BRYCHEINIOG

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CYNNWYS/CONTENTS

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EDITORIAL

It is with a feeling of honour, humbleness, and great pleasure that I take on the role of Editor of *Brycheiniog* journal. I appreciate I am following in the footsteps of giants – Editors such as Edward Parry, Brynach Parri, and my immediate predecessor, John Gibbs. It is usual to offer praise to the person one replaces (and, in John's case it would be very well deserved) but the situation here is slightly different as John now heads an Editorial Board comprising Nigel Clubb and Elizabeth Siberry along with your Editor. It may be my name on the cover but it is their hard work and dedication that appear on every page. I cannot thank them enough.

But before we get to the contents of the Journal, you might want to know a little more about your new Editor. Having been partially raised in north Powys, and my wife, Vanessa, having started school in the valleys, we knew we wanted to come to this area to put down roots. We did so 12 years ago. My family has its origins in Swansea and Abergavenny; Ystradfellte, now home, seemed a good midpoint. Tellingly, my first experience of Brecknock occurred when Vanessa and I stayed at Tyn-y-llwyn farmhouse (now the address of one of our contributors and much restored since we stayed there). I went with *Brycheiniog* Volume 26 in hand and the marvellous write-up of the house by Pamela Redwood. I was hooked, both on *Brycheiniog* and the area. But I would not have believed anyone at the time who said I would, one day, be Editor of the Journal. Maybe it was fate!

I have an MA and PhD in archaeology from the University of Reading and, when it came time to settle, the archaeology and history of Brecknock was a major draw. I now have one of the best prehistoric landscapes available within walking distance of my door (see the article by Nigel Jones – another contributor to this volume – in *Brycheiniog* 45 to see what I mean).

Since living here, I have become the Editor of *Ystradfellte Life*, our parish magazine, and also Chapter Clerk and Treasurer at Brecon Cathedral, a place I adore for its beauty, history, and the people who bring it alive.

But that is enough about me; back to the Journal! It is with immense delight that my first issue as Editor begins with Anne Curry and Adam Chapman sharing their research about Agincourt and it's Brecon connection (which formed the subject of the Sir John Lloyd Memorial Lecture for 2015 – see the Chairman's Report in this issue). Although we might lose some of our mythology as it concerns Dafydd Gam, I hope the history will compensate and even add to our knowledge of this colourful Breconian.

We remain in Brecon for the second article by David Jones Powell, who writes of a family home (now almost completely gone) in St Mary's Street. David uses extracts from his aunt's diary to record her recollections of the house and, like me, I hope you will be struck by the exquisiteness of her prose.

After prose comes poetry and Eurig Salisbury shares some ideas regarding

Huw Cae Llwyd, who travelled our county looking for wealthy patrons who would commission praise poetry (some of it by the descendants of Dafydd Gam) and contribute to his "crowdfunded" pilgrimage fund. The article is in Welsh – something I am very keen to encourage – but a full translation appears on the Society's website.

A man who might be worthy of a praise poem all to himself is Wilfred de Winton, and his life and times are the subject of Oliver Fairclough's article in this volume. Oliver explores de Winton's involvement with the establishment of the Diocese of Swansea and Brecon, and with the founding of Brecon's Priory Church as a Cathedral (something for which I am personally immensely grateful). But it is de Winton's involvement with porcelain and china that forms the main focus of the article. His collection was wide and varied and provides our National Museum in Cardiff with a dazzling display. Oliver has illustrated his article with lots of wonderful images and the Editorial Board decided to reproduce these in colour so you can appreciate their full beauty.

Colour is rarely a feature of archaeological digs (unless you are lucky enough to find something very special) but Nigel Jones and Richard Hankinson (with the collaboration of many others listed) have written a very colourful text about the excavation of Pen-y-Gaer Roman fort. Buried in the article (as it was in the ground) is a coin type that represents the first time Britannia appears in personified form on a coin. Great Britain started here!

The Romans are known for their roads, but it is a monk's path that Richard Morgan takes us along in his article on Meurig's Way. Showing how a detailed review of the names of places passed on the journey can open up both the history and mythology of a place, I can guarantee you will not look at even a field in the same way again.

Notes and Queries is a very traditional name for a brand new section of the journal. Past Editor Brynach Parri also takes us outside, this time to the strangely-named beaches of Mynydd Illtud. But there is no sand in sight as Brynach explores the geography and history of the area. Letters is a previous feature of the journal we have reinstated and, in our first, Martin Crampin eloquently answers Elizabeth Siberry's critique of his book. It lacked two important photographs, argued Elizabeth. You will find both accompanying Martin's response. Finally, the Journal ends with Book Reviews and we have a very mixed bag with Above Brecknock, Welsh Soldiers, Abbeys and Priories, and Celtic Saints all making the list. But I must warn you, more sacred cows are given up to the mincer in the review of Welsh Soldiers.

It has been an incredible privilege to work with and publish so many outstanding articles by so many outstanding authors. I think it's a brilliant issue and I hope you will too. Now, as is only right and proper, let me hand over to our Chairman, Dr John Gibbs, to get us started.

MIKE WILLIAMS

REPORTS

CHAIRMAN'S REPORT FOR 2015

This is the second year in which a Chairman's report on the activities of the Society has appeared in *Brycheiniog* and it seems appropriate to start with a reference to the Journal itself. I am delighted to be able to report that we welcome Dr Mike Williams as Editor and look forward to the first volume with him in charge. To support his endeavours we have created an Editorial Board, comprising myself, Elizabeth Siberry and Nigel Clubb. In his Editorial you will find his reflections on taking up the role. We wish him every success!

I should also mention that Mike and Hilary Scott-Archer stood down from the Executive Council in advance of their move from Breconshire to Devon. The Society organised a very well-attended event at the Muse in May to wish them well and to thank them both for all they had done in and for the local area.

The Redevelopment of the Brecknock Museum and Art Gallery

This has been something of a roller-coaster year as the Powys County Council (PCC) project team has taken forward the planning and detailed design of the Brecon Cultural Hub (BCH). The ride is not over yet! The project team includes engineering consultants Jacobs, architect Powell Dobson and main contractor Kier. 'Brecon Cultural Hub' is simply the name currently used to describe the overall building complex comprising the existing Shire Hall with the museum and art gallery together with the new building containing the library, education rooms and museum stores and the conjoining atrium with central reception area, tourist information centre and café. A more attractive name will be chosen for the BCH before it opens.

As Nigel Blackamore explains in his Curator's Report, the National Park Authority granted full planning permission and listed building consent for the BCH in April 2015, but changes due to the process of value engineering and some reduction in size of the new build required a further application to the National Park Authority. Approval for the revised design was given in October 2015. Even with the revisions to the design, there was a funding gap between the project cost estimate of £10.4m and the budget commitments of £9.4m. The increase in estimated costs was due partly to 14 months slippage in the original construction programme and partly to the higher than expected increase in UK construction costs since 2013.

Our link with the project team is Mervyn Bramley and, led by him, our response was to insist on a concerted effort, involving all the existing funders (PCC, Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF), Brecknock Art Trust and the Brecknock Society and Museum Friends (BS&MF)), to close the funding gap. PCC

estimated a shortfall of about £750,000 for the museum and art gallery elements of the BCH. A bid was submitted to HLF in November for half of this. The other half of matching funds has to be raised from the other existing funders together with some new funders. The Society called an Extraordinary General Meeting on 8 December to review its commitment. A resolution was passed unanimously to commit further funding of up to £70,000 from the Society to the budget for the refurbished Museum & Art Gallery and the new shared facilities.

Thus ended 2015. At the time of writing this report, the PCC project team is finalising the detailed design and tendering so as to confirm the target project cost. The funders are extremely hopeful that the necessary additional funding will be assembled and the funding gap closed. We remain optimistic that the project will be delivered!

Winter meetings of the Society

As in the previous year, we began 2015 with a January talk by our President, Ken Jones. This year it was an account of the voyages of Captain John Lloyd (1748–1818) in the service of the East India Company.

In February, Sue Hiley Harris, the well-known sculptor weaver, gave a full house in the Guildhall Council Chamber a fascinating and beautifully-illustrated talk entitled 'Unravelling Brecon's Woollen Industry'. This showed how the industry was woven into the very fabric of the town, and, with Priory Mill, continued to be important well into the twentieth century. We very much hope that she will prepare a version of the talk for a future issue of *Brycheiniog*.

The 18th Sir John Lloyd Lecture:
The Battle of Agincourt and its Breconshire Connections

On Friday 20 March, Professor Anne Curry of Southampton University, the recognised international authority on the battle, told a full Theatr Brycheiniog about her research on the recruitment and performance of the army which won such a famous victory. We are delighted that a written version of the talk appears in this issue of *Brycheiniog*, prepared in conjunction with Professor Curry's research associate Dr Adam Chapman.

The following day Professor Curry was again at the Theatre, opening a comprehensive exhibition on the battle designed and executed by Bryan Davies, one of our members. It is good to report that this exhibition proved very popular and was much in demand for display at a wide range of venues over the next eight months or so.

It is beyond the scope of this report to give an account of all the commemorative events that were held in our part of Wales. Elaine Starling, our Programme Secretary, played a vital part in the organisation of several of these, most notably the Great Brecknock Pageant on Saturday 20 June.

Immediately prior to the Sir John Lloyd Memorial Lecture, the Museum's education officer Martine Woodcock described the participation of Brecknock primary schools in the Victor Jones Local History Competition, which is sponsored by the BS&MF. Professor Curry presented the awards. An account of the entries and the winners appears elsewhere in this Journal.

Henry Vaughan

Together with the Vaughan Society, the Society held its annual memorial event at Llansantffraed Church on 26 April, the Sunday nearest to the date of the poet's death. The choir from St Mary's Priory church Abergavenny accompanied evensong and sang a new anthem based on Henry Vaughan's poem *The Relapse* composed by its Director of Music Tim Pratt. The address was given by Helen Wilcox, Professor of English Literature at Bangor University, on the connections between George Herbert and Henry Vaughan.

Good progress has been made on work towards the publication in 2016 of *Henry Vaughan and the Usk Valley*. This is a joint project involving our Society, The Vaughan Association and Llansantffraed Church. It is being edited by Bob Wilcher of the Vaughan Association and Elizabeth Siberry.

Medieval Breconshire and the Welsh Poets

On Saturday 16 May we held a one day conference with this title in conjunction with the Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies (CAWCS) – part of the University of Wales – and the University of Swansea. The opening session in the Cathedral featured a talk by Professor Madeleine Gray on the Priory of St John and the Golden Rood of Brecon and this was followed by a guided walk from the Cathedral to Christ College; a walk which took in the picturesque Afon Honddu, much beloved by artists, and the view over the town from the garden of the Castle Hotel. The Neuadd at Christ College proved an ideal venue for the more formal lectures on the medieval poets and, thanks to the College archivist, Felicity Kilpatrick, the chapel (which was originally part of a Dominican friary) was open for viewing over lunchtime. After the event, it was gratifying to receive expressions of appreciation from the Director of CAWCS, Professor Dafydd Johnston and others. See Fig.1.

Breconshire Treasures

On Friday 4 September, as our principal contribution to Brecknock History Week, organised by the Brecknock History Forum, we hosted an early evening event in St Mary's Church, Brecon. As well as displays from many Local History Societies across the county, there was a series of short talks about particular treasures, including one by Nigel Blackamore on items in the Brecknock Museum & Art Gallery. We were very grateful to Steve Morris for organising and co-ordinating the programme.

Fig. 1 Speakers and organisers at the Medieval Breconshire and Welsh Poets meeting.

Autumn Meetings

In October William Gibbs gave an afternoon talk in the Dioscesan Centre at the Cathedral on the nineteenth century Brecon-born sculptor John Evan Thomas and then led a walk which took in some of the Memorials he created in the Cathedral, his statue of Wellington in front of St Mary's and his major work 'The Death of Teudric', which is in store in Watton House while the Museum is closed.

The Brinore Tram-road was one of the key links between the Monmouthshire and Brecon Canal and industrial South Wales. The Society has provided a small grant to enable a remarkable find of documents connected with this tram-road to be catalogued for presentation to the Museum. In November, we were due to hear about the project from John Jones and Tom Davies, but the illness of the former forced a postponement. We are rescheduling the talk for 2016 and I can promise a fascinating event. I am grateful to Peter Seaman for having encouraged the Council to support this venture and to have supervised it on our behalf.

Above Brecknock

In the autumn, together with the Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust and in collaboration with The Royal Commission on Ancient and Historic Monuments in Wales, the society published *Above Brecknock* a book of aerial photographs of

the county by Chris Musson and Toby Driver. More information on the contents can be found in a review later in this volume.

For a limited period the book was offered to members at a reduced price, and then there was a slightly higher pre-publication price open to all. Over 100 people attended the launch in the Studio of Theatr Brycheiniog on Friday 20 November at which both authors gave very lively talks about the publication. Our thanks go to David Morgan for co-ordinating the process of publication from the Society's perspective and for masterminding the continuing process of arranging sales through bookshops and other outlets.

An account of the Roland Mathias Prize is given separately by Glyn Mathias

In summary, 2015 was a busy and productive year. For support and encouragement, I would like to thank all the members of the Executive Council, and especially our Council Secretary Gwyneth Evans.

JOHN GIBBS

THE ROLAND MATHIAS PRIZE

Last year, two events in the life of Tiffany Atkinson almost coincided. She moved from Aberystwyth to Norfolk to take up a new post as Professor in Creative Writing at the University of East Anglia and she won the Roland Mathias Prize for poetry in the 2015 Wales Book of the Year competition. And so it was that one day in early October, she travelled all the way from Norfolk to give a performance of her poetry in Brecon. It was a special night.

It is worth reminding ourselves that the Prize, supported by the Brecknock Society and Museum Friends, is for poetry in the English language written by an author born or resident in Wales. For a while it was a stand-alone competition, but is now part of the Wales Book of the Year. In June 2015, at an award ceremony in Caernarfon, Tiffany was awarded the Prize for her volume *So many moving parts*, published by Seren. She had been up against some stiff competition, notably a much praised selection of poetry by Jonathan Edwards, a teacher at Monmouth.

Yet it was Jonathan Edwards who, while reviewing *So many moving parts* in *New Welsh Review*, described Tiffany Atkinson as 'one of Britain's best contemporary poets', who produced poems 'which always surprise and which force the reader to engage'. In many of her poems, it is the juxtaposition of different events, ideas or feelings which catches the reader. You get a sense of this in the opening lines of 'Roaming', a slightly mischievous 'listening in' to one side of a telephone conversation:

Darling are you – can you -
no I'll wait. Give Madison
and Grace and Eloise my love,

and don't believe me if I tell you
this is my bare hand down the U-
bend of the language, scrubbing.

No I was speaking to. Sometimes
I talk to other people you know.
Oh sweetheart, that was a joke.

It was a well-attended evening hosted by Brecon poet, Chris Meredith, and held at the Muse in Glamorgan Street where Tiffany read from this and other volumes of her work, and then readily answered probing questions about why and what she writes. This time around, however, poetry did not win the overall Book of the Year prize as it had, unusually, in the two previous years. That went to Patrick McGuinness, who incidentally had been

shortlisted for the Roland Mathias Prize back in 2005, for a memoir entitled *Other People's Countries* (Jonathan Cape).

Looking forward, the fund which my father established for the Prize has another three years to run. My thanks go to the Brecknock Society and Museum Friends for agreeing an extra £400 to allow it to carry on to 2018. My thanks also to Literature Wales, under whose auspices the Wales Book of the Year competition is conducted, and who assist in the organisation of the Brecon performances.

GLYN MATHIAS

BRECKNOCK MUSEUM & ART GALLERY REPORT 2015

Brecknock Museum & Art Gallery has been closed for redevelopment since 31 October 2011 and will remain closed until it is fully restored and its expanded facilities are completed in 2017.

During 2015, the Museum's redevelopment team has continued to develop the detailed designs for the new Museum, Tourist Information Centre and Town Library. We have revisited the original cost estimates and through a value engineering exercise, have reduced the impact of the significant inflation costs the project has incurred. However, to balance the budget we have also worked with our partners, together with the Brecknock Society, to increase the funds available to the project. Revised plans were submitted to the Brecon Beacons National Park Authority for Planning Permission and Listed Building Consent and these were passed in late 2015. Much work still needs to be completed in order to facilitate a construction start date for spring 2016.

The Connecting Communities and Collections Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) project aims not only to see the restoration of the Grade II* listed Shire Hall and Assize Court but also the reinterpretation of the Museum collection and increased engagement with the local community. During the last year we have continued to increase our volunteer participation and over 2,200 hours have been accrued, with volunteers assisting Museum staff in digital recording projects, care of collections and educational activities.

Our Outreach Service has gone from strength to strength. Over the last year we have organised nine free family art and craft events, spread throughout the school holidays, each supported by the Museum staff and our team of Brecknock Museum Volunteers. Some of our events have been run in partnership with other organisations, such as the Brecknock Wildlife Trust, Brecon Beacons National Park and the Cathedral. Events have been held at The Heritage Centre, the Cathedral and Brecon Library, and they continue to grow in popularity, with our busiest event 'Puppets and Peg Dolls' collecting 235 participants. In total we had 1,563 participants engaging with our art and craft activities across the year. We have continued to engage with Social Media, with images of our events and selected objects shared on our Facebook and Twitter pages; these have resulted in over 1,300 online followers for the Museum.

Over 2,070 items have been added to the Museum collection during the year, including new archaeological objects, artworks, photographs, and a number of social history and rural life items. Newly accessioned items of particular interest included a collection of photographs relating to a Brecon Pageant, two railway signs from the Talyllyn Railway Station and a cash box from a local bank.

The family of Mrs Ursula Jepson very kindly gifted nearly 100 objects to the Museum. Ursula, whose research into the Brecon Ironworks was published in Volume 29 of *Brycheiniog*, had amassed a large collection of photographs

and other material recording local events throughout her life. One of these events was the 1932 Brecon Cathedral Pageant, which she took part in as a child, playing Prince Brychan. The Pageant was divided into five episodes, each illustrating a key moment in Brecon's history, with one of these episodes marking the coming of Brychan in AD 380.

The Llyn Syfaddan History Group purchased two finger shaped signposts, originally located on the platform of Talyllyn Railway Station, from a railway memorabilia auction in England. Members of the group raised money to complete the purchase and after discussions with the Museum very kindly gifted the objects to the collection for the benefit of the local community. The platform signs list destinations such as Builth Wells, Llanidloes, and Pontsticill, and directed passengers to the Cambrian Platform and the Brecon and Merthyr platform.

Another unusual object gifted to the collection was an early twentieth century wooden cash box, used in the old Midland Bank, Brecon. The box, given to a retired member of staff, was used to transfer cash from different branches through the railway network. Reinforced with iron straps the heavy box includes iron carrying handles, solid lock and a number of worn and damaged labels reading, 'GWR Brecon', 'Midland' and a wax seal impression reading 'Brecon'.

Fig. 1 An early twentieth century wooden cash box, used by the old Midland Bank, Brecon to transfer cash from different branches through the railway network. It has a number of labels reading, 'GWR Brecon', 'Midland' and a wax seal impression reading 'Brecon'.

The Brecknock Art Trust, along with The Art Fund, The V&A Purchase Fund and the Usk Valley Discretionary Trust, have supported the addition of two watercolours to the collection.

The previously titled 'A Ravine in Scotland', by John Piper, was spotted by local art historians William Gibbs and David Moore. The piece actually illustrates the imposing natural features of the Bwa Maen rock outcrop, in the extreme south of Brecknockshire. We also acquired a watercolour sketch by John Varley covering a view of Brecon on the River Usk. A version of this sketch was worked up by Varley into the completed watercolour we purchased in 2013. We look forward to exhibiting the pieces together, for the first time, when the gallery reopens.

Back in the early spring of 2015 our HLF Volunteer Co-ordinator, Becky Parton, left us for an exciting opportunity with the National Trust and soon afterwards we employed her successor, Emily Tilling. Emily has brought a wealth of volunteering experience with her and has set about developing new volunteer opportunities at the Museum. She has also taken a lead on our new initiative to develop 'dementia friendly' memory boxes, which will be loaned out into the community. We welcome Emily to her new role.

In the late spring Louise Ingham, Head of Arts and Cultural Services retired from Powys County Council (PCC). Louise developed and supported the Museum project from the outset, playing a lead role in the bid to the HLF as well as tirelessly promoting the project within the County Council chamber. Lucinda Bevan, the Arts & Culture Commissioning Officer at PCC has now taken on the role of lead client on the project. I am sure you will join me in thanking Louise for her hard work and in welcoming Lucinda.

We continue to be grateful that the collections and facilities at Brecknock Museum & Art Gallery are able to grow and develop through the enduring support of the Brecknock Society and Museum Friends.

NIGEL BLACKAMORE
Senior Curator
Brecknock Museum & Art Gallery

VICTOR JONES HISTORY PROJECT COMPETITION

The aim of the Victor Jones History Project Competition is to encourage Year Six pupils of Breconshire schools to find out about local history. The competition complements the teaching of the National Curriculum and entries are related to the history of the people and places of Breconshire. The projects are assessed by a number of experienced judges on content, originality and presentation. Three individual prizes are awarded to pupils thanks to a generous endowment by Dr Evan Jones of Bristol University in memory of his grandfather Victor Jones who was a founding member of the Brecknock Society and who taught in Breconshire for 35 years. A number of smaller 'Highly Commended' prizes are also awarded.

For the 2015 competition, we received entries from Llanfaes, Llangors, Talgarth, Cradoc and Ysgol Bro Tawe. We were particularly pleased to welcome Ysgol Bro Tawe to the competition for the first time. The standard of work produced by the children was excellent and the judging was a long and difficult process.

Third prize went to Erin Mitchell from Llanfaes School who gave a detailed historical account about The Struet in Brecon. We thought it was very clever of her to write about the history of a whole street and she came up with some very detailed information about the centuries-old buildings. Her work was also beautifully presented with lots of photographic evidence.

Joint second place went to Amelia Tame and Louise Beck from Llangors School. Amelia wrote a detailed project about the Mid Wales Hospital, Talgarth. It was a captivating account of, what used to be, a busy establishment until its demise several years ago. Louise's project was called 'Prehistoric Powys' and she showed great investigative skills by researching an ancient burial site that she discovered on a family walk. She produced evidential photographs and drawings and we are convinced she is an archaeologist in the making!

First prize went to Skye Maxwell of Llanfaes school who wrote an endearing account about two Breconians, Sgt Christmas Morgan of The South Wales Borderers regiment, who was killed in action in WWI, and Sarah Eira Durham, who lost her life during an air raid in WWII whilst working as a nurse in St Thomas's Hospital in London. There is a family link between the two and Skye did some outstanding research to produce informative evidence that was beautifully presented.

There is also a school prize of £200 for the school that gains the greatest number of individual marks. This makes it possible for a school to win the school prize even though their pupils may not be one of the main prize winners. The 2015 School prize went to Llangors School.

The Art and Design prize was won jointly by Emily Prothero of Cradoc School, who decorated a WW1 trenches style shoe box and she also presented a hand written and beautifully illustrated project. Two other joint winners were Eden Quine-Taylor of Llangors School, who created a replica of one of the stained glass windows at Brecon Cathedral and also Gemma Bailey from Ysgol Bro Tawe, who entered detailed drawings of steam engines.

MARTINE WOODCOCK

ARTICLES

THE BATTLE OF AGINCOURT AND ITS BRECONSHIRE CONNECTIONS

ANNE CURRY AND ADAM CHAPMAN

Introduction

The six hundredth anniversary of the battle of Agincourt (25 October 1415) provides an opportunity not only to reconsider what happened on that fateful day but also why it has come to mean so much to so many over the centuries. That we should be considering the battle in the Journal of a county with special links with the events of 1415 is wholly appropriate. Brecon was the place of muster on 26 June 1415 of 10 men-at-arms and 160 archers before they moved southwards to the assembly point at Southampton. Dafydd Gam, or more properly Dafydd ap Llywelyn ap Hywel of Penywaun, was one of the very few men of Henry V's army listed in contemporary sources as being killed at the battle. These two incidents are useful points of entry into a discussion of how Henry V raised his army, the topic to which most of this article is devoted.

At the outset it is important to note that Henry's campaign of 1415 marked a major revival of English military efforts in France. Not since Edward III's campaign of 1359 had an English king led an army to France in person. Furthermore, the force which Henry raised in 1415 was larger than that of 1359 and was exceeded in size only by the army which Edward III had taken to France in 1346 and which had proved victorious at the battle of Crécy. A further indication of the seriousness of Henry V's intentions in France in 1415 was the fact that he contracted his troops for twelve months' service. What he had in mind was conquest, the conquest of Normandy to be precise. As it turned out, Henry decided, after the difficult but ultimately successful siege of Harfleur, to cut his campaign short. Marching overland to Calais, he was intercepted by the French at Azincourt (see cover illustration). There he won a memorable victory. At that victory, we can be sure, were soldiers from what was then the Marcher lordship of Brecon and, later, Breconshire.

The Lordship of Brecon: the Bohun inheritance

In 1415 the lordship of Brecon was in Henry's own hands, having been held previously by his father, Henry IV (Bolingbroke), who had usurped the throne from Richard II in 1399. Bolingbroke had acquired the lordships of Brecon and Hay through his wife, Mary de Bohun (d. 1394), the younger daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, Essex and Northampton (d. 1373). Since Earl Humphrey had no direct male heirs, Mary, along with

her elder sister Eleanor, who had married Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, fifth son of Edward III, were co-heiresses. Following standard procedures in such circumstances, Earl Humphrey's estate was to be divided between his daughters, although there was no simple principle determining which daughter should receive which lands.

The initial distribution gave Brecon and Hay to Mary but disputes continued. The interests of Eleanor and her heirs were undermined by the political events of the late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth centuries. Eleanor's husband fell out of favour with King Richard II and met his end at the king's orders in 1397. In the parliament of that year his estates were declared confiscated. His widow, Eleanor, died two years later on 3 October 1399. Since there was no male heir of their marriage, their three daughters were also initially co-heiresses. The youngest, Isabel, was a nun in the Minoresses in London and took her vows on 23 April 1402, her sixteenth birthday. The second died in August 1400 unmarried, leaving only one, Anne, to inherit. Anne married in turn two brothers who were earls of Stafford, Thomas who died in 1392, and Edmund, who was killed fighting for Henry IV against Sir Henry Percy (Hotspur) at the battle of Shrewsbury on 22 July 1403. (Henry V participated in this engagement whilst Prince of Wales, being wounded by an arrow in his cheek.) Continuing to carry the title countess of Stafford, Anne married as her third husband in 1405 Sir William Bourchier.[1]

William was connected with the future Henry V from at least October 1401 when granted an annuity of 50 marks per year. He participated in the 1415 campaign, and was present at Agincourt. He went on to serve on Henry's second campaign of 1417–1419 which finally achieved the conquest of the whole of Normandy. In June 1419 the king created William as Count of Eu, a territory which lay on the northern frontier of Normandy. But the new count had little time to enjoy this profit of war since he died on 28 May 1420 at Troyes, south east of Paris, a week after the sealing of the treaty of Troyes which made Henry V heir to the throne of France. William's body was brought home for burial at Llanthony Secunda Priory near Gloucester (established in 1135 after the Welsh monks had fled from attacks at the mother-house, Llanthony Priory in the Black Mountains). His wife was buried alongside him at her death on 16 October 1438.

Debate over the division of the estates of Humphrey de Bohun dragged on, with an obvious disadvantage for the interests of Eleanor's descendants when her sister Mary's line held the crown. The final resolution came in May 1421 during the brief return of Henry V to England.[2] The formal division saw the transfer of the castles and manors of Brecon and Hay from the king to Anne, perhaps stimulated by the good service of her late husband.

At this point Brecon was deemed to be worth £293 6s 8d and Hay £51, the same values that were given in the initial division. But the value of the

lordship of Brecon was potentially much greater. Indeed, according to Professor Rees Davies in the late-fourteenth century it had been the richest of all of the marcher lordships of Wales, worth £2,054 per annum in 1372.[3] Henry Bolingbroke had been keen to visit Brecon in person in 1397 to make a formal entry into his lordship, since this entitled him to raise an additional special levy, known as a *donum*, of £1,333 to be collected from the people of the lordship over three years.[4] Bolingbroke's direct link with the area proved useful to him two years later during his usurpation of the throne. His officials had rushed to defend the castle of Brecon along with other castles in the marches and south Wales which he held as part of the duchy of Lancaster, inherited from his recently deceased father, John of Gaunt: Cydweli, Monmouth, the Three Castles (Skenfrith, Grosmont and Whitecastle), and Ogmore. Such pro-Lancastrian action in the area made it impossible for Richard II to gain the support he had hoped for in Wales, thereby contributing to his subsequent surrender to Henry and his deposition.[5]

Thanks to the Bohun and Lancastrian inheritances, Henry IV and Henry V held an important block of lands in South Wales and the adjoining marches. This was boosted by tenure of the two counties of South Wales which lay within the principality of Wales – Carmarthen and Cardigan. Henry V held these as Prince of Wales, and continued to hold them once king.

The Glyndŵr rebellion

Both kings suffered, as did the area as a whole, from the rebellion of Owain Glyndŵr, which affected both financial yield and expenditure on defence. Henry IV visited Brecon in 1401 and 1403, on the second occasion following a brief siege of the town by Glyndŵr's supporters. There is no evidence, however, that Prince Henry came to the town when prince although he was often based at Hereford and is known to have sent detachments for the defence of the castle of Brecon. Nor did Henry come to Brecon as king but he was keen to collect fines from all of his Welsh lands for their involvement in the Glyndŵr rising. Shortly after his accession in March 1413, justices toured the lordships under Sir Walter Hungerford, whom Henry had appointed as chief steward of the duchy of Lancaster south of Trent. Brecon had to find funds to pay for the confirmation of its charter on 12 May 1415, as did Cydweli, as well as contributing to the mise customarily levied at the accession of a new lord. We can therefore speak of a 'special relationship' between Henry V and Brecon even if, from the king's perspective, it was largely based on money. Soon after he became king he had also ordered all arrears in Brecon from his father's time to be collected.[6] Between 1411 and 1417 the lordship contributed £7,640 to royal revenues.

The royal government's response to the Glyndŵr rebellion had stimulated a high level of militarisation. A garrison of at least ten men was placed in

Brecon,[7] but additional troops were added in response to emergencies. In 1402 Richard Grey of Codnor held 40 men-at-arms and 200 English archers there.[8] Between October 1403 and February 1404, for instance, Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick and John, lord Audley held 400 troops in Brecon.[9] We can also trace some Brecon men in service in the army led into South Wales by Sir Richard Arundell in 1405:[10] these included Hugh and Davy Brecknock, William Sourdeval, and William Havard senior and junior who were probably from Pontwilym in the lordship of Brecon. Miles Water was also serving as a man-at-arms in this company, having been granted in 1401 lands and rights in the lordships of Brecon, Dinas, Talgarth and Clifford which obliged him to defend the town of Brecon with two archers at his own expense.[11] As Chapman observes, this army "was dominated by the men of the border counties and the lordship of Brecon".[12] In the last years of Henry IV's reign resistance in Wales subsided. By 1415 only 12 archers were deemed necessary to garrison Brecon with as few as six archers placed in Hay.[13]

English royal armies and the reopening of the war with France

The end of rebellion in Wales made it possible for Henry IV, and subsequently his son, to consider reopening the war with France. The moment seemed opportune, given the mental illness of Charles VI and the infighting which this had stimulated in France between the Burgundian and Armagnac (or Orleanist) factions. Two armies crossed to France in the reign of Henry IV. The first was sent in support of the Burgundians in 1411, paid for the Prince of Wales and commanded by one of his closest friends, Thomas, earl of Arundel. The second was despatched in 1412 under Prince Henry's elder brother, Thomas, duke of Clarence in support of the Armagnacs. The fact that Prince Henry had been passed over for this command had a large role to play in the bad relations with his father in the last year of Henry IV's reign.

The English state had ample experience of raising armies whether for defence against rebels, as in early-fifteenth century Wales, or for invasions to France. The largest armies of recent years were those led by Richard II in 1385 and Henry IV in 1400 for short campaigns in Scotland, numbering 13,764 and 13,085 men respectively.[14] But whilst relatively close in size they had different compositions. In 1385 the ratio of men-at arms to archers was 1:2, but in 1400 1:6.4. Both armies contrast with the standard ratio of one archer for every man-at-arms (1:1) in the armies raised for service in France in the late-fourteenth century. A trend towards higher proportions of archers continued in the Welsh wars. From 1406 it was customary to have three archers for every man-at-arms (1:3). That this became the expected norm is shown by the composition of the army which the duke of Clarence led to France in 1412 which had 1,000 men-at-arms and 3,000 archers. As we shall see, this ratio of 1:3 was followed by most retinues in Henry V's army in

1415. Since the ratio of 1:3 was first seen in the year that Prince Henry was particularly prominent in command in Wales, it is tempting to see it as his personal innovation, although we cannot prove this categorically.

Whilst the ratio of 1:3 shows an appreciation of the potential value of archers in any military circumstance (battle, siege, patrol, garrison, etc.), it was also likely stimulated by the considerable financial pressures which the Lancastrian dynasty faced. Archers were cheap, being paid half the daily wage of a man-at-arms, and were much easier to recruit since all adult males were supposed to practice each Sunday at the butts. Recruitment of higher numbers of archers was therefore a way of making feasible a bigger army at a proportionately lower cost. There is no doubt that Henry V intended to raise a large army in 1415 since he intended to campaign in person. Royal-led armies were always larger than those where command was delegated to others. Furthermore, as conquest was his aim, there needed to be ample troops to place into garrisons when places fell. The garrison placed in Harfleur at its surrender on 22 September 1415 numbered 300 men-at-arms and 900 archers, a clear example of the ratio of 1:3 now being considered the norm.

Ordinances and indentures

For the 1385 campaign to Scotland we have the earliest surviving set of military ordinances for an English royal army, controlling discipline and other matters such as the division of booty.[15] We know that Henry V issued similar ordinances at his landing in France in 1415.[16] These, then, were emphatically royal armies, where all troops were in receipt of pay and were obliged to wear the cross of St George on their front and back. They should not be confused with the use of shire levies or of feudal obligation of earlier centuries. Whilst shire levies were still called out for defence of the realm, they were not used for overseas war after the 1350s. All expeditions to France from 1360 onwards were raised through the indenture system. In this, captains entered into contracts with the king to provide a certain number of troops for a certain length of time and under certain conditions. The contracts are known as indentures since the text was written out twice and then cut through the middle in a manner resembling a row of teeth. One half of the indenture remained with the royal Exchequer, the other with the captain, with the intention that after the campaign, when the final account for service was settled, the two parts might be filed together.

Such an arrangement aimed to prevent fraud, as did other elements of this system, not least the muster. A captain might indent to provide a certain number of troops but the crown needed to check that he had actually done so. A muster of his troops at the point of embarkation was therefore needed. For the historian these muster lists provide vital information on the actual soldiers who served. Based on the surviving lists for the period from 1369 to

1453, including those for garrisons as well as expeditions and all theatres in which English royal armies operated, over 250,000 service records have been collected.[17] Even though not all musters have survived there is still enough evidence to show that many men served on repeated campaigns and had lengthy careers. In this context, therefore, we are justified in speaking of professional soldiers even at a time when there was no standing army. A good example is Owain Glyndŵr himself. He served as a man-at-arms on Richard II's expedition to Scotland in 1385, having already served in the garrison of Berwick-on-Tweed in the previous year. In 1387 he joined a naval expedition to France under Richard, earl of Arundel, and may have served in a similar capacity in the following year.[18]

The campaign of 1415 and the Welsh contingent

Of all military endeavours by the English crown, the 1415 expedition to France is rightly famous because it culminates in a battle victory but it is important to remember that the raising and organising of the army followed well-established precedents. The majority of troops in 1415 were raised by men who had entered into indentures. Such men – numbering at least 320 although some indented jointly with others – ranged across a wide social spectrum. The largest retinues were contracted by the king's two brothers: Thomas, duke of Clarence indented to provide 240 men-at-arms and 720 archers, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester 200 men-at-arms and 600 archers. Other nobles indented for lower but still substantial numbers and almost always in the 1:3 ratio popular since 1406. Thomas, earl of Arundel, for instance, was committed to providing 100 men-at-arms and 300 archers.

Amongst these, we can find some Welsh names, although in every case, the Welshman was serving in the place of someone who had fallen ill or died in the course of the siege of Harfleur.[19] The companies provided by knights numbered between 40 and 120 men. Sir William Bourchier, for instance, indented to provide 29 men-at-arms and 90 archers.[20] Sir Roland Lenthale of Hampton Court (Herefs.) contracted to provide 12 and 36.[21] Esquires sometimes contracted for companies of 12 or more. There were many, however, like Dafydd Gam, who offered simply their own service with two or three archers.

Study of the larger retinues has also revealed that in reality they were made up of many small groups, again often a man-at-arms with his accompanying archers. Thanks to surviving musters and also to retinue lists submitted for the post-campaign process we can often know the names of the soldiers recruited. For Gam, there is unfortunately no surviving muster roll and since he died at the battle, no subsequent accounts. Therefore we do not know the names of his three archers or their fate during the campaign. It is a later invented tradition that they included his brother-in-law Roger Fychan (or Vaughan) of Bredwardine (Herefs.) and that he too died at the battle.

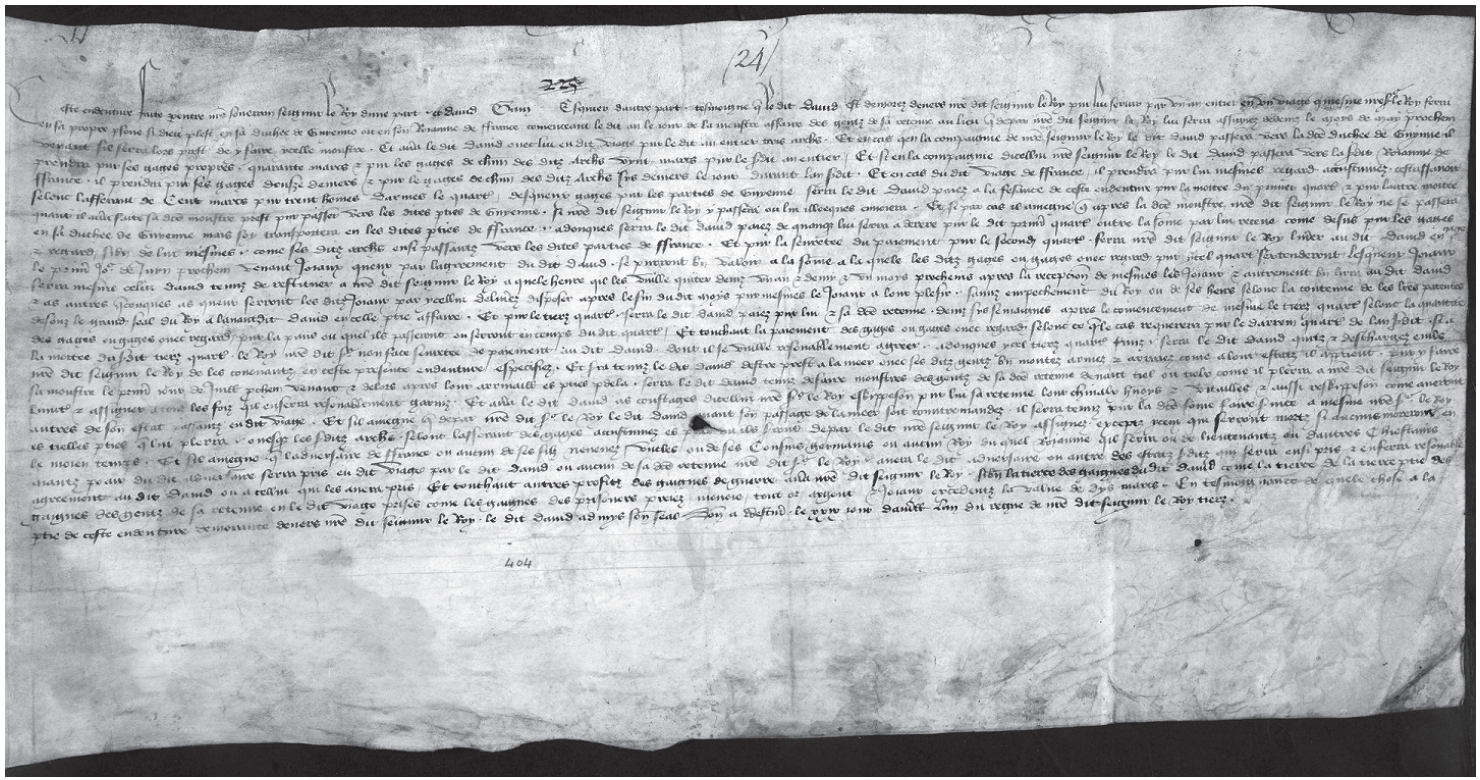

Fig. 1 The indenture of Dafydd Gam esquire to serve on the expedition to France in 1415, dated 29 April 1415

The National Archives E 101/69/4/404.

Terms of service: Dafydd Gam's indenture

As noted earlier, Henry raised his army for twelve-months' service. Troops expected to receive six months wages in advance. Gam's indenture, as the majority of the indentures for the campaign, was sealed at Westminster on 29 April[22] (Fig. 1). It laid down that if the king campaigned in Guienne (the territory held by the English crown in south-west France) Gam should receive 40 marks for the whole year's service (a mark was 13s 4d, two-thirds of £1) and his archers 20 marks. If the king campaigned instead in the kingdom of France Gam would be paid the standard rate for a man-at-arms of 12d (a shilling) per day, and his archers 6d per day, with an additional regard to him alone calculated at the rate of 100 marks for 30 men-at-arms. (For service in France, dukes were paid 13s 4d per day, earls 6s 8d, barons and knights banneret 4s per day, and knights bachelor 2s per day.) The different wage rates for the two theatres of war reflected the perceived differences in cost of victualling. The mention of Guienne as a possible theatre was probably subterfuge to keep the French guessing: there is other evidence to suggest that even by late April the king had decided upon an invasion of Normandy.[23]

The standard procedure for English armies was for the wages to be paid to the captain who entered into the indenture, for subsequent distribution to his men. As the indenture stated, whichever theatre of war was chosen, half of the wages for the first quarter of the year (three months) were to be paid at the sealing of the indenture, the second half at the muster. The warrant for issue of the first instalment of wages to Gam, as to other captains, is dated 29 April.[24] A special issue roll produced for the expedition enrols the payments to Gam under 6 June and 6 July.[25]

The king did not have enough cash in hand to pay the wages of the second quarter in advance. But the lords and others involved in discussions on the campaign had insisted that some way should be find to guarantee this payment. The outcome was the use of royal jewels and plate as security. The terms of Gam's indenture reveal this decision: the relevant clause laid down that Gam was to receive by 1 June jewels to the value of the second quarter's wages. He was obliged to return the jewels to the king one year and one month after their receipt, at which point the king would provide redemption of their value. Jewels to the agreed value were passed to Gam at Winchester on 14 July 1415.[26] The indenture had laid down that for the third quarter Gam was to be paid for himself and his retinue within six weeks of its commencement. For the final quarter of the twelve-month period, if the king did not give surety for payment halfway through the third quarter, Gam would be acquitted of his obligation to continue in service.

The indenture obliged Gam to make muster on 1 July at the port of embarkation. As noted earlier we do not have a muster roll for him, but surviving muster rolls show that the troops were reviewed in the Southampton

area from around 13 July. Later financial records show that the start date of the paid service was taken to be 8 July. The transfer of jewels to Gam on 14 July at Winchester suggests that he was in that city at that point although we know that the king had moved on to Titchfield abbey by 10 July.[27] It was not uncommon for men departing on campaign to seek letters of protection from any actions whilst they were away or else to appoint attorneys, although Gam did not do so.

Dafydd Gam's military background

The military classes had responded in strength to Henry's request for troops. Virtually every male peer was on the campaign. But the king was able to call on men who held annuities by royal grant. Right from the time of the usurpation of Henry IV the Lancastrians had built up their affinity, adding new royal retainers to existing retainers of the house of Lancaster. Gam was a good example of this.

Gam came from a family long established in the Brecon area which had served the Bohun earls as sheriffs, constables and master sergeants.[28] He therefore inherited a strong military tradition from his forbears. He may have been in the service of Henry Bolingbroke from the 1380s. By the end of 1399 he was receiving an annuity of 40 marks from the revenues of the City of London.[29] His service to Henry IV in the Welsh wars remains obscure but it seems that the crown helped him pay his ransom in 1412 when captured by Glyndŵr's supporters.[30]

Gam's cousin John ap Harry, a Lancastrian servant and sheriff of Herefordshire in 1399, also indented to serve on the campaign with one other man-at-arms (who seems to have been his brother Thomas, a one-time supporter of Glyndŵr) and six archers.[31] Sir John Skidmore (or Scudamore) who had married the daughter of Glyndŵr and had captained a garrison at Carreg Cennen with 10 archers, indented to serve with three men-at-arms and 12 archers.[32] As Chapman has noted, "these men were very much representative of the militarization of Wales in the previous decade and a half of rebellion".[33]

Recruitment of archers

The bulk of the army of 1415 was recruited through the indenture system in mixed retinues of men-at-arms and archers, but since Henry was keen to have as large an army as possible, he also raised archer companies from three areas with special links to the crown. These were the counties of Lancashire and Cheshire, and the royal lands in South Wales. From Lancashire 500 archers were raised grouped into companies of 50, each under the command of a local knight or esquire who had often indented for his own mixed retinue in addition.[34] It seems to have been intended that 650 archers should be raised

in Cheshire, although the accounts of the chamberlain of the county reveal payments to only 247 men.[35] The third company, numbering 502 archers and 23 men-at-arms was raised in the two counties of the principality of Wales (Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire) and in the lordship of Brecon, along with some of the areas held as part of the duchy of Lancaster, including Cydweli.

It is noteworthy that no effort was made to recruit a company of archers in North Wales, even though the area was held by the king through his principality of Wales. Henry was keen to ensure the peace of his realm before he set out for France. At the parliament of November 1414 there had been concerns that Welsh rebels were still troubling the border counties 'as if they were a land in war'.[36] The response advised by royal councillors in February 1415 was that 180 troops should be placed in North Wales and 120 in South Wales before the king departed, and that private castles in Wales should be well defended.

Glyndŵr himself had never been captured. It is significant that a mission was sent into North Wales on 5 July 1415 to seek him out and come to a settlement.[37] Glyndŵr was never found but we know that an extra 120 men were detailed to North Wales for its defence. Under such circumstances it was not thought wise to raise archers for the campaign in the area. Indeed, we know that some of the men-at-arms and archers raised in South Wales for service in France were diverted instead to the defence of their own region in the light of continuing fears. Chapman suggests that up to 50 of the company raised in South Wales for the 1415 campaign may never even have crossed to France. One of those who was deployed locally was Dafydd ab Ieuan ap Trahaiarn from Carmarthenshire who was a former rebel, his lands having been forfeited to Dafydd Gam in November 1401.[38]

The recruitment by the crown of special archer companies was not new.[39] In 1385 Richard II raised a company of 370 Welsh foot archers. Nine years later 380 Welsh archers served on the king's first expedition to Ireland. For his second Irish expedition of 1399 ten knights, 110 men at arms and 900 archers had been raised from Cheshire. Richard also famously had a personal bodyguard of Cheshire archers. Henry IV's Scottish campaign of 1400 saw the recruitment of 60 men-at-arms and 500 archers from Cheshire, as well as several thousand men from Lancashire and other parts of the duchy of Lancashire. The significance of 1415 is that for the first time we see companies raised from all three royal-linked areas. The Lancashire archers were raised around 20 June, the Welsh by 26 June.

The use of Welsh troops in 1415

The Welsh contingent recruited in 1415 was much smaller than in earlier centuries. The use of Welsh troops had declined from a peak in the immediate aftermath of the conquest of Wales by Edward I, when the Welsh provided Edward with the massed infantry he needed for his campaigns in Scotland

and France. In Flanders in 1297, for instance, 5,297 of the 7,800 strong army were Welsh, armed, according to an eye-witness account, with spears, bows, arrows and swords and serving as general infantry. About 800 such Welsh troops sailed to France in 1339 for the first campaign of the Hundred Years War. At the abortive battle of Clairfontaine on 23 October 1339 Edward III intended to deploy Welsh spearmen to protect the flanks of his archers.[40] On the 1346 expedition we find 7,000 Welsh troops, half of them archers and the other half armed with spears. Of the total number, 3,550 men were raised in the lands of the Prince of Wales and 3,450 from 29 Marcher lordships. An army sent to Ireland between 1361 and 1364 under the earl of Stafford had 113 Welsh foot archers from Brecon, Gower and Glamorgan.

For the Welsh troops raised in 1415 we are fortunate to have a surviving muster roll[41] (Fig. 2). This is made up of nine individual membranes sewn together recording three separate payments at three separate musters of men recruited from Cardigan and Carmarthen, Brecon and Cydweli, with their neighbouring and dependent lordships. The membranes are in indented form, but here reflecting their purpose as receipts for payment. The indentures were sealed between the payer, John Merbury, chamberlain of the principality of South Wales, and the men-at-arms (five each from Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire, and ten from the lordship of Brecon) leading the archer companies. The muster for the troops from the counties of the principality was made at Carmarthen, that for Brecon, Hay and Huntington, along with the minor lordships in royal hands (Llansteffan, St Clears, Oysterlow and Talacharn) was made at Brecon. Both are dated 26 June 1415 although it is unlikely that Merbury could have travelled between the two muster points within the same day.

Ten men-at-arms, 13 mounted archers and 323 foot archers are listed in the muster of the troops from Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire. From Brecon and the other lordships there were ten men-at-arms, 14 mounted archers and 146 foot archers. We also find a small group serving from Cydweli of three men-at-arms, three mounted archers and three foot archers.

The Brecon contingent in 1415

Details of the Brecon contingent are found on the third membrane of the roll. The ten men-at-arms to whom payment was made are named as Walter or Watkyn Llywd, Andrew ap Lewis, Ieuan ap Richard ap Madoc, Gwilym ap Hywel ap Gwilym, Mabe Maredudd ap Richard, Jankyn ap Meuric ap Richard, Jankyn ap John ap Rhys, Philip ap Gwylim Bras, Richard ap Meuric ap Rhys, and Richard Boys. Based on the name evidence, therefore, all save one were of Welsh origin and language. The seals of all ten are appended to the membrane (Fig. 3). That of Richard Boys can be identified as it has RB on it: the use of initials on seals was not uncommon for men who did not

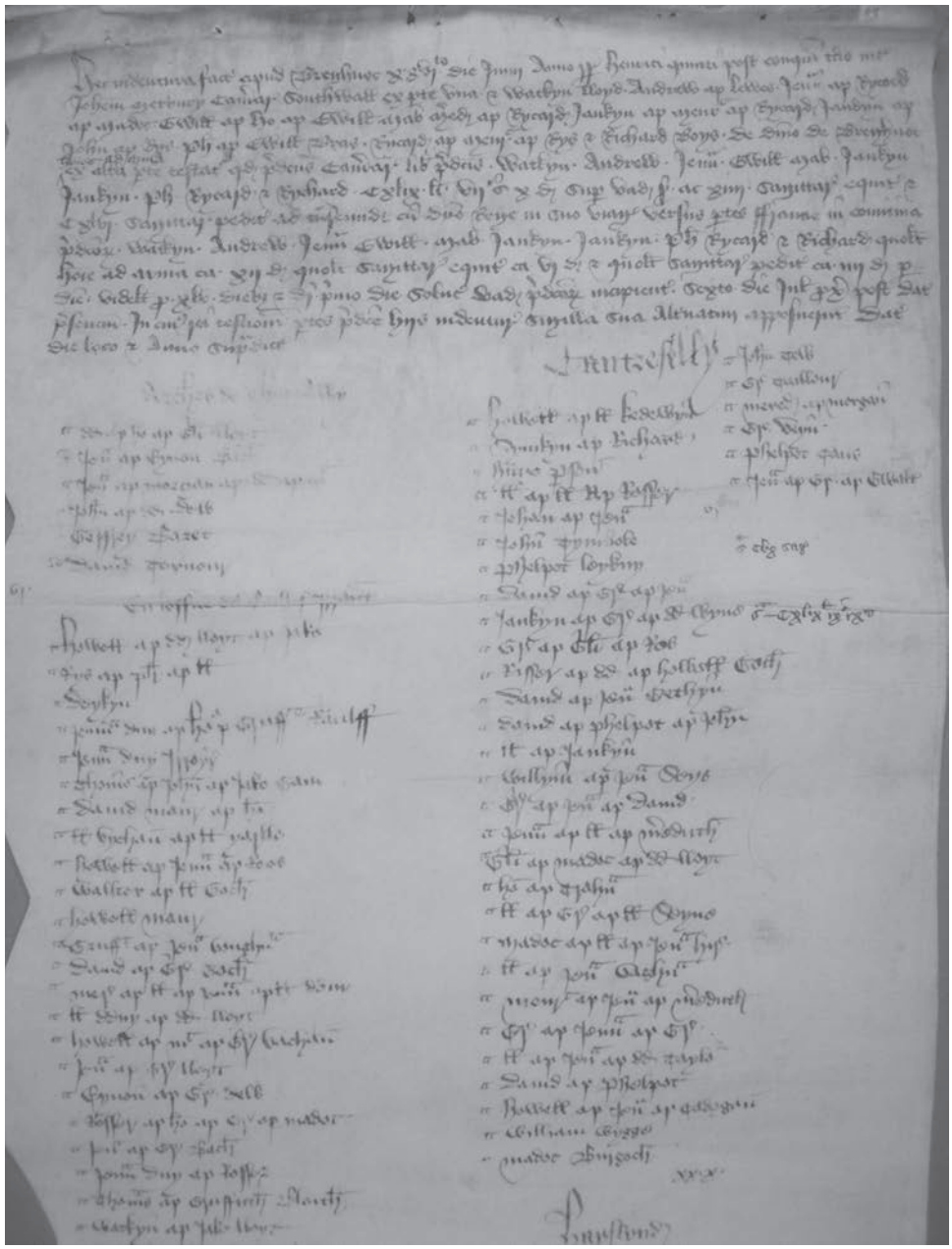

Fig. 2 The muster roll of the list of troops raised in the lordship of Brecon and mustered at Brecon on 26 June 1415. The National Archives E 101/46/20 m. 3.

Fig 3 The seal tags of the men-at-arms leading troops from Brecon, Cantref Selyf and Hay, attached to the muster of 26 June 1415.
The National Archives E 101/46/20, m. 3 dorse.

have coats of arms. The men-at-arms were responsible for allocating pay to the men under their command. Their own wages were the standard 1s per day for men-at-arms, with the mounted archers due to receive the standard 6d per day and their foot archers 4d per day. These wages, as the document indicates, were due to start on 6 July. The payment was for the first half of the first quarter, paralleling the arrangements for the mixed retinues.

In order to issue the pay at Brecon on 26 June, £435 had been transferred from the Royal Exchequer to John Merbury on 7 May via the sheriff of Herefordshire and William Botiller, receiver (the chief financial officer) in the lordship of Brecon. In addition to his office as chamberlain of the principality in South Wales, which he had held since 1400, Merbury was also steward of the lordship of Brecon. He had been in the service of the Lancastrians from at least 1395. That he held office in both the principality and the lordship emphasises the degree to which Brecon was integrated within the royal-held lands in general.

The commotes

The archers under the command of the ten men-at-arms totalled 160. They were listed in two columns, under the various commotes and other administrative areas of the lordship of Brecon and the lordship of Hay (given as Hayeslond). Under Glyntawe (the valley of the Tawe to the south-west of Brecon) we find six names, under Cantref Selyf (to the north) 35. Within the list under the heading "the office of the bailiff of Yr Allt" (to the south-east, south of Talgarth) we find 34, including William Waldebesse. He is known to have been Rector of Middleton in Herefordshire from 1410 and from 1412 chantry priest in the church of Cleobury, which lay within the lands of the

then under-age earl of March, who was in the wardship of the Prince of Wales. Waldebesse was intended to serve as a bilingual chaplain for the troops. The heading "in the office of the sheriff" (En l'office del vicounte) may indicate those who provided service by virtue of knights' fees. "La foreste" was the great forest of upland Brecon covering an area which ranged in a semi-circle to the south of the town of Brecon provided 18 archers. Ystradfellte, on the southern edge of the lordship, provided ten troops, Llwyell, on the western edge nine, and Cwmwd Commos, to the north, 18.

The majority of names are Welsh, and given to at least the third if not the fourth generation, taking the genealogy back to the thirteenth century. An "ap Ralph" may indicate settlement of that period. Seventeen English names are found, including Geoffrey Baret, David Tournor, John Wheeler, Geoffrey Dene, Wylock Smith, John Wyntour, John Pyper, John Alisandre, Philip Squire, Hugh Parson.

Military service elsewhere

It is difficult to say whether many of the archers who led them had fought before, though it is probable that the experience of rebellion had compelled them to. Some certainly served later though precise details are scarce. John Wyntour, for example, served as an archer in the company of the earl of Huntingdon for Henry V's second invasion of France in 1417.[42] Philip Squire, served as an archer in the army sent to France under the duke of Bedford 1420 as did other archers from Cydweli and from Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire.[43] It is probable that others did so too, since in 1419, the king ordered successive musters of 'the men of Wales' (and the other parts of the royal demesne, Cheshire and Lancashire) on 14 July at Mantes, 7 August at Pontoise and 18 September at Gisors.[44] This suggests that companies of archers were recruited in a similar fashion in that year though no muster rolls survive for them.

Brecon men were also serving in a military capacity elsewhere in 1415. John Burghull of Llanfilo and Morgan Fychan were in the company taken by Sir John Tiptoft to Aquitaine and may have remained there until 1417.[45] Burghull had already served in in South Wales in 1403 under Richard, Lord Grey of Codnor.[46] As for the man-at-arms Richard Boys who led one of the Brecon archer companies in 1415, a man of that name served as an archer in a force for the keeping of the sea in 1372 and on Henry IV's campaign into Scotland in 1400.[47] It is difficult to know, however, whether this was our man. Three Richard Boys served on the 1417 expedition, two as archers and one as a man-at-arms,[48] the latter most likely being our Richard. But we cannot be sure he was the Richard Boys serving as a man-at-arms on an expedition to Gascony in 1439 and on expeditions to Normandy in 1441 and 1443.[49] If he was, then he had enjoyed a lengthy military career.

Archers on the campaign and at the battle

We do not know the route the Brecon contingent took to Southampton but they most likely travelled via Gloucester, the lowest fording point on the Severn, and Salisbury. This direction is suggested by an order issued by Henry V to the sheriff of Wiltshire on 28 July which noted that various hired soldiers, both English and Welsh passing through Warminster en route to join the king, had taken victuals without paying for them.[50]

As noted earlier, not all of the company raised in South Wales for the 1415 campaign actually crossed to France since some troops were diverted to local needs. However, it appears these were drawn exclusively from the principality troops. We must assume that all of the Brecon and Hay contingent crossed. A surviving sick list indicates that at least two were invalided home after the siege of Harfleur:[51] Watkyn Llwyd and Andrew ap Lewis. Many more of the archers from Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire were sent home. We also know that Gam's cousin, John ap Harry, fell ill at Harfleur and returned home.[52]

We have no indication of the fate of the Welsh troops or of any special function they might have performed on the march or at the battle of Agincourt (Fig 4). By contrast, a post-campaign financial account provides evidence that at least some of the Lancashire archers were used by Henry as his personal bodyguard.[53] Other financial records indicate that Lancashire archers were

Fig. 4 A view of the traditional battlefield site at Agincourt. Thanks to Peter Hoskins.

taken prisoner the day before the battle and that others had been placed in the garrison of Harfleur.[54] No archers from any of the special companies are recorded in the post-campaign financial records as holding French prisoners.

Whilst there is no dispute about the significance of archers to Henry's victory at Agincourt, there has been debate on how they were deployed at the battle. In the opinion of some historians all archers were positioned on the flanks of the army; for others archers were also intermingled with the men-at-arms in the main divisions of the army. Alfred Burne suggested that "army archers" not attached to any division (i.e., perhaps the three special archer companies) were deployed on the flanks[55] but this remains unproven. No contemporary chronicle mentions the Welsh at all in connection with the battle, save the death of Dafydd Gam.

The death of Dafydd Gam

That Gam died at the battle is noted in five chronicles. Two note his nationality: Basset calls him 'Davy Gam esquire, Welshman', Adam of Usk (d. 1430) – who may have encountered him in southern Wales – 'David Gam of Brecon'. Exactly why Gam should be singled out by chroniclers remains a mystery. If it was for some notable act at the battle, then there is no record of it in any contemporary source. This situation is not unique to Gam but is also true for Sir Richard Kyghley who is given in the list of dead in Basset's chronicle and in a version of the Chronicle of London. Since Basset's text was drawn on by Edward Hall it is not surprising to find both Gam and Kyghley in the list of dead in this author's *Union of the Two Illustre Familes of Lancaster and York* (1542). Since Raphael Holinshed copied Hall's account of the battle of Agincourt, both Gam and Kyghley are also found in this influential history published in 1578 and 1587, on which Shakespeare drew. Therefore the inclusion of both casualties in *Henry V* (1599) is easily explained. The notion that Gam was the model for the character of Fluellen in the same play is a modern invention.

Given so much Welsh praise poetry of the later middle ages includes mention of military activity, it is important to note that no known poem includes any mention whatsoever of the battle of Agincourt. Since such poetry was written for patrons, the conclusion must be that no patron was present at the battle.

Later 'inventions'

The supposed preponderance of the Welsh at Agincourt is post-medieval invention but its roots can be traced to the creation of stories concerning Dafydd Gam. The first-known is found in Book Five of Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World* (1614). In a section concerning Hannibal, Raleigh makes comparison with Gam at Agincourt.

> But if Hannibal himself had been sent forth by Mago to view the Romans he could not have returned with a more gallant report in his mouth than Captain Gam, before the battle of Agincourt, made unto our king Henry the Fifth, saying that of the *Frenchmen*, there were enough to be killed; enough to be taken prisoners; and enough to run away. Even such words as these or such pleasant jests as this of Hannibal, are not without their moment; but serve many times, when battle is at hand to work upon such passions as much govern more of the business, especially when other needful care is not wanting: without which they are vain boasts.

Raleigh's wording suggests that the story of Gam was already in circulation but so far its source has not been traced. Michael Drayton put the story into poetic form in stanza 149 of his *Bataille of Agincourt* (1627): "My Liege I'll tell you if I may be bold, We will divide this Army into three: One part we'll kill, the second prisoners stay, And for the third, we'll leave to runne away". Drayton invents further activity for Gam elsewhere in the poem. In stanza 242-3 Gam is involved in a dispute with Christopher Morisby over which of them captured Philip of Nevers. Gam, "whose Welch blood could hardly brooke this blot" (an invocation of the swaggering Welshman as in Shakespeare), hit out at Morisby with his axe until Lord Beaumont intervened to prevent him. Gam is subsequently involved with Sir John Wodehouse in an assault upon a fort. There is competition between them for battle honours but in this action Gam is killed (stanzas 265–8).

William Wynne's History

When in 1697 the Denbighshire antiquarian, William Wynne expanded David Powel's *History of Cambria* of 1584, he added Drayton's stories of Gam. Powel's book had not included the battle of Agincourt at all.

> When King *Henry* the Fifth went with an Army to France against the *French* King, Sir *David Gam* brought into his service a numerous Party of Stout and Valorous *Welch-Men*, who upon all occasions expressed their Courage and Resolution. In the Battel of *Agincourt*, News being brought to the King that the *French* Army was advancing towards him, and that they were exceeding numerous, he detached Captain *Gam* to observe their motion, and review their number. The Captain having narrowly eyed the French, found them twice to exceed the *English*, but not being in the least daunted at such a multitude, he returned to the King, who enquiring of him what the Number of the *French* might be, he made answer, *An't please you my Liege, they are enough to be killed, enough to run away, and enough to be taken Prisoners*. King *Henry* was well pleased, and much encouraged with this resolute and undaunted answer of Sir *David*'s, whose Tongue did not express more Valor than his Hands performed. For in the heat of Battel, the King's Person being in danger, Sir *David* charged the Enemy with that eagerness and masculine Bravery, that they were glad to give ground, and so secured the King, tho' with the loss of much Blood, and also his Life, himself and his Son-in-Law *Roger Vaughan*, and his Kinsman *Walter Llwyd of Brecknock*, having received their mortal Wounds in that

> encounter. When the King heard of their Condition, how that they were past all hopes of recovery, he came to them, and in recompence of their good Services, Knighted them all three in the Field, where they soon after died; and so ended the Life, but not the Fame of the signally Valiant Sir *David Gam*.

It seems therefore that the idea that Gam was knighted at the battle was invented by Wynne. The presence of Walter Llwyd at the battle was also invented since the surviving sick lists indicate that he was invalided home after the siege of Harfleur.

Thomas Goodwin used Wynne's edition when writing his *History of the Reign of Henry the Fifth* published in 1704, and developed the story further.

> Here it was that the valiant David Gam (whom we mentioned before) signalized himself in defending his prince with loss of much blood and at last of his life, himself and two of his relations having received their mortal wounds in this encounter. The king was so sensible of their service that afterward, as they lay languishing in the field he came to them and knighted them, this being the only encouragement he could make of their bravery, for they soon after died.[56]

Thereafter, thanks to Drayton and Goodwin, the invented stories about Gam were widely distributed, encouraging Harris Nicolas in his *The History of the Battle of Agincourt* (1827) to assume that one of the 'two recently dubbed knights' mentioned in the list of dead in the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* (1417–18) had to be Gam.[57] The story improved in the telling. Some nineteenth-century works have him killing the duke of Alençon when the latter assaulted the king. In George Borrow's *Wild Wales* (1862) Gam "achieved that glory which will forever bloom, dying, covered with wounds, on the field of Agincourt saving the life of the king, to whom in the dreadest and most critical moment of the fight he stuck closer than a brother".

A further twist developed – the notion that Gam was knighted posthumously on the field. There is no evidence for this at all, nor is it in Drayton or Wynne. Gam is named in the fifteenth century chronicle lists of dead as an esquire. It was not the practice to dub men after their death. But the tale became popular. A pocket diary for 1842 even portrayed the supposed scene.[58]

Conclusion

One Brecon soldier has therefore become inextricably linked with Henry V's great battle victory, even though much of what is now said about him is pure invention. We know that over a hundred other men from the lordship of Brecon were at the battle. We even know their names, and we can assume that they returned to their homes with pride. Beyond that we cannot go, save to say that their presence at the battle reveals how the kings of England were easily able to raise armies in pursuit of their own French ambitions. The campaign of 1415 demonstrates clearly the strength as well as the

bureaucratic efficiency of royal authority in England and Wales in the later middle ages.

Acknowledgements
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Notes

[1] Complete Peerage Volume 5, 1926: 176–7.
[2] Parliament Rolls of Medieval England IX: 284.
[3] Davies 1968: 220.
[4] TNA SC 6/1157/4.
[5] Chapman 2015: 104–105.
[6] TNA DL 42/17 f. 194.
[7] TNA E101/404/24 (2) m. 16d.
[8] Davies 2000: 54.
[9] TNA E 403/578 m. 1.
[10] TNA E 101/44/7.
[11] Chapman 2015: 158.
[12] Chapman 2015: 122.
[13] TNA DL 29/731/12021.
[14] Bell, Curry, King and Simpkin 2013: 4, 140.
[15] Curry 2011: 286–91.
[16] Curry 2008: 226–7.
[17] www.medievalsoldier.org.
[18] www.medievalsoldier.org/SoM/December2007.php; Goodman 1970–1: 67–70.
[19] TNA E 101/47/1.
[20] TNA E 101/69/7/487; E 403/31/344; E 101/45/5 m. 5d
[21] TNA E 404/31/265; E 101/45/5 m. 1; E 101/46/13; E 358/6 m. 8d.
[22] TNA E101/69/4/404. Its text resembled the example printed in Curry 2000: 437–8.
[23] Curry 2005: 57.
[24] TNA E 404/31/632.
[25] TNA E 101/45/5 m. 5.
[26] TNA E101/45/23 piece 1.
[27] TNA E 30/1695.
[28] Davies 2000: 58-9.
[29] Calendar of Patent Rolls 1399–1401: 37, 45, 76.
[30] Smith 1966–68: 250–60.
[31] TNA E101/69/6/456, E 101/69/3/376; Chapman 2011: 59.
[32] TNA E 403/31/285; E 101/45/5 m. 1d; E 101/44/30 no. 3.
[33] Chapman 2015: 222.
[34] TNA E 101/46/35.
[35] Curry 2005: 60.
[36] Curry 2005: 54.
[37] Calendar of Patent Rolls 1413–1416: 342.

[38] Chapman 2011: 52.
[39] Chapman 2011: 47.
[40] Rogers 2000: 169–70.
[41] TNA E 101/46/20; Chapman 2011: 49–51.
[42] TNA E101/51/2 m. 26.
[43] TNA E 101/49/36 m. 12.
[44] Chapman 2015: 143–44.
[45] TNA E 101/48/4.
[46] TNA E 101/43/21.
[47] TNA E101/31/31 m 5, E101/42/16.
[48] TNA E101/51/2 m. 20, 26, 15.
[49] TNA E101/53/22 m. 1, E 101/54/9, E101/54/5 m. 1.
[50] Calendar of Close Rolls 1413–19: 223.
[51] TNA E101/45/1 m. 12.
[52] TNA E 101/45/1 m. 9.
[53] TNA E 358/6 m. 2.
[54] TNA E 101/44/29.
[55] Burne 1956: 80.
[56] Curry 2009: 374.
[57] Harris 1832: Appendix: 60.
[58] British Museum, 1883, 0714.471.

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MEMORIES OF THE NOW-VANISHED MANSION HOUSE, BRECON ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO: BASED ON TWO ACCOUNTS BY DOROTHY ELIZABETH POWELL (1913–1988)

DAVID JONES POWELL

Introduction

This article is based on a short memoir of life in the Mansion House written some 30–40 years ago by my aunt, Miss Dorothy Elizabeth Powell (DEP), latterly of Bridge Street Llanfaes Brecon, and supplemented by an account of the house written by her in December 1981. Elizabeth, as she was always known, was the youngest child of John Powell Jones Powell who, together with his brother in law, David Thomas Jeffreys, founded the solicitors practice known as Jeffreys & Powell in 1902 (Fig. 1).

In 1915, when she was two, her family moved from her uncle David Jeffreys' old house, Greenfield (discreetly hidden away at the top of Mount Street, Brecon) to the Mansion House in St Mary Street Brecon which my grandfather had bought in the big Tredegar sales of 1915.[1] This was the fine Brecon Town House of the Morgan (Tredegar) family and almost certainly doubled as the Estate Office for their extensive Breconshire Estate and would have been the place where, for example, annual farm rents would have been paid.[2] In my files I have a letter of June 1915 from J.D. Evans of Ffrwdgrech writing from an army encampment in Kent, where he was probably commanding a battalion of the South Wales Borderers, to his solicitor D.T. Jeffreys saying "Jones Powell will have a big job furnishing the Mansion House, but I suppose it is a very good house. I have only been inside once or twice so don't know what rooms it has".

Together with the two reminiscences, I am able to provide an architectural historian's description of the house, prepared from the family photographs. I also provide a map of the local area as it existed in 1880.

Life in the Mansion House in the early Twentieth Century – a Memoir by DEP

"Stories are so much continuations of what has gone before that it is hard to know where to start one. However there is generally some event where the pattern begins to change. Such an event occurred for us in 1915. That year we moved from a small square mid-Victorian house overlooking the railway and surrounded by a large garden, into a neglected Georgian mansion standing in a narrow cobbled street in the heart of the town (Figs. 2 and 3).

My father's excuse for buying this white elephant was that he needed a larger home for his growing family and the Mansion House, as it was called, was going for a song. Perhaps the arrival of more and more relations to stay

Fig.1. The Jones Powell family at the Mansion House in August 1917. Elizabeth is the girl in white. The family is in the garden just beside the south front of the main house. The building behind is probably the stables (let as a bakery).

had forced his hand. Already the problem of fitting the family of six, with two resident maids, into a four bed-roomed house must have been pressing enough. Perhaps he fell in love with the beauty of an old house which nobody wanted. Anyway, at the public auction he bought it for £500.[3]

When we had left the view of the railway, the prim lace-curtained windows and trim hedges of Alexandra Road behind us it seemed as if we slipped back into the eighteenth century. Horse hooves would strike clear and sharp on the cobbles outside; carts would rumble and bump. Sometimes a brewer's dray, taking the short cut through Church Lane to the Siddons vaults, would approach with a deafening crescendo of metal ringing on stone and of heavy uneven bumps that shook even the solid oak floors of our house. Just opposite were the disused stables of another old house which the local hunt rented as kennels. It frequently happened, especially at night, that old hounds dreaming perhaps of glorious hunts would start giving tongue to their feelings. Soon the whole kennels would resound with the baying of hounds as though a ghost pack were hunting their quarry through the sleeping town. At last the householders could bear it no longer and the hounds were removed to kennels in the country.

There were other sounds to fill the ear. Twice a year the fair came to the town. Under an ancient charter from Edward VI's reign all the main streets and some of the lesser ones were given over entirely to the trafficking of the fair. Our street was filled with caravans. They were parked in rows two deep outside our front door and to the background roar of the roundabouts was added the crying of the children and the constant rat-tat-tat at our side door as women called to have their water-cans filled.

However there was another sound which could put all others out of mind. This was the ringing of the Church bells. The parish church of St. Mary's stood just across the street, separated from the kennels by a narrow alley known as Church Lane. There was no churchyard and the stones of the old

Fig. 2 North front of the Mansion House facing on to St Mary Street.

Fig. 3 Detail of Front door.

Fig. 4 View west along St Mary Street with the Mansion House to the left and the (slightly recessed) 'kitchen end' in the middle.

tower merged into the cobbles of the road so that the crash of the bells seemed to be directly overhead. When the bell-ringers held their weekly practice the bells pealed with such reverberation that even conversation became difficult. The sound, however, was never unwelcome. It brought with it an awakening sense of a power and strength outside everyday life.

Before long we became aware that the twentieth century had succeeded where the nineteenth century had failed. On either side of our house were the eighteenth century coach house and stables. Although the Mansion House itself had been in the hands of a caretaker the outbuildings had stood locked and deserted for many years, my father decided to let the stables on one side as a bakery[4] and the harness room and coach house on the other side, as a milk-depot. Instead of the ghostly stamp of hooves and chink of harness there was now a lively clink and clatter of milk cans and bottles. Streams of milky water ran across the narrow pavement to settle in puddles on the cobbles while a tantalizing smell of newly baked bread escaped down the street.

Sometimes but not very often a motor car made its appearance at the head of the street and with its engine snorting disapprovingly and its sides rattling it would come complainingly over the cobbles and draw up at our front door with a creaking protest from its brakes. The pigeons who never took any notice of the horse-drawn traffic would scatter and fly up to the Church tower to peep from the buttresses with timid inquisitiveness".

The Mansion House as described in DEP's notes of December 1981

"In this house we enjoyed a wonderful freedom and space giving us all a taste for large houses which never deserted us (Figs. 4 to 6). It was said to be an Adam House[5] and the main rooms were beautifully proportioned: the dining and drawing rooms taking the whole south front with its five windows, embrasured and shuttered with a secret cupboard behind the shutter in the dining room. The floors were all dark polished oak, the stairs and doors off the hall all deep red mahogany. The fireplaces typical steel engraved affairs (Fig. 7).

The hall and landings were huge and never, in my memory, ever warmed. The slightly smaller study under what we always knew as the Tredegar room (the bedroom at the corner nearest St Mary's Church in which RMJ tells me that Lord T died)[6] was cosy by comparison and I remember many happy times there when all the others were at boarding school. Opposite was the butler's pantry and two huge green baize doors leading to the kitchen end. This was a much older building and had, I think, been a coaching inn: huge kitchen, pantry, larder, scullery and two rooms on south side which we called the workshop and schoolroom. Bicycles and tools were to be found in one, books, cocoanut matting and a table in the other. They must have been servants' hall and housekeeper's room originally. The red stone sink in the

Figs. 5 and 6. Views of part of the south front of the Mansion with the 'kitchen end' set back a little to the left. Only two of the five ground floor windows opening on to the dining and drawing rooms can be seen.

Fig. 6.

Fig. 7 The drawing room fire place.

scullery still performs a useful function in the garden at Vennyfach.[7] Upstairs all the main bedrooms had dressing rooms large enough to be bedrooms in their own right. All were pretty sparsely furnished. The pieces from Dantwyn[8] arrived about this time and were welcome as space fillers.[9]

The furniture bought cheaply at the Mansion House sale included the famous mahogany dining table for £2. At the sale it was not realised that it would reduce in size and was open to full extent covered in china and glass.

The top floor was unfurnished and made a wonderful playground. There was a table-tennis table in the large room and one was given over to mother's mysterious trunks and boxes which we were forbidden to touch. A gate at the top of the stairs suggested that it was once used or intended for use as nursery quarters.

The lovely old house was already out of date when my father bought it in the middle of the First World War. It had a short and lovely life as a very happy home for us from 1915-1928. The kitchen end converted into the Post Office and still stands; only the cellars of the old Inn are still recognisable.[10] The main part was pulled down after a short life as Income Tax offices (early 1930s), death watch beetle, no conservationists was the end. I am glad that it was pulled down – a much better fate than that enjoyed by Watton Mount or Bank House in Lion Street. I dream of it often".

An Architectural Description of the Mansion House

The following architectural description[11] is based on the photographs shown here, before the demolition of the main house and south east wing in the 1930s. It is as written in the format required for a statutorily listed historic building, although, of course, as a demolished building, it cannot be listed.

'Town house and attached ancillary ranges. Possibly C18th, remodelled in the early C19th with later extensions, although the surviving NW range could be earlier, remodelled with the house. Stone, stuccoed throughout; slate roof, ridge stacks. Double-depth plan with wide central hallway. Exterior: Main house, symmetrical, 5 bays, the three central bays slightly projecting under a pediment. 2 storeys + attic storey, with plat bands between. Stucco quoins and low dentilled parapet over moulded cornice. Rear elevation treated similarly, but without pediment. Wide central wooden doorcase to front, possibly C18th and re-positioned: open dentilled pediment supported by fluted pilasters, Corinthian capitals, the cornice with patera to each side of round-headed arched entrance; 6-fielded panel door under fanlight. Window embrasures with moulded architraves, the sill supported by consoles (possibly artificial stone) throughout with 6-pane hornless sashes. To the right, slightly recessed 2-storey range, 3 + 2 bays divided by quoins marking the end of the original building, understood to include the former kitchen; surface treatment identical to main house, but with double 6 over 6 hornless sashes. One

pedestrian and 3 wider entrances. To the left, a low 2-storey range, unadorned, with sash windows and one vehicle entrance. Interior : one stone and marble fire surround, probably early C19th with fluted pilasters and moulded mantel shelf surrounding contemporary cast iron grate.'

The 1880 Ordnance Survey map of the Mansion House site

In the light of the narrative and photographs presented here, it is instructive to examine the site on the 1880 Ordnance Survey map (Fig. 8). The Mansion House itself is clearly identifiable. The only oddity is the small almost square projection to the south front which must represent some construction which had been removed by the time the pictures were taken.

The extent of the grounds can be seen. A very poor photograph (not used here) shows a tennis court in the south west corner of the garden beyond which can be seen the buildings of Buckingham Place and some trees in Glamorgan Street. The only significant feature of the property remaining on Glamorgan Street is the impressive stone gateway (Fig. 9) – now blocked with rubble – that must once have opened on to the little tree lined path that can be clearly seen on the map. It is listed by CADW.[12]

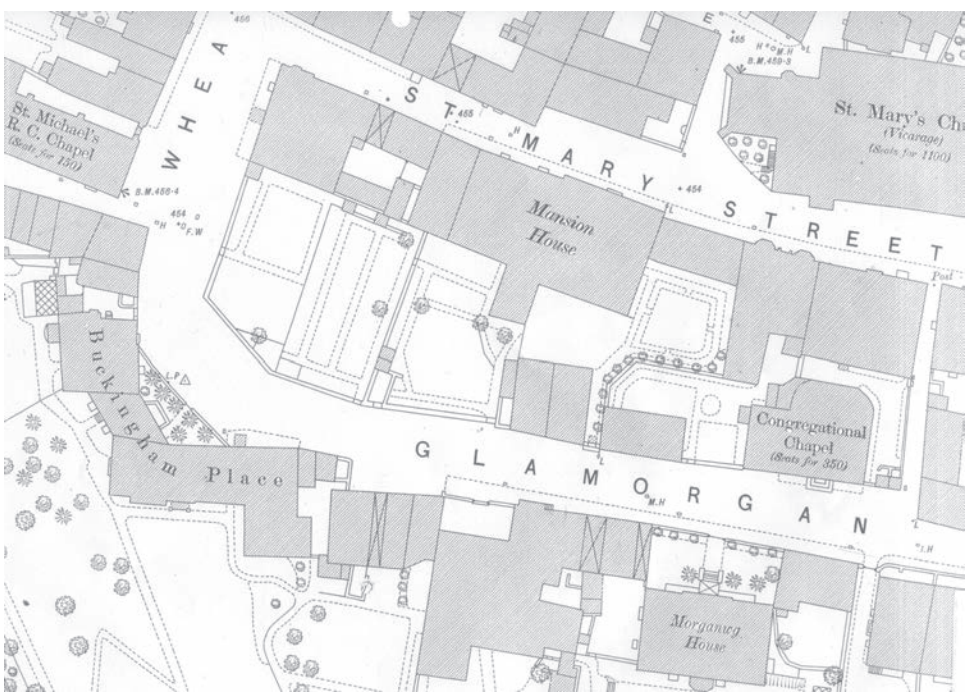

Fig. 8 1880 Map showing the Mansion House and its relation to St Mary's Church.

Fig. 9 Red sandstone gateway on Glamorgan Street.

Notes

[1] For a description of these sales, see Bell 2014.

[2] DJP adds 'This is probably the reason why I have what must be the Tredegar "Terrier" dating from the mid-19th century wherein is shown all that was then left of their old title to the Lordship of Brecknock purchased from the Crown in the 17th century to whom it had escheated via Richard III from the Stafford Dukes of Buckingham following his failed rebellion in 1483 (and which must also have been a disaster for the tenants and servants of his Brecknock Lordship away there in his army on the banks of the Severn). This Terrier does not show the Tredegar land in Breconshire purchased after the mid-19th century e.g. the Beacons which they bought from the Commissioners of Woods and Forests in the late 19th century (the Tredegars were never ones to miss a trick or two as John Lloyd (Abercynrig) "The Radical" – knew)'.

[3] Bell 2014 gives the sum as £850.

[4] It seems probable that this building, now demolished, was to the east of the main house. It was next door to the building housing 'St Mary's bakery' in 2015.

[5] This designation seems unlikely: the Adam brothers did very little work in Wales and there is, at present, no evidence that they were involved here.

[6] DJP adds 'RMJ was Rachel Mary Jones, DEP's sister. Which Lord Tredegar? I suspect that was no basis in this story and that it represents the attempt of an older sister to impress or frighten a younger one'.

[7] DJP adds 'As it does today in what we now call "Fennifach"'

[8] DJP adds 'Dantwyn was a large house and farm somewhere between Swansea and Ystradfellte where the family (Jones or Powell) had their roots'.

[9] See DJP's reference to the J.D Evans letter in the Introduction.

[10] This, at the time of publishing is a carpet shop. It bears a notice explaining that it had earlier been the Post Office.

[11] This description has been contributed by Martin Cherry, formerly Head of Listing and Research Director with English Heritage; currently President of the Vernacular Architecture Group.

[12] CADW, Listed Buildings Database: Powys, Brecon, ID 6891. The listing description reads: Gateway opposite Havard House. Location: in wall forming N side of Glamorgan Street. History: C18 to C19. Former garden entrance to Tredegar House in St Mary Street, now demolished. Formerly set at the end of a passageway between two outbuildings. See 1834 Plan of Brecknock. Exterior: Blocked flat arched gateway of stone with pilasters and entablature.

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David Jones Powell now lives in the house which his grandfather first enlarged and then moved into during 1928, when he sold the Mansion House. In 1978, David rejoined Jeffreys and Powell (which his grandfather co-established) as a partner from London. He was Under Sheriff of Breconshire from 1985 until 2001 (in his father and grandfather's footsteps) and was High Sheriff of Powys in 2006/7. After retirement, David retained the office of Secretary/Trustee to Fforest Fawr (The Great Forest) Commoners' Association and the Duke of Beaufort's Commoners, both remnants of Marcher Lordships in South West and South East Breconshire respectively.

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YMGYRCH FARCHNATA O'R FLWYDDYN 1475: MOLIANT HUW CAE LLWYD I SEINTIAU BRYCHEINIOG[1]

EURIG SALISBURY

O roi'r gair 'marchnata' i mewn i flwch chwilio BydTermCymru, adnodd geiriadurol ar-lein Gwasanaeth Cyfieithu Llywodraeth Cymru, fe ddaw i'r golwg gyfanswm o 133 o ganlyniadau.[2] Mewn oes sy'n rhoi pris uchel ar frandio llwyddiannus, ni waeth beth a gynhyrchir, o geir i fatiau ioga, prin yw'r meysydd nad ŷnt o'r hyn lleiaf yn lled gyfarwydd â thermau fel 'pennaeth marchnata', 'tîm marchnata' a 'marchnata cymdeithasol'. Nid yw *Brycheiniog* yn eithriad, ac ystyried bod cynnig i sefydlu 'ymgyrch farchnata' i ddenu darllenwyr newydd yn rhan o arolwg diweddar ar y cyfnodolyn.[3]

Er mai ychydig iawn o ddefnydd a wnaethpwyd o'r gair 'marchnata' gan feirdd yr Oesoedd Canol, mae'n eglur eu bod yn gyfarwydd ddigon â'r cysyniad hunanddyrchafol a gynrychiolir gan y gair hwnnw heddiw.[4] Pwnc yr erthygl hon yw cywydd hynod gan Huw Cae Llwyd (*fl.* 1431–1504) i seintiau Brycheiniog sy'n rhoi cipolwg diddorol ar yr hyn y gellid ei ystyried yn 'ymgyrch farchnata' farddol yn y bymthegfed ganrif.[5]

Prif waith bardd yn y bymthegfed ganrif oedd moli uchelwyr yn gyfnewid am nawdd ariannol. Perthyn cywydd Huw i *genre* y canu mawl ond, yn hytrach na chlodfori un noddwr o gig a gwaed yn ôl yr arfer gyffredin, dewisodd Huw glodfori 42 o seintiau a chanddynt gysylltiad â Brycheiniog (hynny yw, seintiau y cysegrwyd iddynt eglwys, gapel neu allor rywle ym Mrycheiniog). Ar un olwg, mae hon yn gerdd ysbrydol iawn, ond roedd yr hyn a'i symbylodd mewn gwirionedd yn ymwneud yn bennaf â materion seciwlar. Canodd Huw y gerdd yn fuan cyn iddo fynd ar bererindod i Rufain yn 1475, a'i brif ddiben wrth ei chanu oedd gofyn yn gynnil i uchelwyr Brycheiniog am nawdd i fynd ar y daith hir honno i'r Eidal. I'r perwyl hwnnw y neilltuodd rai llinellau o fawl i drigolion Brycheiniog (llinellau 41–6):

> Meistri, rhag fy nodi'n ôl,
> Meistresau ym sy drasol,
> Cenedl ym cnawdol yma,
> Creiriau'r dyn yw carwyr da.
> Ni bo ym gâr heb ym gael
> Nerth hyd Rufain wrth drafael![6]

Y gair allweddol yn y llinellau hyn yw *nerth*. Byddai angen *nerth* corfforol ar Huw, wrth reswm, er mwyn teithio'r holl ffordd i Rufain ar draws cyfandir Ewrop. Ond byddai angen un o ystyron eraill y gair arno hefyd, sef 'cymorth, cynhaliaeth', a hynny'n ariannol. Profi'r dŵr y mae Huw yn y gerdd hon. Fel bardd proffesiynol, byddai wedi hen arfer â llunio cerddi a oedd yn diolch am

arian, am lety ac am fwyd a diod yr oedd eisoes wedi eu derbyn neu yr oedd wrthi'n eu mwynhau ar y pryd. Ond yn y gerdd hon, chwilio mae Huw am nawdd gan uchelwyr Brycheiniog i ariannu menter yn y dyfodol. Dyma brosiect '*crowdfunding*' nodedig o'r bymthegfed ganrif.

Yng nghofnod yr *Oxford English Dictionary* ar gyfer y gair '*crowdfunding*' (a luniwyd ym mis Mehefin 2015), dyddir yr enghraifft gynharaf o'r gair i 2006 neu 2007.[7] Gair newydd, felly, i ddisgrifio gweithgaredd newydd, sef denu unigolion i arianu prosiectau drwy fuddsoddi arian dros y we (symiau bychain, gan amlaf). Ond er bod y gair yn newydd, hen iawn yw'r arfer.[8] Pe bai un o'r gwefannau '*crowdfunding*' enwocaf, Kickstarter, yn bodoli yn 1475, byddai'n ddiddorol dyfalu faint o arian y byddai Huw Cae Llwyd wedi llwyddo i'w godi!

Mae'n debygol y byddai wedi llwyddo i godi mwy na digon i'w roi ar ben ffordd. Ac aros gyda Kickstarter, mae'n werth nodi'r hyn sydd gan brif weithredwr y gorfforaeth, Perry Chen, i'w ddweud am bwysigrwydd y gwaith o ddenu buddsoddwyr:

> You don't have to make a video, but most money seekers do, and the successful ones avoid making it too slickly ad-like or blatantly amateurish; lighthearted hints that the creator is a little uncomfortable asking for money are a recurring trope.[9]

Cerdd, nid fideo, a oedd gan Huw Cae Llwyd. Ac yntau'n fardd proffesiynol o fri, nid oes dim yn 'amaturaidd' am y gerdd honno ond, o ystyried y mawl a roes Huw i drigolion Brycheiniog, nid yw'n amhosibl fod '*too slickly ad-like*' yn gyhuddiad digon teg yn ei erbyn! Un gymhariaeth ddiddorol arall yw'r ffaith fod Huw, yn debyg i entrepreneuriaid '*crowdfunding*' yr unfed ganrif ar hugain, wedi dewis peidio â'i gwneud yn rhy eglur ei fod yn gofyn am arian. Y cyfeiriad cryptig at *nerth* yn unig sy'n dadlennu'r agwedd bwysig honno ar ei gerdd. Go brin y byddai neb yng nghynulleidfa Huw wedi camddeall ei ddiben ariangar, ond mae'r ffaith fod Huw yn amlwg yn troedio'n ofalus yn awgrymu ei fod o'r hyn lleiaf yn ymwybodol o'r ffaith fod y cais hwn am arian yn wahanol i'r arfer.

Rhan allweddol o brosiect llwyddiannus ar Kickstarter, yn ôl y prif weithredwr, yw cynnig gwobrwyon neu roddion i fuddsoddwyr:

> Taking the time to come up with creative, memorable rewards is more likely to get results.[10]

Hynny yw, mae'r buddsoddwyr yn rhoi arian i'r prosiect yn y gobaith y byddant yn derbyn rhywbeth yn ôl. Mae hyn yn rhyfeddol o debyg i berthynas bardd a'i noddwr. Yr unig wahaniaeth yw'r hyn a gyfnewidir am arian, sef rhoddion bychain yn y naill achos, a cherddi mawl yn y llall. Fel y rhan fwyaf o feirdd yr Oesoedd Canol, roedd Huw Cae Llwyd yn deall y cysyniad hwnnw i'r dim. Dyma, mewn gwirionedd, oedd ei dacteg gryfaf

wrth geisio sicrhau y byddai'n derbyn nawdd ar gyfer ei bererindod i Rufain. Gwrthrychau digon cyffredin a gynigir fel gwobrwyon ar Kickstarter gan amlaf, fel negeseuon syml o ddiolch, crysau-t unigryw a thrugareddau a wnaethpwyd â llaw. Pylu'n llwyr mae gwerth y rhain i gyd mewn cymhariaeth â'r hyn roedd Huw Cae Llwyd yn ei gynnig i uchelwyr Brycheiniog, sef dogn o fawl ar ffurf cerdd ac, yn bwysicach, addewid y byddai Huw ei hun yn gweddïo ar eu rhan yn eglwysi Rhufain, yn y gobaith y byddai eu heneidiau, pan ddeuai eu hoes i ben, yn osgoi cosbedigaeth y purdan ar eu ffordd i'r nefoedd. Go brin y ceir prosiect ar wefan Kickstarter, ni waeth pa mor ddychmygus ydyw, sy'n cynnig gwobr o'r fath (llinellau 47–8, 65–70):

> Doda' 'n werth eu da dan un
> Duwiol weddi'n dâl uddun'.
> …
> Onid ânt o bob cantref,
> Eled un dros wlad neu dref.
> Ni wna ar ben un o'r byd
> Neges da ond gwas diwyd.
> Myn Mair, y mae 'n 'y mwriad
> Nad â 'nglŷn eneidiau 'ngwlad!

Roedd yn arfer ddigon cyffredin yn y bymthegfed ganrif i unigolyn fynd ar bererindod ar ran unigolyn neu unigolion eraill, ac nid yw'n syndod fod beirdd wedi cyflawni'r gwasanaeth hwn ar ran eu noddwyr.[11] Aeth Lewys Glyn Cothi (*fl.* 1447–89), er enghraifft, ar bererindod i Rufain ar ran Wiliam Fychan o swydd Henffordd (a oedd yn gwnstabl Aberystwyth ar y pryd), a phan ddychwelodd i Gymru fe ganodd gywydd i ddisgrifio'r farf hir a dyfodd ar y daith.[12]

Ac ystyried pa mor anarferol o wych oedd y wobr roedd Huw yn ei chynnig i uchelwyr Brycheiniog, mae'n anodd dychmygu sut y byddai'r un ohonynt wedi medru ei wrthod. Yn wir, aeth Huw ati'n benodol i brocio'r gydwybod (49–52, 55–6):

> Da i werin ystyriaid
> Neu ofni'r Hwn a fo'n rhaid:
> Pwy a wyddiad ond Tad dyn
> Peri Addaf o'r priddyn?
> …
> Ple'n tueddir, plant Addaf?
> Pŵl oedd ym wybod ple 'dd af.

Ni ellir ond dyfalu faint o uchelwyr Brycheiniog a ddewisodd gefnogi pererindod Huw yn ariannol. Mae'r ychydig dystiolaeth sydd ar gael yn awgrymu mai un noddwr yn unig a lyncodd yr abwyd, a gellir tybio bod

hynny wedi bod yn ddigon i fodloni Huw. Enw'r noddwr hwnnw oedd Ieuan ap Gwilym Fychan, prif noddwr Huw yn ôl nifer y cerddi a ganodd iddo, a gŵr a enwir mewn dau gywydd hynod ddiddorol a ganodd Huw ynghylch ei bererindod.[13] Mae'r gerdd gyntaf, lle disgrifir yn fanwl yr hyn a welodd Huw yn Rhufain yn 1475, yn gofnod rhyfeddol o brofiadau pererin o Gymro yn eglwysi pwysicaf y ddinas, yn cynnwys eglwysi Sant Ioan, Sant Pedr, Sant Paul a'r Forwyn Fair.[14] Yn llinellau olaf y gerdd honno, ymbiliodd Huw ar Bedr i ganiatáu iddo ddychwelyd adref i Gymru'n ddiogel er mwyn iddo fedru gweld ei noddwr hael unwaith eto:

Duw a roes ym ar dir saint	*Rhoes Duw i mi yng ngwlad y seintiau*
Drom ddiod o'r maddeuaint,	*ddiod drom o faddeuant,*
A bid o rodd gan Bedr ym	*a boed i mi, yn rhodd gan Bedr,*
Byw a gweled mab Gwilym.	*fyw a gweld mab Gwilym.*
Duw, o rhoist hwn dros y taid,	*Duw, os rhoist y gŵr hwn yn lle'r taid,*
Gad ym hwn gyda'm henaid.	*gad y gŵr hwn i mi ynghyd â'm henaid.*[15]

Yn yr ail gerdd sy'n ymwneud â'r bererindod, aeth Huw ati i ddatgan ei hiraeth am Ieuan ap Gwilym Fychan pan oedd yn Rhufain. Mae'n debygol fod Huw wedi perfformio'r gerdd ar ôl iddo ddychwelyd i Gymru, ond nid yw'n amhosibl iddo lunio'r gerdd yn Rhufain a'i pherfformio gerbron cynulleidfa o bererinion o Gymru. Ar ddechrau'r gerdd, disgrifiodd Huw ei hun yn galw ar Dduw ac eraill tra oedd yn Rhufain:

Enwaf un Duw'n fwy no dim,	*Enwaf un Duw yn fwy na dim,*
Enwaf Bawl neu fab Wilim,	*enwaf Bawl neu fab Gwilym,*
Enwi'r rhain (Rhufain yr wyf)	*enwi'r rhain (yn Rhufain yr wyf)*
Ac enw Peutun cyn peitiwyf.	*ac enw Peutun cyn y peidiaf.*[16]

Fel y dengys llinell olaf y dyfyniad, roedd Ieuan ap Gwilym Fychan yn byw yn y Peutun, ychydig i'r gogledd o Aberhonddu, ar gyrion gorllewinol Llanddew.[17] Tystir i bwysigrwydd y Peutun yn hanes llenyddol Brycheiniog gan y ffaith mai yn y tŷ hwnnw y credir i un o lawysgrifau pwysicaf y bymthegfed ganrif, Peniarth 54, gael ei hysgrifennu. Llawysgrif fach ryfeddol ydyw sy'n cynnwys casgliad cynnar pwysig o gywyddau Dafydd ap Gwilym a chyfoeth o gerddi sy'n gysylltiedig â'r de-ddwyrain ac â Brycheiniog yn benodol, a llawer ohonynt yn gopïau awtograff. Ymddengys fod rhyw wyth o feirdd wedi cofnodi eu cerddi yn y llawysgrif, yn cynnwys Huw Cae Llwyd, Hywel Dafi, Hywel Swrdwal a Dafydd Epynt, beirdd mwyaf blaenllaw Brycheiniog yn y bymthegfed ganrif. Yn y llawysgrif honno y ceir yr unig gopïau hysbys o'r ddau gywydd a ganodd Huw yn sgil mynd ar y bererindod i Rufain, yn ogystal â'r unig gopi o'i gywydd hynod i seintiau Brycheiniog. A chan fod y copïau unigryw hynny yn llaw Huw ei hun, ac yntau'n gopïydd destlus, maent mewn cyflwr gwych.[18]

Sut felly y llwyddodd Huw Cae Llwyd i ennill nawdd gan Ieuan ap Gwilym Fychan er mwyn mynd ar bererindod i Rufain? Nid yw'r gerdd i seintiau Brycheiniog yn enwi Ieuan nac ychwaith unrhyw un arall o uchelwyr Brycheiniog, ac nid oes unrhyw awgrym fod Huw wedi llwyddo i ddenu unrhyw un i fuddsoddi yn ei fenter cyn iddo ganu ei gerdd. A dychwelyd at brosiectau '*crowdfunding*' Kickstarter, mae'n werth manylu ar ddisgrifiad Perry Chan o'r fideos a ddefnyddir er mwyn denu buddsoddwyr fel rhai '*slick*' ac '*ad-like*'. Pa mor debyg i'r fideos hynny yw cywydd Huw Cae Llwyd?

Gellir dychmygu mai un o brif amcanion Huw wrth lunio'r cywydd i seintiau Brycheiniog oedd denu sylw ei gynulleidfa. Roedd am sicrhau y byddai ei gerdd yn gofiadwy ac yn sefyll ar wahân i gerddi unrhyw feirdd eraill a oedd wrthi'n gweithio eu crefft ym Mrycheiniog yn saithdegau'r bymthegfed ganrif. Mae'n bosibl iawn mai yn sgil yr ystyriaethau hyn yr aeth Huw ati i gyflawni camp anhygoel, sef enwi 42 o seintiau mewn ugain o linellau, yn ogystal hefyd â Christ (ar ffurf crog) a Duw. Mae'n werth eu dyfynnu'n llawn (llinellau 19–38):

> Ceisiaf, ymglywaf o'm gwlad,
> Gan **Gynog** wyn ei ganiad.
> Y gwŷr doniog o'r dinas,
> **Ieuan** a'r **Grog**, ynn yw'r gras;
> **Mair**, **Mihangel** ac **Eluw**,
> **Mathau** deg, cydymaith **Duw**;
> **Dewi**, **Pawl**, da yw **Peulun**,
> **Domnig**, **Byneddig** yn un;
> **Teilo**, **Ulltud**, **Saint Elen**,
> **Tyfaelog** at **Filo**, **Gwen**;
> **Margred**, **Catrin**, **Aeled**, **Non**,
> **Ffraid**, **Iago**, **Wenffryd**, **Eigion**.
> **Saint Lidnerth** a'n cyfnertho,
> **Saint Silin** neu **Farthin** fo;
> **Brynach**, **Nicolas**, **Castau**,
> **Meugan**, **Degeman** ill dau;
> Da wŷr, **Gynydr** a **Gweino**,
> **Detu** fab, da ytiw fo;
> **Cenau**, **Elli**, cain **Wallwen**,
> **Catwg**, **Simwnt**, **Edmwnt** hen.

Ymddengys y llinellau hyn ar yr olwg gyntaf fel rhestr blith draphlith o enwau. Gall fod nifer ohonynt yn hysbys i ddarllenwyr heddiw ac eraill yn ddieithr iawn i'r rheini nad ydynt yn gyfarwydd ag ardal Brycheiniog. Ond o graffu ar y rhestr, mae'n eglur fod Huw wedi cymryd gofal mawr wrth ei llunio, gan enwi nifer o'r seintiau mewn trefn arbennig. Nid cyd-ddigwyddiad yw mai Cynog, pennaf sant Brycheiniog, yw'r cyntaf a enwir.[19] Nesaf ceir y

gwŷr doniog o'r dinas, / Ieuan a'r Grog, cyfeiriad at eglwys Aberhonddu, a gysegrwyd i Ioan Efengylydd ac a oedd yn gartref, yn yr Oesoedd Canol, i ddelw enwog o Grist ar ffurf crog, o bosibl y grog enwocaf yng Nghymru.[20] Mae'r enw nesaf, sef *Mair*, yn ôl pob tebyg yn cyfeirio at un arall o eglwysi Aberhonddu, sef eglwys y Santes Fair. Dyma awgrym gweddol gryf fod Huw wedi perfformio'r gerdd naill ai yn Aberhonddu, prif dref Brycheiniog, neu yn ei chyffiniau. Gellir bod yn bur sicr fod Ieuan ap Gwilym Fychan, un o drigolion amlycaf y wlad o amgylch y dref, yn bresennol pan berfformiwyd y gerdd am y tro cyntaf.

Ond nid cerdd ar gyfer trigolion Aberhonddu'n unig oedd hon. Enwodd Huw seintiau a oedd yn gysylltiedig ag eglwysi ar hyd a lled Brycheiniog, pedwar ar bymtheg ohonynt yn seintiau rhyngwladol a thri ar hugain yn seintiau Cymreig. Gellir cysylltu 35 o'r seintiau ag o leiaf un lleoliad ym Mrycheiniog, a cheir cyfanswm sylweddol o 59 o leoliadau. Dim ond un lleoliad sy'n hysbys ar gyfer rhai seintiau, fel y Santes Ffraid yn Llansanffraid-ar-Wysg a Detu yn Llanddeti. Ond mae seintiau eraill, fel Cynog, Mihangel a Chynidr, yn gysylltiedig â nifer fawr o eglwysi ar draws Brycheiniog.[21] Byr fu'r cof am rai seintiau yr aeth eu heglwysi bron yn llwyr ar ddifancoll, fel Lidnerth (Leonard), sant y cysegrwyd iddo eglwys a safai gynt ar safle castell Pencelli (lle mae maes carafannau Pencelli heddiw), a Degyman yn eglwys goll Llanddegyman i'r dwyrain o Dretŵr. Yn achos dyrnaid o'r seintiau hyn, fe bery union natur eu cysylltiad â Brycheiniog yn ddirgelwch llwyr. Mae'n debygol fod allor neu gapel rywle ym Mrycheiniog wedi ei gysegru i Paul, Elen, Margred, Iago, Martin, Simwnt a Gwenfrewy, ond aeth y cysegriad hwnnw'n angof erbyn heddiw.[22]

Mae'r anhawster hwn yn dadlennu agwedd ddiddorol ar gwlt y seintiau yng Nghymru, sef bod apêl llawer o'r seintiau lleol hyn wedi ei gyfyngu i ardal fechan iawn. Wrth eu henwi yn y cywydd hwn ysgwydd wrth ysgwydd â seintiau enwocach, roedd Huw yn sicrhau bod cynifer o uchelwyr Brycheiniog â phosibl yn medru teimlo'n rhan o'r gerdd. Gellid dychmygu mai cyfyng oedd apêl y Santes Callwen, nawddsantes Capel Callwen yng Nglyntawe, ond ni fyddai wiw i Huw beidio â'i henwi rhag ofn y byddai gan rywun yn ei gynulleidfa gyswllt â'r ardal honno. Wrth enwi Cynidr, ar y llaw arall, roedd Huw'n sicrhau bod uchelwyr o bob cornel o Frycheiniog yn medru uniaethu â'i gerdd, o'r Clas-ar-Wy yn y gogledd yr holl ffordd i Langynidr yn y dwyrain ac Aberysgir yn y gorllewin.[23]

Roedd enwi cynifer o seintiau mewn cyn lleied o linellau yn sicr yn gamp, ond pa mor unigryw oedd y gamp honno? Nid Huw oedd y cyntaf i lunio rhestr hir o enwau ar gynghanedd. Roedd pob bardd yn gyfarwydd iawn wrth ei waith bob dydd â'r grefft o enwi hynafiaid ei noddwyr, gan roi sylw i'r tad yn amlach na pheidio, ond weithiau fe enwid teidiau a hendeidiau hefyd, gan gyfeirio'n gelfydd at lond dwrn o genedlaethau.[24] Ceir enghraifft dda o'r

math hwn o restru enwau yn llinellau cyntaf cerdd gan Huw y ceir yr unig gopi ohoni yn llawysgrif Peniarth 54, sef cywydd mawl i neb llai nag Ieuan ap Gwilym Fychan o'r Peutun:

Yr eginyn ar gynnydd	*Yr egin bach a ddisgyn o Einion Sais*
O **Einion Sais** ynn y sydd.	*sydd i ni ar gynnydd.*
Un wialen o **Wilym**	*Yr un blaguryn a ddisgyn o Wilym*
A bair y coed yn barc ym.	*sy'n peri i'r goedwig fod yn barc i mi.*
Einion gyff neu **Owain** gynt,	*Tylwyth Einion neu Owain gynt,*
O ddau wreiddyn dda'r oeddynt.	*roeddynt yn hanfod o ddau wreiddyn da.*
O **Water**, gwaed rhywiog iawn,	*O Water, gwaed urddasol iawn,*
Y caid egin **Cadwgawn**.	*y cafwyd egin Cadwgon.*
Ieuan, gŵr o'i enw a gaf	*Ieuan, gŵr o'i enw ef a gaf,*
Un enw â **Ieuan** hynaf.	*yr un enw ag Ieuan hynaf.*
Wylaw 'm dan **Wilym** ei dad,	*Wylo oedd fy rhan am Gwilym ei dad,*
Nid wylwn o chawn daliad.	*nid wylwn pe cawn daliad.*[25]

Yn ogystal ag Ieuan ei hun, mae Huw Cae Llwyd yn enwi saith o hynafiaid ei noddwr, yn cynnwys ei dad ddwywaith. Mae hyn yn rhoi syniad o'r boddhad roedd Huw yn ei gael wrth raffu rhes o enwau ar gynghanedd, yn ogystal â'r boddhad a gâi Ieuan ei hun, yn ôl pob tebyg, wrth wrando'r gerdd, sydd o bosibl yn esbonio pam mai ef, yn hytrach nag unrhyw uchelwr arall o Frycheiniog, a noddodd bererindod Huw.

Fodd bynnag, digon dof yw rhestr Huw o hynafiaid Ieuan mewn cymhariaeth â'r hyn a wnaeth dau fardd arall a ganai dri chwarter canrif ynghynt, sef mydryddu achau eu noddwyr dros ddegau o linellau. Y cynharaf o'r ddau oedd Iolo Goch (*fl. c.*1345–1400), a ganodd gywydd i olrhain achau Owain Glyndŵr. Mewn chwech ar hugain o linellau, yn ogystal ag Owain ei hun, fe enwodd Iolo un ar bymtheg o hynafiaid ei noddwr, gan fynd yn ôl mewn amser mor bell â'r chweched ganrif. Dyma flas o'r gerdd:

…	…
Hwyliwr yr holl Ddeheuwlad,	*llywiwr yr holl Ddeheuwlad,*
Hil **Arglwydd Rhys**, gwŷs i gad,	*hil yr Arglwydd Rhys, gwŷs i frwydr,*
Hil **Fleddyn**, hil **Gynfyn** gynt,	*hil Bleddyn, hil Cynfyn gynt,*
Hil **Aedd**, o ryw hael oeddynt,	*hil Aedd, roeddynt yn hanfod o linach haelionus,*
Hil **Faredudd** rudd ei rôn,	*hil Maredudd coch ei wayweffon,*
Tëyrn Carneddau Teon,	*teyrn Carneddau Teon,*
Hil **y Gwinau Dau Freuddwyd**,	*hil y Gwinau Dau Freuddwyd,*
Hil **Bywer Lew**, fy llew llwyd,	*hil Pywer Lew, fy llew brown,*
Hil **Ednyfed**, lifed lafn,	*hil Ednyfed, llafn wedi ei hogi,*
Hil **Uchdryd** lwyd, hael wychdrafn,	*hil Uchdryd sanctaidd, arglwydd haelionus a gwych,*
Hil **Dewdwr** mawr, gwawr gwerin,	*hil Tewdwr mawr, arweinydd y bobl,*
Heliwr â gweilch, heiliwr gwin,	*heliwr â gweilch, darparwr gwin,*
Hil **Faig Mygrfras**, gwas gwaywsyth,	*hil Maig Mygrfras, llanc syth ei wayweffon,*
Heirdd fydd ei feirdd o'i fodd fyth.	*bydd ei feirdd yn hardd wrth ei fodd fyth.*[26]

Fodd bynnag, mae camp Iolo yn y gerdd honno'n pylu mewn cymhariaeth â'r hyn a wnaeth Rhys Goch Eryri (*fl. c.*1365–*c.*1410) mewn cywydd mawl i Wiliam Fychan o'r Penrhyn ger Bangor (gŵr roedd ei dad wedi ymladd ym mhlaid Owain Glyndŵr yn ystod y gwrthryfel), sef enwi 74 o hynafiaid Wiliam (ynghyd â Duw, y Pab Gregori, Nudd, Dewi a Christ) mewn 78 o linellau. Aeth Rhys ati i olrhain achau ei noddwr ar hyd y canrifoedd yr holl ffordd yn ôl at Seth, Adda ac, yn wir, at Dduw ei hun, fel y gwelir yn y dyfyniad hwn:

…	…
Fab **Sebreinus**, gweddus gân,	*fab Sebreinus, cân weddus,*
Fab syw ieithydd, fab **Sythan**,	*fab ieithydd doeth, fab Sythan,*
Fab **Siaffeth**, difeth dyfiad,	*fab Jaffeth, twf perffaith,*
Fab **Noe** hen, deg lawen dad,	*fab Noa hen, dad teg a llawen,*
Fab **Lameth**, bu bregethwr,	*fab Lameth, bu'n bregethwr,*
Fab **Mathusalem**, gem gŵr,	*fab Methwsela, trysor i ŵr,*
Murmur drum uwch marmor draidd,	*islais sy'n croesi [o] esgair uwch [beddrod] farmor,*
Fab **Enog**, bu fabanaidd,	*fab Enog, bu fel baban,*
Fab **Seth**, difeth diofer,	*fab Seth, cywir a gwerthfawr,*
Fab **Addaf**, **Duw** Naf fy Nêr!	*fab Adda, yr Arglwydd Dduw fy Iôr!*[27]

Mae'n eglur mai ffurf unigryw ar y cywydd mawl traddodiadol a oedd yn perthyn i gyfnod Iolo a Rhys oedd y cywyddau achau hyn (is-*genre*, o bosibl, o fewn dosbarth y canu mawl), ac ni cheir enghraifft arall debyg ar eu hôl. Beth felly am enghreifftiau o restru enwau seintiau'n benodol? Dwy gerdd gynnar berthnasol yw cywyddau gan Ddafydd ap Gwilym (*fl.* 1330–50) ac Iolo Goch sy'n enwi'r deuddeg apostol.[28] Dyfynnir yma'r darn perthnasol o gywydd Dafydd ac wyth llinell gyntaf cywydd Iolo:

Ar yr hanner, muner mwyn,	*Ar yr ochr dde iddo,*
Deau iddo, **Duw** addwyn,	*arglwydd tirion, Dduw addfwyn,*
Y mae **Pedr**, da y gŵyr edrych,	*y mae Pedr (gŵyr yn iawn sut i edrych)*
A **Ieuan** wiw awen wych;	*ac Ieuan wych a theilwng ei awen;*
A **Phylib** oreuwib ras,	*a Phylib yr â ei ras ar led mor rhagorol,*
Gwyndroed yw, a gwiw **Andras**;	*gwyn ei droed ydyw, ac Andras wych;*
Iago hael, wiwgu, hylwydd,	*Iago hael lwyddiannus, un annwyl a theilwng,*
A **Sain Simon**, rhoddion rhwydd.	*a Sant Simon ddigrintach ei roddion.*
Lliw aur, ar y llaw arall	*Mewn lliw aur, ar yr ochr arall*
I'r Arglwydd cyfarwydd call	*i'r Arglwydd hollalluog doeth*
Y mae **Pawl** weddawl wiwddoeth,	*y mae Pawl weddus a llawn doethineb,*
A **Thomas** gyweithas goeth;	*a Tomas dirion wych;*
Martho-, ni wnaeth ymwrthod,	*Bartholameus, ni fu iddo ymwrthod erioed,*
-Lamëus, glaer weddus glod;	*un amlwg a chymwys ei glod;*
Mwythus liw, **Mathëus** lân,	*Mathew landeg, mewn lliw cyfoethog,*
A **Iago**, rhai diogan;	*ac Iago, rhai di-fai bob un;*
Sain Sud o fewn sens hoywdeg,	*Sant Jwdas mewn arogldarth hyfryd,*
Llyna 'ntwy, llinynnaid teg.	*dyna nhw, yn un llinynnaid hardd.*[29]

Prydu a wnaf, mwyaf mawl,	*Prydyddu a wnaf, y moliant gorau,*
I **Bedr** ddoeth wybodawl,	*i Bedr doeth a gwybodus,*
Porthor cun eiddun addef,	*porthor aruchel trigfan ddymunol,*
Pen ar nifer Nêr o nef.	*pennaeth ar lu'r Arglwydd o'r nef.*
Ail yw **Ieuan** lân lonydd,	*Yr ail yw Ieuan pur a heddychlon,*
Ebostol nid ffôl ei ffydd,	*apostol nad yw ei ffydd yn ffôl,*
Llun eryr mewn llen arab,	*ffurf eryr mewn mantell hyfryd,*
Llewych grair, nai **Mair** yw'r mab.	*trysor disglair, nai i Fair yw'r llanc.*[30]

Enwir y deuddeg apostol (ynghyd â Duw) mewn deunaw o linellau yng ngherdd Dafydd. Yng ngherdd Iolo, fe enwir pedwar ar bymtheg o unigolion (yn cynnwys y deuddeg apostol) mewn 46 o linellau.[31] Mae'n eglur fod y ddau fardd wedi mynd at eu pwnc mewn dwy ffordd wahanol iawn, y naill drwy enwi o leiaf un apostol ym mhob cwpled a'r llall drwy neilltuo o leiaf ddau gwpled yr un ar gyfer rhai apostolion.

A symud ymlaen at feirdd y bymthegfed ganrif a'r unfed ganrif ar bymtheg, gwelir ei bod yn arfer enwi cyfres o seintiau mewn cerddi sy'n galw ar gymorth y seintiau er mwyn gwella anaf neu afiechyd. Tynnir sylw yma at dair o'r cerddi hyn. Ieuan ap Llywelyn Fychan (*fl.* chwarter cyntaf yr 16g.) yw awdur un ohonynt, ac fe'i canodd pan oedd yn dioddef o dwymyn cas. Yn ei wewyr fe alwodd Ieuan am gymorth pedwar ar ddeg o unigolion crefyddol mewn chwech ar hugain o linellau. Dyma'r rhai cyntaf:

Y Grog, eurog Ei goron,	*Y Grog, euraidd yw Ei goron,*
O Gaer fry, af gar Ei fron;	*o Gaer fry, af ger Ei fron;*
I **Dduw** Iôr gweddïwr wyf,	*gweddïwr wyf i'r Arglwydd Dduw,*
A **Sadwrn**, Ei was ydwyf.	*ac i Sadwrn, ei was ydwyf.*
Mae ym neges, cyffes cêl,	*Mae gennyf neges, cyffes dirgel,*
Mwy yngod â **Mihangel**;	*o hyn ymlaen i Fihangel gerllaw;*
Addaw'r aur i **Ddewi** 'r wyf,	*addo'r aur i Ddewi'r wyf,*
Ac arian a gywirwyf.	*ac arian a ddilysaf.*[32]

Ni ddaethpwyd o hyd i drefn amlwg yn y modd yr enwodd Ieuan yr holl seintiau hyn, ond gellir cysylltu'r rhan fwyaf ohonynt ag eglwysi ym mro'r bardd yn sir Ddinbych.

Mae'r ddwy gerdd arall yn eiddo i'r mwyaf o feirdd y bymthegfed ganrif, Guto'r Glyn (*fl.* 1430–90), ac fe'u canwyd ar ran dau noddwr a oedd yn dioddef o anaf i'r goes. Pan frifwyd coes Hywel ab Ieuan Fychan o Foeliwch ger Llansilin (*fl.* 1408–50), ceisiodd Guto yn gyntaf iacháu ei noddwr drwy rym ei awen, gan enwi Taliesin fel enghraifft o fardd a lwyddodd i achub ei noddwr o'r carchar drwy bŵer ei gerddi. Ond trodd wedyn at swcwr mwy confensiynol y seintiau, gan daeru wrth Hywel mai *Llu nef a'th wna'n llawen iach*. Enwodd ddeg o unigolion mewn un ar bymtheg o linellau:

Silin, gwell nog ias eli,	*Bydd Sant Silin hael yn bwrw swyn*
Sant hael a swyna i ti;	*er dy fwyn di, gwell nag ias eli;*
Oswallt, fireinwallt frenin,	*bydd Oswallt yn gwahanu clwyf coes*
Ysgar glwyf esgair a glin;	*a glin, frenin hardd ei wallt;*
Mair a'th ir â myrr a thus,	*bydd Mair yn dy iro â myrr a thus,*
Marthin a fo cymhorthus;	*bydd Martin yn gynorthwyol;*
Gwen a dyr gwŷn a dyrwyf	*bydd Gwenfrewi yn torri poen*
Frewy achlân, friw a chlwyf;	*a syrffed yn llwyr, briw a chlwyf;*
Gwrthiau **Ieuan o Wanas**	*bydd gwyrthiau Ieuan o Wanas*
A'u gyr o'r glin a'r grog las;	*a'r groes angheuol yn eu gyrru o'r glin;*
Curig dy feddig di fydd,	*Curig fydd dy feddyg di,*
Crist ei hun, croes dihenydd;	*Crist ei hun, croes marwolaeth;*
Cawn gan **Saint Lednart**, ein câr,	*cawn dy gyrchu di o garchar*
Dy gyrchu di o garchar;	*drwy gyfrwng Sant Leonard, ein hanwylyd;*
Cyrch at **Felangell** bellach,	*cyrcha at Felangell bellach,*
Cyfod, Nudd, cai fod yn iach.	*coda, Nudd, cei fod yn iach.*[33]

Ynghyd â Christ, enwir naw o seintiau. Gellir cysylltu pedwar ohonynt ag eglwysi yn ardal y Gororau, nid nepell o gartref Hywel yn Llansilin, a'r pump arall ag eglwysi mewn dalgylch cyfagos.[34]

Roedd Dafydd ab Ieuan yn un arall o noddwyr Guto a oedd yn dioddef o anaf i'w goes a achoswyd, yn ôl y gerdd a ganodd Guto i'w iacháu, gan saeth. Ar grog enwog dinas Caer y gelwir am ymgeledd y tro hwn, a hynny drwy alw ar Fair ac ar saith o seintiau i wneud eu gorau dros y noddwr druan:

Y Grog, er dy wiredd grau,	*Y Grog, ar gyfrif dy waed cyfiawn,*
Gyr y gwewyr o'r gïau.	*gyr y gwewyr o'r gïau.*
Galw **San Lednart** i'th barti,	*Galw Sant Leonard i'th ochr,*
Galw **Fair**, ac elïa fi.	*galw Fair, ac ira fi.*
Galw **Felangell**, gwell yw'r gwaith,	*Galw Melangell, gwell yw'r canlyniad,*
Galw **Ddwynwen**, f'Arglwyddunwaith,	*Galw Dwynwen unwaith, fy Arglwydd,*
Saint Oswallt a'i santesau,	*Sant Oswallt a'i santesau,*
Sain Padrig fo'r meddig mau.	*bydded Sant Padrig yn feddyg i mi.*
A **Dewi** y sydd (ys da sant)	*A bydd Dewi (sant da yw ef)*
A dry iechyd i drychant.	*yn rhoi iechyd i drichant.*
Cynhafal, dwg hwn hefyd,	*Dwg Gynhafal hefyd, y Grog,*
Y Grog, oll, y gwŷr i gyd.	*atat yn llwyr, yr arwyr i gyd.*[35]

Ni ellir lleoli'r seintiau yn gyfleus y tro hwn o fewn un ardal, ond mae nifer ohonynt yn bennaf cysylltiedig ag eglwysi yn y gogledd-ddwyrain, nid nepell o ddinas Caer.

Yn ogystal â cherddi iacháu, ceir dyrnaid o gerddi eraill a berthyn i'r bymthegfed ganrif sydd fel pe baent yn ffurfio dosbarth neu is-*genre* o gerddi mawl lle ceir rhestrau hir o enwau seintiau. I'r dosbarth hwn y perthyn cywydd Huw Cae Llwyd i seintiau Brycheiniog. Cerdd debyg iawn yw

cywydd Lewys Glyn Cothi i seintiau Elfael, cantref sylweddol i'r gogledd o Frycheiniog. Enwodd Lewys dri ar ddeg o seintiau Elfael (ynghyd â Duw) mewn pedair ar ddeg o linellau:

Draw 'dd oedd dri mabsant ar ddeg	*Roedd i chi dri mabsant ar ddeg acw*
dan ywch enwi **Duw**'n chwaneg.	*ac enwi Duw yntau'n ychwanegol.*
Mair wen, hi a'i morynion,	*Mair sanctaidd, hi a'i morynion,*
mam Dduw hael, mam dda yw hon.	*mam Duw haelionus, mam dda yw hon.*
Mihangel uchel ei liw	*Mihangel, urddasol ei liw ydyw*
ar adain o aur ydiw.	*â chanddo adain o aur.*
Pan chwynner, pwy yn chwaneg?	*Pan ddidolir, pwy sy'n ychwanegol?*
Pedr wyn o'i dir, **Padarn** deg,	*Pedr sanctaidd o'i dir, Padarn teg,*
Dewi lwyd, hen **Deilo** wyn,	*Dewi bendigaid, hen Deilo sanctaidd,*
Duw'n ei wlad, **Deiniel** lwydwyn.	*Duw yn ei wlad, Deiniol teg a sanctaidd.*
Da **Elwedd** fawr, delw oedd fwyn,	*Elwedd da a grymus, delw a oedd yn ddymunol,*
da **Fariaith**, **San Ffraid** forwyn.	*Mariaith da, Santes Ffraid y forwyn.*
Meugant yw'r sant hy y sydd,	*Meugant yw'r sant gwrol y sydd,*
Meilig cywir mal **Cewydd**.	*Meilig ffyddlon fel Cewydd.*
Hyn o saint ein hynys hael	*Hyn o seintiau ein rhanbarth haelionus*
ydiw'r sylfaen dros Elfael.	*yw'r sylfaen ar hyd a lled Elfael.*[36]

Gwelir mai cymharol fychan yw'r sylw a roes Lewys i'r seintiau yn Elfael mewn cymhariaeth â'r sylw a roes Huw i seintiau Brycheiniog. Yn hynny o beth, perthyn cywydd Lewys yn agos i ddosbarth o gerddi lle cenir mawl i fro benodol er mwyn ennill nawdd cyffredinol gan uchelwyr y fro honno, yn hytrach na cheisio codi arian ar gyfer achos penodol fel y gwnaeth Huw.[37]

Ar fesur y cywydd y canwyd yr holl gerddi a drafodwyd hyd yn hyn. Mae'r ddwy gerdd olaf yr ymdrinnir â hwy yn awdlau, y naill gan Hywel Dafi a'r llall gan Ddafydd Nanmor, a chyfansoddwyd y ddwy ohonynt ar gyfer dau o frenhinoedd Lloegr. Yr un yw'r nod yn y ddwy gerdd, sef dilysu statws y brenin yng Nghymru drwy enwi cynifer o seintiau â phosibl. Canodd Hywel Dafi ei awdl i Edward IV er mwyn galw ar gymorth tyrfa fawr o seintiau rhyngwladol a brodorol, ynghyd â Duw, i amddiffyn y brenin a'i ddilynwyr ar gyrch milwrol i Ffrainc yn 1475, sef yr un flwyddyn ag yr aeth Huw Cae Llwyd ar ei bererindod i Rufain.

Cadw, **Beuno**, **Llonio**, **Llwni** –	*Cadw, Beuno, Llonio, Llwni a Phedrog,*
a **Phedrog**,	
Mwrog a **Llawddog**, llu aeth iddi;	*Mwrog a Llawddog, aeth llu iddi [=Ffrainc];*
Gwnaeth **Awstin** o'r gwin ac o wynni –	*gweithredodd Awstin yn sgil y gwin*
'r fflŵr	*a gwynder y blawd*
A dŵr, da nawddwr, aed i'w noddi.	*a dŵr, derbyniwr da o nawdd, aed i'w noddi.*
Colwmbart, **Cwbart**, bo **Cybi** –	*Colwmbart, Cwbart, boed Cybi pan fo'r angen*
wrth raid	
A'r conffesoriaid, plaid i'n pobli;	*a'r offeiriaid, tyrfa i'n poblogi;*

Martha ac **Anna** ac enwi – **Dwynwen**,	*Martha ac Anna ac enwi Dwynwen,*
Mair Fadlen a **Gwen** i'w ddigoni.	*Mair Fadlen a Gwen i'w gyflawni.*
Sain Annes, **Aeles**, **Iuli** – a **Neustas**	*Y Santes Annes, Aeles, Iuli ac Anastasia*
O gas hwnt a las, a **Saint Luwsi**,	*a laddwyd o gasineb acw, a'r Santes Luwsi,*
Nertha, 'r wir **Farbra** wŷr Ferbri – â thras,	*Nertha, y wir Farbra, wŷr a gwehelyth Berbri*
Rhag gynnau â gras, rhag gwayw neu gri.	*rhag gynnau â gras, rhag gwaywffon neu gri.*[38]

I ŵr a fyddai'n dod yn frenin maes o law y canodd Dafydd Nanmor ei awdl yntau, sef Harri Tudur. Roedd gwreiddiau Cymreig Harri Tudur yn amlycach o lawer na rhai Edward IV, ac efallai fod hynny'n esbonio'n rhannol pam y mae Dafydd wedi enwi cynifer â chant a naw o seintiau mewn 36 o linellau. Dyma flas o'r math o restru gorchestol a geir yn yr awdl honno:

Nawdd **Bened**, **Berned**, yn lle barno,	*Nawdd Bened a Bernard, yn y fan lle barno,*
A nawdd **Duw** arno, a nawdd **Dyrnog**,	*a nawdd Duw iddo, a nawdd Dyrnog,*
Brothen a **Sulien** a **Sain Silin**,	*Brothen a Sulien a Sant Silin,*
Buan, **Celynin**, **Beuno Clynnog**.	*Buan, Celynin, Beuno Clynnog.*
Cynin a'i weision, **Cynan**, **Asaf**,	*Cynin a'i weision, Cynan, Asaf,*
Cowrdaf, câr **Eudaf fab Cariadog**,	*Cawrdaf, perthynas Eudaf fab Caradog,*
Collen, llaw **Elien**, a **Llywelyn**,	*Collen, gofal Elien, a Llywelyn,*
Cynwyd, **Cynfelyn**, **Cedwyn**, **Cadog**.	*Cynwyd, Cynfelyn, Cedwyn, Cadog.*
Cadfan a **Dyfnan**, **Ystydyfnig**,	*Cadfan a Dyfnan, Ystydyfnig,*
Caron a **Churig**, **Padrig**, **Pedrog**,	*Caron a Churig, Padrig, Pedrog,*
Peris, **Cristiolis**, **Denis**, **Dwynwen**,	*Peris, Cristiolus, Denis, Dwynwen,*
Pedr, **Ieuan**, **Gwnnen**, **Padarn**, **Gwnnog**.	*Pedr, Ieuan, Gwnnen, Padarn, Gwnnog.*[39]

Gellir trin yr ystadegau ar gyfer pob un o'r cerddi a drafodwyd er mwyn dod o hyd i gyfraddau cyffredin, sef nifer cyfartalog y llinellau a ddefnyddir i enwi un unigolyn, a thrwy hynny eu cymharu â'i gilydd. O graffu ar y canlyniadau (Tabl 1), gwelir mai Iolo Goch sydd â'r gyfradd uchaf, a hynny yn ei gywydd mawl i'r deuddeg apostol, lle enwir un apostol bob rhyw ddwy linell a hanner, ar gyfartaledd (2.4). Mae'n eglur mai nod Iolo wrth ganu'r gerdd oedd cyflwyno'n bwyllog fawl cymesur i bob apostol yn ei dro, yn hytrach nag ymdrechu i enwi cynifer ohonynt â phosibl mewn ychydig linellau, fel y gwnaeth Dafydd ap Gwilym wrth enwi apostol bob rhyw linell a hanner yn ei gywydd yntau (1.4). Nid yw'r un o'r beirdd eraill ychwaith yn cymryd mwy na chwpled i enwi sant neu ffigwr crefyddol arall, er i Ieuan ap Llywelyn Fychan ddod yn agos ati yn ei gywydd rhag y cryd (1.9). Ac yntau'n un o gynganeddwyr gorau ei oes, nid yw'n syndod fod cyfraddau is yng ngherddi Guto'r Glyn (1.6, 1.3), ond cyfraddau is nag 1 sydd gan y pedwar ceffyl blaen, sef Lewys Glyn Cothi (0.9), Hywel Dafi (0.9), Dafydd Nanmor (0.3) a Huw Cae Llwyd (0.5). Dafydd Nanmor sy'n ennill y wobr, a hynny am enwi mwy o seintiau na neb arall mewn nifer cymharol lai o linellau.

Tabl 1

	Nifer yr unigolion a enwir	Nifer y llinellau	Nifer y llinellau/ Nifer yr enwau
'Lluniau Crist a'r Apostolion' Dafydd ap Gwilym (dafyddapgwilym.net cerdd 4)	13	18	1.4
'Y Deuddeg Apostol a'r Farn' Iolo Goch (Johnston 1988, cerdd XXVII)	19	46	2.4
'Gweddi ar y seintiau oherwydd y cryd' Ieuan ap Llywelyn Fychan (Bryant–Quinn 2003, cerdd 6)	14	26	1.9
'I iacháu glin Hywel ab Ieuan Fychan' Guto'r Glyn (gutorglyn.net, cerdd 92)	10	16	1.6
'Gweddi ar y Grog o Gaer' Guto'r Glyn (gutorglyn.net, cerdd 69)	9	12	1.3
'Moliant Elfael' Lewys Glyn Cothi (Johnston 1995, cerdd 141)	14	12	0.9
'Awdl foliant i Edward IV' Hywel Dafi (Lake 2015, cerdd 71)	60	56	0.9
'Awdl foliant i Harri Tudur' Dafydd Nanmor (Roberts and Williams 1923, cerdd XVII)	109	36	0.3
'Moliant i seintiau Brycheiniog' Huw Cae Llwyd (Cwlt y Seintiau yng Nghymru 2015–)	44	20	0.5

Ond beth am gamp Huw Cae Llwyd, a enwodd un sant bob hanner llinell? Cyn bodloni ar dderbyn Huw fel ail anrhydeddus i Ddafydd Nanmor yn nhabl y cyfraddau, rhaid rhoi ystyriaeth i'r mesurau a ddefnyddiwyd gan y ddau fardd. Ar fesur y cywydd y canodd Huw, a chanodd Dafydd ail ran ei awdl (lle enwir yr holl seintiau) ar fesur o'i wneuthuriad ef ei hun, sef cwpledi naw sillaf o hyd wedi eu hodli ar batrwm mesur yr awdl gywydd.[40] Mae'r mesur hwn yn gosod llai o gyfyngiadau ar y bardd na'r mesur mwy cyfarwydd a ddefnyddiodd Hywel Dafi yn ei awdl yntau i Edward IV, sef toddeidiau ar yr odl *-i*,[41] ac felly hefyd o ran mesur y cywydd yn achos Huw Cae Llwyd. Yn wir, yn ogystal â'r ffaith fod y mesur a ddefnyddiodd Dafydd

Nanmor yn bur llac mewn cymhariaeth â mesurau eraill pur gymhleth a ddefnyddid wrth ganu awdl (fel clogyrnach a thawddgyrch cadwynog), mae'r ffaith fod naw o sillafau yn llinellau Dafydd yn rhoi mantais iddo mewn cymhariaeth â'r saith o sillafau a geir yn llinellau Huw. Mewn cymhariaeth â'r beirdd uchod a ganodd ar fesur y cywydd, onid yr holl feirdd, ac ystyried cyfyngiadau'r mesur hwnnw, mae'n eglur mai Huw sydd ar y brig.

Fodd bynnag, mewn gwirionedd nid oes angen dyfeisio elfen o gystadleuaeth rhwng y beirdd. Go brin y byddai cynulleidfa wreiddiol Huw wedi medru gwahaniaethu i'r manylder hwn rhwng y campweithiau a drafodwyd, hyd yn oed os oeddynt yn gyfarwydd â'r cerddi hynny. Gwerth pennaf yr hyn a ddangosir yn y tabl uchod yw'r ffaith ei fod yn rhoi camp Huw yn ei chyd-destun. Roedd yr hyn y llwyddodd Huw i'w wneud, sef enwi cynifer â 42 o seintiau mewn ugain o linellau, yn nodedig. Mae un cwpled (llinellau 29–30) yn cynnwys wyth o enwau, y nifer mwyaf posibl. Roedd Huw yn dangos ei hun, yn ymffrostio yn ei ddawn fel bardd wrth gyflawni campau cynganeddol. Yn ogystal ag enwi'r holl seintiau hynny, fe lwyddodd Huw i addurno pum cwpled â chymeriad llythrennol ac un cwpled â chymeriad geiriol (23–8, 31–2, 35–8). At hynny, mae'r cynganeddu yn y rhan hon o'r gerdd yn hynod o gaeth. Ceir pedair llinell o gynghanedd groes o gyswllt (20, 21, 28, 35) a dim ond dwy gynghanedd draws (24, 27).

Byddai aelodau o gynulleidfa Huw, fe dybir, wedi cydnabod a gwerthfawrogi ei gamp. Gellir dychmygu y byddai rhagoriaethau'r gerdd wedi bod wrth fodd calon Ieuan ap Gwilym Fychan ac wedi cael effaith ffafriol ar uchelwyr Brycheiniog, gan ennyn eu hyder yn ei allu fel bardd. Y neges nas crybwyllir yw hon: os oedd gan Huw gystal gafael ar eiriau fel y gallai enwi cymaint o seintiau mewn cynganeddion seithsill cywrain, a llwyddo hefyd i addurno nifer o'i gwpledi â chymeriad, gellid credu y byddai'n siŵr o draethu yr un mor gelfydd wrth weddïo yn Rhufain ar ran eneidiau uchelwyr Brycheiniog.

O'r miloedd o brosiectau a fu'n ceisio denu buddsoddwyr ar wefan Kickstarter hyd at fis Hydref 2015, methodd cynifer â 64% ohonynt dderbyn buddsoddiad llawn.[42] Byddai nifer dda ohonynt, gellir tybio, yn medru elwa ar dderbyn cyngor arbenigol gan Huw Cae Llwyd, un o benaethiaid marchnata mwyaf effeithiol y bymthegfed ganrif.

Atodiad 1. Gweddi ar seintiau Brycheiniog cyn mynd ar bererindod i Rufain (Huw Cae Llwyd)[43]

	Testun	***Aralleiriad***
	Dy dir a gred i dŷ'r Grog,	*Mae gan dy dir ffydd yn nhŷ'r Grog,*
	Da fro y'ch enwid, Frycheiniog!	*fe'ch enwyd yn fro ddaionus, Frycheiniog!*
	Dy Gymry nis dwg amraint,	*Dy Gymry, nid yw anghlod yn eu meddiannu,*
4	Dlyedus wyd, wlad y saint.	*rwyt yn deilwng, wlad y saint.*
	Dygaf rhwng pedair afon,	*Olrheiniaf y wlad hon*
	Dy led a hyd, y wlad hon:	*rhwng pedair afon, dy led a hyd:*
	Baedan o'r fan i ar Fynwy,	*Baedan o'r ucheldir uwchben Mynwy,*
8	Cynon ac Irfon a Gwy.	*Cynon ac Irfon a Gwy.*
	Tir Selyf, trasau haelion,	*Tir Selyf, Ystrad Yw,*
	Ystrad Yw, henyw o hon;	*deillia llinachau pobl hael o'r wlad hon;*
	Tir y Glyn, ein treigl ennyd,	*tir y Glyn, Talgarth,*
12	Talgarth, o boparth i'r byd.	*ein siwrnai mewn dim o dro o bob rhan o'r byd.*
	Y mae'n rhaid, er mwyn rhadau,	*Rhaid i mi, er mwyn [derbyn] bendithion,*
	Ym â chwi wers i'm iacháu.	*dreulio ysbaid gyda chi er mwyn fy achub.*
	Os y Tad a'n cenhiada,	*Os rhydd y Tad ganiatâd i ni,*
16	Swrn ydd ŷm, ar siwrnai dda,	*rydym yn niferus, ar siwrnai dda,*
	I eglwys Bedr, os medraf,	*i eglwys Pedr, os cyrhaeddaf yno,*
	Yn ei ddydd yno ydd af.	*yno'r af ar ei ddydd.*
	Ceisiaf, ymglywaf o'm gwlad,	*Gofynnaf, synhwyraf o'm gwlad,*
20	Gan Gynog wyn ei ganiad.	*i Gynog sanctaidd am ei ganiatâd.*
	Y gwŷr doniog o'r dinas,	*Y gwŷr bendigaid o'r dref,*
	Ieuan a'r Grog, ynn yw'r gras;	*Ieuan a'r Grog, yw'r gras i ni;*
	Mair, Mihangel ac Eluw,	*Mair, Mihangel ac Elyw,*
24	Mathau deg, cydymaith Duw;	*Mathau teg, cydymaith Duw;*
	Dewi, Pawl, da yw Peulun,	*Dewi, Pawl, daionus yw Peulin,*
	Domnig, Byneddig yn un;	*Domnig, Bened yn yr un modd;*
	Teilo, Ulltud, Saint Elen,	*Teilo, Illtud, y Santes Elen,*
28	Tyfaelog at Filo, Gwen;	*Tyfaelog at Filo, Gwen;*
	Margred, Catrin, Aeled, Non,	*Margred, Catrin, Aeled, Non,*
	Ffraid, Iago, Wenffryd, Eigion.	*Ffraid, Iago, Gwenfrewy, Eigion.*
	Saint Lidnerth a'n cyfnertho,	*Boed i Sant Lidnerth ein cynnal,*
32	Saint Silin neu Farthin fo;	*boed Sant Silin neu Fartin;*
	Brynach, Nicolas, Castau,	*Brynach, Nicolas, Castau,*
	Meugan, Degeman ill dau;	*Meugan a Degyman ill dau;*
	Da wŷr, Gynidr a Gweino,	*Cynidr a Gwynno, gwŷr daionus,*
36	Detu fab, da ytiw fo;	*Detu'r llanc, da ydyw yntau;*
	Cenau, Elli, cain Wallwen,	*Cenau, Elli, Callwen wych,*
	Catwg, Simwnt, Edmwnt hen.	*Cadog, Simwnt, Edmwnt hen.*

Henwau saint yw hyn o sôn,
Oed yw enwi y dynion,
Meistri, rhag fy nodi'n ôl,
Meistresau ym sy drasol,
Cenedl ym cnawdol yma,
Creiriau'r dyn yw carwyr da.
Ni bo ym gâr heb ym gael
Nerth hyd Rufain wrth drafael!
Doda' 'n werth eu da dan un
Duwiol weddi'n dâl uddun'.
Da i werin ystyriaid
Neu ofni'r Hwn a fo'n rhaid:
Pwy a wyddiad ond Tad dyn
Peri Addaf o'r priddyn?
Ni wnâi Dduw ('n ei enwi 'dd oedd)
Ond dwedud: yntau ydoedd.
Ple'n tueddir, plant Addaf?
Pŵl oedd ym wybod ple 'dd af.
Daw ynn i'n cadw yn un cail,
Daw i'n bagad, un bugail.
O Dduw, ieithoedd, ydd aethan',
Ato, Dduw, eto ydd ân'.
I'i ellwng ef o'r nefoedd,
Yn llaw ddyn Ei allwedd oedd.
Os gwir i'n oes agori
Drysau nef, ymdrwsiwn ni.
Onid ânt o bob cantref,
Eled un dros wlad neu dref.
Ni wna ar ben un o'r byd
Neges da ond gwas diwyd.
Myn Mair, y mae 'n 'y mwriad
Nad â 'nglŷn eneidiau 'ngwlad!

Enwau seintiau yw hyn o sôn,
[nawr] mae'n bryd enwi'r bobl,
meistri, rhag i mi gael fy nodi ar ôl,
fy meistresau o dras bonheddig,
fy nhylwyth cnawdol yma,
trysorau dyn yw perthnasau da.
Na foed perthynas i mi heb i mi [hefyd] gael
nerth i deithio hyd at Rufain!
Rhoddaf weddi dduwiol yn y fan a'r lle
yn daliad iddynt sy'n gyfwerth â'u daioni.
Peth da i werin yw ystyried
neu ofni'r Hwn sy'n anghenraid:
pwy ond Tad dyn a wyddai
sut i greu Addaf o'r pridd?
Ni wnaeth Duw (fe'i henwodd ef)
ond llefaru: [ac] yntau oedd.
I ble'r awn, blant Addaf?
Byddai gwybod i ble'r af yn aneglur i mi.
Daw atom i'n cadw mewn un gorlan,
daw i'n diadell, yr un bugail.
Y cenhedloedd, o Dduw yr aethant,
ato, Dduw, yr ânt eto.
Er mwyn ei adael i mewn i'r nefoedd,
yn llaw dyn roedd Ei allwedd.
Os yw'n wir yr agorir drysau nef
yn ein hamser ni, ymbaratown ni.
Onid ânt o bob cantref,
boed i un fynd ar ran gwlad neu dref.
Ni all neb yn y byd hwn ond gwas ffyddlon
gyflawni neges dda.
Myn Mair, fy mwriad yw
na fydd eneidiau fy ngwlad yn cael eu dal yn gaeth!

Nodiadau

[1] Traddodwyd fersiwn o'r erthygl hon yn Fforwm Beirdd yr Uchelwyr 2015, 'Brycheiniog a'r Beirdd yn yr Oesoedd Canol', a gynhaliwyd yn Aberhonddu ar 16 Mai 2015 ac a drefnwyd gan Dr Ann Parry Owen o Ganolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd Prifysgol Cymru, Aberystwyth, mewn cydweithrediad â Chymdeithas Brycheiniog, ac a noddwyd yn rhannol gan Academi Hywel Teifi, Prifysgol Abertawe. Hoffwn ddiolch i Bleddyn Owen Huws am daro llygad dros yr erthygl cyn ei chyhoeddi.

[2] BydTermCymru 2015– (ymwelwyd â phob gwefan y cyfeirir ati yn yr erthygl hon ym mis Hydref 2015).

[3] *Review of* Brycheiniog, 19.

[4] Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru Ar Lein 2014–, d.g. *marchnataf* 'Masnachu, rhoddi ar werth (gan gynnwys hysbysebu, pacio, dosbarthu, &c.), cyfanwerthu, prynu a gwerthu, delio (yn fasnachol), cyfnewid, bargeinio'. Un enghraifft yn unig a nodir yno cyn 1547, a hynny mewn cerdd ddychan gan Fadog Dwygraig (ail hanner y 14g.), gw. Edwards 2006, cerdd 14, llinell 27 *Profes â'i frat farchnata* 'Ceisiodd â'i frat fargeinio'.

[5] Ceir golygiad o'r gerdd yn Harries 1953, cerdd XLV. Ceir yn Atodiad 1 olygiad newydd o'r gerdd, ynghyd ag aralleiriad i Gymraeg Modern, a luniwyd gan Eurig Salisbury ar gyfer prosiect Cwlt y Seintiau yng Nghymru yng Nghanolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd Prifysgol Cymru, Aberystwyth, dan nawdd Cyngor Ymchwil y Celfyddydau a'r Dyniaethau (AHRC). Cyhoeddir ffrwyth y prosiect yn 2017 mewn golygiad ar lein o gerddi a bucheddau rhyddiaith Cymraeg o'r Oesoedd Canol, gw. Cwlt y Seintiau yng Nghymru 2015–.

[6] Am aralleiriad o'r dyfyniad hwn i Gymraeg Modern, ynghyd â phob dyfyniad arall o gerdd Huw, gw. Atodiad 1. Nid yw'n eglur a oedd Huw yn perthyn i uchelwyr Brycheiniog drwy waed ynteu ai confensiwn sy'n llywio'r modd y cyfeiriodd at ei berthynas agos â'i noddwyr. Y gred gyffredinol yw mai bardd o Landderfel ym Meirionnydd ydoedd, ond ni cheir sicrwydd ynghylch hynny, gw. Johnston 2005, 256 troednodyn 116.

[7] Oxford English Dictionary Online 2000–, s.v. *crowdfunding*. Ni cheir cofnod ar gyfer y gair ar wefan BydTermCymru (2015–) nac ar unrhyw wefan eiriadurol swyddogol arall yn Gymraeg, ond y tebyg yw fod 'ariannu torfol' neu 'torfgyllido' yn agos ati.

[8] Cf. enghraifft o ariannu torfol er mwyn cyhoeddi llyfr yn y flwyddyn 1926, a drafodir yng nghyd-destun ariannu torfol diweddar yn Morris 2011.

[9] Walker 2011.

[10] Walker 2011.

[11] Ar bererindotwyr o Gymry dramor, gw. Olson 2008.

[12] Johnston 1995, cerdd 90, yn arbennig linellau 47–50 *Fy swydd fal arglwydd o'i lys / o'r blaen yn nhre Bawlinys, / coffáu Pedr rhag cwympau cam, / a Phawl, a choffáu Wiliam.*

[13] Yn ogystal â'r ddwy gerdd hynny, ymddengys fod Huw wedi canu tair cerdd fawl i Ieuan, gw. Lake 2014, 67–8.

[14] Harries 1953, cerdd XXIX; Lewis 2015, cerdd 16.

[15] Lewis 2015, cerdd 16, llinellau 85–90 (aralleiriad gan Eurig Salisbury).

[16] Harries 1953, cerdd XXX, llinellau 5–8 (aralleiriad gan Eurig Salisbury).

[17] Ceir tri adeilad sy'n dwyn yr enw Peutun yn ardal Llanddew heddiw, ac fe ymddengys mai yn y Peutun-gwyn, yn hytrach na'r Peutun-glas neu'r Peutun-du, yr oedd cartref Ieuan, gw. Jones and Smith 1965, 11–15; Jones 1968/9, 114–15.

[18] Ceir lluniau o safon uchel o ddalennau Peniarth 54 ar wefan Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru, gw. LlGC Dafydd ap Gwilym a'r Cywyddwyr 2015–. Ymhellach ar y llawysgrif, gw. Huws 2002, 95–6; dafyddapgwilym.net 2007–, 'Traddodiad y Llawysgrifau' 6.

[19] Am gywyddau i Gynog gan Hywel Dafi a Dafydd Epynt, gw. Lewis 2015, cerddi 14 a 15. Ymhellach ar y sant, gw. Evans and Francis 1994, 15–24.

[20] Ceir cywydd enwog ond ansicr ei awduraeth i'r grog yn Aberhonddu, a allai fod yn waith Huw Cae Llwyd neu, yn fwy tebygol efallai, Ieuan Brydydd Hir, gw. Harries 1953, cerdd XLIV; Bryant-Quinn 2000, cerdd 12. Ceir mawl i'r grog mewn cywyddau eraill gan Ieuan ap Huw Cae

Llwyd, Siôn Ceri a Llywelyn ap Morgan, gw. Harries 1953, cerdd LI; Lake 1996, cerdd 54; Bryant-Quinn 2010. Ymhellach ar y grog, gw. Parri 2003, 19–36.

[21] Cysegrwyd chwe eglwys i Gynog ym Mrycheiniog, ond mae'n sicr mai'r gysegrfan enwocaf oedd Merthyr Cynog yn y mynydd-dir rhwng Aberhonddu a Llanwrtyd. Mae'r eglwysi a gysegrwyd i Fihangel yn cynnwys Cathedin, Llanfihangel Cwm Du, Llanfihangel Fechan, Llanfihangel Nant Brân a Llanfihangel Tal-y-llyn. Cysegrwyd nifer o eglwysi i Gynidr yntau, ond un yn unig sy'n dwyn ei enw bellach, sef Llangynidr i'r gorllewin o Grucywel, a gysegrwyd iddo ef ac i Fair.

[22] Os gŵyr unrhyw un o ddarllenwyr *Brycheiniog* am gysegrfan y gellid ei chysylltu ag unrhyw un o'r seintiau hyn, byddwn yn gwerthfawrogi'n fawr pe baent yn dod i gysylltiad â mi, gw. y cyfeiriad ebost ar ddiwedd yr erthygl hon.

[23] Diddorol yw cymharu'r elfen hon â'r defnydd o wneid o afonydd mewn cerddi mawl a marwnad er mwyn cyfleu ymlyniad noddwr wrth ei fro a'i enwogrwydd mewn broydd eraill ynghyd â'i awdurdod drostynt, gw. Lewis 2008, 12–17; Salisbury a Griffiths 2013, 436–42.

[24] Yn ogystal â'r arfer o enwi hynafiaid noddwr mewn cerddi mawl, ceir rhai cerddi eraill achlysurol ac ynddynt elfen gref o restru enwau priod, cf. awdl Gwynfardd Brycheiniog i Ddewi, lle enwir nifer fawr o eglwysi a gysegrwyd i'r sant yn y de, Bramley *et al.* 1994, cerdd 26; awdl gan Iocyn Ddu ab Ithel Grach yn enwi nifer o enwau llefydd yn Nyffryn Clwyd, Lewis a Morys 2007, cerdd 18; cywydd Iolo Goch, 'Ymddiddan yr Enaid a'r Corff', lle enwir cyfres o leoliadau sy'n ffurfio cylch clera o'r gogledd-ddwyrain i'r de-ddwyrain ac yn ôl, Johnston 1988, cerdd XIV.

[25] Harries 1953, cerdd XXXIV, llinellau 1–12 (aralleiriad gan Eurig Salisbury).

[26] Johnston 1988, cerdd VIII, llinellau 15–40 (dyfynnir llinellau 25–38; aralleiriad gan Eurig Salisbury).

[27] Evans 2007, cerdd 4, llinellau 7–84 (dyfynnir llinellau 75–84; aralleiriad gan Eurig Salisbury).

[28] Ceir rhai cerddi eraill lle rhestrir enwau seintiau nas cynhwyswyd yn yr astudiaeth hon am wahanol resymau, cf. cywydd Lewys Glyn Cothi i seintiau Cymru y ceir ynddo nifer o linellau anorffenedig, Johnston 1995, cerdd 7; gosteg o englynion i fisoedd y flwyddyn gan Ddafydd ab Edmwnd, lle enwir pob sant yn ôl y mis pan ddigwydd ei ŵyl (nid oes ar gael ond testun diplomatig o'r gerdd gyda rhai amrywiadau yn Roberts 1914, cerdd LXIII); awdl gan Rys Nanmor lle gelwir ar gymorth nifer o seintiau i iacháu Syr Rhys ap Tomas (ni cheir ond golygiad bras o'r gerdd yn Headley 1938, cerdd 67).

[29] dafyddapgwilym.net 2007–, cerdd 4, llinellau 21–38.

[30] Johnston 1988, cerdd XXVII, llinellau 1–46 (dyfynnir llinellau 1–8; aralleiriad gan Eurig Salisbury).

[31] Ceir Paul yn lle Jwdas yng nghywydd Dafydd, ond Mathïas sy'n cymryd lle'r disgybl melltigedig yng nghywydd Iolo. At hynny, un enghraifft o *Iago* a geir yng nghywydd Iolo, er cyfeirio at y ddau, ac enwir Tomas ddwywaith. Yr unigolion eraill a enwir yw Mair a Duw (ddwywaith yr un), Crist a gŵr o'r enw Edmwnt yr honnir ei fod yn un o hynafiaid Simwnt.

[32] Bryant-Quinn 2003, cerdd 6, llinellau 19–44 (dyfynnir llinellau 19–26; aralleiriad gan Eurig Salisbury). Golygir y gerdd hon fel rhan o brosiect Cwlt y Seintiau yng Nghymru 2015–.

[33] gutorglyn.net 2013–, cerdd 92, llinellau 47–62.

[34] Ymhellach ar y lleoliadau hyn, gw. gutorglyn.net 2013–, 'Nodiadau Esboniadol' cerdd 92.

[35] gutorglyn.net 2013–, cerdd 69, llinellau 41–52.

[36] Johnston 1995, cerdd 141, llinellau 9–22 (dyfynnir llinellau 9–24; aralleiriad gan Eurig Salisbury). Ymhellach ar leoliadau'r eglwysi a gysegrwyd i'r seintiau hyn, gw. Johnston 1995, 593.

[37] Canwyd cywyddau mawl i Frycheiniog gan Siôn Cent, Hywel Dafi a Llawdden, gw. Lewis *et al.* 1937, cerdd LXXXIX; Lake 2015, cerdd 59; Daniel 2006, cerdd 18. Ymhellach ar gerddi i froydd, gw. y gerdd gynharaf, o bosibl, o'r math hwnnw, sef cywydd mawl i Fôn gan Ruffudd Gryg yn Lewis a Salisbury 2010, cerdd 8 a'r nodiadau arni.

[38] Lake 2015, cerdd 71, llinellau 33–88 (dyfynnir llinellau 73–84; aralleiriad gan Eurig Salisbury). Yn ogystal â'r unigolion crefyddol, enwir Lewys XI (brenin Ffrainc), Coel Hen a Rhodri ap Merfyn Frych.

[39] Roberts and Williams 1923, cerdd XVII, llinellau 33–68 (dyfynnir llinellau 37–48; diweddarwyd yr orgraff a'r atalnodi; aralleiriad gan Eurig Salisbury).

[40] Morris-Jones 1925, 355.

[41] Morris-Jones 1925, 339–40.

[42] Kickstarter Stats 2015–.

[43] Bydd golygiad llawn o'r gerdd hon yn ymddangos yn 2017 ar wefan prosiect Cwlt y Seintiau yng Nghymru 2015–.

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Mae **Eurig Salisbury** yn ddarlithydd yn Adran y Gymraeg ym Mhrifysgol Aberystwyth, ac yn ymchwilydd ar brosiect Cwlt y Seintiau yng Nghymru yng Nghanolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd Prifysgol Cymru. Mae ei gyhoeddiadau academaidd yn cynnwys golygiadau o waith beirdd y bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg a'r bymthegfed ganrif (*Gwaith Gruffudd Gryg*, 2011, ar y cyd â B.J. Lewis; www.gutorglyn.net, 2013). Mae hefyd yn fardd, a chyhoeddodd ei gyfrol gyntaf o farddoniaeth, *Llyfr Glas Eurig*, yn 2008.

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ABSTRACT

This paper views a poem by Huw Cae Llwyd (*fl.* 1431–1504), in which he praises a total of 42 saints associated with Brycheiniog, as a marketing tool to raise money for the poet's pilgrimage to Rome in 1475. It is argued that this remarkable poem was engineered to amaze, spreading Huw's fame as a poet throughout the region by way of the numerous shrines associated with the saints, and endearing him to his audience as a skillful poet whose venture deserved to be financed so that he could well pray for their souls in the churches of Rome. Huw's feat is measured against similar attempts to form complex lists of names in *cynghanedd* by other poets. A full translation of this article can be found at www.brecknocksociety.co.uk.

WILFRED DE WINTON: CHURCH AND CHINA IN EDWARDIAN WALES

OLIVER FAIRCLOUGH

Introduction

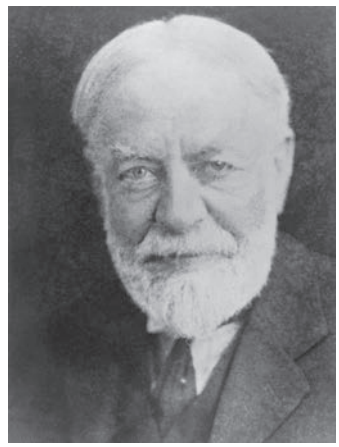

Fig. 1 Wilfred Seymour de Winton (1856–1929).
Photograph, about 1920 by O. Jackson, Brecon.

Wilfred Seymour de Winton (Fig. 1) who was born in Brecon in 1856 was one of the most active and influential lay members in the Anglican Church in Wales from his election to the Canterbury House of Laymen in 1886 until his death in 1929. He appears frequently in the newspapers of the day as a speaker at public and church meetings. A High Churchman, he was conservative in matters of doctrine, but sought to strengthen the Church through its reform – especially the development of self-government by its members and an increase in the number of Bishops, which had remained unchanged at four since the Reformation. In 1923 he achieved what was perhaps the chief ambition of his life, the transformation of the Priory Church at Brecon into the Cathedral of a new See to be formed from the Eastern part of the Diocese of St David's. Two years later he also purchased and gave to the new Cathedral the adjacent Priory House and its outbuildings.

His other great passion was his collection of eighteenth century European porcelain, and he was to give and bequeath around 4,000 pieces to the recently founded National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.[1] This collection contains many pieces of great beauty and rarity, but de Winton did not collect porcelain primarily for its aesthetic qualities or the artistry of its makers. He seems to have been motivated more by a typically Victorian drive to categorise and classify – literally to map early European porcelain, and to create a taxonomy of it. The de Winton collection was to have a significant influence on the development of the National Museum which is today one of Britain's principal centres for the study of ceramics.[2]

Family Background and Upbringing

Wilfred de Winton's story starts in 1778, three-quarters of a century before his birth, with the establishment of the bank of Wilkins and Co at Brecon, soon better known as the Brecon Old Bank.[3] Its four partners included the brothers Walter Wilkins (1741–1828) of Maes-llwch, Radnorshire, and Wilfred's great grandfather Jeffreys Wilkins (1748–1819) of the Priory,

Brecon. They were the sons of John Wilkins (1713–1784), a Brecon lawyer, and his wife Sybil Jeffreys, and both had recently returned from India with profits to invest in land and local enterprise. Each of the partners supplied a quarter of the bank's original capital of £4,000. Under the leadership of Jeffreys' son, John Parry Wilkins (1778–1861), who was Wilfred's grandfather, the bank prospered, opening branches in Merthyr in 1812, and in Cardigan, Carmarthen and Haverfordwest by 1834. The bank had a significant influence on the economic development of south Wales in the nineteenth century. It was a major financial institution that not only provided finance for a wide range of major business ventures but also extended banking services throughout the area. It was, in summary, for about a century, the most important banking partnership in south Wales.

John Parry Wilkins and his whole family resumed their ancestral surname of de Winton in 1839. When he died in 1861, his eldest son William de Winton (1823–1907) became the senior family partner in the bank, which continued to prosper, though its greatest days were past. It was eventually sold to Lloyds Bank in 1890.

Wilfred de Winton was born in the Priory House, Brecon, on 17 March 1856 to William de Winton and his wife Hepzibah, the daughter of Sir Lancelot Shadwell, a senior Chancery judge. They had married in 1852 and they had two surviving children, Wilfred and Fanny. Hepzibah, from whom Wilfrid inherited a love of music and strong High Church principles, died in 1862 when he was just six years old, and a couple of years later his father re-married and had another nine children. Wilfred seems to have been very close to his stepmother, Mary Harding.

When Wilfred was a small child the family lived mostly at the Priory House in Brecon, leased from Lord Camden. They moved out to Tŷ Mawr, an early nineteenth century Gothic villa (Fig. 2), in nearby Llanfrynach, three miles to the south-east, during the summer – it is said to escape the smell of the Priory's drains.[4] In or about 1861, they surrendered the Priory House lease. Tŷ Mawr adjoins the parish church of St Brynach, the nave and chancel of which were rebuilt in 1855–56 in correct Ecclesiological gothic.[5] Hepzibah played the harmonium in the church, where the de Wintons sat in the chancel, and followed the then unusual practice of standing and turning to the East for the Creed.[6] Wilfred was sent away to school at St Andrew's College, Bradfield, in Berkshire, recently established by a Tractarian clergyman called Thomas Stevens, who served as Warden of the school. His headmasters were the Rev. Henry Hayman 'a High Churchman of a strongly conservative type' and Dr J. S. Hodson.[7] At Bradfield, Wilfred seems to have developed a love of the theology and liturgy of the Anglican Church, which was to colour the rest of his life. One might have expected him to go on to Oxford (he wrote himself that he could not afford the time for residence),[8] but

Fig. 2 Tŷ Mawr, Llanfrynach, watercolour and pencil on paper, Alice de Winton, 1885. National Library of Wales, 004441110. (Copyright Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru-National Library of Wales).

instead he was to study music at Trinity College, Dublin. Music was very important to him – he played the piano, harpsichord and organ, and oversaw the Llanfrynach Church choir.[9]

A flair for banking and a dedication to the Church

Whether Wilfred had ever hoped to become a clergyman is unclear. His great-uncle Henry de Winton (1823–1895) was Vicar of Boughrood and Archdeacon of Brecon,[10] and his younger half-brother, the Rev. J. Jeffreys de Winton, was later vicar of Hay,[11] but Wilfred is said to have been the only one of his generation with a real flair for banking. He joined the family bank as a partner in 1876, beginning his career in the Cardiff High Street branch. He lived in Llandaff where he 'imbibed a keen interest in Church music and architecture'[12] and acted as assistant organist at the Cathedral. After five years in Cardiff he transferred to the Haverfordwest branch. Unlike his half-brothers he did not marry. As well as hunting two days a week with the Pembrokeshire Hunt he devoted much time to Church affairs, acting as churchwarden, organist, Sunday school superintendent and parish clerk at St Martin's Church in the town, and helping (in 1884) to establish the St David's Diocesan Fund to improve clergy stipends. He was a vocal opponent of the movement for the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales

for which all the nonconformist churches had been campaigning since the 1860s, and he put into practice a number of Tractarian principles, for example purchasing the advowson of St Martin's Haverfordwest and giving it to parish trustees. He also argued for the abolition of that 'crude anachronism pew rent'.[13] More specifically he campaigned for an increase in the number of Bishops in Wales, arguing that the four ancient sees were no longer adequate to the needs of a much larger population. At the heart of his thinking was the division of the diocese of St David's, which then covered much of south Wales from Pembrokeshire to the Herefordshire border, with a new bishopric at Brecon to serve its eastern half.[14] This was agreed in principle in 1889, and by 1894 Wilfred had secured pledges of £11,000 towards the endowment of the new diocese. However the gradual move towards Disestablishment meant that this was only achieved in 1923.

In 1899 he was elected treasurer of the Church Reform League, founded in 1895, which sought to establish representative bodies at all levels of the Anglican Church, as well as the abolition of lay patronage,[15] and the ending of episcopal appointments by the crown. As a young man he was a Liberal Unionist, but later moved to the Right, becoming a member of the High Tory St Stephen's Club.

When, in 1890, Wilkins and Co was bought by Lloyds Bank, it is understood that the three partners at the time (Wilfred, his father William and David Evans of Ffrwdgrech), collectively received £350,000 in shares and cash, although it is not known how the money was apportioned. Wilfred, along with his father, remained with the bank, becoming a director of Lloyds in July 1909. Following the take-over, he worked for a while in Gloucester, but by 1901 he was once again working in Cardiff and living in Llandaff.[16] At this time he became closely involved in the fortunes of the troubled Tractarian theological college of St Michael's which had been founded in Aberdare in 1892. De Winton used his own money and that of wealthy high Church supporters, including Miss Emily Talbot of Margam, to force through its move from Aberdare to Llandaff in 1903–4.[17] From 1909 he was dividing his time between London[18] and Llanfrynach, and was more active than ever in Church affairs at a national level.

His friend Edward Latham Bevan (1861–1934), the first bishop of Swansea and Brecon, wrote of him after his death:

> His life in London was marked by rigid self-denial. Only in the last few years had he allowed himself to lodge in comfortable quarters. For many years his dinner in London used to consist of a shilling plate of cold roast beef in a most depressing refreshment room in the basement of a Westminster Hotel. Up to the beginning of the present year, he was to be found every Wednesday evening at King's Cross Station. Reaching Edinburgh in the early morning he attended the Eucharist, had breakfast, sat at Board Meetings, enjoyed an afternoon walk on the hills and

> arrived back in London in the early morning of Friday in time for his London Board. For the services he rendered in Scotland a substantial cheque reached him half yearly, and this he forthwith dispatched to me, thereby providing the entire stipend of a Diocesan Missioner.[19]

This austere word picture of the public man is tempered by one of his great nieces who remembered him from her childhood as eccentric and somewhat terrifying, but also as kindly and as a giver of exciting presents.[20]

A passion for Ceramics

While church affairs must have occupied much of de Winton's free time, and were clearly pursued with obsessive energy, he also travelled widely in Europe, and made one journey to Japan.[21] According to an obituarist in the Western Mail 'it was during his walking tours in Europe that he got together, piece by piece, unique groups of old china, which has made his name familiar throughout the world amongst art collectors'. Why and how de Winton first became interested in ceramics in unclear, and there was no family tradition of art collecting. However the collecting of ceramics in Britain has a long history, and was quite widespread in late nineteenth century Wales. Oriental porcelain from China and subsequently from Japan had been prized in Britain since the sixteenth century, and by 1700 was arriving here in significant quantity. Porcelain's hard white translucent body, luminously painted in underglaze cobalt blue or brightly coloured enamels, seemed infinitely superior to the lower-fired European earthenwares and stonewares of the day.[22] The connoisseurship of 'old' porcelain was developing among members of the elite by the 1750s, and its collecting was a hobby pursued primarily by aristocratic women, before coming more general after 1800. This enthusiasm soon extended to the porcelains made in Europe during the eighteenth century. Before 1700, no European knew how porcelain was made in the East or what materials were used in its manufacture. It could be imitated by combining white clays with ground glass to produce what is called soft-paste or artificial porcelain, but the first real or hard-paste European porcelain was developed in Saxony in the first decade of the eighteenth century. Its composition was a closely guarded secret and porcelain manufacture took several more decades to spread across Europe. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Britain's Prince Regent and members of his circle were connoisseurs of ceramics, especially of *ancien regime* French porcelain, and specialist dealers and publications on 'old china' had created a developed collectors' market by the time de Winton was born in 1856. Understanding of these wares – technical, historical and aesthetic – was to be transformed by the rise of the applied art museum across Europe, notably the South Kensington Museum (opened 1857, renamed the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1899) and its equivalents in Berlin, Paris and Vienna.

Several significant Welsh collectors of porcelain were active during the second half of the nineteenth century, notably Lady Charlotte Guest (1812–1895) who scoured Europe with her second husband Charles Schreiber in search of rare pieces. Her English porcelains are in the Victoria and Albert Museum,[23] but an almost equally largely collection of continental wares was later dispersed. There is no evidence that de Winton knew Charlotte Schreiber or her friends and fellow collectors the industrialist George T Clark (1809–1898) and his wife Ann who lived at Talygarn, near Cardiff, but he would have been aware of their activities. There was also a strong local pride in south Wales in the short-lived early nineteenth century porcelain factories of Swansea and Nantgarw, and several dozen collectors of these Welsh porcelains were active by 1897.[24]

De Winton seems to have begun to collect in the early 1890s (he bought pieces at auction at Christie's in 1892) when the sale of the family bank to Lloyds increased his personal wealth. He started, as one might expect, with English and Welsh porcelain, acquiring mid-eighteenth century wares from Chelsea, Bow, Derby and other English factories, together with Wedgwood stonewares, and pieces from, or thought to be from, Swansea and Nantgarw. Fig. 3 is an extremely rare 'cabaret' tea service made at the Swansea China Works in 1817, but lavishly painted and gilded in London. However his was

Fig. 3 Cabaret tea service, soft-paste porcelain, Swansea, painted in London, 1817. Length of tray: 47.6 cm.

NMW A 30119–30124. (Courtesy of the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.)

to be a distinctly unusual collection. In the summer of 1901 when he was living in Llandaff, he became friends with the Cardiff chemist and antiquarian Robert Drane, a key figure in the early history of the Cardiff Museum, and himself a keen collector of eighteenth century Worcester porcelain.[25] Drane has been credited with inventing 'comparative collecting'. In his collection of Worcester porcelain, he did not just acquire pieces from the Worcester factory, he sought to own its prototypes and to illustrate the development of its shapes and patterns, in order to understand fully its achievement. De Winton seems to have decided that his goal was be even more ambitious – to present and thereby understand the complete development of porcelain across both Britain and Europe from its origins around 1710 until the 1790s. De Winton shared with Robert Drane a preoccupation with factory marks, and in addition to his British pieces, he was to obtain examples of marked pieces from nearly every European factory of the eighteenth century from Marieburg in Sweden, to Naples in the south of Italy, and from Vista Alegre in Portugal to Moscow. These include some great rarities such as a cup of around 1770 from the small Ottweiler factory in Nassau-Saarbrücken and a snuff box with an incised A-mark which de Winton thought was Italian but which is now believed to be English and one of the very first pieces from the Bow factory in the early 1740s. Also like Drane, he

Fig. 4 Cabaret tea service, hard-paste porcelain, Locré et Russinger factory, La Courtille, Paris, c.1775–80. Length of tray: 34.3 cm.

NMW A 37071–37076. (Courtesy of the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.)

was interested in the spread of shapes and patterns from one factory to another, and in the interweaving and interdependence of decorative motifs. His collection therefore includes examples of Chinese export wares that inspired European makers, as well as later Chinese wares that copy European design sources.

The hard-paste porcelain cabaret tea service of about 1780, illustrated in Fig. 4, is a good example of de Winton's approach to collecting. He bought this in Amsterdam in 1902. Its shapes and decoration are derived from those used at the French royal factory at Sevres, but it was actually made by the partnership of Locré and Russinger at La Courtille, Paris. It bears the crossed arrows mark used by Locré, the self-styled 'manufacture de porcelaine allemande', in imitation of the crossed swords of Meissen. This Paris factory was unknown in 1902 but de Winton perceptively noted of the cabaret, 'not Dresden but Niderviller or French'. On his instructions the National Museum was later to compile a card index of his collection categorised by decoration. This contains thirteen categories which establish the main subject of the decoration – 'flowers', 'painted birds', 'painted landscapes', 'painted figures', 'blue underglaze', 'monochrome', 'Chinese ornament' and so on. These are then further divided into no less than 73 sub-categories. For example the 'painted landscape' category is broken down into sub-categories for objects with line borders, objects with ornamental borders, objects with pierced or moulded borders and so on. Within these sub-categories the objects are then ordered alphabetically according to the factory. This index therefore classifies the whole of the collection according to decorative type and one can see how the same decorative motifs were used at different factories. It also suggests that de Winton was motivated less by aesthetics than by a Victorian drive to categorise and classify – literally to map the whole of European porcelain production and to create a taxonomy of it.

Fig. 5 Coffee pot, hard-paste porcelain, Weesp, Netherlands, 1760–70. Height: 22 cm).
NMW A 33189. (Courtesy of the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.)

The collection is very large, comprising about 4,000 pieces and rivalling the Schreiber Collection in size. De Winton made no catalogue of it, and no correspondence with dealers survives.

He sometimes labelled his pieces to record where he had bought them, the date of purchase and what he paid for the item. Other pieces bear labels attached by dealers including their name and address.

Although de Winton was a frequent foreign traveller it appears that he did not acquire many pieces of porcelain abroad but instead purchased mainly in Britain, either from dealers or at auction. He bought primarily in London where he purchased from dealers such as Simmons in New Oxford Street, Stoner and Evans, Hyam, and Alfred Spero. He also made purchases in Brighton. It is only his extraordinarily rich collection of Dutch porcelain that was largely purchased in its country of origin.[26]

He confined himself almost entirely to tablewares, such as plates, cups and saucers, teapots, and was almost completely uninterested in porcelain sculpture – in figures or ornamental vases. Some rare factories obviously had an especial appeal, to him such as Ansbach in Germany and Weesp (Fig. 5) in the Netherlands, but the collection is relatively weak in others of similar stature, such as Frankenthal and Tournai. Unusually for a collector of this period, he showed little interest in the exquisite soft-paste porcelains of the French royal factory of Sèvres – probably because these were costly and keenly sought. De Winton rarely spent as much as £50 on a single object, and most pieces were bought for much less. He was also unusual in that he

Fig. 6 Centrepiece (plat de ménage), hard-paste porcelain, Ansbach, Germany, c.1767. Height: 36.5 cm. NMW A 35547–35553. (Courtesy of the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.)

Fig. 7 Coffee pot, hard-paste porcelain with copper gilt mounts, Meissen, Germany, 1715–20. Height: 21.4 cm. NMW A 30133. (Courtesy of the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.)

had an almost total disregard for the condition of the objects he acquired and would happily purchase damaged pieces, which sometimes meant that he acquired rarities ignored by more fastidious collectors. The Ansbach centrepiece in Fig. 6 was already damaged and repaired when de Winton bought it, but it is now known to be an important and rare example of its type.[27]

At the beginning of the twentieth century, very little had been written in English on German ceramics.[28] De Winton's collection suggests that he had a curious and perceptive eye (although he did make some mistakes acquiring a number of what we now know to be forgeries or redecorated pieces). Thus he recognised and appreciated the very early undecorated (Fig. 7) and unmarked (Fig. 8) porcelains made at Meissen in the 1710s and the factory's early painted wares of the subsequent decade. The teapot in Fig. 9, bought in 1919 for £35, is decorated with chinoiserie figures after a drawing by the factory's most celebrated painter, Johann Gregorius Höroldt, and may be his work.

In 1901 de Winton gave a small group of Welsh ceramics to the Cardiff Museum in Trinity Street, and further gifts, both of Welsh porcelain and of Wedgwood and other Staffordshire stonewares soon followed (Fig. 10). In 1905 he placed a larger group of 73 mid-eighteenth century English porcelains from Chelsea (Fig. 11) and Bow on loan.[29] With Robert Drane, he was one the Cardiff Museum's panel of honorary curators between 1902 and 1912,[30] when the Cardiff municipal collections were merged with those of the recently founded National Museum of Wales. At this point he decided that the National Museum should be the future home of his collection. This was a decision of great generosity. Many of the National Museum's founders were members of Wales's Liberal Nonconformist elite and supporters of Church disestablishment, and thus not natural allies of de Winton. Furthermore the museum's declared purpose was primarily to study the archaeology, art, history, and natural sciences of Wales, rather than that of the wider world. However it took a decade for the new museum to evolve out of the old, and,

Fig. 8 Left: Chocolate cup and saucer, hard-paste porcelain, Meissen, Germany, 1718–20. Height: 6.8 cm (cup). Diameter: 12 cm (saucer).

NMW A 33223. (Courtesy of the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.)

Fig. 9 Teapot, hard-paste porcelain, Meissen, Germany, c.1723–5, perhaps painted by Johann Gregorius Höroldt. Height: 12.2 cm.

NMW A 32630. (Courtesy of the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.)

Fig. 10 The Welsh ceramics display at the Cardiff Museum in about 1905, including pieces given by Wilfred de Winton. (Courtesy of the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.)

Fig. 11 Dessert dish, soft-pate porcelain, painted in imitation of Japanese Imari wares, Chelsea, England, c.1752–58, from de Winton's 1905 loan to the Cardiff Museum. Diameter: 18.2 cm. NMW A 34673. (Courtesy of the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.)

during that time, John Ward, curator of the Cardiff Museum since 1893, remained in his old role at Trinity Street, while also serving as the National Museum's first keeper of Archaeology.

Ward was to be deluged in a veritable flood of porcelain over the next few years. De Winton began in 1912 by offering a loan of 150 pieces of Continental European porcelain to complement his earlier English and Welsh loans. That number was soon passed – Ward reported in December 1913 that de Winton had added 'several fine early examples of Dresden ... his cherished pieces ... he was so pleased with the set up that he felt constrained to bring them'.[31] By 1914 the loan had grown to around 850 pieces. Ward was fast running out of space. He was also aware of his own lack of knowledge, and noting that Mr de Winton did not claim to be 'an expert' he worried that 'some pieces are as yet of doubtful origin'. His fears were allayed by Bernard Rackham (1876–1964), recently appointed Keeper of Ceramics at the Victoria and Albert Museum, who had been approached by de Winton to supply 'advice that he cannot obtain locally on the classification of the collection'.[32] Rackham described the collection to his own Director as 'chiefly German and Dutch porcelain, being noticeably strong in the latter, and comprises a very representative collection of the useful wares (as distinct from vases and figures) made in all the various factories.' He also persuaded de Winton to let him have 26 duplicate pieces for the Victoria and Albert Museum and more were to follow over the next five years.[33]

More and more pots arrived at Trinity Street, and by the end of 1916 the loan comprised 2,400 pieces. At this point de Winton formally offered to convert the loan into a gift, also promising to bequeath that part of the collection he intended to retain at Tŷ Mawr or in his London house. Although the National Museum already had a major collection of Welsh ceramics and some English comparative wares, acceptance would mean that European porcelains, and especially German ones, would be the largest element of the ceramics collection. This placed the museum in a dilemma. Britain was then at war with Germany, and in the words of Lord Pontypridd, its first President, the museum's primary purpose was to teach the world about Wales, and the Welsh people about their fatherland. The museum was also a potential recipient of church endowments under the Welsh Churches Act of 1914, and de Winton insisted that his gift should be conditional on the museum 'not taking a penny of the money stolen from the Church'.[34] On the other hand, the gift was a spectacular one, and also included important Welsh and English wares. The Director of the National Museum consulted Bernard Rackham again who confirmed that:

> The National Museum of Wales now possesses in the de Winton collection the best public collection in this Kingdom of continental porcelain, other than figures . . . The French section is perhaps rather weak, particularly in Sèvres porcelain, of

> which really good specimens are now difficult to obtain. On the other hand, the sections of German porcelain, especially early Meissen and some of the minor factories, such as Ansbach and Ludwigsburg, and the Dutch section is particularly strong. I doubt whether any museum in Holland has a better collection of the last … As regards German wares, Mr de Winton has been particularly fortunate in securing so many examples of the very interesting experimental work done at Meissen during the lifetime of its founder Böttger . . . Students of Continental porcelain, particularly German, Dutch and Italian, must now make a pilgrimage to Cardiff . . . to complete their knowledge . . .[35]

The collection was therefore accepted in early in 1918, and passed into the care of the Museum's department of Art, where it remains almost a century later. De Winton continued to add to the collection, acquiring new pieces every few months. He also occasionally brought friends to see it in its new home, and he maintained an interest in Rackham's continuing work on the attribution of early English wares. When the first stage of the new National Museum building was completed in 1922, the de Winton collection made a short journey across Cardiff and was installed in glazed cabinets around the balconies of the museum's de Winton Room (Fig. 12), a tall airy space above the Print Room. Here it remained as a taxonomic display of European porcelain 'characteristic of the sequence of output' until it was removed to safe storage during the Second World War. Now integrated into the

Fig. 12 The de Winton room at the National Museum of Wales, 1920s, showing the collection arranged according to de Winton's wishes.

(Courtesy of the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.)

Museum's wider holdings of ceramics, the de Winton collection is still an essential resource for porcelain experts from all over the world.

Satisfaction in later life: the creation of the Diocese of Swansea and Brecon

While continuing to serve as a director of both Lloyd's Bank and the Royal Bank of Scotland, de Winton continued actively with his work for the Church. This included chairmanship of the executive of the Church Reform League, chairmanship of the Free and Open Church Association,[36] and the vice-presidency of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He was deeply involved in the development of the Governing Body of the disestablished Church in Wales following the passing of the Welsh Churches Act of 1914, and when it came into being in 1920, he was a leading member of that organisation, also serving on most of its principal sub-committees.

As indicated above, at disestablishment, the Church lost part of its income and some of its endowments. The Church in Wales Million Appeal Fund was launched in 1920 to rectify the situation and de Winton was one of the organisers of this appeal, contributing £6,750 himself, plus a further £500 annually.[37]

Fig. 13 Memorial to Wilfred de Winton in the chapel of St Lawrence, Brecon Cathedral.

Soon afterwards came the goal he had pursued for nearly forty years: the formation in 1923 of the new Diocese of Swansea and Brecon with its Cathedral in the Priory Church in Brecon. He paid for the restoration of the Cathedral's then ruinous chapel of St Lawrence, which contains his memorial (Fig. 13). W. D. Caroe's carved oak reredos there is dedicated to him.

The Priory House in which de Winton had been born lay just to the south of the new Cathedral. It had originally formed the prior's lodgings and had been alienated from the Church at the Reformation. An account of the building and of its various occupants can be found in 'From Priory to Priory House', in a booklet published to mark the 900th anniversary of the

Cathedral.[38] In 1925 de Winton took much pleasure in buying the Priory House and its outbuildings from the Cobb family for £5,000 and returning them all to the Church's possession. The former monastic west range now forms the Vestries, Deanery and Choir Room while the main building now houses the Cathedral offices, Chapter House and Diocesan Centre. It includes the 'de Winton room' in which Wilfrid was born and where, above the fireplace, there is a small plaque to his memory.

As de Winton had hoped, his friend Edward Latham Bevan was elected its first Bishop. Bevan later wrote of this period in de Winton's life:

> The achievement of his heart's desire brought him unbounded happiness. The Diocese was established on June 24th, 1923. The grounds and buildings by which the Cathedral was surrounded were repurchased in 1925, and structurally restored in the following year. Mr de Winton has made it his practice to come here for a brief visit three or four times (of which Easter has been one) during each recent year, and it has been a delight to mark the unalloyed happiness with which he has spent hours wandering in and about the Cathedral and its recovered territory. He would not attend the great service that was held to mark the restoration of the buildings, in dread lest attention might in any way be called to his share in the achievement. 'I am more likely' he wrote 'to travel to London to attend to my duties there. I say my own Doxology daily, at least once for the wonderful realisation of our hopes. The last years have been almost uninterrupted happiness, increasing day by day'.[39]

Wilfred de Winton died in Brighton on 24 April 1929, after suffering a fall. In accordance with his wishes, his body was cremated, and his ashes were buried in the Cathedral garth in Brecon.[40] At his death he left the residue of his property as an endowment for another proposed Welsh diocese with a cathedral at Llanbadarn, near Aberystwyth, and if this was not realised for the endowment of new dioceses abroad.[41]

The Western Mail summed up the twin passions of his life in the opening paragraph of a lengthy obituary:

> Religion and art in Wales have suffered a real loss by the death in Brighton late on Wednesday of Mr Wilfred S de Winton of Tŷ Mawr, Llanfrynach, Brecon. For nearly half a century he was a leading figure in and one of the greatest benefactors of the Church in Wales, his gifts to it being estimated at £50,000. Good judges value his collection of ceramics at £25,000, and no fewer than 3,070 pieces are in the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, where they constitute probably the most representative groups of china ware in any public museum.[42]

Notes

[1] As a curator at Amgueddfa Cymru–National Museum Wales, the author was responsible for the de Winton collection from 1986 to 1998. For a fuller study of it, see Fairclough 1996. It is not easy to establish the full extent of Wilfred de Winton's donations. There are 3,405 entries in the National Museum's inventory of its de Winton collection, compiled in the 1920s. However some of these entries cover more than one object, and the inventory does not include the pieces that de Winton gave to its predecessor, the Cardiff Museum (also known as the Welsh Museum of Natural History, Arts and Antiquities) prior to 1912. He also made a number of gifts to the Victoria and Albert Museum.

[2] It also inspired the National Museum's exhibition, Arcanum: mapping 18th-century European porcelain, curated by the ceramicist Edmund de Waal in 2005.

[3] Roberts 1961. Loram n.d.

[4] John Parry de Winton was still living at Maesderwen, the house he had built on the other side of the village, and Tŷ Mawr had recently been acquired from the Clifton family. William de Winton gave up the lease of the Priory and moved there permanently in 1860.

[5] The de Winton family also gave Hardman's east window of 1861, an emotive and strongly coloured crucifixion, see Scourfield and Haslam 2013: 315–7.

[6] Letter, W. S. de Winton to Edward Latham Bevan, 5 October 1926 'My dear mother died when I was six but I remember her telling me if I was out of reach of a Church service never to go to Chapel, and when we sat in the chancel at Llanfrynach, where she played the harmonium, I was made to turn to the East for the Creed . . . ' National Library of Wales, NLW MS 13857B 6.

[7] Leach 1900: 188.

[8] Illustrated Church News, 13 January 1894: 263.

[9] Wilfred de Winton's arrangement of 'Deus Nobiscum' from, the Greek Horologion was included in Moorsom 1891. He writes elsewhere of his 'obsession re choirs and organs' and he played frequently on public occasions.

[10] Oliver 1985.

[11] J. Jeffreys de Winton's enthusiasm for steam trains was recently described by his grandson in Jamieson 2014.

[12] Illustrated Church News 13 January 1894: 263.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] "The Church in Wales: increase of the episcopate", a paper read before the Cardiff Church Congress, Wednesday, October 2nd, 1889 by Wilfred S. de Winton, M.A., Haroldston, Haverfordwest, a member of the House of Laymen, representing the Diocese of St. David.

[15] A lay patronage is established when an ecclesiastical office is endowed by anyone out of private means.

[16] He was appointed a General Reader in the diocese in September 1901 (National Library of Wales, Church in Wales: Diocese of Llandaf Episcopal 2, LL/LC/87). His Llandaff address was John Prichard's vigorously gothic Old Registry.

[17] Jones 1992. In an address at the College in 1894 de Winton had stressed the importance of the professional and technical training it would give to ordinands in the Welsh Church. In 1903 he gave the College its 2-acre site in Llandaff.

[18] His London address was 20 Great Peter Street, adjacent to the Anglo-Catholic church of St Matthew's, Westminster, and close to Church House. He later moved to 22 Longridge Road, Earl's Court.

[19] Edward Latham Bevan, typescript eulogy, 29 April 1929, corrected in pencil, National Library of Wales, NLW MS 13857B 50.

[20] Personal communication from Mrs F. D. Howard, de Winton collection archive, Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum Wales.

[21] Information from Mrs Susan Loram, letter of 30 October 1984, de Winton collection archive, Amgueddfa Cymru–National Museum Wales.

[22] Small amounts of Oriental porcelain are to be found in the inventories of Welsh gentry houses

from the end of the seventeenth century, for example in the Best Chamber and Closet at Tredegar in 1698. By 1764 Sir Thomas Stepney (1725–1772) had a spectacular collection of Chinese porcelain at Llanelly House, including a large dinner service painted with his coat of arms.

[23] For Lady Charlotte Schreiber, see Guest 1911, and the catalogues of her British pottery, porcelain, glass and enamels published by the Victoria and Albert Museum from 1915.

[24] For early collectors of Welsh ceramics see Turner 1897: 259–68. Turner lists 74 private collectors of Welsh porcelain known to him.

[25] Robert Drane's diary for 1901 (Glamorgan Record Office, D/D/ xi b 28) records de Winton's gift to him of a Worcester cup and saucer on 27 September. De Winton had subsequently hoped that Drane's Worcester collection would find a permanent home in the Cardiff Museum. However the collection was purchased after his death in 1914 by another occasional benefactor of the Cardiff Museum, the Neath industrialist Herbert Eccles, for whom see Gray 2011.

[26] Holsappel 2009.

[27] This model is described in the Ansbach factory's Preiss Courant of 1767 as 'Eine kleine plat de Menage, oben mit einem runden durchbrochenen Korb, in der Mitte und unten eine runde Schaale, worauf 2 Sucker-Streu-Büschen, 2 Senfft-Kännlein, 1 Oehl und 1 Eissig Kännlein.' De Winton's example bears the sixth and most expensive grade of decoration, and was priced at 200 Gulden. The tray is riveted, and kneeling figures of putti are missing from the covers of the sugar boxes, but no other example is known.

[28] Books in his library (now at the National Museum) included Ludwig Schnorr von Carolsfeld, Porzellan der Europäischen Fabriken des 18. Jahrhunderts, (Berlin: Richard Carl Schmidt & Co, 1912); J. G. Grasse, Führer für Sammler von Porzellan und Fayence . . . (Berlin: Richard Carl Scmidt & Co., 1910) a dictionary of marks which he bought in June 1913; Charles de Grollier, Manual de l'Amateur de Porcelaines: Manufactuers Européennes ... (Paris: Auguste Picard: 1914), Adolf Brünning, Porzellan, (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1907), the handbook to the collection in the Berlin Kunstgewerbemuseum; E. S. Auscher, A History and Description of French Porcelain, (London: Cassell & Co, 1905); Arthur Hayden, Royal Copenhagen Porcelain . . . (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1911).

[29] "A collection of Chelsea porcelain, with examples of Chelsea-Derby and Bow which consists of 73 examples (13 being figures) is lent to the Museum by Mr W. S. de Winton of Llandaff and is placed in a large case in the Natural History Room. It is varied and well-illustrates several phases of the famous Chelsea products", quoted in The Welsh Museum of Natural History, Arts and Antiquities Cardiff, Report for the Year ending March 31st 1905: 54.

[30] The Honorary curators acted as a group of experts, advising on acquisitions. De Winton rarely attended meetings, and may not have been an entirely friendly presence. In 1904 he formally complained to the Council that the temporary label on one of his gifts did not include details of the object's mark.

[31] John Ward to W Evans Hoyle, 30 December 1913, de Winton collection archive, Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum Wales.

[32] Rackham to Mr Wylde, 1 December 1914, de Winton Registry File, Victoria and Albert Museum archives.

[33] De Winton also gave 28 pieces of Lowestoft porcelain to the town's museum in 1917.

[34] De Winton Registry File, Victoria and Albert Museum archives. See also a confidential report, 20 October 1916, de Winton collection archive, Amgueddfa Cymru–National Museum Wales. The collection was not to be merged with the rest of the ceramics collection during his lifetime, and it was to retain its separate identity into the 1980s.

[35] Twelfth Annual Report Presented by the Council to the Court of Governors, Cardiff: National Museum of Wales, 1919: 24.

[36] These bodies merged in 1929 and became the Church Self-Government League.

[37] Western Mail, 26 April 1929.

[38] Friends of Brecon Cathedral 1994.

[39] Edward Latham Bevan, typescript eulogy, 29 April 1929, corrected in pencil, National Library of Wales, NLW MS 13857B 50.

[40] His parents and extended family are buried at Llanfrynach, but in a mock epitaph of 1926, he had written of himself:

> He was short
> Of stature, memory, means and temper
> He built a College
> Divided a diocese
> Recovered a Priory and
> Founded a Sisterhood [i.e. home for his sisters]
> His grandfather was thrice mated
> His father was twice mated
> His three brothers were once mated
> Himself was neither mated or remated but cremated.
>
> Letter to Bishop Bevan, 7 October 1926, NLW MS 13857B 27.

[41] The new Welsh Diocese did not, of course, go ahead.

[42] A final 830 pieces of porcelain then came to the National Museum from Tŷ Mawr. See note 20.

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PEN-Y-GAER ROMAN VICUS: EXCAVATION AND SURVEY 2006–2012

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ARTICLE CONTENTS

Introduction

Pen-y-gaer Roman fort (SO 168 219) stands on a small knoll about 2km to the east of a pass between Buckland Hill and the Cefn Moel ridge, now occupied by the village of Bwlch in what was Brecknock but is now in southern Powys. It lies approximately half-way along the Roman route (RR62a) linking the larger forts at Brecon and Abergavenny (Fig. 1).

This article presents the results of a programme of geophysical survey and excavation conducted between 2006 and 2012, initially by the Clwyd–Powys Archaeological Trust (CPAT) alone and subsequently in partnership with the Llangynidr Local History Society (LLHS), which examined the area surrounding the fort within which a civilian settlement, or *vicus*, was thought to lie.

The presence of a Roman fort here was probably first noted by the Reverend Thomas Payne, rector of Llanbedr above nearby Crickhowell, who directed and accompanied the respected Wiltshire antiquary, Sir Richard Colt Hoare, along with his friend Richard Fenton, to the site in 1803 (Payne 1831: 91–98; Thompson 1983: 238). The fort was subsequently referenced by Colt Hoare's local contemporary and fellow traveller, the Brecknock antiquary Theophilus Jones (1805–9: 499). Colt Hoare recognised the foundations of buildings in the surrounding fields and noted the occurrence of large quantities of brick and tile.

Payne's interest in Pen-y-gaer may have been the result of the discovery in 1801 of a 'kind of vault' just outside the centre of the eastern defences, which he considered to have been an ossuary as human bones were found within it. Payne noted three coins from the site: of Marcus Aurelius as Caesar (AD 145–61);

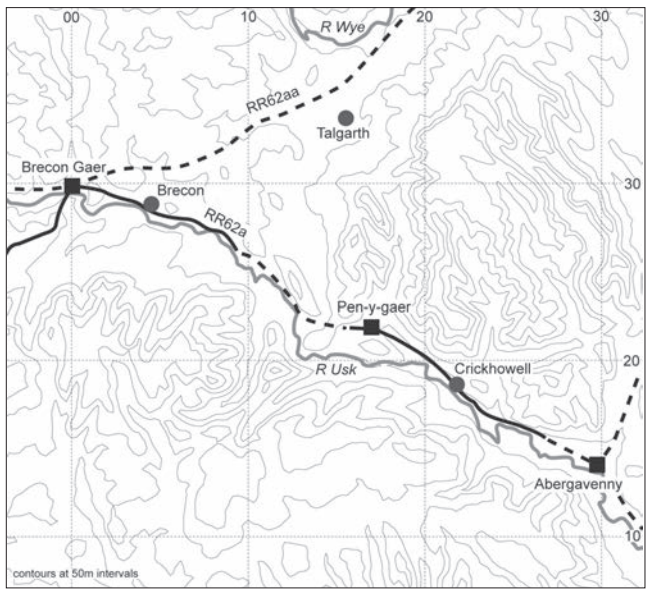

Fig. 1 The relationship between the Roman forts at Pen-y-gaer, Brecon Gaer and Abergavenny.

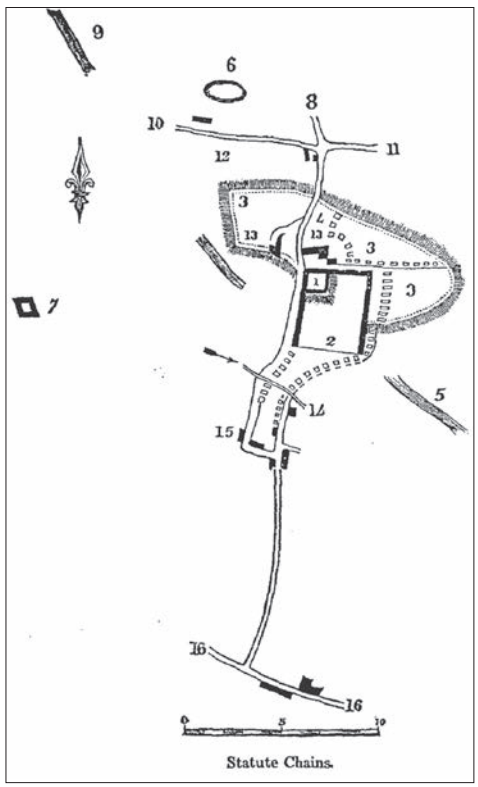

Fig. 2 Survey of Pen-y-gaer by Thomas Payne, published in 1831. 1 – Praetorium, 2 – the area of the camp, 3 – an entrenchment, 4 – ruins resembling fire-places, the walls of well hewn stone, 6 – foundations dug up here, 7 – an urn filled with bones found here-abouts, 8 – Tregraig road, 9 – Hool (Heol) Ddu, 10 – road from Bwlch, 11 – to Gwindu (Cwmdu) Church, 12 – Pen heol y Crwys, 13 – Pen y Gaer or Pentre Gaer, 14 – Ewyn Brook, 15 – Gaer, 16 – road from Brecon to Crickhowell.

Constantine I (*c.* AD 307 or 308); and Constantine II as Caesar (AD 332–3) (RCAHMW 1986: 147). A collection of Payne's manuscripts[6] contains a survey of the fort prepared in 1803 which depicts the outline of a 'Roman camp' in an area that is now known to lie within the *vicus*, along with two lengths of a Roman road which were removed during the 1770s. A version of the survey was published by Theophilus Jones, although it is the original, in Payne's manuscripts, which is the more informative. The survey published by Payne himself in 1831 is presented in Fig. 2, although this lacks the additional notes which were appended to the manuscript version.

The authenticity of the fort was confirmed by excavations in 1966 (Jarrett 1969: 108–110) which apparently revealed three phases of occupation dating from AD 80–130. The writer considered that the abandonment of the fort occurred in the reign of Hadrian, although the results of the later work recorded below imply occupation from both slightly earlier and later periods (Burnham and Davies 2010: 276). The defences of the fort can still be mostly recognised as an earthwork, although the north-west corner lies beneath Greenhill Farm.

In more recent years several small-scale investigations and observations have been made within the fort. In June 1987, during a visit by the Cardiff Archaeological Society, it was noted that a long trench had been cut through the fort, possibly for drainage, and subsequently backfilled. Investigation of the spoil identified a range of pottery, including the first Severn Valley ware to be recognised within the fort and a Central Gaulish samian bowl of form 37, datable to AD 125–150 (Cox and Webster 1987: 44). In 1995 an evaluation was conducted by the Dyfed Archaeological Trust prior to the construction of an extension to the house at Pen-y-gaer. Probable Roman features were identified at a depth of around 0.4m, including a mortar floor and a pit (Williams and Ludlow 1995: 50). Finally, an evaluation was undertaken by Monmouth Archaeology in 2001 prior to an extension to Greenfield Farm, which revealed traces of timber buildings and produced a pottery assemblage (Clarke *et al.* 2001: 139). The only other relevant work involved excavations carried out by CPAT in 1997 on the potential site of the bath-house, some 200m to the west-north-west of the fort, results of which were inconclusive (Jones 1997: 78–9).

Renewed interest in the site came in 2006 when CPAT conducted a programme of geophysical survey in the area surrounding the fort (Hankinson and Silvester 2006) (Fig. 3), funded by Cadw. This identified an area in the field to the south of the fort which appeared to have significant archaeological potential, including a possible building (SO 16849 21796). However, the part of the field between this and the lane to the east was not thought at that time to present much of interest, although recent reprocessing of the data suggests otherwise.

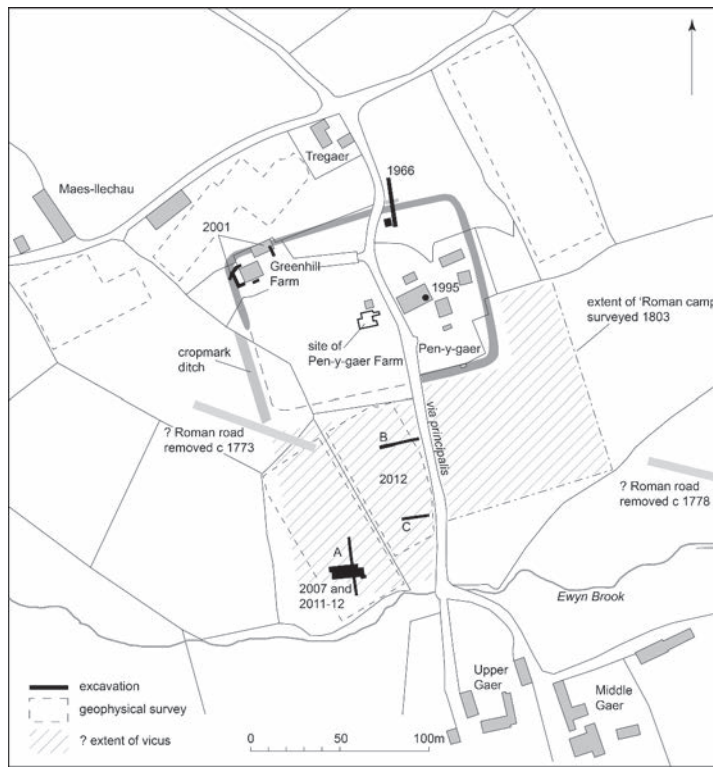

Fig.3: Location of the fort, together with the excavations and areas of geophysical survey

The geophysical survey was followed by a small-scale excavation in 2007 (Hankinson 2007), again funded by Cadw, comprising a single trench positioned to investigate the possible building. The results confirmed the existence of stone walls associated with one or more buildings, together with a spread of roofing tile from a possible lean-to structure, while a concentration of smithing waste demonstrated industrial activity nearby. This area was the subject of more extensive investigations in May 2011 (Hankinson and Jones 2011), and again in June 2012 (Hankinson and Jones 2012), both conducted in conjunction with LLHS. The 2012 excavation also investigated two further areas (Fig. 3, Areas B and C). Grant aid for both the 2011 and 2012 excavations was provided by Cadw, with additional funding in 2011 from The Beacons Trust.[7] Numbers in brackets in the following text refer to individual context numbers recorded in the site archive.

Excavation

The excavations were generally restricted to the identification and recording of the uppermost Roman deposits, with only minimal investigation of the

features that were exposed. The excavations revealed a sequence of buildings and other structures which are dealt with individually below.

Area A (Fig. 4)

This was positioned to investigate the possible building revealed through geophysical survey and initially consisted of a trench measuring 16.3m by 2.9m, excavated in September 2007. The area was expanded to the south in May 2011, the combined areas covering around 150m^2. Finally, in June 2012, a 33m-long trench was placed across the eastern part of the area, extending to both the north and south.

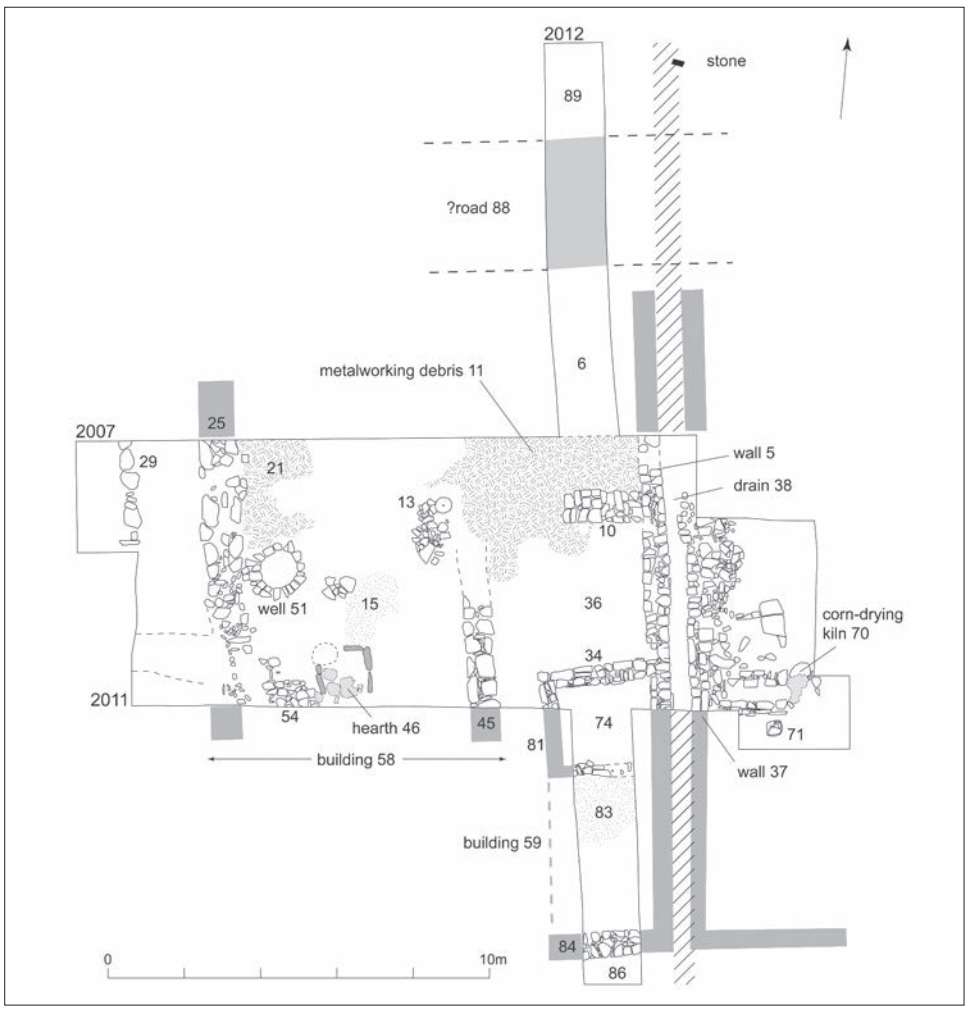

Fig. 4: Composite plan of the 2007, 2011 and 2012 excavations in Area A

Based on its method of construction it seems likely that the earliest building (58) is represented by two parallel walls (25 and 45), respectively 1.1m and 0.8m in width, occupying the western half of the excavated area. The building was aligned roughly north/south with an internal width of 5.8m, and extended beyond the edge of the excavation at both ends. The walls were constructed of large, unmortared boulders with small packing stones and silt in between. Only their basal courses survived and both were incomplete, having been partially robbed as well as having some stones displaced by the plough. The presence of a further structure to the west of the building is suggested by a possible robber trench (48), running out to the west at right angles from wall (25), which may indicate the position of another wall. In addition, there was the base of a relatively insubstantial wall (29) composed of a single alignment of stones. A soil layer (27) to the west of the building, and almost certainly post-dating it, contained a sherd from an Oxford rouletted beaker, dated to AD 240–400, although the remainder of pottery was largely of late-first to second century date, with other finds including a coin (Find no. 1109) of AD 119–120.

Within the building, and potentially contemporary with it, was a worn pebble surface (15) and a hearth (46). The hearth, measuring 1.45m across, consisted of a flagstone surface which had been cracked by the heat and was surrounded by edge-set stones. An area of possible stone paving to the west (54) was also partially heat-affected. The only stratified pottery which was recovered from within the building came from floor 15 and included a ring-necked flagon likely to be of Flavian date, while residual pottery from later contexts was almost exclusively second century in date.

Also within the building, although without any stratigraphic relationship to confirm an association, was a small, roughly circular, stone-lined well (51) (Fig. 5), up to 1.0m in diameter internally. Only the upper 0.5m of its voided rubble fill (52) was removed, which was sufficient to confirm the nature of its construction. A spread of roof tiles (21) lay immediately to the north of the well and perhaps reflected a lean-to structure or covered walkway placed on the inside (east) face of wall (25), implying that it post-dated the occupation of the building. Further to the east an area of stone (13), which included the lower stone of a rotary quern, may indicate the position of a rubble-filled pit, although this was not investigated.

A second structure (59) lay less than 0.5m to the east of building 58, and respected both the position and alignment of the earlier building to such a degree that the two may have been standing at the same time. This had been built of higher quality masonry, using sandstone slabs to construct unmortared walls that were faced on either side, with occasional rubble infill where necessary.

A substantial wall (5), around 0.7m thick, was aligned north/south and extended beyond the excavated area in both directions. The geophysical survey suggests that this may have had a maximum length of around 17.8m and could

Fig. 5: Area A with wall 25 and well 51 in the foreground, viewed from the west. Photo CPAT 3295–0197

Fig. 6: The initial investigation of Area A with members of the Llangynidr Local History Society in 2011. The outline of wall 5 can be seen in front of the trowelling line. Photo CPAT 3295–0028

have defined a courtyard, rather than a large building. Three courses of masonry survived to a height of around 0.4m above a stepped foundation, which itself extended downwards for at least a further 0.2m. A small, contemporary building (59) of similar construction lay on the western side of the wall, defined by walls (34, 81 and 84) around 0.4m thick. The building was 7.7m long and 2.9m wide and was divided into two unequally sized rooms. The smaller, northern room, measured 3.5m by almost 3.0m internally, but the other had a length of 4.7m. The remnants of a pebbled floor (83) survived in the northern half of the larger room, while there appears to have been only an earthen floor (74) in the smaller room. Pottery from this area, including two sherds from within walls 5 and 34, was of second century date. The area to the south of the building contained dark grey sandy silt (86) which was particularly rich in Roman finds and perhaps represents some form of rubbish dump outside the building. Pottery recovered from this area, the majority of which was of second century date, included a number of late-second century sherds. The layer had similarities with layer 27, which lay to the west of building 58, but it was not possible to say how, if at all, these layers were related.

The area north of wall 34 contained a significant quantity of rubble (36) from the demolition or collapse of the surrounding structures. While the presence of roofing tile within the rubble gives an indication of the roofing materials used only a very small quantity was recovered from the limited investigations in this area. The rubble sealed an extensive spread of industrial waste (11), comprising

fragments of hearth bottom, furnace lining and coal, which extended to the north beyond the limit of excavation. Abundant hammer-scale was noted within the dumped material, confirming the presence of a smithy in the immediate area, although no *in situ* metalworking was evident within the excavated area. The *in situ* smithing waste did not extend into the earlier building (58), although some of the material had been spread across the line of wall 45, presumably when stones were removed from it at a later date. Indeed, it seems likely that both buildings (58 and 59) were still standing when the smithy was in operation.

Around 3.6m to the north of building 59 were the remains of another wall (10), which had been built over of the industrial waste. This extended for 2.0m to the west of wall 5, but was not tied into it, demonstrating that it was a later addition. It seems likely that this was associated with an open-fronted, lean-to structure, within a larger courtyard.

A drain (38) lay immediately to the east of wall (5) and this appears to be the feature revealed by the geophysical survey, extending for at least 40m in a north/south direction. Its southern end was no doubt at the Ewyn Brook, although the exact course of the stream in the Roman period has not been established. Limited investigations demonstrated that the drain was around 0.55m wide and at least 0.55m deep, with the lower fill (68) including smithing waste that was similar to the deposit (11) identified on the western side of the wall. Interestingly, the external, eastern face of, and foundations for, wall 5 had been reinforced throughout its excavated length by the later addition of a line of edge-set stones (65), which included a single Roman tile, presumably designed to prevent water undermining the wall. The wall also incorporated a small culvert (56), which fed into the drain from the area to the north of wall 34 and this may explain the presence of smithing waste in the drain fill. The upper fill of the drain (39) contained pottery dating from the second and third centuries, although this could have accumulated some time after the drain fell out of use.

Fig. 7 The drain (38) exposed in 2011, viewed from the north with wall (05) to the west and wall (37) to the east, showing the area of collapse. Photo CPAT 3295–0102

To the east of the drain were the remains of what is thought to have been a small corn-drying kiln (70). The flue consisted of two parallel walls with a surviving length of 1.8m, set 0.4m apart, and aligned east/west. At the eastern end was a floor formed by stone slabs, some of which were heavily fire-cracked, suggesting this was the stokehole rather than the drying chamber. Only the base of the structure survived, although a post-hole (71) immediately to the south may have been associated with some form of wooden superstructure. It may be presumed that the kiln predated both the drain and building 59.

Over time the drain fell out of use and became completely infilled, after which its eastern side was sealed beneath a masonry wall (37). This ran parallel to, and 0.5m from wall 5 and was of similar construction, perhaps representing the western side of a further building (60). The wall lacked foundations and its construction along the eastern edge of the drain evidently led to subsidence and at least a partial collapse.

In the final season of excavation a 3.5m-wide metalled surface (88) was revealed to the north of the main excavation, aligned east/west and composed of moderately compacted sandstone pebbles and rubble, with some larger stones

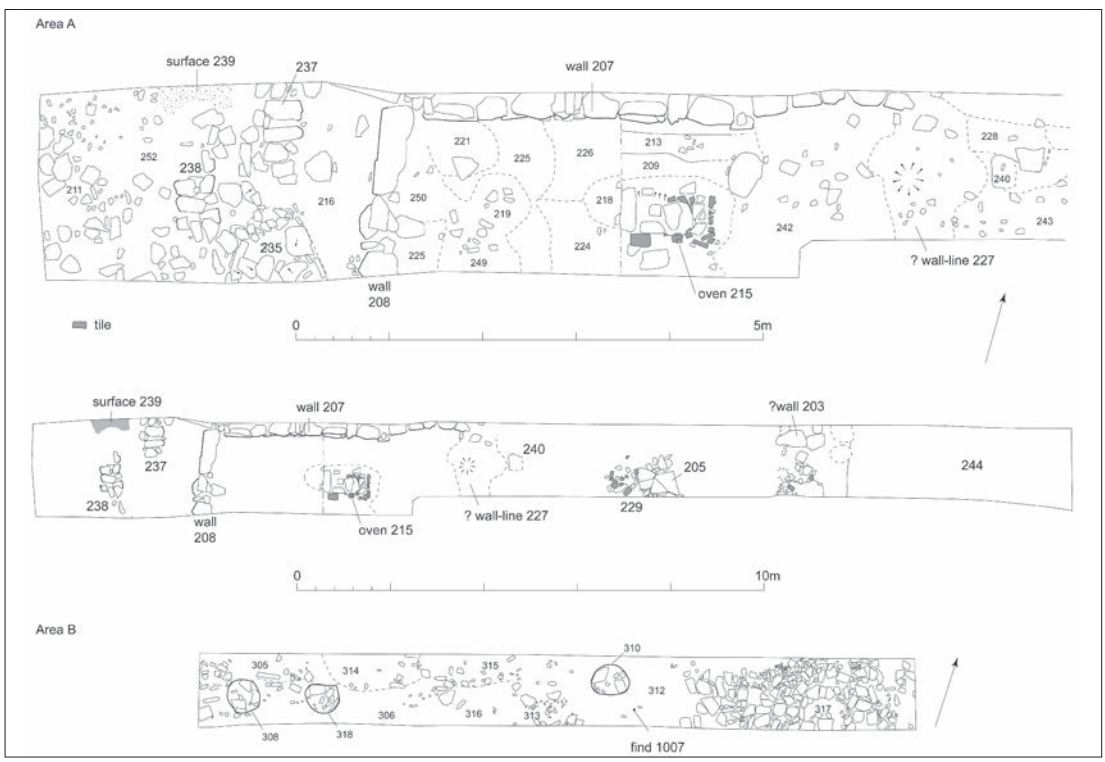

Fig. 8 Plan of Areas B and C.

along its southern edge. The feature probably represented a road or track within the *vicus*. A layer of rubble (89), including some fragments of tile, may be derived from another building to the north of the road.

Area B

A trench, measuring 22m by 1.6m to 2.1m, was excavated in 2012 to assess the potential for development of the *vicus* along the road leading south from the fort, which is presumed to underly the existing lane. The presence of a slight earthwork terrace within the field, parallel to the lane, had been seen as potentially being part of the Roman road, although the excavation demonstrated that this was simply a spread of rubble from the post-medieval roadside boundary wall. Unlike Area A, the overburden was deep, with up to 0.75m of material being removed by machine onto the surface of *in situ* Roman deposits. At the extreme eastern end of the trench the machine also removed a layer of rubble (201) which was assumed to have been derived from a boundary wall, although possibly not that which survives today.

A deposit of dark brown, clayey silt (209, 210 and 246) containing Roman pottery and other finds that included a late-first to early-second century prismatic bottle, extended along the majority of the trench and was in part removed by the machine. Towards the western end of the trench this partially overlay the remains of a building (206) which had been founded on stone sleeper walls (207 and 208) and is likely to have been of timber-frame construction, probably with a tiled roof (Fig. 16). Several courses of dry-stone, or perhaps clay-bonded walling survived, up to a height of around 0.4m. Within the confines of the trench it was not possible to determine the dimensions of the building. It is possible that wall 207, aligned west to east, supported an outside wall, although since its northern side lay beyond the excavation this is only speculative. Similarly, wall 208, which formed the western end of the building, extended beyond the limits of excavation to the south. From the surviving remains of wall 207 it was clear, however, that the building was a minimum of 6m in length and extended at least as far as a deposit of dark brown, firm, sandy silt (227), where a large stone displaced by the machine may have represented the line of a robbed wall. Finds from this area included fragments of two unguent bottles, one dating from the first century and the other from the second century, dates which are consistent with the pottery from this area, although third or fourth century material was recovered from the topsoil.

Limited investigations within the building recorded a small domestic oven (215) constructed in stone and reused roofing tile (Fig. 9). Internally, the oven was around 0.25m in diameter and had a stokehole (218) at the western end, spanned by a stone lintel. A series of deposits were exposed between the oven and wall 208 following the removal of a soil layer (209) which post-dated the building. Some of these deposits, particularly 224, 225 and 226, may have been floor

Fig. 9 Area B showing building 206 with the small oven in the bottom right-hand corner, viewed from the south. Photo CPAT 3478-0066

surfaces, perhaps reflecting areas of patching, while others, such as 221, 249 and 250 had the appearance of pits, or perhaps the positions of internal posts.

Deposits exposed in the base of the trench to the east of 227 may have been floor surfaces which also lay within a building. Also within this area a large, fractured stone slab (205) sealed a discrete area of stone and roofing tile (229), the nature of which suggested the infill of a large pit. An area of *in situ* burning (204) was also noted, although in section this clearly post-dated the Roman activity, but was certainly not modern. The possible floor layers continued eastwards as far as a group of large boulders (203) surrounded by pink clay (231), which may be the remains of a wall. It was not possible to demonstrate that this was part of the same structure as walls 207 and 208, although if this were the case it would give a length of around 13m for the building as a whole.

To the west of the building there was some evidence to suggest earlier phases of building, including two lengths of possible remnant walling (237 and 238). A general spread of stony material (252) and in particular a pebble surface (239) suggest that this area had formed a yard. A concentration of stones (235), a number of which were on edge or tipping down, suggests the presence of a large pit.

Area C

Area C was also positioned to examine the potential for roadside occupation within the *vicus*. The trench, which measured 15.3m by 1.5m, was aligned west/east, and up to 0.6m of overburden was removed with a machine onto the surface of *in situ* Roman deposits. As in Area B dark brown, sandy silt (304), up to 0.25m thick, was exposed containing Roman finds but which post-dated any Roman activity.

While the excavation confirmed occupation within this area was there was only limited for the presence of a building, consisting of three post-holes

(308, 310 and 318) and what may be floor layers, although no obvious plan was discernible. It is interesting to note that almost twice as much pottery, all of late-first or second century date, was recovered from this area than from Area B. A substantial area of stone rubble (307) at the eastern end of the trench provided hints of structure, although the limited investigation failed to clarify the situation.

The Glass by Hilary E. M. Cool

Introduction

A modest assemblage consisting of vessel and window glass and two glass objects was recovered from the excavations and is summarised in Table 1. All of the vessel glass is blue/green and the window glass is the cast matt/glossy variety. This indicates that the material derives from early- to mid-Roman occupation. There is no material from the fourth century. The more diagnostic pieces have been catalogued below, and the archive contains a complete list which includes the less diagnostic body fragments.

Area	Vessel		Window		Object	Total
	Count	*Weight*	*Count*	*Weight*		
A	12	48.92	2	18.62	2	16
B	10	88.27	1	14.77	-	11
C	10	31.18	-	-	-	10
U/S	5	9.95	-	-	-	5
Totals	**37**	**178.32**	**3**	**33.39**	**2**	**42**

Table 1 Distribution of glass by area and category (fragment count and weight in grams).

Vessel glass

The types of vessel glass present are summarised by weight in Table 2. As is to be expected on a site of this type and date, the assemblage is dominated by fragments from utilitarian, blue/green bottles (Price and Cottam 1998: 191–200). Most of the fragments come from prismatic bottles (e.g. no. 10) and as such cannot be more closely dated within the late-first to early-third century period. No. 9 though, is a cylindrical bottle. These were only in use during the earlier part of that period, going out of use early in the second century.

Area	Bottle	Other	Total
A	42.72	6.2	48.92
B	65.58	22.69	88.27
C	6.71	24.47	31.18
0	-	9.95	9.95
Totals	**115.01**	**63.31**	**178.32**

Table 2 Distribution of vessel glass by weight (g).

Unguent bottles are another utilitarian form, and they too are well represented here (nos. 4–6). They are less typical for this sort of site and it may be of interest that two of the fragments came from a possible robbed wall line (217) in Area B. Unguent bottles are the sort of vessel that can be expected in quantity at bath-houses, as can be seen in the drain deposits of the fortress baths at Caerleon (Allen 1986: 98–116). One of the unguent bottles from 217 was represented by the lower body of a tubular vessel (Price and Cottam 1998: 169–71). These were most common in the middle of the first century, going out of use during the latter part of it. A similar-shaped but much less common type is known in the later second to third century. They can be distinguished from each other by the rim form and base. As no. 5 is a lower body fragment, such a distinction is not possible here, but the balance of probabilities would suggest it was from the first century form.

The other unguent bottle (no. 6) from the context has a low conical reservoir (Price and Cottam 1998: 173–4). This shape first appears in the late-first century but those examples have sheared rims. The additional glass in the centre of the base indicates it was held on a pontil iron whilst the rim was finished by rolling or folding, and so a second century date is most likely. The piece is noteworthy because it retains unusual bubble patterns within the glass. These would be consistent with a technique known as chunk gathering where instead of taking a molten glass gather from a pot in a furnace, a chunk of glass is softened in the heat of the furnace on the end of a blow-pipe, and then blown (Stern and Schlick-Nolte 1994: 28). Experimental work conducted by the late George Scott showed that a gather of glass could be heated by sequentially adding small chunks of glass and then blown. His experimental work resulted in just such bubble patterns developing between the different chunks of glass (as demonstrated at the meeting 'Glass Techniques through 5000 Years' at the Edinburgh College of Art, 24–25 September 1992).

It is extremely rare to observe this in vessels from Roman Britain, though it can clearly be seen in a little globular unguent bottle from a fourth-century burial at Station Road, York (RCHME 1962: 82, no. IV.c.iv fig. 89 no. H.103.1). It raises the possibility that what we might be looking at is a result of a local small-scale glass blowing industry. There are also four body fragments from different parts of the site (Area A, contexts 82, 86; and Area C, context 304) that show a considerable number of bubbles. Excluding other bottle forms these five pieces contribute one third by weight of the vessel glass from the site. Normally blue/green vessel glass only shows a relatively small number of bubbles, indicating that the glass has been well prepared by keeping it at a high temperature for a sufficient length of time to drive off the impurities and gasses that cause the bubbles when it is blown. Vessels blown without this preliminary heating could be expected to be very bubbly, and this would be consistent with the sort of industry where chunk gathering was also being practised.

Any Roman fort and *vicus* at this time would provide enough cullet (broken vessel glass) to act as the raw material to support a short-lived industry.

Tablewares are uncommon in the assemblage and are only represented by nos. 1–3 which could come from long-necked jugs or possibly, in the case of no. 3, a collared jar as similar base forms are used on both (Price and Cottam 1998: 137–8 and 150–5). Such vessels are common during the second half of the first century, continuing into the mid-second century in the case of some of the jugs. The fragments from Pen-y-gaer do not allow any closer dating.

In conclusion this small assemblage was most likely to be accumulating in the late-first to second century period. For a *vicus* site it is somewhat limited in the range of forms present, but it must be remembered that the areas excavated were relatively small. Equally though, if some of the material was being derived from a bath-house, one would not necessarily expect a large tableware element.

Objects and windows

The late-first to second century date suggested by the vessel glass would be appropriate for the two objects found. One is a white plano-convex counter (no. 11). These are extremely common on military sites and their associated *vici* in the mid-first to mid-second century period, as can be seen by the large

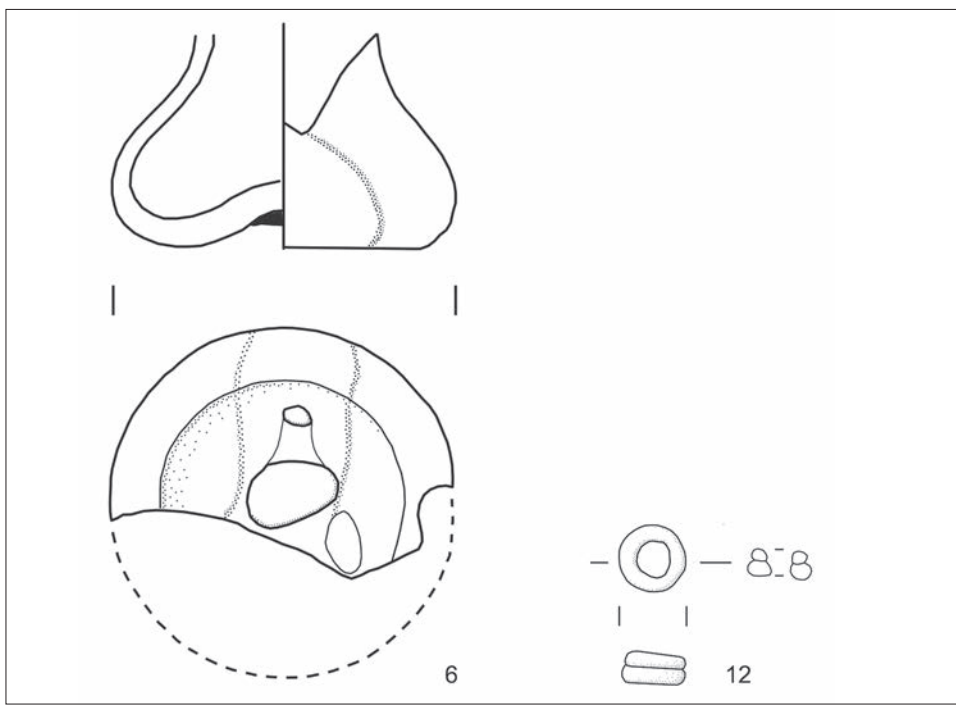

Fig. 10 Roman glass (no. 6 scale 1:2, no. 12 scale 1:1)

number recovered from the *vicus* at Caersws (Owen and Arnold 1989: 44–9 and 46–8). The other, a small annular bead (no. 12), is an example of a Guido Group 6iia bead (Guido 1978: 35), examples of which are found throughout the Roman period, though with a tendency to belong to the earlier part of it. This bead is of particular interest in the light of the suggested local glass industry for the vessels. Generally annular beads such as this have a smooth D-section. On this example, by contrast, the manufacturing method of wrapping a trail around a mandrel can clearly be seen. It is another piece of evidence that the manufacturing methods seen in the Pen-y-gaer Roman glass are not always typical of those seen elsewhere.

Given that this is a small assemblage, window glass is relatively well represented indicating that there were glazed buildings in the vicinity. In the light of the suggestion that the amount of unguent bottle fragments is quite high, possibly reflecting a source in a building of specialised function, it is probably appropriate to note that bath-houses are places where high levels of window glass can be expected.

Catalogue

Vessel

1 Jug, one rim and one cylindrical neck fragment. Edge of rim folded out and down, then up and in; rim retaining trace of upper handle attachment; separate cylindrical neck fragment. Rim diameter 50mm. Neck diameter 25mm, wall thickness 4mm. Weight 4.6g. Estimated vessel equivalent EVE 0.28. Area C, context 306, occupation layer.

2 Jug or jar; lower body fragment. Blue/green. Wide, slightly convex-curved lower body broken at edge of open pushed-in base ring. Dimensions 50mm by 50mm, wall thickness 4mm. Weight 14.68g. EVE 0.14. Area C, context 304, soil layer sealing Roman deposits.

3 Jug or jar, base fragment. Blue/green. Side sloping into open pushed-in base ring, inner part of base ring missing. Base ring diameter *c.* 60–70mm, wall thickness 3mm, present height 15mm. Weight 2.2g. EVE 0.14. Area B, context 209, soil layer sealing Roman deposits.

4 Unguent bottle, rim and neck fragment. Blue/green. Outbent rim, edge fire-rounded; cylindrical neck. Rim diameter 25mm, neck thickness 3mm, present height 13mm. Weight 1.83g. EVE 0.4. Unstratified.

5 Tubular unguent bottle; lower body fragment. Blue/green. Side broken at junction with convex base. Dimensions 25mm by 18mm, wall thickness 3.5–4mm. Weight 2.79g, EVE 0.2. Area B, context 217, robbed wall line.

6 Low conical unguent bottle, approximately half of reservoir. Blue/green; some impurities, two long line of small bubbles including one running from one large one. Low conical reservoir with concave base, broken at base of neck; centre of base has additional pad of glass from pontil. Maximum body width 45mm, wall thickness 2m, present height 29mm. Weight 14.44g. EVE 0.6. Area B, context 217, robbed wall line (Fig. 10).

7 Flask, jug or bottle; neck fragment. Blue/green. Cylindrical neck broken at curve to shoulder. Neck diameter *c.* 25mm, wall thickness 2mm, present height 18mm. Weight 1.63g. Area C, context 306, occupation layer.

8 Bottle; neck fragment. Blue/green. Cylindrical neck broken at junction with neck. Neck diameter 35mm. Area C, context 303, initial cleaning.

9 Cylindrical bottle, one base fragment and one wall fragment. Blue/green. Straight side curving into concave base worn around edge. Base diameter *c.* 180mm (body width *c.* 190mm), wall

thickness 3mm, present height 26mm. Weight 56.53g. EVE 0.42. Area B, context 209, soil layer sealing Roman deposits.

10 Prismatic bottle; base fragment. Blue/green. Base design, two concentric circular mouldings. Dimensions 23mm by 16mm. Weight 4.18g. EVE 0.14. Area A, context 85, soil layer sealing possible rubbish deposit 86, outside building 59.

Objects

11 Counter. Opaque white. Plano-convex with smoothed bases. Diameter 13mm, thickness 6mm. Weight 1.42g. Area A, context 18, soil layer below floor 15 in building 58.

12 Annular bead. Translucent blue/green. Made by winding a trail of glass around a mandrel twice. Diameter 8.5mm, length 4mm, perforation diameter 4.5mm. Weight 0.33g. Area A, context 86, possible rubbish deposit outside building 59 (Fig. 10).

Window glass (Blue/green. Cast matt/glossy)

13 Corner of square or rectangular pane; tooling marks on corner. Maximum length 70mm, area 18cm^2, weight 17.5g. Area A, topsoil.

14 Small fragment, area 10cm^2. Weight 14.77g. Area B, context 209, soil layer sealing Roman deposits.

15 Small fragment, area 1cm^2. Weight 1.12g. Area A, context 86, possible rubbish deposit outside building 59.

The Samian by Peter Webster

When considering the samian from the excavations it has to be borne in mind that it all comes from upper levels, so that the samian assemblage is unlikely to reflect a complete chronological sequence. Nevertheless it is worth summarising the material in order to look at possible patterns which can be tested if more extensive excavations are undertaken in the future.

Forms and sources

If we list all samian by form and source, treating any sherds likely to be from the same vessel as just one unit, not many, we can get a general picture of the number of vessels present, which is shown in Table 3.

This reveals a preponderance of Central Gaulish vessels (imported *c.* AD 120–200), as one would probably expect given that the lowest levels were not sampled. The number of vessels from Les Martres-de-Veyre is quite high for an industry producing mainly in the short period *c.* AD 100–120 and normally considered to have exported to Britain in lower volumes than either of the South or Central Gaulish centres of La Graufesenque and Lezoux.

If we look at the forms, we may note that the decorated and carinated bowl, form 29, is totally absent. The form went out of general production by *c.* AD 85 and it is difficult to decide whether its absence is a product of the fact that the excavation was in the stratigraphically upper levels or whether this is an indicator that the start of occupation in the area was in the late-first century. Possibly more significant is the breakdown of forms by possible function, shown in Table 4.

The single mortarium is perhaps to be expected as the form appeared very late in the samian exporting period. The number of cups and beakers does

Form	South Gaul	Les Martres de Veyre	Central Gaul	East Gaul	Total	%
18	3	-	-	-	3	2.91
18/31	1	5	10	-	16	15.53
18/31R	-	1	2	-	3	2.91
18/31 or 31	-	-	2	-	2	1.94
27	5	1	-	-	6	5.83
31	-	-	7	-	7	6.80
31R	-	-	3	-	3	2.91
33	1	-	3	1	5	4.85
37	11	9	24	-	44	42.72
43	-	-	1	-	1	0.97
72	-	-	1	-	1	0.97
79	-	-	-	1	1	0.97
Curle 11	-	1	-	-	1	0.97
bowl	2	-	8	-	10	9.71
Totals	**23**	**17**	**61**	**2**	**103**	**100.00**
%	22.33	16.50	59.22	1.94	100.00	

Table 3 Samian by form and sources (estimated number of vessels not number of sherds).

Class	South Gaul	Les Martres de Veyre	Central Gaul	East Gaul	Total	%
Plate/dish	4	6	12	1	23	22.33
Bowl	13	10	44	-	67	65.05
Mortarium	-	-	1	-	1	0.97
Cup/beaker	6	1	4	1	12	11.65
Totals	**23**	**17**	**61**	**2**	**103**	**100.00**

Table 4 Samian by form and sources (estimated number of vessels not number of sherds).

however look small, particularly among the second century (Les Martres and Central Gaulish) vessels as the conical cup form 33 is normally very popular in this period, while the double-curved cup, form 27, is also a frequent find up to the middle of the second century. Their dearth could be an indication as to the function of the buildings in the area sampled.

Chronology

If we consider those vessels for which we can identify forms and give dates, it is possible to express the assemblage in terms of vessel loss per five-year period, shown in Fig. 11.

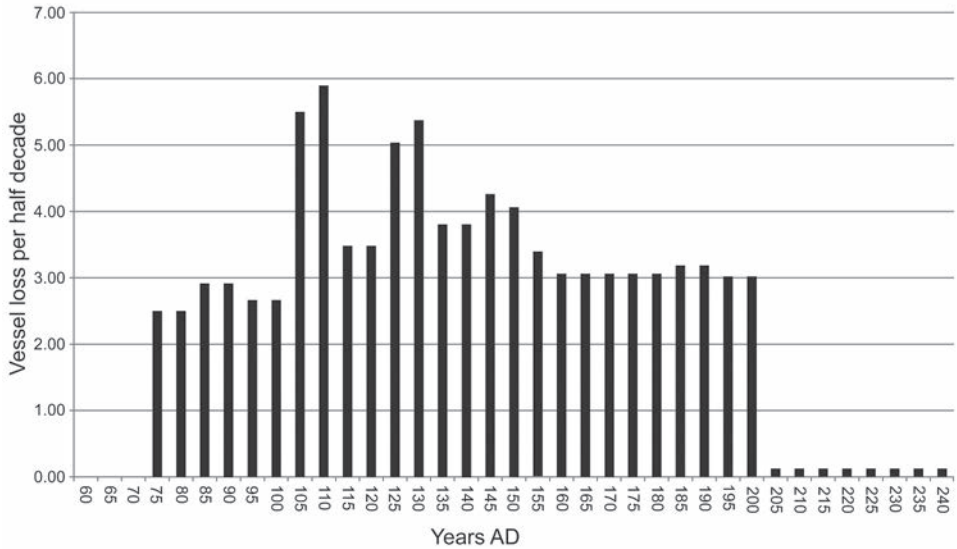

Fig. 11 Chronology of the Samian.

The result is a remarkably uniform pattern of vessel loss with peaks in the early-second century, in a period when samian importation is generally thought to have been lower in volume than in either the Flavian or Hadrianic-Antonine and Antonine periods (Marsh 1981: 173–238, especially figs 11.5–11.8). The relatively low number of South Gaulish pieces imported in the late-first and early-second century has already been remarked upon. The relatively high vessel loss between *c.* AD 105 and 155 may be indicative of building activity (and thus deposition of make-up layers) in this period. The low level of deposition after *c.* AD 200 reflects the cessation of Central Gaulish imports about this time and the small number of East Gaulish pieces which reached the west of Britain.

In general, therefore, the Pen-y-gaer samian offers a number of pointers as to activity on the site sampled. As previously implied, only excavation of a full stratigraphic sequence will allow us to see if these are genuine indications of what was happening on the site or a product only of those factors which led to the formation of the uppermost levels.

Catalogue

1. Form 37, Central Gaulish. Two joining fragments show a winding scroll below an ovolo frieze, probably Rogers 1974: B206, used by Paternus II, Laxtucissa and others. The upper lobe of the scroll contains a partially extant vine leaf, probably Rogers 1974: H27, also ascribed to Laxtucissa and Paternus, with a 12-point rosette, possibly *ibid*: C127. The lower lobe contains another partial leaf, similar to *ibid*: H97, cf. Stanfield & Simpson 1958 and 1990 (the Plate and Figure numbers are identical unless specifically indicated): Pl.97, 2, Pl.108, 37. A small, abraded fragment of form 37 from the same level might be from the same vessel *c.* AD 160–190. Area A, unstratified, from area of kiln 70.

2. Form 33, variant, South Gaulish. The vessel is conical with three grooves part way up the wall, cf. Oswald & Pryce 1920: Pl.51, 4. Presumably Flavian or Flavian-Trajanic on this site. Area A, unstratified, cleaning in area of kiln 70.
3. Small form 37, Central Gaulish. Only a vertical astragalus border and a medallion containing the erotic group Oswald 1936–7: K survives. Of the users of the latter, only Censorinus, Laxtucissa and Paternus II also use the border. Antonine. Area A, unstratified, building 60.
4. Form 37, base, Central Gaulish. Vertical astragalus borders (larger than in S3 above) divide panels above a basal guideline. To the left is a running animal, probably the small stag, *ibid*: 1732A used by Cettus and Iullinus. Of these, only Iullinus used the border, cf. Stanfield & Simpson 1958 and 1990: Pl.125, 1. *c.* AD 160–200. Area A, unstratified, building 60.
5. Form 37, Central Gaulish. A worn basal scroll is made of stylised triple leaves. Probably *c.* AD 120–150. Area A, context 39, upper fill of drain 38.
6. Form 37, Central Gaulish. The abraded ovolo appears to be Rogers 1974: B35 used by X-6. Below is, to the left, an astragalus, not in Rogers, over what was probably a cruciform motif made up of Rogers 1974: G29 (ascribed to Cinnamus, Pugnus and P11). To the right is a saltire which includes an elongated striated twist and a stylised triple leaf similar to, but not identical to Rogers 1974: G73. Probably *c.* AD 120–160. Area A, context 18, soil layer below floor 15 in building 58.
7. Form 37, Central Gaulish. Panel decoration is both abraded and somewhat smudged in finishing. To the left is a 'scarf-dancer', Oswald 1936–7: 355, damaged in finishing, to the right a small warrior, apparently a variant of *ibid*: 1059. The dancer appears in the work of a number of potters but is seen in a similar arrangement to ours in Rogers 1999: Pl.106, 16 by Secundinus II. Probably AD 125–155. Area A, context 18, soil layer below floor 15 in building 58.
8. Form 37, South Gaulish. Panel decoration is divided by wavy lines with blob terminals. A stylised small leaf is suspended from the top right corner of the lower panel, which also contains the hare Oswald 1936–7: 2114. A resting stag *ibid*: 1746, is in the upper panel. Both figures appear in the work of Germanus. But the overall style appears to be that of late South Gaulish ware as seen, for instance, in the Bregenz Cellar (Hartley and Dickinson 2008–12). Probably *c.* AD 90–110. Area A, context 27, soil layer west of building 58.
9. Form 18/31R, Les Martres-de-Veyre. Three joining sherds include the end of a stamp reading]/•OF. Not identified, *c.* AD 100–130. Area A, context 36, demolition rubble overlying smithing waste 11.
10. Form 37, Central Gaulish. An abraded sherd shows the ovolo, Rogers 1974: B214 over a bead row with the partial stamp LIBE[RTI below. This is die 6a of Libertus of Lezoux (Hartley & Dickinson 2008–12 (Vol. 5): 5, 55–8). What little remains of the design would accord with Rogers' style 1c, *c.* AD 105–130 (1999). Found with a sherd of form 18/31, Les Martres-de-Veyre (*c.* AD 100–130). Area A, context 27, soil layer west of building 58.
11. Form 37, Les Martres-de-Veyre, seven sherds, two joining. Four sherds have the ovolo, Rogers 1974: D24 used by a number of potters including Docilis. Below is panel decoration divided by bead rows over a thin basal guideline. The only extant panel sequence has the boar, Oswald 1936–7: 1166 over a 'panther', Rogers 1999: R4027. Both the figures are used by Docilis and this appears to be his work. The two panels are divided by the column, Rogers 1974: P62 placed on its side with the short row of fine beads often seen with it also showing (cf. Stanfield & Simpson 1958 and 1990: Pl. 93, 18). Both Stanfield & Simpson 1958 and 1990 and Rogers 1999 group Docilis and Doccalus together as one potter. Hartley and Dickinson, however, treat them separately (Hartley & Dickinson 2008–12 (Vol. 3): 288–291, 293–295) ascribing Doccalus to both Les Martres and Lezoux and Docilis to Lezoux only. Our sherds would normally be ascribed to Docilis but the fabric appears to be one more suitable for Doccalus. It may be that we have here evidence to suggest that the conflation of the two names is in fact the correct interpretation. *c.* AD 130–160. Area A, context 86, soil layer south of wall 85.
12. Form 37, Central Gaulish. Panel decoration divided by somewhat indistinct bead rows lie below an ovolo frieze, Rogers 1974: B114. The panel to the right contains an impression of the 'plain ware' stamp, 5b tab of Secundinus iii of Lezoux (Secundinus II of Rogers 1999: Pls.105–6; cf.

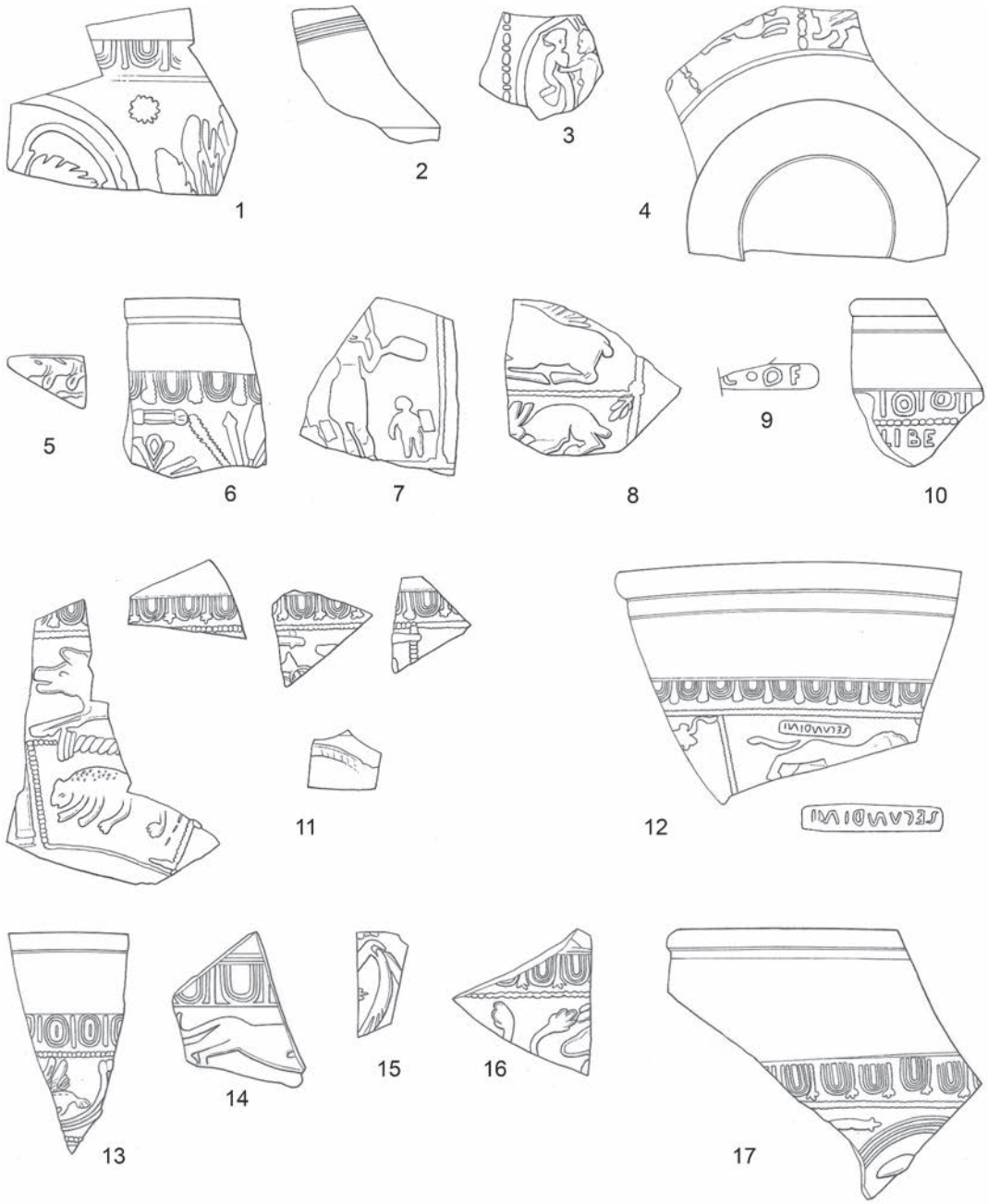

Fig. 12 Samian (scale 1:2, except stamps which are 1:1).

(Hartley & Dickinson 2008–12 (Vol. 8): 150–1). Below the stamp is part of a running lion, probably that seen in Rogers 1999: Pl.105, 8 and also illustrated as his R4078. The corner of the left hand panel has a tendril and star-shaped leaf, Rogers 1974: J143 also frequently seen in the work of this potter, Rogers 1999: Pl.105, 1–3, 6–8, 13, Pl.106, 20, 22, 27, 29. *c.* AD 125–155. Area A, context 86, soil layer south of wall 85.

13. Form 37, Central Gaulish. The ovolo of ovals separated by vertical lines is Rogers 1974: B213, used by Libertus, Austrus and Butrio. Below a bead row is a panel containing a plain double-bordered festoon suspended from astragali and containing the bird, Oswald 1936–7: 2324 which appears in the work of Libertus. *c.* AD 105–130. Area B, context 202, soil layer beneath topsoil.
14. Form 37, Central Gaulish. A very abraded sherd shows a large ovolo which is probably Rogers 1974: B223 used by Cinnamus and others. The ovolo frieze appears to rest on a guide line rather than a bead row. Below is a running animal, perhaps a lion. *c.* AD 140–180. Area B, context 202, soil layer beneath topsoil.
15. Form 37, Les Martres-de-Veyre. A small fragment shows the arm and 'scarf' of a 'scarf-dancer', Oswald 1936–7: 347, used by X-2 and Drusus I among the Les Martres potters. *c.* AD 100–120. Area B, context 203, possible wall.
16. Form 37, South Gaulish. Below an ovolo with a trifid tongue is a fragment of a tree-like design as, for instance, in Mees 1995: Taf.72, 14 (Germanus), *c.*AD 80–100. Area B, context 209, soil layer sealing Roman deposits.
17. Form 37, South Gaulish. An ovolo with a trifid tongue lies over a triple-bordered medallion within which appears to be the wing of a cupid. The spandrel of the panel contains a tendril with an indistinct elongated pomegranate terminal. *c.* AD 80–110. Area B, context 209, soil layer sealing Roman deposits.
18. Form 37, probably Les Martres-de-Veyre. A portion of freestyle decoration includes the lion Oswald 1936–7: 1450 used by Drusus 1, X12 and X-13 among the Les Martres potters and a small doe, *ibid*: 1763 used by X-9 and X-11. Although he did not make many freestyle bowls, X-11 is the likely maker. *c.* AD 100–120. Area B, context 209, soil layer sealing Roman deposits.
19. Form 37, Central Gaulish. Six fragments may all be from the same bowl. The ovolo has a rosette terminal and may have been beaded as Rogers 1974: B36. The wreathed festoon resembles *ibid*: F575 and contains the small goat, Oswald 1936–7: 1836 used by Attianus. A large panel has the acanthus spray, Rogers 1974: K2 with a small circle over a double-bordered medallion. Two fragments from the lower part of what may be the same bowl also show the double-bordered medallion with the acanthus spray, K2, inverted below it. A small panel contains a dancing cupid, with no clear parallel in Oswald 1936–7, while two small oblong panels to the right contain the acanthus spray, Rogers 1974: K10 over the goat, Oswald 1936–7: 1836. Most of the elements appear in the work of Attianus and this may be his. *c.* AD 120–145. Area A, context 86, soil layer south of wall 85.
20. Form 37, Les Martres-de-Veyre. A fragment of a vessel once riveted shows the ovolo, Rogers 1974: B28 and the distinctive S-shaped motif, *ibid.* S63 used by Drusus I. *c.* AD 100–120. Area B, context 209, soil layer sealing Roman deposits.
21. Form 37, South Gaulish. Two joining sherds from a bowl with zonal decoration show an ovolo with trifid tongue over an upper zone, which includes the lion, Oswald 1936–7: 1453, associated especially with Germanus. The lower zone has a pendant twist beside a plain triple-bordered festoon within which is a stirrup bud. The design is typical of the period when the zoned form 29 was giving way to the hemispherical form 37. *c.* AD 70–90. Area B, context 210, soil layer sealing Roman deposits.

22 Form 37, Les Martres-de-Veyre. A basal fragment shows part of a basal wreath made up of the stylised double leaf, Rogers 1974: G386 used by X-2 and Drusus 1. *c.* AD 100–120. Area B, context 211, possible demolition rubble west of building 206.

23. Form 37, Les Martres-de-Veyre. The ovolo is Rogers 1974: B37 used by Drusus 1 and Igocatus. Below a bead row are tendrils and a vine leaf, not in Rogers 1974: with the small bird, Oswald 1936–7: 2278. The overall design appears to be a variant on Stanfield & Simpson 1958 and 1990: Pl.11, 134. *c.* AD 100–120. Area C, context 304, soil layer beneath topsoil.

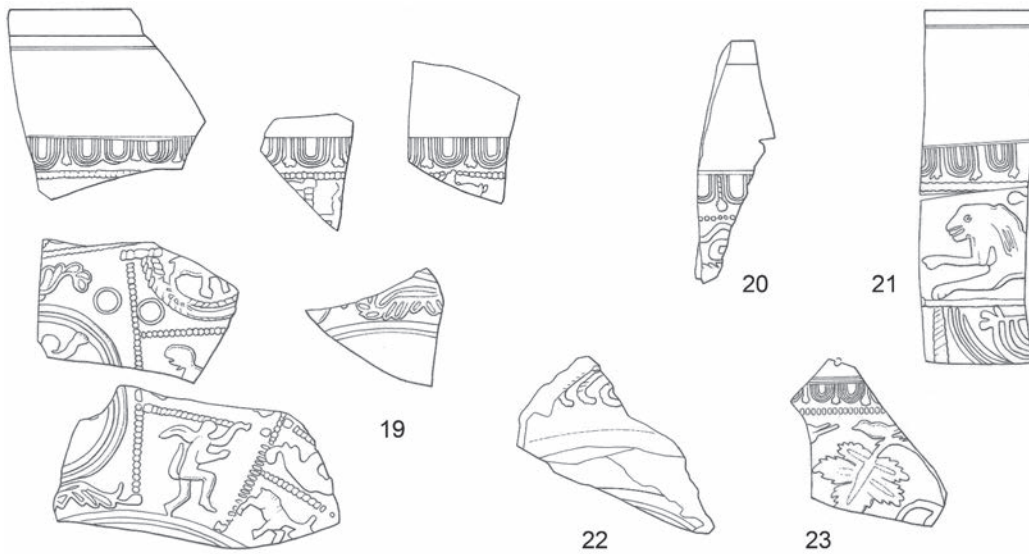

Fig. 13 Samian (scale 1:2).

Roman Coarse Pottery
by Wendy Owen, based on comments by Peter Webster

Some 29.6kg (1800 sherds) of Roman pottery were recovered from the excavations, all of which were examined, with fabrics being identified macroscopically on the basis of petrological inclusions with the aid of a x8 hand lens, and by comparing sherds with CPAT's Fabric Type Series. The coarseware fabrics have been put into six main groupings, discussed below, while a more detailed quantification, by individual fabrics, is housed in the site archive. Pottery illustrations are presented by vessel form and offer a representative selection of the more complete vessel forms found.

Pottery distribution

Table 5 presents a summary of the pottery distribution between the three excavated areas. Unsurprisingly, the majority of the pottery (1233 sherds, 22.3kg) was recovered from Area A, the largest area investigated, accounting for 69% of the sherds, or 75% by weight. In both Areas A and B the majority of the sherds (73% and 77% respectively) were recovered from stratified contexts, while in Area C this accounted for only 27% of the pottery. The disparity reflects the nature of the excavations in Area C, where none of the features or stratified layers was investigated beyond the initial cleaning.

An examination of the various pottery types by area (see Table 6) reveals no obvious trends, other than Area A having a slightly higher proportion of

	No.	%	Weight (g)	%
Area A				
Topsoil/cleaning	336	*27*	669	*30*
Layers	649	*53*	10259	*46*
Features	248	*20*	5356	*24*
	1233		**22284**	
Area B				
Topsoil/cleaning	43	*23*	586	*24*
Layers	140	*75*	1709	*70*
Features	4	*2*	153	*6*
	187		**2448**	
Area C				
Topsoil/cleaning	276	*73*	3601	*73*
Layers	97	*25*	1216	*25*
Features	7	*2*	93	*2*
	380		**4910**	
Overall totals	1800	*100*	29642	*100*

Table 5 Roman pottery distribution.

Class	South Gaul	Les Martres de Veyre	Central Gaul	East Gaul	Total	%
Plate/dish	4	6	12	1	23	22.33
Bowl	13	10	44	-	67	65.05
Mortarium	-	-	1	-	1	0.97
Cup/beaker	6	1	4	1	12	11.65
Totals	**23**	**17**	**61**	**2**	**103**	**100.00**

Table 6 Roman pottery types by excavated area.

amphorae, although the quantities are still low, while Area C has notably less black-burnished ware, but more grey wares.

The distribution of pottery within Area A (see Table 7) shows a notable concentration from deposits to the south of building 59, which produced 43% of the sherds, reinforcing the interpretation of this part of the site as a rubbish dump. Little investigation was undertaken within the buildings, although it may be significant that building 59 produced rather more amphorae than elsewhere, accounting for the difference in percentages by sherd count (8%) and weight (19%), and mortaria were only recovered from this building and the area to its south. The excavation of a short section of drain 38 produced a significant quantity of pottery (161 sherds, accounting for 18%), suggesting that this has been used to deposit rubbish, and this may also be true of the area to the west of building 58, although the quantities of pottery recovered here were far less than to the south of building 59.

	No.	%	Weight (g)	%
Building 58	46	*5*	504	*3*
Building 59	76	*8*	3000	*19*
'Smithy'	42	*5*	1560	*10*
Drain 38	161	*18*	3302	*21*
Area west of building 58	97	*11*	1557	*10*
Area south of building 59	385	*43*	4268	*28*
Miscellaneous	90	*10*	1424	*9*
Totals	**897**	***100***	**15615**	***100***

Table 7 Stratified Roman pottery in Area A.

Fabric Groups

The following fabric groups have been distinguished, with Table 8 providing a summary of the quantities recovered in each coarseware group, as well as for samian and mortaria.

Fabric group	sherd no		weight (g)	
Samian	155	(9%)	1294	(4%)
Mortaria	57	(3%)	2605	(9%)
Black-burnished ware	568	(31%)	5481	(18%)
Grey wares	436	24(%)	5520	19%)
Red wares	282	(16%)	2339	(8%)
White wares	35	2%)	244	(1%)
Colour-coated/Fine wares	36	(2%)	255	1%)
Amphorae	231	(13%)	11904	(40%)
Totals	**1800**	**100%**	**29642**	**100**

Table 8 Relative quantities of samian, mortaria and Romano-British coarsewares.

Mortaria (identified by P Webster)

The assemblage includes just 57 sherds from mortaria, but vessels have been identified from a variety of sources including northern France (two vessels, including no. 62, both probably of form Gillam 1976: 238), Verulamium (at least three vessels, nos. 55, 56 and 57), Oxford (one vessel, similar to Young 1977: M17, AD 240–300), the south-west of England (one white-slipped vessel in sandy orange fabric with grits including quartz; similar ones are of third century date at Usk), south Wales (at least two vessels in orange fabrics with white quartz grits of late-first to mid-second century date), Caerleon (at least five vessels including nos. 58, 59 and 60) and local (one vessel, no. 61), probably from within a fairly short radius of Brecon and Pen-y-gaer. The assemblage also includes a number of sherds in cream and red/orange fabrics from unidentified sources. The date range of the vessels spans the period from the mid to late-first century up to AD 300, but the majority of vessels are of early to mid-second century date.

Black-burnished ware

Black-burnished ware sherds account for 31.5% of the total pottery recovered, and make up a very large proportion (56.5%) of all the sherds in reduced fabrics. All the sherds are of Category 1 fabric (BB1), typically hard, rough, grey-black and with frequent quartz inclusions, although a good number of the burnt vessels have oxidised to a buff or orange colour.

The detailed typology of black-burnished Ware is based largely upon its occurrence in historically dated contexts in northern Britain (Gillam 1973: 53–67; Gillam 1976). In the main, the dating thus suggested will hold good for the whole of Britain. However, black-burnished Ware does not appear in the north before about AD 120 and it largely disappears by the last quarter of the fourth century. This is not the case in southern Britain. In Wales, there is certainly a surge in supply from the Hadrianic period onwards, but in south Wales at least, the ware is present in small quantities from the invasion period

onwards (Manning 1993: 54 and 265). At Pen-y-gaer, therefore, we cannot assume that all black-burnished ware is Hadrianic or later, or even that it is necessarily second century or later. Where appropriate, this is reflected in the dating suggested in the report.

The date range of the black-burnished ware vessels present at Pen-y-gaer runs from the late-first century through into the fourth century, though it is notable that the great majority of the vessel forms are of second century date, and that only two vessels of fourth century date were identified. A comprehensive range of vessel forms were present, comprising cooking pots/jars (one with a countersunk handle), small jars, beakers including a probable handled beaker, bowls (grooved rims, bead rims, flanged rims, grooved and flanged rims and bead and flanged rims) and dishes (plain rim/dog dishes, flat rims, flanged, grooved or bead rims). One bowl shows evidence of having been mended with a lead rivet, perhaps indicating that a supply of these pots was not always readily available. Interestingly, a circular gaming counter, *c.* 4cm in diameter, had been roughly fashioned from a sherd of black-burnished ware, partially burnished on one side.

Grey wares

Sherds in a variety of grey ware fabrics account for a large proportion (24%) of the total assemblage, second only to black-burnished ware in quantity. Amongst these, the most numerous of the identified vessel forms fall into a category known as South Wales Grey Wares, a group noted at Usk and described by Webster (Manning 1993: 232) as typically in a mid or silvery grey fabric, sometimes with a darker surface colouration and containing plentiful sand-like filler. Variations do occur including both lighter and darker fabrics. Surfaces are usually unburnished although sometimes lightly smoothed or burnished. Decoration includes burnished wavy lines and latticework, but particularly characteristic are wavy lines, probably the result of the use of a stiff brush. Kilns operating within this tradition at Llanedeyrn, east of Cardiff, and Caldicot, are likely to have been in operation in the late-third or early-fourth century, but pottery in fabrics clearly akin to these products are to be found from the mid to late-first century onwards. This seems to be a local pottery tradition established soon after the Roman conquest of south Wales and continuing into the fourth century. The vessel forms represented include jars and small jars, such as nos. 11–19 and 21 (some with narrow neck), lids (nos. 37 and 38), bowls (flanged, grooved and plain rims), a possible tankard and a handle, perhaps from a flagon.

A number of other grey ware vessels occur in generally well-fired fabrics which feature a well-polished surface, often sometimes very dark grey in colour. Forms are mostly jars or beakers (nos. 5 and 6) similar to black-burnished ware examples, and at least one (no. 6) is wheel thrown. The source of these is unknown.

Native or Malvernian-type vessels are represented by just two body sherds.

These hand-made vessels are in the pre-Roman Iron Age tradition and likely to be of local manufacture. The fabric is rough, hard and dark grey to dark brown in colour, containing large, angular, crushed rock inclusions, while the surface is crudely burnished. It has been suggested that such vessels may have been used as containers for transporting some commodity such as salt (Webster 1989: 89), but the evidence so far is not conclusive.

Two grey ware sherds have been roughly fashioned for re-use, one as a gaming counter and the other as either an unfinished spindlewhorl or a counter, both around 3.5cm in diameter.

Red wares

Oxidised wares provide a modest proportion of the assemblage (15% of the sherds). A considerable number of the identified vessels are in fabrics termed Caerleon ware, produced at or near Caerleon. A kiln site producing second century Caerleon ware has been excavated at Abernant Farm on the Celtic Manor golf course 1.6 miles (2.6 km) north-east of the fortress (Webster, Hartley, Marvell and Sell 2004). The fabric is generally a reddish buff, with little filler, and the surface is often burnished, or smoothed and slipped to produce an external surface with a colour between orange and maroon to brown, similar to Oxfordshire red colour-coated fabrics. The most distinguishable forms resemble metal and samian vessel forms, but flagons, jars, bowls, beakers and mortaria were also produced. A date range of Trajanic to mid-Antonine has been suggested (Webster 1993). Forms present at Pen-y-gaer include bowls, beakers (including indented or folded examples), imitations of samian forms 18/31, 44 and the mortar-like bowl (Ritterling 12 or early Curle 11) and one dish imitating samian form 18/31 (no. 52). Illustrated examples appear in Fig. 16.

Severn Valley ware is very poorly represented, with only 14 sherds identified as such. Several examples of tankards such as nos. 8 and 9 and a large jar can be identified. The fabrics vary a little in their hardness, sand content and other inclusions, and some are vesicular.

No production sources have been identified for the remainder of the red wares. In the main, the fabrics are unremarkable, of varying degrees of softness, and contain varying amounts of fine quartz, with occasional larger rounded quartz. Amongst the vessel forms represented are flagons including a Hoffheim flagon, one very large flagon (no. 3) and one with a neck of four rings (no. 2), beakers, jars (including no. 20 which shows Severn Valley ware influence), a bead rim bowl, flanged rim dishes or bowls and a dish or perhaps lid (no. 36). One red ware sherd appears to have been roughly fashioned for re-use as a gaming counter *c.* 4cm in diameter.

White wares

White ware sherds were very scarce in the assemblage, and account for only 1.9% of the pottery. Flagons represent the majority of the identified vessel forms, and these include at least three ring-necked examples from unknown sources as well as one flagon in Verulamium fabric (mid-second century type of flagon as Frere 1972: no. 567). One lid was also recognised. Many of the vessels are in smooth creamy white fabrics (such as no. 1), but some harder and some more sandy fabrics also occur.

Colour-coated wares and Fine wares

Only a small number of colour-coated and fine ware sherds were noted at Pen-y-gaer, but these included vessels from several different sources. Caerleon ware is represented by brown colour-coated, indented and roughcast beakers. Several examples were identified, including nos. 39 and 44 which are similar to Usk examples (Manning 1993: 261, Fig. 120, 16.1–16.4) and those from the kiln at Abernant (Webster, Hartley, Marvell and Sell 2004), and also a grooved rim beaker (no.42). Outside dates for all these are AD 110–160. One sherd of Terra Nigra was present, as well as other vessels in a fabric akin to it, but less fine, including an everted rim jar (no. 49) and a probable necked jar (no. 50). Other sources are represented by two sherds from north Gaulish roughcast, colour-coated beakers, a neck sherd from an Oxford colour-coated, rouletted beaker (date range AD 240–400) and a sherd from a Nene valley colour coated vessel.

Amphorae

Almost all of the amphorae sherds were identified as Dressel 20 South Spanish olive oil containers (223 sherds), although few rim fragments were noted. In addition to these, a very small number of sherds from South Spanish fish sauce amphorae and one sherd from a Gauloise 4 (Pélichet 47) South Gaulish wine amphora were recognised. One amphora stopper was also noted.

Catalogue

The following catalogue makes reference to the standard text of Gillam 1976, defining the form and style of black-burnished ware vessels, and examples of Caerleon ware from Usk (Webster 1993).

1. Ring-necked flagon in a creamy white fabric. Outside dates mid-first to mid-second century, but probably Flavian. Area A, context 15, floor layer in building 58.
2. Ring-necked flagon with four rings. The fabric is pale orange with a grey core, vesicular and with some fine sand inclusions. From the first half of the second century. Area A, context 39, fill of drain 38.
3. Large flagon in a smooth, light orange fabric with a grey core, probably very late-first century to first half of second century. Area A topsoil.
4. South Wales grey ware narrow-mouthed vessel, possibly a flagon, in a light grey sandy fabric. Area C, context 304, soil layer sealing Roman deposits.
5. Beaker or small jar, a thin-walled vessel in well-fired grey fabric Burnished and decorated with band of faint, possibly lattice, decoration. Area B, context 203, possible wall.
6. Beaker or small jar, with form resembling black-burnished ware jars, but wheel thrown. Burnished

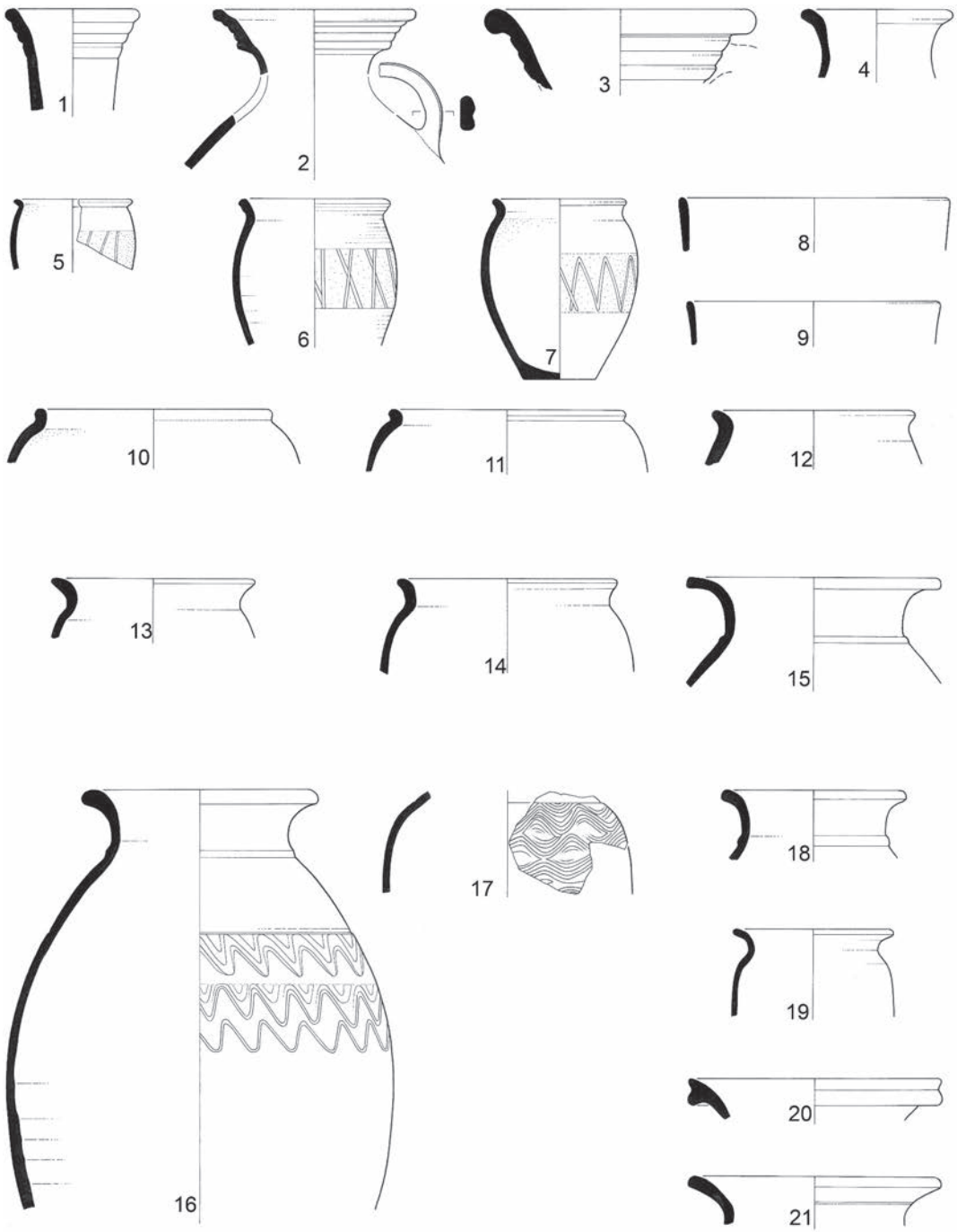

Fig. 14 Coarse pottery (scale 1:4).

and decorated with pointed, overlapping arcs. Well-fired smooth grey fabric. Area B, context 236, fill of pit/post-hole 235.

7. Small jar in black-burnished ware; cf. Gillam 1970: no. 122 and Richmond and Birley 1930: Fig. 14, 18e. The examples from the northern frontier quoted date from the early to mid-second century. Examples in south Wales could be earlier, although the expansion in the importation of this ware from the Trajanic period onwards makes a second century date most probable. Area B, context 226, soil layer within building 206.
8. Severn Valley ware tankard in a light orange fabric with a grey core. Area C, context 304, soil layer sealing Roman deposits.
9. Severn Valley ware tankard with a plain rim in a hard, brown/orange vesicular fabric with a grey core, possibly third century. Area A, context 39, fill of drain 38.
10. Beaded rim jar in red ware, imitating a black-burnished ware form. Light buff/orange, hard, slightly micaceous sandy fabric. Area A, unstratified from area of kiln 70.
11. South Wales grey ware beaded rim jar in a soft, light grey fabric containing some grog. Area A, context 39, fill of drain 38.
12. South Wales grey ware jar in a soft, light pinkish-grey, slightly sandy fabric. Area A, context 86, possible rubbish deposit outside building 59
13. South Wales grey ware jar in a sandy fabric with mid-grey surfaces and an orange core. Area C, context 304, soil layer sealing Roman deposits.
14. South Wales grey ware jar in a grey-buff smooth fabric. Area C, context 306, occupation layer.
15. South Wales grey ware jar, its form similar to Severn Valley ware, with a cordon at base of neck. The fabric is grey-buff, soft and slightly micacaeous, with dull sedimentary rock inclusions. Area A, context 86, possible rubbish deposit outside building 59.
16. South Wales grey ware narrow-necked jar, decorated with brushed wavy line band around girth. Similar to Usk nos. 8.1–8.4. The fabric is light grey, fairly hard, and slightly sandy. Area A, context 39, fill of drain 38.
17. Decorated sherds from a South Wales grey ware vessel in a mid-grey fabric with a dark, possibly burnt, external surface. The brushed wavy decoration is bordered by horizontal groove. Similar to Usk examples. Area C, context 313, stone spread.
18. South Wales grey ware jar, Severn Valley ware influenced in form, with a cordon on the neck. Mid-grey fabric with fine sand filler. Area A, context 27, soil layer west of building 58.
19. South Wales grey ware jar in a hard, light grey fabric with fine sand fllller. Smoothed/burnished exterior surface. Area A, context 39, fill of drain 38.
20. Vessel very like later Severn Valley ware jars, as Webster 1976: nos. 10–11, and although not Severn Valley ware it is akin to it, third to fourth century. Moderately hard, slightly sandy orange fabric. Area B, context 201, late deposit at eastern end of trench.
21. South Wales grey ware jar in light/mid-grey slightly sandy fabric. Area C, context 303, initial cleaning.
22. Black-burnished ware cooking pot with a second century form, as Gillam 1976: no. 1 but without the wavy line under the rim. Acute angle lattice decoration. Area B, context 203, possible wall, and context 212, initial clean to its west.
23. Black-burnished ware cooking pot decorated with a panel of acute angle lattice, second century. Area A, context 86, possible rubbish deposit outside building 59.
24. Black-burnished ware cooking pot decorated with a lattice panel and a wavy line on the neck. As Gillam 1976: nos. 2–3, mid to late-second century. Area B, context 203, possible wall.
25. Black-burnished ware cooking pot with a panel of acute angle lattice decoration, second century. Area A, context 86, possible rubbish deposit outside building 59.
26. Black-burnished ware jar, similar to Gillam 1976 no 7, early to mid-third century. Area A, context 39, fill of drain 38.
27. Black-burnished ware jar, as Gillam 1976: nos. 6–8, third century. Area A, context 39, fill of drain 38.

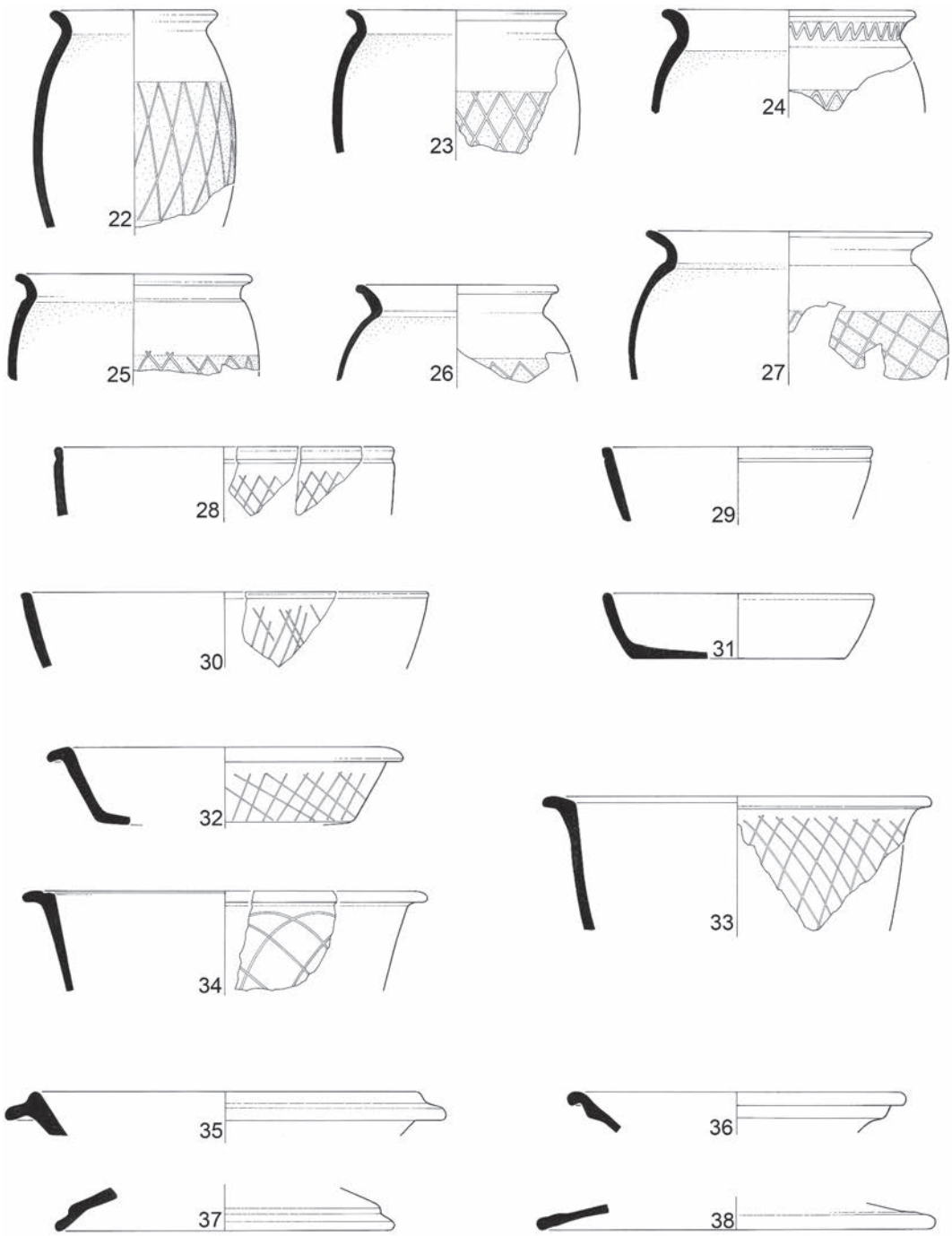

Fig. 15 Coarse pottery (scale 1:4).

28. Black-burnished ware deep bowl with faint cross-hatch decoration, as Gillam 1976 no 52, second century. Area A, context 86, possible rubbish deposit outside building 59.
29. Black-burnished ware dish with a grooved/beaded rim, as Gillam 1976: nos. 68–70, second century date. Area A, unstratified in area of kiln 70.
30. Black-burnished ware plain rim dish, similar to Gillam 1976: no 76, mid to late-second century. Area A, context 13, stone spread possibly filling a large pit.
31. Black-burnished ware plain rim dish, undecorated, second/third century. Area A, context 39, fill of drain 38.

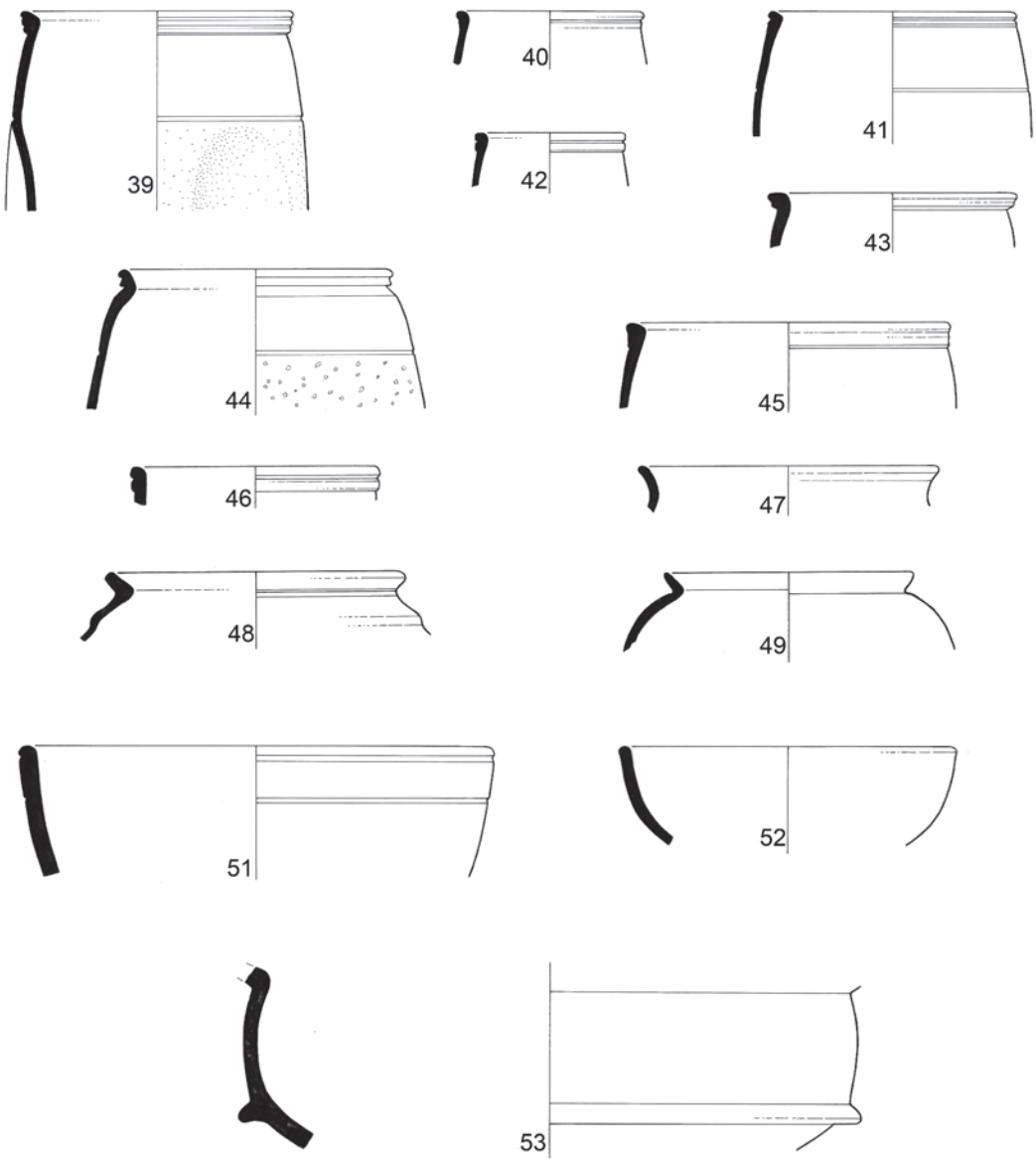

Fig. 16 Caerleon ware and fine wares (scale 1:3)

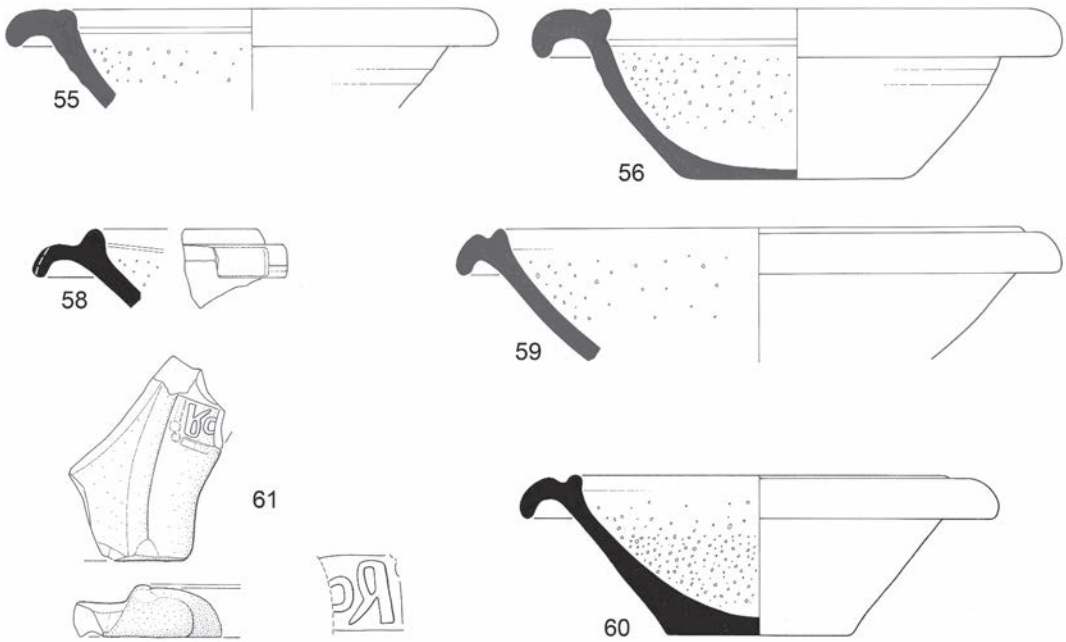

Fig. 17 Mortaria (scale 1:4, except stamp inset of no. 61, scale 1:1)

32. Black-burnished ware flat rim dish with lattice decoration, second century. Area B, context 203, possible wall.
33. Black-burnished ware plain flanged bowl with lattice decoration, second century. Area A, context 39, fill of drain 38.
34. Black-burnished ware plain flanged bowl with intersecting arc decoration, as Gillam 1976: no 42, late-second to early-third century. Area A, context 27, soil layer west of building 58.
35. Black-burnished ware beaded and flanged-rim bowl, fourth century date. Area A, topsoil.
36. Two sherds of a dish or possibly a lid in a dark red fabric with a grey core and dark grey surface. Similar vessels at Loughor are interpreted as lids (Webster 1977). Probably, but not certainly late-first to mid-second century. Area C, context 306, occupation layer.
37. South Wales grey ware lid in slightly sandy buff-grey fabric with grey core. Area C, context 305, occupation deposit.
38. South Wales grey ware lid in soft light grey-buff fabric with burnished surfaces. Area A, unstratified from area of kiln 70.
39. Indented roughcast beaker with mid-brown colour coat on the exterior, in smooth light orange-buff fabric. The rim has two grooves. It is most likely to be from Caerleon. See Usk examples of Caerleon ware roughcast beakers 16.1–16.4. Outside dates AD 110–160. Area A, context 27, soil layer west of building 58.
40. Beaker with mid-brown colour coat on exterior, in smooth light orange-buff fabric, probably from Caerleon. Area A topsoil from area of kiln 70.
41. Beaker in fine light orange-buff micaceous fabric, probably from Caerleon. Area A, unstratified from area of kiln 70.
42. Beaker with grooved rim. An over-fired product in hard smooth grey fabric, probably from Caerleon. Area C, context 304, soil layer sealing Roman deposits.

43. Roughcast jar or beaker in very worn, light orange-buff sandy fabric, probably from Caerleon. Area C, context 304, soil layer sealing Roman deposits.
44. Roughcast beaker with a dull brown colour coat in a smooth, light orange/buff fabric and a grooved rim, probably from Caerleon, as Abernant, Webster, Hartley, Marvell and Sell 2004: no. 29. Area A, context 86, possible rubbish deposit outside building 59.
45. Beaker in a soft, reddish orange, fine fabric with traces of a darker colour coat. Probably from Caerleon. Area A, contexts 11, demolition rubble and context 39, fill of drain 38.
46. Beaker with a grooved rim in a smooth, light orange fabric with traces of a dull brown colour coat. Probably from Caerleon. Area A, topsoil.
47. A thin-walled jar in a fine smooth, light orange fabric with an orange-red colour coat on the interior and exterior. Probably from Caerleon. Area A, context 85, soil layer sealing possible rubbish deposit 86, outside building 59.
48. Everted rim jar in a fine, deep orange, micaceous fabric with a grey core, its source unknown. Probably late-first to early-second century. Area B, context 211, possible demolition rubble west of building 206.
49. Everted rim jar in a light grey fabric with a mid-grey core and smooth grey surface. The fabric is related to Terra Nigra and probably of a similar date (cf. Greene 1979: Fig. 49, nos. 1–3). Mid to late-first century. Area A, context 86, possible rubbish deposit outside building 59.
50. Three fragments of a jar in a light grey micaceous fabric with a darker surface and bands of rouletting. The fabric does not seem to be fine enough for Terra Nigra, but it is clearly related to it. A necked jar such as Greene 1979, fig. 45, no. 1 seems probable. Mid or mid/late-first century. Area A, contexts 83, floor layer within building 59 and Area C, context 304, soil layer sealing Roman deposits. Not illustrated.
51. Bowl with a plain rim, in light orange micaceous fabric, the body decorated with a horizontal groove and traces of a red colour coat on the interior. Area A, context 86, possible rubbish deposit outside building 59.
52. Dish in an orange fabric with abraded surfaces showing faint traces of red colour coat. This is a Caerleon ware piece, imitating the samian form 18/31 (Webster and Webster 1998: Fig. 2, nos. 15–19), early to mid-second century. Area A, context 6, demolition rubble.
53. Bowl in Caerleon ware imitating samian form Dr 44, in a smooth, light orange-buff fabric. Outside dates AD 120–160, but probably more towards Antonine. Area A, unstratified from area of kiln 70.
54. Mortar-like bowl, its form imitating samian form Ritterling 12 or early Curle 11s. Caerleon is the likely source and probably dates to AD 70–90. The fabric is smooth and hard, orange-buff with grey core. Area C, context 309, fill of possible post-hole 308.
55. Mortarium in a granular cream fabric with grey/white trituration grits (two sherds joined); probably a Verulamium region product (cf. Frere 1972: Fig. 115, no. 539, with the dating slightly modified in Frere 1984: 271). Mid to late-first century. Area C, context 304, soil layer sealing Roman deposits.
56. Mortarium in a granular light cream fabric with white and grey rounded grits. A Verulamium region product (cf. Frere 1984: Fig. 111, no. 2654). Early to mid-second century. Area A, context 86, possible rubbish deposit outside building 59 and context 85, a deposit sealing 86.
57. Wall-sided mortarium in granular off-white fabric, probably from the Verulamium region (cf. *ibid* Fig 112, no. 2679). Mid to late-second century. Area B, late deposit at eastern end of trench. Not illustrated.
58. Caerleon mortarium (damaged fragment of rim) in a red fabric with white trituration grits, and a groove on the flange near its tip, as Caerleon no. 13 from Usk, AD 120–160. Area A, topsoil east of building 58.
59. Mortarium in a smooth, well-fired light orange fabric with a light grey core and a reddish surface surviving in parts. Trituration grits are all white quartz. See Caerleon no. 1–2 from Usk, AD 110–150. Area A, context 86, possible rubbish deposit outside building 59.
60. Mortarium from Wales, probably Caerleon, in smooth in light orange fabric with quartz trituration grits. Possible traces of dull red-brown colour coat survive under the flange. Usk

Caerleon no. 1 is close very similar, AD 110–150. Area C, context 304, soil layer sealing Roman deposits, and context 307, stone deposit.

61. Mortarium in a light orange fabric, very abraded and broken at the spout. A partial stamp within a frame survives in abraded form and appears to read IRo retrograde, although the I could be part of the frame. The stamp has been recorded previously from Pen-y-gaer (Hartley 1968) and also appears on two further examples from Brecon (Wheeler 1926: 247, nos 11–12 and fig. 98, C36–7). I am most grateful to Kay Hartley for discussion of this piece; she also points out a further example of the stamp found during field walking in County Durham. Manufacture within a fairly short radius of Brecon and Pen-y-gaer seems probable, but the Durham find suggests that this is a potter who migrated, probably northwards as the military market in Wales shrank. An early to mid-second century date seems likely on the basis of the rim profiles. Area C, context 307, stone deposit.
62. Joining fragments of a mortarium in a fine, creamy white fabric with off-white to grey 'quartz' trituration grits. The flange and spout have largely broken off but the former appears to have been flat at its inner end, suggesting a rim similar to Gillam 238 and a possible north French origin (The origins and dating of Gillam 238 are discussed in Hartley 1977; Hartley 1988 and Hartley and Tomber 2006). Mid/late-first to early-second century. Area A, context 39, fill of drain 38 and unstratified. Not illustrated.

Roman Coins by Mark Walters

Six Roman coins were recovered from the excavations, ranging in date from the first to second century AD. Where the legend is now only partly visible but its full lettering can be deduced from known examples the unidentifiable part appears in brackets.

Find 1003, Area A, context 91, soil layer within the southern room in building 59.
Denomination: Copper As ?
Obverse: Illegible
Reverse: Illegible
Date: first – second century AD
Comments: Heavily corroded and damaged (cut in half)

Find 1006, Area A, context 90, demolition rubble south of road 88.
Denomination: Copper As ?
Obverse: Head right – illegible
Reverse: Illegible
Date: first – second century AD
Comments: Heavily corroded

Find 1010, Area C, context No: 306, soil layer.
Denomination: Copper As
Obverse: Illegible
Reverse: Illegible
Date: first – second century AD
Comments: Heavily corroded. Only the core of the copper As survives.

Find 1011, unstratified.
Denomination: AE Semis
Obverse: Uncertain emperor, possibly Nero. Laur. head right
Reverse: Table with urn on top
Attribution: Similar to Nero RIC 560

Date: If confirmed as Nero then AD 64–66 struck in Rome
Comments: Flan size heavily reduced by corrosion

Find 1109, Area A, context 27, soil layer west of building 58.
Denomination: Copper As
Diam: 25.5mm
Die Axis: 5
Obverse: Laur. head of Hadrian right (IMP CAESAR TRAIANVS H)ADRI(ANVS AVG)
Reverse: (PONT MAX TR POT) COS (II)I, S C across field, (BRITA)NNIA in exergue, Britannia seated slightly left, head facing and resting on right arm, with spear lying on left arm and right foot set on rocks; round shield to right
Attribution: RIC II 577a
Date: Struck in Rome AD 119–120

Comments: An important coin type as this represents the first time Britannia appears in personified form on a coin. The coin was struck two years before Hadrian visited Britain and commissioned the building of Hadrian's Wall. The coin is thought to commemorate the restoration of order in the province following a serious uprising in the north, probably early in the governorship of Q. Pompeius Falco (AD 118–122).

Find 1111, Area A, topsoil.
Denomination: Dupondius
Diam: 25mm
Die Axis: 6
Obverse: Radiate head of Trajan right. No intact legend
Reverse: Mars, advancing right, wearing a helmet, carrying a long spear in his right hand and balancing a trophy on his left shoulder (SPQR OP)TIMO (PRINCIPI). Damaged and heavily worn reverse.
Attribution: RIC 590
Date: Struck in Rome AD 112–114

In addition to the coins from the recent excavations, three coins (nos. 1–3) were recorded by Payne in the early-nineteenth century (RCAHMW 1986: 147), and five coins (nos. 4–8) have been recorded from the fort and its environs as a result of metal detector finds reported through the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS):

1) Marcus Aurelius as Caesar (AD 145–61)
2) Constantine I (*c.* AD 307 or 308)
3) Constantine II as Caesar (AD 332–3)
4) Denarius of Vespasian inscribed TRI-POT and depicting Vesta, dated to *c.* AD 70–2
5) Plated counterfeit denarius of Domitian inscribed ?TR?XIII, dated to AD 93 or later.
6) Domitian As.

7) Trajanic dupondius inscribed FELICITAS SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS.
8) Hadrianic dupondius inscribed PONT MAX TR [POT COS II] SC //FORT RED.

Objects of Bronze by Janet Webster

Catalogue

Brooches

1. A small example of the Polden Hill type (cf. Manning, Price and Webster 1995). Here, an axial bar supported on pierced disc terminals at the ends of the side wings supports the spring with the chord secured by a rearward-facing hook at the end of the otherwise ornamental chord-hook. The brooch has central groove down the bow with latitudinal ribs to either side and lenticular mouldings at the head. The bow ends in a narrow moulding above the foot knob. Late-first to early-second century. Find 1007, Area C, context 304, soil layer beneath topsoil (Fig. 1).
2. A slightly larger brooch of apparently identical type to Find 1007 above. This brooch is very corroded but the mouldings seem almost identical. Late-first to early-second century. Find 1001, Area A, context 86, soil layer south of wall 85.

Cosmetic pestle

3. Centre-looped cosmetic pestle, Jackson type 0 (cf. Jackson 2010: Fig. 23, no. 480) but without the decoration. Jackson shows that these implements were a purely British phenomenon with a wide date range extending from the late-Iron Age to the third century AD. The Pen-y-gaer example is one of the more westerly recorded (*ibid*: Map 1, 56). Find 1075, Area A, context 13, stone spread possibly filling a large pit.

Miscellaneous objects (not illustrated)

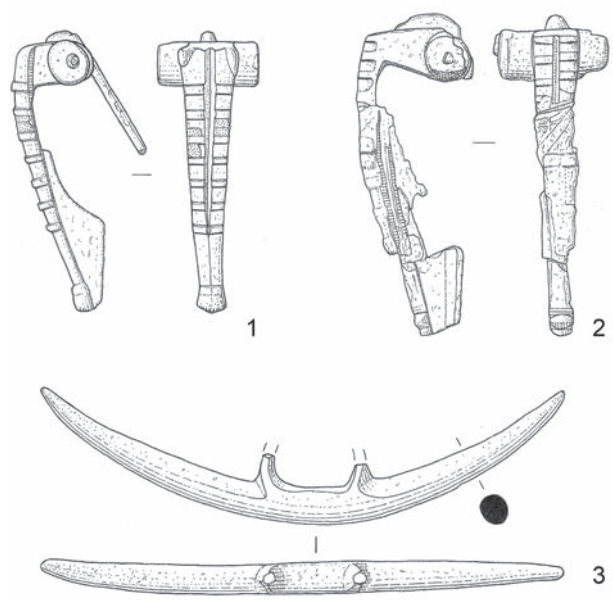

Fig. 18 Objects of bronze (scale 1:1).

4. Fragment of functional ring of square cross-section. Find 1002, Area C, context 306, occupation layer.
5. Severely corroded fragment of bronze and iron. Not now identifiable, but possibly once the head of a brooch, perhaps a native variant of the Aucissa/Hod Hill family. There are three loops at one end of a flat plate, the two outer ones emerge from the outer edges of the flat 'bow' and an iron hinge-bar can be discerned through both of them. The central loop is only partially visible owing to severe corrosion but may possibly represent some sort of repair. Alternatively the object may represent a small hinge of unknown purpose. Find 1005, Area C, context 305, occupation deposit.
6. Fragment of spoon, possibly medieval. Find 1008, unstratified.
7. Folded piece of sheet bronze pierced with a small circular hole and including an associated rivet. Find 1009, Area B, context 217, robbed wall line.
8. Fragment of an object similar to Find 1009. Find 1110, Area A, context 01, topsoil.
9. Acorn finial in bronze with an iron shank. Possible a scabbard slide finial (cf. Oldenstein 1976: 95 and Taf. 38), although the unstratified context casts some doubt on this identification. Find 1076, unstratified.
10. Small straight pin with narrow mouldings at one end, perhaps a hairpin. Find 1088, Area A, context 54, stone paving west of hearth 46 within building 58.
11. Fragment possibly of a circular bronze mirror. Find 1089, Area A, context 36, demolition rubble overlying smithing waste 11.

Objects of Iron (not illustrated)

The excavations produced 234 nail fragments, of which 135 came from Area A, 53 from area B and 46 from area C, together with seven hobnails, all from Area B. No obvious concentrations were noted and their presence is likely to signify no more than the use of timber in the construction of buildings in each of the excavated areas. Other objects are detailed below. While it is likely that some of the ironwork was made or at least repaired in the smithy it was not possible to make any such attributions on the basis of the excavated evidence.

Catalogue

1. Bar. Rectangular-section bar, broken at both ends. 48mm long, 10mm wide and 6mm thick.
2. Bar? Find 1039, Area A, topsoil. Rectangular cross-section, slightly tapering and broken at both ends. 45mm long, 22mm wide and 7mm thick. Find 1139, Area A, context 86, soil layer south of wall 85.
3. Bar. Square-sectioned, slightly curving and tapering bar. 66mm long and 4–7mm across. Find 1069, Area B, context 227, possible robbed wall-line.
4. Blade? The tanged end (bent) of a probable blade. 55mm long, 18mm wide and 8mm thick. Find 1050, Area C, context 304, soil layer beneath topsoil.
5. Blade. A tapering blade fragment, broken at both ends. 61mm long, up to 25mm wide and up to 5mm thick. Find 1080, Area A, context 5, wall.
6. Fitting. Flat, rectangular sheet with a hole in each corner, one with a possible rivet surviving, and possible organic remains adhering to one surface. 50mm long, 40–44mm wide and 1mm thick. Find 1072, Area A, context 77, unstratified.
7. Hinge. A small hinge consisting of a rectangular plate. 40mm long, 13mm wide, with a hole at one end through which a looped rod or staple has been passed. Find 1092, Area A, context 39, fill of drain 38.
8. Hook. S-shaped hook. 44mm long, 29mm wide. Find 1059, Area A, context 86, soil layer south of wall 85.
9. Hook? Round-sectioned rod, broken at one end, and bent into a hook with a pointed end. 75mm long, 43mm wide and 5mm thick. Find 1126, Area A, context 27, south layer west of wall 25.

10. Object. Curved, tapering strip broken into four pieces and incomplete. The curvature gives a diameter of around 65mm. 18–24mm wide and 3mm thick. Area A, context 15, floor layer in building 58.
11. Object. Large nail, or possibly a catapult bolt-head. 96mm long, 10mm thick, with a larger, corroded head at one end. Find 1048, Area C, context 304, soil layer beneath topsoil.
12. Object/fitting. A thin, narrow strip which forks at one end to two broken 'prongs'. 46mm long, 11–21mm wide and up to 3mm thick. Find 1063, Area A, context 86, soil layer south of wall 85.
13. Object/fitting. Tanged object with two short 'spikes' bent at 90 degrees, one missing. 30mm long, 22mm wide and 2mm thick. Find 1064, Area A, context 86, soil layer south of wall 85.
14. Object. Oval sheet with U-shaped notch in one side. 39mm long, up to 20mm wide and up to 4mm thick. Find 1074, Area C, context 307, layer of stone at east end of trench.
15. Object. A rounded stem, 9mm in diameter, which flattens out and thickens to a square cross-section, 15mm across, before thinning to a rectangular cross-section, 12mm wide and 10mm thick. 100mm long, broken at the rectangular end. Find 1114, Area A, topsoil.
16. Object. A flat, oval sheet with thin, tapering strips on opposite sides, one of which is obviously broken. 50mm long, up to 23mm wide and 3mm thick. Find 1117, Area A, topsoil.
17. Object. Flat object tapering to a point at one end, the other end broken. 43mm long, 14mm wide and 6mm thick. Find 1122, Area A, context 21, collapsed tile roof.
18. Object. A flat strap tapering to a rounded point at one end, the other end broken. 58mm long, 26mm wide and 4mm thick. Find 1123, Area A, context 21, collapsed tile roof.
19. Object. Strap? Find 1019. Area B, topsoil. A thin strap, broken at one end and slightly rounded at the other. 73mm long, 13mm wide and 3mm thick. Find 1135, Area C, topsoil.
20. Ring or chain link. Oval, 48–56mm across with a 5mm-thick cross-section. Find 1027, Area B, context 217, initial cleaning at east end of trench.
21. Strap? Thin, plate-like object, broken at one end. 34mm long, 16mm wide and 2mm thick. Find 1062, Area A, context 86, soil layer south of wall 85.
22. Strap/hinge. A rectangular-sectioned strap, rounded at one end, which thickens and is folded over at the other end, where there is the suggestion of an attachment which is missing. The folded end has a hole through one surface and a slot in the end of the folded section. Possibly a hinge or a strap used to strengthen a wooden object. 168mm long, 26–30mm wide and 3–7mm thick. Find 1091, Area A, context 39, fill of drain 38.
23. Strip. A flat strip bent over at one end and broken at the other end. 40mm long, 30mm wide and 2mm thick. Find 1044, Area A, context 6, demolition rubble.
24. Strip. A thin, flat strip broken at both ends.40mm long, 14mm wide and 2mm thick. Find 1045, Area A, context 6, demolition rubble.
25. Strip. A slightly curved strip, broken at one end. 90mm long, 35mm wide and 2mm thick. Find 1061, Area A, context 86, soil layer south of wall 85.
26. Tool? Semi-circular cross-section, tapers from a flat end to a rounded point. 67mm long, 23mm wide and 17mm thick. Find 1042, Area, context 6, demolition rubble.
27. Tool/chisel? Rectangular cross-section, tapering and flattening to an edge at one end. 120mm long, 11mm wide and 7mm thick. Find 1043, Area A, context 6, demolition rubble.
28. Tool? Rectangular cross-section, tapering to a point, possibly broken at the other end. 78mm long, 9mm wide and 3mm thick. Find 1049, Area C, context 304, soil layer beneath topsoil.

Objects of Lead (not illustrated)

Forty-two lead objects were recovered from the excavations, most of which consist of small pieces or what appear to be waste fragments. The small number of objects are described below.

Catalogue

1. Weight. A biconical weight with three dots on one face. 60mm long and 12mm in diameter. Find 1101, Area A, topsoil.
2. Weight. An irregular weight. 45mm long, 30mm wide and 8mm thick. Find 1022. Area B, topsoil.
3. Rod. A solid, round-sectioned rod. 60mm long and 12mm in diameter. Find 1058, Area A, context 86, soil layer south of wall 85.
4. Object. A circular, slightly domed object. 70mm in diameter. Find 1087, Area A, context 35, soil layer above floor 74, building 59.
5. Sheet. Two small, irregular sheets of lead rolled into tubes, 20mm and 300mm in diameter. Find 1057, unstratified.
6. Sheet. 2mm thick and up to 40mm diameter. Find 1055, Area C, context 304, soil layer below topsoil.
7. Sheet. Two small, irregular sheets of lead rolled into tubes. 20mm and 300mm in diameter. Find 1130. Area C, topsoil.

Worked Stone (not illustrated)

Catalogue

1. Upper stone from a rotary quern. The quern is made from quartz conglomerate and measures 420mm in diameter with a central hole 22mm across. Thickness 40mm at the centre, decreasing to 35mm at the edge. Area A, context 13, stone spread possibly filling a large pit.
2. Whetstone. Broken whetstone of Old Red Sandstone, worn and polished on all four surfaces and along two edges. 146mm long, 32mm wide and 30mm thick. Area A, context 27, soil layer west of wall 25.
3. Whetstone. Broken whetstone of Old Red Sandstone, worn and polished on all four surfaces. 100mm long, 27mm wide and 27mm thick. Area A, context 86, soil layer south of wall 85.
4. Smoothing stone. A natural oval pebble of quartz conglomerate, smoothed and slightly polished on the upper and lower surfaces through use. 132mm long, 73mm wide and 42mm thick. Area A, topsoil.
5. Smoothing stone. A naturally tapering piece of fine-grained, bedded, argillaceous sandstone, worn and polished on the base and worn on both sides. 140mm long, 45mm wide and 30mm thick. Area A, context 39, upper fill of drain 38.
6. Smoothing stone. A natural elongated pebble of fine-grained and bedded sandstone, worn and polished on the lower surface and worn on the remaining three surfaces. 160mm long, 44mm wide and 33mm thick. Area C, context 304, soil layer below topsoil.
7. Polished pebble. A small, rounded pebble, highly polished. 21mm long, 16mm wide and 14mm thick. Area B, context 209, soil layer sealing floor layers in building 206.

Building Materials

The usual range of Roman ceramic building materials was present in the material recovered during the excavations, totalling around 120kg. The more identifiable fragments included 49 pieces of imbrex (5.7kg), 34 pieces of tegula (13.3kg) and only two pieces of box-flue tile. The only significant concentration was what has been interpreted as a collapsed tile roof within the area of building 58, most of which was left *in situ*. Elsewhere, ceramic building materials were found mostly in small numbers within spreads of building rubble.

Metal Working Residues

The excavations produced a significant quantity of metalworking residues (95kg), most of which were derived from layers of demolition rubble (6, 36, 89 and 90) which overlay a dense spread (11) of *in situ* waste material in Area A. Samples taken from this spread contained abundant hammerscale, demonstrating that the residues emanated from a place of smithing activity. The vast majority consisted of broken smithing hearth bases, together with smaller quantities of furnace lining and other fired clays. Small quantities of similar material were also noted in several contexts in both Area B and Area C, although with no obvious concentrations. Area C also produced two broken, vitrified stones, each with one surface coated with a yellow-green glassy deposit. These were recovered from the topsoil (300) and an underlying, but post-Roman soil layer (304) with no evidence to suggest their source or likely date. The temperature required to produce such a material could have been achieved during an activity such as smithing, although it is also possible that other small-scale industrial activity could be responsible, perhaps the most likely of which is glass blowing given the evidence from the glass assemblage.

Discussion

In the eyes of the early-nineteenth century antiquary Thomas Payne, the area surrounding the now demolished farm of Pen-y-gaer contained not only a Roman fort but also additional occupation which he believed to be surrounded by a defensive earthwork. Payne's recognition of Roman remains has since been validated, although his interpretation of the component features proved to be flawed. The Roman fort itself was confirmed in 1966, occupying a commanding position on a small knoll, Pen-y-gaer Farm having been sited more or less on top of the *principia*. Payne's interpretation placed the fort further to the south, in an area which would have been overlooked but which is now known to contain the remains of a small civilian settlement, or *vicus*. The evidence now suggests that the *vicus* was considerably larger than might have been previously thought, with occupation extending for at least 60m west of the *via principalis* and its modern counterpart running south from the fort, and perhaps as far south as the Ewyn Brook (Fig. 1).

To the west of the road it is now clear that the area was occupied by a complex of buildings exhibiting several phases of construction which may have been laid out with respect to the Roman road, along with one or more side roads. The buildings appear to have been relatively substantial, perhaps founded on stone sleeper walls supporting timber-framed superstructures with tiled roofs. Only partial plans of buildings were uncovered owing to the limited areas investigated and thus the nature and extent of the occupation remains uncertain. It is clear, however, that in common with other *vici* there was significant small-scale industrial activity, notably in the form of iron smithing,

although it seems likely that the buildings in this area housed other small-scale industries perhaps including glass-making using at least some recycled glass. There are also tantalising hints of a bath-house in the vicinity, suggested by the presence of several unguent bottles and window glass.

Domestic structures were also recorded, including a small oven, a hearth and a well. The evidence from Area A indicates the presence of at least three buildings, each of which may be associated with a different phase of activity, suggesting some longevity to the occupation. This is reinforced by the significant quantity of artefacts which were recovered from each of the areas investigated, despite the fact that the excavations were mostly restricted to revealing the Roman archaeology, rather than investigating it further.

It is interesting to note that while the presence of potential significant archaeological remains in this area was first identified through geophysical survey the results suggested that this might almost be in isolation, rather than as part of more extensive settlement. Furthermore the survey failed to reveal any clear indication of activity along the western side of the *via principalis*, in an area where subsequent excavations in Areas B and C uncovered additional elements of the *vicus*, although the limitations here were in part owing to the depth of overburden above Roman deposits.

While it is unfortunate that the recent investigations were unable to access the area to the east of the *via principalis* the evidence from Payne's findings, together with recent metal detector finds, appear to confirm that the *vicus* extends to the south-east and east of the fort, presumably containing a similar range of buildings and activity to that revealed during the recent excavations.

Pen-y-gaer's nearest neighbour, the Roman fort of *Gobannium*, at Abergavenny, lies 15km to the south-east and is also assumed to have had a small *vicus*, the extent of which is indicated solely by chance finds which indicate activity of first and second century date, including a cemetery which seems to have been in use from c. AD 60 until the second half of the second century (Olding 2010: 196–8).

The fort at Brecon Gaer, 19km to the north-west, has been the subject of extensive excavations by Mortimer Wheeler in the 1920s, focusing mainly on the fort itself. What work was conducted by Wheeler outside the fort produced significant evidence for a *vicus* to the north, extending for at least 275m beyond the north gate (Casey and Davies 2010: 200–2004). Several stone buildings were identified and this activity has been added to more recently by geophysical survey which has revealed further buildings, including a number of hearths hinting at small-scale industrial activity, while metal detector finds and a programme of test pitting reveal that the *vicus* also extended to the east of the fort (Hankinson *et al.* 2015). Based on the earlier coin evidence, recent interpretations have suggested that Brecon Gaer may have been garrisoned into the third and fourth century with limited building activity in the vicinity. Recent

metal detector finds included one each from the third and fourth centuries, while samian found at the same time was mostly dated from AD 75–230, although there was also some coarseware which indicated activity into the fourth century (Lewis n.d.).

Elsewhere in mid Wales civilian activity is known to accompany a number of forts, although only in the case of Caersws, near Newtown, has there been any extensive excavation, indicating a settlement covering an area of at least seven hectares on the south and east sides of the fort. The area immediately outside the *porta praetoria* contained a palimpsest of timber buildings including a possible tavern, shops and metalworking activity dating from the late-first century to the AD 130s, with a bath-house nearby. Activity elsewhere appears to have continued into the mid-third century, or later, and included the possible *temenos* of a Romano-British temple (Jones: 226–9). At Castell Collen, near Llandrindod Wells, a *vicus* is known on the eastern side of the fort which, based on numismatic evidence, continued to be occupied until the reign of Severus (AD 193–211), and perhaps beyond, probably ceasing by the AD 270s (Davies 2010: 234–7). Recent work by CPAT has also confirmed the presence of a *vicus* on the north-west and north-east side of the fort at Caerau, near Beulah, with small scale excavations providing limited dating evidence for activity during the late-first and early-second centuries AD.

The date range for the main occupation of the *vicus* at Pen-y-gaer is broadly similar to that of the other Roman extramural settlements in mid Wales which developed to serve their respective auxiliary forts. In each case their reliance on the military appears to have hindered the development of an independent settlement with its own hinterland and trade links; when the garrisons within the forts were reduced during the second century AD, the prosperity and success of the attendant *vicus* inevitably faltered. While some settlements appear to have continued, perhaps in a reduced form, into the third century, at Pen-y-gaer the evidence suggests that the main period of activity dates from the late-first century to the end of the second century, although a small number of pottery vessels point to some level of activity continuing into the fourth century, while numismatic evidence from elsewhere outside the fort includes two early-fourth century coins.

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Notes

[1] Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust (CPAT), 41 Broad Street, Welshpool, Powys, SY21 7RR.

[2] 16 Lady Bay Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham, NG2 5BJ.

[3] CPAT.

[4] CPAT.

[5] 8 Cefn Coed Ave, Cyncoed, Cardiff.

[6] Powys County Archive B/D/BM/A104.

[7] The site archives for 2006 geophysical survey and the recent excavations have all been deposited with the regional Historic Environment Record, maintained by CPAT in Welshpool, while the finds have been deposited with Brecon Museum.

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PATHS AND PERAMBULATIONS: DORE ABBEY, 'MEURIG'S WAY' AND PLACE-NAMES IN GWENDDWR AND CRUCADARN

RICHARD MORGAN

Introduction

The importance of place-name research is one which until recent years has not been widely recognised in Wales. Very few early scholars appear to have fully understood that place-name research is a subject in its own right and that it can provide valuable insights into our past. There are many reasons for this, some of them touched on in the introduction to the *Dictionary of the Place-names of Wales* published in 2007[1] but interest, co-operation and research has, thankfully, increased significantly since the formation of Cymdeithas Enwau Lleoedd Cymru/Welsh Place-name Society in 2010.[2] Place-name specialists traditionally employ a number of methods in their research. The best known is the detailed county survey but, to date, Wales possesses only two publications which cover entire counties, viz. B.G. Charles on Pembrokeshire[3] and Iwan Wmffre on Cardiganshire.[4] County surveys generally extract names from nineteenth and twentieth century Ordnance Surveys maps and arrange the discussion and evidence under administrative hundreds and parishes. The second main method is thematic, to choose, for example, a particular place-name element or group of place-name elements and analyse their geographical distribution, meaning and context. There are weaknesses with both approaches at present. The absence, in particular, of a comprehensive database of place-name evidence for the whole of Wales means that it is very easy to overlook important comparative evidence in other parts of Wales. A very different method has been adopted in this article in order to emphasise the value of place-name studies to those working in other areas of historical research and hopefully to encourage greater participation in the subject. The focus is concentrated on original historical evidence relating to property and privileges held by the abbey of Dore (Herefordshire) in the parishes of Crucadarn and Gwenddwr during the Middle Ages. Particular attention is paid to a medieval path ('Meurig's Way'), medieval boundaries and evidence contained in two charters dated c.1240 and 1241 (Appendices 1 and 2). Place-name and topographical evidence is examined both within the body of the article and in footnotes.

The Cistercian abbey of Dore was founded in 1147 and patronised by the Anglo-Norman family of Clifford against a backdrop of intermittent warfare and military intrusion into the ancient Welsh kingdoms of Brycheiniog and Gwent. Walter de Clifford I granted land at Trawsgoed (a detached part of the parish of Gwenddwr) to Dore c.1173, and sometime between 1199 and 1203 Walter de Clifford II added the area around Nanteglwys (now Llaneglwys).[5]

This charter was subsequently confirmed by Walter de Clifford III after the death of his father in 1221 and a royal confirmation followed in 1227.[6] These grants were not quite as altruistic as might appear since the Cliffords may have been utilising them to help secure their hold on the lordship of Bronllys and the easterly part of Cantref Selyf (Brycheiniog north of the river Usk).[7] Walter I's grant of Trawsgoed was made in the hope that Dore would establish a daughter-house but this did not take place for reasons better explained by David H. Williams in his history of the Cistercians in Wales.[8] Two charters dated c.1240[9] and 1241[10] are especially valuable for their descriptions of territorial boundaries and a third charter transcribed by David Stephenson[11] relates to the grant of an easement containing a detailed description of a path between Dore Abbey's granges of Llaneglwys and Gwenddwr. All three charters provide important place-name evidence. The abbey's relationships with both the Cliffords[12] and native Welsh lords were uneasy.[13] As examples, a certain Roger Fychan (*Rogerus Bokhan*, *Boghan*) complained in 1242 that Walter had deprived him of his land of Crucadarn (*Crukadan*) which Roger alleged was held of the honour of Glasbury (*Glasbir'*)[14] rather than Walter's court at Bronllys, and in 1250 the abbot of Dore complained that Walter had deprived his monastery of 24 acres of common pasture in *Derkoit* and *Eskirbo*, reasonable estovers in Walter's woods in Cantref Selyf (*Kantesel'*) and had afforested the abbot's lands in Gwenddwr and Nanteglwys.[15]

Meurig's Way

The article written by David Stephenson on the early history of Brycheiniog[16] includes a transcription and translation of a charter granted by Meurig ap Gruffudd of *Kylieu* (in Cantref Selyf) to the monastery of Dore, co. Hereford in 1271.[17] Meurig may have been a son of Gruffudd Fychan recorded in a royal mandate in 1252 requiring Walter de Clifford III to enlarge the pass of *Clettur'* leading as far as the house of Gruffudd Fychan.[18] The purpose was apparently intended to lessen the danger for those travelling to the royal castle of Builth. Stephenson identifies *Clettur* with the stream Cletwr (Cletwr Mawr) which meets the river Wye at Erwood and cautiously suggests that the house may be the small castle (SO 087421)[19] close to the church at Crucadarn. That seems very likely. A second castle on Waun Gynllwch (SO 05924127)[20] near the upper reaches of Cletwr is probably too remote and exposed to the elements to have served as a place of permanent residence though, as will be shortly be shown, it lay close to a meeting-point of roads. This is recorded by the Ordnance Survey as *Castell Waungunllwch*[21] 1817 from its proximity to open hill-pasture of Waun Gynllwch and as Castell[22] 1832 but it is unnamed on later maps. The reasons behind the granting of the 1271 charter are covered by Stephenson's article: in brief, Meurig was granting free passage for the monks, their cattle

Figure 1. Map showing Meurig's Way between Llaneglwys and Gwenddwr. For details on the various numbered points see text. North of point 4 two possible routes are shown. The favoured one, based on place name evidence, is the one via point 6.

and men, from Llaneglwys to Gwenddwr across his land of *Kylieu*. Llaneglwys was a detached part of the parish of Gwenddwr down to local government reorganisation in 1974. The whole area now lies in Erwood Community. What is especially interesting for the purposes of this article is that the charter records several place-names which no longer appear on modern maps. One in particular, Gwryd Cai, will be of interest to place-name historians in other parts of Wales.

The general course of Meurig's Way is not in doubt since it connected Dore Abbey's granges at Llaneglwys and Gwenddwr, running over an area in the former civil parish of Crickadarn/Crucadarn. Plotting its course is, however, difficult owing to the disappearance of several of the place-names mentioned in Meurig's charter, by changes in the names of streams, and by the obscuring of the landscape through afforestation.[23] The location and general extent of these granges is best shown in David Williams' publications on the Welsh Cistercians.[24] Some assistance in locating lost place-names on and near 'Meurig's path' is available in boundary descriptions of Llaneglwys and Gwenddwr in Walter de Clifford's grants c.1240 and 1241.[25] The boundary descriptions (in Latin) are valuable for their toponymic detail and I have appended English translations of these in two appendices (below). Further investigation of the historical topography will have to await examination of Dore's Cantref Selyf leases covering 45 holdings mentioned by Williams.[26]

In translation, the path is described as leading 'from *Nantheglus* by *Orrikey* through my land of *Kylieu*, crossing *Abersor* and *Kleturmaur* towards *Wendor*'. The starting point is evidently the grange farm of Nanteglwys/Llaneglwys[27] which must have been at or near Llaneglwys Uchaf, now plain Llaneglwys Farm, (SO 056387), or Llaneglwys Isaf (SO 062386) favoured by David H. Williams.[28] The first section of the path is uncertain as there are several roads of undetermined date in the area. The most notable is the road which runs westwards from Llaneglwys Isaf past Llaneglwys Uchaf and parallel to Sgithwen Brook[29] (earlier Cletwr Bychan) to Point 1 (SO 05323881) above Llaneglwys Uchaf. The direct line of the forestry road proceeds up the valley to a point near a former sheepfold (SO 04563918). This road, however, is absent on nineteenth century Ordnance Survey maps and Meurig's Way is more likely to have turned north from Point 1, passing through modern forestry uphill to the northern edge of the forestry at Point 2 (SO 049404) and through a gateway into hill pasture. A little to the north, several paths meet in a shallow dip at Point 3 (SO 050405). One path runs eastwards to Penrheol[30] (SO 073400) and westwards in the general direction of Twyn-y-post[31] (SO 029408) located on the Flemish Way and on the old road running from Brecon through Lower Chapel to Builth. The main path (Meurig's Way) turns north-eastwards to Point 4 (SO 059409) where there is a modern wooden sign-post. This is almost certainly the location of *Orrikey* in Meurig's charter 1271 and the reference to

Wurrithkey in the 1241 agreement[32] appears to add support. Stephenson, following Edward Owen,[33] suggests that *Orrikey/Wurrithkey* is Erwood but historic forms of Erwood,[34] coupled with the, albeit sparse, geographical evidence, shows that that identification is unlikely.

What are we to make of this name? The first element is clearly *gwryd*, *gwrhyd* 'length covered by the outstretched arms, including the hands (from the tip of the middle finger of one hand to that of the other)' and 'fathom'[35] used in a topographical sense.[36] What is especially intriguing is that there are two other identical names, the first example recorded as *Gurhetkei* 1187 and *Gwrhet Kei* 1201[37] is in Montgomeryshire on the boundary of the lands of Talerddig which Graham Thomas suggests[38] may have referred to the ravine (of Afon Hengwm, a tributary of Afon Rheidol) between Banc Lluestnewydd and Pantau'rbrwyn (SN 7889–7989) on the north side of the mountain Pumlumon. The second example *gwryt kei* 1198/9 (confirmed 1332) has been identified with the narrow pass recalled in Penygwryd and Nantygwryd in Nant Gwynant, Caernarfonshire.[39] *Gwryt kei* has been connected with Cai, one of Arthur's knights, "therefore suggesting that the breadth of the pass was equal to the 'fathom' of the legendary knight". Many of the legends associated with Arthur are fanciful but there are numerous examples of place-names which are associated with heroes and giants[40] and Grooms has compiled an especially valuable record of these.[41]

What is certain is that *gwryd*, *gwrhyd* was applied to topographical features. No doubt Charles[42] is right in recommending further research but the meanings 'narrow ravine' and 'narrow pass or narrow neck of land (over which a pass may be made)' seem most appropriate. The latter sense certainly applies to Gwryd (Llan-giwg, Glamorgan. Gwryd Uchaf SN 736090) where it appears to refer to a narrow neck of land on the hill Cefn Gwryd[43] (SN 728080) and less clearly to Gwryd (SN 9339), in Llanfihangel Nant Brân,[44] which has only a slight dip in it. There are notable topographical differences. Cefn Gwryd is a narrow, steep-sided ridge in contrast to the rolling hill and moorland pastures of Cefn Clawdd (SO 0440) and Waun Gynllwch (SO 0640) but both uplands are followed by ridgeways with saddles where cross roads pass over them. At Point 4 there is a dip lying between two summits, at SO 055405 and SO 065408), almost identical (413m. and 415m.) in height. Was this the location of 'Cai's pass'?

After *Orrikey*, the 1271 charter next mentions the land of *Kylieu*, then *Abersor*, Cletwr (*Kleturmawr*), and Gwenddwr. From Point 4, a short road drops westwards down to reach the metalled road at the cattle grid (SO 056411) near Fforest.[45] This road proceeds past Cilian-uchaf (SO 060422) (recorded as *Pwll-y-march* 1832[46] to cross Cletwr (Point 5) just above its confluence with Nant yr Offeiriad and so on down to Gwenddwr but a more direct road runs north-eastwards over Waun Gynllwch to Pwll-y-graig (SO 064415)[47] and on, by way

of Cilian-fach (SO 070421), to cross Cletwr (SO 069477) at Point 6 near Cwm Crucadarn reaching Gwenddwr from the south-east. Cwm Crucadarn is located close to the meeting point of Cletwr and an unnamed stream which rises at springs near a former house recorded as *Bwlch graig* 1842 and *Bwlch-y-graig* 1889 (SO 065412).[48] It is impossible to be certain which road represents Meurig's Way but the available evidence favours the more direct road by way of Cwm Crucadarn. *Abersor* may refer to the confluence (*aber*) of the 'unnamed stream' and Cletwr. The river-name has not been found in later records but would appear to be Sor or Sôr perhaps with the meaning 'harsh, destructive river'.[49] Identical river-names occur elsewhere in Wales and there is a Sorgwm[50] (with *cwm*). I think that we can safely reject any identification with Nant yr Offeiriad recorded as *Nant Offeiriad* 1889[51] and in house-names *Nant y offeiriad* 1817[52] identifiable with *Nant-yr-offeiriad-fawr* 1832 and *Nant-yr-offeiriad-fâch* 1832.[53]

The reference to the land of *Kylieu* also favours the direct road via Cwm Crucadarn since the name survives, as Owen notes,[54] in the house-names Cilian-fach[55] (SO 060421) and Cilian-fawr[56] (SO 07224212). Cilian is unlikely to have applied to the unnamed stream mentioned above since the 1271 charter calls it 'land' (*terram*) but the name certainly applied to the area immediately adjoining it. The house-name Cilian-uchaf might seem to suggest that Cilian extended westwards but this is unlikely. Cilian-uchaf is unnamed in 1817[57] and is recorded as *Pwll-y-march* in 1832[58] and plain *Cilian* 1889–1964,[59] 1967;[60] *uchaf* ('upper') seems to have been added after 1967. *Kylieu* is not actually identified by Stephenson though he interprets it as representing modern Welsh Ciliau, ie. *ciliau*, the plural form of *cil*, a feminine noun that is exceptionally common in place-names both as a simplex and in compounds such as *cilfach*.[61] Such an interpretation would be reasonable if one takes *Kylieu* in isolation but the geographical and historical context here is compelling. Historic references to Cilian are, however, scarce. The next reference is *Killyane* described as located in the lordship near the Upper Forest (*domin' juxta Forestam Superior*) 1380.[62] There appear to be no other references before *Cilaen* in 1742,[63] *Ciliân*,[64] *Cilliaen* 1756[65] and *Cilyane* 1809.[66] Possibly the leases mentioned by Williams will add further forms. The actual meaning of Cilian remains uncertain but it is unlikely to be a variation of Welsh *cilan* nf. 'retreat, covert; recess, nook'[67] since such a variation has not apparently been recorded. *Cilan* is not, apparently, recorded in literary sources until 1794 though it appears in place-names such as Cilan, Caernarfonshire, from 1302.[68] A few late forms with *–iân* raise the possibility that Cilian may be a compound of *cil* and *iäen*, *iaen* (*iâ* and *–en*) nm. 'sheet or cake of ice', perhaps a figurative description for a very cold nook on largely north-facing slopes. Iaen also occurs as a river-name in Montgomeryshire[69] and as a personal name.

Conclusion

The focus in this article has been on a small area of Breconshire and discussion has concentrated on identifying particular place-names, analysing their individual meanings and elements, and looking for comparative examples, but place-name research is not a purely linguistic exercise. Place-name historians have long understood the need to look for other evidence and to relate names – where possible – to topography. As a result of this study, it is possible, with some confidence, to walk the route of Meurig's Way – a distance of a little over five miles between Llaneglwys and Gwenddwr – and thus to follow a path taken by monks and their servants 800 years ago.

Appendix 1: A description of the boundaries of Llaneglwys and Gwenddwr c.1240[70]

The boundary description substantially follows that in a charter granted by Walter de Clifford II to Dore with the assent of his wife Agnes in 1199 x 1203 recorded in a seventeenth century transcript (with minor variations).[71]

Nanteglas[72] with all its appurtenances, on each side of the stream called *Kaleturbohehan*,[73] namely above the aforesaid place *Nanteglas*, on one side of the stream up to *Epint*[74] and down on one side of the aforesaid stream to the place where *Nankarntatherech*[75] falls into *Kaletur*. On the other side of *Kaletur* to the place where *Nantmanach*[76] falls into *Kaletur*. And thus all the land that is in wood and in plain within *Nantmanach* and *Kaletur-bochan*[77] to the head of *Nantmanach* which is between *Wuritkei*[78] and *Epint* as *Nantmanach* goes down to *Kaletur*. And moreover I have given and granted to the aforesaid monks all the land in wood and in plain beyond *Kaletur-maur*[79] just as *Kaletur-maur* goes down from *Epint* to the Wye (*Waiam*) and to the borders of *Buelt*,[80] namely by the way from *Menevielm*[81] to *Crinwedhauc*[82] and from *Crinwedhauc* to *Nantlethdunaitt*,[83] and just as *Nantlechdunaut*[84] falls into the Wye (*Waiam*) . . . Moreover I have granted to the aforementioned abbot of Dore and the monks of the same place, free ingress and egress with their chattels by the way above the Wye which runs from *Liswen*[85] towards *Buelt*.

Appendix 2: A description of the boundaries of Gwenddwr and Llaneglwys 1241

Inspeximus of a chirograph, morrow of St James 25 Henry III (26 July 1241), for the settlement of the plea moved between Walter de Clifford, son of Walter de Clifford, and Agnes de Gundi on the one part, and brother Stephen, the abbot of Dore, touching the lands and pastures in *Canterselif* whereby Walter surrenders for himself and his heirs to St Mary and the abbot and monks of Dore, all his lands in *Wendor* and *Nanteglus*, disafforested, with all free customs.

Other translations are available[86] but the translation below is based on the charter recited in Latin,[87] which has better transcription of place-names.

The same source also has variant forms[88] but these are generally less trustworthy and are ignored here. A note of any significant variations in the names of places from other sources[89] is added. A general background to the charter is provided by David Williams.[90]

Gwenddwr

. . . the said Walter recognises that their land of *Wendor* extends from *Blanburherburh*[91] where *Kaletur Maur*[92] rises, along the boundaries of *Buhelt*[93] from the west to the Wye (*Wayham*) and again from the same head of *Kaleturmaur*, going down and dividing on the south side to the Wye (*Wayam*) . . .

The description defines the boundaries of the main part of Gwenddwr though Clettwr rises at a point (SO 02624177) on the parish boundary with Merthyr Cynog where a bench mark is shown on the OS 1:2500 plan 1877–8. This is two miles south of Tair Tywarchen: 'three little-turfs', *tair*, *tywarchen* nf. and diminutive of *tywarch* nf. 'clod, (piece of) turf'.

Nanteglwys (Llaneglwys)

The metes of the monks for his land of *Nantheglus* begin where *Nanthmanakh*[94] falls into *Caleturbochan*[95] going up that stream to the head of the said *Nantmanach* which is between *Wurrithkey*[96] and *Epyn*,[97] and then runs from the head of *Nanthmanakh* in a direct line westward to the head of *Caleturbocchan* which rises on the upper side of *Scuthwern*,[98] and then directly to the Flemish way (*viam Flandrensem*)[99] which divides the lands of the said monks and the land of Madog Fychan (*Madoci Bocham*) of *Cummod*,[100] and along that way to the place called *Sarhn* where *Nankartatherek*[101] rises and down by that stream to where the stream falls into *Caletur Bocchan*, and then going down *Kaletur Bochan*[102] to the aforesaid place where *Nanthmanak* falls into *Kaleturbochan*.[103] All those abovesaid lands of *Wendor* and *Nanteglus* by the said metes, the said monks may ditch, enclose and put in defence, nor shall any from *Kantreselif* or elsewhere have common with any beasts within these lands save upon the mountains of *Epyn* outside the metes and bounds of the said monks of *Nantheglus* and *Wendor*, because all the aforesaid lands were taken from the free forest of the said Walter and his ancestors. If any wild beast (*fera*) is killed in the lands of the said monks by his men or dogs, it shall be taken to the grange of *Wendor* and reported to the bailiffs of *Breinles*[104] that they may remove it, so that neither the monks nor their men shall be blamed or troubled for it. The nests of sparrow hawks shall belong to the said Walter but the beasts of the said monks shall not be troubled on account of the nests nor their shepherds molested. He also grants to the monks and their servants shall have free passage, ingress and egress in all of his land of *Cantreselif* with their chattels through all ways and paths where other men were accustomed to go. Moreover he acknowledges and grants to them that part of *Epyn* which lies between the way that leads towards the cross of Iorwerth (*Crucem*

Yoruerdh)[105] and the wood of his forest which he once afforested against the tenor of his charters. And since there has been dispute between the said Walter and the said monks touching the common of the whole of his land, as contained in his charters, he acknowledges and grants to them only specified common for their beasts and sheep of *Troscoyt*[106] and *Werendovok*[107] over pasture throughout the land between *Trefret*[108] and *Landevathlan*,[109] as far as *Kefyn*,[110] and from there to *Caleturbochan* and so up by *Nanthkartherek* to the Flemish way (*viam Flandrensem*), saving the corn and meadows of his men who have lands in the said pasture. He also acknowledges and grants to the said monks pasture and common in wood and in herbage of all his land which lies south of the Flemish way (*vie Flandrensis*) throughout that way to the bounds of *Commod*[111] and throughout that other way which goes down to *Ridbrecheynoc*,[112] and so going down to the head of *Duueleys*[113] and thence to *Tuchlar Duueleys*,[114] so that they shall have free pasture within the aforesaid metes for their stud (*equicium*) when it comes there, and so that in those places they may take in the wood what they should require to the grange of *Troscoyt* and *Werendovok* for building, fuel and hedges, but outside the aforenamed metes and bounds they shall have nothing nor should claim common or husbote or heybote without his free will except as contained in the charters of the said Walter or his ancestors in the aforesaid matters, not should Walter and his heirs alienate or diminish the said land within the said metes of any pasture of the said monks. The same Walter has granted and confirmed all the aforesaid lands with the said common within the aforesaid metes for him and his heirs to the said monks of Dore in free, pure and perpetual alms, in wood as in plain, without any diminution, freely and peacefully for ever, moreover this requires the said Walter and his heirs to warrant this agreement to the said monks against all men for ever.

Abbreviations

AP	*Abbreviatio Placitorum, Richard I-Edward I* (Records Commission 1811)
CCR I	*Calendar of Charter Rolls* I (1226–1257) (HMSO 1903)
CRR	*Curia Regis Rolls* (followed by covering dates) (HMSO various dates)
GPC	*Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*: www. geiriadur.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html
NLW	The National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth
OS 1in.	Ordnance Survey one-inch scale map: www.visionof britain.org.uk/maps
OS [+ *scale*]	Ordnance Survey maps and plans: www.old-maps.co.uk
OSD	Ordnance Survey drawing 'Baulit' (Builth):

Notes

[1] Owen and Morgan 2007: iii–ix.

[2] www.cymdeithasenwaulleoeddcymru.org

[3] Charles 1992.

[4] Wmffre 2004.

[5] Lloyd and Stenton 1950: no. 362.

[6] Caley, Ellis and Bandinel 1817–1830: 554; CCR I: 58. Note also Walter's confirmation in 1232 of land formerly of William de Forda (Clifford?), the right to take wood in the forest, and the land of Cynan the clerk: Caley, Ellis and Bandinel 1817–1830: 556.

[7] See Holden 2008: 201; Stephenson 2013.

[8] Williams 2001: 4–5.

[9] British Library Harley 48 C 27 printed in Caley, Ellis and Bandinel 1817–1830: 554, no. vi, and extracts in Owen 1908: 538–539.

[10] CRR 1237–42: 376–378, no. 1846. Printed in translation, with minor inaccuracies, Owen 1908: 535–6, from CCR I: 260–261.

[11] Stephenson 2013.

[12] Williams 2001: especially 5, 28, and 303, Williams 1976: 37.

[13] Note in particular a letter written by Dafydd ap Llywelyn, Prince of Wales, 1244 x 1246, to his bailiffs of the lordship of Brecon relating to a complaint by the abbey of Dore of injuries inflicted on their property, almost certainly in Cantref Selyf, by miscreants who had sought refuge in Brecon: Pryce 2005: no. 307.

[14] CRR 1242–3, nos. 42, 195 and 2509.

[15] CRR 1250: no. 465; also no. 1161.

[16] Stephenson 2013.

[17] British Library Harley charters 43 A 71; Owen 1908: 532–3.

[18] *Close Rolls* 1251–3: 425. A similar requirement to make 'good wide trenches' (*trencheyas bonas et latas*) through their woods was addressed to Clifford and the abbot of Dore in 1254, *ibid*: 58. The relationship – if any – between Gruffudd Fychan and Roger Fychan recorded in 1242 (see above) is uncertain.

[19] The castle is described by Cathcart King 1961: 87, 'Crickadarn No. 1'; Remfry 1999 and at www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/305773. The tithe apportionment 1842 mentions the *Castle* within *Cae castell* which is the area around the castle.

[20] Cathcart King 1961: 87: 'Crickadarn No.2'; Remfry 1999: 144–5; and www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/305764: a medieval defended enclosure, ringwork.

[21] OSD. Recorded as *Weyngollogh* 1380, Caley and Bayley 1806–1828: 28; *Waun-gunllwch* 1833 OS 1in. Welsh *gwaun* nf., 'moor' and possibly a personal name, **Cynllwch* or a compound of *cyn-* (the element in *ci* 'a dog') and *llwch* 'lake, pool' perhaps in the sense of 'dog pool'.

[22] OS 1in. map. Welsh *castell* nm., 'castle'.

[23] For an account of the twentieth century afforestation by the Forestry Commission of this area and of its effect on the social history of Llaneglwys see Clark 2014.

[24] Williams 2001: map vii; Williams 1976: plan 1.

[25] Appendices 1 and 2.

[26] Williams 1976: 37, specifying National Archives E303/5/88–130 and E315/238/58–87d.

[27] *Nantegliis* 1524–5, *Llan Egloys* 1536–7, Caley, Ellis and Bandinel 1817–1830: 556–7; *Laneglois* 1554, *Calendar of Patent Rolls* 1553–4: 493: 'church stream', *nant*, *eglwys*. Qualified by *uchaf* 'upper' and *isaf* 'lower'. Confusion between *nant* and *llan* is more common in anglicised parts of Wales, eg. Llancarfan (< Nantcarfan): Owen and Morgan 2007: 222.

[28] Williams 1990: 52.

[29] *Skithwerne* 1686 National Library of Wales Probate BR/1686/43; *Scithwen Brook* 1889 OS 1:2500; and in *Waun Scythwen* 1841, Gwenddwr tithe apportionment at SO 045391. The second element is *gwern* n.pl. 'alder-trees' and nf. 'alder-tree marsh' but the first is uncertain. The S- may be a trace of a divided lost element such as *ynys*, 'island; water-meadow', in Sketty/Sgeti, Glamorgan, or *llys* 'court, palace' in Scleddau, Pembrokeshire, Owen and Morgan 2007: 437, 441, with *cudd* adj. 'concealed', perhaps referring to a hidden marsh.

[30] 'Top of the road', *pen* 'head, top, def.art. *yr*, *heol*, *hewl* nf. 'street, road'; *yr* has become fixed to *heol*; cf. Rhewl[1–3] in Owen and Morgan 2007: 409–10.

[31] 'Hillock at the post', *twyn* nm. 'hillock, mound', def.art. *y*, *post* nm. 'post, signpost'.

[32] See 'The boundaries of Llaneglwys' in Appendix 1.

[33] Stephenson 2013: 51; Owen 1908: 536.

[34] Owen and Morgan 2007: 142.

[35] GPC; Williams 1936.

[36] Jones 1998: 224: 'yn cyfeirio at fwlch mewn mynydd neu rhwng mynyddoedd'; Williams, 1945: 33.

[37] Thomas 1997: 154, no.12, 174, no.34.

[38] *Ibid*: 120n.

[39] Williams 1835: 168; Caley, Ellis and Bandinel 1817–1830: 672–674, with inspeximus in CCR 1327–41, p.269, and corrected readings of place-names in Gresham 1939: 123–162; also Hays 1963; and Grooms 1993: 149.

[40] Richards 1969.

[41] Grooms 1993; Williams 1835: 236.

[42] Charles 1992: 292–3 discusses this element in connection with his note on Gwrhyd Mawr and Gwrhyd Bach, in St Davids, Pembrokeshire.

[43] *Gwrid* 1650 Baker and Francis 1870: 45; *Y Gwrid Yssha* 1764 Morris 2000: 112; *Coyd y gwrid* late eighteenth century NLW Peniarth MS 120, in Evans 1898–99: 735; *Cefn Gwrhyd*, *Gwr-hyd-uchaf*, *Gwr-hyd-isaf* 1831 OS 1in.; and numerous later forms.

[44] *Gwrhyd* 1832 OS 1in.; 1884–92 OS 1:10560

[45] *Pentre fforest* 1817 OSD; *Pentre-fforest* 1832 OS 1in.; *Fforest* 1889 OS 1:2500: 'settlement in the forest', *pentref* 'village, settlement, chief farm', *fforest* 'forest'.

[46] *Upper Cilliane*, *Upper Cilyarne* 1842 Crickadarn tithe. Pwll-y-march is 'the horse pool *or* pit': *pwll* nm. 'hole, pit; pool', *y* def.art., and *march* nm. 'horse, stallion'.

[47] *Waingunllwch* 1842 Crickadarn tithe.

[48] *Bwlch y graig* 1817 OSD, *Bwlch graig* 1842 Crickadarn tithe: 'pass at the rock': *bwlch* nm.'pass, gap', *y* def.art., *craig* nf.'rock, crag'.

[49] *sôr* adj. 'grievous, harsh': GPC.

[50] Sôr, Monmouthshire, is *Sor* 1480 NLW Llangibby B.14; *Soar* 1614 Bradney 1904–33: 270; *Sore* 1677 ~ p.115; and in the place-name Lansore (ST 344950), Llandegfedd, recorded as *Llansoer* 1576–7 Howell 1995: 31; *Lansor* 1630, Bradney 1904–33: 131; *Lansore* 1634 Gwent Archives D.583/157; and in a bridge *pont soar* 1630 Glamorgan Archives CL/MS 5.115; *Pont Sor* 1887 OS 1:10560. *Sorgwm* 1736 Jones 1923: 13; 1828 *Greenwood's Maps: Map of the South-East Circuit of the Principality of Wales*.

[51] OS 1:2500.

[52] OSD.

[53] OS 1:63360 in. 'the priest's stream', *nant*, def.art. *yr*, *offeiriad* nm. 'priest, clergyman'.

[54] Owen 1908: 536: 'Ciliau . . ., or as it is now called Cilian . . . is a small farm forming a tiny manor of the same name'.

[55] *Cilananfach* 1817 OSD; *Cil-ian-fâch* 1889 OS 1:2500, but *Cwm* 1842 Crickadarn tithe.

[56] *Cil-ian* 1832 OS 1in.; *Cilananfawr* 1817; *Cilian-fawr* 1889.

[57] OSD.

[58] OS 1in.

[59] OS 1:2500 various editions.

[60] OS 1:63360.

[61] *Cil* nm. 'corner, angle; retreat; recess'; *cilfach* nf. 'nook, recess': GPC.

[62] Caley and Bayley 1806–1828: 28.

[63] NLW Probate BR/1742/29.

[64] Jones, 1751–2: 65.

[65] NLW Probate BR/1756/16.

[66] Powys Archives BD/CL/2/121.

[67] GPC.

[68] Owen and Morgan 2007: 85.

[69] GPC; Thomas 1938: 119.

[70] British Library Harley 48 C. 27, printed by Owen 1908: 535–6.

[71] Lloyd and Stenton 1950: no. 362, and confirmed in CCR I, p. 58.

[72] *Nantegliis* in Lloyd and Stenton 1950. 'Church valley', *nant* 'valley', later 'stream', *eglwys* 'church'.

[73] *Kaleturbohchan* in Lloyd and Stenton 1950. Cletwr Bychan, now Sgithwen Brook. 'Little Cletwr', *bychan* adj. 'little, small'.

[74] Mynydd Epynt, earlier plain Epynt, 'mountain with a horse-path': Morgan and Powell 1999: 119.

[75] *Nantkarntathereth* in Lloyd and Stenton 1950. Now Cigfran Brook: *cigfran* nf. 'raven'. Welsh *nant* and a river-name Carntatherech or Carntathereth probably a compound of *carn* nmf. 'cairn, mound' and an unidentified element.

[76] Nant Mynach, 'monk's stream', *nant*, *mynach*^{1}, *manach* nm. 'monk', a name surviving for the house Nantymynach (SO 061396); now Rhiwau Brook taken from three houses Upper Rhiwiau, Middle Rhiwiau (*Rhiwau* 1832 OS 1in.) and Lower Rhiwiau (SO 087395) on the east side of Sgithwen Brook containing *rhiw* nmf. 'slope, hillside', pl. *rhiw(i)au*. The stream also bore the name reflected in house-names Blaencynrig (SO 059398) recorded as *Blaen cwmdrig* 1817 OSD, *Blaencynrig* 1842 Crickadarn tithe, *Blaen-Cynrig* 1888–9, 1904 OS 1:2500, a messuage recorded as *tir y Cunricke* 1660 NLW Probate BR/1660/107, and Abercynrig (SO 070395) recorded as *Abercwndrig* 1817 OSD, *Aber-cynrig* 1832 OS 1in., *Abbercynrig* 1842 Crickadarn tithe, *Aber-Gurig* 1888–9, *Abergurig* 1904 OS 1:2500. There are also references to *Tyr Evan heare alias Aberkwnrig vechan* 1741 Powys Archives BD/JGW/46/33 and *Aberkwnrig vechan* 1742 NLW Probate BR/1742/28 and cf. Abercynrig (SO 070271) at Llanfrynach: Morgan and Powell 1999: 34. *Cynwrig*, variants *Cynfrig*, *Cynrig*, is a well-evidenced personal name: Thomas 1938: 184–186.

[77] *Kaletur bochan* in Lloyd and Stenton 1950.

[78] *Wuritkej* in Lloyd and Stenton 1950. Gwryd Cai.

[79] *Kaletur maur* in Lloyd and Stenton 1950. Cletwr Mawr, now plain Cletwr or Clettwr, 'hard, rough water', *caled* adj. 'hard, rough' and *dŵr*, *dwfr* nm. 'water'. The meeting of *–d* and *d-* > *-tt-*, *-t-*.

[80] The cantref of Buellt, later Buallt as in Llanfair-ym-Muallt, the Welsh name of the town of Builth: Morgan and Powell 1999: 48–49.

[81] *Mennelin* in Lloyd and Stenton 1950 otherwise *Menevielm* is unidentified and the meaning is uncertain. The meeting-point of Gwenddwr (Cantref Selyf) and Llangynog (Buellt) is at Tair Tywarchen (SO 016444) and a bridle way runs eastwards in an uneven line south of Pwll Du to Pant y Llyn (SO 040466).

[82] *Erinwedhauc* in Lloyd and Stenton 1950. Unlocated but probably at or near the hill Banc y Celyn (SO047464), 'the holly bank', *banc*, def.art. *y*, *celyn* n.pl. 'holly. It appears to stand for Crinwyddog: *crinwydd* 'withered sticks, dry brushwood' and adj. suffix *–og*, meaning perhaps 'area of brushwood'.

[83] *Nantlechdunant* in Lloyd and Stenton 1950. Presumably the unnamed stream which rises at SO 050469 and reaches Wye at Aber-nant (SO 073466) on the boundary with Allt-mawr. The river-name appears to be Nant Llechdunant, 'stream at Dunant stone', *nant*, *llech* nf. 'slate, slab', and perhaps a river-name meaning 'black stream', *du* adj. 'black, dark' and *nant*.

[84] *Nantlechdunant* in Lloyd and Stenton 1950.

[85] Omitted in Lloyd and Stenton 1950.

[86] CCR I: 260–1: 260–1 and Owen 1908: 538–9.

[87] CRR 1237–1242: 378–378, m.33d,

[88] Ibid m. 122

[89] CCR, CMW, and AP: 115

[90] Williams 1976: 38.

[91] Apparently the upper reaches (*blaenau*) of Nant Bwch which rises near Llyn Login (SO 007440) a little to the west of Tair Tywarchen (SO 016444) (see above) and runs north through Llangynog parish. The name is preserved in Blaen-bwch (SO 013451), 'headwaters of (stream called) Bwch', *bwch* nm. 'buck, he-goat', probably figuratively for 'a stream which leaps and bounds like a buck'. The river-name is fairly common. Breconshire also has Bwch as tributaries of Honddu (SO 255315) and Duhonw (SO 020473)

[92] Cletwr Mawr, now plain Clettwr on OS maps.

[93] *Buelth* CCR. Buellt, later Buallt, the cantref covering most of northern Breconshire: Morgan and Powell 1999: 48–49.

[94] Nant Mynach, now Rhiwau Brook.

[95] Cletwr Bychan now called Sgithwen Brook.

[96] *Wurickey* CCR, *Wuritkey* CMW. Gwryd Cai.

[97] Mynydd Epynt.

[98] *Scuthwer* CCR, CMW. This refers to a place near the headwaters of Cletwr Bychan. It is described as a messuage *Skithwerne* in 1686 in company with *Llaneglws ycha* (Llaneglwys Uchaf) and *Tyr y Blayne* (Blaenau) NLW Probate BR/1686/43. Blaenau (approximately SO 042387) is recorded on OS maps 1832–1905 but is now under forestry. Confusion between Cletwr Mawr and Cletwr Bychan seems to have led to abandonment of the latter as a name and its replacement by Sgithwen Brook with loss of -r- in the unstressed second syllable.

[99] The Flemish Way can be traced southwards from Twyn-y-post (SO 029408), known as *Post-y-pabell* in 1832 OS 1in. and *Post y babell* 1842 Crickadarn tithe, respectively 'mound of the post' and 'post at the tent or temporary dwelling': *twyn* nm. 'hillock, mound', *post*[1] nm. 'post, pillar', *y* def.art., and *pabell* nmf. 'tent, (temporary) dwelling, portable shelter', marking the western edge of Crucadarn parish and Llaneglwys. Flemish Way has not been fully explained but has a parallel in Pembrokeshire where Charles 1992: 24, suggests that it may be called 'from some association with the Flemish settlers in the county'. Perhaps the name should not be taken too literally and 'Flemish' could be used in a similar manner to 'French' for anything foreign or unfamiliar, a road perhaps constructed by outsiders such as the Anglo-Normans.

[100] *Ginnog* is the form in CCR but it appears to be an error of transcription possibly influenced by Merthyr *Cynog* which is the adjoining parish. *Cummod* – including Merthyr Cynog – lay west of the mesne lordship of Cantref Selyf and is shown by William Rees on his map *South Wales and the Border in the XIV Century* (OS: 1933) as *Cwmwd Commos*. The original source for this form, however, is unidentified. Cantref Selyf seems to have originally applied to the greater part of Brycheiniog north of the river Usk extending westwards to Cantref Bychan, in what was later part of Carmarthenshire, as indicated by Evans and Rhŷs, 1893: 134, also Rees 1915–16. The simplest explanation is that the name Cwmwd ('commote') was coined to denote the area within the lordship of Brecon beyond the jurisdiction of the lordship of Cantref Selyf attached to the Anglo-Norman administrative centre and castle at Bronllys, and that *Commos* is a mistaken repetition. A 'commote' was often defined – though not exclusively – as a sub-division of a cantref. Cwmwd may also be *Le Commot* where a certain Ieuan Melyn or Felin (*Velyn*) paid rents in 1372, NA SC.6/1156/18, m.4, and perhaps *le Commote* 1503 in Pugh 1962: 120. Cwmwd was also applied to part of Cantref Mawr including Llanfrynach, Llanfeugan and Faenor: BL Harley 6831 (described in CMW II, p.480), *the Cwmwd* 1600–1607 in Bradney 1910: 268.

[101] *Nankartatherek* is Cigfran Brook which places *Sarhn* (*Sharn* in CCR) at SO 057377. This is probably *sarn* nf. 'a causeway'. The Flemish Way is a little to the south turning east-southeastwards to Llandyfalle Hill (SO 073371).

[102] SO 068397.

[103] SO 071404.

[104] Bronllys (SO 143349): Owen and Morgan 2007: 49. The administrative centre for Cantref Selyf.

[105] Croes Iorwerth, 'cross of (man called) Iorwerth', *croes* nf. 'cross; crossroads' and personal name Iorwerth. Iorwerth is unidentified.

[106] Trawsgoed (SO 084345).

[107] Wernddyfwg (SO 078360). Located like Trawsgoed close to a ridgeway leading over Llandyfalle Hill towards the Flemish Way and Epynt. Recorded as *Gwerne Devog* 1557 NLW Jeffreys and Powell 3/MS. 44; *Gwerndyfwg* 1683 NLW Tredegar 9, 124/161; *Gwernedovog* 1705 NLW Probate BR/1705/34, *gwern* nf. 'alder-tree marsh', and either an unrecorded adj. *tyfog* formed from *twf* nm. 'growth, increase' perhaps indicating 'large or overgrown alder-tree marsh'. Many later forms have -dd- apparently as a lenition of **dyfog* or **dyfwg* but it is difficult matching this with any other recorded element.

[108] Triffrwd is a house (SO 079373) but this may refer to the stream which rises on Llandyfalle Hill near the house and flows eastwards to Ponde (SO 108371) and Felin-newydd (SO 116360). If so the pasture probably lay in the area (SO 0936) on the hill-road leading towards Llandyfalle village. Historic forms of Triffrwd include *Treffroid* 1371 and 1523 NLW Skreen 2 and 656, *Tryffrode* 1541 ~

696, *Tryfrwd* 1638 NLW Tredegar 99/1. Early forms with *Tre-*, *Try-* favour a reinforcing prefix *try-* with *ffrwd* nmf. 'swift stream, torrent' with the sense 'conspicuous or extraordinary stream', cf. Trelleck/Tryleg and the mountain Tryfan: Owen and Morgan 2007: 472.

[109] Llandyfalle (Llandefalle) (SO 108357): 'church of Tyfalle': Morgan and Powell 1999: 96.

[110] Presumably *cefn* nm. 'back, ridge', typically a hill-name, but unlocated. It must have lain in the general area between Triffrwd and Cletwr Bychan (Sgithwen Brook).

[111] Probably indicating the boundary of *Commod* (the Merthyr Cynog area) with Buellt at Tair Tywarchen.

[112] Rhydbrycheiniog, 'ford of Brycheiniog'. In 1672 ten acres of land are described as between *Rhyd Bechynocke*, a pathway between *Keven y Brin* and a parcel *Brin Le yr Bolw*, and a highway *Gevenfordd* in Llanfihangel Fechan or Llandyfaelog Fach: NLW Tredegar 9, 124/244. Probably a lost ford over Honddu in Llanfihangel Fechan. The charter may be referring to the road branching south-westwards at SO 053369 from the Llaneglwys-Llanddew road towards the house known as Vale (SO 038358).

[113] Presumably at or near the former house *Blaen dulais* 1817 OSD; *Blaen-dulas* 1888 at SO 055369 lying on the east side of and close to a hill-road leading from Llanddew to Llaneglwys. Dulas flows eastwards, then south.

[114] Evidently on the river Dulas. It might simply indicate the meeting point (SO 069359) where an unnamed stream marking the border between Llanfihangel Fechan meets Dulas. It is tempting to identify it with Talachddu (SO 082331) – if this is a truncated and corrupt form of 'Talachddulas' – but Talachddu lies close to a stream Achddu (a tributary of Dulais) and is better explained as 'end of (the stream called) Achddu', containing *tâl* nm. 'end, top' and a river-name Achddu apparently composed of *ach* nf. 'lineage, descent' with the extended sense of 'line, scar' (not in GPC) and *du* adj. 'black, dark': Owen and Morgan 2007: 451; Morgan and Powell 1999: 139. Achddu (Pembrey), Carmarthenshire, is *hachthey* 1551 NLW Muddlescombe 64, *Aughthye* 1555 NLW Derwydd 19, *Achthey* 1567 NLW Muddlesombe 1155, *Achddy* 1742 *Cylchgrawn Hanes y Methodistiaeth Calfinaidd* II, p.10, and (houses) *Ach-ddu-isaf*, ~ *-uchaf* 1833 OS 1in.

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Richard Morgan worked at Shropshire Archives (1980–1984), Powys Archives (1984–1992) and Glamorgan Archives (1992–2013). He is the author of a study of the place-names of Buallt and Radnorshire (*Enwau Lleoedd Buallt a Maesyfed*) with the late G.G. Evans of Newtown (1993), the place-names of Radnorshire (1998), Breconshire with R.F. Peter Powell (1999), Montgomeryshire (2001), The *Dictionary of the Place-names of Wales*, co-authored with Professor Hywel Wyn Owen (2007). He is currently preparing a publication on the place-names of Glamorgan.

NOTES AND QUERIES

TRAETHAU YMHELL O'R MÔR

BRYNACH PARRI

Mae Geiriadur y Brifysgol[1] yn cyfyngu ystyron 'traeth' i nodweddion glan y môr, heblaw am ddiffiniad gyda holnod (yn golygu '?amheus, drwgdybus') a ddehonglir fel 'darn o dir'.

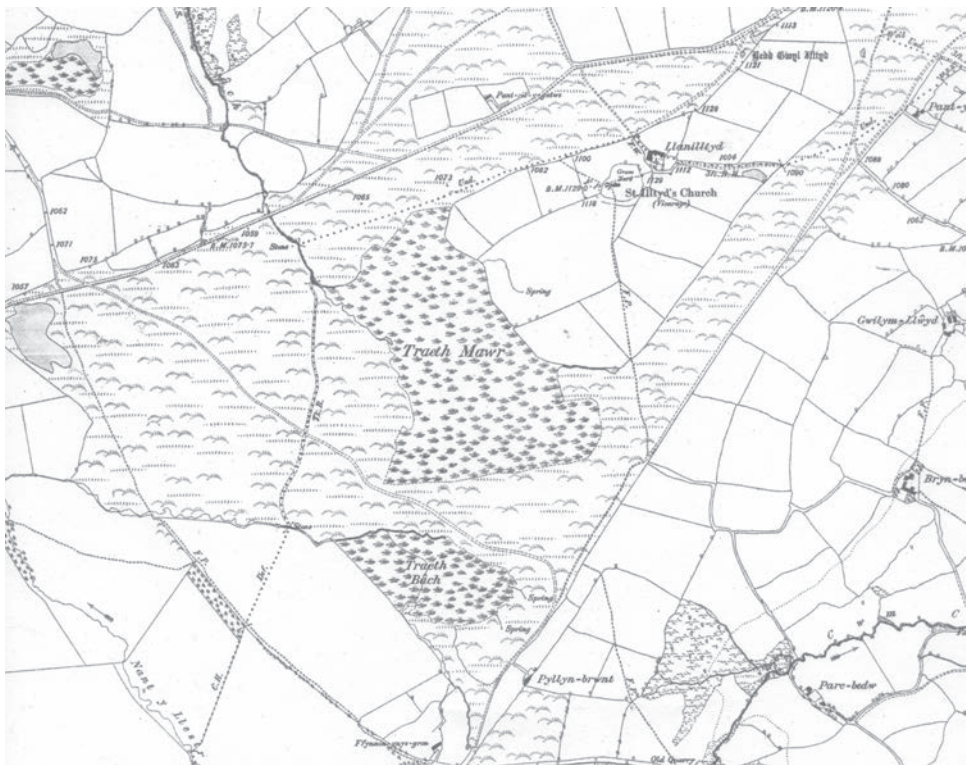
Mewn bro fel Brycheiniog, ymhell o'r weilgi, ac sydd ar ei hisaf (ger y Gelli Gandryll ar y ffin â Lloegr a ger Glangrwyne nid nepell o fferm gyda'r enw hyfryd Cydiad y Ddwysir, sef Brycheiniog a Gwent) yn 77 metr uwch lefel y môr (ac yn debyg o aros heb arfordir oni fydd yr iâ yn yr Arctig yn dadlaith yn llwyr), syndod yw gweld yr enw 'Traeth' ar fapiau'r hen sir. Ceir tair enghraifft o'r enw yn ei ystyr lleol o fewn Brycheiniog, (a phedwaredd amheus), bob tro mewn amgylchiadau tebygol, ac yn cynrychioli'r un nodwedd ddaearyddol.

Saif y ddwy enghraifft gyntaf o'r enw ar Fynydd Illtud, i'r de o Aberhonddu ac yn agos i'r A470: Traeth Mawr [SO967253], a'i efaill Traeth Bach [SO967258]. Dyma enwau sydd yn gysylltiedig â phyllau basaidd, corslyd, ar y rhostir uchel gyda golygfeydd gwych o Gadair Arthur a'r Bannau Canolog (Ffig. 1).

Mewn erthygl yng nghylchgrawn The New Phytologist ar hanes lystyfiannol yr ardal,[2] mae M. J. C. Walker yn disgrifio pant rhewlifol a lanwyd wedyn gan lyn fawr bron yn gilomedr sgwâr . Dros filoedd o flynyddoedd cytrefodd llystyfiant yma i greu tir gwlyb mawnllyd a'r traethau.

Mae Traeth Mawr yn dibynnu ar y glaw am ei ddŵr ac felly'n sychu allan a hyd yn oed yn diflannu yn ystod tywydd sych iawn yn yr haf. Yn wahanol i hwn, cyflenwir Traeth Bach gan ffynhonnau ac mae hyn yn gwneud y dŵr yn fwy alcalïaidd.

Dywed Walker mai coed bedw (Betula *pubescens*) yn nodweddiadol o lawer o'r tir, gyda choedlannau bychain o helyg Salix ac ambell i Binwydden yr Alban (Pinus *sylvestris*), a nifer o lwyni o werni (Alnus *glutinosa*) ar lannau'r nentydd. Mae rhannau helaeth o wyneb y gorsydd o dan blu'r gweunydd (Eriophorum *angustifolium* ac E. *vaginatum*), gyda chlystyrau o lus (Vaccinium *myrtillus*), grug croesddail (Erica *tetralix*) a llus cochion Empetrum nigrum ar y twmpathau sychach. Mae rhywogaethau o frwyn (yn enwedig Juncus *communis* a J. *effusus*) yn ogystal â phlanhigion pryfysol megis tafod y gors (Pinguicula *vulgaris*) a chwys yr haul (Drosera *rotundifolia*) yn nodweddiadol o'r pantiau llaeth rhyngddynt. Y prif riwogaethau o fwsogl yw Polytrichum *commune* a Sphagnum (yn bennaf S. *rubellun* a S. *papillosum*). Traeth Mawr yw'r unig leoliad yn hen sir Frycheiniog y cofnodwyd tair rhiwogaeth o flodau blodeuog ynddo, sef llymfrwyn (Cladium *mariscus*), dyfr-lyriad bychan (Baldellia *ranuculoides*) a'r cleddyflys lleiaf (Sparginum *natans*).[3]



Ffig.1 Map yr Arolwg Ordnans 1890 o Fynydd Iiltud yn dangos Traeth Mawr a Thraeth Bach.

Mae'r llecyn yn Safle o Ddiddordeb Gwyddonol Arbennig a'r traethau ill ddau yn rhan o Warchodfa Natur Deudraeth Illtud, dan ofal Ymddiriedolaeth Bywyd Gwyllt Brycheiniog .Cofnodwyd presennoldeb adar y dyfroedd megis y Rhegen Fraith (Porzana *porzana*/Spotted Crake) a Bras y Cyrs (Emberiza *choeniclus*/Reed Bunting) yma yn y gorffennol, gan E. Cambridge Phillips,[4] er mai saethu adar oedd ei brif ddiddordeb. Mae'r Rhegen Frech bellach yn brin iawn yng Nghymru a does dim cofnod ohoni'n nythu ar y warchodfa ers yn gynnar yn y 1990au, ond mae pum i chwech pâr o Fras y Cyrs yn bridio dros y ddau draeth bob blwyddyn.[5] Cydnabyddir y Warchodfa fel un o safleoedd gorau Cymru gweision y neidr a mursennod. Cofnodwyd pymtheg rhywogaeth yma, ac mae'n gynefin i boblogaeth bwysig o'r fursen cynffonlas brin sydd ar y Rhestr o Ddata Coch.[6]

Dylid nodi mai 'Illtyd' yn hytrach na'r ffurf gywir Illtud yw'r sillafiad a geir ar arwyddion ffyrdd yr ardal, ac a ffefrir gan fugeiliaid a phorwyr y tir comin, er mwyn osgoi'r camynganiad a ddigwydd yn aml o sillafiad cywir Illtud, yn debyg i'r hyn a ddigwydd gyda 'Llandudno' yng nghegau'r di-Gymraeg.

Mae nifer o hen chwedlau yn perthyn i Draeth Mawr, rhai ohonynt o wefusau trigolion ffermydd Pwllyn Brwnt ac Ynys Gron. Dywedir i bentre gael ei foddi yn y Traeth, yn debyg i 'hanes' y 'ddinas' yn Llyn Safaddan, a gall fod yr enw lle 'Trefothi', (gyda sillafiad 'th' yn cynrychioli 'dd', sydd yn digwydd yn lled aml, e.e. Therow am Y Dderw) cartref y crydd gynt yn yr oesoedd canol, o bosib yn SN9635 2610, yn gysylltuedig â 'boddi'. Dehonglwyd hyn yn dystiolaeth o fodolaeth crannog yng nghanol y llyn a fu yma cyn datblygiad y gors, yn debyg i'r un yn Llyn Syfaddan, sydd bron yn unigryw yng Nghymru, er yn gyffredin iawn yn Iwerddon. Tybed ai cefndir hanner-Gwyddelig Brycheiniog sydd yn gyfrifol am hyn.

Mae Mynydd Illtud, cartref Canolfan Ymwelwyr y Parc Cenedlaethol, yn ddiddorol ynddo'i hunan, gyda meini hirion yn gysylltiedig ag Illtud, un o seintiau cynharaf y fro seintlyd hon. Nodir un ohonynt ar fapiau swyddogol yn gamarweiniol fel 'Bedd Illtud': Bedd Gŵyl Illtud yw'r enw gwreiddiol, gan mai yma y cynhaliwyd gŵylnos ar y noson cyn Gŵyl Illtud, 6 Tachwedd, yn debyg i'r orymdaith wrth olau ffaglau a gynhelir ar yr un noson yn Llanilltud Fawr, safle 'prifysgol' hynafol Illtud. I'r naill ochr a'r llall o'r Bedd Gŵyl ceir dau faen hir, sydd, yn ôl y chwedl, y lleidr a geisiodd gipio da Illtud, ac a trowyd yn feini fel cosb, thema cyffredin iawn yn chwedlau'r saint.

Mae Buchedd Samson, disgybl Illtud, o Ddôl yn Llydaw,[7] y ddogfen hynaf sydd gennym am fywyd Sant Celtaidd, yn mynnu mai ym Mrycheiniog, ei fro enedigol, y claddwyd ei athro. Mae'r 'Bedd' llawer yn hŷn nag Illtud Oes y Saint, yn hannu o Oes yr Efydd,[8] i'w cymharu â bedd cynhanes arall, sef Tŷ Illtud ger Llanhamlach, bedd diddorol iawn sydd yn gysylltiedig ag Illtud, ac yn destun crafiadau o groesau ar ochrau mewnol y meini a wnaed gan bererindod yn yr oesoedd canol. Mae'n bosib mai encil Illtud oedd y bedd hynafol.Yn Llydaw, lle y ceir cynifer o enwau lleoedd yn gysylltiedig ag Illtud ag sydd yng Nghymru (tua 44), mae cysylltiad rhyngddo â bedd neolithig, Roc'h Ildut, ger Bourbriac, a ddinistriwyd, yn anffodus, ryw ganrif yn ôl.

Yn ôl y chwedloniaeth leol, yma yn Llanilltud roedd bedd y sant, sef yn yr eglwys hynafol gerllaw, a ddymchwelwyd yn anffodus rywbryd tua diwedd y ganrif ddiwethaf, oherwydd anghydfod ynglŷn â mynediad am waith cynnal a chadw. Mae safle'r eglwys mewn mynwent gron, arwydd o hen sefydliad, gyda chylch o goed yw o'i gwmpas. Rhoddwyd pulpud yr eglwys i Amgueddfa Brycheiniog yn Aberhonddu.

Enghraifft arall o'r enw yn y sir yw Llyn Traeth Bach [SN875258], ym mhlwyf Traianglas, yn ymyl llwybr ceffylau ychydig i'r dwyrain o'r ffordd blwyf rhwng Trecastell, ar Afon Wysg, a Thafarn y Garreg yng Nghwm Tawe, sydd yn troi i'r chwith yn fuan ar ôl gwaith dŵr Portis. Creuwyd y Llyn yma trwy godi argae er mwyn croni dŵr mewn llecyn gwlyb, y Traeth Bach a roddodd ei enw i'r llyn. Bu'r tir yn rhan o ystâd Belfont, a alwyd yn 'Glasfynydd' i mewn i'r

20fed Ganrif[9] ac mae bodolaeth Tŷ Cychod ar ymyl y dŵr yn tystio i natur hamdden y llyn artiffisial hwn.

Y tu allan i ffiniau presennol Brycheiniog, ond o fewn y sir hanesyddol, ceir enw fferm yn ardal Penderyn, sydd o bosib yn enghraifft arall, er bod yr enw wedi ymddangos ar wahanol weddau yn y gorffennol. Y tŷ dan sylw yw Ynys Wendraeth [SN946094], yn ymyl ffordd yr A4059, rhyw 800 metr i'r gogledd o'r dafarn ym Mhenderyn. Cofnodwyd yr enw fel 'Ynyswendorth' ar ddiwedd y 18[eg] Ganrif a dechrau'r 19[eg], ond Ynys Wendraeth yw'r ffurf a nodwyd yn amlaf. Nid yw'r eglur pam y newidiwyd cenedl Traeth o'r gwrywol i'r fenywol yma.

Ni wyddys am ddefnydd tebyg o'r elfen traeth mewn unrhyw sir arall yng Nghymru, ond gan mai Brycheiniog a Maesyfed yw'r unig siroedd heb arfordir, (cofier 'rifiera' Maldwyn ger bont Machynlleth!) nid rhyfedd bod y siroedd eraill yn cadw'r dynodiad ar gyfer traethau go iawn ar lan y môr.

Nodiadau

[1] Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru, Cyfrol IV, tud. 3543/4

[2] Walker 1982.

[3] Gwybodaeth a ddarparwyd gan Mr M.J. Porter.

[4] Phillips 1899 a dyfyniad mewn Ingram a Salmon 1957: 213 a 252.

[5] Gwybodaeth a ddarparwyd gan Mr K. Noble.

[6] Gwybodaeth a ddarparwyd gan Mr A. King.

[7] Taylor 1925.

[8] Ystyrir Bedd Gŵyl bellach fel carn gylchol o Oes yr Efydd yn hytrach na thomen rhwng dau faen hir megalithig. (Gweler CADW, Cofnodion Rhestrol BR 326 a ddyfynir yn Sail Data Coflein, Cyf. 305016 yn CBCHC).

[9] Powell 1986/87 a 1993.

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Abstract

This article explores the place-name 'traeth' in its specialist Brecknockshire meaning, and with the nature, history and associated mythology of the places so described. A full translation of this article can be found at www.brecknocksociety.co.uk.

LETTERS

STAINED GLASS FROM WELSH CHURCHES

Dear Editor

My thanks to Elizabeth Siberry for reviewing my book, *Stained Glass from Welsh Churches* in the 2015 volume of *Brycheiniog*.[1]

Siberry mentions two shortcomings of the book. One was that the locations of the churches in remote locations will be unfamiliar to those without a good knowledge of Wales, and I am reminded that I had intended to add a map to the volume to help with this. Unfortunately both time and space made this impossible in the completed book. A search for windows in the county is possible on the Stained Glass in Wales Catalogue.[2] The catalogue shows the locations of the churches using Google maps, but unfortunately I have had no further funding to add stained glass from the many churches that I have visited over recent years.

The other shortcoming was that there are important windows in the old county of Brecknock that are not mentioned in the book (as there are throughout Wales). One that she mentions is John Petts' east window of 1989 at the Church of St Mary, Brecon (Fig. 1), which I overlooked in favour of other windows by the artist, partly because it was included at a generous size in Alison Smith's chapter on the work of the artist in the 2010 volume *Biblical Art from Wales*. In fact I tried to complement the illustrations in her chapter by including photographs of windows for which only the cartoons were illustrated, and Petts' east window at Llansteffan, which was represented in Alison Smith's chapter by a photograph of him working on the window. In this instance the window had been reproduced in the Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion Pevsner (2006), but as it was such a personal window, it seemed particularly important to the history of stained glass in Wales.

Mentioned in the review are Carl Edwards' windows at Llyswen and David Pearl's windows at the (now closed) Catholic church in Crickhowell, and these are perhaps of particular importance. Also in my book are details from the fine Tractarian church at Beulah and the excellent Modernist work of Harry Harvey at Maesmynys.

So what else from Breconshire might have deserved a mention in the book? Along with John Petts' window in Brecon there are good windows by Powell's and Horace Wilkinson in Brecon Cathedral. Another important work in Brecon is the unusual window by Clayton & Bell to J.P. Seddon's design at Christ College Chapel, Brecon, which merited a colour illustration in Martin Harrison's *Victorian Stained Glass* (1980). Now part of Brecon, the church at Llanfaes is represented in my book by a late Morris & Co. window, but not shown is the east window designed by James Hogan at Powell's in 1924.

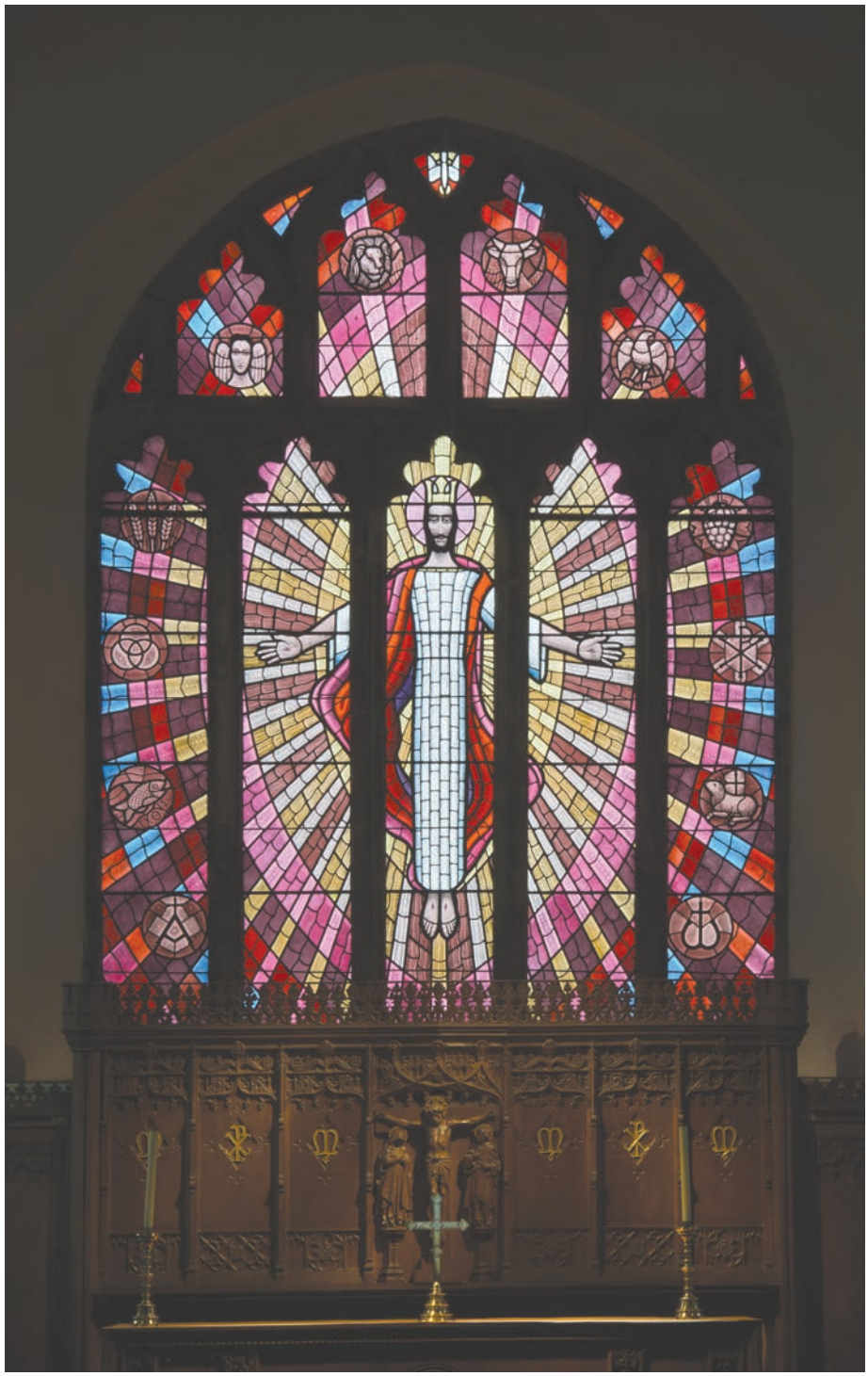

Fig. 1. John Petts, the Risen Christ, 1989, Church of St Mary, Brecon.

Fig. 2. C.E. Kempe, Christ Carrying the Cross, 1903, Church of St Mary, Builth Wells, detail of the East Window.

At Builth Wells, I found and illustrated a small window in Alpha Chapel that I attributed to Burlison & Grylls, partly because of the amount of their late work in the area, notably nearby at the parish church where there are large late works by them. At the Church of St Mary, Builth Wells, there is also a large east window of by C.E. Kempe that I tried, and failed, to find a home for in the book (Fig. 2).

MARTIN CRAMPIN

Notes

[1] *Brycheiniog* Volume XLVI: pages 156–8.

[2] http://stainedglass.llgc.org.uk/

BOOK REVIEWS

Above Brecknock: An Historic County from the Air by Chris Musson and Toby Driver. 2015. The Brecknock Society & Museum Friends in collaboration with The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales and the Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust. Paperback: 128 pages. £15.00. ISBN-10: 1869900022 ISBN-13: 978-1869900021.

It was a great pleasure to receive and read this high quality publication, which is the third in Chris Musson's excellent trilogy of aerial views following *Montgomeryshire Past and Present from the Air* in 2011 and *Radnorshire from Above* in 2013. A far cry from many rather mass produced and eclectic collections of regional aerial views which are readily available on the 'mass market', this is an outstandingly high quality, brilliantly illustrated and thoughtfully written book.

Threaded throughout by both authors' deep knowledge of the area and skilled appreciation of the important and unique aspect afforded by the aerial viewpoint, the volume provides an insightful, detailed and visually charming overview of the archaeology and history of Brecknock via a series of carefully chosen, excellently composed and often dramatic aerial images supported by an engaging, intellectual and accessible text. It successfully entwines the physical aspects of the area with the huge social, economic, cultural and heritage significance of this magnificent landscape.

Pages 12 and 13 provide a succinct accurate and comprehensive overview of aerial survey techniques and equipment, accurately describing aerial archaeologists as '*multi-period archaeologists chauffeured by even more experienced pilots in a variety of search patterns around the chosen survey area*'. Importantly the authors point out that '*The archaeologists choose what to photograph, so anything they do not see – or recognise as being of potential archaeological value [during oblique specialist aerial surveys] does not get photographed . . . But every photograph is 'informed by archaeological knowledge and archaeological purpose*'.

Varied views, and particularly photo 11, show the reader what it is like to undertake an aerial survey – from required equipment to what it actually looks like to compose an aerial photo from the window of a small light aircraft. The role of GPS navigation and route planning is briefly discussed, with the caveat that the best planned routes may be (excitingly!) diverted by changing weather conditions – frequent in mountainous regions – and the initial observations of the landscape below. The anticipation of discovery, meticulous planning and experience involved in successful aerial survey is neatly described in two well illustrated pages, which continue into informative discussions of the Way of Seeing from the air and Archaeology from the Air.

Regional overview chapters, from Hay-on-Wye to Crickhowell, Brecon and the Valley of the Usk, Builth, Mynydd Epynt and Llanwrtyd and the

Brecon Beacons to the coalfield fringe pack in a lot of information and illustrative images useful to the professional archaeologist and lay-person alike. The many photographs, carefully chosen from the authors' own images and from other archives, are all sharply and beautifully reproduced and printed, with a wide range of distant well composed and focussed landscape images with an impressive depth of field, such as photo 113, a panorama of Ystradgynlais, photo 93 of Mynydd Du and the stunning photo 87 of the Brecon Beacons under snow. These are complemented by crisp, detailed and informative close-in photos of individual features within a wider landscape, such as the stone sheepfold illustrated by photo 116 west of Craig-y-Nos. Townscapes and dramatic industrial landscapes also take their place alongside well-lit photos of earthworks, buildings and buried sites showing as marks in growing crops.

Other photos illustrate the massive variety of dramatic landscape (photo 1, the Black Mountains) the effect of snow and different weather conditions (photo 15, Brecon Gaer) on archaeological discovery and the subtle perception of differing landscape zones and types via angle of photography and textural rendition of vegetation. Photographs 81 and 82 show a former peat cutters sledway and ruined longhouse within a valley near Abergwesyn. Not only are the images of these sites very informative and sensitively composed, but they are indeed difficult to capture during aerial survey in a light aircraft in a mountainous region. They are a tribute to the skills, communication and teamwork of both the pilot and the aerial archaeologist.

All images in this book really do show the range of skills and abilities needed to achieve successful aerial survey alongside the archaeological appreciation and knowledge necessary to deliver such fine results in communicating a landscape to readers on many levels.

The final section 'Into the Future' begins with one of the most stunningly visualised LiDAR (Airborne Laser Scan) images I have ever seen, and continues to provide a very succinct yet informative and engaging history of aerial survey in Brecknock from the days of biplanes to the present innovative and fast moving developments in the use of digital images and LiDAR imagery as applied to the study of an Iron Age landscape at Coed Gibraltar promontory fort.

The authors certainly have captured the county's character and analysed and presented it in depth with the right balance of words and deeply informative images.

Finally they ask the much-hackneyed question '*does the future belong to the drones?*' which is almost a rhetorical finishing note, to which the answer is of course a resounding 'No'. This volume amply illustrates that the future firmly belongs to skilled human aerial surveyors and landscape interpreters operating over a wide area, on many occasions of survey, responsive to changing light,

new discovery and their own experienced knowledge to produce information on any level other than a straight single image of a known site.

This book is a tight, informative and evocative focus of the immense archaeological knowledge and purpose developed by the authors over their long experience as aerial archaeologists and specialists in the cultural heritage and archaeology of this wild and beautiful region of Wales. It is as academically and professionally informative as it is accessible to a lay reader, due to its clear and stylish visually appealing content and exceptionally well written and succinct text.

The authors have amply achieved their stated aim to '*hopefully enrich our readers' sense of identity and place as we take them on our imaginary flights round the varied landscapes, townscapes and archaeological sites of the historic county of Brecknock*' in producing a book which is not only a pleasure to read but is beautiful to look at and contains many memorable and stunning photos which amply illustrate the informative unique and complex art of aerial photography and its detailed application to multi-period landscape survey.

CHRIS COX
Director, Air Photo Services Ltd.

Welsh Soldiers in the Later Middle Ages, 1282–1422 by Adam Chapman. 2015. Boydell Press. Hardcover: 282 pages. £60.00. ISBN-10: 1783270314. ISBN-13: 978-1783270316.

For readers of this journal, Adam Chapman will already be familiar as he co-authored our lead article on the Battle of Agincourt and its Breconshire connection. In *Welsh Soldiers in the Later Middle Ages*, he takes a longer term view of Brecon soldiers fighting in English armies, from 1282, and Edwards I's conquest of Gwynedd, to 1422, and the Welsh contingent in Henry V's armies, most famously at Agincourt. Chapman neatly summarises why the Welsh fought for the English, noting that those not supporting Llewelyn ap Gruffudd in the conquest of Gwynedd naturally bound themselves to the only alternative, Edward I, and the same was true at the time of the Glyndŵr uprising, when those Welsh opposing the rebellion went over to Henry IV and later to Henry V. Moreover, the new king exploited the crushing of the uprising by accepting service from repentant rebels, whilst taking advantage of what had become a militarised nation.

Brecon is mentioned throughout the book, although in Edward I's Scottish campaign of 1297, due to internal problems among the Marcher lords, the town provided no soldiers but did feature as a muster point for other Welsh recruits. Brecon was both an embarkation point from the west, and had easy access to England via the River Severn ford at Gloucester. This advantageous location made Brecon prominent as a muster point throughout the period (most famously, perhaps, for Agincourt), even if arrayment took place at Hereford during the fourteenth century.

Contemporary records suggest the Welsh were not always reliable regarding their discipline. In 1298, Edward I loaned his Welsh soldiers to serve the Austrian Emperor, Adolf of Nassau. They failed to make a good impression. One Welsh recruit even leapt onto the emperor's horse and attempted to slit the royal throat. When Edward III called Welsh soldiers to fight in his Flanders campaign of 1338, rumour was they burnt down a church. No wonder Henry of Huntingdon, writing an account of the battle of Lincoln in 1141 wrote that the Welsh were "ignorant of the art of war". The Welsh played to different rules, albeit Chapman finds no evidence that they changed the method of fighting for the English kings they served.

So why were the Welsh needed? The popular response would be that they made good archers, and certainly the roll of 1362 records foot archers from Brecon supporting the uprising of Henry Bolingbroke (later Henry IV). But an archer, despite modern perceptions, was of low status, poorest paid, and – with sometimes only a quiver of arrows with which to start the battle – pretty useless pretty quickly.

From then on, myths fall quickly under Chapman's scrutiny. The Welsh

archers at Agincourt may not have been predominantly Welsh since there is an inherent problem with the records in dividing Welsh from English. Moreover, the weapon of choice for a Welsh soldier was not a bow but a spear, just as much medieval Welsh poetry would suggest. Moreover, when praise poetry was penned for the descendants of Dafydd Gam (who, according to contemporary records, died at the battlefield as an esquire and not a knight) there is no mention of Agincourt. It was clearly not considered the family's finest hour. In fact, Chapman argues that more latterly, Agincourt was viewed primarily through the lens of Shakespeare. So what of Fluellen (Llewellyn), the famous Welshman at the battle? Fluellen tells Henry, "the Welshmen did good service" but he was not talking of Agincourt but rather the battle fought under Henry V's great-uncle, Edward the Black Prince. Crécy, and not Agincourt, may have been the most significant battle of the Welsh soldier.

Welsh Soldiers in the Later Middle Ages is a tremendous work, easy to read, packed with closely researched and referenced argument, and with a lively narrative to carry the reader through, what can be, a particularly dense period of history. Chapman is to be applauded, even if, alas, his publisher is not. The £60.00 price tag will put general readers off purchasing this book, and that is a shame. It is an incredibly good read.

MIKE WILLIAMS
Editor, *Brycheiniog*

Abbeys and Priories of Medieval Wales by Janet Burton and Karen Stober. 2015. University of Wales, Press. Hardcover: 288 pages. £90.00.
ISBN-10: 1783161795. ISBN-13: 978-1783161799.
Paperback: 288 pages. £24.99. ISBN-10: 1783161809.
ISBN-13: 978-1783161805.

The Ancient Abbeys and Priories of Wales by J. Richard Williams. 2015. Gwasg Carreg Gwalch. Paperback: 328 pages. £7.99.
ISBN-10: 1845242297. ISBN-13: 978-1845242299.

Ruined abbeys and priories are scattered throughout Wales as a visible legacy of religious life in the Middle Ages, so it is good to have two new books which provide, in different ways, a guide to this rich heritage, which has, of course, also been depicted by many artists, not least J. M. W.Turner.

Professor Janet Burton from University of Wales Trinity St David's and Dr. Karen Stober from the University of Lleida, Catalunya, are well placed to write such a work, as directors of the Monastic Wales project (www.monasticwales.org) and editors of the Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies. The Introduction provides a helpful and authoritative analysis of the different monastic orders operating in medieval Wales and the political context behind monastic donations and foundations. In this period, monasteries were major landowners and part of a complex web of relationships not only with the church (monasteries were often patrons of local parishes) but also local lords. The helpful maps in the book, underline the link between monastic foundations, castles and major communications routes.

The second half of the book is a Gazeteer of abbeys and priories and local readers will be particularly interested in the sections on the Benedictine Priory of St John, now of course the Cathedral and the Dominican Friary, now the chapel at Christ College. The authors provide a fascinating insight into the range of property owned by the medieval Priory, from the ruined Roman fort of Y Gaer, to churches at Talgarth and Llangorse and note that the college chapel is 'one of the few physical reminders of the presence of the mendicant orders in Wales'. Medieval monks did not always behave according to the monastic rule and a reminder of this is the story from Gerald of Wales of a monk who had been expelled from the Benedictine Priory in Llandovery, then took possession of a cell of Great Malvern in Brecon, where he seduced a nun. To complete the tale, he was, at least according to Gerald, excommunicated and expelled from the area.

Each entry in the Gazetteer is followed by details of access and location and cross references to a comprehensive bibliography. The book is also on the whole well illustrated, including two illustrations of the fine and unique misericords in what is now Christ College chapel. Unfortunately, however, some of the black and white illustrations are of poorer quality with details difficult to distinguish.

In short, the authors have given us a scholarly and accessible survey of

medieval monasticism in Wales, helpfully set in a broader historical context and all the information required not only to visit the sites today but also for further reading of detailed studies in scholarly journals.

The Gwasg Carreg Gwalch book, part of a series, which includes studies by other authors on, for example, churches and churchyards in Wales, is also a useful guide to medieval monastic Wales and its contemporary remains. It is pocket sized and reasonably priced and the author has read and researched widely. Subjects covered include medieval Welsh poetry, monks and medicine, and abbey bells and bellringing. There is again a helpful gazetteer and account of the priory and friary in Brecon, with entries in this instance arranged by monastic order rather than alphabetically. The book ends with a useful chapter on the Cistercian Way (www.ldwa.org.uk), a 650 miles footpath which calls at all 16 medieval Cistercian houses.

ELIZABETH SIBERRY
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Celtic Saints of Wales by Elizabeth Rees. 2015. Fonthill Media. Paperback: 192 pages. £16.99. ISBN-10: 1781554625. ISBN-13: 978-1781554623.

There are myriad books about Celtic saints; they, like their erstwhile subjects, seem to spring from every tree and rock in the lands of the far west. But relatively few works have focussed exclusively on the Welsh Celtic saints and this is what Elizabeth Rees does in her *Celtic Saints of Wales*. Rees is eminently qualified to write such a book as she is both a Roman Catholic nun and a noted expert on the subject, having published many works on similar themes. Although sometimes relying on the medieval Lives of the Saints, with their hagiographic blend of story, whimsy, legend and, occasionally, fact, Rees adds a new element to our understanding by considering the landscape and individual sites where these early Christians lived and worked.

The nation is divided into north and south, and then sub-divided into smaller geographic areas. Brycheiniog, perhaps incongruously for those of us living here, falls into the section on south east Wales. King Brychan receives a paragraph for himself but the same detail is not given to his saintly offspring. St Eluned, who stakes a claim as the patron saint of Brecon, is not mentioned, which is a pity since her story is incorporated into the landscape of the immediate area, something that Rees pays close attention to for other early saints. St Keyne is similarly absent. For any Welsh lovers, St Dwynwen will be a painful omission. Indeed, Rees notes that only three lives are recorded for Welsh women saints: Non, Winifred, and Melangell. Fortunately, her book manages to include far more than that.

Aside from these personal favourites, many saints are covered in the book, from the well-known, such as David and Illtyd from south Wales, to the lesser-known, such as Eurgain and Mawgan from north Wales. A brief history of the saint is followed by a description of the landscape and any particular site with which he or she is connected. Since Rees has travelled to many of these places, her descriptions are lively and fresh, and usually accompanied with images from her wide collection. By following the saints' missions and ministry, Rees often exceeds the bounds of our nation and journeys with her subjects to other Celtic countries and even, on occasion, into England.

This book is a joy. Anyone with even a passing interest in the lives and landscapes of our saints should have a copy. It is scholarly, yet written with evident enthusiasm. It is very well illustrated with many photographs and occasional maps, and plenty of endnotes to provide touchstones for further reading. There may be myriad books about Celtic saints, but this one stands out from the crowd.

MIKE WILLIAMS
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