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Ruins of the AUSTIN FRIARS *Newport.*

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MONNOW BRIDGE: A POSSIBLE DRAWING BY SAMUEL PROUT FSA, OWS, PAINTER IN WATER-COLOURS IN ORDINARY TO KING GEORGE IV AND TO QUEEN VICTORIA (1783–1852)

**An editorial note by Mark Lewis precipitated by information received in correspondence
from Monnow Bridge expert, Dr Michael Rowlands.**

In 2018, in order to make it widely known to specialist scholars and researchers, *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* XXXIV published on its cover a graphite drawing of Monnow Bridge of particular interest because of its age and depiction of a long-gone dwelling once part-supported by it (Fig. 1).¹ The image was clearly competently drawn and worthy of availability for academic study. Recourse to Dr Michael Rowlands' excellent published history of the bridge revealed that the century-old timber-framed dwelling shown adjoining the gate was demolished between June and August 1815.² John Sell Cotman's etching of 1800 (*Liber Studiorum*, No. 26)³ and earlier images show the dwelling with a shorter chimney and with no central timber prop. A single timber prop and the taller chimney are shown in Joshua Cristall's graphite drawing of 1803⁴ and later images. Like Cotman, Cristall shows the building in a state of advanced disrepair. Perhaps the second prop, shown on the cover of the 2018 volume, and here (Fig. 1), was a final attempt at preservation before the demolition of the structure, perhaps placing the date of this image nearer to 1815. Comparison of the growth of greenery obscuring the pier to the left of the scene with earlier views also supports a later date, but one perhaps prior to the (apparently desirable) pier repair work undertaken in August 1814.⁵ A sheet may be seen airing on a pole projecting from the dwelling's upper-floor window.

Dr Rowlands (*op. cit.*) charts the changes to the bridge which clearly post-date the graphite drawing (Fig. 1): 'By 1819 the first pedestrian passageway was pierced through the gate'. 'The passageway was reached along a timber walkway bowing out from the side of the bridge'. 'In 1826–1827 the bridge was widened on the upstream side and a pavement was built, so that the pedestrian passageway ran straight through the gate for the first time'. 'In 1830 the bridge was widened on the downstream side, with a pedestrian walkway running around (not through) the gate. The gate's roof was rebuilt in 1832. A pedestrian passageway was pierced through the downstream tower of the gate in 1845'.

The footnote to the note within the cover of the 2018 journal also referred to Samuel Prout's watercolour and graphite work 'The Monnow Bridge, Monmouthshire', c. 1805–1814.⁶ This work, showing similarities with the style and appearance of the dwelling house on the bridge, was drawn from the opposite (eastern) bank of the river Monnow looking north-westwards. It is not therefore directly comparable, for instance, showing the eastern-facing rather than west-facing aspect of the

¹ The original drawing is preserved in a private collection.

² See Rowlands, M.L.J. 1994. *Monnow Bridge and Gate*. Stroud: Alan Sutton in association with Monmouth Museum.

³ Tate, accession number T11512, available online at <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/cotman-monnow-bridge-monmouthshire-t11512> accessed 17/09/2020.

⁴ Tate, accession number T09873.

⁵ Rowlands, *op. cit.*

⁶ Paul Mellon Collection, Yale Center for British Art, Newhaven, Connecticut, USA, accession number B1975.4.1954.

gate at that time. It should be noted, however, that it is broadly contemporary with the proposed date for the drawing of the graphite work (Fig. 1) as elucidated above.

Whilst the graphite work (Fig. 1) is highly competent, it had been noted that the roof-line of the north end of the gate appeared rather steep and that the central aperture (normally depicted centrally, above the central arch, in the position of the centrally placed window present there today) is shown off-centre, to the north of the centre-line of the gate. The apparent competency of the artist in all other respects makes these aspects of the work difficult to reconcile and they were considered ‘enigmatic’ by the editor of this journal in his consideration of the drawing. Perhaps the perspective (through the relocation of the artist?) changed at some point during the creation of the work and this was not later reconciled?

Following publication of the graphite drawing, the author of this note (in his capacity as editor of this volume, and as author of the note in volume XXXIV) was contacted by Dr Michael Rowlands, author of *Monnow Bridge and Gate* and its leading authority. I am most grateful to him for directing me to a soft-ground etching and aquatint of the bridge printed in brown ink by Samuel Prout, published by Rudolph Ackermann’s Repository of Arts, 101, Strand, London, on 1st October 1813, in Prout’s *Rudiments of Landscape: in progressive studies*; a copy of which may be freely viewed online via the British Museum catalogue.⁷ As Dr Rowlands noted in his correspondence, the *Rudiments of Landscape* Plate 46 shows a number of the, otherwise peculiar, elements present in the graphite drawing; namely the angle of the roof at the gate’s northern end, highly defined ridge tiles on both the gate and adjoining dwelling, The horizontal linear feature or shadow across the chimney of the gate, the off-centre aperture above the arch, sheet(s) airing from the upper window, and boat and boatman beneath the span of the bridge. Perhaps the most convincing common elements between the graphite drawing (Fig. 1) and the *Rudiments of Landscape* Plate 46 by Prout are to be found in the identical position of the sun in the west, as betrayed by near-identical shadows, the non-prevailing easterly breeze (effecting a slight westward drift of smoke from the dwelling chimney), and the windows of the distant property on Monnow Street, behind and to the right of the dwelling on the bridge, which appear in both images but may only just be made out in the margin of the graphite drawing where it disappears beneath its card mount on the right-hand-side of the image. The number of similarities, some seemingly peculiar as compared with the other historical depictions of the bridge, beg questions as to whether the one image may have been created with reference to the other, and whether they may even have been works by the same hand?

Interestingly, no second timber prop is shown in the aquatint (nor in Prout’s watercolour in the Paul Mellon Collection at Yale, itself published in *Rudiments of Landscape*⁸, or, Dr Rowlands reports, in any other known depiction of the bridge), but a vestige of the second timber prop may perhaps be echoed in shadows rendered in the Plate 46 aquatint beneath the bridge. Had a second timber prop been there, and visible, a second timber prop might be expected to have been shown in Edridge’s, August 1808, drawing of the bridge and dwelling house, given the angle from which it

⁷ Plate 46. British Museum, accession number 1890.1013.59.20. The image of Prout’s plate 59 (accession number 1895.0408.50, also of Monnow Bridge) and Prout’s plate 64 – that of the Paul Mellon watercolour – (museum accession number 1890.1013.99) are also accessible (accessed 17/09/2020). http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3283513&partId=1&place=39068&plaA=39068-1-4&page=1 and http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3283948&partId=1&place=39068&plaA=39068-1-4&page=1 and http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3283914&partId=1&place=39068&plaA=39068-1-4&page=2.

⁸ Plate 64, Prout’s *Rudiments of Landscape op. cit.*, also published in 1814.



Fig. 1. Monnow Bridge, Monmouth. Graphite on paper, *circa* 1813. The size of the visible image area within the mount of the picture frame within which it hangs is 210mm × 260mm. Private Collection. Photographed by Mark Lewis, with kind permission. © All rights reserved by the owner.

was drawn and its detailed study and depiction of the single timber prop shown.⁹ We must, therefore, probably conclude that either a second timber prop was not there, or was not visible, in 1808, and that these possibilities were also true later, for Samuel Prout. Alternatively, perhaps Prout decided not to etch the second timber prop for *Rudiments of Landscape* Plate 46? Perhaps it was reconsidered, or reinterpreted, away from Monmouth, e.g. as a product of shadows or supporting arch ribs beneath the bridge rather than a true artefact, or just reconsidered as an unnecessary complication, detracting from the ‘picturesque’? Despite its clear and careful rendering in the graphite drawing, the absence of a second timber prop from the published aquatint either suggests that it was not there when Prout visited and, *ergo*, that he was not the artist who drew the graphite drawing or, if Prout had drawn the graphite drawing, that he chose not to transfer the second timber prop to the aquatint.

Interestingly, Plate 59 of Prout’s *Rudiments of Landscape*, published 1st January 1814, depicts the west-facing elevation of Monnow Bridge as drawn from the roadway of the bridge itself. Unmistakably, the top-floor window aperture appears in a central position above the single, uppermost, relieving arch and the roof is rendered conventionally – symmetrically – at the shallow angle expected. It may therefore be noted that the published Prout images (Plates 46 and 59) are, in respect of the central window above the arch, themselves inconsistent. This perhaps adds weight to the identification of the offset window in the graphite drawing and its similar rendering in the published Prout Plate 46 as possibly unique identifying markers for a single, common, artist’s work. The multiple views of the bridge (from the riverbank beneath St Thomas’s Church, Overmonnow, from the highway on the bridge looking eastwards, and from the riverbank looking north-westwards) clearly suggest that Prout was engaged by it as a subject.

The similarities in style, content, relative dimensions and proportions lead to a plausible conclusion that the graphite drawing of Monnow Bridge (Fig. 1) could be an original sketch by Samuel Prout, later used as the basis for the aquatint published by him and Ackermann as Plate 46 of *Rudiments of Landscape: in progressive studies*? However, further to the missing second timber prop, other interesting, and possibly significant, differences between the graphite drawing and the published Plate 46 include the, additional, depictions of (i) the relieving arch between the window and the gate arch in the published plate but missing from the graphite drawing, (ii) a character on the bridge, (iii) a washerwoman bent over her washing in the river beneath the dwelling house, and (iv) the second person, fishing?, within the boat of the published Plate 46; all missing from the graphite drawing. Perhaps the inclusion or possible addition of the character on the bridge, washerwoman and fisherman in the boat were later, remotely executed, artistic, embellishments. Two stones in the riverbed are depicted in the graphite drawing where the washerwoman is depicted in the published Plate 46, a possible embellishment. The relieving arch, which is missing from the graphite drawing (Fig. 1), may have been added to the published Plate 46 following reference to the original sketches of other views of the bridge, for the relieving arch is prominent in Plate 59. But if this was the case, the question over the non-central window above the gate arch remains. Why was that not also amended, and centred, in the published Plate 46 with reference to the other views?

Michael Angelo Rooker’s watercolour over pencil view of the bridge and adjoining dwelling, preserved at the Nelson Museum and Local History Centre in Monmouth, suggests that bridge perspective, as viewed from the position that both the graphite drawing (Fig. 1) and Prout’s published Plate 46 were drawn, lent itself to a slight northward interpretation of the central window above the

⁹ British Museum, accession number 1867,0309.1784: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3273908&partId=1&place=39068&plaA=39068-1-4&page=2 (accessed 17/09/2020).

gate arch (possibly assisted by shadows), and a possible misinterpretation of the horizontal distance between the south-facing windows of the adjoining dwelling house (also possibly partly a result of shadows).¹⁰ The northward positioning of the central, west-facing, window aperture above the relieving arch is prominent in the sepia wash by David Cox the elder,¹¹ which possibly dates to soon after his move to live in Hereford between 1814–19.¹² The adjoining dwelling house does not feature in this work, for it had been demolished by then.

As compared with the graphite drawing (Fig. 1) an additional slit window appears beneath the upper slit window on the north side of the gate arch in the published Plate 46, and Plate 46 also features a large jetty or vessel in foreground, projecting from the east bank of the river. The lower slit window, missing from the graphite drawing but present in Plate 46, features prominently in Rudiments of Landscape Plate 59, along with depictions of the bridge by other artists. The corbel supporting the projecting garderobe, show in Plate 46, also features, clearly with another, in Plate 59, but is missing from the graphite drawing. But perhaps the most striking difference between the graphite drawing and the published Prout plates is the location of the southern windows of the adjoining timber-framed dwelling house.

The graphite drawing depicts the dwelling lower window as located diagonally eastward of the centrally placed upper window. However, Prout's published Plates 46 and 64 depict the lower window directly below the centrally placed upper window. Images from the turn of the eighteenth / nineteenth centuries, including Cotman's,¹³ show vertically, and centrally, aligned lozenge-paned windows and extensive exterior rendering loss revealing laths, but no prop(s). The depictions by Thomas Hearne at Newport Museum and Art Gallery and Winchester College also depict two slit windows to the north of the gate arch, and vertically, and centrally, aligned south-facing dwelling windows, but no prop(s).¹⁴

Cristall's 1803 graphite on paper drawing probably resolves the question of the window positions of the dwelling house in the early years of the 19th century, and earlier.¹⁵ It is practically a forensically detailed study of the dilapidation of the dwelling house and it shows the two windows, centrally and vertically aligned, between two uprights of the house's timber frame. However, gaps in the infill between the timbers of the frame to the lower right of the uppermost window offer at least a possibility of feasibility for a later blocking of the lower centrally located window and the insertion of a window to the right of its original, central, position. Cristall's rendering of a cross-beam in the timber framing of the house, between the two windows, gives the strongest sense of the two-storey nature of the dwelling of any of the depictions of it seen by the author of this note, it probably denoting the location of the ceiling and floor level for the two floors. Thomas Tudor's watercolour, showing the dwelling house with a single timber prop, suggests the presence of lozenge shaped panes in the upper window with rectangular panes in the lower one, but with the lower window to the left of that above it. Hooper and Sparrow's, 1784, *Grose's Antiquities*, lithograph shows no upper

¹⁰ See <https://www.artfund.org/supporting-museums/art-weve-helped-buy/artwork/5435/monnow-bridge-and-gate-monmouth>, accessed 17/09/2020.

¹¹ Preserved at Abbot Hall Art Gallery, Lakeland Arts Trust.

¹² <https://www.watercolourworld.org/painting/monnow-bridge-monmouth-tww000022>, accessed 17/09/2020.

¹³ Dated 1800, *Liber Studiorum*, Footnote 3 *op. cit.*

¹⁴ <https://www.watercolourworld.org/painting/monnow-bridge-monmouth-tww002192>, <https://www.winchestercollege.org/explore/archives-libraries-treasury> and <https://www.watercolourworld.org/painting/monnow-bridge-monmouth-tww005115>, accessed 17/09/2020.

¹⁵ Tate, accession number T09873: <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/cristall-monnow-bridge-t09873>, accessed 17/09/2020.

window, but the lower one is in the central location. Samuel Prout's watercolour painting in the Yale Center for British Art¹⁶ also shows the windows vertically aligned and centrally located, both with lozenge-paned glazing.¹⁷ The upper window is depicted as being wider than the lower one. A width difference might also account for perspectival interpretation, or misinterpretation, if viewed from other locations. Yale's Prout watercolour painting also shows parts of the horizontal timber framing separating the two storeys and the single, curved, timber prop.

Dr Rowlands questioned, in his correspondence, whether the image published on the cover of *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* had been cropped. This was not the case for its publication on the cover of the journal, – the published image (Fig. 1) represents the entire area visible within the mount of the framed drawing – but unless the original work may ever be removed from its frame and mount (which is papered at the back of the frame to form a seal), it will not be possible to be certain with respect to the past or current completeness of the graphite drawing. However, the accuracy with which the windows of the Monnow Street dwelling in the background were rendered in the drawing, and their similarity to those in Prout's published Plate 46, suggest that the drawing could be found to extend beneath its current mount. Similarly, the accurate rendering of the two arches of the spans of Monnow Bridge in Prout's Plate 46 suggest that the soft-ground etching was created by copying an image of the bridge which included them. The framed graphite work could not retain the second span today unless it were folded over, behind the currently visible part of the image, within its frame.

¹⁶ Footnote 6, *op. cit.*

¹⁷ <http://collections.britishart.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3657378>, accessed 17/09/2020.

THE GODS OF GWENT: IRON AGE AND ROMANO-BRITISH DEITIES IN SOUTH-EAST WALES

By Frank Olding

The religion of the Silures, the Iron Age Celtic tribe that occupied south-east Wales, is still largely shrouded in mystery and the archaeological evidence is limited. There are, however, Late Bronze Age and earliest Iron Age sites that shed some light on ritual activities and a body of Romano-British epigraphic evidence (largely drawn from the Roman *civitas* capital at Caerwent) that may also relate to pre-Conquest belief systems.¹ There is also a large amount of evidence from ancient Gaul regarding some of the deities associated with south-east Wales. Further insights can also be drawn, with suitable caution – given the time periods involved – from the rich sources of early Welsh and Irish literature.

I am aware that this is a paradigm that has fallen out of favour in some scholarly circles, but there is still much to learn from it. Recent developments in archaeology and in linguistic and literary studies allow us to draw better conclusions from the limited evidence we have, and we would succumb to the counsels of despair were we not to make every effort in that regard. This paper, therefore, seeks to combine these sources to throw some faint light on the religious beliefs of the Silures in the later prehistoric and Romano-British periods.

Like many a good Welsh preacher, my argument will therefore rest on three headings, namely the evidence provided by archaeology, epigraphy and early literature. My aim is to use archaeology and epigraphy to identify the deities associated with south-east Wales in the period under consideration and then to turn to the early literature to assess what light, if any, can be shed on the possible nature and attributes of those divinities.

PART 1: ARCHAEOLOGY

The Goldcliff “Platform”

In the intertidal zone at Goldcliff, near Newport, there is significant evidence for the ritualised deposition of human remains in the period covering the end of the Bronze Age and earliest phases of the Iron Age. The site has produced two stratified human skulls. In 1990, a human skull was found on a peat shelf together with a small part of a deer cranium and carbon dated to 2580 ±35 BP, i.e. c. 800-600BC. In 1993, another skull was found 1.5 m away. It had reached the prehistoric bog in a de-fleshed and broken condition and was carbon dated to 3095±40 BP, i.e. c. 1400BC.²

A storm in 1992 revealed a set of twelve vertical timber posts (structure 1208) only 8m away from the 1990 find-spot and covering an area of some 5m by 2m.³ The posts do not form a clear pattern, although two rough lines of five posts cross each other at an angle of 55°. Radiocarbon dates from the wood centre on a period within twenty carbon years of the deposition of the 1990 skull and the finds are likely to be connected.⁴ The wood for the posts was carefully selected from a wide range of tree species including alder, willow, ash, birch, field maple and hawthorn.

¹ Howell 2006, 21.

² Bell *et al.* 2000, 67.

³ Bell *et al.* 2000, 67.

⁴ Bell *et al.* 2000, 68.

The excavators interpreted the site as either a set of posts that originally displayed skulls or the remains of a crude ceremonial platform used for the exposure of bodies.⁵ The site's liminal position at the interface of wetland and dry land set on the fringes of an ancient island may have been highly significant. The fact that the trees selected for the posts include both wetland and dryland species adds to the special nature of the ritual activity in this place between worlds. The presence of human skulls has clear resonance with the cult of the human head found in Iron Age Britain and Gaul.⁶

Human remains were also deposited at local hillforts. Across Wales there is a discernible pattern of behaviour in the late Iron Age of repetitive deposition of human remains at the edges of hillforts – often in the ditches. At the Silurian hillfort of Llanmelin near Caerwent, two skeletons were discovered in 1932 in the distinctive annexe flanking the main approach to the south-eastern entrance of the hillfort. They were an adult male, 25–40 years old and an adult female lacking her skull. Both burials lacked grave goods and could not be more precisely dated than belonging to the Iron Age.⁷ Reappraisal of the site in 2004 suggested that Llanmelin may be a late Iron Age proto-*oppidum* with the annexe representing an addition to the hillfort dating to the first century BC/AD and containing high status funerary enclosures.⁸ Comparisons have been drawn with similar funerary enclosures at King Harry's Lane, St. Albans, and Stanway at Colchester.⁹

Ritual Deposition – Llyn Fawr and Llanmaes

There is a tradition of ritual deposition of high-status metalwork in Iron Age south-east Wales, with roots going back into the late Bronze Age. One of the most important sites demonstrating this activity is Llyn Fawr near Hirwaun in Glamorgan, where valuable metalwork was deposited in an upland lake. The finds include two large, sheet-bronze cauldrons, bronze socketed axes and sickles, a wrought iron sickle, an iron spearhead and part of an iron Hallstatt type sword. Other bronze objects included pieces of horse harness, decorative bronze discs and a razor. The iron objects are among the earliest found in Britain and it is possible that some of them were produced locally. The recovery of these items in 1913 was far from scientific but it is obvious that all or part of the collection was placed in one of the cauldrons.¹⁰

The site dates to c. 700BC in the middle of the Earliest Iron Age.¹¹ The objects were complete, rather than broken, and many were of the highest quality. Some had originated in other parts of Britain and the Continent. Pieces of bronze horse harness, including decorative bronze discs known as *phalerae*, are of a type then fashionable in Hallstatt C contexts in eastern France and Belgium.¹² The local population had wide sea-borne trading or exchange networks and were making, acquiring and depositing exceptional objects on an unprecedented scale.¹³ The collection may represent votive offerings to the gods of the water, a gift to the deities of the Otherworld that also expresses community prestige and sacrifice.¹⁴

⁵ Ibid., 72.

⁶ Aldhouse-Green 2004, 164–5.

⁷ Aldhouse-Green 2004, 163.

⁸ Howell and Pollard 2004, 150.

⁹ Howell 2006, 28.

¹⁰ Howell 2006, 21.

¹¹ Gwilt 2016, 321.

¹² Lynch *et al.*, 2000, 178.

¹³ Gwilt 2016, 321.

¹⁴ Lynch *et al.*, 2000, 140, 214.

More recent discoveries at Llanmaes in the Vale of Glamorgan were initially brought to light by metal detectorists. Finds include bronze Armorican axes from Brittany, horse fittings and numerous fragments of bowls and cauldrons. These objects are associated with midden deposits, roundhouses and pits with significant amounts of late Bronze Age and early Iron Age pottery roughly contemporary with activity at Llyn Fawr. The midden deposits include large quantities of animal bone and partial human skeletons with further finds of fragments of ring-handled bronze bowls and parts of four cauldrons. The site has been interpreted as a high-status feasting centre linked to far-flung trading networks.¹⁵

The midden overlies a settlement dating to the Middle Bronze Age (1500–1200BC). It started to form in the Earliest Iron Age *c.* 700BC and continued in use throughout the Iron Age and into the Romano-British period.¹⁶ A little to the south-east is a curvilinear enclosure interpreted by the excavators as the host settlement for the midden.¹⁷ Again, this was a long-lived site occupied from the Late Bronze Age through the Iron Age and into the Romano-British period. Nearby, was the ring ditch of an Early Bronze Age barrow with cremations spanning the period *c.* 2136BC – 1531BC. Both the midden and the settlements may therefore have been attracted to the site because of the presence of earlier monuments that had strong ancestral significance for their builders.¹⁸ Among the finds from the Middle Bronze Age roundhouse was the tooth of a Great White shark.

The midden contained large amounts of metalwork with over 300 diagnostic bronze artefacts, with at least five cauldrons, nine ring-handled bowls and fragments of forty socketed axes – mostly “Armorican” axes from Brittany and Normandy. The main period of metalwork deposition stretched from *c.* 700BC to *c.* 500BC. There were also very early iron objects – a punch, a wasted chisel and a possible fragment from Hallstatt style waggon fittings.¹⁹ Other continental Hallstatt objects included a handled cup and a brooch. The metalwork deposits ceased before *c.* 450BC, but the midden continued in use for centuries.²⁰

The site produced over 73,000 fragments of animal bone – the largest faunal assemblage from prehistoric Wales – and 1251 sherds of pottery. The animal bone represented the remains of hundreds of pigs and 68% of the identified bones came from the right foreleg of the animals. Similar evidence has been found at Hallaton in Leicestershire but here only the right forequarters were absent and the rest of the carcasses well-represented.²¹ Was the right fore-quarter of the animal regarded as the appropriate portion to be brought to the feast or given to the gods? The evidence is reminiscent of the “champion’s portion” of the Irish Celtic epics. Were the remaining three-quarters distributed among the community and buried elsewhere?²²

This number of beasts was far too many to have been reared locally and the presence of only one piece of the carcass suggests that formal customs governed the slaughter, processing and deposition of the pigs. The pigs came from many communities across south Wales and possibly further afield and were probably brought on the hoof and slaughtered on site. In short, Llanmaes

¹⁵ Howell 2006, 23.

¹⁶ Gwilt 2016, 297.

¹⁷ Gwilt 2016, 305.

¹⁸ Gwilt 2016, 307.

¹⁹ Gwilt 2016, 315.

²⁰ Gwilt 2016, 319.

²¹ Gwilt 2016, 323.

²² Gwilt and Lodwick 2010, 32.

was the site of periodic feasting with people from a large area converging for large gatherings. The residues were then deposited in the midden in a “culturally prescribed manner”.²³

This feasting involved the movement of people and pigs from across south Wales and beyond and demonstrated sea trade and social connections with northern France and southern England. Participants came both by sea and by land and some of the metal objects deposited in the midden may have represented exotic gifts.²⁴ The feasting and deposition of residues in the midden also embodied ritual and cosmological concerns with the highly selective deposition of animal and some human bone. Many of the axe fragments come from the mouth and mouth-loop of socketed axes and the excavator has suggested that these may represent the number of mouths fed and social relationships cemented at the feasts. The midden had to be ritually nourished and sustained according to powerful social customs and symbolic meanings. It seems to have been inclusive not competitive, a communal endeavour to maintain social and ritual relationships and strengthen community identity.²⁵

Whilst the antecedents of the Silures lay firmly rooted in Bronze Age south-east Wales, sites like Llyn Fawr and Llanmaes demonstrate that their cultural traditions and ritual practices had affinities with much wider traditions. La Tène objects such as an iron brooch from Lodge Hill Camp at Caerleon, a small bronze horse from Abercarn and a fine bull’s head fitting from Chepstow also demonstrate their connections with wider cultural developments.²⁶

Indigenous Divinities

References in medieval Irish literature to cat-eared divinities such as Cairbre Cinn-Cait (Cairbre of the Cat’s Head)²⁷ and in Welsh sources to the destructive monstrous cat Cath Palug²⁸ have interesting parallels in the context of Romano-British Gwent. From the legionary fortress of Caerleon (*Isca*) comes a series of cat-human images on clay roofing tiles known as *antefixa* dating to the period around AD70-100. No less than seven depict a male human head with distinct cat’s ears and cat fur. Others depict human heads with solar and celestial symbols in the form of eight-spoked wheels and stars. These owe more to older native Silurian religious tradition than Roman art and may have been intended to offer ritual protection for the new military installations at Caerleon.²⁹ In effect, the Romans may have been invoking indigenous local spirits or deities against their own people.³⁰

Other possible local spirits invoked within a Roman context may be represented by the Romano-British relief built into the wall of the Norman Great Tower at Chepstow Castle. The sculpture is certainly re-used from the Roman town of Caerwent³¹ and has variously been interpreted as depicting three naked male figures, one of whom is wearing an animal head-dress³² or as Venus and her attendant nymphs.³³ The possibility that the relief could depict a local river or water goddess should not be discounted (see Sabrina below).

²³ Gwilt 2016, 308.

²⁴ Gwilt 2016, 320.

²⁵ Gwilt 2016, 321–3.

²⁶ Howell 2006, 25.

²⁷ Ross 1967, 99–100, 301–2.

²⁸ Bromwich 2014, 484–87.

²⁹ Aldhouse-Green 2004, 170.

³⁰ Howell 2006, 33.

³¹ Turner 2004, 230.

³² Aldhouse-Green 2004, 171.

³³ Turner 2004, 242; 2010, 28.

The Gwehelog Temple

There are no known examples of temples of unequivocally Iron Age date in Gwent. However, aerial photographs have revealed a large Romano-British temple complex at Gwehelog near Usk. Here a circular shrine some 8m in diameter is set within a large rectilinear precinct. The shrine appears to have had an eastern porched entrance and the precinct or *temenos* also has an eastern entrance with a substantial gatehouse.³⁴ Possible traces of an earlier circular structure may indicate that the masonry phase represents a Romanized version of a native sanctuary.³⁵

The site closely resembles the circular stone temple at Hayling Island, Hampshire. This site was built in stone a few years after the Roman invasion and was preceded by an Iron Age shrine of wood on the same plan. The early Romano-British enclosure contained large numbers of votive objects including coins, brooches, military equipment and pottery. The brooches and military equipment had been deliberately broken prior to deposition. The focus of ritual activity was the external courtyard and the round shrine may have been the “holy of holies” visited only by priests.³⁶

Hayling Island has been interpreted as the centre of an ancestor or hero cult dedicated to Commius of the Atrebates. Initially an ally of Julius Caesar in Gaul in the mid-first century BC, Commius rebelled and fled to Britain. The coins found at the site suggest the veneration of their ancestor by Commius’ successors Tincomarus and Verica. A similar late Iron Age ritual enclosure around circular structures discovered at Fisons Way, Thetford (Norfolk) was probably destroyed by the Romans in the mid-first century AD. This site has also been interpreted as another ancestor cult, possibly dedicated to Boudicca and Prasutagus.³⁷ It is possible, therefore, that the ritual complex at Gwehelog was dedicated to the cult of some unknown, but obviously illustrious, ancestor of the Silures.

Romano-Celtic Temples at Caerwent

Classical Roman temples are largely absent from the *civitas* capitals of Roman Britain whereas Romano-Celtic temples with their central square shrine or *cella* and surrounding enclosed ambulatory, are ubiquitous.³⁸ Several temples of this type are known at the Roman town of Caerwent (*Venta Silurum*) – one to the east of the forum (Insula IX), one to the south of the main east-west street (Insula XII) and another possible temple outside the east gate.

The first of these is by far the best known and is still displayed as a conserved structure. It was first excavated in 1908 and then re-excavated by the National Museum of Wales between 1984 and 1991. The temple was built *c.* AD330 and stands within a walled sacred enclosure or *temenos* with an elaborate southern entrance hall. This had an eastern apse, decorative pilasters and a tessellated floor. Domed niches for sculptures were added either side of the entrance to the main temple in a second phase. The deity worshipped at the temple is not known, but the famous Caerwent mother-goddess was found in a deep pit nearby (see below).

The temple in Insula XII was excavated in 1910 but was not originally recognised as a temple. It comprises the usual *cella* and enclosed ambulatory and is slightly larger than the forum temple. It lay behind a building with three ranges (houses XII 21 and 22s) and also dates to the fourth century AD. The possible temple outside the east gate is an octagonal building set within a circular

³⁴ Aldhouse-Green 2004, 162.

³⁵ Brewer 2004, 225.

³⁶ Aldhouse-Green 2004, 162.

³⁷ Aldhouse-Green 2007, 198–200.

³⁸ Brewer 2004, 223.

walled enclosure. It closely resembles temples at Pagan's Hill, Somerset, which dates to the late third century AD, and at Chelmsford (Essex) which dates to c. AD325. Although usually interpreted as a temple, the original excavations of the Caerwent building in 1912 were very rapid and its use as a mausoleum cannot be entirely discounted.³⁹

PART 2: EPIGRAPHY

Lenus

Lenus was a Celtic healing god widely worshipped by the tribe of the Treveri in eastern Gaul, often identified with the Roman god Mars. There were important shrines of his cult at medicinal springs at Trier and Martberg in Germany. He was sometimes worshipped as "Iovantucarus" ("he who loves the young") indicating special protection for the young.⁴⁰

In western Britain, Lenus combines the roles of warrior and healer in typical Celtic fashion.⁴¹ He is usually conflated with Mars – whose appearances in Gloucestershire and south-east Wales are influenced by native rather than classical cults. A small altar from the Roman villa at Chedworth, dedicated to *Leno Marti* "Lenus Mars", depicts a small god, armed with axe and spear. However, the overall emphasis at Chedworth highlights this local god's healing rather than military associations.⁴² One possible re-interpretation of the villa complex is as a large healing shrine.⁴³

There is another dedication to Mars Lenus at the Roman town of Caerwent (Venta Silurum) and it is possible that a healing shrine once flourished here also.⁴⁴ The dedication is found on a statue base (discovered in room 5, house XI) decorated with part of the feet of the god and an aquatic bird, probably a goose. The inscription reads:

[Deo] Marti Leno
[s]ive Ocelo Vellaun(o) et
Num(ini) Aug(usti)
M(arcus) Nonius Romanus ob
immunitat(em) collegni
d(onum) d(e) s(uo) d(edit)
Glabrione et H[om]u[lo] co(n)
s(ulibus) [a(nte) d(iem)] X
K(alendas) Sept(embres)⁴⁵

To the god Mars Lenus
or Ocelus Vellaunus and to the Divinity of the Emperor
Marcus Nonius Romanus,
in return for freedom from liability of the college,
gave this gift from his own resources
on 23rd August in the consulship of Glabrio and Homulus [AD152].

³⁹ Brewer 2004, 224–5.

⁴⁰ Green 1986, 158–9.

⁴¹ Ross 1967, 183.

⁴² Ross 1967, 185.

⁴³ Green 1986, 150.

⁴⁴ Ross 1967, 191.

⁴⁵ RIB 309.

Ocelus

Ocelus is probably a native god of the Silures, though he is also invoked in an inscription from Carlisle.⁴⁶ As well as the statue base described above, a small altar dedicated to Mars Ocelus was found standing at Caerwent against the south wall of the central block of House XVI.⁴⁷ The inscription reads:

Deo
Marti
Ocelo
Ael(ius) A(u)gus-
tinus op(tio)
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

To the god Mars Ocelus,
Aelius Augustinus, *optio*,
willingly and deservedly fulfilled his vow.

The Carlisle inscription is on a dedication slab dated AD222-35 found in the Roman cemetery at Gallows Hill.⁴⁸ The inscription reads:

Deo Marti Ocelo et
Numini imp(eratoris) Alexandri Aug(usti)
et Iul(iae) M[ama]eae [ma]tr(i) castr(or)um
[et senatus et patr(iae) et toti] domui
[divinae ...]

To the god Mars Ocelus
and to the Divinity of the Emperor Alexander Augustus,
and to Julia Mamaea, mother of the army
and senate and country, and to the whole Divine House ...

Recent research has suggested alternative interpretations of Romano-Celtic deity names in Britain.⁴⁹ Although long thought to have healing aspects due to his association with Lenus Mars,⁵⁰ the new interpretation of the name *Ocelus Vellaunus* is “avenger victor”. This throws new light on the possible pantheon of the Silures. The Roman historian Tacitus describes the fierce resistance put up by the Silures to the Roman invasion and devotion to an avenging warrior-god fits well with their famous prowess in battle. It may also be significant that the Caerwent inscription to this deity was dedicated by an *optio* – a legionary officer in the Roman army.

⁴⁶ Ross 1967, 173.

⁴⁷ RIB 310.

⁴⁸ RIB 949.

⁴⁹ de Bernardo Stempel 2008.

⁵⁰ Ross 1967, 191.

The un-named Deities

Again, from Caerwent come two sculptures of un-named native deities. The first is a small statue of a mother goddess discovered during the excavations of 1908 in a deep pit just to the north-east of the Romano-Celtic temple next to the forum. The temple was built around AD330. Around 27 cm high, she is depicted sitting in a high-backed armchair, naked except for a hood, with an orb in her left hand, symbolizing fertility, and an evergreen sprig in her right representing eternity.⁵¹

The second sculpture is a disembodied head (also hooded) discovered in a fourth-century domestic shrine within the yard of House XI.7s near the west gate.⁵² It is possible that the residents of the house, though Christian, tolerated the presence of a pagan shrine in their garden either to ‘hedge their bets’ or for the use of those members of the household who clung to the old religion. Although usually assumed to be male, it has also been suggested that the head could be female.⁵³

Recent re-evaluation of the sculptures indicates that, although found at different sites in contexts of different dates, they may be the of same date and the work of the same sculptor.⁵⁴ They may date to the same period (c. AD220) as the Paulinus stone that records the status of the Silures as a “res publica” and self-governing civitas within the Roman Empire.⁵⁵ If so, they form part of a cultural package contributing to a reinforced Silurian identity in the mid-3rd century.

The stone from which they are made is also significant. Other important pieces of iconography and inscriptions from Caerwent (such as the Paulinus stone) are made of imported Bath stone. However, both these sculptures and the inscriptions to Mars Lenus and Ocelus Vellaunus (see above) are made from the local yellow quartz sandstone and it seems likely that it was important for religious objects to be “grounded in the very land of the vicinity”.⁵⁶ The vital linkage between the gods and the local landscape was expressed in this meaningful and deliberate choice of materials.

The representation of the mouths and ears of both sculptures is almost identical – their mouths are open as if speaking or singing and the ears are prominent and deeply incised. This has led Aldhouse-Green to suggest that these sculptures are oracle stones with the capacity to listen to the prayers of devotees and to speak or sing in response.⁵⁷ In this context, it is interesting that de Bernardo Stempel interprets the name of the goddess Cuda as “the listening goddess”.⁵⁸ Cuda is the tutelary goddess of the Cotswolds⁵⁹ and in a relief sculpture from Daglingworth near Cirencester is also portrayed sitting in a high-backed chair and holding a round object.⁶⁰ Could the Caerwent goddess also be “the listening goddess”?

According to the classical writers, bards or druids were closely associated with oracular powers. Their words and stories were the fabric of communal identity, strengthening the sense of an ancestral past and a common cosmology. These nameless deities may have been invoked at a time of renewed local identity but also a period of stress due to the arrival of Christianity.⁶¹

⁵¹ Brewer 2004, 225–6.

⁵² Boon 1976.

⁵³ Brewer 1986, 37.

⁵⁴ Aldhouse Green 2012, 118.

⁵⁵ RIB 311.

⁵⁶ Aldhouse Green 2012, 119.

⁵⁷ 2012, 132.

⁵⁸ 2008, 76.

⁵⁹ Yeates 2004.

⁶⁰ RIB 129.

⁶¹ Aldhouse Green 2012, 132.

Gobannos

From the first to the third century AD, a Roman fort stood at Abergavenny the Roman name for which was *Gobannium*.⁶² The root of the name is the ancient Insular Celtic word **gobann-* or **gobenn-* (“smith”)⁶³ and the Roman name is a Latinised version of an original Celtic place-name **Gobannion*.⁶⁴ When Kenneth Jackson first analysed the name in 1970, his primary interpretation of the meaning was “the place of **Gobannos*”.⁶⁵ At the time, *Gobannos* was an entirely hypothetical form and there was no independent evidence for any ancient person or deity by that name. On this basis and citing evidence for Roman iron-workings in the area, Jackson thought the name was therefore more likely to be derived from the equally hypothetical **Gobannā* “river of the blacksmiths” or “of the ironworks”.⁶⁶ Though often cited, there is actually no archaeological evidence at all for Roman iron-working in Abergavenny or the surrounding district. Moreover, since 1970, a great deal of new evidence has come to light for an actual Celtic smith-god called *Gobannos* and it is much more likely that the real meaning of *Gobannium* is “the place of Gobannos”.

The earliest evidence for the cult of Gobannos is an inscription on a zinc tablet found in 1984 near the Iron Age oppidum at Bern, Switzerland and dating to the first century BC.⁶⁷ No detailed analysis was carried out on the find until after the death of the workman who had found it and its original archaeological context is now a matter for speculation. According to the interim report published in 1991, it was found in Thormebodenwald forest within what appears to be a Gallo-Roman context.⁶⁸

The inscription on the tablet is Gaulish written in a mixture of Greek and Roman lettering and reads:

ΔΟΒΝΟΡΗΔΟ
ΓΟΒΑΝΟ
ΒΡΕΝΟΔΩΡ
ΝΑΝΤΑΡΩΡ

Dobnoredō
Gobano
Brenodor
Nantaror

“To Gobannus, the world-traveller (or “world-charioteer”),
dedicated by the people of Brennoduron in the Arura Valley.”

The tablet demonstrates the antiquity of the divinity⁶⁹ and it has also been suggested that his cult originated in Switzerland among the Helvetii and was carried to Gaul when the Helvetii migrated

⁶² Olding 2010.

⁶³ Blažek 2008, 67.

⁶⁴ Goetinck 2003, 301.

⁶⁵ Rivet and Jackson 1970, 74.

⁶⁶ Rivet and Smith 1979, 369.

⁶⁷ Lavagne 1999, 701.

⁶⁸ Fellmann 1991, 271.

⁶⁹ Lavagne 1999, 701.

there in 58BC.⁷⁰ The god also appears in a Gallo-Roman inscription found in 1973 in Fontenay-près-Vézelay.⁷¹ The inscription reads:

AVG[VSTO] SAC[RVM] DEO
 COBANNO
 A[D?] . . .
 AB . . .
 LEV[G?] . . .

“Dedicated to Augustus and the god Cobannus . . .”

It is possible that LEV[G] refers to a donor with the Gaulish name Leucanus.⁷² There is also a dedication to DEO XUBAN[US] from Aquitania Novempopulania in south-west France⁷³ and a very fragmentary dedication from Canterbury which was re-used in building the Bishop’s Palace. It reads “GOBAN . . . OGVLP . . . ANTIS . . . VS” but has so far defied full interpretation.⁷⁴

During the Second World War, a hoard of objects dedicated to Mars-Cobannus was discovered between Annecy and Annemasse in eastern central France.⁷⁵ The hoard consisted of three bronze statuettes of the god dating to the period AD125-175, a bronze deer of the early first century AD and a bronze bucket or situla of *c.* AD100. Also present were two portrait busts of youthful males dating *c.* AD60-70 and an *arca* or offering box of *c.* AD130-180 in the form of a six-sided, roofed building.⁷⁶ Unfortunately, the collection was divided and the objects are now on display at the J. Paul Getty Museum and Shelby White-Leon Levy Collection in the United States.

The identification of Cobannus with the smith-god Gobannus is well-established⁷⁷ although all the statuettes from the hoard depict him as a warrior rather than a smith. Nevertheless, the association of the divine smith with the divine warrior is well-attested in Celtic traditions⁷⁸ and the hoard suggests the presence of a sanctuary of Gobannus among the Aedui of central and eastern Gaul from the first to third centuries AD.⁷⁹ The evidence therefore indicates that Gobannus was a genuinely pan-Celtic deity venerated in Switzerland, Britain and across large parts of south-west and central Gaul.

There is widespread evidence for the veneration of a native Celtic smith god in Roman Britain with distinct concentrations of evidence in the area around Hadrian’s Wall and in south-east England.⁸⁰ He is most often depicted – especially on pottery – in the guise of the Classical deity Vulcan. He is elderly and bearded, wearing a tunic covering only the left shoulder and a leather apron and carries the tools of his trade – a hammer and long-handled tongs. It is sometimes difficult to be certain which god is intended, but it is likely that to the Celtic smiths all smith-gods represented

⁷⁰ Dondin-Payre 2009, 109.

⁷¹ Fellmann 2001, 165.

⁷² Lavagne 1999, 691.

⁷³ Blažek 2008, 70.

⁷⁴ RIB 45.

⁷⁵ Dondin-Payre 2009, 97.

⁷⁶ Dondin-Payre 2009, 91–2.

⁷⁷ Dondin-Payre 2009, 109.

⁷⁸ Ross 1967, 196.

⁷⁹ Dondin-Payre 2009, 110.

⁸⁰ Leach 1962, 44–5.

their own particular deity.⁸¹ It is highly likely that many of the smith-gods portrayed in Roman-British times represent the native god in classical guise.⁸² He is, in fact, the most common deity found on Romano-British pottery and is often linked with the thunder-god Taranis.⁸³

The same pattern can be seen in eastern Gaul where Graeco-Roman style representations of Vulcan probably represent a Celtic smith-god.⁸⁴ He is often depicted with a stag which serves to symbolise his associations with the annual cycle of life, death and rebirth. The smith-god is much more than just a patron deity for blacksmiths – he is a complex chthonic deity very closely associated with the Otherworld, the dead and rebirth.⁸⁵

This chimes well with his appearances in later Irish and Welsh tradition as Goibniu and Gofannon respectively. Goibniu fashions the magic otherworld weapons for the gods.⁸⁶ In the tale of the *Second Battle of Magh Tuired*, during the build-up to the decisive battle between the Tuatha Dé Danaan and the Formorians, he promises to provide the Tuatha Dé with a new weapon in place of every one that was broken – “no spearpoint which my hand shall forge shall make a missing cast. No one which it pierces shall taste life afterwards”.⁸⁷ When the battle begins, the Formorians send Ruadán, son of Brígh (Brigit), daughter of the Dagda, to report on the fighting and to kill his uncle, Goibniu. He wounds the smith-god in the leg with a spear but is slain in revenge.⁸⁸

Goibniu also presides over the Otherworld Feast of Immortality known as *fled Goibnenn* – the “Feast of Goibniu”.⁸⁹ When the Tuatha Dé Danaan share Ireland with the sons of Mil and retreat into the hills and fairy regions, Manannán mac Lir institutes the feast “to ward off age and death from their high-kings” and gives the Pigs of Manannán, who can be killed each night for the feast but appear alive again the next day.⁹⁰ Goibniu serves the Tuatha a strong drink that preserves them from age and decay. This element of fertility and hospitality in Goibniu’s character is also reflected in tales of his ownership of a miraculous cow *Glas Ghoibhneann* (“The Grey of Goibniu”) that provides a never-ending supply of milk.⁹¹

In the Welsh tradition, Gofannon is one of the divine Children of Dôn. In *Culhwch ac Olwen*, one of the tasks set for the hero Culhwch by the giant, Ysbaddaden, is to clear and plough land to provide food for the wedding feast of the giant’s daughter, Olwen. The giant demands that Gofannon must come “to the edge of the land to set the plough. He will not undertake the work willingly save for a rightful king, nor can you force him.”⁹² In the Fourth Branch of the *Mabinogi*, Gofannon slays his nephew, Dylan Eil Ton, the son of Arianrhod and “that was one of the Three Unfortunate Blows”.⁹³ This is probably cognate with the story of the death of Ruadán at the hands of Goibniu (above).

⁸¹ Webster 1989, 15.

⁸² Ross 1967, 380.

⁸³ Webster 1986, 90.

⁸⁴ Häussler 2008a, 196.

⁸⁵ Häussler 2012, 159.

⁸⁶ Ross 1967, 196, 380.

⁸⁷ Rees and Rees 1961, 36.

⁸⁸ Rees and Rees 1961, 37.

⁸⁹ Ross 1967, 196, 380.

⁹⁰ Rees and Rees 1961, 39.

⁹¹ Grigg 2002, 7.

⁹² Davies 2007, 195; Bromwich and Evans 1988, 20–22.

⁹³ Davies 2007, 54; Williams 1930, 77–78.

Nodons

The imagery of the cult objects found at the late Romano-British temple of Nodons at Lydney Park (just over the border in Gloucestershire) testifies to the presence of a deity of healing, hunting, dogs and water who is often conflated with Mars. The name *Nodons* (with its variant *Nodens*) has been variously interpreted as meaning “he who bestows wealth” and “the Cloud-maker”.⁹⁴ However, as early as 1932, J.R.R. Tolkien suggested “Nodons the Catcher”⁹⁵ and this interpretation is accepted by modern scholars even though based on Germanic rather than Celtic etymology.⁹⁶

The site was originally excavated by Mortimer Wheeler and Tessa Verney Wheeler in 1928–9.⁹⁷ Further excavations in 1980 and 1981 have revised their chronology and showed that the complex was constructed in the second half of the 3rd century and was in serious decline after the middle of the 4th century.⁹⁸ The sanctuary was built over the remains of an Iron Age hillfort and enjoys spectacular views across the river Severn and it seems likely that the river and the famous Severn Bore played an important part in the cult of the god.⁹⁹ It has even been suggested that the river Severn was the “silver arm” of Nodons (see below).¹⁰⁰ The ritual complex is extensive and impressive with the temple itself surrounded by a large bath-house and pilgrims’ hostel.

There is also a long building which may have been a dormitory or *abatón* or “incubation chamber” set aside for the “holy sleep” of pilgrims keen to receive visions or guidance from the god in their dreams.¹⁰¹ This possibility is confirmed by the presence of an inscription on the mosaic floor of the temple naming Victorinus as an *interpres* – an interpreter of dreams.¹⁰² Originally considered to be a dedication by an officer in charge of the supply depot of the fleet,¹⁰³ a more plausible restoration “To the god Mars Nodens, Titus Flavius Senilis, superintendent of the cult, from the offerings had this laid, with the assistance of Victorinus, interpreter (of dreams)” is now commonly accepted.¹⁰⁴

In the temple itself, a funnel-like feature was carefully incorporated into the mosaic floor. It was formed of a pottery funnel surrounded by borders of red, white and blue mosaic and emptied into a shallow pit. In the filling was found a brass figure of a dog and various coins and the funnel was probably meant to carry offerings to the underworld.¹⁰⁵ This is interesting given the underworld associations of the later Welsh figure, Gwyn ap Nudd (below).

Finds from the site show that Nodons had both water and solar associations. The destroyed mosaics from the temple included a frieze of sea monsters and fish and fragments of bronze objects were decorated with fishermen, shells, anchors and tritons.¹⁰⁶ A fine bronze diadem or head-dress shows a sun-god driving a four-horsed chariot flanked by tritons with anchors.¹⁰⁷ This has led

⁹⁴ Ross 1967, 176.

⁹⁵ Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, 137.

⁹⁶ de Bernardo Stempel 2008, 75.

⁹⁷ Wheeler and Wheeler 1932.

⁹⁸ Holbrook 2006, 122; Casey and Hoffmann 1999.

⁹⁹ Ross 1967, 191.

¹⁰⁰ Ross 1967, 176.

¹⁰¹ Green 1986, 159.

¹⁰² RIB 2448.3.

¹⁰³ Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, 102–4.

¹⁰⁴ Holbrook 2006, 122; Hassall 1980, 82.

¹⁰⁵ Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, 28.

¹⁰⁶ Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, 65; pl. XIXa.

¹⁰⁷ Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, pl. XXVII.

some scholars to refine their view of the nature of Nodons and his cult – George Boon saw him as essentially the god of the estuary who rode the Severn Bore in his horse-drawn chariot.¹⁰⁸

However, there can be no real doubt that the main function of Nodons was healing.¹⁰⁹ Ample evidence exists in the form of finds of *ex votos* (including a female figure in bone, a bronze arm and many pins), an oculist's stamp and many representations of dogs – closely associated in the ancient world with healing. The importance of dogs at Lydney is also interesting given Gwyn ap Nudd's role in later Welsh tradition as leader of the wild hunt.

Nodons is also conflated with the Roman woodland and vegetation god, Silvanus, who combines fertility and hunting. It is possible that the image of the divine hunt, death and regeneration had an important part to play in the mythic stories of Nodons. Fertility is also represented at the sanctuary by the presence of a statuette of an un-named mother-goddess with cornucopia.¹¹⁰ It has also been suggested that this goddess may personify the River Severn.¹¹¹

Nodons equates to the Irish god Nuadu Airgetlám (“Nuadu of the silver hand”) and appears in the medieval Welsh tale of *Culhwch ac Olwen* as Nudd and Lludd Llaw Eirint (“Lludd of the silver hand”), the initial N of Nudd changing to Ll under the influence of the initial of Llaw.¹¹² In *Culhwch ac Olwen*, Lludd/Nudd is the father of the maiden Creiddylad who is fought over every May Day by Gwyn ap Nudd and Gwythur fab Greidawl until the end of time.¹¹³ This implies that Gwyn ap Nudd is Creiddylad's brother as well as her lover!

Bearing in mind the connection between Nudd/Nodons and the River Severn and its Bore, some have seen in this endless struggle an echo of a 9th century reference to *Dourig Habren* – the Two Kings of the Severn. The story occurs in the Latin work the *Historia Brittonum* (“History of the Britons”) – conventionally attributed to Nennius and originally composed c. 829/30AD.¹¹⁴ Attached to the *Historia* is a series of *Mirabilia* or “Wonders”:

“Another wonder is *Dau Ri Hafren* [*Dourig Habren*], that is, the Two Kings of the Severn. When the sea floods into the Severn estuary in the Bore, two heaped-up wave crests are built up separately, and fight each other like rams. One goes against the other, and they clash in turn, and then one withdraws from the other, and they go forth again at each tide. This they have done, from the beginning of the world to the present day.”¹¹⁵

Sabrina

It has long been claimed that Sabrina is the tutelary goddess of the River Severn.¹¹⁶ The river name is attested as early as the first century AD, appearing, for instance, in Tacitus and other Classical sources.¹¹⁷ The Welsh name derived regularly from Sabrina is Hafren (via a medieval form *Habren*).

In Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (History of the Kings of Britain), written c. 1136, Locrinus, the legendary first king of Loegria (England), has an extraordinarily

¹⁰⁸ Holbrook 2006, 122; Boon 1989, 212–15.

¹⁰⁹ Ross 1967, 176.

¹¹⁰ Green 1986, 161.

¹¹¹ Goetinck 2003, 297.

¹¹² Bromwich 2014, 428.

¹¹³ Bromwich and Evans 1988, 35–6.

¹¹⁴ Guy 2015, 22.

¹¹⁵ Morris 1980, 40.

¹¹⁶ Ross 1967, 21.

¹¹⁷ Rivet and Smith 1979, 450–1.

beautiful daughter, Habren, by his mistress Estrildis, daughter of the king of Germany. Before the birth of the child, Estrildis is entertained for seven years in artificial cave under the town of Trinovantum (modern London). Eventually, Locrinus' wife Gwendolen (daughter of the king of Cornwall) raises a Cornish army in revolt against her husband and he is killed in a battle on the river Stour in Dorset. Gwendolen then assumes the governance of the kingdom and promptly takes her revenge:

“She ordered Estrildis and her daughter Habren to be thrown into the river which is now called the Severn [fluvium Sabrinae]; and she published an edict throughout the length and breadth of Britain that this river should be called after the girl's name. Gwendolen's intention was that this everlasting honour should be done to Habren because her own husband had been the girl's father. It thus comes about that right down to our own times this river is called Habren in the British language, although by a corruption of speech it is called Sabrina in the other tongue.”¹¹⁸

It has been suggested that Geoffrey may have drawn on local tradition or wider Irish and Welsh sources for his tale and the story certainly fits the pattern of tutelary Celtic river-goddesses.¹¹⁹ Irish legends abound with the drowning of divine maidens in rivers, who then personify and protect the river bearing their name, e.g. Bóand, the goddess of the River Boyne and Sionann, the goddess of the River Shannon. In Gaul and Britain, epigraphy proves that the chief rivers were also deified. The Seine was personified by the goddess Sequana, the Marne by the goddess Matrona and the River Wharfe by the goddess Verbeia.¹²⁰

In the Irish sources, the river is always named for the young woman drowned in its waters. In Gaul, however, it appears that the name of the river which was given to the goddess, for river names reflect the particular nature of the water itself, e.g. Sequana ('the Dripping One'). However, to the Celts, the river could not be dissociated from the goddess: the river was itself a divine entity. The river and the goddess were as one – the goddess bore the name of the river just as the river bore the name of the goddess.¹²¹

Given Geoffrey of Monmouth's tale, this pattern of a drowned maiden becoming the tutelary goddess of the river that claims her does suggest that there may have been a goddess Sabrina associated with the River Severn. Unfortunately, there is no epigraphic evidence for the veneration of a goddess by that name, though it has been suggested that the goddess figurine and other feminine symbols found at the Romano-British temple of Nodons at Lydney (see above) may represent a personification of the river.¹²² The siting of the temple makes it clear that the River Severn itself was considered sacred, but the current state of our knowledge does not allow any definite conclusions to be drawn regarding the independent existence of the goddess Sabrina.

PART 3: EARLY LITERARY SOURCES

The Divine Family

In the First Branch of the *Mabinogi*, the son of Rhiannon, queen of Dyfed, is born on May Eve but is abducted. Rhiannon is accused of his murder and suffers seven years of punishment. She has to wait at the horseblock outside the gate of the court and offer a ride on her back to any visitor who wishes.

¹¹⁸ Thorpe 1966, 77.

¹¹⁹ Tatlock 1950, 29.

¹²⁰ Beck 2009, 334.

¹²¹ Beck 2009, 464.

¹²² Goetinck 2003, 297.

The same May Eve, Teyrnion Twrf Liant, Lord of Gwent, is determined to solve the mystery of why his fine foals (also born each May Eve) disappear. He waits up all night with his new-born foal until a gigantic claw appears through the window of the stable and clutches at the animal. Teyrnion draws his sword, cuts the claw off and runs outside to see what creature has been stealing the foals. He sees nothing but, on his return, finds a fine baby boy alongside the foal. Teyrnion and his wife name the boy Gwri and raise him for seven years until they realise that Gwri is actually Rhiannon's long-lost son and return him to his parents.¹²³ Llanfihangel Nant Teyrnion (the Welsh name for Llantarnam near Cwmbrân) is probably the scene of this episode.

In the Middle Welsh tale *Culhwch ac Olwen*, Mabon son of Modron is the only hunter who can hold the leash of the fastest hound in the world in order to hunt the giant boar, the Twrch Trwyth. However, Mabon was kidnapped from beside his mother at three nights old and the hero, Culhwch, and his companions go in search of him. Eventually, Arthur, Cei and Bedwyr release him from prison in Gloucester with the help of the oldest creature in the world – the salmon of the lake of Llyn Lliwan near the River Severn. Eventually, it is Mabon who snatches the razor from between the ears of Twrch Trwyth “between Llyn Lliwan and Aber Gwy” (near Beachley Point, Chepstow).¹²⁴

As long ago as 1953, the Welsh scholar W.J. Gruffydd interpreted these stories of the “Lost Child” as a variant of the theme of the Waste Land – while the divine child is lost (captured by the powers of the Otherworld) darkness and desolation fall on the world. When the child is restored, fertility and light return.¹²⁵ He also suggested that the two versions of the tales that have come down to us through Welsh tradition shared common mythic ancestry.¹²⁶ He also speculated that the name Rhiannon was derived from a lost Celtic original **Rigantona* meaning the “Great or Divine Queen” (for more on this, see below).

He also speculated that in the story of Mabon and Modron we have the remains of the “Myth of the Great Mother”:

“whose son, Maponos, was taken from her by the King of the Other-world. While Maponos was in the Other-world, a great darkness and desolation fell upon the land, and his mother wandered over the earth seeking him. When she found him, light and life were returned to the world.”¹²⁷

Gruffydd also suggested that the original divine parents of Gwri were Rhiannon and Teyrnion. This would therefore imply that Rhiannon was originally associated with Gwent rather than Dyfed. He therefore saw the remains of two parallel traditions in the stories recorded in the *Mabinogi* and *Culhwch ac Olwen*:



It has since been suggested that the stories may not have been parallels, but may once have formed part of a sequence:

¹²³ Davies 2007, 16–21; Williams 1930, 20–27.

¹²⁴ Bromwich and Evans 1988, 26, 33, 41; Davies 2007, 198, 205, 212.

¹²⁵ Gruffydd 1953, 101.

¹²⁶ Gruffydd 1953, 98.

¹²⁷ Gruffydd 1953, 109.

Teyrnon – Rhiannon
|
Gwri – Modron
|
Mabon

Or, to give them their proposed Celtic forms:

*Tigernonos – *Rigantona
|
* Vironos – Matrona
|
Maponos (Hamp 1975, 243–9)

Noting Rhiannon’s strong association with horses in the Mabinogi, Gruffydd also drew attention to the fact that the Latin titles *Regina* and *Regina Sancta* (“Queen” and “Holy Queen”) were frequently given to Epona, the Celtic horse goddess who is also often associated with the *Deae Matres* – the Divine Mothers. On this basis, he suggested that Rhiannon “was, or was identified with, the Horse Goddess” that her cult was associated with that of Epona and that her original consort was the Great King, Tigernonos.¹²⁸

Rhiannon and Teyrnon as Deities

Linguistically, the name Rhiannon comes from a hypothetical Celtic word *Rigantona, meaning the “Divine, Great Queen”. Many commentators have rightly pointed out that there is no surviving ancient evidence for a goddess called Rigantona. However, recent studies have highlighted evidence for a Romano-Celtic goddess named RIGA or, more probably, RIGANI/RIGANA (“the queenly goddess”) – equivalent to Latin *rēgīna*.¹²⁹ Whilst the Roman goddess Juno is often given the epithet Regina, among Celtic-speaking peoples the name seems to have acquired a different significance and Regina/Rigana is found, as in the examples below, without Juno.¹³⁰

Rigani/Rigana is attested in Latin form by three Gallo-Roman inscriptions from Great Britain and Germany and in a Celtic graffito from central France. The dedication found in Worringen (Germany), in the territory of the Ubii, reads:

IN H(onorem) D(omus) D(ivinae)
DEAE REGIN(AE)
VICANI. SE [...]
GORIGIENSES¹³¹

‘In honour of the Divine House
and of the goddess Regina,
the inhabitants [...] Gorigienses’¹³²

¹²⁸ Gruffydd 1953, 105, 109.

¹²⁹ de Bernardo Stempel 2008, 75.

¹³⁰ Häussler 2012, 165.

¹³¹ *CIL* XIII, 8518.

¹³² Beck 2009, 262.

The Lanchester dedication is engraved on an altar with a relief of a wild boar on the left side:

REGINAE
VOTVM
MI.IO V L S¹³³

“To the Queen-Goddess,
Misio willingly fulfilled his vow”¹³⁴

From Lemington in the Cotswolds comes a relief and inscription (now housed at Chedworth Roman villa) with a fine depiction of the goddess: DEA RIIGINA.¹³⁵ She is represented with a halo coiffure and a robe reaching to the knee. In her left hand she holds a pointed staff resting on a stand, in her right hand a short staff resembling a cordoned column. These attributes emphasise her sovereignty and power and might also bear some war symbolism.¹³⁶ Rigani is itself cognate with god bynames, such as Mars Rigas in Malton, Mars Rigisamus in West Coker and Mars Rigonemetis (“King of the Sanctuary”) in Nettleham.¹³⁷

Rigani also appears beside the goddess Rosmerta on a Gallo-Latin graffiti on a bowl from Lezoux in central France dating to the first half of the first century AD.¹³⁸ The inscription reads:

*e[.]o i euri rigani rosmertiac.*¹³⁹

There are three possible translations of the dedication:

“I have offered this to Rigani (and) to Rosmerta.”
“I have offered this to the Queen Rosmerta.”
“I, the queen of the feasts of Rosmerta, offered this.”¹⁴⁰

So, the name can here be interpreted either as a divine name referring to an individual goddess, or as an epithet of Rosmerta, or as referring to a real human queen making an offering to Rosmerta. Regina is also given as an epithet to the goddess Epona in various inscriptions from present-day Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary and Croatia.¹⁴¹

It has been argued that behind the many Gallo-Roman and Romano-British and Celtic goddess names there is one powerful concept – the local chthonic mother goddess, a strong goddess protecting the community from calamities and providing prosperity and fertility.¹⁴² Different people saw this divine concept very differently and represented it in many different forms. In some regions

¹³³ RIB 1084.

¹³⁴ Beck 2009, 262

¹³⁵ RIB 125, AE 1950, 134.

¹³⁶ Beck 2009, 262.

¹³⁷ Beck 2009, 264.

¹³⁸ Beck 2009, 145.

¹³⁹ *RIG* II.2, 67, 181.

¹⁴⁰ Beck 2009, 146.

¹⁴¹ Beck 2009, 264.

¹⁴² Häussler 2012, 164.

this “mother-goddess-concept” was seen as a triad, in others as a single powerful goddess. She also appears in divine couples like Mercury and Rosmerta.

In contrast, Epona, the horse-goddess, is rarely used to symbolise the union between male and female, between celestial and chthonic deities. Recent studies have re-emphasised the connections between Epona and the mythical elements we find in the Rhiannon myth¹⁴³ and there now seems little doubt that the goddess termed Rigani or Rigana is the ultimate source of the character of Rhiannon who appears in medieval Welsh medieval literature.¹⁴⁴

The name Teyrnion is derived from a hypothetical Celtic form **Tigernonos* the “Great or Divine King” – a perfect pairing with **Rigantona*.¹⁴⁵ Although the ancient form *tigernos* (“king”) is well-attested as a personal name, there is as yet no evidence of a deity by the name **Tigernonos*.

Mabon and Modron as Deities

The name of Mabon’s mother, Modron, signifies “Great or Divine Mother. It is widely accepted that Maponos was the son of Matrona (‘Mother’), as Mabon (‘Youth’) is the son of Modron (‘Mother’) (Beck 2009, 76–7). Mabon is in turn derived from the god Maponos (‘The Divine Son’) who is venerated in seven definite and two possible inscriptions from northern England and south-west Scotland¹⁴⁶ and two from Gaul, from the Roman town of *Glanum* at Saint-Rémy-de-Provence (Bouches-du-Rhône) and Chamalières (Puy-de-Dôme).¹⁴⁷

The cult of Maponos in northern Britain was centred on the area around the Solway Firth and the *Ravenna Cosmography* (c. AD700) makes reference to *Locus Maponi* (“the lake of Maponos”) – possibly a sanctuary dedicated to the god. Lochmaben in Dumfries and Galloway is a precise derivative of *Locus Maponi* and the sacred lake in question is probably Castle Loch, one mile west of the Annan.¹⁴⁸ In 1979, Rivet and Smith suggested that the presence of a Roman fort could be expected here and in 1989 the Ladyward fort was discovered by aerial photography.¹⁴⁹ It is also possible that the god is commemorated in the Lochmaben Stone (also known as the *Clochmabenstane*) – a large standing stone near Gretna which may represent the remains of a Bronze Age stone circle.¹⁵⁰

There are no certain images of Maponos and it seems unlikely that the famous head from the Roman dépôt at Corbridge represents the god.¹⁵¹ As well as the hunting connections implied in *Culhwch ac Olwen*, the god seems also to have been concerned with the skills of music and poetry and is associated with a relief of Apollo Citharoedus (“Apollo the Harper”) on an altar from Hexham.¹⁵²

At La Source des Roches in Chamalières in central France, excavations have uncovered numerous coins and pots and literally thousands of ex-votos in wood testifying to a curative cult centred on a healing spring. The ex-votos comprise anthropomorphic standing figures together with representations of limbs and internal organs. No buildings were discovered at the site and the likelihood is that it was an open-air sanctuary. Recent pollen analysis has also indicated that the

¹⁴³ Häussler 2012, 166.

¹⁴⁴ Beck 2009, 265.

¹⁴⁵ Gruffydd 1953, 100.

¹⁴⁶ RIB 583, 1120–22, 1128, 1198, 2083, 3191, 3463.

¹⁴⁷ IAG, 213, Häussler 2008b, 39; RIG II-2, 100.

¹⁴⁸ Rivet and Smith 1979, 395–6.

¹⁴⁹ Canmore 69368.

¹⁵⁰ Ross 1967, 363–4; Canmore 67441.

¹⁵¹ Ross 1967, 369.

¹⁵² RIB 1121.

sanctuary was surrounded by a *nemeton* – a sacred grove made up mainly of mature oak trees. The site was at its height in the first century AD and was apparently under the patronage of Maponos, who is invoked in the magical text on a lead tablet also found at the site.¹⁵³

The text is written in Gaulish using a cursive Roman script and dates to c. AD50. It clearly invokes Maponos but its exact translation has proved difficult and controversial and there is little scholarly consensus. It may invoke the god to assist a group of men (who are named) or to curse them. Some scholars have taken the inscription as a plea for prosperity and peace, others see in it a curse designed to invoke magical aid against enemies. The text reads:

*Andedíon uediúmi díuuión ri(s) sunartiu Mapon(on)
Arueriátin.
Lotites sníeððic sos brixíá anderon.
C. Lucion Floron Nigrínón adgarion,
Aemilíon Paterin(on),
Claudíon Legitumon,
Caelion Pelign(on),
Claudío(n) Pelign(on),
Marcion Victorin(on),
Asiatícon Aθðedillí.
Etic Secoui toncnaman toncsióntío.
Meíon ponc sesit buetid ollon reguc cambíon.
Exsops pissúmi isoc cantí rissu ison son bissíet.
Luge dessumiíis, luge dessumíis, luge dessumíis, luxe.¹⁵⁴*

This translation is by Mees:

“Of the infernal, I invoke,
of the gods, before the powers,
Maponos Arveriatís:
be quick and spin
these, with magic, below!

Caius Lucius Florus Nigrinus the advocate,
Aemilius Paterinus,
Claudius Legitimus,
Caelius Pelignos,
Claudius Pelignos,
Marcus Victorinus,
Asiaticus (son) of Aθθedillos.
And also the Secovi who will destine a
destiny.’

¹⁵³ Beck 2009, 341.

¹⁵⁴ Mees 2007, 10.

Little, when sowed,
 may it thus become great,
 and I straighten the crooked.

Blind I shall see,
 and this of charm I have told (?),
 will ensure this.

I prepare them for committing,
 I prepare them for committing,
 I prepare them for committing, for committing!"¹⁵⁵

Other linguists offer an alternative translation:

"I beseech the very divine, the divine Maonos Arvernatis by means of this magic tablet: quicken us, by the magic of the underworld spirits:

C. Lucios, Floros Nigrinos the invoker, Aemilios Paterinos, Claudios Legitumos, Caelios Pelignos, Claudios Pelignos, Marcios Victorinos, Asiaticos son of Aθθedillos.

And it is the oath of Segovos (the Strong One) they shall swear: the centre – when he sows it – (it) shall be whole; and I right the wrong blindly; thus by means of this tablet (of incantation?) I shall see what shall be. By Lugus I prepare them, by Lugus I prepare the, by Lugus I prepare them, by Lugus."¹⁵⁶

The presence of another Gaulish spring sacred to the god is suggested by a medieval charter of c. 1090 relating to the abbey of Sauvigny, Rhône, which mentions *de Mabono fonte*.¹⁵⁷

Maonos' mother, Matrona, is the tutelary goddess of the River Marne in Gaul which rises on the plateau of Langres at Balesme-sur-Marne in north-eastern France (Marne) and joins the River Seine at Charenton-le-Pont (Val-de-Marne). That the river was anciently called *Matrona* is attested by Caesar in *De Bello Gallico*.¹⁵⁸ An inscription on an altar found at Balesme-sur-Marne dating from the second century AD reads:

Successus
 Natalis I(ibertus)
 maceriem
 caementiciam
 circa hoc tem-
 plum de sua pe-
 cunia Matro-
 nae ex voto sus-

¹⁵⁵ 2007 and *pers. comm.*

¹⁵⁶ Koch and Carey 2007, 3.

¹⁵⁷ Bromwich 2014, 425.

¹⁵⁸ Book I, 1.

cepto
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

“Successus, the freedman of Natalis, had this outer wall in rubble stones built around this temple at his own expense in honour of Matrona, after making a vow, and paid his vow willingly and deservedly.”¹⁵⁹

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the ruins of Gallo-Roman buildings were also discovered near Balesmes-sur-Marne. Excavations at the source of the river revealed twelve rooms, some equipped with hot baths, fragments of frescoes, fragments of marble and coins of Nero (AD54-68) and Titus (AD79 -81). The sanctuary was certainly erected at the beginning of the first century AD. The temple to Matrona mentioned in the inscription must have formed part of the same complex. The fact that the goddess had such a sanctuary built in her honour at the source of her river indicates that she was regarded as possessing protective powers. Apart from the presence of the baths, there is no archaeological evidence of a healing cult associated with Matrona. Nonetheless, the bath complex certainly implies that the waters of the River Marne were believed to be beneficial and further excavations may yet produce new evidence as to the nature of her cult.¹⁶⁰

Water-goddesses ensure the survival of their people and the growth of crops and cattle. Like a mother, they give birth to, feed and nurture their adherents. Matrona, whose very name means “Mother”, epitomises this rôle. In Gaul, the life-giving aspect of the water-goddess is counter-balanced by a funerary dimension: the dead were returned to the mother-river in the so-called “coffin-pirogues”. These are hollowed-out tree trunks serving as coffin-boats where the corpse of the deceased was placed before being abandoned to the river. The best-known example actually comes from the River Marne itself about 5km from its source. The coffin-boat is 5m long and carved out of a single oak trunk. It contained a skeleton and three high-status weapons, namely an iron sword in an ornamented scabbard, an iron spear and an iron dagger with an anthropomorphic bronze handle. The burial dated to the 3rd-1st century BC.¹⁶¹ The voyage to the otherworld, metaphorically represented by both the boat and the river, was placed in the care of the water-goddess, who, in taking the deceased back into her womb, ensured their renewal in the afterlife.¹⁶²

W.J. Gruffydd, suggested that the pairing of Maponos (“the divine son”) and Matrona (“the divine mother”) also implied the existence of *Vironos (“the divine man” or “divine hero”) which would give *Gwron* (“hero”) in Middle Welsh.¹⁶³ When Gruffydd offered this theory, **Vironos* was an entirely hypothetical form but in the meantime inscriptions discovered in Iberia have shown that *Vironos* or *Vironus* was a genuine Celtic name form, though there is no evidence to date of any deity by that name.¹⁶⁴

The medieval saint’s name Madrun is also derived from Matrona and she is regularly represented as a young mother fleeing from disaster with a small child in her arms.¹⁶⁵ In the medieval

¹⁵⁹ Beck 2009, 389.

¹⁶⁰ Beck 2009, 391.

¹⁶¹ Beck 2009, 391–2.

¹⁶² Beck 2009, 463–4.

¹⁶³ Gruffydd 1952, 99.

¹⁶⁴ AE 1987, 00564a; Koch 2010, 275.

¹⁶⁵ Bromwich 2014, 458.

Welsh sources, she is first married to Ynyr, king of Gwent, and later to Gwgon Gwron (< Vironos).¹⁶⁶ This connection with Gwron goes some way to strengthening Gruffydd's theory of an original divine family comprising Matrona, Maonos and Vironos. The reference to Ynyr Gwent also makes clear that the connection between Matrona and Gwent is a strong one – especially when we consider that Teyrnnon is also lord of Gwent. *Garth Madrun* (“the enclosure of Madrun”) was the name of an early medieval kingdom covering eastern Breconshire with its eastern boundary near Talgarth (“at the end of the garth”) in the Black Mountains.¹⁶⁷ However, it is uncertain whether the name commemorates the goddess, or a person subsequently named after her, such as St. Madrun.¹⁶⁸

CONCLUSIONS

The evidence from Goldcliff suggests the ritual deposition and display of human remains (especially skulls) in the period spanning the late Bronze Age and early Iron Age (c. 1400 – 600BC) and also reflects that period's ritual concern with marginal and watery locations. Situated at the interface of wetland and dry land, the site may have been regarded as a place between worlds straddling the realms of the living and the dead. The watery theme, possibly expressing concerns with water deities and access to the Otherworld, continues at Llyn Fawr c. 700BC. There can be little doubt that the hoard deposited there was intended as a votive offering to the god or goddess of the lake, a gift to the deities of the Otherworld that expresses community prestige and sacrifice.

Communal endeavours to maintain social and ritual relationships and to strengthen community identity also lies behind the deposition of the midden at Llanmaes (c. 700BC – second century AD). The emphasis on the right forelegs of the pigs consumed is of particular significance in the light of later literary references to the “champion's portion”. It seems likely that this part of the animal was regarded as fitting to be dedicated to the gods via deposition in the midden. The same may well be true of the high-status metalwork also deposited there. The connection between a divine smith-god and the Otherworld feast also found in the later literature may also be significant. Was Gobannos or a similar deity the patron of the periodic feasting at Llanmaes? Was the “world charioteer” protective of the wide seaborne contacts and voyages evidenced at the site?

From Caerleon and Chepstow comes evidence for the invocation of local spirits or deities by the Roman military. Could the Chepstow Castle relief depict a local water or river goddess? The ritual complex at Gwehelog may well indicate the veneration amongst the Silures of illustrious ancestors. It is also the only potential Iron Age temple site in south-east Wales and further research should be undertaken there as a matter of urgency.

The rich epigraphic and sculptural evidence from Romano-British Caerwent demonstrates clearly the worship of Romano-Celtic deities such as Lenus and more local figures such as Ocelus and the “Listening Goddess”. Lenus is primarily a god of healing and youth and it is possible that a shrine dedicated to him once existed here. Ocelus is probably a native god of the Silures – new interpretation of his name as meaning “avenger-victor” throws new light on a god well-suited to the fierce martial reputation of the tribe that resisted the Roman incursion for so long. His veneration by Roman legionary officers may also reflect his war-like nature. The sculpted mother-goddess and disembodied head from Caerwent clearly represent local, chthonic deities – literally born of and made from the local landscape. Were these “listening gods” invoked at a time of social change

¹⁶⁶ Gruffydd 1953, 99.

¹⁶⁷ Jones, 1977, 26.

¹⁶⁸ Bromwich, *ibid.*

and stress due to the arrival of Christianity or do they express a continuing and confident Silurian cultural identity?

The place-name evidence for the presence at Abergavenny of Gobannos – a truly pan-Celtic smith-god – is compelling. Given the wealth of evidence that has come to light since the 1970s, there can be little doubt that *Gobannium* does mean “the place of Gobannos”. It is possible that local iron deposits explain the connection. Although evidence for Roman ironworking is entirely lacking, local hillforts such as Twyn y Gaer have produced evidence for smithing and smelting. Does Gobannos represent a deity revered by local Silurian smiths? He seems to combine the roles of warrior and smith with close connections the earth, the Otherworld feast and, possibly, the cycle of death and rebirth.

The most prominent topographical feature of south-east Wales is, of course, the River Severn with its tidal estuary and dramatic Bore. It should come as no surprise, therefore, that the great river forms an important landmark in the ritual geography of the Silures and their neighbours. The complex of temple buildings at Lydney dedicated to Nodons is one of the largest in Roman Britain. Nodons appears here as a god of healing, hunting, dogs and water and it is possible that the river itself was seen as representing his “silver arm”. Pilgrims sought the aid of the deity via dreams during their “holy sleep” and specialists were on hand to interpret the god’s messages. The Severn Bore may have been central to the cult and Nodons may have been envisaged (and depicted) as riding the bore in his chariot. The Severn is also personified in later tradition as Sabrina. The medieval tales around her fit the pattern associated with tutelary river-goddesses. However, despite a clear female presence at Lydney in the form of an un-named goddess, there is as yet no conclusive evidence for an Iron Age or Romano-British goddess called Sabrina.

Later Middle-Welsh sources make strong and consistent connections between south-east Wales and the key characters of Rhiannon and Teyrnon, Mabon and Modron – the former pair involved in the action of the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi* and the latter in the tale of the hunting of the Twrch Trwyth in *Culhwch ac Olwen*. It has long been suggested that behind these characters lurk memories of Celtic deities *Rigantona, *Tigernonos, Maponos and Matrona.

Although the name Rhiannon can only be derived linguistically from a hypothetical form *Rigantona (“the great or divine queen”), no evidence has ever been found for an ancient goddess by that name. However, there now seems little doubt that the well-attested Romano-Celtic goddess Rigani/Rigana is the ultimate source of the character of Rhiannon. The goddess’ main attributes are sovereignty and power together, possibly, with hunting and war. Her Gaulish epithet of “queen of the feasts” fits well with story of Rhiannon’s arrangement of the successive wedding feasts in the *First Branch of the Mabinogi*. Rhiannon’s clear connection with horses is still very suggestive of a link to the horse-goddess Epona who is also regularly referred to as “queen”. Despite clear evidence for the ancient personal name Tigernos, there is no evidence to date for the existence of *Tigernonos as an independent deity.

The same cannot be said of Mabon and Modron, who are clearly descended from the important ancient deities Maponos and Matrona. Despite the relocation in the Middle Welsh sources of Mabon in south-east Wales, the cult of Maponos seems to have been centred on the Solway Firth in Scotland and Chamalières in Gaul. This youthful deity is concerned with hunting, music and poetry but his chief rôle is that of healer as evidenced at his important sanctuary and healing spring at Chamalières. His medieval associations with an Otherworld prison (in the guise of Gloucester) are echoed in his clear Underworld connections mentioned in the Chamalières defixio. Matrona is the tutelary goddess of the river Marne in France with a sanctuary and temple at Balesme-sur-Marne. The goddess epitomises the role of a nurturing mother and may also have protected her adherents during

the after-life journey to the Otherworld. It is her motherly aspects that are most clearly expressed in the medieval literary sources. For her hypothetical consort, Vironos, there is no evidence, though the ancient personal name is well-attested.

There is therefore good evidence for the veneration in south-east Wales of the Romano-Celtic deities Lenus and Gobannos. The strong connection between Goibniu/Gofannon and feasting in later traditions casts interesting new light on the Iron Age feasting and metalwork deposition at Llanmaes. Deities native to the area include the vengeful warrior Ocelus, Nodons the healer-hunter, the cat-eared characters from Caerleon and the “listening” mother goddess from Caerwent. It is also possible that the Silures practised an ancestor cult at Gwehelog and the presence of a tutelary goddess of the Severn, Sabrina, cannot be entirely discounted.

Literary sources record strong mythic connections between south-east Wales and the divine or semi-divine figures of Rhiannon, Teyrnnon, Mabon and Modron. It is probable that three of these characters represent euhemerised versions of actual ancient deities – Rigani-Rigana, Maponos and Matrona, though no ancient evidence for their veneration in the area has so far come to light.

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ABERGAVENNY PRIORY, THE 'LOST' ANNALS, AND A *PIERS PLOWMAN* MANUSCRIPT

By John Morgan-Guy

'Piers Plowman', the editor of the Everyman edition, A V C Schmidt, asserted, 'has a good claim to be the greatest English poem of the Middle Ages'.¹ Composed by William Langland, a mid-fourteenth century cleric in minor orders, with perhaps some connection with the Malvern area of Worcestershire,² it achieved popularity before the advent of printing. Schmidt notes the existence of more than sixty surviving manuscripts containing the poem, which would indicate a distribution not too far short of that of the contemporary Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.³ *Piers Plowman* was first printed, by Robert Crowley, in 1550; that is, at the mid-point of the reign of the Protestant boy-king, Edward VI, and 'met a receptive audience', being twice reprinted in the same year; and then again, this time by Owen Rogers, in 1561. It was, therefore, as Schmidt points out, 'as accessible to the Elizabethan reader as the works of Chaucer'.⁴ *Piers Plowman* is a profoundly theological work, which reveals an author who had probably been educated for the priesthood, but whose marriage debarred him from proceeding beyond minor orders. He seems to have been employed primarily as a *cantor* in London. His criticism of the clergy of his time, 'whose standing has been seen as gravely compromised by their venal attitude to spiritual things,'⁵ (something also evidenced by Chaucer in his *Canterbury Tales*) would have struck a chord with an audience which had embraced the Protestantism of Edward VI and the Elizabethan Settlement – hence, perhaps, the frequent re-printings during those reigns – as it seems to have done with Langland's radical contemporaries such as the priest John Ball, a leader of the 1381 insurrection in the reign of Richard II.⁶

There are, as Schmidt points out, four versions of *Piers Plowman* surviving, known respectively as the A-, B-, C- and Z- texts, though this last is not 'universally accepted as authentic'.⁷ A, B and C, he believes, 'represent three successive states of a single work by one man'.⁸ Surviving manuscripts of the work can and do contain portions of more than one version. The concern of this paper is not with the text of the poem itself, but with one manuscript of the C version, now housed in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, MS.D.4.1, or more recently designated, MS.212. It is this manuscript which, in an ascription in a late fourteenth or early fifteenth century hand, identifies the poet as William de Langlond, the son of one Stacy⁹ de Rokayle, of Shipston-under-Wychwood, 'a tenant of the Lord Spenser in the county of Oxfordshire'.¹⁰ This ascription is generally accepted as authentic. Shipston, some four miles to the north of Burford, was on the edge of one of the great royal hunting

¹ A.V.C. Schmidt (ed), *The Vision of Piers Plowman. A Critical Edition of the B-Text based on Trinity College Cambridge MS B.15 17* (London, J M Dent, 2nd.ed., 1995), xix.

² Schmidt, xxii. Malvern is some fifty miles from Langland's presumed birthplace at Shipston. The association with the Malvern Hills is to a great extent dependent upon the poet's comment in the Prologue to Pausus I that his vision had come to him when he was sleeping 'on a May morwenynge on Malvern Hilles'. (lines 5–10), Schmidt, 1.

³ Schmidt, xix.

⁴ Schmidt, xx.

⁵ Schmidt, xlvi.

⁶ Schmidt, xx.

⁷ Schmidt, xvii.

⁸ Schmidt, xvii.

⁹ i.e. Eustace.

¹⁰ Translation of the Latin by Schmidt, xxi.

forests, and the manor was held successively by members of some of the principal baronial families of England, the Clares, the Despensers, and the Nevilles. Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Hertford and Gloucester, who fell at the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314, had granted Shipston to his elder half-sister, Isabel (b.1263), the wife of Maurice, Lord Berkeley, and widow of Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick.¹¹ The manor was forfeited to the Crown in 1322, and Edward II in turn granted it to his favourite, the unsavoury Hugh le Despenser the younger (c. 1286–1326), the Lord of Glamorgan in right of his wife, Eleanor, a co-heiress of Earl Gilbert. Despenser also exercised considerable power in Monmouthshire, as Lord of Usk, Wentloog, and farmer of the lordship of Chepstow from the king's half-brother, Thomas, Earl of Norfolk. With Despenser's fall from grace, and subsequent execution, the manor of Shipston was recovered by Isabel in 1327, who possessed it until her death in 1333 or 1338. Thereafter it reverted to Hugh, Baron Despenser (1308–1349), son of Edward II's disgraced favourite.¹² He, it is to be assumed, was the 'Lord Spenser' mentioned in the ascription to Trinity College MS. 212. This makes the birth-date of William Langland somewhat problematic, for, if he was born c. 1330, as has been asserted, then his father would have been a tenant of the Lady Isabel, and not of Hugh le Despenser. However, had he been born before 1322 or after 1333/8, then his father's status of a tenant of the 'Lord Spenser' would have been an accurate description. This does not, of course, totally undermine the presumed date of 1330, as the chronicler, writing many years later, may well have simplified the choppings and changes in the overlordship of Shipston between 1320 and 1340.

However, of more interest to historians of medieval Wales, and of what is now northern Monmouthshire in particular, is the brief set of annals which appear at the end of MS.212. In his important 1951 paper on the *Piers Plowman* manuscripts in Trinity College, Dublin library, E St John Brooks drew attention to these, which, with the exception of R W Chambers, had been largely overlooked by scholars.¹³ Brooks gives a translation of the annals, which is reproduced here:

Memorandum that 26th September, AD 1294 Geoffrey Clement was killed by the men of Cardigan:

Item, in the same year the Welsh revolted against the peace and the men of Cardigan aforesaid made Maylgon ap Rees their leader;

Item, the North Welsh made Madoc ap Llewelyn their leader;

Item, the Welsh of Glamorgan made Morgan ap Meredith their leader;

4th August, AD 1265 Simon de Montfort was slain;

AD 1312 Piers de Gaveston was beheaded;

AD 1315, about 2nd February, Llewellyn Pren rose against the king's peace;

¹¹ It was at Lord Berkeley's castle in Gloucestershire that the deposed Edward II was put to death, after his overthrow in 1327.

¹² Victoria County History, Oxfordshire, Texts in Progress – Shipston, February 2016, Manors, 3.

¹³ E. St John Brook, 'The *Piers Plowman* Manuscripts in Trinity College, Dublin', *The Library*, 5th series, Vol. VI, Nos.3/4, December, 1951, 141–153, citing Chambers, 'Robert or William Langland?', *London Medieval Studies*, I, Pt.3, (1939), 1948.

AD 1321, many magnates were hanged, namely Sir Thomas of Lancaster was beheaded, 22nd March;

Item, the earl of Hereford was killed, 24th November;

AD 1326, Hugh le Despenser was drawn and hanged at Hereford;

AD 1327, 21st September, died Edward who was king of England at Berkeley, buried at Gloucester;

AD 1330, 29th November, Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, was drawn and hanged at London;

AD 1295, about 29th September, there was mortality of men through hunger, so that their bodies, like the corpses of dogs, lay everywhere unburied;

Then Thomas de Turberville was drawn and hanged;

AD 1348, about 29th August, died Lawrence de Hastings, lord of Bergeveny;

Item, in the same year there was mortality of men at Bergeveny, and in the following year in the parts of England, and in the year of grace the mortality ceased.¹⁴

Quoting Chambers, Brooks says 'The memoranda are obviously the work of a well-informed man, surveying affairs from the standpoint of the South Wales Border district. Wales and the fortunes of the great Border houses, Despenser, Mortimer, Hastings of Abergavenny, are the things that interest him... They are associated with information which we can prove to be correct in every detail.'¹⁵ This, as Brooks shows in his analysis, is correct.¹⁶ The confused chronology – 1294, 1265, 1312–30, 1295, 1348 – is convincingly explained; the copyist was probably utilizing a text some of the entries in which were marginalia.¹⁷ Once rearranged, they make perfect sense, and, without exception, point to an annalist 'with a considerable interest in the affairs of the South Wales Border, and a good deal of local knowledge... The writer of the Trinity annals selected them for their local interest.'¹⁸

This is true even of the entry recording the death in 1265 of Simon de Montfort, who, as well as being a figure of national importance, was married to the widow of William Marshall II, Earl of Pembroke, who was Lord of Chepstow. Montfort (c. 1208–1265), Earl of Leicester, had in 1238 married Eleanor, the widow of Earl William, who had died in 1231. As Eleanor was a daughter of King John, she was the sister of the reigning monarch, Henry III, against whom, in what is known as the Second Barons' War, de Montfort was in rebellion in 1263–4, becoming the virtual ruler of England in the year before his death at the Battle of Evesham in 1265. Closely associated with de Montfort was the Lord of Abergavenny, Henry de Hastings (c. 1235–c. 1269), who de Montfort in 1264 had created a baron, a title and dignity not recognized by Henry III once he had again regained the ascendancy in his realm. Through his mother, Ada, daughter of David of Scotland, Earl of Huntingdon, Hastings was the great-grandson of David I, King of Scotland, and thus a Marcher

¹⁴ Brooks, art.cit., 145.

¹⁵ Brooks, art.cit., 144–45.

¹⁶ Brooks, art.cit., 145–50.

¹⁷ Brooks, art.cit., 146.

¹⁸ Brooks, art.cit., 150.

lord of some stature in his own right. These associations were sufficient for de Montfort's death to be recorded in a local Monmouthshire set of annals, especially by a chronicler who was particularly interested in Abergavenny and the Hastings family.

The chronicler then moves on to the events of 1294 and 1295, the revolt of the Welsh against the authority in Wales of King Edward I. The causes of this uprising, and the course of events, are both well documented, and need no amplification here.¹⁹ Our chronicler begins his record of the uprising with the murder of Geoffrey Clement 'by the men of Cardigan' on 26th September, 1294. Clement was deputy-justiciar of south Wales, and chief official in Cardigan, as steward of Newcastle Emlyn and Cardigan under his master, the justiciar Robert de Tibetot. King Edward I had recently reduced his castle garrisons in Wales and summoned some of his leading officials, including Tibetot, to join him in his planned Gascon campaign. Clement, as captain of one of the mustered infantry contingents, was evidently *en route* to Shrewsbury where the assembly was to take place on 30th September. His murder, carried out by men from his jurisdiction, indicates forward planning, and, indeed, as R R Davies has pointed out, can be seen as the signal for the revolt to begin, which it did on 30th September, the very day of the Shrewsbury assembly.²⁰ Our chronicler is thus correct in highlighting the murder, but, as with his record of Simon de Montfort's defeat, there is a Monmouthshire / Abergavenny connection. As Brooks records, in 1279 Geoffrey Clement, at an earlier stage of his career, was a tenant of the lords of Abergavenny, the Hastings family, and in 1292 one Robert Clement 'was one of the tenants of John de Hastings...He was presumably a relative, perhaps a brother of Geoffrey, who named his younger son Robert.'²¹

The chronicler's list of the leaders of the revolt, Madog ap Llywelyn, Maelgwn ap Rhys, and Morgan ap Maredudd, in north Wales, west Wales, and Glamorgan respectively, is also correct. Madog (d. post-1312) was the leader and co-ordinator of the revolt, until his final defeat at the Battle of Maes Madog in March, 1295. Thereafter, after some time as a fugitive in Snowdonia, he was imprisoned, probably until his death.²² The son of the last vassal lord of Meirionydd, at the outset of the revolt he proclaimed himself 'Prince of Wales' – he was a distant cousin of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd – Madog proved himself, at least initially, to have been an effective military leader. Maelgwn ap Rhys (d.1295), the leader of the revolt in Cardiganshire, was a descendant of the Lord Rhys, and his contribution to the rising included the siege of the castle at Aberystwyth, and the raiding of Carmarthen and Pembroke. He was killed near the former in 1295. Morgan ap Maredudd (fl. 1276–1316), the son of the last Welsh lord of Caerleon, led the men of Glamorgan (where the de Clares were the Marcher Lords), but he ultimately submitted to the king, was pardoned, and later became a royal agent in south Wales. The involvement of these three in a revolt, which according to R R Davies took Edward I entirely by surprise,²³ is well attested. However, our chronicler also

¹⁹ See for example, R.R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest. Wales 1063–1415* (Oxford, University Press, repr.2006) pp. 381–85; J.G. Edwards, 'The Battle of Maes Madog and the Welsh War of 1294–5', *English Historical Review*, 39 (1924), 1–12; J.G. Edwards, 'Madog ap Llywelyn, the Welsh Leader in 1294–5', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 13, (1948–50), 207–10; J. Griffiths, 'The Revolt of Madog ap Llywelyn, 1294–5', *Transactions of the Caernarfonshire Historical Society*, 16 (1955), 12–24. See also Ralph A. Griffiths, *Conquerors and Conquered* (St Martin's Press, 1994).

²⁰ Davies, *Age of Conquest*, 382.

²¹ Brooks, art.cit., 148–9. Geoffrey's son Robert, who was ultimately to succeed to his father's holdings in the commotes of Penniarth and Geneurglyn in Ceredigion, was born in 1294, the year of his father's murder.

²² Edward I, who Madog had for a time kept on the defensive at Conway, may have admired his military skills, and therefore spared him from execution.

²³ Davies, *Age of Conquest*, 383.

mentions one Maurice ap David, who led the 'Welsh of Went' (Gwent) in the revolt. According to Brooks, 'none of the annals nor the modern writers on the history of the period' mention him.²⁴ That is certainly true of the *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, where there is no entry for him, and R R Davies does not mention him either. John E Morris, in his *The Welsh Wars of Edward I*, believed that the tenants of John de Hastings, Lord of Abergavenny, did participate in the revolt, but does not mention a leader.²⁵ As Maurice (Meuric) ap David in 1279 sued the burgesses of Abergavenny, and in 1292 is recorded as one of the two chief collectors of subsidy in the lordship, as Brooks points out, this effectively confirms Morris's suspicions, and does indeed strengthen the case for the 1294–5 revolt including an uprising in at least part of Gwent.²⁶ Once again, our chronicler's particular interest in the lordship of Abergavenny, and the Hastings family, is confirmed, in this case in an entry which seems to be unique in the records of the time, adding in small measure to the story of the 1294–5 revolt.

Before quitting the events of 1294–95, our chronicler makes two further entries; the first records, at Michaelmas 1295, what was evidently a reference to the famine of 1294 and 1295, 'mortality of men through hunger, so that their bodies, like the corpses of dogs, lay everywhere unburied'. The Leicester Augustinian Canon and chronicler, Henry of Knyghton, recorded for 1294 a severe famine 'and many thousands of the poor perished' the price of wheat becoming prohibitively high, and for 1295 'this year provided no grain or fruits so that the poor died of hunger.' Henry was writing many years after the event – he died in 1396 – but evidently the famine years had left their indelible mark.²⁷ In Wales the effects of the famine were no doubt exacerbated by the uprisings in those years. The war-bands of Madog, Maelgwn, Morgan and Meuric, however much sympathy there was for their cause, of necessity had to live off the countryside in which they operated – Maelgwn, as noted above, is recorded as 'raiding' in Carmarthen and Pembroke, an activity which would have involved destruction. The same would have been true of the forces ranged against them. Coming on top of the famine, agriculture, husbandry, trade, all would have been severely disrupted by the rising, and the punitive measures which followed its suppression.

The second reference is to the affair of Thomas de Turberville. It was not entirely unconnected with the 1294–5 rising. His parentage is a matter of some doubt; it has been suggested that he was the son of Sir Hugh de Turberville (d.1293),²⁸ he may have been connected with the powerful de Turbervilles of Coity in Glamorgan, or even (and this would have interested our chronicler) with the Henry de Turberville, a trusted adherent of King Henry III, whom the king left in charge of Usk Castle in the 1260s, before it was retaken by Simon de Montfort in 1265.²⁹ Thomas de Turberville also adhered to the cause of Henry III, and was rewarded for his loyalty with a grant of land in Northamptonshire. In the 1280s he was a knight in the household of Edward I, taking part in the war with Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in 1282; in 1286 he was in France with the king, and again in 1294 in John of Brittany's expedition to Gascony. Such is the career of a professional soldier. However, in April 1295, when the forces of John of Brittany suffered a reverse, de Turberville was captured, and between then and August, when he returned to England, he was 'turned' by his French captors.

²⁴ Brooks, art.cit., 148.

²⁵ Oxford, 1901, 279, 281.

²⁶ Brooks, art.cit., 148.

²⁷ For Henry and his work as a chronicler, see *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter cited as ODNB). T.H. Ashton, *Landlords, Peasants and Politics in Medieval England* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 357 makes reference to the impact of this famine.

²⁸ ODNB, sub.nom.

²⁹ C.J.O. Evans, *Monmouthshire. Its History and Topography* (Cardiff, William Lewis, 1953), 513.

Claiming that he had escaped from prison, when in fact he had been released on condition that he spied for the French, his sons being held hostage in Paris to ensure that he kept his part of the bargain. A letter of his to the Provost of Paris was intercepted, and Turberville's treachery came to the attention of Edward I. In it Turberville said that he had reached an agreement with Morgan ap Maredudd, leader of the recently quelled revolt in Glamorgan, that he would head a fresh rising, if the French could persuade the Scots to invade from the north. That, and the fact that when his activities were uncovered, de Turberville attempted to flee to Wales, strengthens the case for a relationship between himself and the Glamorgan Turbervilles. In the event he was arrested on 24 September, 1295, tried in the Court of the King's Bench, and sentenced to death. Our chronicler's record, that Turberville was 'drawn and hanged', is accurate, completely in accord with the sentence handed down by the Chief Justice. Turberville 'was probably the first man in England to be executed for spying'.³⁰ News of his treachery, and his punishment, received widespread publicity, including a popular song or poem, and such may have been the source of our chronicler's record of the event.³¹

The revolt of 1294–5 and its aftermath has left tangible evidence in Monmouthshire. The castle at Usk, which had certainly proved vulnerable in the 1260s, and had thereafter been strengthened by Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, was, it would seem, subsequently to be supplanted by the new, ambitious castle at Tregrug, Llangybi, on its all-but impregnable site.³² At Monmouth, not only was the town wall strengthened, but the justly famous gate-tower on the bridge was constructed, and at Abergavenny the somewhat rudimentary and certainly antiquated defences of the castle improved by the de Hastings family. Meuric ap David's uprising with 'the Welsh of Went' had shaken the confidence of the lords of Usk, Monmouth and Abergavenny.

The record then moves on to events in the turbulent and unhappy reign of Edward II (1307–1327), beginning with the stark entry for 1312, 'Piers de Gaveston was beheaded.' Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall (c. 1284–1312) is the notorious favourite of Edward II, promoted and ennobled by the king, who in 1307 had arranged his marriage with Margaret, sister and after 1314 co-heiress of the last de Clare Earl of Hertford and Gloucester, who fell at Bannockburn in that year. Gaveston had been banished from the court by Edward I, but was recalled by Edward II. As C J O Evans succinctly put it, his 'insolence, sarcastic pleasantries, and extravagance exhausted the patience of all the court'. Banished again, but recalled again, he fell into the hands of his enemies, and was executed.³³ Gaveston's, admittedly short-lived, association with the de Clare family and its holdings

³⁰ ODNB. See also J.G. Edwards, 'The treason of Thomas Turberville', *Studies in medieval history presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, ed. R.W. Hunt, et al., (Oxford, 1948), 296–309.

³¹ P.R. Coss (ed), *Thomas Wright's 'Political Songs of England from the reign of John to that of Edward II'* (Cambridge, University Press, 1996), 278–81.

³² In the event, the evidence suggests that the castle, begun on an impressive scale, was never completed. The argument advanced by D.J. Cathcart King and J. Clifford Perks in their paper 'Llangibby Castle', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, CV (1956), 96–132, that the work was initiated by the last De Clare Earl of Gloucester between 1307, when he gained control of his estates, and 1314, when he was killed at Bannockburn, is persuasive, and, although a decade after the uprising, doesn't undermine the argument that it was part of the Marcher Lords' response to it.

³³ Evans, *Monmouthshire*, p. 89. Margaret subsequently married Hugh d'Audley the younger, who in right of his wife became Lord of Wentloog and Newport. The de Clare earldom of Gloucester was later revived in his favour (1337).

in Gwent, as well as his notoriety, would have been sufficient for the record of his execution by Edward II's exasperated barons to be included in the chronicle.³⁴

Four years later, in 1316, came the revolt in Glamorgan of Llywelyn Bren. After the death of Earl Gilbert of Gloucester in 1314 without male heirs, Edward II had placed his vast estates in administration, the lordship of Glamorgan being given into the custody of Sir Payn de Turberville of Coity. The harshness of his administration, during yet another period of hardship and famine, provoked the Lord of Senghenydd, Llywelyn Bren, to protest to the king. Edward's response was (typically) high-handed and misjudged; he refused to listen to the complaints, upheld de Turberville, and threatened Llywelyn with punishment. Perhaps in desperation, in January, 1316 Llywelyn rose in revolt, and laid siege to Caerphilly, the massive and all-but-impregnable castle constructed by Gilbert 'the Red', Earl of Gloucester (d.1295), and sacked the poorly defended and antiquated castles at Kenfig and Llantrisant. Fearing that the uprising might spread, as it had in 1294–5, Edward II responded with overwhelming force, under the leadership of his brother-in-law, Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford.³⁵ Faced with such a force, and knowing that resistance would be futile, Llywelyn submitted to the Earl, and was imprisoned in the Tower of London. It is to be suspected that Earl Humphrey had some sympathy with Llywelyn's case; certainly the Mortimer family did, as they promised to intercede on his behalf, and in the aftermath of the revolt Payn de Turberville was removed from office, and replaced by the more sympathetic and emollient John Giffard. At this point the rising star at Edward's court, Hugh le Despenser the younger, who through his marriage with one of the De Clare co-heiresses, had gained control of the lordship of Glamorgan, and was beginning 'through royal indulgence and his own utterly unscrupulous methods'³⁶ to lay the foundations of a 'remarkable empire which stretched virtually unbroken from the Wye to the Teifi, from Castle Goodrich to Pembroke'.³⁷ No doubt seeing the chance of seizing control of Llywelyn's lordship of Senghenydd, Despenser had him removed from the Tower to his own castle at Cardiff, and there, without a proper trial, he was executed by being hung, drawn and quartered. This outrage was a contributory factor to the Earl of Hereford's increasing alienation from his brother-in-law, and animosity towards Despenser, which came to fruition in 1321–2. Interestingly, although our chronicler records the 1316 revolt 'against the king's peace', he omits any mention of Llywelyn's subsequent submission and execution.

The discontent with Hugh le Despenser, perhaps the epitome of the 'over-mighty subject', and the thrall in which he held Edward II, erupted into revolt in 1321, an uprising, sometimes called 'the Despenser War', which was spearheaded by the king's cousin, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster (c. 1278–1322),³⁸ and the king's brother-in-law, Earl Humphrey of Hereford. Both were Marcher Lords, Thomas as Lord of Denbigh, and Humphrey as Lord of Brecon. (Perhaps of more interest to our chronicler is the fact that the Lancaster family held the lordship of the Three Castles – Skenfrith, Grosmont and White Castle – which adjoined that of Abergavenny.) Both barons were threatened by the creeping control in the Marches, and elsewhere in Wales, of Despenser. The revolt, as with

³⁴ For Gaveston, see Pierre Chaplais, *Piers Gaveston. Edward II's Adoptive Brother* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1994), 88. According to Chaplais, Gaveston, who had surrendered at Scarborough Castle to the barons who had risen in revolt, barons who included the earls of Lancaster and Hereford, was subsequently sentenced to death by them at Warwick Castle, the execution being carried out by two unnamed Welshmen at Blacklaw, a possession of Earl Thomas of Lancaster, on 19th June 1312.

³⁵ Earl Humphrey was married to Elizabeth of Rhuddlan, daughter of Edward I.

³⁶ Davies, *Age of Conquest*, 405.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Earl Thomas was a grandson of Henry III, his father being Edmund 'Crouchback', 1st Earl of Lancaster.

that of Llywelyn Bren, was doomed to failure. It culminated in the Battle of Boroughbridge, a short distance from York on 16 March, 1322, where, their forces hopelessly outnumbered, Lancaster was captured, and Hereford killed.³⁹

The 'reign' at Edward II's court of the Despensers, father and son, was not to be of long duration. Discontent and hostility festered, including the alienation of Edward's queen, Isabella, who withdrew to France, and planned an invasion to once and for all rid the realm of their hegemony. Prominent among her supporters was the Marcher Lord Roger de Mortimer, who was soon to be, if not already, her lover. Mortimer (1287–1330) had been born at Wigmore Castle, and through his marriage to Joan de Geneville had acquired widespread possessions in the Welsh Marches. He had supported Humphrey, Earl of Hereford, in the abortive 1322 rising, and had been imprisoned for a while as a result. Now he was, with Henry of Lancaster, among those who spearheaded the 1326 invasion. In response, Edward II, with the Despensers, moved west, intending to rally the Welsh, but although the king retained some residual popularity in Wales, the Despensers did not. Hugh the Elder, Earl of Winchester, was captured when the castle of Bristol surrendered to the invaders, and was executed. Edward and the younger Despenser fled into south Wales, moving from castle to castle and abbey to abbey, until they were arrested by Henry, Earl of Leicester, the brother of Thomas of Lancaster, and taken to Monmouth Castle. Despenser was subsequently executed at Hereford, and the king, declared deposed early in 1327, was imprisoned in Berkeley Castle in July, and there died, almost certainly by being put to death by his captors, the date being officially given as 21st September, which is exactly that recorded by our chronicler.⁴⁰

From 1327 until 1330, the new king, Edward III being still a minor, the governance of England was in effect in the hands of Roger Mortimer, now Earl of March. During those years, his rapacity and arrogance, which, ironically mirrored that of the Despensers he had done so much to overthrow, progressively alienated him both from the young king, and from leading members of the baronage, especially after he engineered the show-trial and execution of Edward's popular uncle, the earl of Kent, in 1329. With the connivance of the king, in October 1330 he was arrested at Nottingham Castle, tried, briefly imprisoned in the Tower of London, and in the following month, executed. Again our chronicler is accurate in his record: 'AD 1330, 29th November, Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, was drawn and hanged at London.' Mortimer had indeed, whilst living, been dragged ('drawn') for the nearly two miles between the Tower and Tyburn, and there hanged, his body being left for some time on the gallows.⁴¹ The fate of Mortimer would have been of particular interest to our chronicler. The death of John de Hastings in 1325 had left the lordship of Abergavenny to a five year old boy, his son Lawrence, who, being a ward of the Crown, it meant that from 1327 to 1330 it

³⁹ The chronicler gives the date 22nd March for the execution of Earl Thomas, at his own castle of Pontefract, which is accurate, but the year 1321. This seeming discrepancy is explained by the fact that the year then began on 25th March (Lady Day) and not 1st January, so the chronicler is correct. However, he gives the date of 24th November, 1321 as the date of the Earl of Hereford's death, which is incorrect, as de Bohun, as we have seen and is elsewhere recorded, fell at Boroughbridge. For Earl Thomas and the 1321–2 revolt, see J.R. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster 1307–1322. A Study in the Reign of Edward II* (Oxford, University Press, 1970), and J.C. Davies, 'The Despenser War in Glamorgan', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3rd. series, IX (1915), 21–64.

⁴⁰ This was the 'official' date of the king's death. Ian Mortimer, in his life of Roger Mortimer, *The Greatest Traitor* (London, Vintage Books, 2010 ed.) argues the case that Edward II did not die at Berkeley in 1327, but in Lombardy more than a decade later – something that was known to his son Edward III.

⁴¹ Mortimer, op.cit., 240–41.

was in the custody and under the control of Mortimer, especially as Lawrence had been married to Roger's daughter, Agnes, in 1328.

John, Lord Hastings (1287–1325) had taken a strong personal interest in the Benedictine priory at Abergavenny, founded c. 1100 as a dependency of the abbey of St Vincent at Le Mans, seeking to arrange for the French monks there to be replaced by English.⁴² The major rebuilding of the priory church can with some confidence be attributed to him. His notable wooden effigy survives, bearing close similarity to that of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke (d.1324) in Westminster Abbey – perhaps not altogether surprisingly, as John, Lord Hastings father, Sir John de Hastings (1262–1312/13) had been married, as his first wife, to Isabel, daughter of William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke. Hastings and Valence were thus related, and it is far from improbable that the two effigies, of similar date, were the work of the same artist.

Lawrence, once he attained his majority, was largely an absentee from his Abergavenny lordship, pursuing an active military career both on land and at sea in the service of Edward III, who created him Earl of Pembroke in 1339, reviving in his favour the earldom previously held by his kinsman, Aymer de Valence. He was with the English fleet at the decisive Battle of Sluys on the 24th June, 1340, and commanded the fleet at the victory over the French at Crotoy in 1347. Only then did he settle at Abergavenny, where his son and heir John was born in that year.

The final entries in the chronicle, for the year 1348, concern the death of the same Lawrence, 'about 29th August'. To this is linked the 'mortality of men at Bergeveny, and in the following year in the parts of England', a reference to what is familiarly known as 'the Black Death'. As Lawrence is known to have died at Abergavenny Castle, and that his illegitimate half-brother, Sir William de Hastings, whose lands lay within the eastern part of the Abergavenny lordship, died in the same year, it is fair to assume that both succumbed in the pandemic. Both are buried in Abergavenny Priory Church, in tombs bearing effigies which are among the finest which survive there. The last words of this final entry are of interest: 'and in the year of grace the mortality ceased'. A possible interpretation might be, therefore, that this short chronicle was initially compiled in 1350, and that the 'mortality' referred to was the outbreak in Abergavenny itself. The phrase 'the year of grace' is frustratingly vague, as it could refer to a specific year, i.e. 'the year of grace, 1350', or to *this* year, the year in which such-and-such an event occurred.

The researches of Professor William Rees revealed that the 1348–49 outbreak of the plague entered Wales both through the port towns of the south west, as might be expected, given their trading links with mainland Europe, and also through the lordships of the south-eastern March. By the spring of 1349 it was well established in the lordship of Abergavenny, and from there spread into those of Usk, Monmouth and the Three Castles.⁴³ By the autumn of 1349 the outbreak was past its peak, and effectively over by 1350. In this respect, again, the chronicler is accurate.

Two questions remain to be discussed, namely, the date and place of the compilation of this short chronicle, and how it came to be transcribed into a manuscript of 'Piers Plowman'. As Brooks pointed out in his 1951 article, many, but not all, of the entries are to be found elsewhere; for example, the reference to the murder of Geoffrey Clement also appears in the Peniarth 20 manuscript of the *Brut y Tywysogion*,⁴⁴ which also mentions the leaders of the revolt in north, west and south Wales.

⁴² This resulted in a legal dispute which had not been settled by the time of his death.

⁴³ William Rees, 'The Black Death in Wales', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3, 1920, 115–135. See also R.R. Davies, 'Plague and Revolt' in Ralph A. Griffiths (ed), *Gwent County History, volume 2, The Age of the Marcher Lords* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2008).

⁴⁴ Brooks, art.cit., 148.

The likelihood is, therefore, that our chronicler had access to other sources, and selected from them items of particular interest to the place in which he was writing. Having examined the evidence, Brooks came to the firm conclusion that it ‘points to Abergavenny as having the best claim to the writer of the Trinity annals,’⁴⁵ a conclusion that is strengthened by the fact that only our chronicler mentions by name the leader of the ‘Welsh of Went’ in the 1294–5 uprising, includes the death of Lawrence de Hastings, and records the presence of the plague in the lordship of Abergavenny slightly earlier than it occurred elsewhere.

Although, as Brooks points out, the chronicler left space in his manuscript for further entries after those for 1348–9, none were made; the space was subsequently filled up with what he calls ‘some pious saws’.⁴⁶ As, for example, there is no reference to the ‘Second Pestilence’ of 1369, which was particularly severe in Monmouthshire,⁴⁷ the likelihood is, as Brooks asserts, that the transcriber of the chronicles into the Piers Plowman manuscript had no documentary evidence before him of anything after 1349. This would point to the fact that the *original* short set of annals dated from somewhere between 1350 and 1369, with the earlier date being the more probable. There are common threads running through the entries; one is violation of what the chronicler calls ‘the king’s peace’, and that is illustrated by the entries for 1265, 1294, 1315 and 1321. Related to that is the pre-occupation with death in one form or another, both of individuals, and for 1295 and 1348, through outbreaks of famine and plague. The most predominant thread, however, as Brooks pointed out, and this paper has sought to elucidate, is concern with events and personalities connected with the lordship of Abergavenny, which strongly suggests that the original set of annals was compiled by a monk of the Benedictine priory there, and in its scriptorium.

However, Trinity College, Dublin MS. 212 does not contain the original set of annals; that has been lost. MS. 212, on the evidence of the script itself, dates rather from the late fourteenth or, at the latest, the early fifteenth century.⁴⁸ The writing of the text of ‘Piers Plowman’, of the annals, and of the famous entry which follows the annals, identifying the poet as William Langland, is so similar that Brooks was prepared to hazard the conclusion that they are all by the same hand.⁴⁹ This raises the intriguing possibility that MS. 212 was itself created in the Abergavenny scriptorium, thus presupposing that an original C-text of Piers Plowman was in the priory library, at least for a time, and long enough for it to be copied. Schmidt dates the C-text to the mid-1380s,⁵⁰ and rightly points out that ‘the copying of so long a work would have been an expensive undertaking’, which goes some way to explaining why the surviving manuscripts are careful but modest transcriptions.⁵¹ Such would have been within the resources of a priory such as Abergavenny. That MS. 212 dates from a few years after the original composition of the poem would place it during the rule at Abergavenny of Prior William Petrowe (1371–87 and 1400–17), or perhaps even more likely during the years 1387–1400 when the House was in the custody of John Eweas, Petrowe for some reason being disabled from actively holding office. Eweas’ surname would indicate an origin in southern Herefordshire; thus probably a local man who himself might well have been interested in annals concerned primarily with the locality. If MS. 212 had been composed elsewhere than Abergavenny,

⁴⁵ Ibid., 151.

⁴⁶ Brooks, art.cit., 145.

⁴⁷ Rees, art.cit., 124.

⁴⁸ Brooks, art.cit., 144.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 144.

⁵⁰ Schmidt, xxiii.

⁵¹ Ibid., xxiii-xxiv.

there would have been very little reason, if any, for including so locally focused a set of annals in it; they would have been of scant interest anywhere else.

When the manuscript left Abergavenny is unknown. Brooks says that 'so far its history remains a blank from the time it was written at the beginning of the fifteenth century to the date of Lyon's catalogue (c. 1745; i.e. of the manuscripts in Trinity College Library) in which it is first listed.'⁵² His conclusion is that 'Some monastic annals, extending to the year 1348 and perhaps belonging to the priory of Abergavenny, were available to a scribe writing some fifty years later, about the turn of the fourteenth-fifteenth century, or early fifteenth century. He copied these on the last folio of a text of *Piers Plowman* made soon after the completion of that text (c. 1393). And it is possible that this beautifully written manuscript also belonged to the priory of Abergavenny.'⁵³ There is no reason to quarrel with that verdict. When it left Abergavenny, and when and how Trinity College, Dublin acquired it, are questions it is not possible to answer. The upheavals of the Glyndŵr uprising between September, 1400 and 1415 caused widespread disruption and destruction, not least in respect of the priories and abbeys of Wales, and the fifteenth century saw the sale of manuscripts from monastic libraries as communities attempted to recover and balance their books. MS. 212 could, therefore, have left Abergavenny sometime in the fifteenth century. Or, perhaps, it went at the time of the dissolution of the monastery in the reign of Henry VIII, passing into private hands, to emerge again into recorded history in Dublin in the mid-eighteenth century. Whatever is the truth, and the undoubted importance of the manuscript in literary history, it is certainly of significance for that of the south-eastern Marches, of the 'Welsh of Went', and of the lordship of Abergavenny in particular.

⁵² Brooks, art.cit., 144.

⁵³ Brooks, art.cit., 153.

MONMOUTHSHIRE'S PARISH AND MANORIAL BOUNDARY MARKS

By David H. Williams¹

In the centuries in England and Wales long before the amalgamation of the individual strips of lands of the open fields into fenced or hedged units, during the enclosure movements of Tudor times and, more markedly, of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, small land owners needed to be able to delineate that which belonged to them. This might be done by setting up a boundary stone, casting a surrounding bank or leaving a narrow edge uncultivated. It was a practice potentially open to abuse, by neighbouring owners wishing to extend their territory.

That such happened in biblical times finds several mentions in the Old Testament. The Israelites were commanded 'not to remove your neighbour's landmark, which the men of old have set' (*Deuteronomy 19*, v. 14; *Proverbs 22*, v. 28). The practice was long continued, Job noted that 'Men remove landmarks' (*Job 24*, v. 2), whilst the prophet Hosea told of the iniquity of the offence: 'The princes of Judah have become like those who remove the landmark; upon them I will pour out my wrath like water' (*Hosea 5*, v. 10). The practice was condemned utterly: 'Cursed be he who removes his neighbour's landmark' (*Deuteronomy 27*, v. 17): an anathema repeated in the Ash-Wednesday Communion Service of the 1549 and 1662 Books of Common Prayer.

The enclosure of former strips, and the advanced methods of modern farming, have largely long removed any visible traces of their boundaries, save for the potential evidence afforded by geophysical survey. Not so entirely, however, in the case of parish boundaries, ecclesiastical or civil. It has long been thought that the church orientated 'parish' in England and Wales originated with the organising ability of Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury, who died around AD 690. Another view is that the 'parish' had its roots much earlier in the relations in Teutonic times evolving between landlord and pagan priest.

The term 'parish' stems from the Greek word *λαρικήα*, meaning a 'district', and later translating into the Latin term *parochia*. The ecclesiastical 'parish' has been from Anglo-Saxon times onwards an integral part of religious and, indeed, human life: the acknowledged pastoral district of a rector or vicar to whom tithes and other dues would be payable, and having a church where each parishioner had the right to receive spiritual services. The civil parish or 'township' was, especially in rural areas, coterminous with the ecclesiastical division, and formed a convenient framework for the administration of such duties as obligations under the poor laws. The larger parishes might have both a workhouse and a beadle.

The church parish also meant something further to individual 'parishioners': the right to be buried in the churchyard, hence many a tombstone has borne an affectionate phrase, such as 'Thomas Jones, of this Parish.' Its importance in people's lives led in some areas to the Rogation-tide practice of 'beating the bounds,' by no means entirely a thing of the past. Priests, churchwardens, and their people, would process around the boundaries chanting psalms and hymns, and checking for any boundary marks falsely moved. Alas for them, the accompanying boys might be beaten at a boundary stone or thumped against it, so that they never forgot where the limits of their parish lay!

There is evidence for this practice in Monmouthshire. Bradney records 'A Survey of the Boundaries of the Parish of Penhow as they were walked by the Minister and parishioners of

¹ References to Bradney, J.A., *History of Monmouthshire*, can be taken as referring to either the original edition [London: Mitchell, Hughes & Clarke, 1906], or to the reprinted edition [Cardiff: Merton Priory Press, 1994]. The pagination is the same.

the parish on Thursday the 14th day of May in the year of Our Lord 1724, being Holy Thursday [Ascension Day],’ and the bounds were set out in detail. Was it an annual event, or an occasional one, for the next survey on record comes precisely fifty years later? : ‘Be it remembered that on Wednesday the 1st day of June 1774 [that year, the Wednesday after Trinity Sunday], we the Minister and other inhabitants of the parish of Penhow by a survey or perambulation of the parish, do find that the survey taken in 1724 is a true and exact description of the meers and boundaries of the parish.’ This indeed suggests that no survey had taken place since 1724.²

The most reliable guides to parish boundaries are the tithe apportionment maps of the 1840s. It must be noted that quite a number of these do not indicate boundary marks, whilst frequently tithe maps are not orientated due north, though a compass bearing is always shown. On the Clytha tithe map, the north indicator points in what would normally be the north-west direction. The other important sources for research are the Ordnance Survey first edition Six-Inch Maps, mostly (for Gwent) compiled between 1880 and 1900. They often confirm the locations given on the tithe maps, add further information, and indicate changes over time.

Several surveys were made by landowners of the bounds of their manors. There might be more than one small manor within the confines of a parish, but great landowners would have several parishes within the limits of a technically-termed ‘manor’. So it was that when, in 1631, a survey was made of the Manor of Abercarn, at the behest of the proprietor, Philip, fourth earl of Pembroke, it was noted that ‘the lordship of Abercarn extendith within the several parishes of Henllys, Bassaleg, Bettws, Michaelston-iuxta-Llantarnam [Llanfihangel Llantarnam], Machen, Mynyddislwyn and Bedwellty. Its ‘several mears, circuits, butts and bounds’ commenced at ‘Pont Wayne’ [Pont-y-Waun: NGR: ST 234929]]. Several streams found mention in its bounds, and within the broader manor, the ‘manor of Mynyddislwyn’ found mention of the rivers Ebbw and Sirhowy, and of “Crumlyn’s bridge” [Crumlin: ST 213985].³

Such surveys reveal the variety of boundary marks which might be employed. That undertaken of the parish of Llanvaches in 1677 is typical: the survey led ‘to a mear stone with a hole in it .. to an ash tree ..to a well .. to a mear stone with a hole in it .. to a stile .. to a stone bridge .. to a willow tree .. to the way that leadeth to the headless cross ...’.⁴ That same year the survey of the Manor of Trelech ordered by Philip Herbert, seventh earl of Pembroke followed a like pattern, as described below. Indeed, a ‘mere’ or boundary might be a stone, a post, a tree, a roadway, a stream, or even a strip of unploughed land.

A perambulation of the boundary of Llantarnam parish and the Manor of Magna Porta was undertaken at intervals in the early-nineteenth century, though the copy is not always dated, at the behest of the landowner, Mr Reginald Blewitt of Llantarnam Abbey. No specific details are given, save the names of those who participated. In 1824 the persons involved were: William Giles, churchwarden; Thomas James, overseer of the poor; William Williams, surveyor of the roads, Thomas James, junior, and James Jones, clerk. In 1831 the company included John Thomas, the woodward to Mr Blewitt, but also the woodward to Sir Benjamin Hall (owner of Abercarn Manor). This because, as noted later, the boundary was in dispute. A list was made of others ‘likely to give information and to be seen.’⁵

² Bradney, J.A. *History of Monmouthshire* 4, *Hundred of Caldicot*, Part 2, 198–99.

³ Bradney 5, *Hundred of Newport*, ed. M. Gray (South Wales Record Society, 1993), 138.

⁴ Bradney 4, *Hundred of Caldicot*, Part 2, 185–86.

⁵ National Library of Wales, Tredegar Estate 157/679.

Three manors coalesced on Mynydd Maen: Machen/Tredegar (pertaining to Charles Morgan), Abercarn (owned by Sir Benjamin Hall), and Mr Blewitt's Magna Porta/Llantarnam Manor (Fig. 1). The Tredegar Estate records contain details of a further undated elaborate survey, probably of 1844, taking in the western boundaries of Bedwellty Common, Machen Mountain, and elsewhere. After much correspondence and surveys, allegations of trespass by one party or another, of the improper placing of boundary pegs on Mynydd Maen, and a suggestion that the tithe apportionment map surveyor had made an error, on 10 August 1844 Mr Blewitt expressed his satisfaction at being able to reach agreement on his boundary with Sir Charles Morgan and Mr Hanson.⁶

A sketch map worthy of note was made around 1800 or 1820 to define the boundary between the parishes of Ifton, to the west, and Rogiet, to the east, and stretching from Temple Stile (not easy now to locate) southwards to the Bristol Channel (Fig. 2). Part of the lower course – along Middle Pill and Temple Pill, can be identified on the six-inch map (surveyed in 1880/1881), but further north the boundary seems to have by then altered. More than that, coastal erosion clearly took place in the intervening period.⁷

A commonplace boundary was an adjacent *river* or *stream*. Llangatwg-iuxta-Caerleon (Caerleon, in fact) had for its southern boundary the River Usk; on the east, the Sôr Brook, and partly on the west, the Candwr brook. The parishes of Bedwellty and of Machen were in large measure bounded by the Rhymney river on the west; by the Ebbw on the east. The Sirhowy river passed by the western and southern borders of Mynyddislwyn. Llantilio Crossenny had the River Trothy on its western and southern boundary, into which flowed the Tre-rhew brook marking part of its northern border, and an un-named tributary delineating its eastern bound. The parish of Usk was sandwiched between the river Usk to the west, the Alway brook to the east. The parish of Llanddewi Fach had for its western border the Candwr brook, and for its eastern boundary the Sôr brook.

Where a river formed a parish boundary, the *bridges* straddling it also became markers. Thus, crossing the river Trothy and marking the eastern limits of Llanvetherine, stood from north to south: Pont Gilbert (SO 37101779), Pontycollin Bridge (SO 37111637) and Trothy Bridge (SO 37131411). Lying on the same boundary, slightly south-west of Great Pool Hall, the tithe-map and six-inch map (though not the 1: 25,000 map), note a *pond* (SO 37061863) and a *stone* (SO 36871811). Pont-garreg spans the Mynachdy brook of the western confines of Llanddewi Skirrid (SO 33441627). Bridges shown on the tithe-map for Rockfield, straddling the Monnow on the eastern bounds of the parish, were Tregate Bridge (SO 47711733) and Tump Bridge (SO 48141494); this last nowadays called Rockfield Bridge. Other named bridges included Pont Sir David, crossing the river Ebbw on the eastern boundary of Bedwellty (SO 29890126), and Pont-y-mister, on the eastern border of Machen parish, lending its name to later settlement and industry nearby (ST 24578956).

In the marshland of Caldicot and Wentloog Levels, *artificial watercourses* – the 'reens', commonly formed parish boundaries. Marshfield was bounded on the west by Little Green Lane reen; on the south-west by Wood Ditch reen; on the south-east by Drenewydd reen, and on part of its eastern limit by Tyny Brwyn reen. St Bride's, Wentloog, had for its borders Pear Coed reen on the north; Old Dairy reen on the east; Wharf reen on the west, and the Bristol Channel on the south. Peterstone, Wentloog, was bounded by Green Lane reen on the west; Wood Ditch reen on the north; Hawst reen on the east and south-east; the Bristol Channel to the south. Redwick's northern-east

⁶ Ibid. 157/ 664, 668, 671. This series [157/664–686] also mentions quarrying on Mynydd Maen [667, 683], and gives a fine plan of Medart Wood [678] and of Heol-ddu [674].

⁷ National Library of Wales, Tredegar 934 140/1/1 (of perhaps around 1820); cf. 933 132/3/48 (perhaps from about 1800).

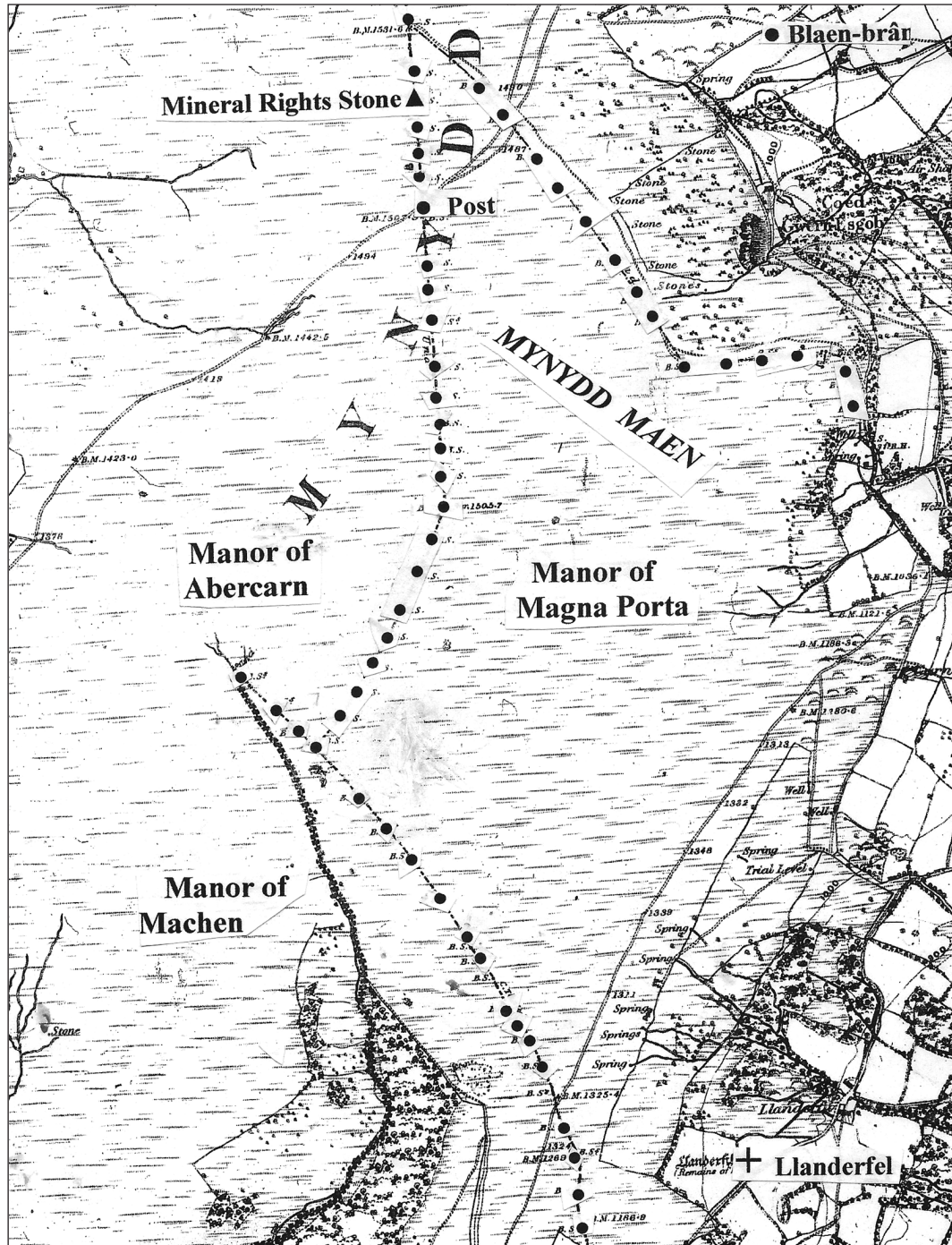


Fig. 1. The three manors on Mynydd Maen: Machen/Tredegar (pertaining to Charles Morgan), Abercarn (owned by Sir Benjamin Hall), and Mr Blewitt's Magna Porta/Llantarnam Manor. (Ordnance Survey 6 Inch Map, surveyed 1881).

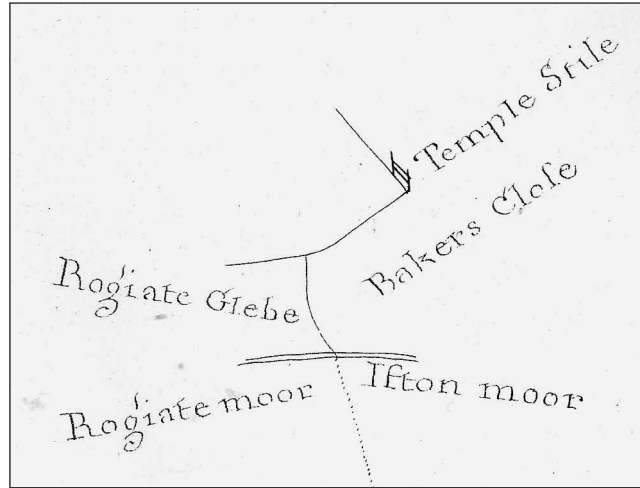


Fig. 2. 1820 plan of 'The bounds between the parishes of Rogiet and Ifton, from Temple Stile to the Bristol Channel.' NLW, Tredegar 933, 132/3/48; 934, 140/1/1. The stile may have stood at NGR: ST 46288786.

boundary was a track adjacent to a 'rush wall' (ST 8463 to 8529), named so on both the tithe-map and modern-day mapping. The term 'wall' on the marshes simply alluded to a 'division,' or 'limit', perhaps even a ditch, not necessarily to an upstanding structure. There are historic references to Annes Wall and Beack Wall in Magor (1569), and to Grenemore Wall in Redwick (1572).⁸

Geographers, like myself, know that with meandering a river may, especially in storm time, change its course, even if ever so slightly. Where this has happened since parish limits were fixed, the boundary – always jealously guarded by parishioners and local landowners, may diverge from the river. An obvious example of this is at Newbridge-on-Wye. Although not made clear on the new 1:25,000 maps, both the Tredunnoch tithe map (1842) and the Six-Inch Ordnance Survey map (1886) show the eastern boundary of that parish to depart for a time from the river and follow the course of a previous meander. Even more dramatic, a little further north, is the western boundary of Llanllowell diverting from the river to follow an ancient meander encircling Pen-carreg farm (Fig. 3).

Changes in the course of the river Usk are also evidenced by the boundary between Llanover and Llangattock-nigh-Usk (Fig. 4), diverting southwards of the river, where it was (on the tithe-map) marked by a series of marker trees stretching from a thorn [SO 32830946], followed eastwards in succession by a willow (SO 3280942), apple tree (32930939), ash (33020918), elm (33210931), a tree root (33520936), ash (31580937), poplar (33630937), concluding with three willows (33690931 to 33810918). Similar change is possibly responsible for the curious boundary between the parishes of Llantrissant and Llangibby resulting in the gap between the Llantrissant tithe-map and the river and its western neighbour, between the present-day course of the River Usk and the Llantrissant Brook, to the south of Coed y Prior and to the west of the parish church, between Lady Pool and Pwll y Llwnch (between ST 38709738 and ST 38759644). The former course of the river Monnow is witnessed on the tithe-map between the parishes of Oldcastle to the west and Clodock and Walterstone to the east, by several minor deviations southwards from SO 32912594 to 33182378.

⁸ NLW, Badminton Deeds, Group 1, 170, 254, respectively.

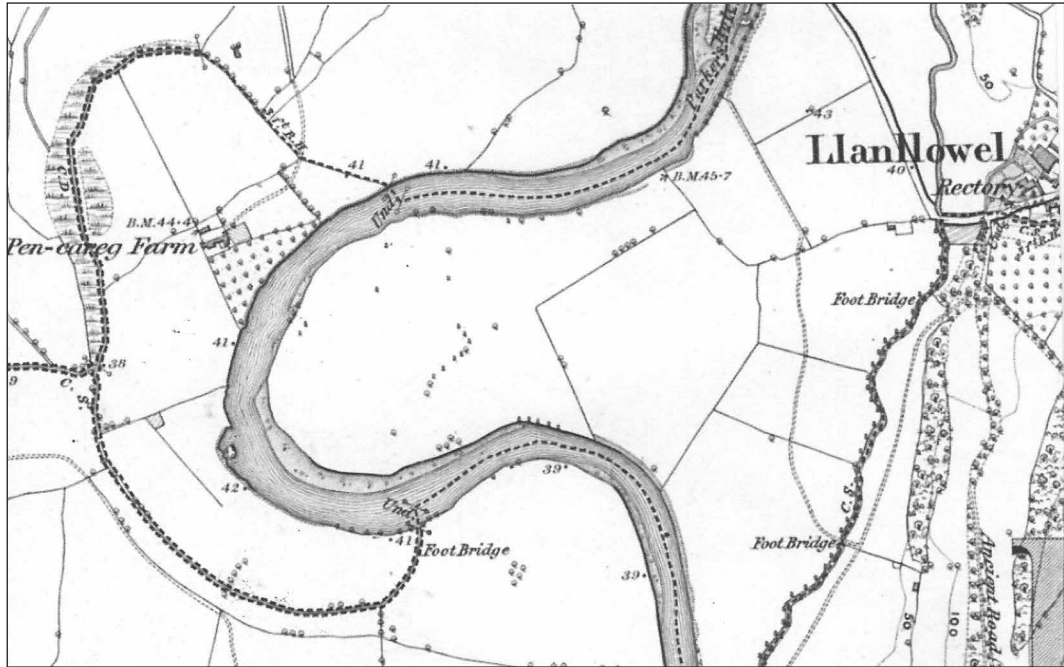


Fig. 3. The western boundary of the parish of Llanllowel continues to follow an abandoned meander of the river Usk. (*Ordnance Survey 6 Inch Map, surveyed 1881*).

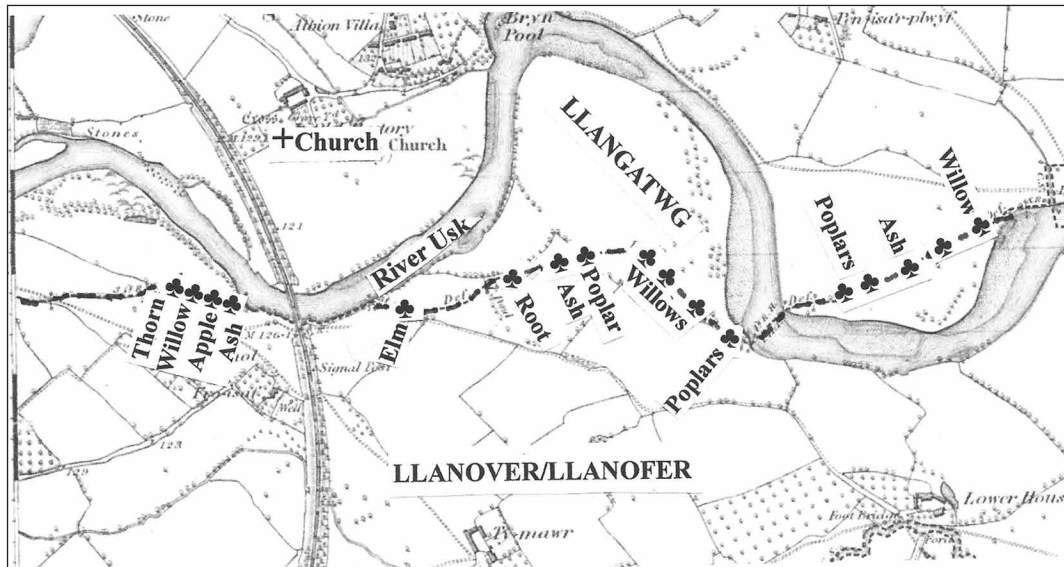


Fig. 4. The boundary between the parishes of Llangatwg-nigh-Usk and Llanover, marked by a variety of trees on the tithe man of 1842, would suggest changes in the course of the River Usk over time. (*Ordnance Survey 6 Inch Map, surveyed 1881*).

There is a further deviation by the river Monnow on the boundary of Mitchel Troy, adjacent to Troy House, and two more on the border of Grosmont with Llancillo.

Wells and springs might lie on the bounds of a parish, as in the case of Llanvaches: The Nine Wells, on its border with Newchurch parish (ST 425946). Bridewell is marked on the boundary of Llanfair Discoed (ST 43069369). Another well (ST 44679359) and a spring (ST 45399205) are marked on its borders. A well marked the northernmost extension of Gwehelog Fawr, where the modern boundary now slightly differs from that shown on the hamlet's tithe-map (SO 38360541); another lay on the northern boundary of Llanellen (immediately north of the former homestead of Cefn-golen, SO 27731131): the Llanfoist map names it "David's Well." It does not appear on the 2½" map. "The Black Sow's Well" was named on the tithe map as being on the border between Newchurch and Shirenewton parishes (ST 45119681), but there is another well of the same name, not on a boundary, marked on the 2½ inch map in Wentwood (ST 43789407).

A 'strong spring' lay on the western border of Llanwenarth adjacent to Cwm-cegyr (SO 25451746). A spring lay on the south-eastern boundary of Llangattock-Vibon-Avel (SO47231092). Two springs lay on the border of Llanwenarth, close to the summit of the Sugar Loaf mountain (SO 28381866 and 28421868). A spring might also be sited on the edge of an individual plot of land, like Ffynnon Wynhayll in Wolvesnewton (1537); it was that parish's holy well.⁹ Occasionally *other natural features* might form a marker, as Edmund's Tump at a height of 1389 feet on a southerly extension of Skenfrith parish (SO 40382107).

Boundary Stones formed relatively stable markers, with a degree of permanency. Frequently they were alluded to as 'mear stones', deriving from the Old Teutonic word *mere*, itself emanating from the Latin *murus* = 'wall'. Less frequently boundary stones might be referred to by the Middle English term as 'dool' or 'dole' stones. The use of mear stones comes to the fore in the fulsome survey of the Manor of Trelech, which included no less than eleven parishes and parts of three others, was that undertaken by the seventh Earl of Pembroke, Philip Herbert, in 1677.¹⁰ Along the bounds are noted 'a place formerly called the Monk's Cross'; 'a place called the Resting Stone'; 'a place called Lawrence Bead, being an ancient mear stone which lieth upon the bank of the Wye'; and 'a great stone that lieth upon the bank side of the Wye near to Ashweir', and a further stone that 'lieth in the street there between the houses of the Earl of Pembroke and the Marquis of Worcester': 'all which mear stones lie but a small distance from each other, and do divide the parishes of Chapel Hill and Tintern.'

Both the Henllys and Llantarnam tithe-maps, as well as the later first edition of the Ordnance Survey Six-Inch map (Fig. 1), portray a proliferation of boundary stones on Mynydd Maen. Mostly these mark the border between the Manor of Abercarn and the parish of Machen to the west and the Manor of Magna Porta and the parish of Llantarnam on the east. They all relate to early-mid nineteenth century date, whilst a few surviving stones give specific evidence of their nature. At least one stone has the letters *MP* engraved on the north-east side (for Magna Porta), the south-west facing side bears the letter *M* (for Machen). These were the stones set up in the autumn of 1844 following Mr Blewitt's agreement with Charles Morgan; their raising cost some £6.¹¹ Another stone has *ABC* on its west face (for the Manor of Abercarn), and *MP* on its east face (for Magna Porta).

On the same boundary yet another stone (Fig. 1) differentiates between the mineral rights of Benjamin Hall later Lord Llanover, who died in 1867 (and is marked *BH* on the south side) and

⁹ NLW, Badminton Deed, Group 1, 1268.

¹⁰ Bradney, 2, Part 2, *Hundred of Trellech*, 132–134.

¹¹ National Library of Wales, Tredegar Estate 657/664.

of Capel Hanbury Leigh who died in 1861, (and is engraved *CHL* on the north side). Underneath those initial letters is the inscription: 'Boundary of Minerals Settled by Act of Parliament 1839.' The carving suggests that a J. Mackintosh may have been the stone mason.¹² On the Abercarn boundary, at Blaencarn, stood a more ancient 'mear stone called Garreg Bicca', from where the boundary left for Carne y ffeen.

To the east of Llanvaches a row of four stones aligned north-south (Fig. 5) define its boundary (ST 443919). Four, and initially perhaps five, such stones delimited the border of Trostrey with Kemeys Commander, the boundary passing through fields *en-route* to the river Usk as they did so (SO 35320446 southwards to 35380415). Four boundary stones marked a short stretch of the western border of Tregare parish (from SO 39871006 southwards to 39880989). At the southern end of Boundary Street in Brynmawr is still the stone where the three parishes of Aberystroth (Monmouthshire) and of Llanelly and Llangattock (Breconshire) meet.¹³ At Careg Big Foel, 'a

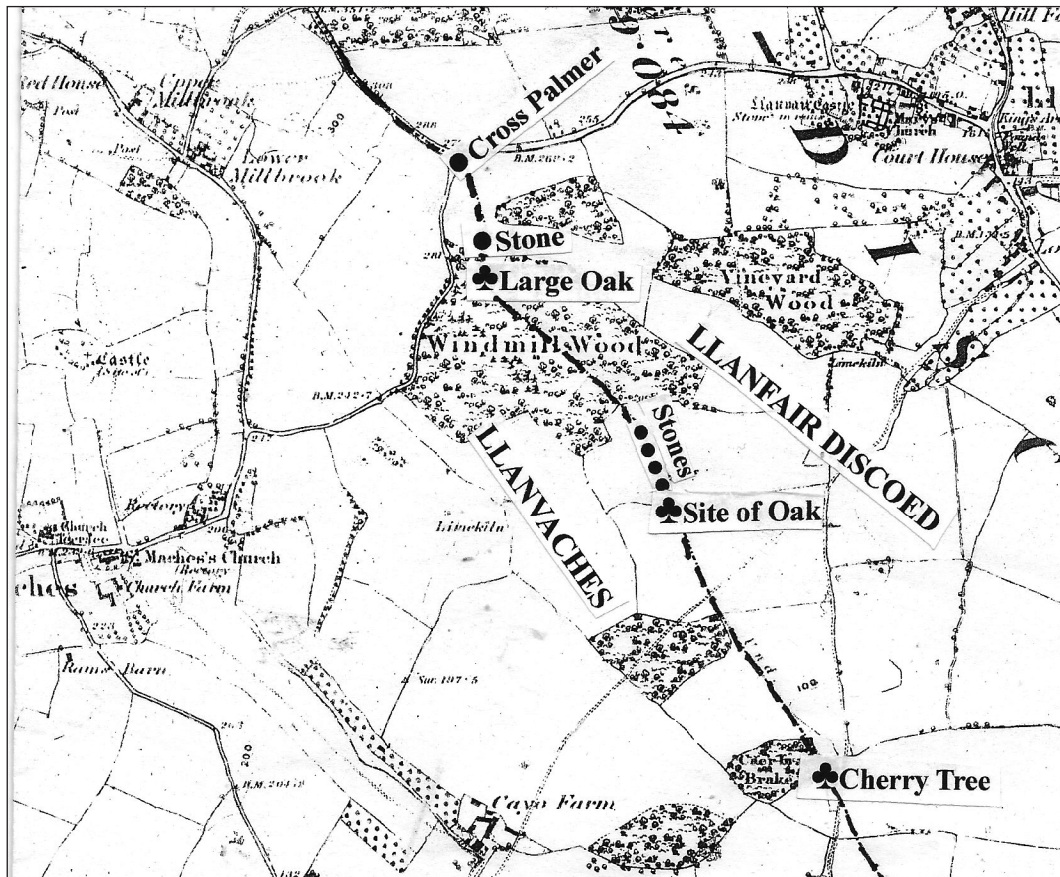


Fig. 5. To the east of Llanvaches a row of four stones aligned north-south define its boundary (ST 443919). (Ordnance Survey 6 Inch Map, surveyed 1881).

¹² D.J. Maynard, *Mynydd Maen*, Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust, Report 93/046, 1993.

¹³ Wikipedia.

pile of stones' marks the meeting point of the parishes of Blaenafon, Llanfoist and Llanover (SO 21690904). A 'heap of stones' is recorded on the border of Llanwenarth (SO 27312016).

Some boundary stones may have been ascribed a specific name, like Broadstone (on the eastern boundary of Dixon: SO 53741244, the place-name only survives); "Careg maen tarw" ('the Bull Stone': Llanwenarth, now Blaenavon: SO 23851132); the Traveller's Seat (where the boundaries of Grosmont, Llantilio Crossenny and Skenfrith meet; SO 42571838); the Resting Stone (noted in 1677 on the boundary of the Manor of Trelech: SO52150379). The tithe-map named at the south-eastern tip of Llansantffraed the "5th Milestone" (SO 35840952). As well as two rocks (SO 27221838 and 27261848) and four boundary stones a little further south-west (SO28291861, 28501872 – the latter noted as 'Three Stones'), two *mounds* (presumably man-made) marked the northernmost point of Llanwenarth parish on the Sugar Loaf mountain (SO 28861899 and 28921909).

The records of the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust are a mine of information regarding boundary marks. They tell of a stone pillar, Carreg Gywir, perhaps medieval, one metre high and four metres wide, standing on the boundary between the parishes of Aberystroth and Trevelthn (SO 21191034).¹⁴ They note a medieval boundary stone at Llanfihangel Crucorney (SO 28332409),¹⁵ and another on Cefn Man Moel (SO 16830614).¹⁶ They report three medieval or post-medieval stones on Chwarel y Fan (SO 2559029587, 2575229461, 2590829349),¹⁷ and describe a medieval boundary mound on Coity Mountain (Blaenau Gwent: SO 23630759).¹⁸ Interestingly, they record 'a rare survival of an early-nineteenth century industrial boundary stone' at Bedwellty House (SO 14320852).¹⁹ There is much else.

Crosses may be mentioned in the bounds, though whether the term always refers to a former actual stone cross, or simply a road junction is by no means certain. 'Cross Lloyd' stood one-mile south-west of Raglan, in 1465, on the boundary of lands granted to Sir William Herbert.²⁰ A 'cries nevith' (? 'new cross: croes newydd') stood, in 1460, on the border of Llanishen parish.²¹ In the same parish "Penterry's Cross" marked the bound of a plot of land.²² In 1515 a property at Penrhos was limited in part by 'the great way leading from Croiysse y Geach to Croiysse y dyre.'²³ Kinton's Cross stood (in 1711) on the border of the manor of St Pierre.²⁴ Mansons Cross stood on the boundary between the parishes of Monmouth and Dixon (SO 50881500). The Crossway on the northern border of St Maughans parish probably simply reflects a road junction (SO 44921916).

A variety of *trees* were frequently used as markers on parish boundaries. Amongst them were: the *alder* (Kemeys Inferior: ST 39589169); *apple* (Llandenny, SO 42260578); *ash* (Penhow, ST 41868973; Llanwenarth, SO 27112042); *pollard ash* (Dixon: SO 53761248); *ash stump* (Llanwenarth, SO 28601457); *beech* (Kemeys Inferior, on an internal subdivision: ST 37619152); *beech stump* (Penhow, ST42339018); *briar* (Llanwenarth, SO 27062048); *cherry* Llanvaches/Llanfair Discoed boundary: ST 44529139); *crab* ('crab' = a crooked wild apple tree) (Llanvaches,

¹⁴ GGAT 08432g.

¹⁵ GGAT 01716g.

¹⁶ GGAT 08676g.

¹⁷ GGAT 05861g.

¹⁸ GGAT 06466g.

¹⁹ GGAT 08852g. See also: E. Powell, *History of Tredegar*, and W. Scandrett, *Old Tredegar*, Volume 1.

²⁰ Bradney, 2, Part 1, 8.

²¹ NLW, Badminton Deed, Group 1, 1709.

²² NLW, Badminton Deed, Group 1, 2487 (in 1732).

²³ NLW, Badminton Deed, Group 1, 1448.

²⁴ Bradney, 4, Part 1, *Hundred of Caldicot*, 83.

1810, but not marked on the tithe map), (Llangunnoch Tithe Map, Fig. 6); and on border between Caerwent and Dinham (ST 46659247); *elm* (Llanover: SO 33210931); a ‘clump of *firs*’ (Kemeys Inferior: ST 39329187); *holly* (Kemeys Inferior: ST 39269191); and the *maple* (Penhow, ST 42308983).

There were also to be found the hardy *oak* (Llanfair Discoed, ST 43919369; Dinham, ST 47379274; Tredunnoch, ST 38469507); *pollard oak* (Dixton: SO 53711233); *poplar* (Llandenny, SO 42980380); *sycamore* (Kemeys Inferior, on an internal subdivision limit: ST 37599157); *thorn* (Llanfair Discoed/Llanvaches, ST 44809386; Dinham, ST47439275); *thorn stump* (on boundary between Kemeys Inferior and Penhow, ST 40059289); *walnut* (Goytre); *willow* (Penhow, ST 41898980); the *withy* (Tredunnoch: ST 38499496, 38949501, 38979489), and the *yew* (Rockfield: SO 47321191).²⁵ A Yew Tree Cottage stands on the border between Kilgwrrwg and Newchurch (ST46459733) (Fig. 7). On the borders of a few parishes, like Raglan, trees may be plotted as markers but no name given to their species (SO 05924218, 05814217, 05814277), but their identity is known from the adjoining Llandenny, Tintern Parva and Tredunnoch, which are amongst other parishes with unnamed trees delineating their boundaries; at least on their tithe maps.

The boundary of a sub-division within the parish of Kemeys Inferior delineating the area known as The Assart, was marked on its tithe-map by five named trees stretching from north-west to south-east between Great Caer-Licyn and Hendrew Farm: a holly tree (ST 39269191); a clump of firs (ST 39329187); an apple tree (ST 39509177); an alder tree (ST 39589169), and a cherry tree (ST 39799161).

Some trees might have specific names: Boundary Oak (Llangibby: ST 35549456) (Fig. 8); Pontstone Birch (ST 26498190), Saw Pit Oak (Llanwenarth: SO 28521463); Stoggle Oak (Llandenny: SO 42230568) (Fig. 9); Little Oak (ST 41269393, adjacent to the boundary between Penhow, Llanvaches and Llanfair Discoed); ‘a crossway called Fair Ash’ at Runston (in 1677).²⁶ In this respect, one of the earliest known trees to bear a name was ‘le Halen’, which stood (in 1566) on the boundary in Newchurch parish between the lands of Lewis ap John and John Llüs Moris.²⁷

Some boundary trees have entered into the permanent place-names of the county: notably Cat’s Ash (ST 37099077 – where still stands the medieval St Curig’s Chapel beside the main medieval [and Roman] road); and Cross Ash (SO 40691947) immediately north of which to-day is a school, garage and housing, all of which take their name from the original tree.

Recent research by Jarman *et al.*²⁸ stated that the earliest written record of a sweet chestnut growing in Britain they had found referenced a boundary marker tree for Goldcliff Priory in a charter dating to AD 1113 (TNA C53/76). They identified the approximate location of the ‘*castanea*’ as the present Langstone-Cat’s Ash area.²⁹ The nearest extant sweet chestnuts were ‘ancient stools on the rock ridge which forms the ancient parish boundary’ nearby, on Kemeys Craig-Bertholey Graig.³⁰

²⁵ This yew was plotted on the Six-Inch map surveyed in 1880/81, and still appears on the 2½ inch map revised in 1945.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 95.

²⁷ NLW, Badminton Deed, Group 1, 483.

²⁸ Jarman, R., Chambers, F.M. and Webb, J. 2019. Landscapes of sweet chestnut (*Castanea sativa*) in Britain – their ancient Origins. *Landscape History* 40, Issue 2, 5–40. Routledge. Also, Jarman, R., Hazell, Z., Campbell, G., Webb, J. and Chambers, F.M. 2019. Sweet chestnut (*Castanea sativa* Mill.) in Britain: Re-assessment of its Status as a Roman Archaeophyte. *Britannia* 50 (2019), 49–74. The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, Cambridge University Press.

²⁹ Jarman, R., Chambers, F.M. and Webb, J. 2019, *ibid.*, 12.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 12.

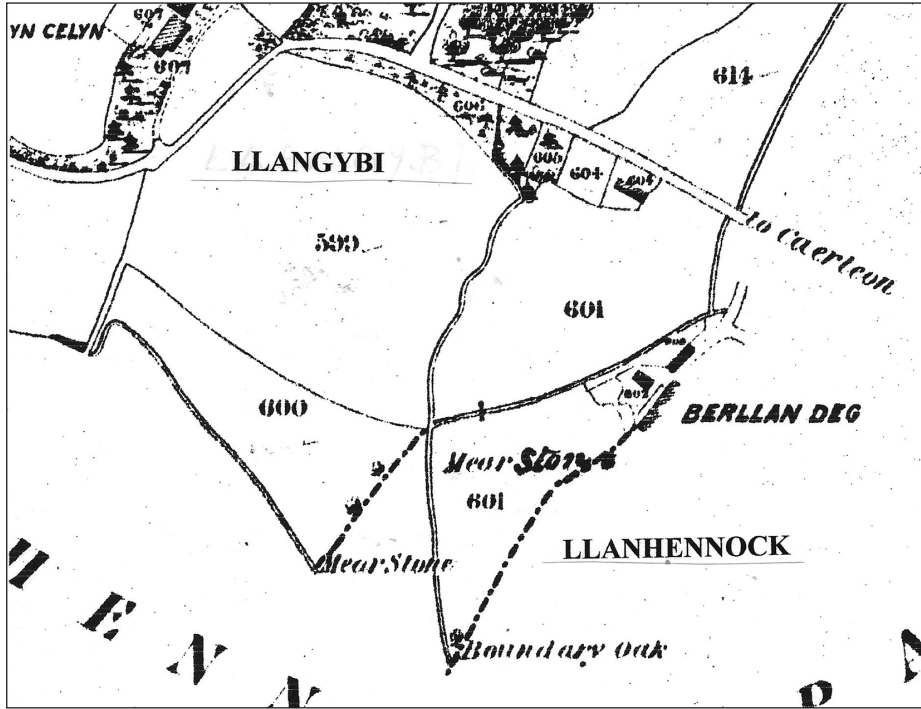


Fig. 8. 'Boundary Oak', Llanhennock / Llangybi. (Ordnance Survey 6 Inch Map, surveyed 1881).

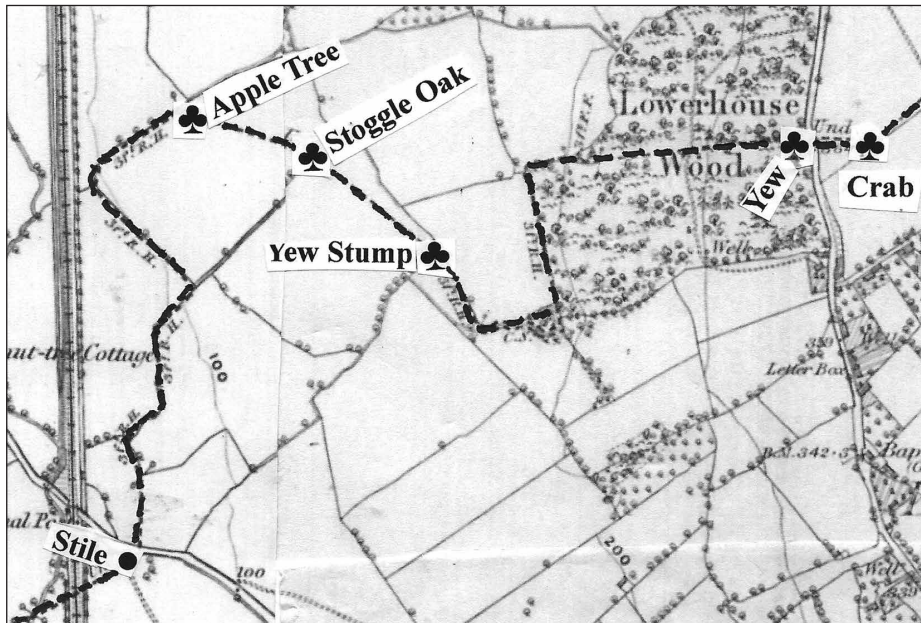


Fig. 9. 'Stoggle Oak' (Llandenny: SO 42230568). (Ordnance Survey 6 Inch Map, surveyed 1881).

Marker *trees* might be found in groups, as the Cadira Beeches, dividing Llanvaches from Newchurch (ST 422948), and the Forester's Oaks, dividing Llanvaches from the parish of Llanfair Discoed (ST 42899392). The Five Trees (on the boundary between Mitchel Troy and Penallt, SO 49780879). They gave their name to Five Trees Farm, more latterly called Chapel Farm.³¹

Other markers might include *stiles* or *gates*. The above-mentioned survey of 1677 noted Temple Stile, 'lying in the great field of Ifton,' marking the start of that parish's boundary.³² The name endured, and around 1820 a plan was made of 'the bounds between the parishes of Rogiet and Ifton, from Temple Stile to the Bristol Channel.'³³ (Fig. 2). A stile marked a point on the south-eastern boundary of Llangattock-Vibon-Avel (SO47131200), and on the northern border of Llandenny (SO42210537). A gate (ST 38279256) and three stiles (ST 38379277, 38539294, 38639298) are plotted between Kemeys House and Burnt House on the limit of the subdivision called the Assart in Kemeys Inferior parish.

A *tollgate* stood at a road junction on the western border of Llanvaches (ST 429912). The 'hayes gate' (? hayer) stood (in 1711) on the boundary of Mathern.³⁴ Staunton Gate (SO 54681264) separated Dixton, Monmouthshire and Wales from Staunton in Gloucestershire and England. The Dixton tithe-map (of 1845) illustrates well that boundary gate. A like depiction of a gate is made on the tithe map for Henllys, at its boundary with Mynyddislwyn at Craiglwlarch Gate (ST 26129396). A *toll bar* (SO 34819562) is shown on the Llanvair Kilgeddin tithe-map, at the road junction immediately west of the Chain Bridge over the river Usk, beyond which lies Kemeys Commander. The parish boundaries of Caerwent, Caldicot, Llanvaches and St Bride's, Netherwent, met at the multiple *road junction* known as the Five Lanes (ST 44829085).

A simple *post* might be a marker, as on Mynydd Maen (ST 25149789) (Fig. 1). On Mynydd Llanhilleth, east of Abertillery, and stretching southwards (from SO 23420467 to 23400318), on the boundary between Aberystwith and Trefethin, the tithe map depicts a curving line of eight posts, but whether of timber or metal is not specified. The positions of two are still marked on the 2½" map (at SO 23320438 and 23330420). Tithe-map and Ordnance Survey mapping note a series of six *iron pillars* (Fig. 10) marking the north-west boundary of Llanellen on Cefn y Galchen, but named *iron marks* on the adjacent Llanfoist map, stretching from a point north-east of Pwll Mawdy (at SO 26021074) to a position west of Garn y Gorfydd (at SO 27001102). They do not appear on the 2½" mapping.

The bounds of *individual holdings of land* might also be marked by stones and trees, but more commonly by reference to a *roadway* or to the *adjacent holdings* and/or local watercourses. A three acre grant of land (in 1335) at Llantilio Crossenny lay between the land of Nicholas de Lanton 'one one side and the royal way on the other.'³⁵ Land there of David ap Jankyn (1391) was bordered on the one side 'by the highway leading from Llantilio to White Castle.'³⁶ In Shirenewton a plot of land had, in 1568, for its western border, 'the way leading from Treles Wood to Caerwent,' and on the south 'the way leading from Shirenewton to Landeggelelly.'³⁷

³¹ Powell, M.J. 2020. The 'Pecked Stone', Trelleck, Monmouthshire: the siting of a former standing stone. *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 169 (2020), 63–70.

³² Bradney, *Hundred of Caldicot*, Vol. 4, Part 1 (Merton Press, 1992), 124–25.

³³ NLW, Tredegar 933, 132/3/48; 934, 140/1/1. [The stile may have stood at NGR: ST 46288786].

³⁴ Bradney, *Hundred of Caldicot*, Vol. 4, Part 1, 54.

³⁵ NLW, Badminton Deed, Group 1, 1517.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 492.

³⁷ NLW, Badminton Deed, Group 1, 796.

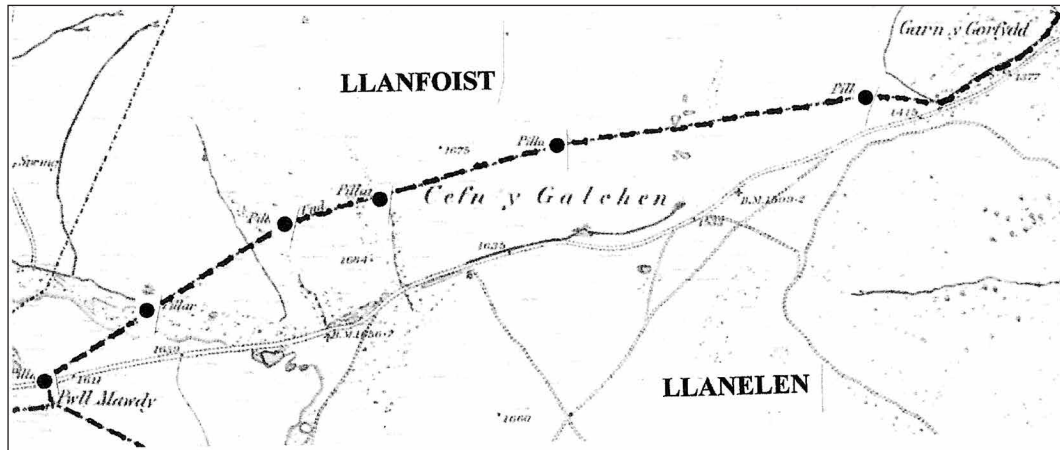


Fig. 10. Six iron pillars marking the north-west boundary of Llanellen on Cefn y Galchen, (Ordnance Survey 6 Inch Map, surveyed 1881).

In Wolvesnewton, land granted in 1601 was ‘mearing and abutting to the lands of Thomas Sawnders, the land of William Powell, and the highway leading from Chepstow towards Raglan, preserving the oaks therein.’³⁸ A plot of land in Llansoy (in 1450) was described as being ‘between the stream called Nante Capragh on one side, and the stream called Nante Parsyn on the other, one head abutting on the way called Fforthe Glo, the other on the stream called Pielth.’³⁹ There are numerous such examples.

Where individual holdings were concerned the enclosure movements from Tudor times onwards, and the consequent hedges and fences, took away the need of markers for individual land holdings. There is early evidence for enclosure in the county, for when Sir Charles Somerset of Troy enclosed land in Mitchel Troy by 1625, it meant the disappearance of the ‘highway leading from Lydart [in Penallt parish] to Monmouth,’ but ‘in lieu thereof a better and more commodious way was laid out for the avail of the king’s people, in respect of the great danger and inconvenience to passengers passing by the former way.’⁴⁰

Boundary marks were by their nature subject to *change and loss*. The 1677 survey of the Manor of Trelech, noted a mear stone on the boundary between the parish of Trelleck and Trelleck Grange ‘almost overgrown and covered with grass and earth that it can hardly be discerned.’ A stone situated at the boundaries of the parish of Trelleck Grange and Tintern Parva (SO 5026301257) adjacent to Yew Tree Cottage, to the north of the Fountain Inn, is today preserved in the verge at the side of the road and is deeply inscribed with a seriffed Latin capital letter ‘T’ (Fig. 11). The stone lies adjacent to the road at the T-junction with the road from Tintern Cross and Pont-y-Saeson, which forms the parish boundary. However, the deep scratches on the inscribed face suggest that it has been repositioned at least once in recent times, but possibly from not far away.

³⁸ NLW, Badminton Deed, Group 1, 360.

³⁹ NLW, Badminton Deed, Group 1, 1358.

⁴⁰ NLW, Badminton Deed, Group 1, 380.



Fig. 11. Stone inscribed 'T' situated at the boundaries of the parish of Trelleck Grange and Tintern Parva (SO 5026301257) adjacent to Yew Tree Cottage, to the north of the Fountain Inn. Photograph: © Mark Lewis

Whilst the stone's location, approximately 0.7 miles from Trelleck Grange church, corresponds well with the location of the 'Stone' shown slightly less than one mile below 'Trelagh grange', near the 'Iron mill' and road 'to Tintern' on the road maps on John Ogilby's *Britannia* (1675), the 'Stone' marked on the map is more likely to mark the remains of Tintern Cross (about 1.4 miles away), nearer to the site of the 'Iron mill', where the sluices, 'Furnace House' and 'Old Furnace Cottage' remain to this day, situated on the Angiddy River, which itself is shown on Ogilby's map just to the south of the 'Stone', with the Tintern Road running beside it).⁴¹ This being the case, the boundary stone (Fig. 11) would be located near to Ogilby's 23 mile-point on his map, but is not shown on it. The Ordnance Survey Six-Inch, 1888–1913, and Twenty-Five-Inch, 1892–1914, do record a benchmark very close to this location (B.M. 449.4), but the face of the stone shown in Fig. 11 appears to have performed a different, at least, primary, function.⁴²

⁴¹ Williams, D.H. 2001. *The Story of Trelleck Grange*, I. The Physical Background, fig. 5.

⁴² The benchmark near this spot appears to have been supplanted by a bracket-type benchmark on the north side of the Fountain Inn in, or by, 1968.

Nearer the Olway brook, a young oak stood where once was 'a great hwtchigh oak.' A 'headless cross' was found on the boundary of Llanvaches parish.⁴³ The tithe map surveyed in 1842 for the parish of Henllys showed a yew tree as a marker at one point on its boundary with Bassaleg (at ST 24939198). Forty years on, the Six-Inch Ordnance Survey map, surveyed in 1886, noted at that location only a 'yew stump.' At 'Slattis',⁴⁴ on the eastern border of Llanvaches, a perambulation in 1810 noted 'an almost disappeared stump; of an old oak'; by the time of the parish tithe map (1843) only the site remained (ST 443918). A 'root' only remained of a former marker tree on the border of Llanover, and the stump of a beech.

A final word. Occasionally, a Nonconformist chapel will be found adjacent to a parish boundary, as if the congregation wished, for whatever reason, to worship at some distance from the parish church. One example may have been the chapel plotted on the 1843 tithe map of the parish of Llanddewi Fach (ST 33539568), close to the bridge leading across the Sor Brook to Court Perrott, Llandegfedd. Surprisingly, the religious census of 1851 reported that the only place of worship in Llanddewi parish was the church, and the chapel was not noted on the Six-Inch map of 1887. What the census did report was that Welsh was the language used in the church services.

A Wesleyan chapel stood on the western border of Penallt parish, giving its name to the adjacent Chapel Farm (SO 49760832). Zion Chapel (Bible Christian) formerly stood on the south-eastern border of Cilgwrrwg parish (ST 47299764), close to Plantation Farm. The Calvinistic Methodist chapel (now the Presbyterian Church in Wales) at Gaer'llwyd, on the boundary of Newchurch, probably owes its position more to accessibility: for six roads or lanes unite there (ST4477969663).

⁴³ Bradney, *Hundred of Caldicot*, Vol. 4, Part 1, 185–86. In describing the perambulation of his parish on 3 May 1790, Parson Woodforde of Weston Longeville, Norfolk, told how five shillings was given to George Wharton who marked the trees with a hook, but 'where there were no trees, holes were made and stones cast in.' [*The Diary of a Country Parson*, Oxford University Press, 1935, 161–62]. Five shillings in 1780 could be argued to be roughly equivalent to £40 today.

⁴⁴ Bradney, *Hundred of Caldicot*, Vol. 4, Part 2, 190.1

THE MEDIEVAL AUSTIN FRIARY OF NEWPORT: EXCAVATIONS AT FRIARS WALK, NEWPORT, GWENT

By Martin Locker, with contributions by C. Jarrett, K. Rielly, D.S. Young, P.J. Austin and K. Hayward

Newport lies at the confluence of the River Usk with the Severn estuary, at an AOD of 4.81m. There is little evidence for prehistoric activity at the site of the city or the surrounding area. The earliest examples are two Neolithic greenstone axes from Queens Hill, 650m. west of Newport Castle. It has been suggested that Newport is located on a prehistoric ford but this has yet to be confirmed archaeologically (Crawford 2012). Excavations in 2002 for the Riverfront Theatre revealed a single human burial in river mud, carbon dated to 170 BC (Trett 2011). Three Iron Age hillforts have been documented in the Newport area, with a further twenty-five documented in the wider Gwent region (Martin 2012).

Nearly five kilometres north of Newport the substantial Roman settlement of Caerleon acted as the headquarters for the *Legio II Augusta* from approximately 75 to 300. Despite this major Roman presence, few finds from this period have been discovered in Newport itself. The most significant evidence lies in the association of St Julian's chapel (one-mile NE of Friars Walk) with a fourth-century origin referenced within the twelfth-century manuscript *Liber Llandavensis* (Davies 1979).

Similarly, the archaeological and documentary evidence for a Saxon presence in the city of Newport is scarce. Local legend relates the town's origins to the fifth- or sixth-century establishment of a church by St Gwynllyw atop Stow Hill. It has also been suggested that the hillfort opposite Stow Hill was used by the lordship of Gwynllŵg as a stronghold during the medieval period (Trett 2010). Both notions are speculative in the absence of supporting archaeological or documentary data. By 971 Edgar, King of the Saxons, is mentioned in the *Brut y Tywysogion* as gathering a fleet at Caerleon, and in 1049 the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records a Viking raiding party along the River Usk, with other contemporary documents recording the presence of tolls at the mouth of the river (Trett 2010). None of this however corroborates a definitive Saxon presence at Newport itself.

Following the possible foundation of St Gwynllyw's church, both a monastic community and motte-and-bailey castle were established on Stow Hill by 1100, under the control of Gloucester Abbey (Evans 2003). During the early twelfth century, the nucleus of Newport shifted from the hill to the riverbank of the Usk (Trett 2010). This is the origin of the Welsh name 'Casnewydd-ar-wysg' ('new castle on the Usk'), and by the early thirteenth century a rebuilt stone castle existed at this site alongside an inlet known as the 'Town Pill' (Howell and Dunning 2004). Despite numerous attacks by raiders on the town throughout the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the settlement continued to grow, described in 1314 as a market town with 275 burgages providing an annual rent of £13.15s.2d (Griffiths 1978).

Maintaining a presence in Wales from at least 1252, the Friars Eremites of St Augustine (Austin Friars) petitioned Pope Urban V in 1364 for permission to establish four new friaries, including one at Newport. There is limited evidence to suggest that they were operating within the area for a substantial period prior to this. Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford reports meeting Austin Friars in Wales in 1256 (Stevens 1723). Both pottery and roofing slate from pre-Friary cess pits indicate activity on the friary site prior to its founding date, and the appropriation of an agriculturally marginal area such as Friar's Fields with its chapel of St Nicholas by the Friars is in keeping with their practice of establishing a base at a town. At this time the church of St Nicholas was a small

maritime chapel (Jenkins-Nicholson 2017 pers. comm.). They were also granted papal privileges to set up their establishment without prior ecclesiastical approval, giving them the freedom to ‘self-found’ a site whenever they saw fit. By 1377 the friary was founded officially on the site of the chapel of St Nicholas, with permission to build an oratory and friary; supported by an endowment of 31 burgages. This foundation was however short lived; in an attack during the Welsh Revolt by Owain Glyndŵr in 1403, the establishment was razed, and the town badly burned (Trett 2010). Twenty years later the town was recovering, and the Friary was re-founded by Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham.

In relation to medieval Newport, the Friary was located to the east of the main street of the town, leading from Stow Hill into the High Street; John Leland writes ‘the fairest of the town is al yn one streate’ (Smith 1906, 14). The town was protected to the north and south by marshland, with the River Usk forming a defensive boundary to the east and built defensive structures lying to the west (Trett 2010). Newport was based primarily around ‘the main thoroughfare that came about after the construction of the bridge and may have just evolved over a period of time’, as opposed to having been the result of careful Norman town planning (Trett 2010). This river crossing enabled the town to become a trading centre, and Newport Castle functioned as the administrative centre for the Norman lordship. Town walls are a contentious issue in Newport’s history. They are certainly possible, however, limited physical archaeological evidence means that their existence remains unproven. The existence of West, East and Middle town gates is known. In relation to the Friary, excavations in 1907 at the Savoy Hotel (Thomas Street) discovered walls that may be linked to the East Gate (and by extension to possible town walls), and these may have been re-used as the north curtain wall of Newport Castle after its alterations in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Documentary sources indicate that property boundaries associated with this wall curved west from the castle, around the back of the High Street and then east towards the River Usk, finishing close to the ‘old pill’ or inlet (on the site of the present Riverfront Theatre) (Trett 2010).

This was the location of the Newport Ship discovered in 2002 (Fig. 1), and this pill may have had a link to defences or the town wall, which would place the Austin Friary site just outside it. Friaries often occupied marginal land (for example in Norwich, street names such as Blackfriars, Whitefriars and Greyfriars all occupy land near the river, which were prone to flooding and less attractive), and so the locating of the Austin Friary of Newport potentially outside the town walls and certainly near the river and its wharfs would not be unusual.

Throughout the post-medieval period Newport thrived, trading with the nearby ports of Bristol and Bridgwater, and possessed a varied collection of industries. The Friary itself however appears to have been relegated to a series of elegant ruins (as painted by Joshua Gosselin in 1784) and is described by William Coxe in 1801 as housing a small cider mill and press:

Several detached buildings containing comfortable apartments, and a spacious hall, with gothic windows, neatly finished in free stone, the body of the church is dilapidated, but the northern transept is a small and elegant specimen of gothic architecture. It is now occupied by a cyder mill, and the press is placed in a small recess which was once a chapel, separated from the transept by a bold and lofty arch. The gardens are enclosed within the original walls (Coxe 1801).

This suggests the church of St Nicholas (after enlargement in Phase 3, see below) had a single transept, and was Gothic in design. Gosselin’s watercolour and an engraving by John Edward Lee (1859), (Fig. 2) both show the surviving south range of the complex. Until the end of the nineteenth century large portions of the Friary stood intact, and in 1860 the ruins were still visible on town plans, however by the beginning of the twentieth century much of the site had been built over, largely

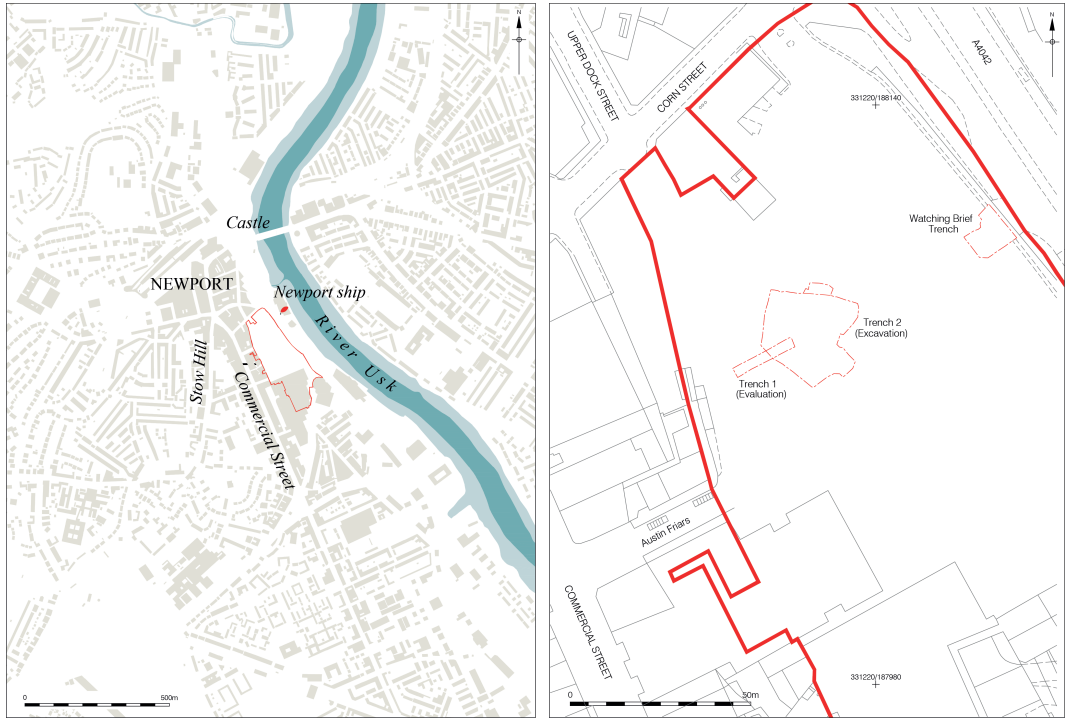


Fig. 1. Site and trench location, and location of the Newport Ship.

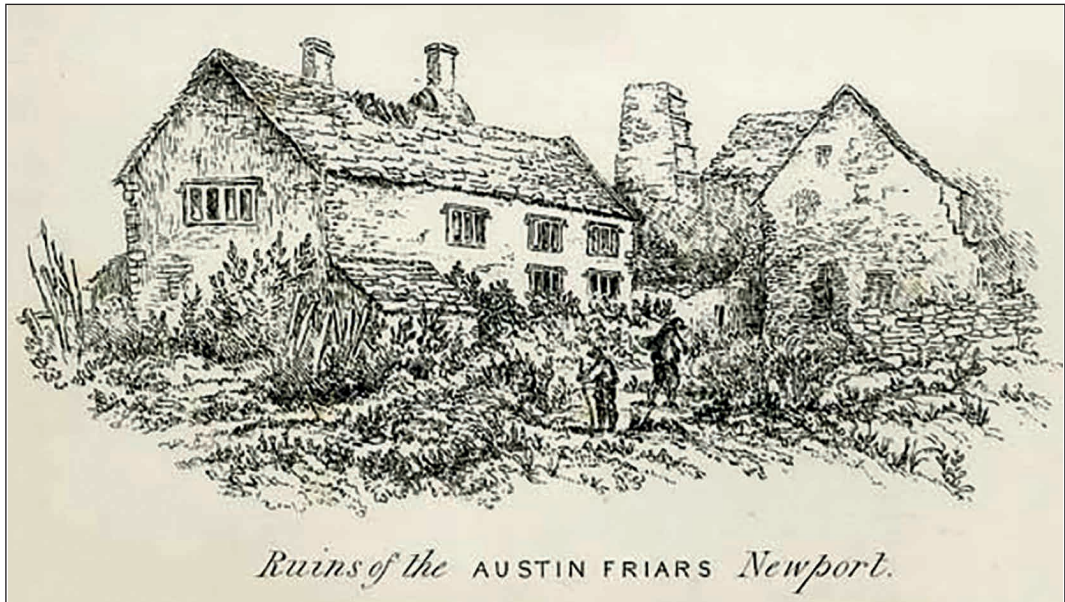


Fig. 2. Engraving by John Edward Lee of the south range of the priory (from Wakeman 1859, see note on the sketch, Wakeman 1859, 4).

to make way for the timber yard of T. B. & S. Batchelor & Co., as shown in a 1907 photograph (Johns's Newport Directory 1907). By 1956 a 1:25,000 scale map shows that the site had been further modified into a car park and bus depot, and subsequently altered by the addition of a multi-storey car park. The southern portion of the Friary grounds (outside the actual precinct) was known as Friar's Fields and was until the nineteenth century occupied by agricultural fields. Development in 1809 by the John Jones Llanarth Estate in response to Newport's expanding population saw the construction of several tenements. These were cramped, suffered from poor sanitation, and were among the first to succumb to the 1832 cholera outbreak (Jukes 2002). The site continued to be known for its disease and crime (despite the building of a school and Temperance Hall in 1856), and by 1874 most of the area had been cleared and redeveloped to house an electricity works (Vaughan 1990). Throughout the twentieth century Friar's Fields was variously occupied by municipal offices, a row of Fire Station Cottages, an electricity station, and a corporation yard, until replaced by the multi-storey car park in 1970.

RESULTS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT FRIARS WALK, 2014

The archaeological investigations at Friars Walk were undertaken by Pre-Construct Archaeology in advance of its redevelopment. Evaluation trenches were excavated between 27 January and 21 February 2014. The significance of the findings in Trench 2 led to the extension of this trench into the area planned for Trench 3 (Fig. 1). These excavations were concentrated in the north-western part of the site where archaeological remains were thought to survive (i.e. the Friary itself), the rest being disturbed and compacted by later basements. This report provides a discussion of the archaeological remains, divided into the chronological phases as revealed in the excavations. Areas of watching brief outside of the main excavation limits, including an outcrop of high natural geology along the eastern boundary of the site, indicated that recent development had completely truncated all earlier stratigraphy across this sector.

Twenty-eight boreholes were inserted across the site post-excavation, the majority of which reached solid rock and indicate that the bedrock geology varies from 9.27 OD (eastern boundary) to minus 2.93 OD.

The Natural (Phase 1) in the eastern part of the site consists of a red mudstone, however within Trench 2 only, a brownish red colluvial clay was revealed. There is no evidence for prehistoric occupation. Eight Roman pottery sherds (predominantly South Wales Reduced ware) and a tessera, all from medieval/post-medieval contexts, suggest a Roman presence at Friar's Walk, or in its immediate vicinity.

PHASE 2 (Fig. 3)

Roman CBM was found within the late medieval soil horizon (130), a Victorian pit (134), and reused in the post-medieval cobbled surface (138) and (147). This material may have originated from Caerleon. Other evidence for a Roman presence consists of late Roman coins from Newport castle (Trett 2010), and an extensive field system (first to third century AD) recorded to the southeast of Newport (Meddens & Beasley 2001). Given the proximity of nearby Caerleon and the River Usk, it is possible that some permanent or transient, as-yet unsubstantiated Roman presence, existed at the site of Newport.

The re-siting of Newport from Stow Hill to the banks of the River Usk in the early twelfth century accounts for the lack of post-Roman/early medieval material at Friar's Walk, and the destruction of the Friary by Owain Glyndŵr in 1403 obliterated the original chapel of St Nicholas,

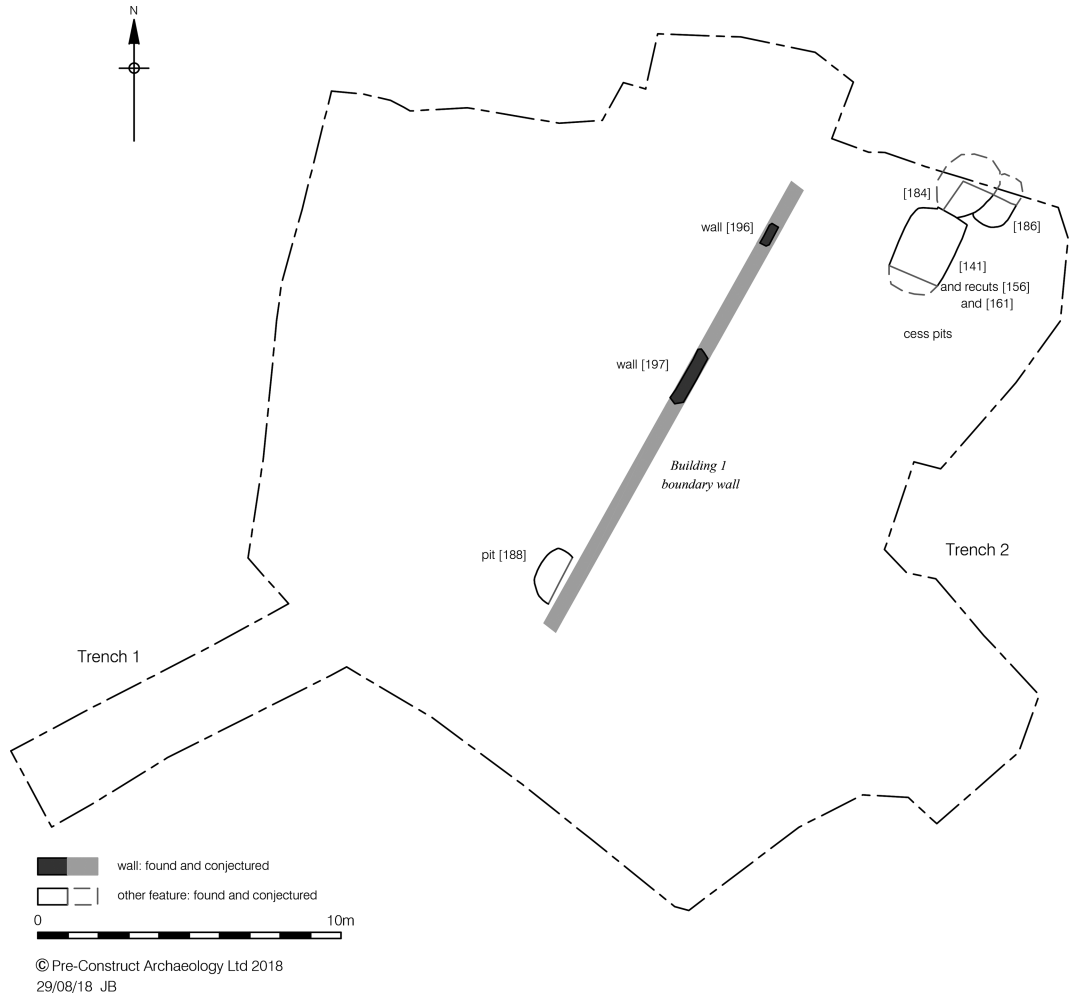


Fig. 3. Phase 2, building 1 boundary wall.

which existed prior to the Friary complex and had been incorporated into the North Range of the Friary.

The earliest surviving archaeological feature was pit (188), cut into red colluvial clay in the centre of the excavation area. The charcoal-flecked fill yielded no finds. However, the sealing deposits (extending across the south-west of the site) produced pottery that gave both the pit and sealing layer of subsoil (167) a *terminus ante quem* of 1080–1350. This subsoil was in turn sealed by a buried topsoil (166) containing pottery dated 1250–1350 and some animal bone fragments (predominantly cattle). This layer was truncated to the east by the construction cut for a wall extending north-east – south-west across the centre of Trench 2. This has been interpreted as a pre-Friary boundary wall, or, potentially, the eastern wall of an early courtyard complex prior to the Friary’s official founding in 1377, and designated ‘Building 1’ (Fig. 3).

Two topsoil deposits, (60) and (165), constituted a large make-up horizon abutting this wall, as indicated by the contemporaneous nature of the pottery in both contexts (mid to late thirteenth

century, and mid thirteenth to mid fourteenth century respectively). Both buried topsoils, (165) and (166), contained pottery dated to *c.* 1250 (Jarrett below; Ponsford 1991) including imported French Saintonge-ware jug sherds (SAIM) dated to *c.* 1250. Generally, when found, these were mostly from thirteenth century contexts. This demonstrates domestic activity within the Friary site prior to its foundation, further supported by the evidence from the cess pits discussed below.

To the north east of the excavated area adjacent to the chapel of St Nicholas lay five cess pits, (141), (161), (156), (184), and (186), all predating the Friary's official foundation, and in the area which would in Phase 3 be occupied by 'Building 2' (and subsequently an expansion of Building 4). The first three cuts represent the early, middle and later phases of a single re-cut pit (141), with a cess-like fill (158), which was timber-lined following a slumping episode. Two of these timbers survived, (153a) and (153b), which were broadly thirteenth century in date (Goodburn below). Pottery in the fill indicates a use date of *c.* 1170–1300. Following this timber-lining insertion another cess-like fill was deposited, (149), containing mineralised and waterlogged seeds, (Austin, Young & Meddens, below), a small number of cattle bones, and a single piece of blue-green roofing tile, with a date range of 1060–1600. When combined with the pottery from (158) this suggests this cess pit was in use 1170–1300.

Cess pit (186) at the northern limit of excavation was truncated by sub-circular pit (184) (Phase 3). This pit was not bottomed during excavation and was recorded as having a single fill (185), containing charcoal flecks, decomposed organic remains, and thirteenth century pottery. Cess pit (184) contained ceramics including kitchen ware, dated to the late thirteenth century. The variety of ceramics and the site's location near the bank of the Usk and port of Newport shows how important sea and river transport were to the supply of the priory.

Cess pit (141) was re-cut by (161), and this re-cutting, using finds from contexts above and below the feature, can be dated to between 1170 and 1500. The uppermost deposit (159) had been truncated by another larger rectangular cess pit (156), which produced charcoal, slag, animal bone (primarily cattle but including sheep) and some pottery, the latter dated to 1120–1200 (Jarrett below). The pottery is not residual, indicating that the cess pit is part of a pre-Friary event. The bias in the faunal remains towards head and foot bones (mainly cattle) is consistent with this assemblage representing butcher's waste (Rielly below) and can be related to pre-Friary occupation of the site. To the north-east cess pit (186) was also cut by larger sub-circular cess pit (184), extending beyond the limit of excavation, with pottery dated to 1270–1300. All this evidence and the expansion/re-cutting of cess pits is consistent with sustained activity and occupation of the site prior to the Friary's foundation in 1377.

PHASE 3 (Fig. 4)

The Friary 1377–1538

The Austin Friary of Newport was founded in 1377, the remains of which are included in Phase 3. The structural elements of a possible eastern wall of a courtyard complex, and part of the north range in the form of St Nicholas church were present, indicating pre-clerically endorsed Friary activity by the Friars. Analysis of the stone used in construction of the Friary indicates that the majority was quarried and cut specifically for its construction rather than re-used from elsewhere. Bath stone was found utilised for two unstratified stone containers, freestone in the tracery and a cornice (108) of Building 2 (Hayward, below). Much of the pottery recovered from this phase appears to be residual and dates to before the establishment of the priory in 1377 (Jarrett below).

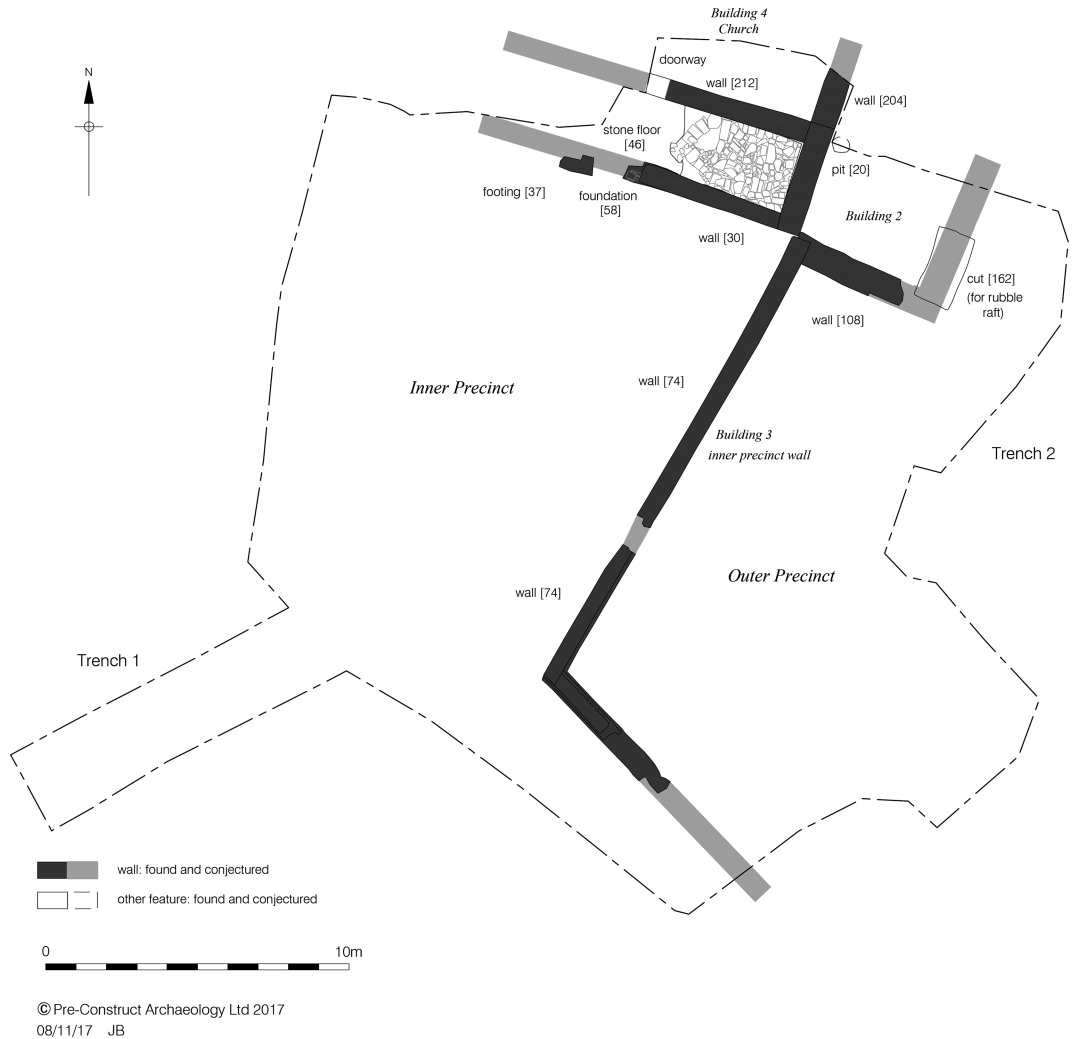


Fig. 4. Phase 3, Buildings 2-4 and inner and outer precincts.

Building 2

To the northeast, pit (20) contained remains of fifteenth century pottery, glazed medieval peg tile fragments and a piece of Sudbrook sandstone quern. The presence of Mediterranean lead-glazed ware constitutes evidence of exchange between Newport and mainland Europe. The tile fragments are of fourteenth or fifteenth-century date, whereas the quern stone fragment is likely to be of Roman origin (Hayward, below).

All the cess pits were sealed by a buried topsoil horizon (130), extending beyond the limits of excavation. Within this buried topsoil waterlogged *Rubus* (bramble) seeds were found, along with a fragmented dagger scabbard chape (Fig. 5a) (Gaimster, below). Layer (130) also contained high levels of slag, as did cess pits (156) and (184), most likely dumped material. There is no evidence in the profile of the cess pits of them being used as furnace pits. Layer (130) along with buried soils

(129) and (202), also contained medieval sherds with one surface presenting mineralised tubes made by sessile annelid worms. These indicate that these sherds or the deposits they were in, were for a time submerged, possibly in sea water. This is not necessarily a surprise because of the proximity of the site to the tidal Usk and its floodwaters.

Two localised dump layers, (116) and (144), were in this same part of the site, the former containing mid thirteenth to fifteenth-century pottery, and may represent the remains of a larger single dump layer deposited outside of wall (108). The pottery, as refuse, appears to be consistent with areas or buildings where drinks were served, rather than where food preparation took place (Jarrett, below).

Construction cut (155) contained the remnants of east-west aligned stone wall (108), truncated at its eastern end by a modern service trench. This wall sat on a rubble raft, (163), which was also seen within north-south aligned construction cut (162) / (142), which in turn may represent a northward return for wall (108). This is the only evidence for the construction of a wall contemporaneous with (108) of Building 2 (or its extension). The rock used for wall (108) is limestone, some of which was re-used from an earlier structure. This included two moulded pieces of earlier medieval Dundry freestone cusped window tracery (1300–1500). A later (post-Dissolution, Phase 4) robber cut indicates that the stones within this cut (162) were stripped out in the late sixteenth century, while another contemporary robber cut is present at the western end of wall (108). Immediately south, layer (130) was sealed by a 0.15m thick compacted rubble surface (201), containing pottery dated to 1270–1400. From within the medieval contexts of Building 2, remains of a clench bolt were recovered, likely originating from a door (Gaimster, below). From this scant evidence, the function and spatial arrangements of Building 2 connected to Building 4 prior to its role as a presbytery remains undetermined. It is possible that this area was not enclosed and functioned for the disposal of domestic waste and general rubbish within pre-existing pits.

Building 3: Inner Precinct Wall

Wall (108) was truncated by the construction of later, medieval wall (74), which ran on a north-south alignment. Constructed of roughly-hewn blocks of Painswick stone, wall (74) extended nearly 17m to the south (truncated by a modern service cut), with a surviving eastward return at the southern end measuring 5.43m (east-west). Two buried topsoil layers sealed the construction cut for wall (74), yielding pottery dating to 1300–1500, frequent slag, occasional charcoal, and animal bone fragments. To the west was a buried soil horizon (203), which was truncated by both the construction cut for wall (108) and the southern wall of the north range (30). Two residual later medieval finds were recovered in the area of what was initially thought to be the inner precinct, both from post-medieval contexts, in the form of a fine copper-alloy buckle and the decorative back plate for a ring handle (Fig. 5b–c; Gaimster, below). The soil horizon was associated with elements of a brick clamp (78), situated within this area in the nineteenth century.

Building 4: Church

Wall (30) lies immediately west of the northern end of wall (74) and extended east-west over a length of nearly 5m and had been truncated by a modern service trench. Continuing on a north-south axis from the eastern end of wall (30), wall (204) ran north beyond the limits of the excavation, and from its mid-point, wall (212) projected east, parallel to wall (30). This formed an internal partition dividing the structure into two chambers (north and south). The excavated limits of Building 4 represent the south-east corner of the structure, continuing north and west beyond the limits of excavation. All three walls were built of roughly hewn brownstone blocks set in a fawn lime

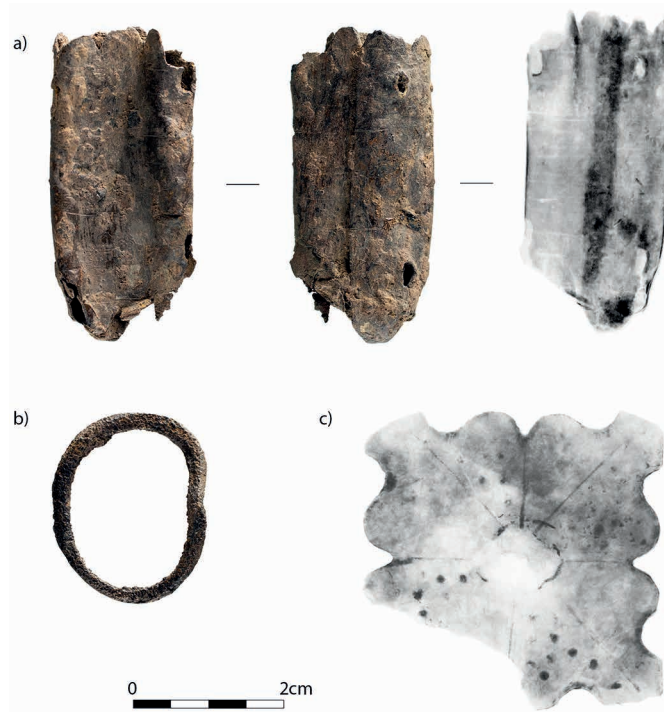


Fig. 5. Medieval metal finds: a) copper-alloy dagger scabbard chape (SF 5); b) copper-alloy buckle (SF 3); c) handle back plate of tinned iron (SF 7).

mortar, confirming an approximate construction date of between 1400–1600, a *terminus ante quem* refined further by the recovery of ceramic building material (CBM) originating from the sealing layer, dating to 1500. This dating evidence suggests that Building 4 had been enlarged from its original pre-Friary form as the chapel of St Nicholas, forming the north range of the courtyard of the Friary complex, and occupied primarily by the friars' church. This is additionally supported by documentary research conducted by Eve Jenkins-Nicholson (2016). The destruction of the Friary by Owain Glyndŵr during the Welsh revolt 1403, and its subsequent rebuilding likely accounts for a relatively late construction (or indeed expansion) date for Building 4. Typically, the northern face of the cloister would have contained an east-west aligned church, with the eastern and western sides being occupied by auxiliary buildings such as the dormitory, kitchen, refectory etc. (Holder 2011). In this case, the church was orientated on a roughly north-west-west – south-east-east axis and it is suggested that Room 2 functioned as a sacristy or small side chapel, linked to the nave by the arch described by Coxe.

The northern room of the church extended beyond the limits of excavation and may be part of the main body of the church. Both areas were surfaced with a single randomly configured layer of brownstone paving slabs, (207) and (46), covered with a layer of mortar, (206) and (45). In the southern room, the latter layer (45) only partially survived. Both surfaces were judged to be from the same construction phase (i.e. post-Friary destruction in 1403). The northern chamber's floor surface lay lower than the southern, but not across the threshold between both spaces. It is thought that the access between both rooms was blocked after the mortar floors were laid down using similar

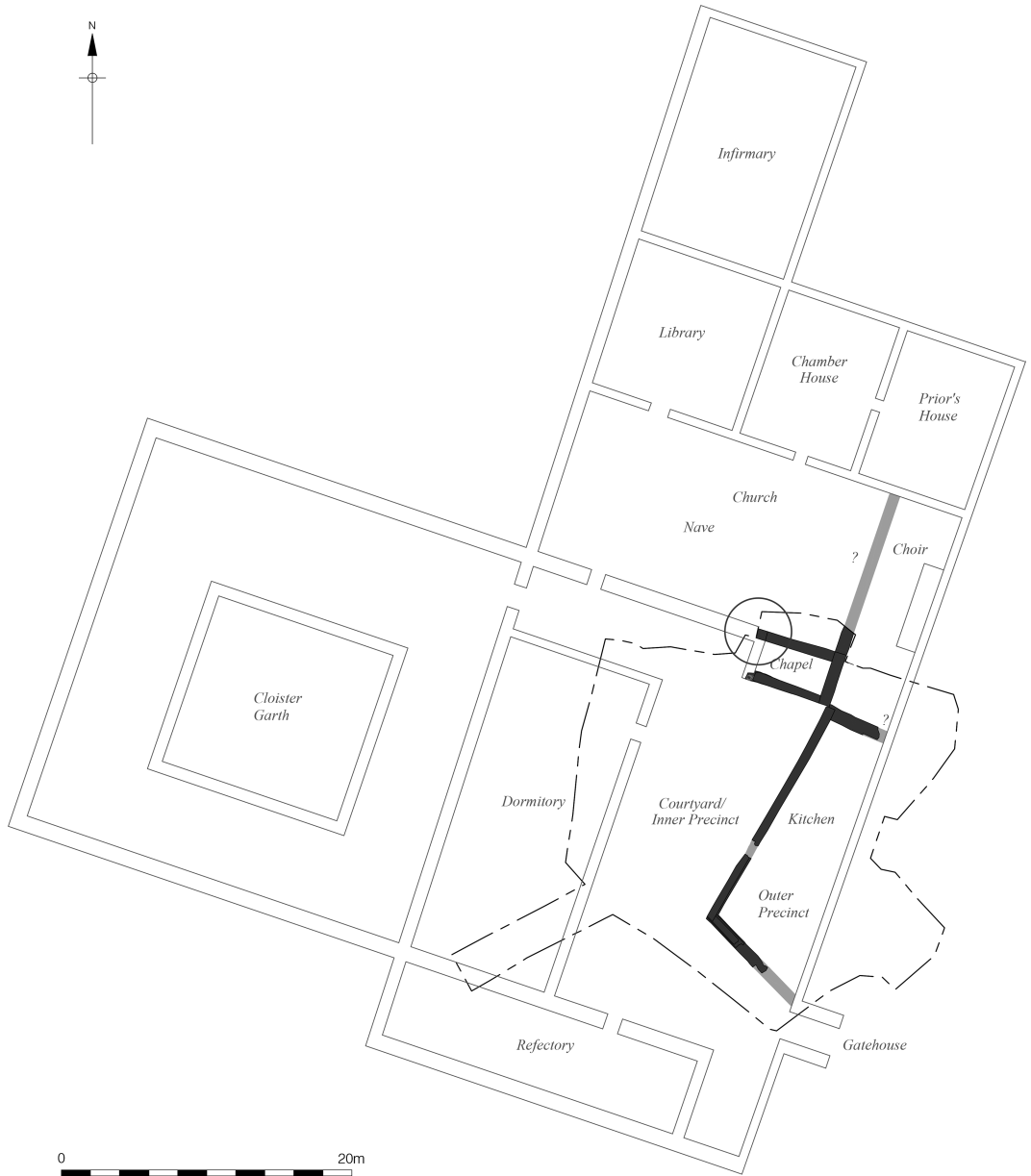
coarsely-hewn brownstone to that used in walls (30), (204), and (212). Following this event, the lowered floor of the northern room was raised with a layer of compacted earth, containing pottery dated between 1170–1300. Overlying this was a surface layer of mortar (208), which raised the floor to over 0.73m above that of the southern room. The ceramics were residual, and the deposit post-dates the construction of Building 4.

Building 2's function changed during the rebuilding following the Friary's destruction. After the sealing of the cess pits, wall (204) from Building 4 (part of the earlier chapel of St Nicholas) was dismantled to allow the re-establishment of Building 2, given comparisons with other Friary churches. It likely functioned as a presbytery to Building 4 (i.e. the Friary church).

The closure of the Friary occurred early in the Dissolution process, with the Friary deserted save for one tenant by 1538 and the lead removed from the roof. Following the sacking by Glyndŵr in 1403, the town's finances were in dire straits due to the destruction of the castle, bridges, mills and numerous dwellings. Any revenue from the Friary's burgages would have ceased. The friars relied on donations and the proceeds from burgages. It is possible that, despite still functioning in 1517 (Friar John de Newport is recorded as paying the reeve in this year), that by 1538 the Friary had become so poverty-stricken that it had to close (Jenkins-Nicholson 2016). Alternatively, the friars left for Ireland or France for their own safety prior to the Dissolution, or Friar John of Newport, having maintained friendly links with Edward Stafford (third Duke of Buckingham tried and executed in 1521 for conspiracy and treason against Henry VIII), decided to quietly retreat to Oxford in order to teach, with other friars dispersing elsewhere. John of Newport was known as having been highly educated (*ibid.*).

A watching brief during the excavation of the Riverfront theatre's orchestra pit just over 100m north-east of the site in 2002 revealed very well-preserved remains of a fifteenth century ship. This appears to have been laid up for repair along the shore of a small creek on the west bank of the Usk. Artefacts within the 'Newport Ship' suggest trade with Portugal in the fifteenth century, and include examples of Iberian ware, which advocates contact between Newport and the Iberian Peninsula. Clinker built, the ship's timbers originate from the Basque country in 1449, and circumstantial evidence demonstrates that it belonged to the Earl of Warwick. A letter of authorisation dated 22 November 1469 from Warwick to Thomas Throkmorton, his receiver of Glamorgan and Morgannwg, permitted various payments for "the making of the ship at Newport" which could be construed as repairs to the badly damaged vessel. Newport was not a significant port at this time, and a visit from such a large trading vessel would only be for emergency repairs. Despite proximity of the ship site to the Friary there is no evidence for a direct connection between the two, either in terms of trade or between the Earl of Warwick and the friars themselves.

A conjectural plan of the Friary (Fig. 6), is based on comparisons with the Austin Friary of London, the distribution of cess pits containing domestic waste, the location of the church (Building 4), and the 1750 Plan of the Town & Borough of Newport, which shows a rough footprint of the Friary (Fig. 10). Friar's Fields at the time was entirely agricultural, discounting the possibility that these remains can be anything other than the Friary itself. Later maps from 1794 and 1800 show two buildings likely corresponding to post-Friary tenement conversions (depicted in the 1859 engraving by John Edward Lee (Fig. 2)), offering no clue as to the layout of the Friary itself. The OS map of 1883 labels a wall surrounding the broader Friary site as the 'Friary Wall', running north-east along the bottom of no-longer-extant Merchant Street, turning south along the edge of the railway (now the A4042), and returning south-west to what is currently Upper Dock Street. This is the only representation of an outer wall for the Friary grounds, however given the Friary was outside the city walls, it is likely such a wall existed for the Friary's protection.



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29/08/18 JB

Fig. 6. Conjectural plan of Austin Friars.

The location of the initial cess pits with their associated domestic waste suggests that food was prepared nearby, and it logically follows that the refectory would be located near the kitchen for practical reasons. After the extension of Building 4, during which these cess pits were sealed and covered, new cess or refuse pits may have been created within the complex, or just outside of it, hence the locating of the kitchen adjacent to an entrance to the complex which would allow easy access to the new disposal area. Wall (74) is recorded as being constructed of rough-hewn stone, as are the walls of the southern and possible northern chamber associated with the church. This does not discount that wall (74) may be part of a building rather than a precinct wall. It is also possible that this wall, which sits at an odd angle in comparison to the church (i.e. not 90 degrees) may have been a re-used partition which originally formed part of some manner of inner precinct component before the destruction and subsequent rebuilding of the Friary after 1403. Chapter houses and Priors' houses generally abutted their churches and would in this instance have been placed to the north of Building 4 to fit with the footprint of the Friary as suggested by the 1750 map. The case is similar with the location of the cloister, which occupies a space clearly marked by a series of walls that form a large square. There is of course a level of conjecture with regard to this layout, based on the amount of archaeological and documentary data available, however it does meet the requirements of the suggested 1750 footprint, uses the presence of the domestic waste to offer a location for the kitchen and refectory, as well as bearing comparison to other, similarly-sized Friaries within Britain at the time.

PHASE 4 (Figs 7, 8)

During Phase 4, Building 4 (the Friary church) and wall (74) remained intact. However, it is indicated that, immediately following the Dissolution, the walls of its linked Building 2 were robbed. The building materials of its eastern wall were grubbed out, and from within the rubble layer (119) filling the robber cut pottery sherds were recovered which dated to 1550–1600. The western wall was also robbed and its fill was similarly dated. Environmental samples taken from a sealed charcoal rich layer (114), contained mainly beech wood and animal bone (largely cattle as well as sheep/goat), mollusca and burnt flint. Two juvenile cattle bones are typical of veal (Rielly below). These layers were sealed by layer (35), abutting the eastern wall of Building 4 while respecting the southern wall of Building 2, which survived immediate post-dissolution robbing. Layer (10) covered the north-eastern portion of the site, respecting the southern wall of Building 2 and eastern wall of Building 4. This contained multiple sherds dated *c.* 1625–1800.

The southern wall of Building 2 was eventually also robbed out, as evidenced by cut (107). Pottery and fragments of English wine bottles were found in this cut, one bottle has an illegible stamp and another was likely a nineteenth-century intrusion. West of wall (74), dump layer (172) sealed the red colluvial clay, producing a sherd of an Andalucían Spanish amphora, suggesting broader trade links between Newport and the Iberian Peninsula. The dating of this find precludes an unambiguous link with the pottery recovered from the Newport ship.

PHASE 5 (Fig. 8)

In the final phase (Phase 5) the site was characterised by a series of renovations, particularly within the area initially thought of as the inner precinct. The installation of drains (49), (54), (122) and an accompanying cess pit (57) on the north side of the property caused the partial removal of the stone floor of Building 4. The layer of silt which covered the drains contained residual Roman pottery sherds, a piece of brownstone tessera (100–400) and pottery dated between 1600–1800. Cess pit

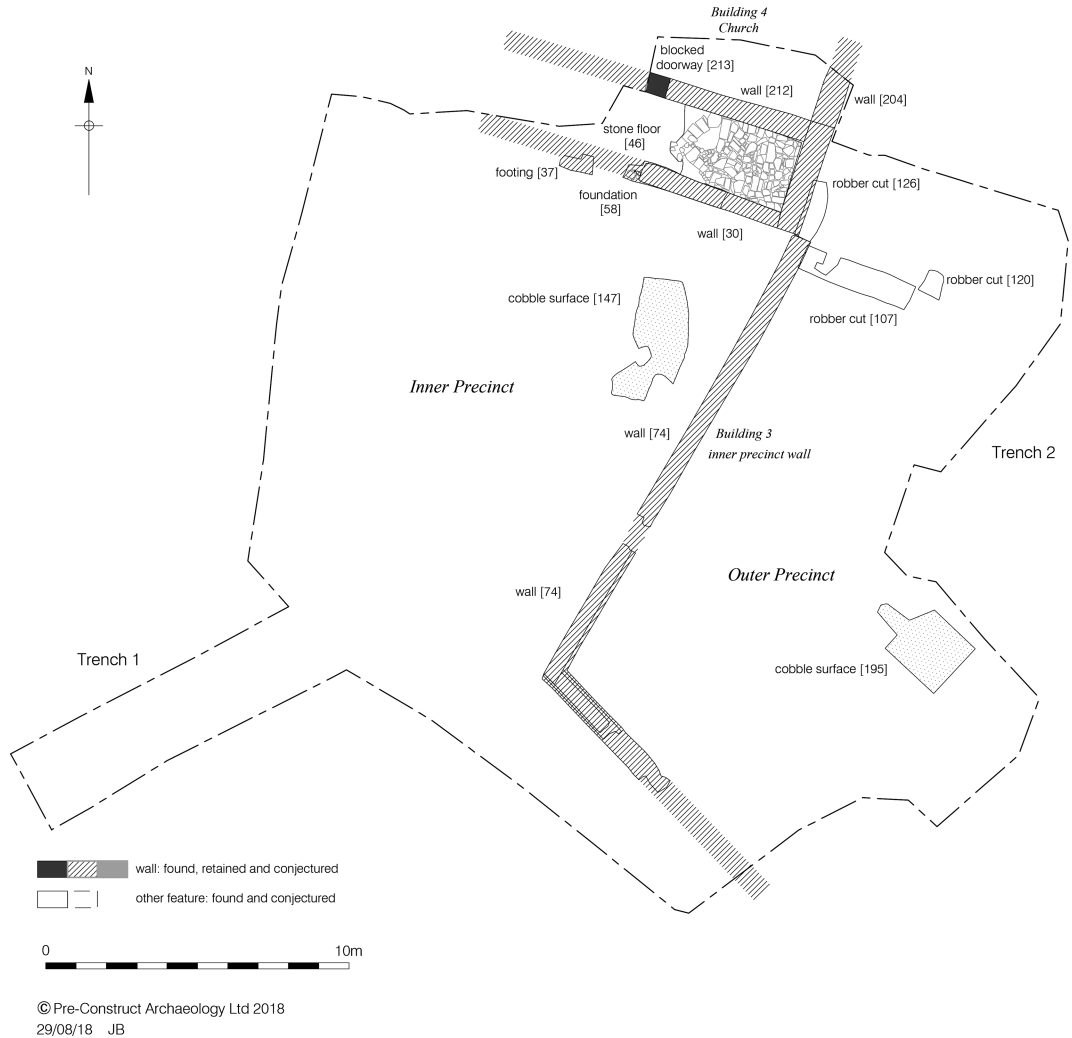


Fig. 7. Phase 4 site plan.

(57) was found to contain the remnants of a timber cover. All of this drainage fell out of use and was backfilled with a layer containing pantile (1750–1850) and pottery (1800–1900).

Wall (74) was rebuilt as (73), the construction cut of which truncated the Phase 4 cobbled surface (147). Wall (73) was built adjacent to (74) on a north-east by south-west axis, abutting the now demolished south-east corner of Building 4. Ceramics from the backfill of construction cut (73) gave a date range of 1840–1870, and broken glass was spot dated to post-1830. To the north-east the dump layer which covered a large portion of the centre of the site had been cut by two postholes, the smaller one of which (133) contained a degraded timber post, and the larger (131) held cobble stones, lime mortar and charcoal flecks. Both were sealed by a clayey silt containing mid-nineteenth century pottery and a single chicken ulna.



Fig. 8. Phase 5, nineteenth century.

Just over 5m. west of new wall (73), wall (77) (Building 6) was built on a north-east – south-west axis, with the masonry at the north-east end being faced in a manner suggesting a possible door jamb. Pottery recovered from this wall’s rubble foundation raft proposes a mid-nineteenth-century construction date. However, it may have been joined to Building 4 prior to its demolition, though this cannot be confirmed archaeologically as its stratigraphy is truncated. Robber cut (79) removed the south wall of Building 4, and the stone floor of its southern room. Demolition deposits within the interior of the southern room of Building 4 contained pottery (late eighteenth to early nineteenth century), mid to late nineteenth-century pottery, brick fragments (1850 – 1950) and glass (early nineteenth century). All of this points towards a demolition date in the early nineteenth century; these destructive events took place after the abandonment of the earlier referenced drains (49), (54), (122) and cess pit (57).

The purpose of this demolition was to prepare the area for redevelopment. The western part of the area was raised to 8.84 OD with a deposit of mixed material that included coal fragments, and a new east-west aligned drain (92) was installed, containing cess fill (192). The construction cut for this drain was truncated by a large rectangular cut (78) containing burnt clay, brick waste, and the broken up remains of a brick clamp; providing possible evidence for (small-scale) brick production here in the mid-nineteenth century. The latter may have been limited to on-site construction as this was a common practice during this period (Proctor *et al.* 2000). Further ground-raising was achieved through the dumping of probable demolition material derived from Buildings 4 and 6, together with mid/late nineteenth-century bricks and some nineteenth-century pottery. Four pits (25), (29), (64) and (71) cut these layers, with (29) containing glass fragments (Jarrett, below).

Two north-south aligned walls (14) and (75) were erected along the western end of the site, near drain (92). Both were built of limestone, with pottery from construction cut fill (14) dated to 1805–1900. Both were bisected east-west by a modern service trench. To the south, wall (181) followed a similar north-south alignment with a t-shaped configuration. This extension was later added to by a partition (182) along the south face, aligned east-west. Both (181) and (182) abut the southern end of wall (73). The construction materials used in (181), (14) and (75) indicates these features formed part of the same building or complex, with (182) being a later addition, as was wall (15), which abutted the west of wall (14) and which continued west beyond the limit of excavation. To the eastern side of wall (14), a semi-circular pit (12) was later dug.

On the north-east side of the development area, the outer precinct was partially truncated by a north-south aligned brick box-drain (7). The bricks were dated to between 1850–1950. East of wall (73) three slate-lined drains truncated the Phase 3 topsoil (129). Culvert (146) was aligned north-south, and drains (84) and (178) were on an east-west orientation. All three were part of a larger drainage scheme across the area. Finds from these channels included nineteenth-century pottery, clay tobacco pipe fragments (1730–1910), leather, animal bone fragments (sheep/goat and cattle) and a tally-slate (Fig. 9) (Gaimster, below).

In this same area, Phase 4 cobbled surface (195) had been superimposed by a subsoil horizon and a subsequent nineteenth-century dump deposit (193).

Following the back-filling of drains (146), (84) and (178), Building 7 was erected. All but its eastern wall survived, comprising (179) and (180). The three surviving elements were truncated and a later drain (173) inserted into the southern wall. Subsequent to its falling into disuse drain (173) was backfilled with a charcoal rich layer, indicative of *in situ* burning.

The function of these multiple slate-lined drains may not be related to the discharge of water. It is more likely to be linked to an air circulation system within the nineteenth century timber drying sheds of T. B. & S. Batchelor & Co to speed up the drying process; heat-resistant kiln bricks were used in the drain or, perhaps more accurately, flue construction (one example has slag attached). The construction bricks found within this phase's nineteenth to twentieth-century contexts are linked to the burgeoning brick industry in the area, which can be seen as a response to the demand for housing in Newport. To the north, a timber-lined feature contained domestic pottery pertaining to the nineteenth century.

The main pottery types likely linked with this phase are table and tea wares; fifty fragments of tobacco pipe were also recovered (Jarrett, below).

A 'Plan of the Town & Borough of Newport' dating to 1750 shows the Friar's Fields site as abandoned, with the possible remains of Building 4 (church/chapel) and what may be wall (73) still standing (Fig. 10), and the outline of several (likely ruined) walls. These assist in extrapolating the footprint of the Friary (Fig. 6). The name 'Mrs Halfpenny' is written below the words 'Friar's



Fig. 9. Tally-slate.

Fields'. A map from 1794 depicting the town and liberties of Newport, lists fields south of Friar's Fields as being owned by John Jones Esq. Documentary evidence from the Gwent Archives gives few clues as to the nature of subsequent activity within the confines of the Friary site or Friar's Fields up to the twentieth century, aside from a general reference to 'Title deeds, mostly building leases re. Friar's Field, St Woolos 1809–1859' (A110/T3 – T47). This would be consistent with the early nineteenth-century clearing and makeover of the Friar's Field site by John Jones' Llanarth Estate from its prior agricultural use to a series of tenement and commercial properties, later to include the previously-mentioned timber yard. One specific example is an 1809/1810 building lease to the (likely) same John Jones Esq. (potentially connected to John Jones Llanarth), and John Price, the latter listed as a carpenter. Another reference alludes to a series of title deeds for Llanarth Street on the Friar's Field site, however no further details are provided. These links allude to the importance of John Jones Llanarth/John Jones Esq. in the modern history of the site. The situation of the Friar's Fields next to Westgate Street, formerly known as Corneis Street, may have an earlier connection with horn working, while the fields to the north are linked by Skinner and Corn Streets. Both horn working and skinning are noxious activities and tended to be sited away from prime real estate. The roads provided easy access to both the wharves and the town. The site at this time was ripe for commercial and residential development. The proximity of the wharves, their function and environment rendered the property an inexpensive option for any tenants. The noise and smells of

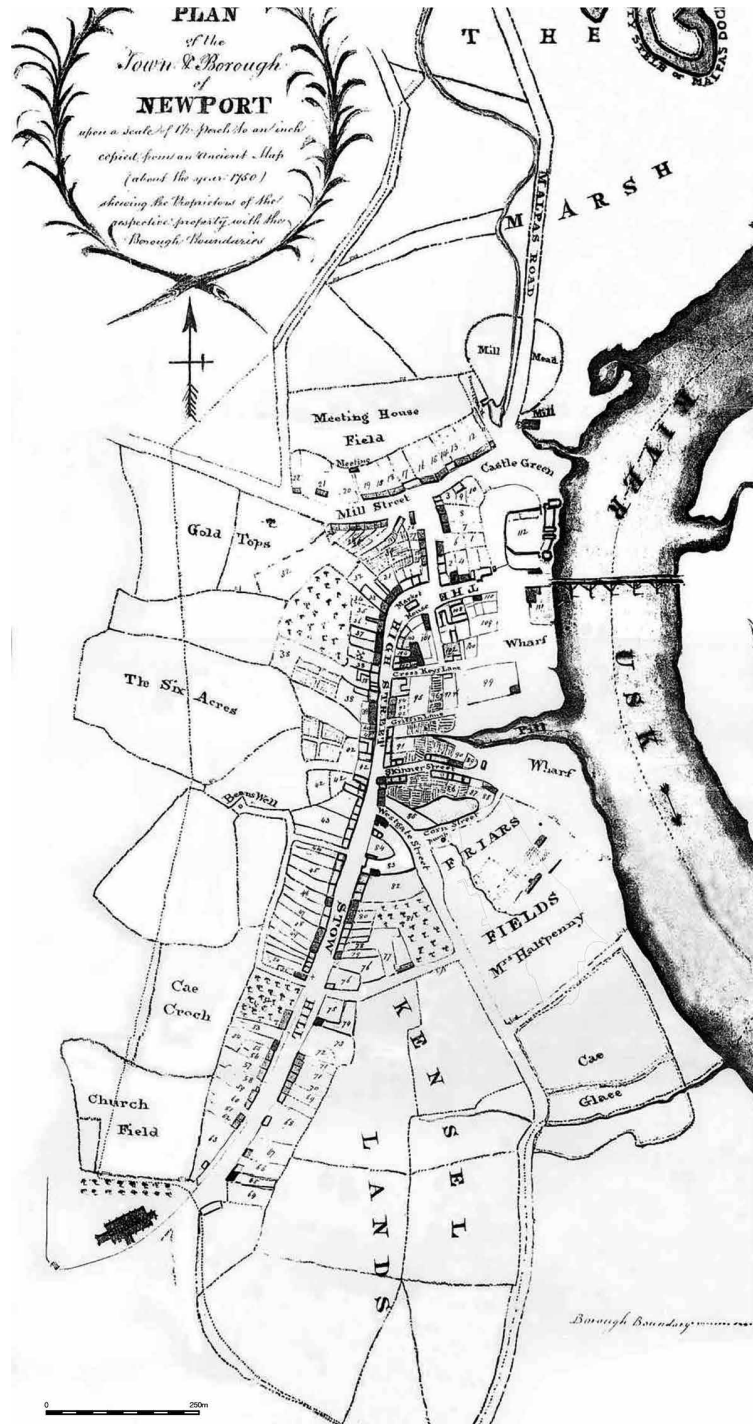


Fig. 10. 1750 map of Newport with detail of Friar's Fields.

industry combined with the poor hygiene of the tenement buildings created an atmosphere rife with poverty and disease (i.e. cholera) in Friar's Fields during the early nineteenth century.

FINDS AND ENVIRONMENTAL SPECIALIST REPORTS

The Worked Waterlogged Wood

D. M. Goodburn

Contextual details of the woodwork identified are provided in the text above, suffice to mention here that the timber was preserved by waterlogging in two distinct cut features.

The earliest cut feature, from which timbers (153) were extracted, was a deep pit of amorphous shape resulting from having been truncated by later pits. After cleaning it was clear that the two small boards lining the pit comprised reused barrel or cask stave ends. The raw materials and condition indicate a medieval to early post-medieval date range. They were both made of radially-cleft oak (i.e. split out along the medullary rays and axe trimmed) but the surfaces were somewhat decayed, and no clear tool marks or cooper's or merchant's marks survived to indicate the details of their working. The raw materials and details are typical of many later medieval cooperage finds from excavations in southern Britain and it is likely that the timbers derived from a large cask. It seems likely that these staves were part of a cask with the ends knocked out, reused as a well lining, which was later cut away by more recent pits. The associated pottery finds were dated to c. 1170-1300 (Jarrett, below).

The later woodwork, (87), was a sample of the timber lining of a rectangular cut feature (88), yielding finds dated to the early nineteenth century. These too comprised a reused coopered container, though clearly one of a very different type and date range. Both fragments showed evidence of having been sawn and have been confirmed as pine (Tyers 2015). The two stave ends had well-preserved howel and croze features for fitting the heading, and a bevel called a 'chime' also survived on the original end of (87b). These stave fragments clearly derived from a small, light, cheaply-made container, probably a cask. It was either of foreign origin or made of imported conifer timber (pine not being common in Wales at this time). By the nineteenth century either alternative was common. This type of 'semi-tight' cooperage work in recent times was used for transporting fish and dry or semi-dry goods (Kilby 1971).

Environmental Analysis

P.J. Austin, D.S. Young & F.M. Meddens

Eight samples were processed by flotation using 1mm and 300-micron mesh sizes, producing flots from each sample and for sample <11> (149), a residue. Two were also processed by wet sieving, these being samples <4> (113) and <11> (149) for a review of their macrofossil content, including waterlogged plant macrofossils, waterlogged wood, insects and mollusca see table 1, below.

Phase 2 cess pit (141), recut as (156), (155) and (161), was extensively sampled (samples <8>, <9>, <10> and <11>). Post-medieval remains outside the complex included the slate-lined drains (84), (146), (176), and (178) as well as a square timber lined feature, (88), which may have been related to the drains (Jorgensen 2014). Inside the courtyard medieval ground surfaces (164) and (167) were present, along with the remains of cobble paving (147). The floor of the southern room of Building 4 had been truncated by the cut for a nineteenth-century timber-lined cess pit, (57). The fill, (113) of this cess pit was also sampled <4>.

Bulk samples were selected in order to establish (1) the functions of the features sampled, (2) the activities carried out and (3) the environmental history of the site. The results indicated that the majority of the bulk samples contained relatively high quantities of botanical remains, including (but not limited to) charcoal and waterlogged seeds. Where waterlogged or charred seeds were preserved, the assemblages were generally consistent with those of cess pits (e.g. samples <4> (113), <10> (148) and <11> (149), containing the seeds of species consistent with faecal material (including bramble, elder and plum/damson). Two samples interpreted as buried topsoil horizons contained low quantities of bramble, sample <8> (130), or relatively high quantities of herbaceous taxa identified as possible parsley-piert/lady's mantle. In general, the preservation of the charcoal fragments was good. The range of taxa identified in each of the samples suggested a fairly rich assemblage.

Flots & Residues

Phase 2 (medieval, pre-Friary)

Sample <10> (149) included *Prunus cf. domestica* or plum/damson as well as *Rubus sp.* (bramble) and *Chenopodium sp.* (fat hen). The latter two are commonly found on disturbed ground while plum/damson trees are a common cultivar. Evidence for these plants in a cess pit indicate fruit consumption, albeit that the data cannot confirm whether these were grown locally or brought in from some distance.

Phase 3 (later medieval, Friary)

The samples reviewed for Phase 3 comprised <6> (127), <7> (129), and <8> (130) consisting of buried topsoil horizons. These contained moderate quantities of identifiable charcoal. One <6> (127) included moderate to high quantities of waterlogged seeds, limited to *cf. Aphanes/Alchemilla sp.* (*cf.* parsley-piert/lady's mantle). Samples <8> (130) and <9> (138) had *Rubus sp.* Lady's mantle grows in humus-rich soil, is drought tolerant and in medieval times dew collected from the leaves of this plant was thought to have healing properties. Parsley-piert likewise is drought resistant and grows in stony, arable or waste ground and was also thought to have medicinal properties. Sample <8> (130) <9> (138) contained *Rubus sp.* commonly known as bramble, which again grows in arable and waste ground and is a common weed. The presence of this vegetation in contexts associated with the Friary is not surprising, both for the link with medicinal qualities and disturbed ground.

Wet sieved

These have been included in Table 1 but are not further discussed, as these are post-medieval in date and encompass samples <4> (113), from Phase 5; and <11> (149) from Phase 2. The latter includes, besides the earlier-discussed *Prunus cf. domestica* and *Rubus sp.*, *Solanum dulcamara*, or woody nightshade, which has poisonous berries and, as the common name implies, is found in a woodland habitat.

Charcoal Analysis

Charcoal macro-remains <2mm cannot be identified with certainty, therefore only fragments >2mm were examined. A total of 100 fragments were examined from each sample. Samples <7> and <9> each had fewer than 100 fragments ($n=44$ and $n=98$, respectively) and so every fragment in these samples was investigated. A total of 642 fragments in total were examined of which 64 could not be identified.

Nine taxa were identified (listed in Table 3); all are angiosperms (hardwoods) native to the British Isles. No gymnosperms (softwoods) were represented in any of the samples.

Sample number	Context number	Context description	Phase	Size of context sampled (%)	Total volume processed (l)	Fraction (e.g. flot, residue, >300µm)	Charred			Uncharred			Bone		Mollusca		Waste	
							Charcoal (>4mm)	Charcoal (2-4mm)	Charcoal (<2mm)	Seeds	Chaff	Wood	Seeds	Main seed taxa	Large	Small		Fragments
5	114	Charcoal rich layer	4	N/A	N/A	Flot	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	4
6	127	Buried topsoil horizon	3	N/A	N/A	Flot	2	2	-	-	-	3	cf. <i>Aphanes</i> / <i>Alchemilla</i> sp.	-	-	-	-	1
7	129	Buried topsoil horizon	3	N/A	N/A	Flot	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	130	Buried topsoil horizon	3	N/A	N/A	Flot	4	4	2	-	-	1	<i>Rubus</i> sp.	1	-	-	-	-
9	138	Lower fill of [156]	3	N/A	N/A	Flot	1	1	-	-	-	1	<i>Rubus</i> sp.	-	-	-	-	-
10	148	Fill of [156] (Cess pit)	4	N/A	N/A	Flot	1	1	1	-	-	4	<i>Rubus</i> sp. <i>Sambucus nigral/racemosa</i>	-	-	-	-	-
11	149	Fill of [141] (Cess pit)	4	N/A	N/A	Flot	1	1	-	3	-	3	<i>Rubus</i> sp. <i>Prunus</i> cf. <i>domestica</i>	-	-	-	-	-
						Residue	-	-	3	-	-	5	<i>Rubus</i> sp. <i>Chenopodium</i> sp.	-	-	-	-	-

Key: 0 = Estimated Minimum Number of Specimens (MNS) = 0; 1 = 1 to 25; 2 = 26 to 50; 3 = 51 to 75; 4 = 76 to 100; 5 = 101+

Table 1: Flots and Residues.

Sample number	Context number	Context description	Phase	Size of context sampled (%)	Total volume processed (l)	Fraction (e.g. float, residue, >300µm)	Charred			Uncharred		Bone			Mollusca			
							Charcoal (>4mm)	Charcoal (2-4mm)	Charcoal (<2mm)	Seeds	Chaff	Wood	Seeds	Main seed taxa	Large	Small	Fragments	Whole
4	113	Organic deposit within [57] (Cess pit)	5	N/A	1.0	>1mm	-	1	-	-	1	5	<i>Prunus cf. domestica</i> <i>Rubus sp.</i>	-	-	-	-	-
						>300µm	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	149	Fill of [141] (Cess pit)	2	N/A	1.0	>1mm	-	-	-	-	1	5	<i>Prunus cf. domestica</i> <i>Rubus sp.</i> <i>Solanum cf. dulcamara</i>	-	-	-	-	-
						>300µm	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Key: 0 = Estimated Minimum Number of Specimens (MNS) = 0; 1 = 1 to 25; 2 = 26 to 50; 3 = 51 to 75; 4 = 76 to 100; 5 = 101+

Table 2: Results of the assessment of wet sieved samples from Friars Walk, Newport, Gwent, South Wales

Fragment preservation in all samples was good. Mineral deposits were present in most cases but at low-to-moderate levels and anatomical features were not detrimentally obscured. Thermal degradation was generally high, however no fragments appeared fully ‘vitrified’. High levels of thermal degradation were particularly evident in the oak and beech pieces.

Most elements were much reduced in size (typically <3–6mm), with between 1–6 growth rings, retaining little external indication of original wood form. Sample <11> (149) stands out, for having many large fragments (diameters of >26mm and radii of >15mm were recorded). Sample <5> (114) is also flagged for having retained components of pre-charring wood form, derived from twig-wood, most with <6> growth rings. None of the fragments examined retained bark.

Growth ring curvature proved increasingly more pronounced the nearer it was to the centre of the wood, and at its least pronounced the further from the core. Twig-wood and the inner-wood of mature timber elements typically have conspicuous ring curvature while the outer wood of the stem or branch has low or no obvious curvature. Apart from sample <5>, ring curvature is often low or lacking, suggesting that much of the assemblage derives from the outer wood of branches or stems. Oak fragments in nearly every sample had a high abundance of tyloses in their vessels, a feature indicative of heart-wood.

Growth ring width is an indication of the rate of growth in response to seasonal fluctuations in environmental conditions and stress. Narrow rings, often lacking late wood, indicate slow growth in less than optimal conditions. Wide rings, with extensive early and later wood, indicate rapid growth under more favourable conditions. Many examples of prolonged slow growth, especially in the oak

FAMILY/ sub-family	Taxon: Genus/species	Common name	Totals		
			Fragment count	Weight (g)	Number of samples
AQUIFOLIACEAE	<i>Ilex aquifolium</i>	Holly	3	0.773	1
BETULACEAE	<i>Betula</i> sp.	Birch	79	2.365	2
BETULACEAE	<i>Corylus avellana</i>	Hazel	43	5.970	7
FAGACEAE	<i>Fagus sylvatica</i>	Beech	159	12.521	7
FAGACEAE	<i>Quercus</i> sp.	Oak	270	22.494	7
OLEACEAE	<i>Fraxinus excelsior</i>	Ash	8	0.517	3
RHAMNACEAE	<i>Rhamnus cathartica</i>	Purging Buckthorn	4	0.213	3
ROSACEAE	<i>Crataegus</i> spp.; <i>Malus</i> sp.;	Hawthorns; Apple Pear;	8	0.598	4
AMYGDALOIDEAE	<i>Pyrus</i> sp.; <i>Sorbus</i> spp.	Wild Service Tree; Whitebeams; Rowan			
SALICAEAE	<i>Salix/Populus</i>	Willow/Poplar	4	0.126	2
Total			578	45.577	(n=7)

Table 3: Taxon List

and beech, were identified. Fragments of fast grown immature wood were present but considerably less common.

Conclusions

The assemblage is dominated by oak, beech, and less pronounced, hazel. These three taxa were present in all samples, except <5>, in which birch was the most abundant. None of the six other taxa identified is well-represented, and represent a minor component.

It is feasible that the taxa found were grown locally in mixed woodland and scrub habitats on dry neutral soils. The abundance of mature slow grown oak and beech, throughout phases 2 and 3, suggests areas of long-established woodland, containing large ancient trees with an understory of hazel and other small tree and shrub taxa. It is very likely that any woodland in the area was subject to some form of management, such as coppicing and pollarding. Applying these techniques ensures the continuous availability of wood derivatives and timber. Of the timber identified, oak, beech, hazel, ash, and willow/poplar all respond well to silvicultural treatment and continue to be managed in this manner today. Quite likely some of the wood came from managed woodland.

There are no significant differences in sample composition, relative taxon abundance, and fragment characteristics, between samples <9> and <10 >, both from Phase 2 cess-pit fills (156). The fill of cess-pit (141), sample <11>, Phase 2, is much the same in terms of taxon composition as the other Phase 2 cess pit samples (which may also cross over into Phase 3). An important disparity however is that the fragments in sample <11> were more intact than in any other samples. This suggests that the charcoal had been subject to little pre- and post-deposition physical disturbance. Mechanical damage caused by physical disturbance is one of the main factors causing the reduction of charcoal into ever smaller fragments. Samples <6>, <7>, and <8>, from Phase 3 buried topsoil deposits were each alike, and also comparable to samples <9>, <10>, and <11>, in terms of composition and fragment properties. Sample <5>, from a Phase 4 post-medieval context, contrasts with the other samples studied. Unlike the examples from earlier phases, which mostly contained mature branch/stem-wood of oak and beech, sample <5> was mostly composed of birch. The majority of fragments of all the taxa identified in this sample, including oak, derived from twigs

Context	Context description	Phase	Sample number	Taxon	Quantity	Weight (g)
114	Charcoal rich layer	Post-medieval Phase 4	5	<i>Betula</i> sp.	77	2.317
				<i>Corylus avellana</i>	6	0.365
				<i>Salix/Populus</i> spp.	2	0.089
				<i>Quercus</i> sp.	2	0.062
				<i>Fagus sylvatica</i>	1	0.038
				Amygdaloideae	1	0.029
				Indeterminate (hardwood)	2	0.029
				Indeterminate (not-wood)	9	3.346
				total	100	6.275
127	Buried topsoil horizon	Phase 3 Medieval	6	<i>Quercus</i> sp.	54	0.521
				<i>Fagus sylvatica</i>	17	0.317
				<i>Corylus avellana</i>	3	0.030
				Amygdaloideae	2	0.051
				<i>Betula</i> sp.	2	0.048
				cf. <i>Salix/Populus</i> sp.	2	0.037
				<i>Rhamnus cathartica</i>	1	0.011
				Indeterminate (hardwood/bark)	19	0.318
				total	100	1.333
129	Buried topsoil horizon	Phase 3 Medieval	7	<i>Quercus</i> sp.	19	0.466
				<i>Fagus sylvatica</i>	14	0.433
				<i>Rhamnus cathartica</i>	2	0.161
				<i>Corylus avellana</i>	1	0.085
				Indeterminate (hardwood)	8	0.071
				total	44	1.216
130	Buried topsoil horizon	Phase 3 Medieval	8	<i>Quercus</i> sp.	59	4.692
				<i>Fagus sylvatica</i>	25	1.251
				<i>Corylus avellana</i>	7	0.109
				cf. <i>Rhamnus cathartica</i>	1	0.041
				Amygdaloideae	1	0.008
				Indeterminate (hardwood/bark)	7	0.557
				total	100	6.658
138	Lower fill of cess pit [156]	Phase 2 Medieval	9	<i>Fagus sylvatica</i>	45	3.761
				<i>Quercus</i> sp.	22	1.204
				<i>Corylus avellana</i>	11	0.627
				<i>Fraxinus excelsior</i>	3	0.129
				Indeterminate (hardwood/bark)	17	0.214
				total	98	5.935
148	Fill of cess pit [156]	Phase 2 Medieval	10	<i>Quercus</i> sp.	60	2.970
				<i>Fagus sylvatica</i>	32	1.662
				<i>Corylus avellana</i>	3	0.049
				<i>Fraxinus excelsior</i>	3	0.142
				Indeterminate	2	0.057
				total	100	4.880
149	Fill of cess pit [141]	Phase 2 Medieval	11	<i>Quercus</i> sp.	54	12.579
				<i>Fagus sylvatica</i>	25	5.059
				<i>Corylus avellana</i>	12	4.705
				Amygdaloideae	4	0.510
				<i>Ilex aquifolium</i>	3	0.773
				<i>Fraxinus excelsior</i>	2	0.246
				total	100	23.872

Table 4: Charcoal Analysis

or small branches. The wood charcoal here undoubtedly represents the remnants of a very different type of activity than that which produced the charcoal in the other material.

The charcoal in this assemblage is almost certainly re-deposited fire debris. Though it cannot be entirely discounted that some came from discarded artefacts or structural elements. The presence of slag in association with the charcoal suggests that the fire events that generated the charcoal in Phases 2 and 3 included industrial activities in addition to domestic-scale fires. The predominance of high-quality fuel woods, notably oak and beech, capable of maintaining high-temperature fires, coupled with the high levels of thermal degradation seems to support this view. The predominance of twig-wood and poor-quality small branch-wood suggests that this deposit is the remains of a relatively short-lived low-temperature fire, domestic in scale, a small oven perhaps, in which wood quality was not a great concern.

In summary, the results of this investigation indicate that a broad range of woods were available, but oak and beech were clearly favoured for fuel, possibly in association with industrial activities. Throughout the medieval phases of site occupation high quality woods were used preferentially as fuel, whilst the wood of large woodland trees, like oak and beech, may have continued to be readily available in the post-medieval period, the composition of the one post-medieval sample analysed does not demonstrate this unequivocally.

The Building Material

Kevin Hayward

A sizeable group (137 fragments, totalling 330kg) of dumped building material (tile, brick and stone) was examined in order to determine its origin and material type.

The geological category, source and use of the nine lithotypes identified from this very large assemblage (43 examples, 297kg) is summarised below (Table 5). This variety of materials was to be expected given the number of suitable local hard Palaeozoic sandstones and shales (Squirrell & Downing 1969), the excellent riverine and maritime links afforded by the River Usk and thence the Severn Estuary and finally the availability of possible *spolia* from the nearby fortress of Caerleon or other Roman sites in the vicinity.

Given the identification of a stone tessera from the silting up of a nineteenth-century drain (48) it is likely some of the material has a Roman origin, although the majority had been specifically quarried, such as the north-range rubblestone foundation (204) and flooring (46) for the later-medieval Phase 3 Friary.

Slightly further afield (10 kilometres to the west) the very hard Carboniferous limestone was also an important medieval construction material e.g. Chepstow Castle (Eaton 2001, 31–57), although at this site it is reused in nineteenth-century walling (75).

Perhaps of greatest interest are the rocks used to embellish the window tracery and bevelled mouldings reused in the Phase 3 Friary walling of Building 2 (108) and the unstratified stone containers. Dundry limestone quarried from the Middle Jurassic hills just to the south of Bristol was employed, e.g. for the reused late-medieval Gothic cusped tracery and cornice elements from Building 2 (108). These were deployed to adorn the windows and doorways of the late fourteenth-century Friars Eremites of St Augustine (Austin Friars). This stone would have been accessible via the River Avon at Bristol and thence across the Severn Estuary to the Usk Estuary. It was used in some quantity as window tracery in the medieval Quakers Friary at Bristol (Hayward 2014) and in the twelfth and thirteenth century at Chepstow Castle (Knight 1991). The size and crisp complex

Geological Type and source	Description	Use at Austin Friars
Blue-grey slate probably local Silurian or Devonian source or possibly further afield, e.g. Devon	Slate – blue grey metamorphosed shale	2 examples 0.1kg – Roofing material (149) (193)
Senni Beds; Uppermost Lower Devonian (Brownstone Group) outcrop on site	Sandstone – fine hard fissile/flaggy green micaceous sandstone	5 examples 0.4kg Roofing material post-medieval buried soil (10)
Brownstone; Uppermost Lower Devonian (Brownstone Group) outcrop on site	Sandstone – fine hard dark brown flaggy micaceous sandstone	22 examples 3kg bedrock (94) worked into Roman tessera (48) medieval roofing tile reused in a post-medieval cobblestone surface (147) and (195), flooring slabs (46) and foundation walling (204)
Nodular Senni with lime concretions Lowermost Brownstone Group outcrop on site	Sandstone – fine hard micaceous sandstone calcite nodules	1 example 0.2kg walling rubble Friary Phase 3 topsoil horizon (130)
Probably sandy unit within Uppermost Lower Devonian (Brownstone Group) outcrop on or near site	Sandstone – dark grey-brown gritstone	1 example 10kg bevelled architectural fragment possibly reused as a whetstone incorporated in a nineteenth-century build of the ‘inner precinct’ (77)
Carboniferous Limestone; Local 10-11 kilometres north-west of Newport	Hard sparry grey limestone with solitary coral <i>Zaphrentis</i>	1 example 0.2kg post-medieval walling rubble stone (75)
Pennant sandstone; Upper Coal Measures Upper Carboniferous outcrop 9-10km to the north-west of Newport	Fine grey-green very hard quartz sandstone	1 example 0.4kg paving slab 2 redeposited colluvium
Possible Sudbrook sandstone Triassic north side of Severn Estuary – Rogiet-Caldicot-Sudbrook 15 kilometres river/coast	Calcareous sandstone dark yellow-grey gritty sandstone	1 example 0.5kg possible quern fragment medieval pit fill (19)
Dundry limestone Upper Jurassic (Bajocian) Bristol region	Limestone – light-cream echinoid rich lime shelly grainstone	4 examples 182kg all the window tracery & bevelled moulding recycled Phase 3 friary walling (108) & second bevelled mould (77) medieval recycled moulds Friary
Coombe Down oolite or Painswick stone fine cream oolitic grainstone (Middle Jurassic) Painswick Hill Gloucestershire or Bath-Box Region	Limestone – fine cream oolitic grainstone	3 examples 100kg ashlar fragment from medieval wall Building 3 medieval Friary (74); [+] stone containers for lime manufacture or to contain water has thick calcite residue

Table 5: Building Stones

dressing of these blocks, as present here, can only mean that the stone from Newport was a fresh medieval consignment.

A very high-quality Bath stone was used in two large unstratified stone containers, and an ashlar block from a north-south wall (74) of Building 3 of the medieval Friary. This was comparable in hand specimen to examples of Painswick stone from a Middle Jurassic Gloucestershire source, a rock also used at Roman Caerleon (Hayward 2009). There is also some similarity with high quality Bath stones quarried along the margins of the River Avon for use in friaries in Bristol (Hayward 2014). Thus, we are seeing the transshipment of bulk materials across the Severn Estuary towards the medieval friary construction for South Wales. A likely use for these would have been for containers or tanks for mortar production as there is a thick veneer of re-precipitated lime on the lips of these examples. Finally, one worked possible Sudbrook sandstone quern from a late-medieval pit (19) near the wall (74) of the Friary may have a Roman origin. This rock which outcrops on the north bank of the Severn, five kilometres east of Chepstow, was identified at Caerleon (Pearson 2006) and reused as *spolia* at Chepstow Castle (Eaton 2001).

Roman Ceramic Building Material (CBM)

Abraded Roman brick and flat tile (1.1kg) was identified in a small area of the excavations in late-medieval soil horizon (130) and Victorian pit (134), with some reused in an early post-medieval cobbled surface (147). This may well have been acquired across the nearby River Usk and could have originated from the Roman fortress at Caerleon (four kilometres upstream). As there were only flat Roman elements identified (no tegula or imbrices), this suggests selective acquisition for construction of the Friary and later use as cobbling material.

Medieval Ceramic Building Material (CBM)

Small quantities (1.1kg) of broken, poorly made, glazed and unglazed medieval peg, ridge and floor tile were recovered from late-medieval and early post-medieval topsoil horizons (10), (35), and (203), pit fill (19), dump layer (172), cobbled surface (147) and the fill (138) of cess pit (156). Most of these pieces relate to the demolished flooring and roofing of the Friary buildings after 1538.

Roofing Tile

As well as examples of the rectangular-shaped peg tile which would have been nailed to the Friary roof as a series of overlapping plates, there was green-glazed curved ridge tile (10) that would have formed distinctive crests along the ridge line of the roof.

Flooring Tile

A small group of fragmentary plain-glazed floor tiles has been identified in three fabric types. This would have once adorned the flooring of the inner precinct or courtyard and many of the other rooms of the late-medieval friary.

Post-Medieval Brick

All the later brick drain structures from Friars Walk can be confidently dated, on the basis of form, fabric and associated mortar, to the nineteenth century.

The bricks retained from brick-and-stone drain structures (7), (49), and (54) all had sharp arises, fabrics and mortar types (hard Portland type cement with a clinker/ coal inclusions type 1); gravel mortar (type 2) that are indicative of mid-late nineteenth-century construction. Of particular interest are the unstamped, dense, high-alumina kiln bricks from (49) and (54), which

were probably manufactured out of local coal measure clays which were abundant in the Pontypool, Upper Cwmbran and Oakfield areas to the north (Squirrel & Downing 1969, 256). The presence of these heat-resistant kiln bricks suggests that these 'drain' structures may relate to flues or heating, particularly as one example had slag attached (54).

The nineteenth to twentieth-century construction bricks identified on this site were products of the burgeoning brick industry in this district supplying contemporary demand for brick in housing at Newport.

Conclusions

The majority of the walling, rubble and coursing layers, flooring and roofing, derived from hard Palaeozoic sandstone (Brownstone), upon which the Friary site lies. By contrast, higher quality freestone materials were acquired from much further afield, with Dundry stone from the Middle Jurassic of Bristol being used to embellish the fourteenth and fifteenth-century window tracery and cornice moulds reused in later walls (77) and (108). Indeed, there appears to be a major 'Severn Estuary' freestone industry geared towards the supply of high-quality materials in friaries (Bristol Quakers Friary; Newport Friary) and castles (Chepstow Castle) in the region.

The Medieval Metal Finds

Märit Gaimster

Besides a few incomplete iron nails, only a small group of medieval finds could be identified. These include dress accessories, but also fittings and furnishings, such as a fragmented dagger scabbard chape of copper-alloy sheet with overlapped edge at the back. The latter was recovered from layer (130), overlying the cess pits in Building 2 (Fig. 5a). The chape, which is almost straight in shape, retains most of its scalloped upper edge and is decorated with thin parallel lines across the body, possibly forming bands. Two oval perforations for fixing the chape to the leather are present; one is near the upper edge, and the other towards the tip on the same side. Its lower end is missing, so it is difficult to say how long it originally was, and what form this part took. While decoration is usually restricted to the upper part, a scabbard chape from King John's House, originally a thirteenth-century hall house, in Tollard Royal, Wiltshire, is decorated in a similar way with pairs of horizontal incised lines (Goodall 2012, fig. 30 no. 199). A small copper-alloy buckle with a markedly thin and worn frame is also probably medieval (Fig. 5b; cf. Egan 2007, fig. 394 no. S156; Griffiths *et al.* 2007, pl. 13 no. 443). The buckle was residual in a post-medieval layer in the NE part of the inner precinct or courtyard.

An unusual find is represented by an iron sheet mount (Fig. 5c). The mount has a central square perforation and is shaped like a quatrefoil, with each foil cut into a trefoil edge. The mount shows traces of original tinning both along the edges and preserved in radiating incised lines that separate each foil as well as marking their centre. An irregular pattern of small punched dots can also be discerned. The mount has parallels in late-medieval back-plates for ring-handles. A number of such handles are preserved in church and chapel contexts elsewhere, with rosette plates replaced with circular openwork plates from the fifteenth century (Geddes 1999, 218–24). The mount was recovered from the brick-clamp remains which were situated in the area of the inner precinct or courtyard in the mid-nineteenth century. Two possible door fittings were recovered from medieval contexts in the area of Building 2, including a diamond-shaped rove from an iron clench bolt. Clench bolts were used to join two pieces of timber together and, besides in clinker-built ships, were also used in cart and, in the later medieval period, in door constructions (Mould 2011, 187). They could

consist of an iron nail that was hammered through the wood with the tip clenched or burred over the rove, as suggested by the rectangular hole in the Newport rove, or they could have a round-sectioned shank, which would require the bolt to pass through a pre-drilled hole. A sturdy iron pin here has the right dimensions for a clench bolt of this latter type. Although longer than most recorded examples, this may be an unfinished or unused bolt.

A Post-Medieval Slate Tile with Tally Marks

Märit Gaimster

An inscribed slate tile provides an unusual and interesting find (Fig. 9). Possibly originally a roof tile, this, in its present form, consists of a narrow slice with incisions on both sides. On one lateral, the remaining surface is divided into three by two longitudinal incised lines. Each portion is inscribed with tally marks and headed with letters on the left side. In addition, the groups of tallies are interspersed with small circles and, in two cases, by letters. As with the headings, all lettering is shown perpendicular to the tally marks. The bottom of the slate tile is broken off, so the tallies are incomplete. The top portion of the slate, headed by the letter 'R', shows a group of five tallies, followed by nine, twice, the letter 'R', three tallies and again the letter 'R' with a small cross above. The middle portion is headed by the letters 'RR' and shows four tallies, followed by five, ten and fourteen. The lower portion, which is only partly preserved, is headed by a possible 'E' (a vertical line with three slightly slanted cross lines at top, bottom and middle) with tallies of four, five and then either nine or ten. The remainder of this element is only partially preserved.

The back of the slate has some incised markings, with four longitudinal lines indicating a division here into five portions; the uppermost line is more uneven, and only partially present as the slate is broken at this end. On this side, too, there appear to be perpendicular lettering or markings at the beginning of each portion. In the second section from the top is an 'I', or possibly a crude 'P'. Part of the letter is carved over a short horizontal line that may represent a first attempt to draw the line above. The letter is followed by a short vertical line and a small circle. The portion below is headed by the possible letter 'T', followed by two short vertical lines flanking a small circle, and a tally of three. Below is a segment headed by a crude 'M' followed by three short vertical lines forming two 'boxes', each with a small circle, and a tally of five. The bottom piece is headed by a possible 'B' followed by two 'boxes' with small circles.

The function of the inscribed slate from Newport is not known; however, the use of tallies for counting and record keeping is an age-old practice, from the medieval period on there are numerous wooden tally sticks known, carved with notches (Kovalev 2002, 73; cf. Morris 2000, 2338–9). Tally-slates are known, with examples from the fourteenth-century *cellarium* at Bristol Cathedral (Nenk *et al.* 1993, 247 and pl. VII B). The Newport tally-slate came from the fill of a nineteenth-century drain, to the east of the wall (74). This area at the time was occupied by the timber yard, so the slate likely relates to work here or to other activities.

The Animal Bone

Kevin Rielly

Animal bones were found in medieval and, in particular, post-medieval deposits. They were essentially hand-recovered but augmented by bones retrieved from a number of bulk samples. The site provided a hand-recovered total of 124 animal bones and a further 36 from the bulk samples.

The sample collections were washed through a modified Siraf tank using a 1mm mesh and the subsequent residues were air dried and sorted.

Medieval (Phases 2 and 3)

These two phases account for the pre-Friary and Friary occupation levels respectively. The former material all derived from cess pit (141) amongst a concentration of such features located in the north-eastern part of the site. This collection is mainly composed of cattle bone, here including the cattle-size component, although it should be stated that the sheep-size bones are very likely to belong to sheep/goat. The Friary bone-bearing deposits were all contained within Building 2 bordered by wall (204) to the west and wall (108) to the south, mainly recovered from the fill of Phase 2 pit (156) (possibly crossing over into Phase 3) and the overlying Phase 3 topsoil (130), providing 3/1 fragments (hand collected/sieved) and 35/8 fragments respectively. These groups, and (130) in particular, were poorly preserved, which may account for the greater proportion of cattle compared to sheep/goat and pig bones, although there does appear to be a notable quantity of sheep-size fragments. The cattle component, as shown in Table 6, is rather small, however, there does appear to be a bias towards head and foot parts (9 out of 11, including the bulk sample collection) which could suggest an area preferentially used for the dumping of primary (butchers') waste. The age and size evidence is also rather minimal, however, it can be stated that both adult cattle and sheep are present, while a cattle distal tibia with a greatest breadth measurement of 54mm is comparable to corresponding and contemporary data from other medieval sites as for example from Exeter (Maltby 1979) and London (information from PCA archives).

Phase:	2	3	4	5
Species				
Cattle	3	10(1)	29(1)	4
Cattle-size	1	14(5)	16(7)	1
Sheep/Goat		1(1)	12(3)	3
Goat			1	
Pig		(1)	1(1)	1
Sheep-size	(1)	21(5)	3(8)	2
Chicken				(1)
Chicken-size		(1)		
Goose				1
Grand Total	4(1)	46(14)	62(20)	12(1)

Table 6. Species representation within the hand collected and sieved (in brackets) assemblages sorted by Phase.

Post-Medieval

Most of the post-medieval animal bones were recovered from deposits within or adjacent to Building 2, in particular from robbing cut (107) removing wall (108) and rubble layer (115), overlying robber cut (126) removing wall (204) with 30 and 15 bones respectively. Otherwise there was a smaller collection of bones from various deposits to the west of wall (74) with 11 examples, while the

assemblage from the associated sample was all taken from (114), a sandy layer sealing rubble layer (115). In combination, these deposits provided a group dominated by cattle (including the cattle-size component) although with a sizeable proportion, contrasting with the previous phase, of sheep/goat fragments. The former species displays a wide age distribution, the 14 ageable bones include 2 juveniles, probably veal calves, 4 sub-adults (second-year individuals) and 8 adults (third-year or older). This clearly shows the presence of animals bred or used preferentially for their meat as well as those which would have initially provided some secondary product or function, such as milking or being used as a beast of burden.

There is a little more size data, specifically related to cattle, with complete metacarpals from dump deposit (164) and robber cut fill (106) (both probably dating to the eighteenth century) with lengths of 175.6mm and 166.5mm translating to shoulder height values of 1079.9mm and 1023.9mm, respectively. The first is certainly within the size range from contemporary British sites, as shown at Exeter (Maltby 1979) and various London sites (Rielly in prep). The smaller individual is clearly outside of the range of sizes observed from both these contemporary sources, although this size does occur up to the late medieval period in London (ibid.). This would suggest the potential that this area of Britain witnessed a retention of rather small 'types' of cattle well into the post-medieval period. A notable contrast to this evidence is the presence of a sheep/goat tibia with a distal breadth of 28.3mm from layer (95) (dating up to the mid eighteenth century) which is clearly post-medieval if not late post-medieval based on its size (Maltby 1979; Rielly in prep). This may well conform to one of the 'improved' breeds which entered general farm usage from the latter part of the eighteenth century (see Rixson 2000). A similarly late date can be applied to another feature of the Phase 4 collection, confirmed by the incidence of saw marks. These were observed on a cattle-size rib from (95) as well as a cattle pelvis and another cattle-size rib from the fill (106) of the robber cut (107). It is well known that this utensil did not make an appearance as a butchery tool prior to this period or even into the early nineteenth century (after Albarella 2003 and data from the MoLA and PCA archives).

Post-Medieval – Nineteenth-Century Redevelopment (Phase 5)

A small number of bones was recovered from various layers and cut features across the excavated area, deriving in particular from two out of the three slate-lined drains to the east of wall (74) and from an extensive deposit (112) situated to the west of this wall, with 5 and 4 fragments respectively. The samples produced a single chicken ulna, from the late cess pit (57). Both cattle and sheep/goat are represented by a mixture of skeletal parts, the former including a single complete bone, a metacarpus, from which a shoulder height of 1114.4mm was calculated. However, there is again evidence for larger sheep, a humerus from pit (71), with a distal breadth of 34.8mm, suggestive of a late post-medieval date corresponding to the London data (Rielly, in prep).

Conclusions

The bones dating to the latter part of the medieval period most probably derived from the Friary and thus provide information regarding the meat diet pertaining to this Augustinian community. While the bone assemblage is not large, it can be seen that there was a reliance on the meat of cattle and sheep/goat, most probably from older animals, with little usage of pig and poultry and an absence, perhaps surprisingly considering the ecclesiastical connection, of fish and, certainly, fish remains are known from other Augustinian sites (Carrot *et al.* 1995; Shackley *et al.* 1988; Thawley 1981). There is a possible bias against the preservation/recovery of these more friable and smaller bones, however, this is clearer in the layers and, in particular, the buried topsoil (130), rather than the contents of the cut features. The rules concerning the use of meat within the various religious

houses has been the subject of much debate, including the often-complicated methods whereby the occupants of these houses could ignore the stated proscriptions with a clear conscience (Harvey 1993). This could explain the general plethora of domesticated mammals at Benedictine Houses despite the rule concerning an abstinence from the flesh of quadrupeds (Pipe *et al.* 2011 and Ayres *et al.* 2003). It should be stated, however, that there is at least one example where the Augustinian Order was somewhat more blatantly carnivorous, as shown by the ‘summary of meat consumption at Bolton Priory in 1377–8’ where their larder was ‘stocked with the carcasses of 3 bulls, 32 cows, 16 heifers, and 38 oxen; 88 pigs; and 220 sheep, besides further unspecified quantities of meat, as well as the usual fish’ (Kershaw and Smith 2000; Woolgar 2006). This is not to say that they enjoyed a copious diet, indeed they were encouraged ‘not to exceed moderation in eating’, the foods on offer at mealtimes including bread, meat, fish and vegetables, although with the stipulation that meat should never be accompanied by fish or *vice versa* (Clark 1897). It is conjectured whether the more limited species-range here represents a local variation on the rules, the availability of certain meats or simply the rather small dataset.

There is undoubtedly a continuation of meat consumption following the Dissolution, the animal bones from various layers and demolition features suggest occupation in the vicinity of the former Friary culminating with the development of the site in the nineteenth century. The pre-development collection, with a large proportion dated to the eighteenth century, was notably similar to the medieval assemblage apart from a rather better representation of sheep/goat. This possibly conforms to a preference or greater requirement for mutton in much of Britain moving into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Trow-Smith 1957). Other notable ‘national’ changes include an increased use of veal, particularly in urban centres (after Albarella *et al.* 2009) and it is therefore of interest that a veal cut was found in a Phase 4 deposit.

The cattle found in the medieval and post-medieval levels may well have been a black variety, these being the mainstay of the Welsh Drovers sent into England from as early as the thirteenth century and increasing in quantity and importance from the fifteenth/sixteenth centuries (Trow-Smith 1957). Alternatively, the post-medieval cattle may represent one of the local races of brown finch-back cattle which inhabited South Wales and the adjacent parts of England as far as Wiltshire and Somerset from at least the early eighteenth century (Hall and Clutton-Brock 1995). The larger cattle recognised within eighteenth and nineteenth-century deposits could either be large males amongst these various ‘types’ or possibly animals brought in to improve local stocks, including one or more of the new breeds. It can be supposed that the larger sheep dating to the same deposits may have a similar origin, improving local hilly/upland stock of the Welsh Mountain varieties with large stock from across the border from Shropshire or Cotswolds (*ibid.*).

The Pottery *Chris Jarrett*

The small assemblage of post-Roman pottery consisted of 397 sherds, representing 341 minimum number of vessels (MNV) weighing 6.961kg and was largely in an unabraded, fragmentary state. The medieval component consists of 190 sherds/159 MNV/2.466kg and the post-medieval ceramics are represented by 207 sherds/182/4.495kg (Table 7).

Phase 2

A total of 83 sherds/68 MNV/1.229kg of pottery was recovered from Phase 2. The ceramic sequence commences in layer (167) with the presence of cooking pots (Fig. 11.1) handmade in Newport area

Pottery type	Code	Date range	SC	MNV	Wt	Forms (identified)
<i>Medieval</i>						
Hereford A7B	HA7B	c. 1200–1500	2	2	17	Jug
Ham Green ware, A ware	HAMG A	c. 1120–1170	37	33	527	
Ham Green ware, B ware	HAMG B	c. 1170–1300	10	9	148	Bowl, jug
Ham Green ware, cooking pot	HAMG CP	c. 1120/60–1300	2	2	45	
Miney-type ware	MINE	c. 1125–1530	3	3	62	Cooking pot/jar, jug/spouted pitcher
Miscellaneous unsourced medieval pottery	MISC	c. 900–1500	9	9	69	Jug
Miscellaneous unsourced medieval whiteware	MISC WW	c. 900–1500	3	3	18	Jug
?Monmouthshire, coal-tempered ware	MON	c. late 12th–13th century	1	1	12	Jug
Medieval sandstone-tempered ware	MST	c. 12th–13th century	1	1	9	Unidentified
North Devon medieval coarse ware	NDM	?	1	1	4	Jug
Newport area sand-tempered ware	NSW	c. 1080–1400	59	43	615	Cooking pot/jar, jug
Newport area coarse sand-tempered ware	NSW COAR	c. 1080–1400	23	16	256	Bowl, Cooking pot/jar
Redcliffe ware	REDC	c. 1270–1500	18	17	203	Jug
Medieval shale-tempered ware	SHALE	? 13th century	1	1	17	Unidentified
Siltstone-tempered ware	SILTU	c. 1200–1400	2	2	36	Cooking pot/jar
Upper Greensand-Derived wares (Somerset)	UGSD	late 10th-early 14th century	3	2	94	Cooking pot/jar
Vale ware	VALE	c. 1200–1300	1	1	10	Jug
Worcester-type sandy glazed ware	WSGW	c. 1150–1400	4	4	49	Jug
<i>Medieval/post-medieval</i>						
Malvern Chase ware	MALV	c. 1350–1550	3	3	42	Dish, jug
Micaceous ware (?Herefordshire/Worcestershire)	MICA	c. 15th–17th century	2	2	28	Cooking pot
Saintonge ware with even green glaze	SAIG	c. 1280–1350	1	1	3	Jug
Saintonge ware with mottled green glaze	SAIM	c. 1250–1650	4	3	8	Jug
Spanish unsourced amphora	SPOA	c. 1200–1900	1	1	212	
<i>Post-medieval</i>						
Black basalt ware	BBAS	1770–1900	1	1	16	Unidentified
Blackware	BLACK	1600–1900	3	3	45	Unidentified
Bone china	BONE	1794–1900	3	3	15	Saucer
Bristol glazed red earthenware	BRST GRE	c. 1730–1900	14	13	406	Bowl, dish
Creamware	CREA	1740–1830	18	13	114	Plate
Donyatt-type ware	DONY	1600–1900	4	4	84	Jug

English brown salt-glazed stoneware	ENGS	c. 1700–1900	24	21	631	Bottle, jar, jug
Biscuit-fired industrial fineware	INDF BISC	c. 1740–1900	1	1	11	Bowl
Mediterranean lead-glazed ware	MDLG	1480–1700	1	1	10	Unidentified
North Devon gravel free ware	NDGF	1625–1800	6	6	64	Unidentified
North Devon gravel-tempered ware	NDGT	1550–1850	20	20	782	Bowl, jug
North Devon sgraffito ware	NDSG	1625–1800	1	1	2	Unidentified
Nether Stowey ware	NETHST	1550–1800	23	18	1217	Bowl, dish
Nether Stowey slipware	NETHST SL	1550–1800	1	1	11	Jug
Pearlware, plain and decorated	PEAR	1770–1840	31	26	221	Bowl, lid, mug, plate, tea bowl, tea pot
Refined white earthenware (china etc.), plain and decorated, including transfer-printed	REFW	1805–1900+	24	18	185	Bowl, mug, plate, saucer, teacup
Staffordshire-type mottled brown-glazed ware	STMO	1650–1800	2	2	7	Drinking form
Staffordshire-type combed slipware	STSL	1660–1870	7	7	58	Dish
White salt-glazed stoneware	SWSG	1720–1780	1	1	4	Unidentified
English tin-glazed ware	TGW	1570–1846	2	2	5	Unidentified
Wanstrom (E. Somerset) ware	WANST	1550–1800	7	7	385	Bowl, dish
Yellow ware	YELL	c. 1800–1900+	12	12	204	Bowl, dish, lid
Total			397	341	6961	

Table 7: The Pottery

sand-tempered ware (NSW), which equates to the Papazian and Campbell (1992) Gwent fabric. The dating of NSW is uncertain, possibly *c.* 1080–1400 and here predates the incidence of Bristol area Ham Green A ware green-glazed jugs, introduced *c.* 1120 (Ponsford 1991). Both wares were found together in cess pits (141) and (168) (NSW: Fig. 11.2; HAMG A: Fig. 11.3). The later cess pit (156) contained mostly HAMG A, NSW and smaller quantities of North Wiltshire Minety-type ware (MINE) and Somerset Upper Greensand-derived ware (UGSD: Allan *et al.* 2011). Jugs or tripod pitcher sherds are found in HAMG A (Fig. 11.4) and MINE, while cooking pots/jars are restricted to HAMG (CP) (Fig. 11.5), MINE (Fig. 11.6) NSW and USGD (Figs 11.7–8). The occurrence of HAMG A, MINE (and with UGSD in South Wales: Forward 2013) are an important chronological marker for mid-late twelfth-century deposits, e.g. Bristol (Ponsford 1991), Hereford (Vince 1985), Worcester (Bryant 2004) and Dublin (McCutcheon 2006). Fill 138 also produced jug sherds of Worcester-type sandy glazed ware (WSGW: Bryant 2004). Other early medieval pottery types in this phase include sherds of shale-tempered ware SHALE (60) and later residual fragments of quartz and shelly-limestone-tempered ware, NSSL, possibly from a Hereford source (fabric G2b: Vince 1985).

Subsequent layers (165) and (166) produced mostly HAMG A and NSW sherds and the first incidence of Bristol Redcliffe ware (REDC), from *c.* 1250 (Ponsford 1991), besides imported French Saintonge ware (SAIM) jug sherds, dating to *c.* 1250. Cess pit (184) contained late thirteenth-century pottery constituting single examples of red-slip decorated jug sherds in HAMG and REDC, as well as a strap handle in a Herefordshire fabric (H A7B: Vince 1985, 42–43). Kitchen ware was represented exclusively by a single NSW COAR cooking vessel (Fig. 11.9).

Phase 3

Much of the pottery from Phase 3 appears to be residual and dates to before the establishment of the Friary in 1377, although some sherds such as REDC (Fig. 11.10) and MISC may be contemporaneous. Two fifteenth-century sherds from pit (20) were confidently dated to this century, these being micaceous ware (MICA) and Mediterranean lead-glazed ware (MDLG).

Layer (130) produced a large quantity of pottery with NSW/COAR being the most frequent, in the form of cooking pots/jars, while decorated REDC jugs were less important and included part of a face-mask jug rim. Ham Green ware is represented solely by a cooking pot (HAMG CP) and indicates a deposition date of *c.* 1300. A jug sherd made in H A7B and four sherds from different miscellaneous-ware jugs were also identified.

Phase 4

Phase 4 produced 58 sherds/55 MNV/1.494kg of pottery, much of which derived from Devon and Somerset (Good and Russett 1987). A stratigraphic sequence confirmed the ceramic profile for this phase. Two wares dated *c.* 1550–1800 are the earliest, comprising Somerset Nether Stowey ware (NETHST) from robber trench (120) and layer (115) and East Somerset Wanstraw ware (WANST) from a subsequent layer (35). Sealing the latter, layer (10) contained sherds of NETHST, North Devon sgraffito ware (NDSG), dated *c.* 1625–1800 and a late sherd of Saintonge green-glazed ware (SAIG), pre-dating *c.* 1650. The fill of a later robber cut (107) produced NETHST, North Devon gravel-tempered ware (NDGT) and eighteenth/nineteenth-century dated Bristol-glazed redware (BRST GRE). Discrete deposits produced a sherd of an Andalucían Spanish amphora (SPOA) found with NETHST and WANST ware, from layer (172), while layer (164) produced a small group of pottery deposited *c.* 1780–1820, including mid-late eighteenth-century creamware CREA, English

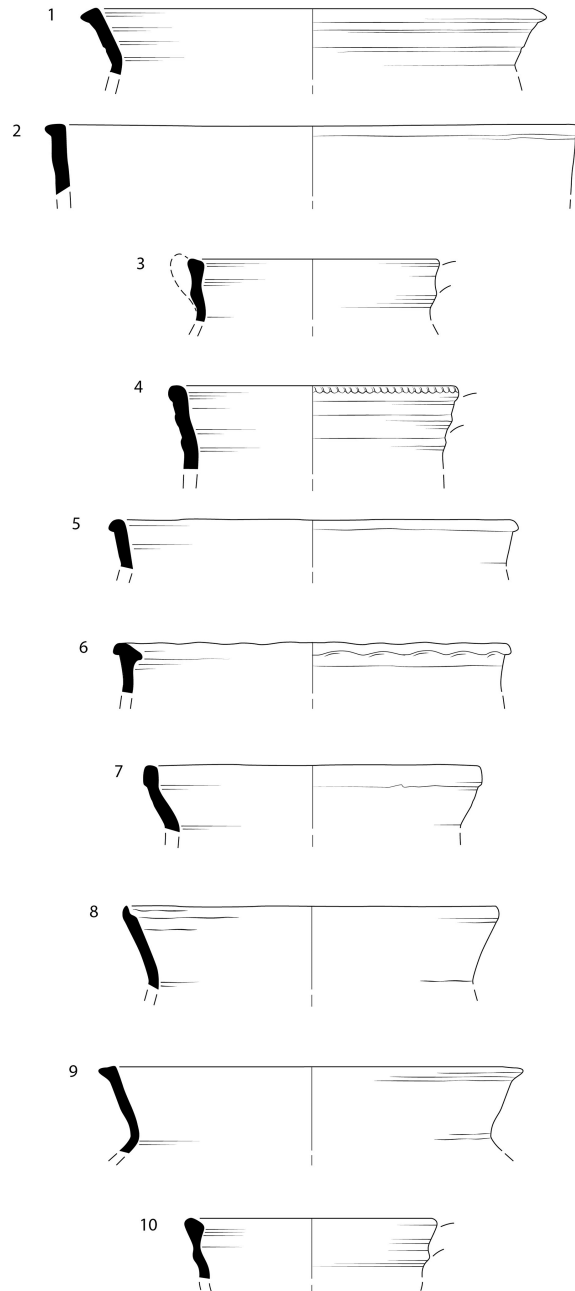


Fig. 11. The Pottery profiles from Phases 2 and 3

stoneware ENGS, white salt-glazed stoneware SWSG and, dating the context, 'blue and white' pearlware, PEAR BW.

Phase 5

The largest quantity of pottery (178 sherds/156 NMV/3.491kg) came from Phase 5 and the ceramic profile changes with factory-made wares from different sources (e.g. Staffordshire, Bristol, Swansea and Newport) being dominant. The pottery was recovered from a wide range of feature types, pits (12), (71), timber-lined feature (88), drains (49) and (84) all yielded domestic assemblages dated to the early, mid and mid-late nineteenth century. The main pottery types are either plain or decorated pearlware PEAR, refined whiteware REFW, English stoneware ENGS, including a possible waster from layer (65), creamware (CREA), and yellow ware YELL, found in that order of frequency (see Table 7). These wares mainly characterise table and tea wares, except for a number of bottles and jars ENGS and kitchen wares YELL. The decoration and quality of these pottery types indicates their owners were from a low socio-economic group, the latter is corroborated by the documentary evidence (Jorgensen 2014). The regional earthenwares were less important, although NDGT and BRST GRE were well represented and included contemporaneous vessels.

Regional comparisons

In order to better understand the Newport Friary medieval and early post-medieval pottery assemblages in their regional context, these have been compared to assemblages from other contemporary sites in the wider area, mostly ecclesiastical and some secular, from both the English and Welsh sides of the Severn and Bristol Channel. These assemblages include material from Carmarthen Greyfriars (Franciscan) (O'Mahoney 1998); Penhow Castle (Wrathmell 2016); Sites 1, 6 and 11 in Chepstow, including the Cormeilles/Benedictine Priory and its barn (Vince 1991), Greyfriars, Gloucester (Franciscan) (Ferris *et al* 2001), St Bartholomew's Hospital, Bristol (Ponsford 1998), the Benedictine Glastonbury Abbey (Allan *et al* 2015) and the urban site of Bridgwater (Allan in prep). Table 8 shows the percentages of pottery types by sherd count, excluding the group from Penhow Castle where the published data is not compatible.

Late Saxon pottery was identified at St Bartholomew's Hospital, Bristol and Glastonbury Abbey. Early medieval coarseware (Bristol fabric BPT6) had a limited distribution including Chepstow and Penhow Castle (Table 8), where the ware was probably traded via Newport. Bristol-area medieval Ham Green wares, including the cooking pots and the later Redcliffe wares, were present on all of the compared sites and reflect Bristol's recognised role as a port and its ability to trade these wares throughout the Bristol Channel, the valleys of the Severn and Wye areas, as well as Ireland (Ponsford 1991). The mid – late twelfth-century chronological markers of Ham Green A and early Minety wares occur on several of the sites, such as Carmarthen Greyfriars and Chepstow, although the further presence of these pottery types with the Somerset Upper Greensand-derived wares is limited only to Newport Friary and this paucity is possibly a symptom of this Somerset ware not being identified (Forward 2013). This triad of pottery types, however, has been recorded at other South Wales locations, e.g. Cosmeston and Quay Street, Cardiff (Forward 2013).

The later medieval Malvern Chase wares are mostly distributed at locations along the South Wales coast, besides Bristol and Gloucester, where they are a notable component, furthest west at Carmarthen Greyfriars and Penhow Castle in Gwent. The importance of this ware appears to diminish at the more southerly Somerset sites, being absent from Glastonbury Abbey and present in very small quantities at Bridgwater (Table 8). Only small amounts of Malvernian wares are recorded at the Newport Friary, where late-medieval pottery was less well represented. At Chepstow, it occurred

Source	Umbrella name	Sites							
		1	2	3*	4	5	6	7	8
<i>Saxon</i>	Late Saxon miscellaneous wares						0.5	0.1	
<i>Medieval</i>									
Bristol area	Bristol area?, early medieval coarse ware			3.9	19.0		2.0		
	Ham Green A		18.5				3.2		
	Ham Green B					0.1	13.8		
	Ham Green cooking pots	0.4	0.8		1.6		12.4		
	Ham Green ware (generic)	2.6			49.1			3.9	1.0
	Redcliffe-type wares	3.3	7.1	2.2	0.9		36.0	20.9	2.3
Buckinghamshire	Oxfordshire Brill/ Boarstall wares				0.1	0.1			
Cornwall	Cornish micaceous ware	0.1							
Devon	Exeter (Fabric 9) ware								2.2
	N. Devon gravel-tempered ware (medieval)	4.2							0.5
	N. Devon calcareous ware	3.6							
	N. Devon coarseware		0.4						
Dorset	S.E. Dorset ware								<0.1
Gloucestershire	?Haresfield type-ware				0.4				
	Forest of Dean/Wentford ware				3.6				
	Gloucester early medieval ware						38.7		
Herefordshire	Hereford/Herefordshire micaceous wares		1.6			10.1			
Lincolnshire	Stamford wares (including developed)	0.1			0.1			<0.1	
Somerset	Bath A/Cheddar J	0.1						6.5	
	Donyatt, medieval wares	3.7					0.1		41.2
	Exmoor/Quantocks	<0.1							19.3
	Somerset redwares	0.3							
	Upper Greensand-derived wares		1.2					20.5	0.8
Surrey, etc	Tudor Green	0.3		4.3	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.1	
Wiltshire	Minety-type ware	0.6	1.2		0.6	3.4			
	S. Wiltshire ware				0.3				
	S.E. Wiltshire ware						0.5		0.3
	W. Wiltshire wares				0.6				
Worcestershire	Malvernian wares	4.0	1.2	19.7	0.1	14.7	5.6		0.2
	Worcester area wares		1.6		0.2				
Carmarthenshire	Gravel-tempered wares	1.2							
	Llanstephan-type ware	5.3							
Dyfed	Dyfed Gravel-tempered ware	6.5							
Glamorganshire	Vale ware	0.1	0.4		1.1				
Gwent	Penhow-type ware			12.0					
	Sandstone-tempered wares	0.3							
Monmouthshire	Medieval coal-tempered ware		0.4						
Uncertain/local wares	Complex Rouletted ware (Gloucester, Worcester, Monnow Valley)							<0.1	
	Local coarse wares			2.3	21.3				
	Local glazed jug wares	5.8							
	Gritty wares	1.4		0.5				<0.1	
	Micaceous wares	3.7	0.8					0.1	
	Miscellaneous glazed whitewares	0.5	1.2						
	Miscellaneous wares	7.3	3.5	4.5	0.3		3.1	6.7	11.3
	Quartz-tempered wares				0.1	24.3	0.5		
	Sandstone-tempered ware		0.4						
	Shale-tempered ware		0.4						

Source	Umbrella name	Sites								
		1	2	3*	4	5	6	7	8	
	Shell-tempered ware					2.1				
France	Miscellaneous whitewares	0.5		1.3			3.0	0.2		
	Normandy glazed ware						0.2			
	Normandy Gritty ware						0.2			
	Rouen-type ware						<0.1			
	Saintonge wares	14.2	2.0	1.6	0.3	0.3	8.9	0.3	4.1	
Iberian	Spanish olive jars							0.1		
European	Islamic?	<0.1								
<i>Late medieval/early post-medieval</i>										
Devon	N. Devon gravel-free ware (including slipwares)	2.2	2.8						0.1	
	N. Devon Gravel-tempered ware	13.7	7.9				<0.1		0.1	
	N. Devon gravel-tempered/gravel-free ware					2.1		0.3		
Gloucestershire	Falfield-type ware						<0.1		0.1	
Midlands	Midlands Yellow	0.1				0.9				
Somerset	Donyatt-type ware	2.2	1.6				<0.1	17.1		
	Nether Stowey-type wares		9.4	15.8			0.1		3.4	
	Somerset redwares						<0.1	3.7	10.7	
	Wanstrow-type wares		2.8				0.1	22.2		
Britain	Cistercian-type ware	2.6				0.8				
Surrey-Hampshire	Border white wares					2.0				
Uncertain	Post-medieval miscellaneous redwares			21.1	0.2					
France	Beauvais earthenwares	2.1		0.2				0.1	0.1	
	Beauvais stoneware	0.2								
	Martincamp-type wares	0.5		0.2				<0.1		
	Normandy stoneware	0.1								
	Saintonge wares						<0.1	<0.1		
Germany	Siegburg stoneware	<0.1								
	Cologne stoneware	0.1						<0.1		
	Cologne/Frechen stoneware			0.2			<0.1	<0.1		
	Frechen stoneware	0.9				0.3		1.0	0.3	
	Raeren stoneware	0.5		4.8			<0.1	0.6	0.2	
Iberian	Merida-type ware	3.4		0.4	0.1		0.2			
	Portuguese coarseware							0.1	1.2	
Iberian	Sevillian Morisco wares	0.3					0.1			
Iberian	Spanish green glazed ware	0.4						<0.1		
	Spanish lustre-wares	0.1		0.2				<0.1		
	Spanish miscellaneous wares	0.4								
Iberian	Spanish olive jars	0.1						0.1	0.4	
	Spanish unsourced amphora		0.4						0.1	
Italy	Italian Maiolicas	0.1		0.5			<0.1	<0.1	0.1	
Italy/Low Counties	Italo-Netherlandish maiolica			0.2						
Low Countries	Netherlands Maiolica	<0.1						0.1		
Mediterranean	Mediterranean lead-glazed ware		0.4							
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Total No. of sherds/*MNV		3881	254	58	1575	794	6171	8854	1579	

Table 8. Comparison of South Wales and South West England post-Roman pottery assemblages by sherd count and minimum number of vessels*. Sites; 1. Carmarthen Greyfriars; 2. Newport Friary; 3. Penhow Castle; 4. Chepstow; 5. Gloucester Greyfriars; 6. St Bartholomew's Hospital, Bristol; 7. Glastonbury Abbey; 8. Bridgwater.

in greater numbers than evident from the quantified data (Vince 1991, 118–19). The evidence from South Glamorgan indicates that Malvernian wares are infrequent and that two different pottery trading networks existed side by side with Somerset wares supplying South Glamorgan, while the Malvernian pottery trade was focussed on Gwent (Forward 2013). The Carmarthen Friary is at odds with the eastern South Wales sites for producing a good proportion of both Somerset (6.6% sherds) and Malvern pottery (4.2% sherds) types.

The assemblages were compared in order to understand the differences in proportions of medieval glazed (mostly table wares) and unglazed wares (mainly cooking pots and storage jars) (Table 9). Caveats with respect to this comparison include that unglazed wares, e.g. cooking pots, are more likely to be over-represented as such vessels have greater breakage rates when compared to table wares, while on higher-status properties metal kitchen wares may have been preferred to ceramic versions. The latter form also became rarer in the Bristol area during the late medieval period. During the early medieval period unglazed pottery was likely to have been more frequent and produced for a wider range of functions. Noticeably, glazed wares on all the sample sites were consistently more frequent than unglazed wares (Table 9). At the ecclesiastical sites of Carmarthen Greyfriars, Glastonbury Abbey, St Bartholomew's Hospital, Bristol, and the urban excavation at Barnstaple, around three quarters or more of the pottery was glazed as were the case with two thirds of the assemblage at Penhow Castle. More equal proportions of glazed and unglazed wares were noted at Newport Friary, Chepstow and Gloucester Greyfriars. This pattern requires further investigation as there are only two secular assemblages for comparison, one of which is high-status (Penhow Castle) and the other of which is urban (Bridgwater) (Table 9).

	Sites							
	1	2	3	4*	5	6	7	8
Glazed	88.4	51.1	66.3	53.9	54.2	73.3	97.0	75.5
Unglazed	11.6	48.9	33.7	46.1	45.8	26.7	3.0	24.5
Uncertain		0.5	13.6			3.2	4.3	4.2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No. of sherds	2269	190	279	1572	746	5903	4625	1281

Table 9. Comparison of glazed and unglazed pottery present in South Wales and South West England post-Roman pottery assemblages by sherd count and minimum number of vessels*. Sites; 1. Carmarthen Greyfriars; 2. Newport Friary; 3. Penhow Castle; 4. Chepstow; 5. Gloucester Greyfriars; 6. St Bartholomew's Hospital, Bristol; 7. Glastonbury Abbey; 8. Bridgwater

Imported pottery was present on all sites. The greatest range of imports was identified at Greyfriars Carmarthen with a total of 23.7% of the sherds and including particularly exotic material comprising an Islamic ware of probable European manufacture (O'Mahoney 1998, 46). Other diverse groups of imported ceramics came from the prestigious, pilgrimage site of Glastonbury Abbey (2.7 % sherds) and St Bartholomew's Hospital, Bristol (12.6% sherds), while the Newport Friary site produced one of the more impoverished collections of European wares (2.8% ENV). The medieval imports mostly came from France and particularly the Saintonge area, while a much more varied range of sources and pottery types are recorded amongst the early post-medieval imports, with German stonewares being most frequent (Table 8). The presence of imported pottery in the

archaeological record could be a consequence of several factors, e.g. direct trade in the commodity, as ballast with more expensive produce, the exchanging of gifts and the redistribution of ‘unwanted’ / ‘unfashionable’ ceramics to servants etc (Courtney 1997). Portage, whereby sailors obtained foreign ceramic items for reselling in ports and so supplementing their income, may also be a factor in the presence of ‘exotic’ wares (Blake 2018). The contents of some vessels, e.g. the Iberian amphora etc., were more important than the vessels themselves. Not all of the ceramics recovered from monastic sites would necessarily have been the property of the clerics and their staff and, indeed, could equally have been the possessions of guests and travellers, especially the conspicuous, often elderly, long-term paying-guests (corrodians) noted for the later medieval period (Courtney 1997, 99–100).

Saintonge wares were present on all the sampled sites, the greatest quantity coming from Greyfriars, Carmarthen, and St Bartholomew’s Hospital, Bristol (14.2% and 8.8% sherds respectively), which suggests such wares were associated with religious ranked groups. Courtney (1997) has discussed the drawbacks of assigning imported pottery to status and observed that glass and metal wares were notably more expensive than ceramics, which only outclassed treen and leather vessels. It has also been asserted that medieval Saintonge, and other French pottery, was an ‘integral part of a wine-drinking cultural package’ ‘piggybacking’ on the French wine trade. Arguments against this are that the economic organisation for the distribution of the Saintonge pottery is similar to the export of certain British wares, e.g. the distribution of Bristol Ham Green and Redcliffe wares found at Irish and South Wales locations and that a false modern perception of good quality imported pottery equates to a more desirable product than British alternatives. The end users of these vessels may also have used them differently to the cultural group where the pots were made. It has also to be considered that continental pottery production methods and transport by water was more cost effective and cheaper than comparable British wares (Courtney 1997, 102). Good-quality native wares could similarly have been sought out as an alternative, or in preference, by households and institutions who were willing to expend on better-quality ceramics. The latter has been demonstrated on higher socio-economic London sites (Pearce 2010; Jarrett 2020). Perhaps the over-riding reason for the noticeable presence of imported pottery on the sample sites was its ready availability, particularly as the excavations are situated in or close to medieval ports or are in proximity to navigable rivers. Indeed, the frequency of imports significantly diminishes on sites greater than 20 miles inland (Courtney 1997, 102).

In contrast, much of the early post-medieval imported pottery does imply conspicuous consumption and relates to a Renaissance ‘ceramic package’ observed in secular middling and higher socio-economic and religious households in north west Europe (Gaimster 1999). This ceramic package consists of stonewares, high-quality red and white earthenwares, slipwares (which could equally be supplied by local products, e.g. Cistercian-type and the Somerset redwares), maiolicas and stove tiles (*ibid.*). The imported ceramics in these categories, except for stove tiles, were noticeable at the ecclesiastical sites of Greyfriars, Carmarthen and Glastonbury Abbey and to a certain extent at St Bartholomew’s Hospital, Bristol, although they are poorly represented elsewhere (Table 8). Certainly, large quantities of German stoneware drinking-vessels would have been useful for the catering requirements of religious establishments. The high-status secular site of Penhow Castle (Table 8) also demonstrates the presence of a Renaissance ceramic package and Wrathmell (2016, 61) discusses the imports here in relation to other similar Welsh and West Country assemblages. Cardiff Castle also produced an important group of high-status finds, including glassware and early clay tobacco pipes (Jarrett 2018).

During the early post-medieval period (c. 1480–1650/1700) there appears to be a limited range of sources of English pottery traded by water in the Bristol Channel and these wares came

mostly from Somerset and Devon and continued an earlier medieval tradition beginning with the Upper Greensand Derived ware. South Somerset wares (Donyatt-type wares) were only noted at Carmarthen Greyfriars, although the type was also recorded with West Somerset Nether Stowey-type wares and East Somerset Wanstrow-type wares at Newport Friary. Penhow Castle appeared to receive mostly Nether Stowey-type wares (Table 8), although a Donyatt-type ware bottle was documented (Wrathmell 2016). The absence of Somerset wares at Gloucester would indicate that this pottery was outside of the target market and that Gloucester was supplied with more local redwares. Somerset and North Devon wares were under-represented at St Bartholomew's Hospital, Bristol, which contradicts the importance of the use of these pottery sources in the city (Good and Russett 1987). Somerset wares lost their wider market during the mid-17th century as the North Devon wares grew in importance and the frequency of the latter at both the Carmarthen and Gloucester Greyfriars sites and the Newport Friary is manifest, although these wares are absent or less conspicuous in the other assemblages (Table 8), and they are remarked upon rather than quantified at Penhow Castle (Wrathmell 2016).

Discussion

The medieval pottery assemblage, although small, is important for demonstrating that a wide range of ceramic sources supplied the site. The pottery sequence shows that, initially, it was the local sandy ware NSW/COAR that was the main purveyor of kitchen wares from the eleventh century onward. Sometime later these were complemented by jugs from North Somerset/Bristol Ham Green and eventually Wiltshire wares, besides cooking pots from Somerset. Smaller quantities of ceramics from other sources to the north and distributed via the Severn (Worcestershire), the Wye (Herefordshire) and the Severn Estuary (a trade conduit for the Somerset and Continental imports) augmented this supply of pottery. Supply would have been aided by the site's location on the bank of the Usk, within the port of Newport, and indicates for the end users how important sea and river transport was to the supply of such a diverse range of ceramics. A few sherds of possible Penhow-type ware MISC M1 may be present in the assemblage, while pottery from Monmouthshire was lacking, except for possibly a green-glazed jug sherd with coal inclusions. This indicates that these sources were probably unimportant for Newport and definitely for the study area. From the mid thirteenth century, the Ham Green production centre waned to be supplanted by the Bristol/Redcliffe ware industry, which became the principal provider of jugs to the site. Interestingly, more jugs (55% MNV) are present than cooking pots/jars (33% MNV) in the medieval assemblage. Cooking pots are usually overrepresented in assemblages as these vessels were subject to thermal stresses and consequently more frequent breakage. Therefore, the pottery as refuse appears to have come more from areas/buildings where drink-serving activities took place, rather than for food preparation. The ceramic sequence for the later medieval period on the site is limited from the archaeological record. Elsewhere in Newport from c. 1350–1550 (Good and Russett 1987), it might be expected that the granite-tempered Malvernian ware (MALV) would be the main pottery type in use, however only a handful of residual sherds were recorded here.

The post-medieval ceramic sequence appears to follow that of Bristol, whereby pottery from East, and more so, West Somerset, was more frequent in the late sixteenth to seventeenth-century dated deposits, eventually losing their predominance to North Devon wares (Good and Russett 1987). The forms (unsurprisingly) for Phase 2 are distinct from those of Phase 4, when bowls and dishes are the dominant shapes, jugs were rare and specific closed shapes for cooking had completely disappeared, probably replaced by metal variants. This trend has been noted elsewhere in the region, such as Bristol (Good 1987). The eighteenth-century pottery types (e.g. combed slipware, mottled-

glazed ware and tin-glazed ware), which could have originated in Bristol, or elsewhere, tended to be residual in Phase 5. However, the latest Phase 4 deposits demonstrated the shift from pottery having a regional identity to that of a national one, where ‘Staffordshire-type’ products dominated. Little research has been undertaken on Newport post-medieval pottery production (at least three potteries are known from the Newport area in 1895 (Kelly 1895)). It is therefore not possible to determine how well local products are represented, the exception being a stoneware waster from a bottle.

The Clay Tobacco Pipes

Chris Jarrett

The clay tobacco pipe assemblage consists of 50 fragments in a very fragmentary state and comprises six bowls dated *c.* 1700–1860, 40 stems and four mouth parts. The bowl shapes were classified following Oswald’s (1975) general typology (prefixed OS) and cross-referenced to Atkinson and Oswald’s (1969) shapes and, where relevant, the Bristol typology (Jarrett 2013). An undated bowl/stem fragment was noted in fill (21) of the brick-clamp remains (78) (Phase 5). The earliest dateable bowl (layer 2, evaluation) survived only as an oval heel with evidence for a large upright bowl fitting Oswald’s (1975, fig. 3) OS12 type bowl, dated *c.* 1730–80, although it is a better match to the Bristol Type 19 shape, dated *c.* 1700–40+ (Jarrett 2013, Fig. 4.18). There are four plain spurred bowls in a fragmentary state, which can be classified as the OS24/AO28 shape and re-dated *c.* 1820–50/60 (Higgins 2004). All were found in Phase 5 dated deposits. Three of the bowls, two of which were burnt, were noted in burnt layer (187) and are not further marked. The fourth bowl came from layer (193) and has evidence for an initial on the right side of the spur, which appears to have been deliberately obscured. The seams of this pipe were poorly trimmed, reflecting a regional manufacturing tradition noted elsewhere in the region, such as Bristol (Jarrett 2013) rather than evidence for low-quality pipes or poor finishing-skills by the pipe makers. The stems and the mouth parts could only be broadly dated according to their thickness and the sizes of their bore, all dating to the eighteenth century. Of note was a thin, fine bore, green-glazed mouth part found in layer (21) probably dating to the nineteenth century. As noted, the earliest evidence on the site for the smoking of tobacco using clay pipes consists of the late eighteenth-century bowl found in deposit (2) and stems found in Phase 4 dated deposits associated with contemporary pottery. Three stems were found with eighteenth-century ceramics in fill (106), robber cut (107) and four stems in layer (164) with pottery dated to *c.* 1780–1820.

The Glassware

Chris Jarrett

Introduction

A small-sized assemblage of very fragmentary glass was recovered from the site, encompassing 51 fragments/30 minimum number of vessels (MNV)/1.885kg, all being from stratified deposits. No medieval glass was associated with the Phase 3 Friary or the earlier Phase 2 activity and the material appears to be solely post-medieval in date. Glass which is contemporaneous with other finds first appears in Phase 4 with three fragments found in fill (106) of the robber cut (107) in the form of English wine bottles. One of these has an illegible stamped seal, while another is in a moulded, cylindrical shape and is therefore presumed to be an intrusive nineteenth-century item. Phase 5 produced the largest quantity of glass (42 fragments/22 MNV/1.572kg), with fragments of cylindrical wine bottles post-dating *c.* 1730 being the main form encountered (22 fragments /8

MNV/640g). The base of a diagnostic free-blown early type, dated to *c.* 1730–1850 came from fill (21) of brick-clamp feature (78) and a mould-made example dating to after *c.* 1810, fill (136) from robber cut (118), is noted. Other forms represented are infrequent and include small quantities of window and vessel glass or other containers, such as bottles (five fragments/3 MNV/153g). A nineteenth-century aquamarine cylindrical-section bottle from fill (28), robber cut (29) has lettering on the underside of the base embossed ‘. P R & F. BRISTOL’, referencing the glass manufacturers Powell, Ricketts and Filer, whose company operated at the Phoenix glass-bottle works from *c.* 1854 to 1857 (Jones 1986). Additionally, there are fragments of two demijohns (559g) used for storing large quantities of liquid, possibly alcohol, from fill (70), pit (71). These vessels are robust and were made in dark olive-green glass and have cracked-off uneven rims and conical necks with applied rounded-section cordons. The demijohns would have been employed in a business located on the site. Additionally of interest is irregular-shaped glass-production waste made of dark olive-green high-lime low-alkali material containing large bubbles. One fragment (208g) was intrusive in layer (165) (Phase 2), and is wedge-shaped, measuring 91mm long x 62mm wide x 33mm thick, while a second item (51g) measures 66mm long x 29mm wide x 26mm thick derived from Phase 5, fill (70), pit (71). The South Wales (Siemens Patent) Glass Manufacturing Co. Limited is documented in Newport between at least 1875 and 1914, and it was located at Albany Street/Malpas Road, close to the site.

OVERALL CONCLUSIONS

The archaeological investigations at Friars Walk have identified developments at both the Friary site and Friar’s Fields, from their role in the founding and expansion of the Austin Friary, to their post-Dissolution industrial and residential activities, notably within the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The friars occupied the site of St Nicholas’ chapel, on marginal agricultural land near the bank of the River Usk. They transformed this property into a Friary which grew into a larger religious community focussed around a courtyard, cloister and an enlarged church. The presence of cess pits together with the practice of the friars of using ‘found’ buildings (such as the pre-existing St. Nicholas’ church) prior to official foundation and building expansion, indicates some manner of localised activity on the site prior to the foundation of the Friary, likely by an early religious community of friars. This occupation of unused or marginal buildings prior to founding a formal monastic complex is consistent with other examples of friars’ activity throughout Britain and Europe (Bruzelius 2012).

It should be noted that while Saintonge vessels such as those present on site were doubtless more expensive than plain pottery, their association with the urban poor or rural villeins is not impossible (Courtney 1997), and the examples present here are very few. Analysis of the building materials indicates that the majority of stone used in the Friary was purposely dressed for local construction work and brought to site specifically for the erection of the Friary. The Roman material present is residual, in small quantities, and inconsistent with any ideas of large-scale reclamation of building material from nearby Roman sites such as Caerleon.

The granting of burgages after 1377 secured income for the friars, allowing them to expand the Friary after the church’s and Newport’s partial destruction by Owain Glyndŵr in 1403. Archaeological evidence indicates that Building 4, the Church of St Nicholas, was expanded at this time to include a presbytery, which occupied the earlier location of (some of) the Friary’s cess pits. Where any subsequent cess was deposited is unclear, but it would have been outside the limits of

excavation. The contents of the pre-Presbytery cess pits constitutes a mixture of ordinary domestic waste, such as cattle, sheep/goat bones and fruit stones, consistent with food consumption, though these remains are few. Other finds comprise broken vessels associated with food and drink serving, and hearth scrapings from domestic and small-scale industrial contexts.

The exact form of the Friary during Phase 3 remains ambiguous. Comparative work by Eve Jenkins-Nicholson examining the form of similar sites such as Prinknash Abbey (formally St Peter's Grange, of the same age as Newport Friary) and the Blackfriars at Gloucester indicates that the kitchen may have been situated at the eastern end of the southern range (Jenkins-Nicholson 2017, pers. comm.). In this case the kitchen has been conjectured, along the eastern range, adjacent to the former cess pits, consistent with the layout of other friaries. It is likely that the spatial arrangements of friaries followed an analogous layout, one that proved both practical and flexible as these complexes expanded within the means of the friars' assets.

It is curious that, prior to the expansion of Building 4, the cess pits in the area of Building 2 appear to have continued to function into Phase 3, adjacent to the most sacred centre of the Friary, the apparent church itself.

The stream found on a 1794 map of Newport which ran around the Friary site, was likely used by the friars for drainage and waste disposal, and the possible emptying of a hypothetical reredorter, not included in the conjectural plan. It would have run past where the cloisters and refectory would have been placed, based on similar examples in Britain such as the Beverley Austin Friars and Blackfriars, Gloucester (Jenkins-Nicholson 2017 pers. comm.). The freestone used to embellish the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century window tracery and the cornice moulds in walls (77) and (108), together with similar examples in the Bristol Quakers Friary and Chepstow Castle point towards the existence of a major 'Severn Estuary' freestone industry (Hayward 2014).

No human remains were found during the 2014 excavations, however Jenkins-Nicholson notes seven skeletons, in poor condition found during the 1933 excavation at the Kingsway, could (she suggests) have been placed within the limits of the Friary churchyard. Dental analysis supports a pre-Tudor/pre-Reformation date. This is based on the fact that the teeth were in a good state and these individuals likely pre-date the widespread use of sugar in the sixteenth century (Jenkins-Nicholson, pers. comm.). It should be noted that four individuals showed signs of syphilis – not unusual in a harbour town but certainly not in keeping with a monastic lifestyle, and it is therefore certainly possible that these seven burials may not be friars.

The animal bone assemblage was small; the majority were cattle consistent with butcher's waste, with few sheep/goat and little pig bone. The bone from the exterior of the Friary (n = 64) in soil deposits, was poorly preserved with evidence of mechanical degradation compared to that from sealed deposits within the Friary (n = 10). There was no evidence of gnaw marks on bones, but bone waste is easily completely consumed by dogs, pigs and other scavengers if left exposed. No fish bones were found despite sieving and sampling. This could be considered surprising due to the proximity of the site to the river and in consideration of the role of fish in monastic diets with nearly half the year designated as fast days, during which meat would not have been eaten, albeit that monastic establishments found multiple lines of reasoning to circumvent these canons (Rielly above). Even if the cess pits predate the friars, their proximity to the Usk, a river known for its salmon, sea trout and other fisheries would very much have been a local resource. The absence of fish within the cess contexts is puzzling, unless, as suggested above, other domestic rubbish deposits lie beyond the current limits of excavation, which would place them nearer the location of the kitchen the conjectural plan of the Friary (Jenkins-Nicholson, pers. comm.). All of the medieval

cess pits derive from Phase 2, and, with the expansion of the Friary, additional rubbish and cess pits would have been needed likely close to the kitchens and refectory. It is possible that, if a reredorter suggested by (Jenkins-Nicholson, pers. comm.) was established, the need for cess pits would have been negated, with waste running directly into the stream.

There are many examples of other Austin Friary sites with fish bones from refuse/cess contexts, for example, excavations at Leicester Friary yielded 10 species of fish including ray, salmon, cod, and ling (Thawley 1981), and the Austin Friars at Hull appears to have been consuming cod, ling, salmon, and other fish, the bones of which were recovered from within the Friary grounds (Carrot *et al.* 1995). With regard to the Leicester Austin Friars, despite the proximity of the site to the river there was an absence of obligate freshwater species, indicating a taste for marine fish and transport links with the coast. However, freshwater fish were identified at Owston Abbey, a poor rural Augustinian Priory, 12 miles east of Leicester, which had a series of fishponds. Cyprinids, pike, and perch were recovered from an excavated section of one of the ponds dated to the time of the Dissolution (Shackley *et al.* 1988). These data support the thesis that fish would be expected in Friary occupation levels.

The wealth of the friars is another consideration, they would have suffered a downturn in income after the ruin of Newport in 1403 and the establishment may have been relatively poor with their income from donations and burgages precluding a diet rich in animal protein. Other finds have not indicated an affluent community which may also be reflected in the small quantity of animal bone, albeit one which had a broad reach (Jarrett, above).

By the time of the Dissolution the Friary was impoverished and the buildings remained occupied by a lone friar. The subsequent post-medieval period lacks substantial archaeological evidence in terms of site use, however despite the survival of Building 4 and a wall of Building 2 into the eighteenth century, this period is characterised by robbing events, presumably by local residents re-using the masonry. There were more animal bones from the post-medieval levels, though still constituting a small assemblage, dominated by cattle. A concentration of sheep/goat foot bones may point to butchers / craft waste; observed saw marks are typical of later eighteenth or nineteenth century butchery. A large sheep tibia constitutes evidence of the new improved breeds of the period.

Archdeacon Coxe (1801) reported a cider mill operating within the Friary's ruins. Jenkins-Nicholson has suggested that the woodland separated from Friar's Fields by Westgate Street (then Corneis Lane), as seen on the 1794 map of Newport may have been an orchard (Jenkins-Nicholson 2017, pers. comm.). The presence of apple in charcoal analyses and plum/damson stones from cess pits (156) and (141) possibly supports this interpretation, and would be consistent with having been used by the friars.

It has been suggested that the Friar's Fields site was cultivated by the successors to the brethren until the nineteenth century despite the abandonment of the Friary, linking them potentially to the cider mill mentioned by Coxe (Jenkins-Nicholson 2017, pers. comm.). By the onset of the nineteenth century, Friar's Fields had begun to be cleared for the construction of tenements, an event which is reflected within the archaeology with the construction of drainage systems, and pottery types deposited in contemporary pits that reflect domestic table and tea wares. These tenements were subsequently levelled to make way for an electrical plant towards the end of the nineteenth century. The last of the Friary's standing ruins were demolished to be replaced by a timber yard, which in turn gave way to municipal offices, and finally a car park in 1970.

The excavation has revealed evidence for the presence of the Austin Friars in Newport prior to the Friary's official foundation, mainly in the form of Phase 2 pottery and the cess pits adjacent to the (then) chapel of St Nicholas.

The material evidence from this site assists in our understanding of Austin Friary life within medieval Wales, its origins within the host community and across the broader region, the latter particularly in the stone and ceramic assemblages.

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TIBBS BRIDGE, MONMOUTH

By Julian Mitchell

The original stone bridge from Monmouth over the Monnow to what was later called Vauxhall was destroyed in the thirteenth century, and only its piers survived. Over these a wooden footbridge was built, but Monmouth has always suffered from floods and this must often have been repaired or replaced over the next five hundred years till the Tibbs family gave their name to a new one in 1795.¹

John Tibbs senior was the landlord of the Beaufort Arms, which he had himself created from two tenements. He also had a farm on the meadows across the Monnow which he aggrandized into what Charles Heath called a ‘*Ferme Ornee*’ with a Public Mall, a Tea Garden and a Bowling Green. It was already operating in August 1775 when Francis Grose came to Monmouth with a party of Newland gentry. Collecting some young ladies from the girls’ school, they went over the bridge to “a kind of Vauxhall” (which suggests the inspiration for the name came from London). “Here we saw several of the Monmouth beauties, at least goods reputed such”, he wrote. But if the beauties were a disappointment, the prospect was delightful “and the day being fine and the wheat in shock, standing on the ground [stooks], the ladies dancing on the turf, and the music, one of them a Welsh harp, playing al fresco, exhibited a truly pastoral scene.” The price of entry for strangers was two shillings, for which they got tea and coffee as well as music. After rainy weather a cascade could be made by the miller at the bottom of the walk.

Tibbs’s Farm became known as the Public Gardens, and Lord Torrington was taken to see them by Tibbs’s son, also John, in June 1781. Weather permitting, he was told, “the company of all the neighbourhood meet, every Thursday at 5 o’clock in the evening and dance till 9 o’clock upon two bowling greens.” John Wesley came three years later. “I had hardly seen such a place before”, he said, describing how “a gravel walk leads through the most beautiful meadows... to a gently rising ground on the top of which the gentry of the town frequently spend the evening in dancing. From hence spread various walks, bordered with flowers; one of which leads down to the river, on the banks of which runs another walk whose artless shades are not penetrated by the sun. These are full as beautiful in their kind as even the hanging woods at Brecknock.” Torrington came again in 1787, and perhaps he had the artless shades in mind when he wrote of “the happiness of lovers in such a place, where denials cou’d neither be given or taken.”

A painting by Thomas Hearne of 1794 shows the way to the Farm, or ‘*Ferme*’, was over a rather rickety bridge (Fig. 1), which probably met its end in the “unprecedented inundation” in the Wye Valley on February 11th, 1795. Later that year J.M.W. Turner drew a pencil sketch of a smart new bridge with criss-cross railings, much more likely to attract customers across the Monnow. John Tibbs senior had died in 1789, and his son in 1793, and their widows both remarried, but the new bridge was named Tibbs Bridge, presumably in their memory, and as such it appears on the 1800 plan of Monmouth by T. Morrice in Coxe’s *A Historical Tour Through Monmouthshire* (1801), where there is a print of it by Sir Richard Colt Hoare. It had previously appeared in Samuel Ireland’s print

¹ Charles Heath, 1804. *Historical and Descriptive Accounts of the Ancient and Present State of the Town of Monmouth*. Keith Kissack, 2001. Monmouth and the Floods. *Architectural History*, 44, 411–13; *Monmouth The Making of a County Town* (1975), 243; *Victorian Monmouth* (ND), 27. Mitchell, J. 2010. Francis Grose in Monmouthshire, 1775, *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* Vols XXV-XXVI (2009–2010), 85–87. C. Bruyn Andrews (ed.) 1934. *The Torrington Diaries* Vol I, 21 and 268; Nehemiah Curnock (ed.), 1909. *John Wesley’s Journal* Vol VIII, 9; *Hereford Journal*, May 13th 1789, Oct 20th 1790, November 20th 1793 and May 28th 1794.



Fig. 1. Thomas Hearne. British Museum, where it is called "Near Monmouth": PD 1859, 0528.212 (Binyon 8). Another, almost identical, version of this painting was at the London dealer Martin Gregory in 1999. © Trustees of the British Museum.

of 1797, Edward Dayes' water-colour (ND but probably 1799) (Fig. 2), "Michaelangelo" Rooker's water colour (before 1801, V&A) and doubtless elsewhere.



Fig. 2. Edward Dayes. Private collection. © The owner. All rights reserved.

There were more floods in 1809, but a drawing by Thomas Tudor of 1810 (Fig. 3) shows the bridge still in pretty fair condition. But when George Orleans Delamotte drew it seven years later (Fig. 4), there were worrying gaps in the railings. Floods were frequent and in 1827 the bridge was said to have been washed away. In another drawing by Delamotte in 1831, it was still there, but in a very dilapidated state, and flood damage and repairs must have continued on an irregular basis till the construction of the modern concrete bridge.

In 1803 the second Mrs Tibbs's second husband, a Mr Watkins, who seems to have taken over the Beaufort Arms and the '*Ferme*', "retired from public business", which was the end of the Tibbs connection. But the bridge remains theirs to this day.



Fig. 3. Thomas Tudor, September 5th, 1810. From the collections of Monmouth Museum, courtesy of MonLife Heritage Museums.



Fig. 4. George Delamotte, October 20th, 1817. West Glamorgan County Archives.

THE CRAWLEY FAMILY OF BRYNGWYN RECTORY

By Ann Hudson

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

The Reverend William Crawley (1802–96) (Figs 1–2) was rector of Llanfihangel-ystern-llewern from 1831 to 1858 and of Bryngwyn from 1834 until his death in 1896 at the age of ninety-three. In 1844 he became the first archdeacon of Monmouth in the diocese of Llandaff; Monmouth became a separate diocese only in 1921. Bishop Edward Copleston regarded William Crawley as the ideal man for this important new post. The industrial population of Monmouthshire was growing rapidly, and there was a need for someone with ‘practical good sense, and the qualifications of *manner* & business like habits’ as much as ‘deep science, and originality of mind’;¹ though Copleston also considered him to be an excellent preacher.² Although some opposed Crawley’s appointment because he was English,³ he soon learned some Welsh; in a letter of 1848 he mentions visiting someone who ‘talks better English than I can talk Welsh.’⁴ He also enjoyed a good relationship with Copleston’s successor from 1849, Bishop Alfred Ollivant, and in 1858 was appointed prebendary of Llangwm and a residentiary canon of Llandaff; he held all three offices until 1885.⁵ In 1877 Bishop Ollivant offered him the post of Dean of Llandaff but he turned it down;⁶ by now in his mid-70s, he presumably preferred to remain at Bryngwyn. Sir Joseph Bradney, the historian of Monmouthshire, wrote: ‘As a country clergyman few have attained greater success, and the respect in which he was held is a sufficient testimony to his worth.’⁷

William Crawley’s family of ten children grew up at Bryngwyn Rectory. Although most of them eventually left the village, the three sons to pursue varied careers and four of the seven daughters to marry, they never lost their love of Bryngwyn and the Monmouthshire countryside. This article focuses on the everyday lives of the Crawley family in Bryngwyn in the mid and later nineteenth century and explores their connections with the wider world. Two of William Crawley’s descendants, his son Richard Crawley (1840–93) and his grandson Richard Feetham (1874–1965), have their own entries in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, and another grandson, John Oliver Feetham (1873–1947), bishop of North Queensland, in the Australian Dictionary of Biography.⁸

William Crawley’s family background

William Crawley was a Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge from 1824 to 1834 and was ordained priest at Ely Cathedral in 1826.⁹ He seems to have held no curacies before coming to

¹ Brown, Roger Lee (ed.), *The Letters of Edward Copleston; Bishop of Llandaff, 1828–1849* (South Wales Record Society 17, 2003), 265.

² Brown, Roger Lee (ed.), *The Letters of Edward Copleston*, 279.

³ Brown, Roger Lee (ed.), *The Letters of Edward Copleston*, 32n148.

⁴ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. MSS. Afr. S. 1793, Box 9 File 1 ff. 3–4.

⁵ *Crockford’s Clerical Directory*, 1886; <http://theclergydatabase.org.uk/>

⁶ Fishbourne, E.A., ‘Notes on the Cathedral Establishment at Llandaff from October 1871 to December 1882’, Llandaff Cathedral Archives, E.2.10.

⁷ Bradney, Joseph Albert, *A History of Monmouthshire*, Vol. II (London, 1914), 106.

⁸ The author acknowledges the work of various members of the Crawley family in recording genealogical information, in particular, Charles, Kitty and Richard Crawley.

⁹ <http://theclergydatabase.org.uk/>

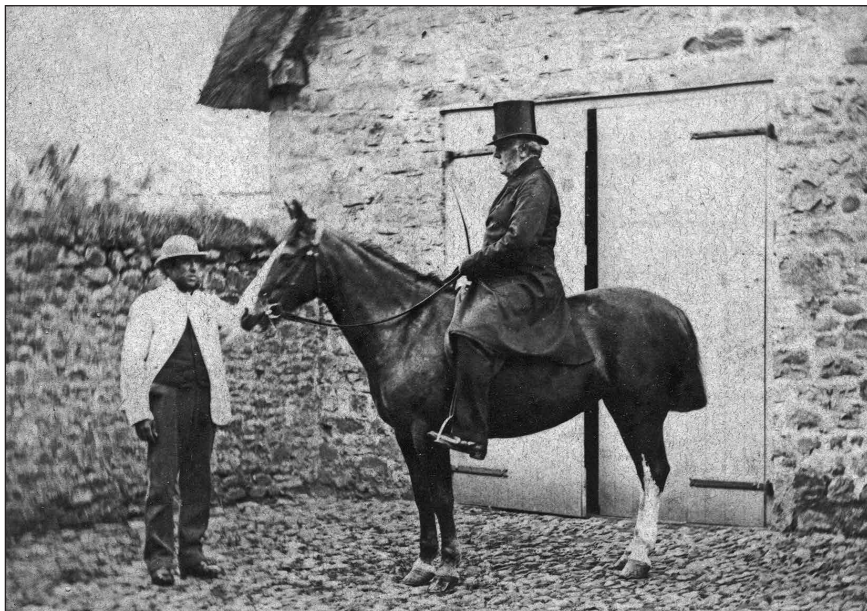


Fig. 1. Archdeacon William Crawley on horseback (undated), photograph by R. Tudor Williams of Monmouth. From an original in the author's possession.



Fig. 2. Archdeacon William Crawley in his donkey carriage (undated). From a Ricardo family photograph album in the possession of Tom Crawley.

Monmouthshire and had no previous known connections with the area, but the patron of the Llanfihangel-ystern-llewern and Bryngwyn livings was the earl of Abergavenny,¹⁰ of Eridge Park near Tunbridge Wells, not far from Rotherfield in East Sussex where William's father Richard Crawley (1756–1836) was the rector. Llanfihangel-ystern-llewern was always served by curates during William Crawley's incumbency,¹¹ and there is no evidence that he came to Wales before he was appointed to Bryngwyn in 1834.¹² Llanfihangel-ystern-llewern was a smaller parish than Bryngwyn, with a population of 171 in 1851 and an average church attendance of around 50; there was also a Baptist chapel in the parish.¹³

The Crawleys were a gentry family originating in Bedfordshire, where the senior branch had a country house and a large estate at Stockwood, now in the suburbs of Luton.¹⁴ They also had City of London connections, having married into some prominent and very wealthy city families. William Crawley's great-grandfather was Sir Samuel Dashwood (c. 1643–1705), Lord Mayor of London in 1702,¹⁵ while his grandfather, Samuel Crawley (1705–62),¹⁶ had been British Consul in Smyrna (now Izmir, Turkey) in the service of the Levant Company. William Crawley's father Richard was born in Smyrna but was sent to England as a child after his father's death to be brought up under the guardianship of his father's cousin George Medley (1720–96) of Buxted Park in Sussex. It was probably through George Medley that Richard Crawley obtained his living at Rotherfield. Of Richard's six sons, two went into the Church and the others joined the Indian Army, the Indian Civil Service, the Royal Engineers and the Royal Navy, characteristic career paths for younger sons of gentry families.

Although William Crawley had no Welsh ancestry he married into a Welsh family, the Jones Parry family of Madryn Park, Caernarvonshire. Mary Gertrude Jones Parry (1812–54) was the daughter of Lieutenant-General Sir Love Parry Jones Parry (1781–1853) who had commanded a brigade on the Canadian frontier during the Anglo-American War (1812–14). He was also MP for Horsham in Sussex in 1806–8 and for Caernarvon boroughs in 1835–7, and sheriff of Anglesey in 1840–1.¹⁷ When William was paying his addresses to Mary Gertrude in 1836 her father was informed by his sister that William Crawley 'possesses every requisite excepting Money to ensure a woman's happiness – goodness of heart and disposition are engraven on his countenance, his age is just 34. Appearance genteel and manly – family connections highly respectable.'¹⁸ The financial problems were apparently overcome, perhaps as a result of William's father's death in 1836, and the marriage took place in 1837.

¹⁰ Bradney, Joseph Albert, *A History of Monmouthshire*, Vol II, 103; Jones, Ieuan Gwynedd and Williams, David (ed.), *The Religious Census of 1851: A Calendar of the Returns Relating to Wales*, Vol. II (Cardiff, 1976), 21.

¹¹ *Crockford's Clerical Directory*, various dates; *Clergy List*, 1842, 1856.

¹² Parish registers of Bryngwyn and Llanfihangel-ystern-llewern, Gwent Archives, D/Pa.30, D/Pa.35.

¹³ *The Religious Census of 1851*, 21.

¹⁴ Austin, William, *The History of a Bedfordshire Family* (London, 1911). The house is now demolished.

¹⁵ Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB) (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/>) s.v. Sir Francis Dashwood, 1st baronet.

¹⁶ ODNB.

¹⁷ ODNB.

¹⁸ Letter from Mrs Ellen Clapham to Colonel Sir Love Jones Parry, 26 September 1836, in possession of Jane Crawley.

William Crawley's children

William Crawley's wife Mary Gertrude gave birth to four sons, one of whom died at birth, and seven daughters, but she died in 1854. The eldest son, Richard Crawley (1840–93) was a Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford, and a published poet and translator.¹⁹ His poetry was much admired at the time; *Horse and Foot, or Pilgrims to Parnassus* (1868) was described by the *Athenaeum* as 'one of the most brilliant satires of the school of Pope that the second half of this century has produced',²⁰ and an article in *The Speaker* in 1900 described the year 1868 as 'a sort of *annus poeticus*', with works written or published in that year by Matthew Arnold, Robert Browning, Swinburne, and Richard Crawley.²¹ While his poetry is now long forgotten, his translation of Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* (Book I 1866, complete 1874) was the standard version until the mid-twentieth century, appearing in J.M. Dent's Temple Classics series and later in Everyman's Library. Richard was not strong and spent much time abroad for the sake of his health.

The middle son, William Parry Crawley (1842–1907), followed the family tradition by going into the Ministry; he was vicar first of Firlie in East Sussex and then of Walberton in West Sussex, and was the great-grandfather of the present writer. The youngest son, Charles Crawley (1846–99), a London barrister, had a long connection with the Working Men's College in Great Ormond Street, founded in 1854 by Christian Socialists to provide a liberal education for working men.²²

The eldest daughter, Mary (1838–1928), married in 1870 the Reverend William Feetham (1823–1902) of Penrhos, near Bryngwyn, a widower with four children, and had three more children herself. The Crawleys' second daughter, Ellen (1839–1902), married in 1858 Henry (Harry) Ricardo (1833–73), grandson of the political economist David Ricardo of Gatcombe Park in Gloucestershire, and had eleven children of whom ten survived to adulthood. Harriet (1849–1929) and Louisa (1851–1917) also married, while Gertrude (1845–1922), Sophia (1848–1919) and Eliza (1853–99) remained unmarried. See the family tree on page 138.

Sources

Much of this article is based on diaries kept by Mary Crawley (later Feetham) which survive for 1861, 1865, 1866 and 1867²³ in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, among the papers of her son Richard Feetham (1874–1965).²⁴ In 1902 Richard was invited to South Africa to become part of the group of young Oxford graduates recruited by Sir Alfred (later Lord) Milner to restructure the administration of the Transvaal after the South African War; they were known as 'Milner's Kindergarten'. He remained in South Africa for the rest of his life and had a long and distinguished career there, becoming a judge in 1923 and later chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand. He left all his papers, including his mother's diaries, to the Bodleian Library. The diaries are of small format, with little space for each day, and Mary generally restricted herself to a brief record of how she had spent the day, with few mentions of events in the wider world apart from the death of the Prince Consort in 1861 and the assassination of Abraham Lincoln in 1865.

¹⁹ ODNB.

²⁰ Quoted in *In Memoriam: Letters and Poems of Richard Crawley*, printed for private circulation (undated, post 1900), 6.

²¹ Quoted in *In Memoriam: Letters and Poems of Richard Crawley*, 6.

²² *The Marlburian* (Marlborough College magazine), Vol. XXXIV, No. 532, 3 November 1899, 141–2.

²³ Bodl. MSS. Afr. S. 1793, Box 9 File 2. References below to Mary Crawley and her family in the 1860s are taken from these diaries unless otherwise indicated. I am grateful to William and James Gibb for permission to quote from the Feetham papers.

²⁴ ODNB.

Richard Feetham's papers also include a collection of letters²⁵ kept by his mother, from her mother and father, her former governess, and her future husband William Feetham during their engagement. William Crawley's son William Parry Crawley also kept diaries, which survive from 1879 until his death.²⁶ After Richard Crawley died a memorial volume was privately printed, which as well as his collected poems contains letters to his family during his extensive foreign travels.²⁷ Another important source is the unpublished reminiscences of Archdeacon William Crawley's grandson Charles Crawley (1899–1992), historian and Senior Tutor of Trinity Hall, Cambridge.²⁸ Other diaries, letters, newspaper cuttings and photographs have been handed down through various branches of the Crawley family.

BRYNGWYN CHURCH AND PARISH

Bryngwyn was a small parish with a population of only 313 according to the religious census of 1851 and no real village centre, though there was a cluster of houses at the hamlet of Great Oak.²⁹ Bryngwyn church then had seats for 182 people, and average attendance was said to be just under 100 at both the morning and evening Sunday services.³⁰ Mary Crawley's diaries record attending church twice each Sunday in the 1860s. There were no other places of worship in the parish; the nearest nonconformist chapels were at Raglan.³¹ While the archdeaconry of Monmouth included industrial Monmouthshire, much of which was Welsh speaking, the part of Monmouthshire where Bryngwyn lay was close to the English border and was sometimes considered to be part of England. When William's son Richard Crawley was in Italy in 1870 he wrote: 'I hope to come back to England before November ... I would give something for a taste of Bryngwyn roast beef.'³²

Previous rectors had been non-resident, and William Crawley repaired and greatly extended the dilapidated rectory, apparently previously let as a farmhouse; a detailed specification for the building works dated 1835 survives among the parish records.³³ In the absence of another gentry family in the parish William Crawley played the role of squire, and used his by now ample private means to restore and enlarge the church and build a new school. After William died in 1896 the rectory was said to have been 'such a centre of influence and benevolence to this parish, that its loss of the Crawley family will be felt for many a long year.'³⁴

William Crawley was often absent from the parish, however, fulfilling his duties as archdeacon elsewhere in the diocese or visiting family and friends. Until 1858, when he resigned the living of Llanfihangel-ystern-llewern, the curates there often did duty at Bryngwyn.³⁵ As a residentiary

²⁵ Bodl. MSS. Afr. S. 1793, Box 9 File 1.

²⁶ Now in the West Sussex Record Office, AM 968/1/21.

²⁷ *In Memoriam: Letters and Poems of Richard Crawley*, 2–91.

²⁸ Crawley, C. W., *Background and Some Recollection of Early Years*, typescript (1979), copy in the author's possession.

²⁹ Crawley, C. W., *Parish and church of Bryngwyn in the Diocese of Monmouth* (pamphlet, 1978); also available online at <http://rlhg.wikifoundry.com/page/St+Peter%27s+Church%2C+Bryngwyn%2C+Mon>; *The Religious Census of 1851*, 36.

³⁰ *The Religious Census of 1851*, 36.

³¹ Crawley, C. W., *Parish and church of Bryngwyn in the Diocese of Monmouth*.

³² Quoted in *In Memoriam: Letters and Poems of Richard Crawley*, 28.

³³ Gwent Archives, D/Pa.30.15; <http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/407252/details/the-rectory-farmhouse-bryngwyn>

³⁴ Crawley, C. W., *Parish and church of Bryngwyn in the Diocese of Monmouth*; Williams, Thomas, *A tribute to the memory of Archdeacon Crawley (by his last curate)* (pamphlet, 1896), 5.

³⁵ Gwent Archives, D/Pa.30, parish registers.

canon of Llandaff from 1858 to 1885 he had to reside there for several months at a time,³⁶ and from at least 1863 there seem always to have been curates at Bryngwyn, in later years often two at once.³⁷

Clergymen's wives in the nineteenth century were expected to play a large role in the parish and, their mother having died, Crawley's children took on this role. As the eldest daughter, Mary was particularly involved. Parish visiting is often mentioned in her diaries, for example 'Went into John Williams' found him alone, talk with him'; 'Went to see Betty Nicholas, Polly Charles, read to her'; 'to Nanny Morgan with cloak'. On 5 March 1865 she 'went to see ... Robert Taylor found him ill'. A week later she attended his funeral at the church; he was aged fourteen.³⁸

Mary often took one or other of her younger sisters with her on parish visits, and her brothers, when at home, also took an interest in the parishioners. An obituary of Charles Crawley (1846–99) mentions 'the friendly relations existing between all members of the family and their neighbours, however humble'; Charles and his brother Richard would often stop 'for a chat with some old village friend, possibly a labourer, half-crippled with rheumatism, when each brother would vie with the other in cheering him up by saying something bright and pleasant, and often witty.'³⁹

Mary ran a Penny Club (a savings club to which parishioners subscribed pennies which would be used to purchase clothing and other goods for distribution) and helped her father with paperwork; 'writing letters for Papa' features often in her diaries. She was also closely involved with the village school, which functioned on both Sundays and weekdays, although the first purpose-built parish school was not erected until 1872, at William Crawley's expense.⁴⁰ The original school may have been in one of the rectory outbuildings.⁴¹ On Easter Sunday 1861 there was prizegiving at the school, arranged by Mary, who also made up the annual school register. Successive schoolmistresses came from Steeple Ashton in Wiltshire,⁴² where William Crawley's elder brother Richard (1791–1869) was the vicar.

Mary Crawley's diaries indicate the highlights of the Church's year. Placing flowers on churchyard graves for Palm Sunday was, and still is, a popular Welsh custom.⁴³ On Saturday 23 March 1861 Mary was 'very busy all aftn. & evening gathering Primroses & Wood annemonies [sic] &c for "dressing the graves"', and on the following day, Palm Sunday, in spite of rain, she 'Went out to put the flowers on. So lovely.'

Harvest Festival was a major feast in the mid nineteenth century, sometimes drawing bigger congregations than Easter;⁴⁴ Mary recorded an attendance of 100 on 12 September 1861 (including forty-eight communicants), and 110 on 20 September 1866 (thirty-seven communicants). Each year there was a wheatsheaf to prepare and parties for the local people. A tea party for forty-nine children and thirteen women took place on 12 September 1861, and a dinner for the old people followed by a children's tea party on 6 September 1865: 'Children came 2.30 their mothers & lookers on at 3.30 tea 4.30. Very successful wheatsheaf bright and sunny scene all seemed happy'.

³⁶ Information from Nevil James, former archivist at Llandaff Cathedral.

³⁷ *Crockford's Clerical Directory* (various dates); *Clergy Lists* (1842, 1856); Gwent Archives, D/Pa.30, parish registers.

³⁸ Gwent Archives, D/Pa.30.7.

³⁹ *The Marlburian*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 532, 3 November 1899, 142.

⁴⁰ Crawley, C. W., *Parish and church of Bryngwyn in the Diocese of Monmouth*.

⁴¹ Information from Mr William Fletcher, Rectory Farmhouse, Bryngwyn.

⁴² Censuses, 1861, 1871.

⁴³ Sul y blodau.

⁴⁴ Williams, Glanmor, Jacob, William and Yates, Nigel, *The Welsh Church from Reformation to Disestablishment, 1603–1920* (Cardiff, 2007), 377.

Christmas celebrations in the nineteenth century did not begin until Christmas Day but continued well into January. In 1865 there was a morning service on Friday 6 January for Epiphany, followed by a dinner for the old people, and a tea party in the evening with music and a bran tub (prepared by Mary a few days earlier). There is no mention of carol singing at Bryngwyn, but when Mary was spending Christmas 1865 with her uncle Richard at Steeple Ashton, the carol singers woke her at 2 a.m. on Christmas Day and the church bells started to ring at 7.

The 1860s were the great period for church restoration all over the country, with three-decker pulpits, box pews and galleries demolished, whitewash removed and church interiors filled with colour and pattern; churches were no longer to be ‘preaching boxes’ but sacred spaces which would inspire worshippers with a feeling of awe, not so much by hearing the words of the preacher as through soaking up the beauty and symbolism all around them.⁴⁵ Although this trend was strongly associated with Tractarianism, many Low Church and Evangelical clergymen also favoured such changes.⁴⁶ The introduction of flowers and embroidery could help to create the desired atmosphere,⁴⁷ and in 1865 Mary Crawley described decorating the church for Easter, something which would have been unthinkable a few years earlier. At William Crawley’s arrival at Bryngwyn in 1834 the church was a long narrow building with a gallery at the west end, and there was seating for only 66 people.⁴⁸ Over the years he made various improvements, removing the gallery, reinstating the chancel arch to emphasise the liturgical division between nave and chancel, and adding a new north aisle and vestry.⁴⁹

As regards worship, the Oxford Movement had had little impact in the area by this date; in 1874 only three churches in Wales were using vestments or had daily communion,⁵⁰ and there is no evidence for either at Bryngwyn. In 1865 Mary Crawley’s diaries indicate that communion was being celebrated at the Sunday morning service roughly once a month. There is no indication that William Crawley was involved with the Oxford Movement, and nor does Mary’s extensive reading on theological subjects, as noted in her diaries, suggest any such interest, although she attended services at All Saints Margaret Street when in London in 1866; see below, ‘The wider world’. She read, for example, a *Treatise on the Records of Creation and the Moral Attributes of the Creator* (1816) by the moderate evangelical John Bird Sumner (1780–1862), archbishop of Canterbury, and commentaries on the Epistle to the Philippians by Charles John Vaughan (1816–97). As vicar of Doncaster from 1860 to 1869 Vaughan prepared many young men for ordination, and one of these was Mary’s brother William Parry Crawley.

However, the Crawleys clearly had an interest in the sort of church music favoured by the Oxford Movement. On Sunday 15 September 1867 Mary records the chanting of psalms at the morning service and the singing of an anthem in the afternoon service. In the 1860s Mary trained a choir of parish children to sing at choral festivals which took place at Monmouth, Raglan and Llangattock-vibon-avel, and the family continued to make musical contributions to the services until William Crawley’s death.⁵¹

⁴⁵ Whyte, William, *Unlocking the Church* (Oxford, 2017), especially Chapter 2.

⁴⁶ Whyte, William, *Unlocking the Church*, 84–85.

⁴⁷ Whyte, William, *Unlocking the Church*, 83.

⁴⁸ Gwent County Record Office, D/Pa.30.18.

⁴⁹ Newman, John, *The Buildings of England: Gwent/Monmouthshire* (London, 2000), 131; Crawley, C. W., *Parish and church of Bryngwyn in the Diocese of Monmouth*; Gwent County Record Office, D/Pa.30.18.

⁵⁰ Williams, Glanmor, et al., *The Welsh Church from Reformation to Disestablishment*, 371.

⁵¹ Williams, Thomas, *A tribute to the memory of Archdeacon Crawley*, 5.

THE CRAWLEY FAMILY AT BRYNGWYN, 1848–67

Mary Crawley treasured letters from her father, and from her mother before her death in 1854, and these give an impression of warm family life. William Crawley was closely involved with his children. His son Richard wrote to him in 1871: ‘I think you love your children more than most fathers, past or present.’⁵²

A typical early letter from William Crawley to his children dates from September 1848, when Mary was ten: ‘I am glad to find that you little Mary have again been able to get at the Piano and that you little Ellen shared the pony so fairly with Mary ... That you dear Richard say your Latin lesson so perfectly and that you little [?Hiberty]⁵³ are growing so much fatter every day and that you Master Char have cut two double teeth, and that all of you have been so happy in the hay field.’⁵⁴

However, this was the Victorian age, when child-rearing involved a strong emphasis on discipline and duty. A letter from her mother for Mary’s twelfth birthday in 1850 mixes affection with exhortation: ‘may you my dear child continue to grow in grace as you grow in years. You cannot think how ardently Papa & I long to see you all we can desire. You are getting now a big girl & all the younger ones will look up to you, mind you try to shew them a good example!’⁵⁵ Another (undated) letter from her mother reprimands Mary for dawdling and time-wasting: ‘I can fancy you have made numberless good resolutions, but I fear they are constantly broken – do my dearest child try to be more diligent & remember that time is a precious talent which must not be wasted but improved to the best advantage & that we shall be called to account for our use of it above all. Recollect that our resolutions are sure to come to nothing if we are trusting to our own strength to enable us to keep them.’⁵⁶

By 1861, when Mary’s surviving diaries begin, she was in her early twenties and busily occupied both with assisting her father in his parish work and with overseeing the bringing up and education of five younger sisters from seven to fifteen years old. Her three brothers, Richard, William and Charles, were away at school and university during the period of the diaries: all were at Marlborough College from the age of ten, and subsequently took First Class degrees, Richard at Oxford and his two brothers at Cambridge.⁵⁷ Mary noted with pride the news of their various achievements, and would have enjoyed hearing about their lives and travels. For example, a letter home from Richard in summer 1864 described his stay at Huelgoat in Brittany with two friends: ‘We rise at five or six, study till ten, bathe, breakfast, study till two or three, walk or fish, dine at six, watch the game of bowls till eight, and go to bed very sleepy at nine.’⁵⁸

Outdoor activities

Bryngwyn is in a beautiful part of Monmouthshire and the whole family seem to have enjoyed being out in the countryside. A friend remembered the brothers’ ‘keen observation of rural sights and sounds, the note of each bird, the dart of a fish in the stream.’⁵⁹ Richard Crawley’s letters from abroad often make comparisons with Monmouthshire scenery: for example, a house in Corsica was

⁵² *In Memoriam: letters and poems of Richard Crawley*, 36.

⁵³ Presumably a nickname for the middle son, William.

⁵⁴ Bodl. MSS. Afr. S. 1793, Box 9 File 1, ff. 3–4.

⁵⁵ Bodl. MSS. Afr. S. 1793, Box 9 File 1, ff. 39–40.

⁵⁶ Bodl. MSS. Afr. S. 1793, Box 9 File 1, ff. 60–1.

⁵⁷ *The Marlburian*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 532, 3 November 1899, 141.

⁵⁸ *In Memoriam: Letters and Poems of Richard Crawley*, 18.

⁵⁹ *The Marlburian*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 532, 3 November 1899, 142.

'in a mountain valley, with a trout stream very like the Honddu in front of the door'⁶⁰ and a mountain in Switzerland had a bare summit 'like the Sugar-loaf'.⁶¹ Climbing the Sugar-loaf, one of the nearest mountains to Bryngwyn, was a popular family excursion; for example on 3 January 1865 'R[ichard] & Charlie walked top of Sugar-loaf, slippery snow on ground'. In August 1865 Mary went on an excursion to Tallylyn near Brecon with Bishop Ollivant of Llandaff and his wife which included an ascent of 'Alt', probably the nearby Allt Ddu (562 m): 'Drove to "Allt" ascended mountain & walked home – view from summit – colouring rich – air very clear lights & shadows lovely'.

Weather and scenery are often mentioned in Mary's diaries, providing some relief from her rather prosaic record of daily activities. On 25 October 1866 she recorded a 'Lovely bright day – singular perpendicular light – clouds on a dark ground – rain-bow – sudden shower.' She enjoyed starlit summer nights and newly fallen snow; on Friday 27 January 1865 she noted a 'heavy fall in the night & high wind. Snowing gently all morning ... lovely bright after snow between 1½ and 2 ft. heavy drifts.' The post did not arrive until nearly lunchtime that day, and on the following Sunday the clergyman who was due to take the service (William Crawley being away) did not arrive until 11 o'clock. There were only eight people in church besides the Crawley family, and the clergyman left straight after lunch rather than staying to say the afternoon service. Instead the Crawleys and their servants held a service in the rectory dining room at 4 o'clock.

The river Wye had been appreciated for its Picturesque qualities since the late 18th century, and boat trips were another favourite family excursion. For example, on 16 September 1867 the whole family went on an expedition to Tintern Abbey: 'All started before 9 in Raglan break⁶² & little carriage for Monmouth. In a boat down Wye to Tintern, called Llandogo. Cold! Down river to Chepstow. Hungry tea! ... R[ichard] & C[harles] by river back to Tintern moonlight & home. We drove to Wind Cliff – lovely evening – descent back to Tintern ... to Monmouth by road & so home – a perfect day for expedition.' Nearby Raglan Castle was another popular destination, sometimes by moonlight.

Mary spent a great deal of time walking: for parish visiting, for excursions with family and friends, and just for exercise. Sometimes she and her sisters walked the two miles to Raglan, and she was frustrated when bad weather prevented walks. She also sometimes went out riding. There were frequent excursions to gather blackberries, wildflowers, nuts, watercress and mushrooms, and in January 1865 there was fern-hunting. Gardening was a common activity, often with the governess and the younger children, and gathering and arranging flowers are often mentioned in the diaries. On 25 June 1867 she was 'netting currants' with Eliza.

Mary records with interest the annual haymaking on the rector's land, with which the family helped. On 8 July 1867 she records: 'Haymaking. Papa before breakfast, all from abt. 9.30 till 11'. On the next day 'Haymaked after dinner till 9', and on the following evening 'All walked down to hayfield. Machine at work after dinner'. The 'machine' is likely to have been a horse-drawn rake, used to turn over and dry the grass after it had been scythed by hand.⁶³ The hayfield would have been part of the rector's glebe, which totalled 39 acres in 1851.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ *In Memoriam: Letters and Poems of Richard Crawley*, 34. The Honddu is a river in Monmouthshire, a tributary of the Monnow.

⁶¹ *In Memoriam: Letters and Poems of Richard Crawley*, 54.

⁶² A large wagonette (*Oxford English Dictionary*).

⁶³ Information from Professor Brian Short, University of Sussex, and from Gareth Beech, National Museum Wales.

⁶⁴ *Religious Census of 1851*, 36.

Home life, domestic activities, spare time amusements

Besides a governess and a nurse (Sarah Gale, who served the family for many years), the Crawley household included a groom and, at the 1861 Census, a cook, parlourmaid, housemaid and kitchen maid, and a visiting sempstress. Mary's practical domestic duties would therefore have been limited, but looking after her own and her sisters' clothes probably took up considerable time; there are various diary entries such as 'Arrangement wardrobes' or 'Helping with dress-making &c.' Photographs of the younger Crawley girls in the 1860s show them in rather sober dresses, suitable to the daughters of a clergyman, and bands of a different shade near the hem suggest that they have been lengthened as the girls grew. Mary's monthly accounts, which she usually kept in the back pages of her diaries, included in September 1865 a payment of 9s 10d to a dressmaker, Margaret Roberts, who is listed in the 1861 Census for Bryngwyn.

In 1865 Mary was receiving a small quarterly allowance of £4 (in June she received £2 of the July allowance in advance). Her expenses included books, stamps, presents and almsgiving as well as clothing. In September she paid 2s 10d for gloves and 2s 5¼d for trimming for a bonnet, and on 20 December, when she was in Bath with her brother Charles, 2s for a black jet buckle. When in London in March 1866 she did plenty of shopping, and her accounts include 3s 6d for a sponge, 6d for a toothbrush, 6s 11d for a sunshade, 6s 6d for boots, and 1s for mending an umbrella.

When the family needed medical attention, they called in the services of a local doctor, Mr Steele of Abergavenny. On 14 April 1865 (Good Friday) Mary records: 'Aftern. staid in for Mr. Steele's general vaccination.' This was presumably vaccination against smallpox, which was made compulsory in Britain in 1853. Mary records little about any illness in the family, but the former governess Miss J M Oldfield referred in 1861 to Gertrude as having previously been 'extremely fragile and delicate', and Sophia (now aged about thirteen) as having problems with walking ('Are you sure there is nothing wrong with the spine?'); in 1865 she was glad to hear of 'Sophy's perfect recovery of strength after such long & serious delicacy'.⁶⁵ Both girls had long healthy lives and lived well into the twentieth century. In August 1866 Mary notes a visit by her brother Richard to a dentist in Cheltenham, which suggests that there was no dentist nearer at hand who was considered adequate.

Reading aloud was popular among Victorian families. In February 1861, while staying with her sister Ellen, Mary records reading aloud Coleridge's poem 'The Ancient Mariner' and Susan Ferrier's novel *Marriage* (1818), and in March 'Papa read Marmion aloud' (the verse romance by Sir Walter Scott). In October 1866 Mary was reading Scott's *A Legend of Montrose* to her sister Eliza and another child. There were also more light-hearted leisure occupations: making acrostics, playing whist, walking in the garden on summer evenings in the moonlight, and playing croquet and bowls. In July 1865 Mary attended an afternoon croquet and archery party which ended up with dancing (the Lancers, a dance for four couples).

Birthdays were not made much of. Mary sometimes mentions that it was the birthday of Papa or one of her sisters, but never alludes to her own birthday on 16 January, though on her twenty-ninth birthday in 1867 she noted a bible reference, John 15:4–5 (Abide in me, and I in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in me ...').

Social life

The eminence and social status of Archdeacon Crawley ensured that the family were on friendly terms with the local aristocracy and gentry, such as Lord and Lady Raglan of Cefntilla Court,

⁶⁵ Bodl. MSS. Afr. S. 1793, Box 9 File 1, ff 102–9, 121–8.

Llandenny, and the Rolls family, ancestors of Charles Stewart Rolls of Rolls-Royce fame. In March 1865 Mary was at their great Victorian house, The Hendre, for a 'Dinner party of 17'. In 1866 she stayed for four nights at The Hendre, setting off on Tuesday 4 September: '2 hours going in the rain. Arrived 5 o'clock tea in the Hall.' There was singing in the evening, and on the following day they all went to a choral festival at nearby Llangattock-vibon-avel, in which about twenty children from Bryngwyn were taking part. The next two days were spent walking, riding, driving out with Mr Rolls, socialising with various guests, and singing in the evenings.

The Bosanquet family of Dingestow Court and the Crawleys visited each other often. Fanny Bosanquet (1844/5–1918), younger daughter of Samuel Bosanquet, was a particular friend. On 28 January 1865, when there was deep snow on the ground as mentioned above, she arrived for luncheon 'driving herself in Mr W's pony carriage.'

Visitors often came to stay at the rectory, mostly members of the extended Crawley family, but also many others often identified only by initials. Dinner parties were often held there, at which Mary Crawley, as the eldest daughter of a widowed father, would have acted as hostess. Her future husband William Feetham was a frequent guest. On 28 April 1865 she recorded: 'Gathering flowers for vases dinner table. ... Major Herbert ... to dinner. Band came to play. 4 sisters dancing up and down the verandah.' 'Major Herbert' was probably William Herbert of Clytha Park (1841–1929). On Monday 24 September 1866, after a busy morning 'arranging eveng. dresses &c.', Mary went with her father to an evening party at Clytha: 'dancing! Home about 2.30.' On 7 September 1867 she dined at Clytha with her father and brother William.

Music and art

Most of the Crawley family seem to have been musical. In about 1850, when the children were very young, William Crawley mentioned in a letter to his two eldest daughters that 'Mr Lloyd comes on Saturday ... to teach do, re, mi to the little boys & girls of the parish. I shall miss you ... (but will make your apologies)'.⁶⁶ There is no other evidence for music teachers coming to Bryngwyn, though the girls probably learned music when they were away at school. Mary spent much time practising either alone or with her younger sisters, as well as teaching the local children to sing, as mentioned above. Mary and her sister Gertrude sang duets in the evening while staying at The Hendre in September 1866. In February 1867 Mary, while staying with an aunt in Bath, was having singing lessons there with a teacher named Perugini, and in November that year in Llandaff she had a music lesson with the cathedral organist, Francis Gladstone (1845–1928).

There are plenty of references in Mary's diaries to singing rounds and glees, sometimes out of doors, particularly when the three brothers were home in the summer; glees were part songs, usually unaccompanied and traditionally sung by men only, but sometimes by women too. In September 1865, when friends were staying, she recorded 'Croquet before dinner, walking about afterwards and glee singing out of doors', and her accounts for May 1866 include 'Glees, Anthems &c. 6d.' Opportunities for listening to music in a small village like Bryngwyn were clearly limited apart from occasional private concerts, such as one at Raglan in September 1867 attended by Mary, her father and two of her sisters and members of other local gentry families. But when Mary was staying elsewhere, she seized any opportunity to hear music; see below, 'The wider world'.

There are occasional references to sketching and painting in the earlier diaries. While staying with her aunt in February 1867 Mary enrolled at the Bath School of Art (founded in 1852) and attended there often until she left Bath in April.

⁶⁶ Bodl. MSS. Afr. S. 1793, Box 9 File 1, ff. 5–7.

Photography

Many photographs survive of the Crawleys of Bryngwyn, who were early enthusiasts for photography. The wet collodian process had been invented in 1851 and was dominant by the 1860s, the first decade of mass amateur photography.⁶⁷ On 14 and 18 September 1867 Mary records a photographer coming to the rectory, and some surviving family groups dated September 1867 were presumably taken then; a *carte de visite* version of one has the photographer's details on the back: R. Tudor Williams of Monnow Street, Monmouth. Copies survive in two family photograph albums, with each person identified; in one (Fig. 3), Eliza, as the youngest, is labelled as 'Baby' even though she was now in her mid-teens. Another photograph (Fig. 4) shows the family in informal poses, including two of the girls looking out of windows. An interior view of the drawing-room at Bryngwyn Rectory (Fig. 5), showing a grand piano and piles of books on a central table, may date from the same time.



Fig. 3. The Crawley family outside Bryngwyn Rectory, September 1867, photograph by R. Tudor Williams of Monmouth. From a Ricardo family photograph album in the possession of Tom Crawley. Back row (standing): Harry Ricardo (husband of Ellen), Harriet Crawley, Mary Crawley, Charles Crawley. Middle row (seated on chairs): Ellen Ricardo, Louisa Crawley, William Crawley, Gertrude Crawley, Sarah Gale (the family nurse). Front row (seated on ground): Eliza Crawley, William Parry Crawley, Sophia Crawley, Richard Crawley.

⁶⁷ Evans, Mike, Winter, Gary and Woodward, Anne, *Picturing England* (Swindon, 2015), 10–11.



Fig. 4. The Crawley family outside Bryngwyn Rectory, September 1867, photograph by R. Tudor Williams of Monmouth. From a Ricardo family photograph album in the possession of Tom Crawley. A more informal photograph.



Fig. 5. The drawing-room at Bryngwyn Rectory (undated). From a Ricardo family photograph album in the possession of Tom Crawley.

Education and reading

Of Mary Crawley's five unmarried sisters, the three older girls, Gertrude, Sophia and Harriet (born 1845, 1848 and 1849) were sometimes away at school in the early 1860s, but Mary seems to have had responsibility especially for the youngest two, Louisa and Eliza (Lizzie), born in 1851 and 1853. There are many diary entries about hearing 'L's lessons' and 'L's music', to teaching Eliza, and to walks with her sisters. She also spent some time in 1861 reading history with Gertrude or working at Italian with her, and on 8 October she gave Lizzie a music lesson and did some reading with Sophia.

There had been a succession of governesses at the rectory. Miss Oldfield was there by 1854 and left shortly before February 1858 because of ill health. In November 1861 there seems not to have been a governess, and Miss Oldfield wrote to Mary: 'I am delighted to hear of the dear children being more with you, and could almost wish they might never have a very acceptable governess again, if that would ensure a continuance of the present system. There has been too much separation ... between the grown-up members of the family and the school-room party.' Gertrude seems to have been rather a difficult child, and according to Miss Oldfield had been unhappy when sent away to school; and all the girls were growing up and becoming less easy to manage. 'Gertie is fast and brusque', she wrote; 'Louie and Lizzie – even my little gentle darlings that used to be – are loud and rather rough.'⁶⁸

Mary may not have much enjoyed looking after her younger sisters. Her own children were all boys, and when in later life she was asked if she regretted having no daughters she is said to have replied 'that she had never even dreamed of having any but sons'.⁶⁹

Mary was a prolific letter-writer and noted letters sent and received in her diaries. She corresponded regularly with her father and her sisters and brothers when either she or they were away from home. She kept up with uncles and aunts, cousins and other acquaintances. She also recorded in her diaries what books she was reading. Her religious reading has been discussed above; she also read much fiction, for example Sir Walter Scott's *The Antiquary*, Dickens' *Barnaby Rudge*, Mrs Oliphant's *Salem Chapel* and Trollope's *Barchester Towers*.⁷⁰ The periodical *All the Year Round*, founded and edited by Dickens, is mentioned in 1865. Mary also read poetry by Byron: 'The Prisoner of Chillon' and 'Hebrew Melodies'. Not all these books would have been purchased; there are mentions in 1866 of book boxes arriving and being sent back, perhaps from Mudie's Circulating Library. This enabled keeping up with the latest publications, such as Lady Duff Gordon's *Letters from Egypt*, published in 1865, which Mary was reading in October 1866. There was also a substantial library at the Rectory, however; in his will dated 1885, William Crawley provided for each of his unmarried daughters (of whom there were then four) to 'select forty volumes for their own use from among all my books at Bryngwyn'.⁷¹ Some of these books, with William Crawley's bookplate, are still in the possession of his descendants.

The Crawleys were keen on learning foreign languages; Richard Crawley's letters mention working hard at French, German and Italian when travelling in Europe.⁷² Mary herself was an accomplished linguist, also studying French, German and Italian, often with her younger sisters. In May 1866 she was reading *Madame Thérèse*, a French novel of 1863 about the French Revolution

⁶⁸ Bodl. MSS. Afr. S. 1793, Box 9 File 1, ff. 102–9.

⁶⁹ Crawley, C. W., *Background and Some Recollection of Early Years*, 9.

⁷⁰ Trollope's final Barchester novel, *The Last Chronicle of Barset*, was published only in 1867, the last year of Mary Crawley's surviving diaries; but no doubt the Crawleys enjoyed reading about the Reverend Josiah Crawley and his family.

⁷¹ Typescript 'office copy' in author's possession.

⁷² *In Memoriam: Letters and Poems of Richard Crawley*, 17–96 *passim*.

by Émile Erckmann and Alexandre Chatrian. Much later, Richard Crawley, writing to his father in 1890, enclosed ‘a cutting from a German paper ... which the girls will translate’,⁷³ suggesting that while the Crawley sisters read German well, their father did not.

The wider world

The Crawleys were firmly integrated into English upper middle-class society, with relatives and other connections in London, Sussex, Bath, Gloucestershire and elsewhere. William Crawley was probably already in his thirties when he first came to Monmouthshire, and his son Richard wrote to him in 1871: ‘a little knowledge of society is like oil to a machine; how many excellent people one sees who for the want of it go rusty all their lives. But this you know better than I do, having come to Bryngwyn already “factus ad unguem” [a highly polished, accomplished man], but if you had never been anywhere else we shouldn’t be the “iligant” family we are.’⁷⁴

Mary Crawley spent much time away from home, particularly in the later 1860s when her sisters were older and presumably less in need of her. In March 1866 she spent three weeks in London, staying with various relatives in turn. During this visit she heard a Mendelssohn string quartet at St James’s Hall (in Piccadilly; demolished in 1905 and replaced by the Piccadilly Hotel), and a Mendelssohn anthem at a Sunday afternoon service at St Andrew’s Wells Street, Marylebone (this church was later rebuilt in the London suburbs as St Andrew’s Kingsbury). She also attended services at All Saints Margaret Street, consecrated only seven years earlier; packed with decoration and symbolism, it was the epitome of Ecclesiological ideals.⁷⁵ It is not clear whether this reflected her own religious taste, or that of her London hosts. She also went to St Paul’s Cathedral and Westminster Abbey, where on 20 March she put a shilling in the collection (a generous donation). She visited the National Gallery, the British Museum and the South Kensington Museums (by the ‘Underground Railway’, i.e. the District Railway), and the Botanical Gardens spring show, walked in the Park (presumably Hyde Park) ‘to see carriages coming from Buckingham Palace’ and went to the theatre and on shopping expeditions. She also watched the Boat Race (‘Started about 6 blue ribboned for Barnes to see Boat Race ... lovely morning – very good view.’).

Mary spent a lot of time with her married sister at Gatcombe (Gloucestershire) and with her father at Llandaff, during his periods as residentiary canon of the cathedral. At the beginning of 1866 she was away for three months, first at Llandaff for two months, then at Gatcombe, then her London visit, and finally back at Gatcombe. In 1867 she was away from home for about half the year; the last three months were spent at Llandaff, including Harvest Festival and Christmas when most of the rest of the family were also there.

At Llandaff the Crawleys lived at the Canonry (now Pendinas), a house in the cathedral close occupied by the various canons residentiary in turn.⁷⁶ Mary revelled in the more lively social life at Llandaff, often accompanying her father in dining out with the bishop and other senior clergy or at Cardiff Castle, home of the marquess of Bute and then being reconstructed by William Burges. The Crawleys socialised with the families of the other clergy in the Close, such as the wife and daughter of Bishop Ollivant and the daughters of the Dean, Thomas Williams (d. 1877); in December 1867 Mary notes charades at the Deanery.

⁷³ *In Memoriam: Letters and Poems of Richard Crawley*, 91.

⁷⁴ *In Memoriam: Letters and Poems of Richard Crawley*, 41.

⁷⁵ Cherry, Bridget and Pevsner, Nikolaus, *The Buildings of England: London 3: North West* (London, 1991), 596; Whyte, William, *Unlocking the Church*, 197–9.

⁷⁶ Information from Nevil James, former archivist at Llandaff Cathedral.

Llandaff Cathedral had been semi-ruinous in 1853, when there were no residentiary canons, no organ and no choir,⁷⁷ but by the 1860s restoration was under way by the architects John Prichard (the Diocesan Architect, and a Crawley family acquaintance) and John Pollard Seddon.⁷⁸ Mary recorded attending the ‘Cathedral opening’ on 17 September 1861; on the following day she heard Sir Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley (1825–89) playing the organ there. Ouseley was Professor of Music at Oxford from 1855 and, although his own music is now mostly forgotten, with only a few anthems such as ‘O Saviour of the world’ regularly performed by cathedral choirs, he influenced many Victorian church musicians such as Sir John Stainer. Of High Church tendencies and passionate about the importance of singing in parish churches, he founded St Michael’s College at Tenbury (Worcestershire; now Tenbury Wells) to promote Anglican choral music.⁷⁹ In September 1865 Mary and her father visited Tenbury, where they went to a service at the college and were shown round by Ouseley.

Mary’s married sister Ellen Ricardo lived at Hyde House, near Gatcombe, and later at Gatcombe Park after her husband Harry Ricardo inherited it from his father. On 26 September 1865 she heard ‘News of the Birth of a 2nd niece at Gatcombe’, and on 1 October there was a letter from Harry asking if she could come and stay; she left for Gatcombe the next day and stayed for two weeks. She was there again in November 1866: on 20 November she wrote ‘E unwell about 8 – Baby born 2.30 a.m. all well.’ On 10 December the other Ricardo children returned, having presumably been staying elsewhere while the baby was born, and subsequently ‘Boys lessons’ appears regularly in Mary’s diary until she left Gatcombe in late January. She clearly enjoyed staying at Gatcombe with the sister closest to her in age and her husband, with plenty of excursions in the locality and a busy social life.

There were also visits to other relatives, such as Mary’s uncle Richard at Steeple Ashton and her aunt Ellen Clapham of Widcombe Manor on the outskirts of Bath. In 1861 Mary, her father and three of her siblings enjoyed ten days in Cuckfield in Sussex, staying with other relatives, the Fearons; entertainments there included an archery meeting, attending a cricket match, watching rifle shooting in Cuckfield Park, playing croquet, going for walks, sketching, and shopping in Cuckfield.

Visits to England often involved a boat trip across the Severn estuary; a letter of c. 1850 to Mary from her mother describes a journey to Chepstow and a trip across the Severn (‘of course we remained all in the cabin the whole time’), ending up with a train journey to Bath.⁸⁰ By the mid-1860s railway lines had proliferated: near Bryngwyn there were stations at Raglan on the Coleford, Monmouth, Usk & Pontypool Railway and at Penpergwm on the Newport, Abergavenny and Hereford Railway. Mary’s journey to Tenbury with her father in September 1865 involved a two and a half hour wait at Woofferton, the junction for Tenbury, and on the way back four days later they ‘Lost luggage – waited about for it at Abergavenny.’ Next day: ‘Papa off after breakfast to look for lost luggage.’ In August 1865 Mary had to change trains in Hereford and took the opportunity to go ‘over cathedral thoroughly for 1st time’, and her monthly accounts include ‘Guide Book Hfd. Cathl. 6d’. Like Llandaff, Hereford Cathedral had only recently re-opened after extensive restoration.

⁷⁷ Chadwick, Owen, *The Victorian Church*, Part II (2nd edition, London, 1987), 369.

⁷⁸ Williams, Glanmor, *et al.*, *The Welsh Church from Reformation to Disestablishment*, 236, 355; Newman, John, *The Buildings of England: Glamorgan* (London, 1995), 248–50.

⁷⁹ ODNB.

⁸⁰ Bodl. MSS. Afr. S. 1793, Box 9 File 1, ff. 58–59.

EPILOGUE

Although many of his children married and moved away, Bryngwyn Rectory remained the focus of family activities for many years. After William Crawley's death in 1896 his three unmarried daughters had to leave the rectory, but they remained so attached to Bryngwyn that they spent time there every summer in various rented properties,⁸¹ while Mary Feetham née Crawley remained in nearby Penrhos all her life and her son William Crawley Feetham (d. 1940) became the vicar of Llangattock-vibon-avel. But in 1899 a terrible tragedy occurred. As already described, the family loved boating on the river Wye. On the evening of 21 August Charles Crawley, his wife, his three unmarried sisters and a friend were near Tintern Abbey when their boat hit a pier of a railway bridge and quickly sank. Charles, his wife and his youngest sister Eliza were drowned; according to *The Times* of 23 August it was 'believed that Mr. Crawley was drowned whilst attempting to save his wife and sister, both of whom are supposed to have clung to him in their death-struggles.' Presumably the ladies' dresses would have greatly impeded them. The two other sisters, Gertrude and Sophia, and the friend managed to swim to the bank, and the boatman, Jem Smith, also survived by clinging to the bridge. The bodies of the dead were recovered only three days later. The accident was said to have been the result of damage to the piles of the railway bridge. The death of Charles was deeply regretted by his colleagues at the Working Men's College, as 'a man all over, transparently honest and sincere, doing his work day by day, enjoying his life day by day ... a clever, useful, happy and contented man.'⁸²

Charles's brother William Parry Crawley recorded in his diary how he heard the news in Sussex on 22 August. 'Got a telegram from Tintern, begging me to come at once. Sisters in great trouble. Some disaster had happened to do with the river. What was its nature and extent? I drove to Arundel ... & caught the 11.53, Victoria 1.58, left Paddington 3.35, Penpergwm 8.19. Saw at Paddn. in the evening paper that 3 lives had been lost in the Wye at Tintern from a boat accident. Learnt at Newport that dear Charlie, Augusta and Lizzie were all lost! dreadful news. Bodies not recovered.' The inquest took place at Tintern on 28 August, with a verdict of accidental death.⁸³

Charles, Augusta and Eliza Crawley were buried on 26 August in Bryngwyn churchyard, as many other members of the Crawley family have been up to the present day. Gertrude and Sophia Crawley had a new house built in Bryngwyn, Plas Hendy, where they brought up Charles and Augusta's daughter Molly (1898–1916) and son Charles Crawley (1899–1992), whose typescript recollections and guidebook to Bryngwyn church have been quoted above. During the Second World War Charles's wife and children lived in the house, which is still owned by the family and partly used as a holiday home. The Bryngwyn community hall was built in 1924 on land given by the Crawley family; recently rebuilt, it is called Crawley Hall.⁸⁴ Thus the Crawley connection with Bryngwyn continues after nearly 200 years.

⁸¹ Crawley, C. W., *Background and Some Recollection of Early Years*, 20.

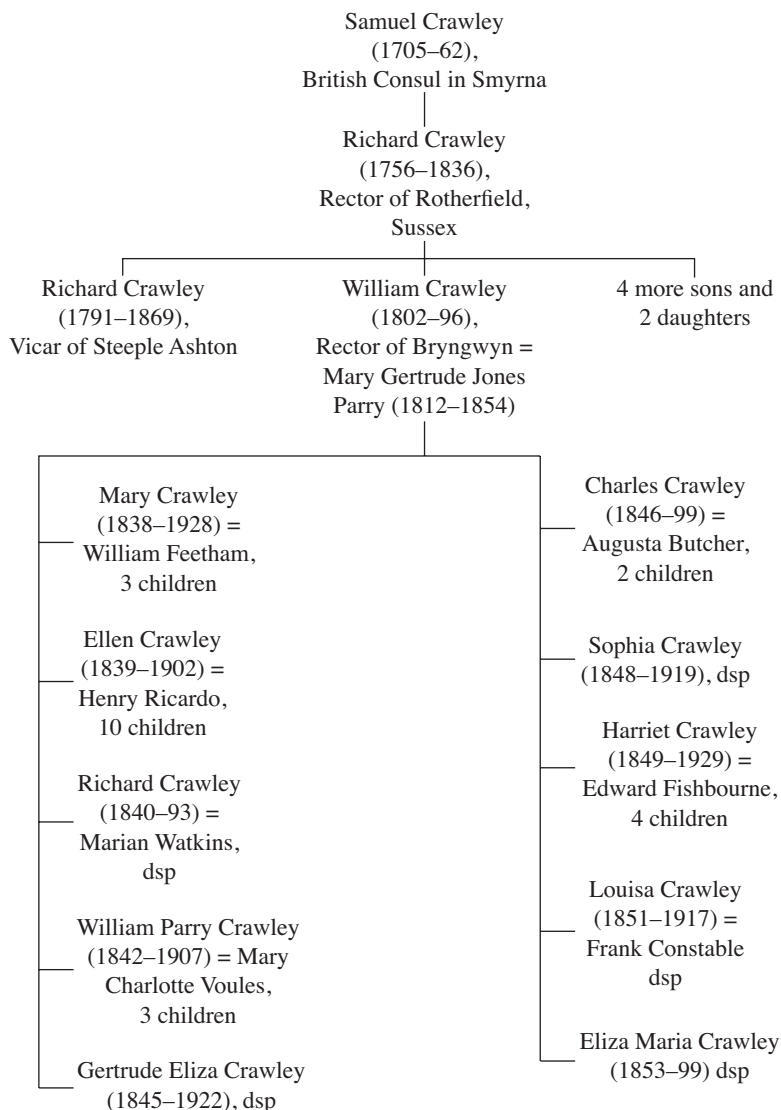
⁸² *The Working Men's College Journal*, Vol. VI, No. 89 (Sept–Oct 1899), 119.

⁸³ Diaries of William Parry Crawley, West Sussex Record Office, AM 968/1/21, August 1899.

⁸⁴ <http://www.crawleyhall.btck.co.uk>, accessed 9 July 2018.

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EDITORIAL ENDNOTE

TWO CALDICOT, MONMOUTHSHIRE, VICTORY CELEBRATIONS

By Mark Lewis

Great national events associated with the ceasing of the hostilities of the ‘Great War for Civilisation’ and World War II are often well-documented. Regional, especially rural, celebrations associated with the end of the wars and the subsequent return of our troops were often documented in local and regional newspapers, but images of rural commemorations were more-rarely published. As we mark the end of the centenary commemorations for WWI and the 75th anniversary of V.E. Day, we note with sadness that not all of those who set out to war were able to return home (Fig. 1), yet when the ends of each conflict came, widespread celebration, alongside commemoration, was an initial public response.

Caldicot was a small, mostly rural, village, but with strong Railway connections,¹ until its marked expansion after World War II to eventually become a town. This rapid post-Second World War expansion was, in part, a function of the nearby construction of Subrook Paper Mill (operational from 1958), Llanwern Steelworks (operational from 1962)² and Magor Brewery (the first brew, using water drawn from the Great Spring from the Severn Tunnel Pumping Station at Sudbrook, occurred on 14th September in 1979).³ Photographs associated with Caldicot’s wartime experiences are consequently rare. The marking of the two World War anniversaries close together, in 2018–2019 and 2020, has afforded a suitable opportunity to publish, for the first time, within this combined (2019–2020) volume of *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*, possibly unique images associated with a then still-small Monmouthshire village, which today form a hitherto publicly missing part of a rich heritage for a significant town within the county with a large population.

Fig. 2 shows a card invitation to attend the ‘Caldicot Victory Ball’ at the White Hart Hotel (Fig. 3) on Wednesday 19th February, 1919. Proceeds of ticket sales were to be given to ‘The Welcome Home Fund’. According to the card, the celebration was planned to run from 8pm until 2am in the morning. Newspaper reports of ‘Victory Ball’ fundraising events may be found across Wales and England during the early months of 1919 and again in November of that year, especially coinciding with, or close to, the anniversary of the armistice. ‘Victory Balls held on or near to the 11th November became a short-lived annual trend in the UK. Proceeds often went to local hospitals, veterans’ and other charities.

The timing of the Caldicot Victory Ball is of potential interest, for it falls at the nadir of deaths from the so-called Spanish influenza epidemic in South Wales, between the major second and, relatively less impactful, third waves of the pandemic.⁴ Caldicot had been affected in the regional

¹ See Walker, T. A. 1990. *The Severn Tunnel: Its Construction and Difficulties 1872–1887*. Weston Super Mare, Kingsmead Reprints. A reprint of the 1891, Third Edition.

² Strong, P. 1999. ‘A Large and Growing District’. *Caldicot in the 20th Century*. Caldicot Local History Society.

³ Whitbread PLC was licensed to use 2.4 million gallons of water per day of the 9 million gallons per day minimum flow of the spring, although only half that figure was normally used. Breweryhistory.com accessed 13/10/2020.

⁴ Ministry of Health 1920. *Supplement to the Eighty-First Annual Report of the Registrar-General-Report on the mortality from influenza in England and Wales during the epidemic of 1918–19. Reports on Public Health and Medical Subjects*, London, 48–80, Diagram X: Administrative Areas in Wales and Monmouthshire.



Fig. 1. Men of Caldicot, Monmouthshire, on their way to France led by their Captain on horseback. The photograph shows the 6th Battalion of the South Wales Borderers (Pioneers) at Bracknell, before sailing for France. The back of the postcard is inscribed '6th Batt. S.W.B. (Pioneers) Entering Bracknell. Capt Evans' *b* boy marked *x* on horse back' and stamped 'Mackey, West End, Bracknell'. The postcard belonged to 21 year-old, G.W.R. Fireman, William Henry Jones of Caldicot (Regimental No. 6/17612), and it was kept in his copy of "The Small Book". He enlisted in Newport for the 'Duration of War' on 7th September 1914, and his commander's signature in his 'Small Book' was Capt. W. G. Evans. © Mark Lewis. All rights reserved.

first wave from June 1918 and, amongst other things, the early spread of the flu was blamed on the Railways (unclean railway carriages) as a vector for the disease by the Abertillery Medical Officer of Health.⁵ Schools and Sunday Schools were closed across Monmouthshire from 3rd July to 13th August, reopening in September, but a major second wave of Spanish Flu hit South Wales during October, November and December 1918.⁶

Peter Strong reports that Spanish Flu 'hit Caldicot like a sledgehammer. 29 villagers were reported to have died from it in December 1918 – twice as many as were killed on active service.'⁷ Following a rapid decline in deaths by the first week of February 1919, it was possibly deemed safer to plan and celebrate with the Caldicot ball? Sadly, a third wave of flu was to spread through South Wales from the week ending the 15th February 1919, and this continued to impact records

⁵ Gwent Archives, Ref. C/HC/R2/11. See <https://en-gb.facebook.com/GwentArchives/posts/today-is-the-first-post-in-our-series-on-the-spanish-influenza-epidemicthe-spani/1529817977163884/>, accessed 11/08/2020.

⁶ Duffy, S. 2018. How Spanish flu epidemic devastated Wales in 1918. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-45577611>, accessed 11/08/2020.

⁷ Strong, op. cit., 27.

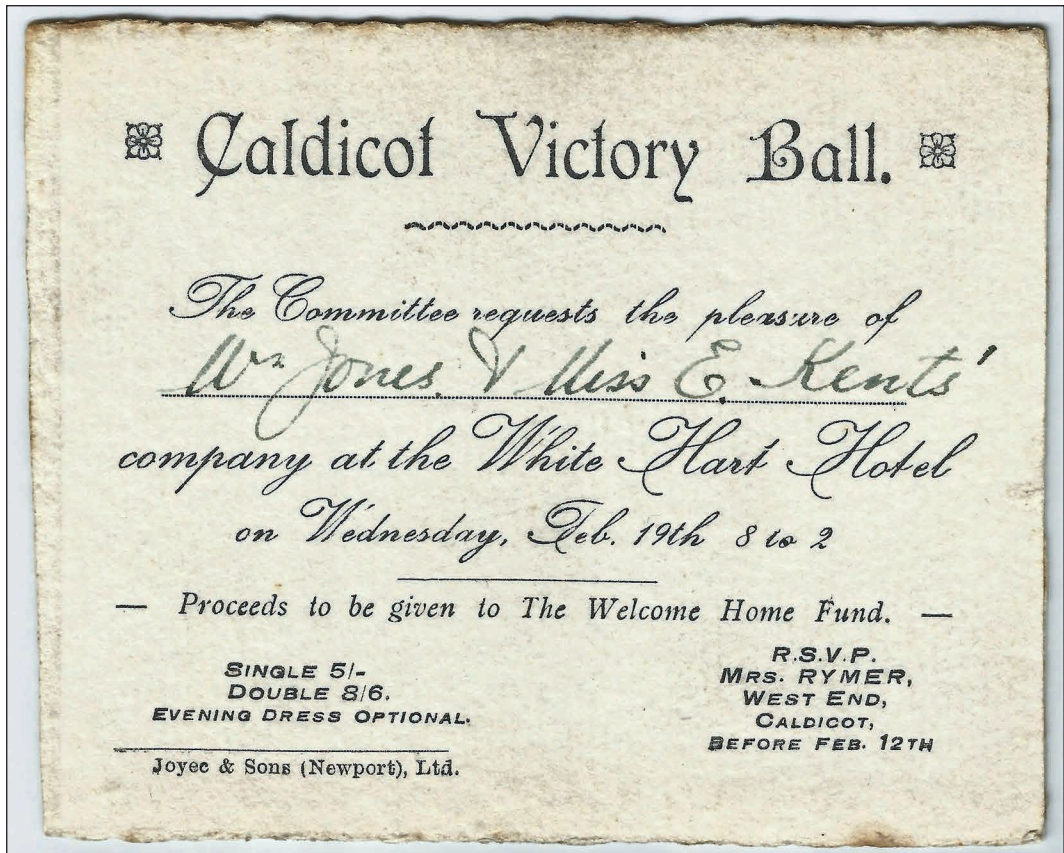


Fig. 2. A card invitation to the 'Caldicot Victory Ball'. Mrs Jones was William Henry Jones's spouse and, because he survived the war, it could be claimed that she had good cause to celebrate. © Mark Lewis, all rights reserved.

of mortality significantly until the week ending the 1st March 1919.⁸ Mortality associated with flu pandemics and annual flu seasons are followed by waves of death due to other causes, e.g. heart attacks and strokes which are indirect consequences of the inflammatory response to flu. Flu wasn't, and still isn't, exclusively a respiratory disease.⁹

From especially 1925, the national mood moved away from celebration of the end of the conflict towards a more sombre remembrance of the fallen, centred on the annual Cenotaph commemorations in London. Victory Balls dwindled and eventually ceased to be held. However, the announcement of victory in Europe in May 1945 was again met with widespread nationwide

⁸ Gerardo Chowell, Luís M.A Bettencourt, Niall Johnson, Wladimir J Alonso, and Cécile Viboud, 2008. The 1918–1919 influenza pandemic in England and Wales: spatial patterns in transmissibility and mortality impact. *The Royal Society Proc. Biol. Sci.* 2008 Mar 7; 275(1634): 501–509. doi: 10.1098/rspb.2007.1477.

⁹ Spinney, L. 2018. The Flu That Swept the World. <https://www.bbc.com/future/article/20181016-the-flu-that-transformed-the-20th-century>, accessed 11/08/2020. See also, Laura Spinney 2018. *The Spanish Flu of 1918 and How it Changed the World*. Penguin Books.



Fig. 3. The White Hart Hotel (photographed before 1906, when a gas lamp was in the road in front of the hotel)¹⁰ looking north-west from Chepstow Road, Caldicot. The hotel was described as recently ‘restored’ in the 1901 Kelly’s Directory and it appears here with its paintwork still in very good order. The function room where the ball would have taken place may be seen extending to the right from the main building.

Whitewashed outbuildings form the right-hand range of the front yard. The hotel was demolished and replaced by a modern public house with the same name in 1969. This has, itself, since been demolished. In 2020, the site of the rear of The White Hart plot was being developed as residential accommodation whilst the front area was pedestrianised as a remodelled civic precinct. The precinct work was mostly completed in September 2020. © Mark Lewis. All rights reserved.

celebration (Figs 4 and 5). Strong, citing the *South Wales Weekly Argus* of 19th May 1945, reports that Caldicot left its main celebrations until V.J. Day, but that residents of The Avenue, Caldicot, Monmouthshire, held a V.E. Day street party with jelly, blancmange and cakes; each child receiving a Victory Doll.¹¹ Some of the children in the front row in Fig. 4 are holding dolls which appear to be white-robed, angel-like, winged ‘Victory’ figurines.

¹⁰ Strong, *op. cit.*, 5.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 47.



Fig. 4. Photographic print marked on the back '8th May 1945'. Celebrations of V.E. Day at The Avenue in Caldicot, Monmouthshire. Some of the children in the front row are holding dolls which appear to be angel-like winged 'Victory' figurines. © Mark Lewis. All rights reserved.



Fig. 5. The V.E. Day street party, The Avenue, Caldicot, Monmouthshire. The movement of the people present, lens effects and some camera movement, give a blurred effect to much of this image, but it does convey something of the excitement associated with a day of great celebration. © Mark Lewis. All rights reserved.

REVIEWS

Evan T. Jones and Richard Stone (eds), *The World of the Newport Medieval Ship: Trade, Politics and Shipping in the Mid-Fifteenth Century* (University of Wales Press, 2018); ISBN 978-1-78683-4 (pbk); xvi + 276 pp., with illustrations; £29.99 pbk; £85.00 hbk

In the summer of 2002, building work was under way for a new theatre and arts centre on the right bank of the Usk in Newport. While digging down through the sediment several archaeological features were found, among them a stone slipway, before the discovery of an articulated medieval ship, the 'Newport Ship', and beside it hundreds of loose timbers and artefacts. It was a breath-taking moment, a 'glorious accident', to use Ralph Griffiths's felicitous phrase (p. 97). The work of excavating and preserving the ship began immediately and nautical archaeologists employed some of the most advanced recording techniques in existence to reconstruct and interpret the vessel. By the time Evan Jones, one of the co-editors of this volume, visited the Ship Project in 2012, the vessel was well understood as a 'piece of technology' (p.4). Less time had been given to the context in which it had operated, however. His insight led to a two-day conference in July 2014, which brought together a number of leading archaeologists and historians to explore 'the World of the Newport Ship'. The papers they presented are published in this volume. And a handsome volume it is, too. The superb cover illustration, a detail from Peter G Power's oil painting of the ship, invites readers in; they won't be disappointed.

After a foreword by HRH The Prince of Wales, the book opens with a comprehensive introduction by Evan Jones who poses a number of key questions about the ship, which the conference sought to address. Where and when was it built? What were its cargoes, how wide was its commercial compass, how many voyages would it have made each year, and to where? Beyond this, there was a need to know more about medieval Newport and its port, its urban networks and its regional and international setting. And how far did the volatile politics of the 1450s and 1460s play a part in the ship's intriguing story? Might they explain who owned it and why it ended its working life in Newport?

The range of expertise mustered to address such questions is remarkable. The notes to Nigel Nayling and Toby Jones's chapter on the archaeology alone are ample testimony to this (pp 34–5). Specialist reports on dendrochronology, coins, tars and pitches, luting fibre products, rigging, casks, leather and pottery, among others, are drawn upon while in their turn the historians harness a rich array of documentary sources to advance their arguments.

The first seven chapters examine the local and regional context of the ship. After Jones's introduction comes the archaeological analysis. Here Nigel Nayling and Toby Jones establish a construction date of post-1449 for the ship and an operational life of between c. 1450 and c. 1470. It was probably brought to Newport for repair or refitting in the late 1460s – the cradle supporting the ship was built after spring 1468. Their reconstruction and interpretation of the ship through digital modelling and the use of computer-generated statistics to assess its performance, can only be admired.

It was without question a 'big ship'. In the next chapter Ian Friel defines this term (a vessel of over 150 tons capacity) and considers the rise and fall of such ships during the period 1400–1520. The big ship's decline from the mid fifteenth century to the early 1500s had several causes, chief among them, perhaps, England's loss of the Bordeaux wine trade after Gascony fell to the French in 1453. After the mid fifteenth century English trade was dominated by shorter sea routes, lessening the reliance on larger ships. Friel concludes, nevertheless, that the big ship was deployed at Bristol

later than elsewhere because it had longer voyages in trading with southern Iberia and Iceland. Longer journeys meant bigger ships so that fewer trips were needed.

Susan Rose's study of violence at sea in chapter 4 argues that when the Newport Ship was built, the seas around England were particularly prone to piracy, with concentrations of activity along the English Channel. Piracy of the type practised in British waters in this period, however, rarely involved great violence to either ship or crew.

Chapters 5 and 6 are complementary and cover the local context. Bob Trett provides a detailed account of the town's topographical and administrative development before describing its port's connections during the fifteenth century. He considers the burning questions of ownership and how the ship came to be in Newport, which lead into a discussion of the Wars of the Roses and the possible involvement of William Herbert and/or the earl of Warwick. The latter is also discussed in depth by Ralph Griffiths in chapter 6 after first a vivid description of how busy and hazardous the Severn Sea was. This, in addition to the political turmoil of the Wars of the Roses provides three possible reasons for the ship's ending up in Newport: it may have been attacked or damaged in the local seas; it may have been part of Warwick's personal fleet, or it may have been in the possession of William Herbert who had custody of Newport from 1461.

Peter Fleming broadens the context in the seventh chapter which focuses on the urban networks of the region of the Severn Sea. In particular, he demonstrates how closely bound Newport and the other communities around the estuary were to Bristol. The region extended as far west as Pembrokeshire and up the Severn to the West Midlands, but Bristol was its heart. The city's commercial influence on Monmouthshire was important and Newport was well known to Bristolians in the fifteenth century. He posits the possibility that the ship could have been owned by a native of Newport but even if that were so, the vessel must have been in the service of Bristol's long distance trade.

The local and regional context of the ship thus established in the first half of the book, the second half extends its contextual horizons. These chapters are by economic and maritime historians who consider trade and shipping and the effects on them of international politics.

In chapter 8, Evan T Jones looks at how the Newport Ship would have been used during its commercial life given the way the shipping market operated generally. Like others, he concludes that the ship must have served Bristol's long distance trade.

Chapters 9 and 10 complement each other and focus on the trading activities of the Newport Ship in the wider context of Bristol's overseas trade in the mid to later fifteenth century. In chapter 9, after an overview of English overseas trade in late Middle Ages, Wendy Childs concentrates on the Severn Sea and geopolitical developments of the mid fifteenth century. She too observes that the loss of Gascony to the French in 1453 put a temporary blight on England's trade with Bordeaux and she concludes that for much of its working life the Newport Medieval Ship operated in difficult times for Bristol's trade. Overseas trade is also the subject of chapter 10 in which Richard Stone analyses the 'Particular' Customs Accounts for Bristol. Stone uses modern computer technology to provide a wealth of statistical evidence, an approach he justifies colourfully: 'it is not only in the mud of the river Usk where scholars can dig for new evidence...' (p. 183). His conclusions are in line with Childs.

The final two chapters widen the book's economic compass even further. In the eleventh chapter Hilario Casado Alonso and Flávio Miranda provide a detailed account of the Iberian economy during the life of the Ship. The economic success of Spain and Portugal at this time explains the ship's likely origins: it was probably built in the Basque country at a time when Iberia's ship-building industry was highly developed. In the final chapter, Francesco Guidi-Bruscoli examines Italian influence

in trade and shipping and the connections between the Atlantic and Mediterranean worlds. While there is no evidence that the Newport Ship entered the Mediterranean, new sea routes were being explored as technological improvements enabled ships to make longer voyages. If the Italians rarely visited the Bristol Channel, they were nevertheless instrumental in shaping the mid-fifteenth century commercial world in which the Newport Ship sailed.

The editors deserve credit for the cohesion of the book. There is a logical progression from chapter to chapter and careful cross referencing. It is well indexed with a helpful glossary of terms. This is particularly useful to the general reader, who, while this is an academic volume, is very much in the sights of the editors. Indeed, as Evan Jones makes clear in his introduction, the public have a 'right' to the findings of professionals, though their work should be made accessible 'without compromising or diluting scholarship'. The book succeeds in its ambition. It is attractive and while the cost of the hardback may be prohibitive, there is a more affordable paperback. Each chapter is meticulously researched but is readable and concise.

As the reader is steered from the local to the international, much of the book, of necessity, goes well beyond the confines of Newport. The Ship is an 'international icon', but the city's people can rightly feel proud of 'their' ship and should be encouraged to help in safeguarding its future. The Newport Medieval Ship's potential is immense both as a visitor attraction and an educational resource. This comprehensive and stimulating volume goes a long way to ensuring that this is recognised.

Tony Hopkins

Christabel Hutchings and Richard Frame (eds), *Charley's War: The Diary of Charles Parkinson Heare 2nd Battalion, The Monmouthshire Regiment 1914–1919* (Swansea: South Wales Record Society, 2018); ISBN 978-1-9998326-2-9; paperback; 190pp+xvi; 8 illustrations; one key map; £14.50

This First World War diary/memoir has been published to coincide with the centenary of the cessation of hostilities. The book opens with a foreword by Professor Chris Williams, followed by the acknowledgements and a personal note by Charles Heare's grandson, Michael Heare, and lists of abbreviations and illustrations. The main body of the book is in two parts, both of which are well provided with footnotes and references. Part 1 consists of the introduction, notes on the editing process for the diary and the plates; Part 2 is the diary itself. There follows a series of appendices, the bibliography and an index.

The introduction sets the scene for the diary, with background information on the lead up to the conflict, the part played by the 2nd Mons during the war, Charles Heare's place in the events, and the aftermath. The introduction concludes with the significance of the diary as an ordinary soldier's view on the war, which adds an extra dimension to so-called official versions. Indeed, Heare's account has been used as a research tool by several WWI historians, as noted on pages 49 and 50. The editors have transcribed the manuscript with minimal intrusion but with the greatest clarity, and a section on the editing methodology and conventions follows the introduction. The sensitive editing enhances the reading of the diary, which forms Part 2 of the book. A benefit for the reader is a pair of sample pages from the original diary, shown in Figure 1.

The edited diary itself is easy to read and surprisingly absorbing. The editors have divided Heare's continuous prose into a number of sections, each of which is headed with a brief synopsis pertinent to the section. The text is written in vernacular style, as would be expected from an ordinary

soldier, and this is what makes the diary so readable. The format adopted by the editors enables the reader to follow the narrative without difficulty and yet Heare's original text can still be perceived throughout. The editors should be congratulated on bringing Charles Heare's diary to publication in such a readable and well-presented way.

The book is rounded off with appendices of pertinent material and a comprehensive set of references in the bibliography, along with an index. There are no obvious printing errors. Many future readers may well have had relatives who served in WWI and who kept their experiences to themselves, as was usual. Charles Heare's seemingly mundane narrative speaks for all of those ordinary British Tommies who may have kept a similar record of events and, more importantly, for those who, for whatever reason, could not.

Joyce Compton

Sims-Williams, Patrick, *The Book of Llandaf as a Historical Source* (Boydell Press, *Studies in Celtic History* 2019). ISBN 978-1-78327-418-5; hardback; 211 pages

The Book of Llandaf (*Liber Landavensis*, Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS 17110E, hereafter L.L.) has been the subject of debate since it was first published by W.J. Rees in 1840. Though it contains other matter, including the Gospel of St Matthew, saints' lives and pseudo-historical texts, much of the debate centres on the 159 charters purporting to date between the fifth/sixth and twelfth centuries. Sims-Williams begins by outlining both the controversies of earlier scholars and the more positive cooperation of recent workers in understanding this difficult source. It was a classical scholar, John Morris, used to analysing ancient texts, who in a review, prefigured the work of Wendy Davies, which has transformed our understanding of L.L. and done so much to rehabilitate it as an historical source.

It has long been recognised that L.L. was a product of the efforts of Bishop Urban of Llandaf (1107–1134) to promote his nascent see against predatory Anglo-Norman lords and his brother bishops of Hereford and St David's by providing the documentation that the new Anglo-Norman world demanded and which Llandaf lacked. What is at issue is the extent to which the charters were simple forgeries or represent genuine land transactions edited and improved by Bishop Urban and his collaborators, including the hagiographer Caradoc of Llancarfan.

Sims-Williams argues convincingly that Urban's claim to a see of Llandaf from the Wye to the Tywi was based on the conquests of the expansionist lords of Morgannwg and the activities of Grufudd ap Llywelin in Archenfield in the time of his predecessor Herewald (1056–1104). This also explains the charters to Dyfrig (Dubricius) in Archenfield, a cult once explained, from church dedications, in terms of a sub-Roman bishop.

Wendy Davies regards the charters as being assembled from nine earlier collections (A–J) from different sources, either entries in Gospel books or as single sheet charters. Sims-Williams questions the details of this. Groups A and B, with charters to Dyfrig and Teilo, later co-opted as founder saints of Llandaf, were not grants to living persons but to the long-dead patrons and protectors of their foundations. Save for the Dyfrig dedications in Archenfield, they could derive from two early monastic centres in south west Wales, possibly Llandeilo Fawr and Penally. The three Teilo dedications in northern Gwent lay in an early territory named Cressenic (hence Llantilio Crossenny), which may have had relations of some kind with Llandeilo Fawr. The third of the triad of founding

saints of Llandaff, Euddogwy (Oudoceus), recipient of the Group C charters, was an eighth-century cleric based on Llandogo near Tintern, which may have been the seat of an early bishop.

A smaller group of charters form an appendix to Lifris's *Life of St Cadog* in the British Library manuscript Vespasian AXIV. These are usually thought to derive from Cadog's monastery at Llancarfan, perhaps from entries in a now lost early Gospel book known to have been there. Two have duplicates among the Llandaf charters. Sims-Williams makes the interesting suggestion that the common source of both groups was not Llancarfan, but a third centre, perhaps Llandough. Wendy Davies and I have both suggested that Llandaf, if not the successor of Llandough, inherited much of the latter's estate during the Anglo-Norman takeover of the Cardiff area.

Detailed scrutiny of the witness lists and genealogies show the untidy pattern one might expect from attempts to use a genuine and complex archive rather than the more orderly picture one might expect from simple forgery, whilst the orthographic forms of personal names follow, over time, well attested changes in the development of the Welsh language. All this does much to confirm the basic authenticity of the charters. Forgeries certainly exist but can usually be detected.

Sims-Williams then considers the chronology of the charter groups. Sequence i he dates tentatively to the seventh century; sequence ii to the eighth, with synchronisms to Aethelbald of Mercia (716–57) and persons named in the *Annales Cambriae* and in the inscription on a late eighth-century cross at Llantwit Major; sequence iii dates to 850–1075. He analyses in detail the charter formulae used in Wendy Davies's reconstruction of the ways in which the separate archives used in L.L. were brought together. Whilst challenging the details of this, her basic conclusion remains: - 'There can be no doubt that she is right to maintain that L.L. is composed of charters from a number of episcopal archives at various places in south Wales' (p. 84). Sims-Williams prefers to use the geographical distribution of grants, the episcopal seats named in the charters and the distribution of church dedications to reconstruct this process, rather than the diplomatic aspects of the charters. Analysis of concentrations of individual formulae inserted into the text by an editor suggests that there was only one phase of editing, rather than a sequence of earlier phases preceding the existing text.

One important question is how far the charters can be used as indicators of social and economic change. They tell of mechanisms by which kings ratified grants to religious bodies by private individuals in return for valuable gifts. There may also be a chronological change in means of exchange from objects such as swords, horses or hawks, sometimes expressed in cows as units of value, to payments, by the tenth or eleventh century, in precious metals (corresponding incidentally to the appearance of silver coinage in Wales). These might however reflect instead changes in the nature of the transactions recorded.

The intricate evidence of Welsh genealogical tracts such as Jesus College Oxford MS 20 and Harleian 3859 and later texts is then considered. These are critical for the dating and geographical range of the donor kings. One major problem is that of identifying a particular Meurig or Morgan (even with a patronymic) among numerous namesakes. In the seventh century, kingdoms seem to have corresponded with the former Roman *civitates* of the Silures in Gwent/Glamorgan, the Demetae of Dyfed and Ergyng (Archenfield) around Ariconium. By the ninth century Glywysing (later Glamorgan) and Gwent were separate kingdoms and Gwent had absorbed Ergyng.

Key to unravelling the charter evidence are the lists of bishops. A line of seventh-century bishops in Ergyng may have been based in Welsh Bicknor or Moccas, if our modern assumption of a bishop with a fixed seat, from which he took his title, is relevant and if we can distinguish in our sources between episcopal sees, monasteries, episcopal manors of sufficient status to host a bishop and possible combinations of these roles. In the eighth century, a series of bishops in Gwent/Glamorgan

might have been based on Llandough or Llancarfan, though Caerwent might be an alternative. It is possible that the earlier Ergyng bishops had migrated to Llandogo. A separate succession of bishops had their seat at Glasbury (*Clas Cynidr*) near Hay on Wye, as an early episcopal list demonstrates.

Around 900 we meet Bishop Cyfeiliog. He may have had connections with King Alfred's biographer Asser, who spent a year (? 885–6) sick at Caerwent, possibly Cyfeiliog's seat. He received a series of grants from Brochfael ap Meurig, whom Asser describes as 'King of Gwent' and in 914 was ransomed from Vikings by King Edward the Elder, when he was described as bishop in or of Archenfield (*biscop on Irenga Felda*). His successor, Wulfrith, has grants at Llandogo and Trellech Grange and Wendy Davies considered that Llandogo might be the seat of the tenth century bishops.

By the time of Bishop Joseph (1022–1045), and perhaps of his predecessor Bleddri, the see was settled at Llandaf. Other early bishoprics did not develop into full medieval sees in the manner of St Davids and Llandaf. Glasbury is an example. However, the eleventh-century bishop's see at Dewstow, just south of Caerwent, is almost certainly a chimera. It was first suggested, on the authority of the Anglo-Saxon historian Dorothy Whitelock, from a charter by which Aethelred the Unready, in 1055, granted land at Over in Gloucestershire (close to the Aust-Beachley ferry) to 'The bishop of the see which is called Deowiestow'. As Sims-Williams recognises, this is more likely to be St Davids (compare the St Davids mint signature DEVITUN on coins of William the Conqueror.). The place name element Stow implies a religious centre of some kind at Dewstow. However it makes better sense that Aethelred, anxious for cooperation against Viking invaders, should provide the bishop of St Davids with a convenient *pied a terre* close to the Severn crossing, than that an otherwise unattested bishop should take his title from an obscure episcopal manor (now hardly a hamlet) rather than from the adjacent and highly visible Roman town, or why such an obscure cleric should attract the patronage of the English king.

A series of useful maps shows the distribution of grants to successive bishops, though it is worth remembering that the extent of a bishop's see might wax and wane with the fortunes of his royal patron and that the absence of charters from a particular area could reflect the lack of royal patronage rather than the absence of a bishop.

Sims-Williams, wisely, does not discuss the archaeological and topographic evidence for places which are the subjects of individual charters, though he is clearly aware of the significance of, for example, the recent finds of fine metalwork at St Arvans. However, new methods of excavation and electronic survey (geophysics, metal detecting) mean that what was an archaeologically dark period is beginning to emerge into the light. Some charter places now have good archaeological evidence. Combined with topographical and cartographic sources, there is scope for a fresh scrutiny of individual places on the ground. The boundary clauses of the charters are the earliest layer in a palimpsest of post-Roman landscape history running through Anglo-Norman parish formation to early modern map evidence. Sir Joseph Bradney made a still-valuable study of the charter bounds of Llandogo in relation to the modern landscape (*History of Monmouthshire* 2.2, 206). In one or two cases older identifications may need revision, but Sims-Williams's magisterial survey of this difficult and intricate source lays a firm foundation on which future workers can build with greater confidence.

Jeremy Knight

OBITUARIES

WILLIAM HENRY ('BILL') BAKER (1920–2019)

County Archivist

When Bill Baker retired in 1982, he had been county archivist at what was then Gwent Record Office for thirty years. Even more remarkable, apart from war service, his career in local government had spanned a staggering 45 years. His long service is to be admired but more so his contribution to his profession and to Gwent archives in particular. He was the architect of the professional archive service in Monmouthshire.

Bill was a native of the county. He was born in Griffithstown in 1920 where he received his early schooling, before being awarded a scholarship and attending Abersychan Grammar School.

Bill started work for Monmouthshire County Council in 1937 when it was based in County Hall, Newport. His early career was interrupted by war service. In April 1939 he joined the Territorial Army and after war was declared a variety of military roles took him around the country until he moved to the Royal Artillery in 1941. It was while on searchlight duty in Gloucestershire that he met his future wife, Margaret. Before his 'demob' in 1946, he had gained the rank of captain.

The year 1946 was a momentous one for Bill. He married Margaret in Gloucestershire and they returned to Monmouthshire. He went back to the County Council and the course of his future career was set. He was appointed Assistant Archivist under Dr J. Conway Davies, Reader in Palaeography and Diplomatic at Durham University. Davies had become Consulting Archivist to the council in 1938, a milestone for the county and for Wales. Davies's brief was to survey and catalogue the county's records, a truly formidable task. He produced two unpublished reports in 1939 and 1940 and made recommendations to the Records Committee for the future preservation of the county's records. The war intervened, however, and actions were left for the future.

On his appointment, Bill was trained in archives by Conway Davies; in addition, he enrolled as an external student of the University of London, studying for a Diploma in Public Administration. His studies were affected, it is said, by the birth of his daughter, Diane, in 1948. She was reportedly 'not a quiet baby' and, apparently, he did much of his work walking around with her on one shoulder. Proud father that he was, he was also proud to be awarded his Diploma in 1949; thereafter he invariably added the designatory letters, DPA, after his name in anything he published.

The creation in 1952 of the Monmouthshire County Council and Newport County Borough Joint Archives Committee, was followed by the decision to dispense with the services of the Consulting Archivist. Conway Davies had done invaluable work, but he was not full time. The committee turned to Bill Baker, who was upgraded to County Archivist. He was still only 32.

The appointment of Monmouthshire's first County Archivist was accompanied by the provision of premises for a record office. The new service was housed in the basement of County Hall, Newport. Quick to impose order on the diverse material he had in his charge, one of Bill's early tasks was to create an accessions register. Since the earliest entries in it date to 1940 and are written in his distinctive neat, right sloping hand, he must have written the first pages of the register from notes kept by Conway Davies.

Apart from his training at the hands of the Consulting Archivist, Bill's professional development came from observing best practice, from his contacts with fellow archivists and from his natural sense of order and discipline honed by his military training. He joined the Society of Archivists when it was in its infancy and read its journal avidly.

At the same time, he was at the forefront of the burgeoning interest in local history and became a committee member of the Monmouthshire Local History Council – founded in the mid-1950s – serving as vice chair, chair and occasionally editor of its journal. He used the journal to stimulate the use of archives by publishing articles on record sources and in its very first issue he wrote on the place of the County Record Office in the study of local history.

Bill promoted the service in other ways too. He staged exhibitions and he appeared frequently in the pages of the local press. By the late 1950s he had gained sufficient control of the collections in his care to publish his *Guide to the Monmouthshire Record Office*. Appearing in 1959, it was Bill's *tour de force*. He fulsomely praised Conway Davies's sterling work and also acknowledged guides to other offices that were a model for his own.

If the fifties laid the foundations of the service, the next decade saw it grow. This was a mark of Bill's successful management and unfailing energy. Growth had a downside, nevertheless. The service's resources were strained. Despite the acquisition of an outstore, the Record Office had outgrown its premises at Newport by the late 1960s.

The 1970s saw Bill in his prime. He faced the constraints of the three-day week in 1974 with typical pragmatism, assigning work to staff appropriate to the limited lighting and heat. Bill took the challenge of Local Government Reorganisation after the 1972 Act in his stride. The construction of a new County Hall at Cwmbran meant the relocation of the Record Office and with customary precision Bill planned the move like a military operation. It was executed like 'clockwork'. The removal company from Abertillery initially filled 55 van loads to move the records with a similar number later on the completion of the County Hall extension. Following Reorganisation was the transfer of the gargantuan body of UDC and RDC records, again managed smoothly – the classification scheme he devised for these records is still in use. It was at this time too, in November 1976, that the mammoth task of collecting parish records was begun.

The new Gwent Record Office was now much larger than its predecessor, with mobile shelving, a CO2 fire suppression system and large search room. It also boasted a 'repair room'. The move saw an increase in staff and the introduction of the Modern Records Service. Nevertheless, he felt more needed to be done than he had resources for. Ever the problem solver, in 1977 he employed six school leavers under a Job Creation Scheme to update the office's names index.

Bill's organisational gifts were formally recognised by the Council when he was asked to plan the visit of the Queen Mother for the official opening of the new County Hall at Cwmbran in April, 1978.

Four years later, in 1982 Bill retired. At the time of stepping down he was a member of the Association of County Archivists and the Welsh County Archivists Group; he had been Treasurer of the Society of Archivists from 1972 until 1980.

While committed to the archive service he was very active outside the profession. After the war he continued his military associations, eventually becoming Chair and President of the Newport Branch of the Royal Artillery Association which he joined in 1947; in 1954 he joined the Monmouthshire Civil Defence Corps and, typically, became director of operations; he was also active in benevolent work with former soldiers and their families. While he was instrumental in securing the deposit of ecclesiastical archives, the Church became increasingly important to him personally. He had been brought up a Baptist but was confirmed an Anglican in 1956. Initially a member of St John's Church, Wainfelin, he moved to St Gabriel's in Cwmbran in 1968. From 1972 he became increasingly involved and held several offices within the Diocese of Monmouth. In 1982 he became Honorary Diocesan Archivist for Monmouth. Both Bill and Margaret were esteemed leaders of their local church and were known for their hospitality.

Bill was predeceased by Margaret who died in 2015; they were married for 69 years. Both were members of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association and Bill went on reading the society's journal in his residential home, Llantarnam Lodge. He died at Nevill Hall Hospital, Abergavenny aged 98.

I was not fortunate enough to have worked for Bill but his work as Diocesan Archivist brought him back to the office many times after I had started, and I got to know him. Medium height, upright, slim and besuited, he still walked with a confident military air though softened by his warm smile. You respected him and liked him.

Bill was an inspiration to many; literally, an officer and a gentleman. He was among the last of that generation of gifted people who achieved much without a university education. To echo an earlier comment, longevity is impressive, but substance counts for much more. Bill had both.

Bill's daughter, son-in-law, three grandsons and six great-grandchildren will cherish his memory but he should be remembered warmly and with much appreciation by the profession he served with distinction and by his beloved, native county to which he gave so many years of dedicated service.

Tony Hopkins¹

RICHARD J. HUTCHINGS FRICS (1944–2019)

Hon. Treasurer, Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association

Members of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association were shocked and saddened by the sudden death of our long-serving treasurer, Richard Hutchings, in June 2019. He left behind Christabel, herself such a key officer of the MAA, children Rhian, Rhys and Ada and grandchildren Edith, Anna, Ethan and Jonathan.

Richard had established an enviable position in the business community of southeast Wales and beyond. Specialising in development and investment in commercial property he was a partner in Powell Tuck and Partners, chartered surveyors before becoming Area Director for J. Trevor and Sons in 1988. In 1991 he formed Hutchings and Thomas with development and investment projects as well as commercial agency and valuation work throughout Britain and the Czech Republic. In 2009, Richard started working on his own for a small number of personal clients and was still working at the time of his death. He was Director of Hutchings Property Consultants, specialising in retail development and investment projects, from 2006 and was for many years Managing Director of Leys Development Ltd.

For members of the MAA, however, he will be remembered most for his deep commitment to organisations dedicated to the history, archaeology and heritage of this area. He was a member of the Board of Trustees not only of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association but also of the South Wales Record Society and the Glamorgan Gwent Archaeological Trust. Through the years, at times chairing each of these agencies, I developed a close working relationship with Richard and came to rely on him in each of them. He was the long-time treasurer of both the Record Society and

¹ I am indebted to Bill's family, his good friend Arthur Edwards and his former colleague Thea Randall, for their contributions to this tribute, originally published in *Archives and Records*, Volume 40 Issue 2, included here by agreement with the Archives and Records Association, Taylor & Francis (publisher of the journal) and the author.

the MAA, taking up the post with Monmouthshire Antiquarians in January of 1990 and skilfully managing the financial position right up to his untimely death some three decades later! Treasurers rarely receive the credit due, but their role is critical to the health and survival of the organisations they serve. Richard's steady influence and invaluable advice were much needed, and I welcome the opportunity to celebrate the years of service which he provided.

During the many years that I worked with Richard we became not just colleagues but friends. Our long discussions were frequently about things historical but not infrequently about other things as well, Welsh sport in general and Welsh rugby in particular, often being topics of conversation. When I was preparing to speak at the Celebration of Richard's Life in Cardiff's Temple of Peace, it was one of these sports chats which kept coming into my mind. It has stayed with me since. It transpired that there was a time when we had both been wicket keepers. It was something which seemed to please him and which he referred to on many occasions. I believe the thought has stayed with me because it is, in a sense, the image I had of him – the reliable presence in the background, the man behind the wicket. He represented the ultimate 'safe pair of hands'.

He will be greatly missed, particularly by the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association.

Professor Ray Howell,
Chairman



Left to right, Ian Burge (past Association President), Mark Lewis (past Association Chairman and Editorial Committee Chairman), Richard Hutchings (Association Treasurer) and Jeremy Knight (Association President and former Chairman) studying Old Red Sandstone architectural fragments, curated by Ian Burge, at the 2018 Association AGM.

ANNA MILLICENT HORATIA FITZROY TRIBE O.B.E. (1929–2020)

Anna Tribe, a long standing and much valued member of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association and of its committee died on the twelfth of September 2019, aged 91. Anna Millicent Horatia Fitzroy Somerset was born in London but moved to her beloved Raglan with her parents in 1939, staying with her grandparents, Raglan Turberville Somerset, Honorary Warden of Raglan Castle and Elizabeth Horatia Anne, great granddaughter of Lord Nelson and Emma Hamilton. She remained in Raglan for 74 years and was a long standing and much valued member of this Association. Her middle names reflect both her Somerset / Beaufort connection and that with Admiral Nelson. When this Association visited H.M.S. Victory, we were given red carpet treatment and were shown around Nelson's flagship by the Captain – a rare privilege

At Haberdasher's School for Girls, Monmouth, she was a keen sportswoman, with a love of lacrosse, cricket and athletics. She then trained as an actress and took a number of stage and television roles, before marrying her husband of 53 years, the late William Tribe. They ran photographic and travel businesses for many years. Her aunt, Horatia Durant, was an historian, author of, among other books *The Somerset Sequence and Henry, First Duke of Beaufort and His Duchess, Mary*. Anna continued this interest in historical studies. She was a fine public speaker, giving witty and scholarly accounts of her Somerset and Nelson ancestry from John of Gaunt onwards. She had an encyclopaedic knowledge of Raglan Castle, which she had known since childhood and those associated with it and gave excellent guided tours.

This Association was only one of many organizations within the county to which she gave long standing service, but the mere listing of these gives little indication of her warmth and humour.



Anna and Nelson.

She was a J.P. for 26 years. I once heard an account from an eyewitness of an occasion when over-zealous local officials prosecuted a harassed young mother for some minor misdemeanour. Having seen these officials enjoying an excellent lunch on expenses, she made her views very plain and found reason to dismiss the charge. This was very typical of her. She was Chairperson of the Monmouth Conservative Association and Ladies Chairperson for the Welsh Conservatives. She served on the Local Health Authority Board and was a keen member of the Raglan Local History Group.

Anna had three children and six grandchildren, many of whom carry the family names Horatio and Horatia. In recent years she suffered a series of strokes and her last years were spent in a care home near her daughter Mary. Mary wrote of her mother's 'joyous and hearty life' and of how 'the people and countryside of Monmouthshire were forever in her heart. She will be buried in Raglan churchyard, with her husband, parents and grandchildren. There will be a memorial for her later.

Jeremy Knight

FIELD EXCURSIONS AND OTHER ASSOCIATION ACTIVITIES IN 2019

6th April 2019: A visit to Fourteen Locks and a guided walk down the canal in the company of the former manager Phil Hughes: This event was much enjoyed by the forty plus people who turned up on a cold but soon to be sunny day. Phil Hughes did not want any payment, but suggested we made a donation to the Fourteen Locks Canal Centre Trust. We collected £62 which was much appreciated. Many of us then enjoyed the food in the excellent Cafe. It is a trust well worth supporting. Phil Hughes's knowledge is vast and he received a great deal of praise. He informed us about the history of the Monmouthshire and Brecon Canal which is really two separate canals. The Monmouthshire Canal Company received its Act of Parliament in 1792, at a time when the Brecknock and Abergavenny canal was being planned. The two were eventually linked at Pontymoile. For our visit, we were looking at the flight of fourteen locks on the Crumlin branch of the Monmouthshire Canal which opened in 1799. The Brecknock and Abergavenny branch reached Pontymoile in 1812. The canal system included horse drawn tramroads that brought coal, limestone and iron ore to the canal wharfs. A lime kiln can be seen on the Fourteen Locks stretch. The canal company was aware of the competition posed by the railways and so became the Monmouthshire Railway and Canal Company. The tramroads were then converted to a railway which ran down the valley. In 1880 the Monmouthshire and Brecon Canals were taken over by the Great Western Railway and gradually transport on the canal ceased.

10th June 2019: A visit to new displays at St Fagans led by Dr Elizabeth Walker and Dr Mark Redknap: Dr Elizabeth Walker gave us an excellent talk on the new galleries in the lecture theatre which is part of the new construction. The tour was divided into two sections of 1½ hours each. In section one Elizabeth Walker was our guide. She is responsible for the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic archaeological collections, prehistoric stone tools, archaeological archives and collections management. We were amazed by the new gallery 'Wales is' which has displays epitomizing Welsh history. Unlike the former fixed exhibits, these are able to be changed, which reflects changes in the philosophy of Museum display. The group very much enjoyed the 'Life is' gallery and it transported many members back to their childhood. After lunch, we met Dr Mark Redknap. His areas of responsibility cover strategic direction and development of departmental research and collections, especially early medieval and later medieval archaeological collections. He showed us around the *Gweithdy* gallery and then took us to *Llys LLeuwelyn* and the Iron Age round houses. We could not have had better guides. The tours generated many questions which were ably answered by our expert guides and we were able to see many artefacts and displays relevant to Gwent in the galleries. The following month St Fagans National Museum of History won the 2019 Art Fund Museum of the Year award.

23rd July 2019: A Coach trip to Chavenage House and Tetbury: This family run manor house proved interesting and the family created a relaxed friendly atmosphere. Chavenage is an Elizabethan building retaining many of its original features (dating from before 1576). It has remained virtually unchanged for 400 years. It was used as 'Trenwith' in the Poldark television series which was not our reason for being there but added interest. On a very hot day of the year Gwyn's comfortable coaches, ably driven by Andrew, took us to Chavenage. Run by family members, it's their presence which enhances the experience. We were fortunate to have Caroline as our guide, as her tour of the house was so full of humour that it was suggested she should go to the Edinburgh Festival as a one woman show. Following our visit to Chavenage we were dropped in the nearby picturesque town of

Tetbury. Most people headed for the gardens of the local Inn or the Church to keep cool. The Parish Church of St Mary the Virgin and St Mary Magdalen was interesting as it was filled with rental pews which meant that the church space was marginalised. Many people would like to visit Chavenage again next year.

21st September 2019: The Redwick Day School. We met at Redwick Village Hall on a day of brilliant sunshine. Redwick was chosen as a venue on the Caldicot Levels and the host for the day was Redwick History Society. The Living Levels Project funded the hire of the village hall. Gavin Jones, the Living Levels Community Engagement Officer, introduced the day's events with a talk about the project. Oliver Blackmore, the Collections and Engagement Officer at Newport Museum and Art Gallery, talked about the re-display of the prehistory section of the Museum, which covers finds made on the Gwent Levels, and new methods of display. Dr Mark Lewis, Curator of Roman Archaeology at the National Roman Legion Museum, discussed the Great Flood of 1607, cleverly linking it to global warming. Anne Dunton discussed The Redwick Conservation Area and its land use through time. Unfortunately, Richard Lewis was ill and so was unable to talk about his recent investigations in South Row, Redwick. After an excellent lunch provided by the Huntsman Hotel, Redwick History Society took us on a tour of the village, which encompassed the bus shelter museum and village pound, and ended at St Thomas's Church where Revd Dr. Canon Arthur Edwards gave an interesting talk on the history and architectural aspects of the church. After tea and coffee Peter Strong gave a talk on the levels in two World Wars and the day ended with a group walking down to the sea wall.

26th October 2019: Lecture 'The Question of Monmouthshire'. Forty-four people met at our secretary's house and were accommodated in her art gallery. The lecture, given by our Patron, Professor Chris Williams, was fascinating because Monmouthshire has long had an ambiguous relationship with Wales. The lecture explored the ways in which Monmouthshire has not always been considered part of Wales, and ways in which it had gradually gained a less ambiguous relationship. Needless to say, a discussion of sport played its part in the analysis. We are grateful to Professor Williams, who is now Head of the College of Arts, Celtic Studies and Social Sciences at University College Cork. We are so pleased he stayed on as our Patron after taking up his new post, and that we were able to benefit from his expert analysis and superb delivery.

Christabel Hutchings
Hon. Secretary

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Joyce Compton is a retired archaeologist, latterly Artefact Specialist for the Essex County Council field unit. She entered her career in archaeology from a background in quality control in industry, gaining Higher National Certificates in Pure and Applied Physics. She has excavated on various sites in Caerleon and Monmouth and dealt with finds from a number of locations throughout south Wales. She assisted Peter Webster in publishing Roman pottery from Mill Street, Caerleon, before taking up a post as a Roman Pottery Researcher in Essex, leading to publication of a large pottery assemblage as part of *Internet Archaeology* Vol. 40. She is currently working on un-published pottery from the 1986–8 Usk excavations and, in her spare time, volunteers in the World Heritage landscape at Blaenavon.

Tony Hopkins has recently retired as County Archivist at Gwent Archives, where he had worked since 1987. He was born in Neath and attended Neath Grammar School before going to Swansea University where he obtained a degree in English in 1976. He worked on the South Wales Coalfield Archive in the university before training as an archivist at Aberystwyth University. He later gained an MA in history from Cardiff University, where he taught for fifteen years as a part-time tutor in the University's Lifelong Learning Department. In recognition of this he was awarded an Honorary Research Fellowship there. He is co-editor of the medieval volume of *The Gwent County History* series and has been editor of *Gwent Local History* since 1997. He was joint editor of *Morgannwg*, the journal of the Glamorgan History Society, for a decade from 2010. From 2021 (Vol. XXXVI), he will be the Hon. Editor of *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*.

Professor Ray Howell is Chairman of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association. He is also a member of the Board of Directors of the Glamorgan Gwent Archaeological Trust and the Torfaen Museum Trust. He is President of Chepstow Archaeological Society and of the Friends of Newport Museum. Professor Howell was volume editor for the first two volumes of the Gwent County History. He has written several books and numerous articles and has made regular television appearances including contributions to *Time Team* and to a range of historical and archaeological programmes on Sianel Pedwar Cymru (S4C).

Ann Hudson is descended from Archdeacon William Crawley (1802–96), rector of Bryngwyn, and has had a lifelong interest in the history of the Crawley family; her biography of William Crawley's grandfather, Samuel Crawley, appears in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. She read archaeology and art history at Cambridge and has published other articles on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century history. She has had a long career as a professional indexer, specialising in academic books and journals on history, archaeology and the history of art and architecture. She is a Fellow of the Society of Indexers and serves on their Executive Board.

Christabel Hutchings has researched the history of education in the nineteenth century, for which she was awarded an M.Ed. by Cardiff University. Furthermore, she completed an MA in Celtic-Roman studies at the University of Wales, Newport; her dissertation was entitled 'Slavery and Status in Roman Britain'. In 2010, she was elected Honorary Secretary of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association. In addition, she is also a member of the following committees; the South Wales Record Society; the Gwent County History; the Friends of Newport Museum and Art Gallery and the Friends

of National Museum Wales. She has published articles in both *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* and *Morgannwg*.

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*, was published by Logaston Press in 2016.

Mark Lewis was born and raised in Monmouthshire. His interest in archaeology was nurtured during family walks in the south of the county and whilst working on excavations at Trostrey and Caerwent. He read archaeological conservation and conservation at Cardiff University. There he was awarded a PhD for his research on humidity and iron corrosion which informed the preservation strategy for Brunel's ss Great Britain and now informs the preservation of museum artefacts and structures, such as the Severn Bridge, worldwide. Since 2000, Mark Lewis has been a curatorial officer and senior curator at the National Roman Legion Museum, Caerleon, and from 2006–14 was also an archaeological conservator at Amgueddfa Cymru – National Museum Wales, Cathays Park, Cardiff. He was Chairman of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association from 2013–16. From 2013–17 he was Chairman of the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust, having been a Trustee since November 2008. In 2016 he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London and in 2019 he became an Honorary Research Fellow of Cardiff University.

Martin Locker received his PhD from UCL in 2013, focussing on Medieval pilgrimage in Britain. Since then he has been published in various edited volumes on Medieval archaeology, worked in education, tourism and commercial archaeology, and now lives and works in Andorra. There he has founded the 'Perennial Pyrenees' research project, which focuses on the traditions, folklore and archaeology of the Pyrenees. This has resulted in the publication of his book *The Tears of Pyrene: Archaeology, Folklore & Traditions of the Pyrenees* via the associated imprint Mons Culturae Press. A follow-up book is currently being prepared on traditional industries of the Pyrenees, and is expected out in late 2020/early 2021.

Julian Mitchell read History at Oxford. 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 of London. He contributed two chapters to *The Gwent County History Volume 3*. He was a guest curator for the 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.

John Morgan-Guy is currently an Honorary Research Fellow at University of Wales Trinity St David, Lampeter, where he was formerly an AHRC Research Fellow, Lecturer in Church History and, latterly, Acting Chaplain. Born and brought up in Cardiff, he has long-established familial roots

in Gwent, where he was himself a parish priest in the 1970s. He graduated B.A. in 1965, Ph.D. in 1984 and Lic.D.D. in 2009, all from his *alma mater*, Lampeter. He is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Medicine, of the Royal Historical Society and of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and has published extensively in the disciplines of church history, medical history, and the visual arts. He serves as Joint Editor of the *Journal of Religious History, Literature and Culture*, and as a Trustee of the Friends of Friendless Churches, which cares for several ancient churches in Monmouthshire.

Frank Olding was born and bred in Monmouthshire. He recently retired as Heritage Officer for Blaenau Gwent County Borough Council. Prior to that, he worked as curator of Abergavenny Museum and as an Assistant Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Cadw. He has published two volumes of poetry in Welsh and is a member of the Gorsedd of Bards and a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

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.

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