Rogers's 1708 *Memoirs of Monmouthshire* to the Independent Burgesses of his town and invited his readers to compare the way the first duke behaved towards the people of Wentwood in the 1670s and 1680s with how the latest one treated the Newport burgesses in the 1820s – adding a series of aggressive footnotes about the way the Somersets managed to garner some £100,000 a year from public offices. The aristocratic control of local politics did not vanish with the 1832 Reform Act, though the duke of Beaufort did then lose his ability to choose the borough MP. But over the next half-century he and the other political oligarchs would lose their political power in Monmouth and the county altogether. And two Monmouthshire printers had been in the vanguard of reform.

RECENT AND FUTURE RESEARCH AT CAERWENT, MONMOUTHSHIRE: NOTES ON A DAY SCHOOL HELD AT CAERWENT IN 2015

By Steffan Ellis

A Day School presented by The Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association in collaboration with The Roman Society, Caerwent Historic Trust and Gwent County History Association was held on Saturday 20 June 2015 at The Parish Church of St Stephen and St Tathan, Caerwent. Introduced and chaired by Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association chairman, Dr Mark Lewis, the first speaker was the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association president, Jeremy Knight.

Jeremy Knight (President of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association): 'Caerwent: The Beginning and the End'

The President spoke of the Association's long connections with Caerwent; of Octavius Morgan, The Caerleon Antiquarian Association and the early excavations at the site of Venta Silurum. 'Venta' – a Roman word? A new word was required for types of towns that had not existed before. There were other Ventas.[1] Caerwent's origins appear to have been a ribbon settlement along the Gloucester to Caerleon road. What of the town's hinterland though? Could this be the time for research to move outside the walls of Caerwent? Indeed, should Caerwent be examined in a longer time frame too? Discoveries such as plumbatae, military style buckles suggest a Late Roman military presence. Later the stories of Saint Tatheus, along with Post Roman cemeteries, metalwork and coins and Viking and Anglo Saxon discoveries raise questions about settlement on the site. Were people living here as a settlement centre or was it an 'assembly place'? Norman occupation may have been associated with the building of Chepstow Castle, but what led to the town's demise? Was it, as Leland had suggested, the case that as Chepstow flourished, Caerwent declined?

A transcript of this session is printed in this volume, following this overview of the dayschool.

Dr Caroline Pudney (University of Chester): 'Llanmelin Wood Camp: A Re-evaluation'

Dr Pudney had worked at Llanmelin as Cadw's Community Archaeologist on a community excavation re-examining some of the 1930–2 excavations and findings of V. E. Nash-Williams. Nash-Williams' excavations had established three main phases of construction at the hillfort. Phase I in the Third Century BC, Phase II 150 BC and Phase III around 50 BC. The site seemed to have been abandoned by AD 75; this was based mainly on the absence of ceramics later than that date.

In 2012, CADW and Archaeology Wales had begun further work as part of the Llanmelin Community Project. Five trenches were put in near Nash-Williams's excavations. One was put in on the inner bank of the hillfort's main enclosure with another three inside the main enclosure itself. The inner bank was revetted on its outside and the ditches themselves were cut into the bedrock. The main enclosure contained small ditches that may have delineated activity areas, storage pits and post holes. These were revealed along with layers showing many years of activity. There was evidence of a midden, and postholes which suggested grain stores. Large quantities of animal bone were found

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[1] For example, 'Caerwent' (the Roman *Venta Silurum* – 'Market of the Silures') is synonymous with 'Winchester' (the Roman *Venta Belgarum* – 'Market of the Belgae'). See Rivet, A.L.F. & Smith, C., *The Place Names of Roman Britain*. Cambridge University Press for B.T. Batsford Ltd., Cambridge, 1979.

and there was evidence of burning and copper smelting. A possible ring gully could be evidence of a roundhouse. There seemed to be activity in the main enclosure in the early Roman period – a copper alloy nail cleaner dated to the end of the first century AD could evidence Roman interest in the site.

The Nash Williams record appeared to be largely accurate. Levels of preservation were pretty good and radio carbon dating will happen soon. The function of the annexe is still to be addressed and may well need excavation.

Dr Toby Driver (RCAHMW[2]): 'Prehistoric and Roman discoveries in the Caerwent environs: the view from the air'

The next speaker was Dr Toby Driver, Aerial Investigator, Reconnaissance Team Leader, RCAHMW. Dr Driver provided a background to aerial archaeology, its development since 1947 with improvements in the technology used from light aircraft, hi-res cameras and Met Office drought readings to the use of LiDAR (as used at Caerau, near Cardiff, recently) all of which have added to the effectiveness of aerial archaeology. The aerial survey of Llanmelin was part of the long history of aerial photography in the area.

Unfortunately, Dr Driver's presentation was halted at this point, as we were the victims of a power cut in Caerwent and it was decided that we should take an early lunch. This was followed by Dr Peter Guest's tour (originally scheduled for the end of the day) of the forum basilica, temple and other main features of the current site. We were summoned to return by the church bell and Dr Driver was able to continue.

The number of new discoveries in the Caerwent hinterland became evident as Dr Driver listed crop mark discoveries showing Prehistoric ring ditches and henges. The Roman discoveries were just as impressive. A Five Lanes villa site had been known about since Victorian times, but in the summer of 2010 cropmarks had shown up particularly well with a rectilinear field system between the villa and Caerwent itself. Gwehelog Roman temple was a spectacular discovery with a Roman marching camp. Another marching camp at Killcrow Hill, near Crick, turned out to be the smallest in Wales, measuring 113 metres by 87 metres.

This is difficult country for crop marks, but hot summers such as the one experienced in 2013 can expose new sites. Hopefully, these new sites will help to put Caerwent's landscape in context.

Evan Chapman (Senior Curator: Archaeology, National Museum Wales): 'Caerwent Forum and Basilica'

It is twenty years since the last full scale excavations ended. Much evidence remains to be fully extracted from the raw data. The plan of the site that we have today is the one derived initially from Edwardian excavations. The Edwardian archaeological method was one of largely 'wall chasing' which left scope for further work to more fully understand the site. Our understanding of the *forum basilica* is already changing.

What is a *forum basilica*? Mr Chapman discussed historic interpretations and how ideas have developed as new discoveries have been made. Ideas of the open fronted shops and snack bars around the forum and the snack bar which was excavated revealed a raised cooking platform. It probably had wooden floor boards and within were found oyster shells and personal items such as gaming counters and grooming sets.

The interpretation of the basilica has been augmented too. Alan Sorrell's depiction of a closed front building has been replaced with an open colonnaded front. The civic building had a solid floor.

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[2] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales.

The various rooms and their uses have been reappraised in light of specific finds. Writing equipment suggests administration. Evidence of seating in the *curia*,[3] an adjacent strongroom for the treasury perhaps. Dating from pottery and coins. A coin of Trajan has dated the *forum basilica* to the early Second Century. This could give a Hadriannic date to the *forum basilica* and to *civitas* status. Could Hadrian have come through Caerwent on his way to a visit to Caerleon and granted *civitas* status at the same time?

How long did it all last? There is evidence of rebuilding in the late third century; a strengthening and widening of the walls. Although much of the basilica goes out of use, the tribunal room gets heating. In other places hearths show industrial use in rooms in the AD340s. The basilica was systematically demolished while the north range remained in use perhaps, looking at late coins and belt buckles as dating evidence.

Dr Tim Young (GeoArch and Cardiff University): 'Recent geophysical investigations in and around Caerwent'

The annual Cardiff University training course in and around Caerwent followed on from a similar project at Caerleon (2006 to 2011). Test areas were surveyed in 2008 and fully from 2012 when the total area covered was approximately seventy to eighty hectares. The nature of the Roman extramural hinterland was pretty much guesswork in 1937 when Alan Sorrell worked on the interpretations for his artwork.

There were three main methods used for the survey. Magnetic gradiometry; a fast technique. Ground resistivity which is slower, but good for masonry structures and cut features. There was also a high resolution GPS survey as it is important to know precisely where structures are. Using the methods to check the Edwardian plans showed that on the whole they recorded major buildings well. The Edwardian Roman town plan was augmented by work in the north east quadrant and south east (not covered by Edwardian work). The recent survey work showed some errors in position and orientation in the plans; also the temple and forum were not completely correct on the current plan. The town's southern defence ditch may be multi-layered and there could be slight difference in orientation.

Outside the town there were several distinct sub areas. Further from town there was less activity. A major outcome was that there was not much on the southern side apart from what Dr Young referred to as a bypass. Spreading out west there was possible prehistoric activity and an informal road system. A route which tries to avoid taking traffic down the southern valley (because of water problems perhaps) and takes it north. Buildings V and VI may have been lined with an earlier road. However, where does the road go to? Dewstow? Caldicot? Another question is about the Roman Cemeteries. Little is known about their extent. Further work will continue the survey north-westwards and to bridge the gap between town and rural settlement as well as working to calibrate the town plan.

Oliver Blackmore (Curator, Newport Museum and Art Gallery): 'The Caerwent Exploration Fund, 1899–1913'

At the time of the day school Mr Blackmore was preparing a temporary exhibition for Newport Museum to be called 'Recording the Romans: The Edwardian Excavations at Caerwent'. This was

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[3] The *curia* was the council chamber where the Roman council or *ordo* for the Silures met. *Curia* is derived from the Latin *Co+viria* meaning 'gathering of men'. The councillors of the council (*ordo*) in the *curia* (council chamber) were called '*decurions*'.

the theme of his talk at the study day, which began with an account of the background to the site and some of its early visitors.

Archdeacon Coxe had visited in 1799 and given a full and illustrated account of his visit. In 1855, Octavius Morgan investigated a mosaic and bathhouse causing him to dub Caerwent as Monmouthshire's Pompeii.

Morgan's work had not been followed up and The Clifton Antiquarian Association of Bristol sought to rectify this. In 1899 a scheme of work was agreed and the Caerwent Exploration Fund (CEF) was born. Its main members were Alfred Martin, Thomas Ashby, Alfred Hudd and John Ward. Lord Tredegar, was President of the CEF and their main benefactor.

Caerwent was excavated using the same methodology employed at Silchester – chasing walls. Between 1899–1913, two thirds of Caerwent had been excavated and the late Roman plan revealed. This included the *forum basilica*, the Romano-Celtic temple, baths and town houses – more courtyard houses than any other Roman town in the UK.

The Paulinus stone inscription is one of the most important Roman inscriptions found in Britain. The Four Seasons mosaic from one of the best examples of a Triclinium we have. The Chi-Rho dish discovered in 1906, in a house near the forum basilica. A Celtic head was found in shrine built in the Fourth Century and possibly a native deity? A wide range of coins and brooches. The Mars Lenus Ocelus inscription

'To the God Mars Lenus, otherwise Ocelus Vellaunus, and to the Divinity of the Emperor. Marcus Nonius Romanus presented (this statue) at his own expense in recognition of the immunity granted to his guild. Dated this 23rd day of August in the Consulship of Glabrio and Homulus'. There were also objects from daily life such as whale bone gaming board, gaming pieces and die, medical objects and military items (such as the plumbata) suggesting that a garrison may have been stationed at Caerwent. The 1902 coin hoard comprised of about 8000 copper nummis dating to the late fourth century.

The intention had always been for the archive to be deposited at a national museum in Cardiff. However, that had not opened and so Lord Tredegar donated it to Newport Museum. This included the paper archive with Hudd and Ashby's notebooks, Frank King's measurement books, King and Newton's watercolours, and black and white photographs as well as the historical record of social life in Caerwent.

Mr Blackmore expressed his hope that the archive could possibly be part of a future digitisation project giving the wider public access to it.

Professor Simon James (University of Leicester) and Sergeant Diarmaid Walsh (Royal Army Medical Corps): 'The Whitewall Brake complex, Caerwent Training Area'

The following session was presented by Professor Simon James (University of Leicester) and Sergeant Diarmaid Walsh (Royal Army Medical Corps) who described the Operation Nightingale project at Whitewall Brake.

Operation Nightingale was initially set up by the Defence Infrastructure Organisation and the Defence Archaeology Group to help with the recovery of injured service personnel before their return to service (or ready for civilian life).

The Whitewall Brake site is on an outcrop overlooking the Roman town from the northeast. It had briefly caught the attention of antiquarians after quarrying and lime kiln construction leading to a reference to remains on the first edition 1:2,500 Ordnance Survey map. There was a suggestion that it might be a Roman villa. In more recent times the site had come under threat, not from MOD activity, but from roots of trees and shrubs. The site is a scheduled monument and work commenced

in consultation with Cadw. The project involved members of The Rifles who worked alongside students from the University of Leicester in what was to become a mutual teaching exercise.

Spoil heaps from antiquarian work were identified. As work went on it seemed that this was a complex site, possibly of more than one phase. Among the post-demolition features were fragments of human skull, hypocaust, tesserae, wall flue tiles and a chunk of a column capital, all suggesting a very elaborate building.

There were few coins (all of which dated to the late-third or fourth centuries). Pottery was nearly all coarse ware (only two per cent Samian) and nearly all local. Much of it was black burnished ware (BB1) copies – local copies suggested Sergeant Walshe. There were local grey wares too.

The excavations have shown that Whitewall Brake was a large complex around a central courtyard and finds suggest a late-third century date. Professor James raised the possibility of this being a sanctuary site. Minimal interventions have not been enough; more excavations on a larger scale are needed.

Dr Mark Lewis (Chairman, Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association and Senior Curator, National Roman Legion Museum): 'Isca Interloping'

Dr Mark Lewis, began by asking 'who were the people most visible at Roman Caerwent?' and 'were there connections with nearby Caerleon?' He asked those present to join him in playing 'Gallic Bingo' – how many references to Gaul could people identify during his talk? In the porch of the very church we were in stands the Paulinus Stone. The stone is dedicated to Tiberius Claudius Paulinus who had at one point commanded the Second Augustan Legion. It also informs us that he was also proconsul of Gallia Narbonensis and later imperial governor of the province of Lyon. That it was erected by the council of the Silures here at Caerwent shows that there must have been an important link with Caerleon during the early-third century. Also in the church's porch is the stone altar dedicated to Mars Ocelus by Aelius Augustinus, *optio*. Here is another link between Caerleon and Caerwent surely. *Optio* is an army rank beneath centurion. Another dedication (now at Newport Museum) is to the God Mars Lenus, otherwise Ocelus Vellaunus, and to the Divinity of the Emperor. The statue was erected by Marcus Nonius Romanus.

The Roman god Mars is linked to a similar god 'Lenus' from the Rhine. Perhaps Marcus Nonius Romanus, who dedicated the inscription was originally from the Rhine area. Indeed, there is a temple to Mars Lenus in Trier with similarities to the temple at Caerwent. Could the Caerwent temple also have been dedicated to Mars Ocelus? There is a possible connection at Bath too, just a ferry ride from Sudbrook. The Roman sculptural fragments incorporated into the south aisle west wall have parallels with Caerleon fragments and possible connections with north east Gaul and Trier.

Other names of known Caerwent individuals were also presented. Domitilla was supposed to have written of her love for Victor (although someone else added 'for shame!' to this) and the name of Bellicianus scratched on a tile at Caerwent (possibly from Caerelon), crops up again on a tombstone inscription at Caerleon. How many might have had Gallic origins or ancestry?

Dr Peter Guest (Cardiff University): 'The Future of Archaeological Research at Caerwent'

Dr Peter Guest of Cardiff University brought the day to a close. There has been a variety of research on Roman Caerwent. Researchers have had to make the most of the few opportunities to discover more about the site. Dr Guest thanked the Association's Christabel Hutchings and Dr Mark Lewis for helping to organise the event and all the speakers for a comprehensive and cohesive account of what has been done and what needs doing. There is a need to make the most of the limited resources available and to work together with a collective sense of responsibility, especially in light of cuts and

threats to museums, archives and elsewhere. In twenty years' time will we have more information to draw on?

What needs to happen? Perhaps we need to follow English Heritage and have research agendas, showing potential for further research; something that has begun with Cadw and GGAT's Research Agenda for southeast Wales.

Dr Guest opened the discussion to the floor. There were questions regarding the research agenda with archaeology facing cuts in funding – there will be problems knowing what will be the spending priorities. It was generally agreed that we all need to work together and the work of the Caerleon Research Committee was given as an example of achieving this.

Thanks were given to all those involved from the organising organisations in making the day such a success.

CAERWENT: THE BEGINNING AND THE END

By Jeremy Knight

We are today, as you all know, in *Venta Silurum* – 'The Market town of the Silures'. The Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association has a long association with Caerwent. The first excavations here were carried out in 1855 by what was then the Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association under Octavius Morgan and supervised by J.Y. Akerman, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London.[1] The large scale excavations of 1899 to 1913 by the Clifton Antiquarian Club of Bristol and the Society of Antiquaries, which revealed the plan of much of the town, were largely funded by our then president Lord Tredegar.[2]

Venta is something of an orphan word. Classicists will tell you that it is not Latin, whilst Celticists say that it is not a Celtic word.[3] It is almost certainly a Romano-British coinage. When towns like *Venta Icenorum* (Caister by Norwich) or *Venta Belgarum* (Winchester) were founded in early Roman times they were an entirely new form of settlement in Britain. They were not hillforts, nor were they like other forms of Iron Age settlement. A new word had to be found for them. Despite this, the meaning of the word is quite clear. It is cognate with, for example, the French *vendre* 'to sell' or the Spanish *ventas* 'a market' or 'sale'. The main bullring in Madrid is in an area called 'Ventas', because it was the site of an old market. Once, in central Spain, I saw a signpost to a *Venta de Cerdos*. It took me a moment to realize that this was not a Roman town, but a sale of pigs.

Mapping of finds of the first century samian bowl form Dragendorf 29 from the old excavations suggests that *Venta* began as a ribbon development at a junction of two Roman roads. These still represent major communication routes. The pre-motorway main road from Gloucester westward into south Wales still runs through the centre of the village, where it was joined by a road from the predecessor of the Severn crossing at Sudbrook. It was this small settlement which was chosen, probably in the time of Hadrian, to be the administrative centre for the territory of the Silures, whose pacification had cost the Romans many years of hard fighting.

We are eagerly awaiting Richard Brewer's report on his excavations in Caerwent, which hopefully will be not only an excavation report, but will also throw much new light on the history and development of the town. There are indeed clues to this in the old excavation reports – for example the way in which early Roman cremation burials were found under later buildings, showing how the town expanded over its early cemeteries, or the way the North Gate is offset to accommodate the pre-existing piped water supply. All this needs to be brought together. However, as today's programme shows, we now need to widen our horizons both spatially into the surrounding countryside and chronologically, by seeing Caerwent's history in a broader timeframe. We cannot neglect the town's important late Roman and post-Roman evidence.

In the late fourth century, there was much going on in Caerwent. The forum and basilica had been demolished. This did not have local causes. It was part of a pattern of political and urban

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1 Octavius Morgan, 'Excavations prosecuted by the Caerleon Antiquarian Association within the walls of Caerwent in the summer of 1855' *Archaeologia* 36 (1856), 418–37. J.E. Lee, *Isca Silurum* (1862), 94–103.

2 The reports appeared annually in *Archaeologia* between vols 59 (1904) and 64 (1913). G.C. Boon, 'Archaeology through the Severn Tunnel: The Caerwent Exploration Fund 1899–1917', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 107 (1989), 5–26.

3 A.L.F. Rivet and C. Smith, *The Place Names of Roman Britain* (1979), 262–5.

change common throughout Gaul and Britain, where many of these earlier civic centres were being eradicated. The impressive bastioned walls are familiar to us all and inside them was a small military garrison. George Boon long ago identified two *plumbatae* – the lead weighted javelins characteristic of the Roman army across much of western and central Europe – in the collections of Newport Museum. There are also a series of triangular buckles probably from late Roman military belts. The finest is a piece of virtuoso metalworking, with an animal's head on its pin tip and a fluted 'barley sugar' loop. This was probably from one of the official state armaments factories. Others are local copies, sometimes cast in one piece rather than hinged, Though any direct connection is impossible, similar 'cast in one' buckles in northern Gaul would be firmly dated to the mid fifth century. Similar triangular buckles occur in a number of Roman towns and settlements in western Britain. They may be the equivalent in Britannia Prima of the chip-carved belt fittings found in eastern England, Gaul and the Rhineland.[4]

Caerwent also seems to have had at this time a small organized Christian community. The deposit from House VII North, with its Roman dining set, includes a pewter bowl with a Christian chi-rho monogram scratched on its base – the earliest evidence of the Christian faith from Wales.[5] The group can be dated to the last quarter of the fourth century by a sequence of stratified coins and by the presence of a jar of South Midlands shell gritted ware, whose fabric is tempered with fossil shell. It may be connected with the *agape* – an early Christian church supper usually held in the house of a wealthy believer. However we cannot rule out the possibility that House VII North was a House Church, like that from Dura Europos in Syria. Such sites are almost impossible to identify save with the wholly exceptional survival of Christian wall paintings.

The sequence of late and post Roman metalwork does not end with the end of Roman rule. We have the fine 'initial style' penannular brooch of late fourth or fifth century date; a Class G1 penannular booch of sixth century type; a series of seventh to ninth century pins from the equivalent of the English Middle Saxon period; a probable Viking burial with axe and spear from the churchyard and a ninth century 'knobbed ring' pin whose parallels lie in the Orkneys and Scandanavia. From about 940–50 onwards we have a sequence of three Anglo Saxon silver pennies, followed by three of William the Conqueror and William Rufus. In the same period, the name *Venta* transmuted, by sound changes normal at the time (V into Gw) into *Guenta*, so that Gwent and Wentwood preserve the name of the market town of the Silures, suggesting some measure of political continuity.

What does all this mean? Three Anglo-Saxon pennies may seem very little to Romanists, who are used to counting their coins in thousands. Even in major Anglo Saxon sites though they are far from common as site finds and Edward Besly's definitive study of those in Wales is aptly titled 'Few and Far Between'.[6] Recently a late-seventh century to early-eighth century Anglo Saxon silver coin, a sceatta, has also come to light near Caerwent.[7] Some years ago, discussing the Llandaff charters,

[4] Documentation and references for the post-Roman material for Caerwent will be found in J. K. Knight, *South Wales from the Romans to the Normans: Christianity, Literacy and Lordship* (Amberley Press 2014) and *idem* 'Late Roman and post-Roman Caerwent: some evidence from metalwork' *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 145 (1998, for 1996), 34–66.

[5] G.C. Boon, 'A Christian monogram at Caerwent' *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 19 (1962), 338–44. Knight *South Wales from the Romans to the Normans*, 28.

[6] Edward Besly, 'Few and far between: Mints and coins in Wales to the middle of the thirteenth century' *Coinage and History in the North Sea World 500–1259: Essays in Honour of Marion Archibald* ed. Barrie Cook and Gareth Williams. Brill, Leiden and Boston (2006), 701–19.

[7] Information from Dr Mark Lewis. NMWPA 2014.41.2, NMGW-9A4808. Identified by Edward Besly as a 'porcupine' type, Series E, VICO variety, sub-type 1 or 1b. 'Porcupine' sceattas date around the late 7th–early 8th centuries A.D.

some of which record payments in silver, I suggested that whilst most of these were probably in the form of hacksilver (chopped up silver objects) or small finger shaped ingots, sceattas were circulating in Gloucestershire at this time and there is no reason why some should not have reached Gwent.

We also have two sub-Roman cemeteries, with early radiocarbon dates, one outside the East Gate in the normal Roman manner, the other in the centre of the Roman town around the present church. The churchyard also has a tenth century cross slab of 'Gwent group' type and the probable Viking burial.[8] There was a pre-Norman community of secular canons (a '*clas*') associated with the church, who probably commissioned the twelfth century *Vita Tathei,* the Life of their founder St Tatheus, telling how a king of Gwent had granted the area of the Roman town to an Irish *peregrinus* or wandering monk named Tatheus or Thaddeus.[9] Though it is going far beyond the evidence, the radiocarbon dates would not be inconsistent with a shift from the extra-mural Eastgate cemetery to that around the church in about the seventh century.

It can rightly be argued that the *Vita Tathei,* like most 'lives' of Welsh 'saints' is far too late to be used as viable historical evidence and is moulded by the circumstances of the twelfth century, when it was written. However, circumstantial evidence might suggest that the context is at least plausible. Many of the Saxon shore forts of eastern England, of the same size as Caerwent and with similar late Roman walls, were granted in the seventh century by Anglo Saxon kings to clerics and monks, some of them Irish, whilst corporate religious bodies had a strong interest in preserving the story of their origins, which formed a kind of title deed.

All this need not mean that people were necessarily living within the Roman walls at this time, though a number of enigmatic rectangular post-Roman buildings which do not look like typical medieval house sites were identified in the early excavations. Recently, there has been much academic interest in early medieval assembly places. In Ireland and western Britain much of this has centred on royal inauguration sites, where ceremonies of king-making were held, as at the Pillar of Eliseg in Powys.[10] More broadly, there is a need in rural societies for periodic fairs and markets for the necessary exchanges of foodstuffs and livestock, often combined with a religious festival, such as a Christian feast day and a public display of royal or other authority. Caerwent was outside the trade networks that brought Gaulish and Mediterranean trade goods and pottery to coastal centres further west, like Dinas Powys (close to Cardiff Bay) and Hen Gastell (on the Neath Estuary). It may however have been as a local political and religious centre that *Venta* – the market town of the Silures – became *Guentonia Urbs* or *Cair Guent*.

How did all this end? Throughout western Europe it was the landlocked Roman towns that failed to develop into medieval cities. Silchester and Caister by Norwich are cases in point, as is Jublains in western France. Caerwent had a maritime outlet of sorts at Portskewett, whose archaeological importance we are now beginning to recognize, but John Leland long ago explained its demise: – 'A great lykelyhood ys that when Cairguent began to decay then began Chepstow to florich. For yt stondeth far better as upon Wy there ebbying and flowing by the Rage cumming out

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[8] Mark Redknap, 'A pre-Norman cross from Caerwent and its context' *Monmouthshire Antiquary* 10 (1994), 1–16. M. Farley 'A 600 metre-long section through Caerwent' *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 31 (1984), 209–50. E. Campbell and P. Mac Donald, 'Excavations at Caerwent Vicarage Garden 1973: an extramural post-Roman cemetery *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 142 (1993), 74–98.

[9] *Vita Tathei* ed. A.W. Wade Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Brittaniae et Genealogicae* (Cardiff, 1941). J.K.Knight, 'St Tatheus of Caerwent: An analysis of the Vespasian life' *Monmouthshire Antiquary* 3.1 (1970–1), 29–96.

[10] Elizabeth Fitzpatrick, *Royal Inauguration in Gaelic Ireland c. 1000–1600: A cultural landscape study* (Boydell Press 2004). Nancy Edwards, 'Rethinking the Pillar of Eliseg' *Antiquaries Journal* 89 (2009), 143–78.

of Severn. So that to Chepstow may come great shyppes'.[11] The Norman motte over the corner of the town walls and three pennies of William I and William II[12] show activity in Caerwent whilst Chepstow Castle was being built. Indeed, it played an essential role in that process, for the early hall block which forms the earliest part of the castle is built almost entirely of re-cycled Roman masonry and tiles, quarried from the ruins of the Roman town. Chepstow was the heir of Caerwent and that inheritance took more than one form.

[11] John Leland, *The Itinerary in Wales of John Leland in or about the years 1536–1539* ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith 1906, Vol 3, 43. Leland also noted '*Within and without the walle now be a XVI or XVII small houses for husbandmen, of a new making*'.

[12] Dolley, M. and Knight, J.K., 'Some single finds of tenth and eleventh century coins from Wales', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 119 (1970), 75–82.

REVIEWS

Tallis, Linda (ed.), ***Cas Gan Gythraul: Demonology, Witchcraft and Popular Magic in Eighteenth Century Wales. T.P.*** **(Newport: South Wales Record Society, 2015); ISBN 978-0-955338-78-6; Hardback, 155pp.**

At the beginning of the Eighteenth Century, the tendency of some many in Wales to resort to consulting cunning folk, conjurors and witches was enough for the enigmatic TP to issue a warning. This came in the form of the Welsh language tract *Cas Gan Gythraul (The Devil's Aversion)* which was first published in 1711, with a second edition appearing in 1759. In addressing the problem of the dangers of such practices, TP has provided us with examples of them and given a glimpse into more of this side of life linked with magic and witchcraft in Wales.

TP gave us accounts of ordinary people who, in desperation, were prepared to make pacts with the Devil (as he saw it) and although some included illness and disease, others to modern readers may be less important and even familiar. The use of Bibles, sieves, herbs, keys and clothing in spells and evil customs would all be seen as putting the practitioner in a contract with Satan himself.

Linda Tallis has brought this and more to the modern reader in her excellent transcript and translation of *Cas Gan Gythraul*. She has chosen the 1711 edition to work on and has kept to the original as much as possible to give the feel and rhythm of TP's work, whilst providing an English version which is both accessible and true to the source matter.

In addition to transcript and translation, Tallis has provided a most comprehensive introduction which easily stands as an essay in its own right. The introduction puts *Cas Gan Cythraul* into context and looks at other volumes on similar themes produced around the same period. As to the author himself, Tallis attempts to identify TP and has a likely candidate identified through examining language, place-names and personal references.

Tallis examines and reassesses the study of witchcraft and demonology in Wales, adding to other works produced in recent years. However, *Cas Gan Gythraul* is not solely for those interested in this field (students, academics or the general reader), as it offers us a glimpse into a world of which we know too little. This book should be in the library of anyone interested in the study of witchcraft in Wales, or indeed, of the history of early modern Welsh society.

Steffan Ellis

Donald Gregory, ***Country Churchyards of Wales*** **(Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 2014) 228pp, £7.50.**

This is a well-produced pocket-sized introduction to the country churchyards of Wales. It is a revision of a book first published in 2002 to which two sections of beautiful coloured photographs, each of sixteen pages, have been added. There is an index, though the photographs are not listed in the index and some of the photographs are of churches not mentioned in the book at all. There is a good photograph of the church at Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant where the sixteenth century Vicar, William Morgan, translated the Bible into Welsh by 1588, but there is no mention of the church or churchyard in the book; nor of Talgarth, which also has a photograph, but no mention in the book in spite of its association with Howell Harris and the Methodist revival. Of Pennant Melangell, on the southern edge of the Berwyn Hills, we have to be satisfied with a photograph of the church and graves but no mention in the text.

The visitor to Wales with a car and a stout pair of legs will find this book an interesting companion. It is not for the faint-hearted because it bids you go to inaccessible churchyards such as the one described in the Conwy Valley on page 52 where you have already discovered the remotest churchyard well in all Wales on page 51. 'The car may be left, when the road runs out, near a farm…' but 'Great is the reward for the faithful…there is seating accommodation at the side of the well, in the depths of which many a coin may still be seen'. As if that is not enough,'also in the churchyard, but south of the church, there was at one time a cockpit'. There is no evidence for the cockpit though there is no reason to doubt that cock-fighting took place in churchyards long ago, like so many other social events when the parish joined together in church and churchyard for recreation as well as worship. All this is included in Part One of the book, which has eight chapters: Burial through the ages, Churchyards on prehistoric sites, Roman remains in churchyards, Holy wells, Early Christian memorial stones, Yew trees, The organisation of the churchyard and Early Nonconformist burial grounds. Part Two of the book begins on page 108 and includes descriptions of 130 churchyards throughout Wales with directions and grid references to enable you to find them. The reader is reminded that 'An Ordnance Survey map is essential' to find the churchyards indicated on the maps provided for the four regional surveys of North Wales, Powys, Gwent and Glamorgan and south-western Wales. It might also have been helpful to remind the intrepid motorist to use a sat.nav.

In view of its small size this book is based on a big project to present the early social history of Wales through a study of its churchyards 'in times when the church was the very centre of parish life and when the churchyard was the village playground'. So much of the social history of a parish can be written from a proper study of its churchyard. Such studies are already in print for some parts of Wales. When the Roman Catholic scholar John Bossy wrote *The English Catholic Community 1570–1850*, he revealed that the body of a Roman Catholic, 'Howell Thomas was carried to Caerleon churchyard by *a large concourse of persons* early one morning in 1603, after the Jesuit Robert Jones had said the burial service over his body'. If Donald Gregory's book inspires social historians to write the stories of churchyards for every county of Wales, it will have done a real service.

Such a service will also answer all the critics, like myself, who question the sample of churchyards chosen for treatment in this book when we can all think of scores of examples that should have been included. In terms of the limited possibilities of a small book, it is a pity that the first section was so long. The writer is too concerned to get us back to prehistoric times, with a slight obsession for burial in the Bronze Age. Country churchyards were there before the present churches were built and many of them will be there when the churches have fallen into ruins, but that does not make most of them prehistoric, nor does it mean that Yew trees in a circle are evidence of Pre-Christian religion. Some Yews are older than Christianity, but not the majority, and they can be dated. A circle was a natural shape for a churchyard at a time before rural areas were divided into rectangular fields, and talk of 'magic circles' is fanciful and unfootnoted, as is the example of the standing-stones of Old Radnor, one of which is alleged to have provided the font in the parish church. We are told that the early Christian converts will 'have been very much aware of the presence in their midst of earlier human settlers who cannot have lived less than a thousand years before them'! I very much doubt that, just as I doubt that any bishop would have consecrated only part of a church or churchyard and left unconsecrated the parts that were used for public pleasure. Bishops did not have that sort of theology, though they were careful to 'redeem' churches and churchyards where blood had been spilt, and there is evidence for that.

The length of this review indicates that this is an interesting book. You may not agree with all the author's opinions, but it provides a stimulus to enter the discussion and to draw your own conclusions.

Arthur Edwards

J. Richard Williams, *The Ancient Abbeys and Priories of Wales, Llanrwst* (Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 2014); ISBN: 978-1-845242-29-9; soft cover, 182mm × 124mm; 323pp., 41 colour photographs, £7.

In this very welcome book, an asset to both the inhabitants of, and visitors to, the Principality, the author gives detailed accounts of the history of some forty of the Celtic and medieval monastic houses in Wales. The illustrations are effective and well-chosen, though the graves depicted at Ystrad Fflûr (Strata Florida) 'of the princes of Deheubarth,' may rather have been the tombs of late-medieval monks.

One of the strengths of this volume lies in the introductory short chapters. Here the reader finds an analysis of *The Rule of Saint Benedict* – with its emphasis on daily manual work; a description of relevant 'valuable Welsh manuscripts,' – some thirteen collections in all; and a splendid résumé of the poetry, ancient and modern, relating to the religious houses. An interesting section relates to monastic bells, and though the raising in 1255 of 'the great bell' at Strata Florida is not mentioned, it is so later in the book. A very useful summary is given of the temporary visitors (as travellers) to, and more permanent residents (like the sick and the corrodians) at, some of the monasteries. There is also a fine and comprehensive listing of the herbal and natural remedies which a monastic infirmarian may have employed: no less than eighty potential hoped-for means of cure in all.

In describing the houses of Augustinian canons the author tells of the history of pilgrimage to Bardsey, of the eighteenth-century plate in the now parish church at Beddgelert, and of the association of Saint Seiriol with Penmon. In turning to the Benedictine priories there is description of the Jesse carving at Abergavenny, and a detailed account of the significance of Bernard Neufmarche in the foundation of Brecon Priory as a daughter-house of Battle Abbey. A paragraph in this section (on page 133) is mis-placed, for the chapel of Christ's College, Brecon, is the former church of the Dominican friary there. In relating to Ewenny Priory we are reminded that it was a fortified ecclesiastical building; in reviewing the later history of Goldcliff Priory, we learn of the disastrous flooding in 1606 of the Caldicot Levels; in the account of Monmouth Priory we are told how the former prior's lodging was to become Monmouth National School, and in the description of Usk nunnery we read of the martyrdom of St David Lewis.

In the story of the Cistercians in Wales, the author tells of the Treaty of Aberconwy, of the Black Book of Basingwerk, and of the burial of Llywelyn the Last at Cwmhir. The short account of Cymer Abbey mentions a silver gilt chalice and paten but there is no certain proof that these derived from Cymer, and the remains of its chapter-house, attributed to the nearby farm-house, are non-existent. Succeeding entries tell of the reconsecration in 1634 of the chancel at Abbey Dore as a parish church; of the fine fifteenth-century stained glass still to be seen at the former Llanllugan nunnery; of the visit of Edward I to Neath Abbey in 1284, and the severe fire caused by lightning that struck Strata Florida in 1284. The author makes mention of the well-known path-way known today as the "Monks Trod"; it may have been laid by the monks of Strata Florida, but that cannot be said

for certain. The author gives very good accounts of the attraction of Tintern to eighteenth-century, artists, poets and tourists, and of the hospitality afforded Celtic poets at Valle Crucis.

The latter section of this fine volume is largely devoted to a consideration of the Welsh friaries – like Franciscan Llanfaes, the burial-place of Princess Joan, the wife of Llywelyn the Great, and tells of the detailed inventory of goods made at Franciscan Carmarthen in 1538. A few houses only receive a passing reference like the Monmouthshire priories at Llancynfarch (St Kingsmark) and of Llangua, but this can be rectified in a second edition, which will surely be needed in the course of time. Last, but not least, we find description of the modern-day 'Cistercian Way,' the brain-child of Dr Maddy Gray.

If there is a fault with this well-researched and eminently readable book, it lies in the somewhat dated bibliographical references, which fail to include mention of several major relevant articles published in Welsh periodicals in recent decades. There is citation, more than once, of your reviewer's book relating to the Welsh Cistercians published in 1969, but no mention of the subsequent much enlarged and revised edition of 2001. This again can be corrected in a hoped-for second edition, for surely this first edition will soon sell-out!

David H. Williams

Adam Chapman, *Welsh Soldiers in the Later Middle Ages, 1282–1422* (The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2015); (Warfare in History series); ISBN 978-1-783270-31-6; hardback, xv, 264pp, £60.

The reviewer first came across the author of this excellent book in 2007, when he gave a paper at a conference held at Bangor that is generally agreed to have been a landmark occasion in terms of European castles studies (Williams and Kenyon 2010). Chapman was at the time a doctoral researcher at the University of Southampton, part of the team working on the Arts and Humanities Research Council-funded project, 'The Soldier in Later Medieval England' (see www.medievalsoldier.org). His special field was the Welsh soldier, and his Bangor paper examined those who served in the armies of King Edward I.

The book stems from Chapman's doctoral thesis, and amongst his other publications resulting from the project, one of the most important has been his examination of the Welsh involvement (or not) in the Agincourt campaign of 1415, a subject to which the reviewer will return.

Chapman's work has also benefited from collaboration with academics at the Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies in Aberystwyth, especially regarding the work that has been and is being undertaken on Welsh praise poetry in the later Middle Ages. This is an area to which Chapman hopes to return some time in the future as far as the poetry relates to the Hundred Years War.

The first five chapters are a chronological account of the recruitment and deployment of soldiers from Wales and the March from the time of Edward I's second war in Wales, 1282–83, through to the death of Henry V in 1422. The final three chapters cover military obligation, recruitment, equipment and related matters. The Conclusion is followed by an appendix that details the size of the armies of the English crown during certain campaigns and the size, where known, of the Welsh contribution to each of them.

From the documentary evidence of muster rolls, pay accounts and other documents, the heyday of Welsh as a major factor in the formation of an English army, whether campaigning in Scotland

or across the Channel, was from the time of Edward I to around 1360; basically up to the period of the successes of Edward III and the Black Prince in France, with the battles of Crécy (1346) and Poitiers (1356). In 1346, of the infantry of around 8,000 men, 4,500 were Welsh. Although numbers drop dramatically in the later campaigns of Edward III's reign, we do find men such as the Flintshire knight, Gregory Sais, who was with John Chandos's retinue, being part of the expedition of 1370 led by Sir Robert Knolles of Cheshire. Besides Owain Lawgoch, there are also Welshmen serving with the armies of France.

What many in Wales forget when they glorify the role of the Welsh archer at Agincourt on 25 October 1415 is that much of the internal politics of the reign Henry IV (1399–1413) was dominated by the Owain Glyndŵr uprising. There were areas of Wales where Welshmen remained loyal to their Marcher lords and the Crown, such as men like Dafydd Gam in south-east Wales, but no English king in 1415, a king who as Prince Henry had led campaigns against the Welsh and retook Harlech, was going to invade France with an army of which a large percentage was composed of Welsh soldiers. There were exceptions, however, but few. A member of the Dwnn or Don family of Kidwelly that besieged that castle in 1403 later fought at Agincourt, and the Dwnns continued as a prominent family in south-west Wales through the fifteenth century.

As Professor Anne Curry has mentioned in her recent book on Agincourt, in 1995 Baroness White 'corrected' *The Times* following its statement that Agincourt was an inspiration to Englishmen; White said that the victory was 'primarily due to the 5,000 longbowmen, mainly from Wales.' Of an army of possibly around 7,500 men at Agincourt, it is now clear that less than 500 were Welsh, and that much mythology about the battle and who fought in it developed in Wales, and to some extent in England, from the later seventeenth century onwards. No Welsh contemporary sources even mention the campaign. It is somewhat ironic that on October 25, 2015, at the priory church of Abergavenny, a wreath was laid at the tomb of Sir William ap Thomas of Raglan, a man no longer considered to have been at Agincourt, with the order of service stating 'we will lay wreaths, … paying particular homage to the welsh [*sic*] archers and men at arms whom it has been said of: 'Welsh archers were the reason why Henry the Fifth won the Battle of Agincourt''.

As a project on Raglan Castle begins to be formulated by Rick Turner and others, it has been good to have Chapman's analysis of the Agincourt campaign, with William ap Thomas now viewed as unlikely to have been at the battle, and with the father of his future second wife, Gwladys, namely Roger Vaughan of Bredwardine, likely to have survived the fight, not killed, as is suggested by the *c*. mid-fifteenth-century effigy in Bredwardine church, Herefordshire.

Chapman confirms that some Welsh soldiery wore a uniform of sorts that was green and white, but so also did Englishmen raised at the same time for the Black Prince from his estates. Archers formed the core of the Welsh soldiery, but it is also clear from the documents that some were mustered primarily as spearmen. Apart from their own chaplains and interpreters, in some of the levy documents, there is a role that appears in Welsh musters that does not appear in English lists, namely that of the standard bearer, a role that received greater pay than the archer or spearman, either paid 4d. or 6d. a day.

An examination of the titles in the series 'Warfare in history' reveals just how much work has been on the Middle Ages through Boydell Press, besides other publishers, notably in that period known as the Hundred Years War. Hopefully such work will continue, and with the fieldwork at Bosworth and analysis of the remains of those who fell at Towton, a greater study of the sporadic period of battles known as the Wars of the Roses would be particularly welcome.

The author is to be congratulated on this work, a major contribution not only to the medieval history of Wales, but to British history as a whole.

References

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John R. Kenyon

Graham Watkins, *Welsh Follies: secrets, stories and scandals* (Llanrwst: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 2015); ISBN 978-1-845242-15-2; paperback, 163mm × 122mm; 258pp including 75 black and white illustrations; £7.00.

This book states that it 'explores the stories behind sixty curious and often apparently pointless buildings in Wales'. Each short story usually covers four pages of large and easy to read text and is accompanied by a small black and white photograph of the story's subject. The stories are written in a succinct and very engaging style and each is independent of the others. This makes for a book that can be readily dipped in and out of and the book's small size and mass make it ideal for carrying in a coat pocket.

However, the title of the book, *Welsh Follies*, is a misnomer. Although the term, folly, can be subjectively interpreted, it is generally accepted that in architecture, a folly is a building constructed primarily for decoration but with an appearance suggesting some other purpose. The objects of the book's stories are not always follies, rather they are included because they have an interesting history or appear to be curiosities. For example, story fifteen, The Acton Screen, Wrexham, is not a building but a set of gate pillars with railings; it was erected in about 1810 at the head of the driveway to Acton Hall. The Hall has been demolished and now the screen stands forlornly backed by a modern housing estate. This makes it a bizarre structure for its surroundings but it is not a folly. There are many other examples of structures, mainly buildings, and obelisks commemorating specific events, which cannot be classed as follies, although they have interesting histories associated with them. Therein lies the rationale for the book: it is a vehicle for telling historical tales. Even the author writes that the object of story twenty, Portmeirion, is 'certainly not a 'folly', it could be said to be a remarkable and beautiful 'curiosity' '. Consequently, the sixty stories within the book do not represent sixty follies in Wales.

The book does not claim to describe the 'follies' and most often only an impression of their appearance is provided. The accompanying black and white photographs show each 'folly' but again, their small scale only allows an overview. The rationale for a 'folly's' existence is also sometimes omitted despite this being a fundamental story to tell. For example in the case of the damming of the Tryweryn (number 28) the reader is left without knowing why a Gothic water tower was chosen as the style of the water filtering plant other than because at the time, cost was a secondary consideration. However, some of the 'follies' are obelisks and towers built to commemorate the achievements of individuals and the rationale for their existence is entertainingly covered.

The author provides, as it says on the cover, secrets, stories and scandals behind each 'folly'. Aspects of local and national history are presented in a very accessible manner, with military and industrial historical events being particularly well-reported. The sixty stories cover a wide variety of issues, for example: tales of human strife (the protracted strike at Penryhn Slate Quarry (number 23);

personal tragedy (the deaths of forty-four men during the damming of the Tryweryn, number 28); human courage (Fishguard folk staving off a French invasion, number 26); charitable intervention to secure survival (Cilwendeg Shell House, number 35); oppression by ironmasters (Nantyglo Roundhouses, number 55), and legends (headless St Justinian, number 38). With a different title to more accurately represent the subjects of the short stories – but then perhaps less eye-catching – this book deserves to be read for its entertaining tales of the history behind some curious and at times bizarre built structures located throughout Wales.

Ann Benson

OUTINGS AND EVENTS FOR 2015

Saturday 25th April: Over 50 members attended the AGM which was held in the Charles Williams Church in Wales Primary School, Caerleon. Johnny Crawford from Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust (GGAT) talked about the recent excavation at Monmouth School which provided more information about Roman and Medieval Monmouth. The talk was a great success as many people were unaware of the work undertaken by GGAT.

Tuesday 7th May: The Friends of Newport Museum and Art Gallery invited the MAA to join them on a Caerleon visit guided by our chairman Dr Mark Lewis. Ten members joined the Friends group and had another superb evening in his company.

Friday 15th May: David McLees, formerly of Cadw and the author of the Cadw Castell Coch guidebook, proved to be a most interesting and well informed guide whose sense of humour made the visit all the more enjoyable. In the afternoon we visited the transport section of the National Museum Wales National Collections Centre at Nantgarw. Many members had never visited before and were astonished by the number and size of the exhibits.

Saturday 20th June: The Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association in collaboration with The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies – The Roman Society, Caerwent Historic Trust and Gwent County History Association organised a day school entitled 'Recent and Future Roman Research at Caerwent, Monmouthshire'. Ten academics provided lectures which emphasised the work undertaken so far and in the summing up Peter Guest proposed ways forward for a future research agenda for Caerwent.

Thursday 13 August: Thirty three members joined John Kenyon as he guided us on a tour of Raglan Castle. His tour made a complicated site understandable and was much enjoyed by our members.

Sunday 23 August: The MAA Members' Summer Lunch was enjoyable despite the rain.

Saturday 19th September: Our president, Jeremy Knight, guided us around Blaenavon. Whenever we visit a site with Jeremy his knowledge never ceases to amaze us. We finished the tour at Blaenavon Ironworks which looked its best in brilliant sunshine.

Tuesday 6th October: Our honorary librarian, Kristine Chapman invited us to visit to the library at National Museum Wales, Cathays Park. A selection of valuable and interesting books had been displayed for us to view. Thanks are also due to librarians, Louise Carey and Jennifer Evans for making this a most memorable occasion.

Saturday 28th November: 'Monmouthshire in the Age of Agincourt' took place at Gwent Archives in conjunction with The Gwent County History Association. Seven speakers gave excellent lectures and the day was informative and enjoyable. Gwent Archives placed a collection of medieval documents on display in the Archives Search Room which was very much appreciated.

Christabel Hutchings

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Dr Muriel Adams was first and foremost a teacher and then headteacher of pupils of primary school age. She became involved in teacher education and became head of the department of teacher education and training at the then University of Wales, Newport. She holds a masters and doctorate in education and, since retirement, has gained an MA in Art History from the Open University and an MA in Regional History from the University of South Wales.

Dr Ann Benson was for many years first a chemistry teacher and then an academic in the field of learning and assessment and lectured at the universities of Oxford and Bristol. She also pioneered distance learning as the director of the Open University's science education courses. She holds a masters and a doctorate in how assessment affects learning and is the author of many publications. After serving as the consultant for assessment processes with the Cabinet Office, she took early retirement to focus on garden and architectural history. She gained an MA in Garden History at the University of Bristol in 2013 and now combines researching the history of houses and landscapes with writing. She has lived in Monmouthshire since 1969 and was elected FSA in 2015.

Arthur Edwards is a Canon emeritus of St. Woolos' Cathedral, Newport. He retired as area Dean of Newport and Vicar of Caerleon three years ago. He left London University in 1966 with an M.Phil. degree in History and he has served as a priest in the Church in Wales for forty-six years. His publications include *Archbishop Green* (Gomer Press, 1986) and *Thomas Thomas of Pontypool* (Apecs Press, Caerleon, 2009). He is currently researching the religious and social history of nineteenth-century Monmouthshire.

Steffan Ellis is a freelance museum & heritage educator. Born and raised in Gwent, he returned to education as a mature student when he studied Welsh and Welsh Studies at Coleg Harlech, Drama at Aberystwyth and an MA in Celto-Roman Studies at Newport.

Christabel Hutchings has researched the history of education in the nineteenth century, for which she was awarded an MEd by Cardiff University. More recently, she has completed an MA in Celtic-Roman studies at the University of Wales, Newport; her dissertation was entitled 'Slavery and Status in Roman Britain'. She has done extensive research into the archive of Thomas Henry Thomas (1839–1915); her catalogue of this archive was published by the South Wales Record Society in 2012. In 2010, she was elected Honorary Secretary of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association.

Dr John R. Kenyon was head Librarian of Amgueddfa Cymru – National Museum Wales until the end of 2013. He is now an Hon. Research Fellow at the museum, researching the history of castle studies. He has written extensively on castles, with a number of books, papers and guidebook. English Heritage published his guide to Middleham Castle last year, and he is now preparing a guide to Helmsley Castle, also for English Heritage. He has also prepared a number of pamphlet guides to castles for Cadw, due to be published this year. He is a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London and a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

Jeremy Knight who was born in Caerleon, read archaeology at University College, Cardiff. For over thirty years, he was inspector of ancient monuments, whose wide area of responsibility included Monmouthshire. He has undertaken a major excavation at Montgomery Castle; written

many guidebooks to monuments; and has published numerous articles. A major work, *The End of Antiquity*, was published in 2000 (2nd revised edit., 2007). He published *Civil War & Restoration in Monmouthshire* in 2005 and his book *South Wales from the Romans to the Normans – Christianity, Literacy & Lordship* was published in 2013. His most recent book, *Blaenavon: Iron Town to World Heritage Site*, will be published by Logaston Press later this year.

Julian Mitchell read History at Oxford and lives in Llansoy. He is a playwright, novelist and television scriptwriter; he was responsible for ten episodes of *Inspector Morse*, taking a cameo part in each. He is also a local historian of note, recognised when he was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. He contributed two chapters to *The Gwent County History Volume 3*. He was also a guest curator for an exhibition, 'The Wye Tour and its Artists' which was on display at Chepstow Museum from May to September 2010; he also wrote the exhibition catalogue. His play, *The Welsh Boy*, staged in Bath in 2012, is based upon *The True Anti-Pamela*, the scandalous memoir published in 1741, of James Parry, who courted Mary Powell of Great House, Llantilio Crossenny.

David Standing teaches construction for the Ministry of Justice in Cardiff. He was a director of a firm that specialised in the renovation and restoration of decorative plasterwork all over Wales and the southwest for over 22 years. During that period, his work on listed, scheduled and public buildings in Monmouthshire increased his interest in the archaeology and history of southeast Wales. He studies historical landscapes, leading him to undergo an intensive five year landscape survey of Llantarnam abbey for the MA programme at the University of South Wales. Graduating with distinction in 2014, he is a keen collector of antiquarian archaeological volumes.

Rev. Dr David H. Williams was born in Newport and educated at Bassaleg School and Trinity College, Cambridge. He has two main research interests, the study of seals and Cistercian studies. He is acknowledged as one of the foremost scholars in the latter field. David Williams accomplished this whilst serving as an Anglican priest in wales (including in the diocese of Monmouth), Libya and Poland, from which he returned in 1997 to settle near Aberystwyth. He was honorary editor of *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* from 1990 to 2000, since when he has been honorary assistant editor and as acting editor, he has taken volumes XXV–XXVI (2009–10) and vol. XXVII (2011) through the press. His book, *The Tudor Cistercians*, was published in 2014.

Dr Stuart Wrathmell lectured in medieval archaeology in the 1970s at what was then University College, Cardiff, and began the excavation and building recording project at Penhow Castle as an undergraduate field training exercise. Since then he has been involved in the management of local authority archaeology and archive services in West Yorkshire, and has directed post-excavation and publication projects for several major sites in the region, including Kirkstall Abbey, Leeds and Wharram Percy deserted medieval village, North Yorkshire. He has published widely on medieval and later rural settlement and on medieval peasant buildings. He is a Member of the Chartered Institute of Field Archaeologists and a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London.