

The Problem of Pendar:
a lost abbey in medieval
Senghenydd and the
transformation of the church in
South Wales

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Paul Anthony Watkins

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Introduction

This thesis began life as an investigation of monastic patronage on the Southern Welsh March between the coming of the Normans and around 1300. Investigation of this broad area of research identified a more focused area as the phenomenon of Pendar. Pendar is known to have had association with the Cistercian Order but its precise status within the order has never been fully understood. Indeed, its very location has never been identified. This thesis therefore offers an investigation of what can be known of Pendar and its significance both within the history of the Cistercian movement in Wales and within the geographical area of Senghenydd.

The Cistercians in Wales

The Cistercian Order was by far the most successful of the monastic orders in Medieval Wales but it was not the first new monastic movement to arrive in Wales in the wake of the Norman settlement from the 1070s onwards. The early phase of expansion was dominated by a number of Benedictine priories distinguished by their dependence on Norman, French or English abbeys.¹ They were – with the exception of Cardigan on the coast of west Wales and the short-lived Benedictine phase of the great church of Llanbadarn Fawr – all located in South Wales, the area most quickly settled by the incomers. Many of these Benedictine priories were closely associated with the castles of the incomers and thus in their own way a symbol of conquest. By the late 1120s they had been joined by two houses of Augustinian canons, Carmarthen in the royal borough of that name, and Llanthony Prima on the borders of

¹ For a recent discussion of the Benedictine foundations in South Wales see Janet Burton, 'Transition and transformation: the Benedictine houses', in *Monastic Wales: New Approaches*, ed. by Janet Burton and Karen Stöber (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013), pp. 21-37.

England and Wales. However it was to be the Cistercian Order that had most impact on the history of Medieval Wales. The White Monks would make thirteen foundations in Wales and there were two permanent houses for women. The two Savigniac abbeys of Basingwerk in the north and Neath in the south, which became Cistercian in 1147, both date their foundation to the late 1120s or early 1130s.² They probably just pre-dated what is accepted as the first Cistercian foundation at Tintern in the valley of the River Wye (1131), which derived from the French abbey of L'Aumône.³ Whitland, with a date of foundation that cannot be determined any more precisely than the 1140s, is traditionally believed to be a daughter house of Clairvaux but more recently it is suggested it may be a daughter house of Vauclair in Normandy.⁴ Margam, founded in 1147 by Robert, earl of Gloucester, derived directly from Clairvaux.⁵ By 1147, therefore there was five Cistercian abbeys in Wales, one (Basingwerk) in the north and the other four in South Wales. All five owed their origins to Anglo-Norman settlers.

The second phase of Cistercian expansion in Wales demonstrates a shift in patronage from the incoming lords to the native rulers, and the map of Cistercian Wales was transformed by the foundation of houses in central and north Wales: first, Strata Florida (1164) and sister houses at Strata Marcella (1170) and Cwmhir (1176), all three deriving from Whitland, then their own daughter houses, Caerleon (Llantarnam) and Aberconwy from Strata Florida, Cymer from Cwmhir, and – the last native foundation – Valle Crucis from Strata Marcella. These foundations were dependent on the patronage of the Welsh rulers and

² Janet Burton and Karen Stöber, *Abbeys and Priories of Medieval Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2015), pp. 46 and 147.

³ *Ibid.* p. 204.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 218.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 137.

closely tied to their political and cultural aspirations.⁶ The Cistercian expansion in Wales, with the exception of the late foundation of Grace Dieu, was over by 1201.⁷ It is in the context of the developing patronage of the Cistercians, first by the immigrant lords and then by the native princes, that we may place Pendar.

Historiography

Cistercian studies have been, and continue to be, a vibrant area of study. Recent scholarship has tended to move away from the traditional ‘top down’ approach to the history of the order which has, among other things, seen the expansion of the White Monks as a well planned, neat and uniform process directed from the centre, the General Chapter. There has been an increasing body of scholarship on how the order operated regionally and a willingness to investigate divergences and not see these as a sign of decline or degradation of practice. Indeed, the controversial work of Constance Berman questioned the idea that there was such a thing as the ‘Cistercian Order’ before the second half of the twelfth century, and stressed the slow evolution of the order and its ideology.⁸ Although Berman’s conclusions and arguments have not been universally accepted, there is no doubt that her work has caused Cistercian scholars to rethink traditional interpretations. The recent work of, for instance, Janet Burton and Julie Kerr, Mette Birkedal Bruun, Emilia Jamroziak, and Karen Stöber, have all made

⁶ On the patronage of the Cistercians by the Welsh rulers see, for instance, David Stephenson, ‘The rulers of Gwynedd and Powys’, in Burton and Stöber, ed., *Monastic Wales: New Approaches*, pp. 89-102.

⁷ Janet Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000 – 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 75; Burton and Stöber, *Abbeys and Priors*, pp. 99-101.

⁸ Constance Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution: the invention of a monastic order in twelfth-century Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).

significant contributions to the body of understanding surrounding monasticism and in particular the Cistercians.⁹

The Cistercians in Wales have not lacked their historians. The great historian of English monasticism David Knowles all but ignored developments west of Offa's Dyke, and while one might not expect a book with the title of *The Monastic Order in England* to be concerned with Welsh matters, Knowles's references to Wales are few and not complimentary.¹⁰ David Williams, whose name dominates in the study of the Cistercians in Wales, provides a comprehensive collection of data mapping the land holdings, churches and economic resources of the houses in Wales based on charter evidence. He did not, however, confront the issues of Pendar.¹¹ Cowley provides an excellent and well organised approach to the history of monasticism in South Wales.¹² Being written almost forty years ago it stands a little dated in modern scholarship and again glosses over the issues surrounding Pendar believing it a daughter house of Margam. More recently the Monastic Wales Project headed by Janet Burton and Karen Stöber provides both a web-based study of post-Conquest monasticism in Wales, and a published volume of collected essays related to monasticism in Wales by a number of leading academics from inside and outside Wales.¹³ The collection is interdisciplinary, and there is a particular emphasis on patronage of the Cistercians in the essays of David Stephenson and Jemma Bezzant, and in the archaeology of the Cistercians in

⁹ See, for instance, Janet Burton and Julie Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2011); Emilia Jamrozik, *The Cistercian order in medieval Europe, 1090-1500* (New York: Pearson, 2013); Burton and Stöber, *Abbeys and Priors*; Mette Birkedal Bruun, *The Cambridge companion to the Cistercian order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

¹⁰ David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963).

¹¹ David (D. H.) Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, 2 vols (Caldey Island: Cistercian Publications, 1984), revised as *The Welsh Cistercians* (Leominster: Gracewing, 2001). Among his many other works see *Atlas of Cistercian Lands in Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1990).

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

¹³ Burton and Stöber, *Monastic Wales: New Approaches*.

the essay of David Austin.¹⁴ A more detailed review of the historiography relating to Pendar is dealt with in chapter I.

Sources and Methodology

The main documentary sources used in this study are a number of original charters relating to Pendar which survive among the Penrice and Margam at Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales as charters 10, 23 and 54 and London, British Library Harley Charter, 75 B 29, and British Library Harley Charter, 75 B 32. These are supplemented with other documentary evidence in the form of charters, and surveys such as the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of 1291. The thesis also deploys the evidence of place names, and of archaeology and landscape. The thesis is indebted to ‘Archwilio’ the website of the archaeology trusts in Wales. The nature and significance of the sources are discussed in the individual chapters.

This thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter I discusses the historiography of Pendar, that is, the way in which previous scholars have interpreted its brief history, and the documentary evidence for its foundation and nature. Chapter II approaches the ‘problem of Pendar’ through the landscape evidence and maps. It maps the charter area of the initial foundation as confirmed by Earl William of Gloucester, and offers a hypothesis as to the site of the lost monastery. Chapter III places the foundation of Pendar in the context of native Welsh lordship in Senghenydd and its neighbours in upland Glamorgan to the West and Gwynllŵg in the East. Chapter IV considers the role of the immigrant lordships and their impact on native rule and more especially on the process of foundation and development of Pendar. In particular it investigates the significance of the intervention of the earls of

¹⁴ David Stephenson, ‘The Rulers of Gwynedd and Powys’ (pp. 89-102); Jemma Bezant, ‘The medieval grants to Strata Florida Abbey: mapping the agency of lordship’ (pp. 73-87); David Austin, ‘The archaeology of monasteries in Wales and the Strata Florida Project’ (pp. 5-20).

Gloucester and the fate of the lands associated with the foundation charter of Pendar. Chapter V argues that the motivation for the foundation of Pendar lies in part in an attempt to perpetuate and indeed revitalise the cult of Cadoc and associated saints. This chapter places this phenomenon in the broader context of continuity and change in the reform of the parish churches of South Wales and their transfer to a new monastic order.

Chapter I

The Problem of the Abbey of Pendar: the documentary evidence

The ‘problem’ and the historiography

Why ‘the problem of the Abbey of Pendar’? The abbey of Pendar presents many challenges for the historian and archaeologist alike mainly because of the lack of hard evidence that a monastic foundation actually ever existed there. There is as yet no identified archaeological footprint for the abbey. Even the documentary evidence that exists is fragmentary and as yet has not given rise to a totally credible explanation for the abbey in either place or time. The result is ambiguity as to if there was ever a monastery at Pendar, and if so, what the nature of the monastic foundation was, and for how long it existed. Perhaps the first questions to be asked are why Pendar is important – why this is a question worth pursuing – and why is the solution to the Pendar question so valuable to our understanding of the establishment of the March? It is the argument of this thesis that the answers to these questions go beyond the one issue of a single religious foundation, and give us greater understanding of the relationships between the immigrant Norman lordships and native dynasties in the area we now consider as modern Glamorganshire. Further, if the conclusions to this thesis are correct, they shed new light on the establishment of native Cistercian houses and could even contribute to the current re-evaluation of the ways in which we have perceived the growth and spread of the Cistercian movement not just in Wales but in Western Christendom in general.

As yet there has not been a satisfactory explanation offered for the potential site, the date of foundation, or indeed the founder of Pendar. It has to be agreed that as yet the arguments that have been put forward for the date and location of Pendar are contradictory

and not always totally satisfactory. While it may not be possible to offer a full solution to ‘the problem of Pendar’ because of the scarcity of evidence, be it documentary or archaeological, and the ambiguity of what evidence there is, I hope in some part to offer a potential solution or, at the very least, offer a useful contribution to the debate regarding its date, location and founder. The first two chapters of this thesis therefore re-evaluate the existing evidence, both documentary and archaeological, and begin by revisiting the work of the historians who have looked at the Pendar problem; thereafter the thesis offers a possible alternative interpretation of the problems set by the evidence available. As yet, there is no recognised archaeological footprint for a site that can be adequately identified as a Cistercian abbey, nor is there any document which can confirm placement and date of the said abbey. The chronicles do not mention its foundation, its failure, or translation to another site. Consequently it would appear that any search to identify or solve any of these issues would be a wild goose chase destined to lead to the same fate as that of the abbey itself. Nonetheless I would argue that there is strong enough evidence in existence to offer a credible proposition for the location of the abbey in its landscape as offered by charter evidence and field evidence. As will be discussed below, the dating of the charter evidence is also problematic as regards the location of the abbey, its date of foundation, as well as its relationship to Margam Abbey. A re-evaluation of the dating of the charters and of the political landscape may offer an alternative view of date and understanding of the foundation and its founder. First we must offer a review of the valuable work offered by a number of historians thus far published which offer contributions to the nature, date and foundation of Pendar.

An appropriate starting point is Walter de Grey Birch, writing over a century ago. In *The History of Margam Abbey* he wrote:

An examination of some of the earliest documents relating to Margam leaves it perfectly clear that at some time previously to the building of the abbey on its present site, there had been an establishment in another place. This was the abode of the hermit Meiler, who appears to have inhabited a primitive cell, or religious house of the slenderest dimensions, at Pendar a generic place-name, occurring in other places in Glamorganshire, descriptive of a hill or head (pen), clothed with a forest of oaks (deri or derw, dêr, an oak); or ‘the head of dar’, which is generic, like dour or dur, for river. Whether Meiler was from the very beginning of his career a member of the Cistercian Order or not is not quite clear; but at the time when he appears first of all in these ancient records he was certainly connected with it in some degree.¹

This passage demonstrates the problems Pendar offers for the history of the Cistercian order in South Wales: What was the role of Meiler in the foundation of Pendar? What was the relationship of his hermitage to the Cistercian abbey? And where was that ‘present site’ of which Walter de Grey Birch spoke? The context makes it clear that the reference is to the present site of Margam.

The problem of Pendar has continued to occupy historians. In his study of the monastic order in South Wales from the coming of the Normans to the Black Death, Fred Cowley suggests that Pendar was a failed daughter house of Margam, founded within some ten years of the foundation of Margam itself, but notes that its lands were later lost to the abbey of Caerleon (Llantarnam).² This view of the foundation is dependent upon the assumption that

¹ W. De Gray Birch, *History of Margam Abbey* (London: Bedford Press, 1897), p. 8.

² F. G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales 1066-1349*, Studies in Welsh History (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1977), pp. 23-4.

the document of confirmation by William earl of Gloucester (discussed below)³ is totally reliable and should be taken at face value. Janet Burton suggests that Pendar might have been a precursor of Margam, and took it as one of a number of examples relating to changes in Cistercian sites.⁴ Such transfers were fairly common; Donkin gives many examples of such moves throughout England and Wales and suggests that as many as a third of Cistercian abbeys may have changed location.⁵ Wales provides its own examples. Whitland in the south moved to a second site, and in the north Aberconwy moved twice, namely from Rhedynog Felen to Aberconwy (the current site of the town of Conwy) and subsequently, after the Edwardian conquest, to Maenan.⁶ As at Pendar there is no known surviving archaeology of the original foundation at Rhedynog Felen. We often forget that it was not Rhys ap Gruffudd who founded Strata Florida but Robert fitz Stephen. Rhys it was who came to be regarded as founder, endowed the abbey with its extensive lands and may have facilitated its move to its present site.⁷ However, while Burton's suggestion of a site transfer is feasible, there is no firm evidence that Pendar was the first site of Margam. This, however, is also the interpretation of Robert Patterson, who links Pendar with Margam as a cell predating Margam from which Margam developed.⁸ Patterson's view derives from the same charter used by Clark, and also by Huw Pryce and designated by him as the foundation charter for

³ See chapter IV pp. 160-63.

⁴ J. E. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 133.

⁵ R. A. Donkin, *The Cistercians: Studies in the Geography of Medieval England and Wales* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1978), pp. 31-6.

⁶ R.W. Hays, *The History of the Abbey of Aberconway 1186-1537* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1963), pp. 4-5 and 62.

⁷ D. M. Robinson, *The Cistercians in Wales: Architecture and Archaeology 1130-1540* (London: The Society of Antiquaries of London, 2006), p. 30. The evidence for an earlier site for Strata Florida at *Yr Hen Fynachlog* is ambiguous and may be based on later tradition.

⁸ R. B. Patterson, *The Scriptorium of Margam Abbey and the Scribes of Early Angevin Glamorgan* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002), pp. 144-5.

Pendar.⁹ This is Earl William's confirmation charter of a grant to Margam of lands in Senghenydd.¹⁰ A further problem with Patterson's interpretation is his failure to have account of a charter of Philip ap Grifin (ap Gruffudd), which is discussed below.¹¹ Pryce departs from the views of Clark, Burton and Patterson in that he sees Pendar as a cell or daughter house of Margam.¹² J. Beverley Smith makes no direct reference to Pendar other than reference to the confirmation charter by Earl William, which has already been mentioned.¹³ One can only conclude that Smith by default takes the view that Pendar was a daughter house of Margam.

The late Mr Barrie Griffiths, a local historian of the Margam/Bridgend area, claims Pendar to be a name associated with Margam itself.

Amongst the earliest charters from the Cistercian Abbey founded here by Earl Robert there are some which refer to an Abbey known as Pendar and its Abbot named Meiler. Upon notification of the Earl's grant the Abbot at the Cistercian Order's parent house at Clairvaux in France would have despatched an Abbot and 12 monks to Margam to take possession of the land and build the new abbey. Pending their arrival it seems Abbot Meiler received several bequests of land on their behalf. The location of 'Pendar' has long puzzled historians, and several fanciful guesses have been made, but arguably it must have been closer to

⁹ H. Pryce, ed., *The Acts of Welsh Rulers, 1120-1283* (Cardiff: University of Wales, 2005), pp. 813-4.

¹⁰ G. L. Clark, ed., *Cartae et alia munimenta que ad dominium de Glamorgancia*, vol. 1 (Cardiff: William Lewis, 1910), pp. 148-9; a transcription is given below.

¹¹ See below pp. 13-16.

¹² Pryce, ed., *Acts of Welsh Rulers*, p. 813; see also H. Pryce, 'Patrons and patronage among the Cistercians in Wales', *Arch. Camb.*, 154 (2007), pp. 81-95.

¹³ J. Beverley Smith, 'The kingdom of Morgannwg and the Norman conquest of Glamorgan', in T. B. Pugh, ed., *Glamorgan County History 3: the middle ages* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1971), p. 35.

Margam than Neath Abbey which was already in being and as another Cistercian community would have been the logical candidate to fulfil this caretaker role.

What seems to have escaped everyone's notice to date is that behind the Cistercian Margam Abbey on the west rises an impressive spur known to this day as 'Cefn Pendar'. Part way down its slopes is a large platform which looks to be partly artificial, and on it stands the enigmatic ruins of a medieval chapel known as Capel Mair.¹⁴

Griffiths's interpretation of the series of events is therefore to see Meilyr almost as a local agent, acting on behalf of the community of Margam before the arrival of the founding monks invited from Clairvaux by Earl Robert of Gloucester. However, this explanation does not take full account of all the charters relating to Pendar Abbey, nor does it account for the confirmation charter of William, earl of Gloucester; consequently it can be disregarded as a full explanation or account for the existence of Pendar. A charter that appears in Clark's *Cartae* leaves us in little doubt that Pendar existed or continued to exist for some little time after the foundation of Margam, and that it bore some relation to Margam Abbey. This is the charter for Margam Abbey, given by Philip, son of Griffin, and his wife and son, which Clark dates c. 1151, which he claims is four years after the foundation of Margam Abbey.¹⁵ A. L. Evans used; Aberystwyth, NLW, Penrice and Margam Charters nos 10, and 54, London, British Library Harley Charter 75 b 29 (Clark, charters CXXX, CCCXLVI and CCXXXIV) and concluded that Pendar evidently predated Margam and indeed was instrumental in the early negotiations for the foundation of Margam.¹⁶ Again, Evans like other writers has not

¹⁴ B. Griffiths, http://www.thetimetrekker.com/The_Origin_Of_Margam_Abbey.pdf

¹⁵ Aberystwyth, NLW, Penrice and Margam Charters, no. 10; Clark, ed., *Cartae*, vol. 1, pp. 127-8; mentioned in Pryce, ed., *Acts of Welsh Rulers*, no. 616, note.

¹⁶ A. L. Evans, *Margam Abbey* (Port Talbot: Port Talbot Historical Society, 1958), pp. 17-18.

taken all the Pendar charters into consideration and perhaps understandably omitted the Senghenydd charter CLXIX, on the assumption that it was of later date and subsequently not relevant to the foundation of Pendar at the time of the foundation of Margam.

The scholarship on Pendar accordingly ranges from seeing it as a precursor of Margam Abbey to which it removed at a subsequent date, to interpreting it as a daughter house of Margam, which failed to thrive and enjoyed only a short-lived existence. We must now turn to the primary source material and examine the charters and other documentary evidence.

The Pendar charters

The starting point for our discussion of the charter material is Aberystwyth, NLW, Penrice and Margam charters nos. 10, 23, 54, which are Charters CXXX, CXLIX and CCCXLVI in Clark. As these are crucial to the discussion they are given below, transcribed from the original charters. The translations are my own. The first charter to be discussed is that of Philip son of Grifin. Philip son of Grifin's identity is discussed in chapter III.

Charter of Philip son of Grifin (Philip ap Gruffudd) granted to the Cistercian Order, Brother Meilyr, and the house of Margam; the grant is also said to have been made to Brother Meilyr and the house of Pendar (Aberystwyth, NLW Penrice and Margam charters no. 10; Clark, *Cartae*, no. CXXX)

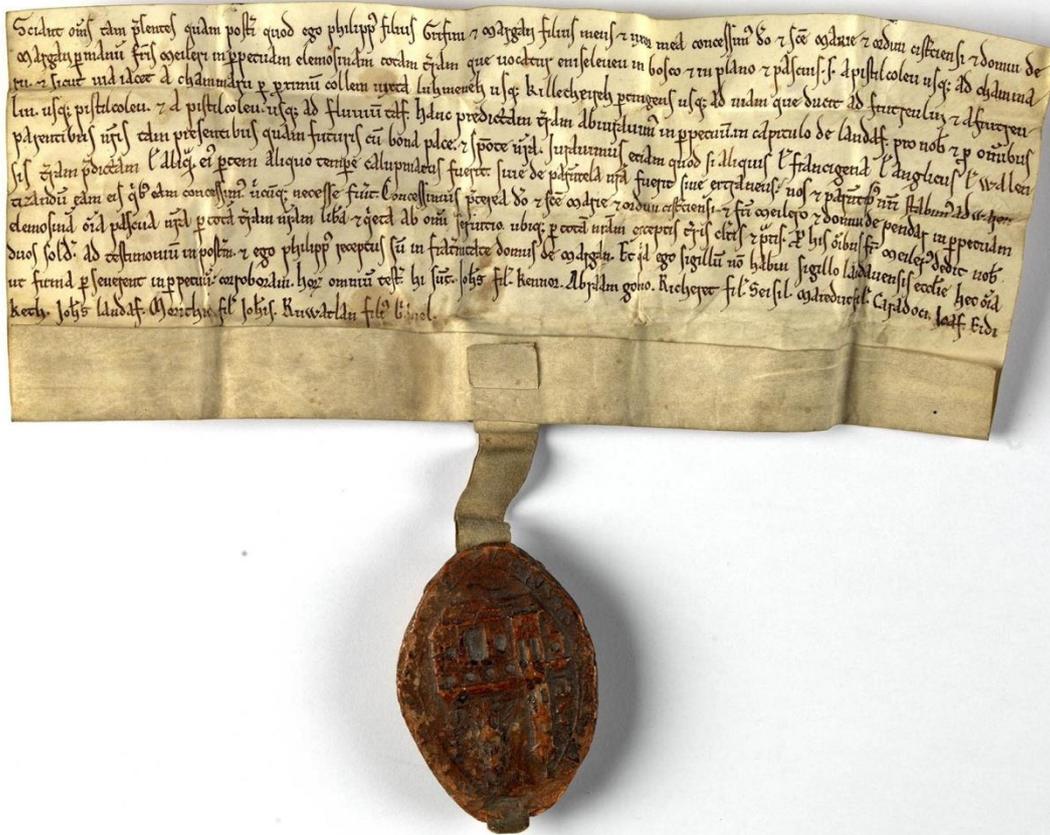
Sciunt omnes tam presentes quam posterī quod ego Philippus filius Grifini et Margan filius meus et uxor mea concessimus Deo et Sancte Marie et ordini Cisterciensi et domui de Margan per manum fratris Meileri in perpetuam elemosinam totam terram

que uocatur Eniseleueu in bosco et in plano et pascuis scilicet a Pistilcoleu usque ad Chammaru et sicut uia iacet a Chammaru per proximum collem iuxta Luhmeneh usque Killecheireh pertingens usque ad uiam que ducit ad Frutreulin et a Frutreulin usque Pistilcoleu et a Pistilcoleu usque ad fluuium Taf. Hanc predictam terram abiurauimus in perpetuum in capitulo de Landaf pro nobis et pro omnibus parentibus nostris tam presentibus quam futuris cum bona pace et sponte nostra. Iurauimus etiam quod si aliquis uel Francigena uel Anglicus uel Walensis terram predictam uel aliquam eius partem aliquo tempore calupniatus fuerit siue de parentela nostra fuerit siue extraneus nos et parentes nostri stabimus ad warentizandum eam eis quibus eam concessimus ubicunque necesse fuerit. Concessimus preterea Deo et Sancte Marie et ordini Cisterciensi et fratri Meilero et domui de Pendar in perpetuam elemosinam omnia pascua nostra per totam terram nostram libera et quieta ab omni seruitio ubique per totam nostram terram exceptis terris cultis et pratis. Pro his omnibus frater Meilerus dedit nobis duos solidos ad testimonium in posterum. Et ego Philippus receptus sum in fraternitate domus de Margan. Et quia ego sigillum non habui sigillo Landauensis ecclesie hec omnia ut firma perseuerent in perpetuum corroborauimus. Horum omnium testes hi sunt Iohannes filius Kennor, Abraam Gobio, Richeret filius Seisil, Maraduc filius Caradoci, Ioaf Eidiketh, Iohannes Landaf, Morithie filius Iohannis, Ruwatlan filius Brianel.

Be it know to all present and all future that I Philip, the son of Griffin and Morgan my son and my wife have granted to God and St Mary and to the Cistercian Order and to the house of Margam by the hand of Brother Meilyr, in perpetual alms, all the land that is called Eniseleueu in wood and in plain, and in pastures, namely, from Pistilcoleu as far as Chammaru and from there as the road stretches from across the nearest hill next to Luhmeneh as far as Killecheireh, touching on the road which leads to Frutreulin and

from Frutreulin as far as Pistolcoleu and from Pistolcoleu as far as the River Taf. All the aforesaid land we have relinquished on oath in perpetuity in the chapter of Llandaff for ourselves and all our kin, both those present as well as those to come, with good peace and of our own accord. We have also sworn that if anyone, be he Frenchman or Englishman or Welshman, shall at any time make a claim either to this land or to any part of it, whether one of our own kin or a stranger, we and our kin will stand warranty in respect of that land to those to whom we have granted it whenever it will be necessary. Moreover, we have granted to God and St Mary and the Cistercian Order, and to Brother Meilyr and to the house of Pendar all our pasture lands wherever they can be found in perpetual alms, free and quit of all service throughout our land, except in cultivated lands and meadows. For all these things Brother Meilyr has given us two shillings in testimony for all times. And I, Philip, have been received into the brotherhood of the house of Margam. And because I did not have a seal, I have corroborated all these things with the seal of the church of Llandaf, so that they may remain fast for ever. These are the witnesses of all these things: John, son of Kennor, Abraham Gobio, Richeret son of Seisil, Maredudd son of Caradog, Joaf Eidiketh, John Landaf, Morith son of John, Ruwatlan son of Brianel.

Figure 1.1: Copy of Manuscript Penrice and Margam 10 supplied by the National Library of Wales.



There are a number of important points in this charter. First, Philip, son of Griffin conveyed a large area of land to the Cistercian Order and to the house of Margam. This was done through the agency of Meilyr. Second, the charter grants pasture land to the Cistercian Order and to Meilyr and to the house of Pendar. Third, Philip was received into fraternity at Margam. This gives evidence that at the time of the charter the two houses of Pendar and Margam were both in existence, and there is no evidence of any constitutional link between them, as between mother house and daughter, or between abbey and cell.

Charter of Caradog Uerbeis granted to the Cistercian Order, Brother Meilyr, and the brothers of Pendar (Aberystwyth, NLW Penrice and Margam charters, no. 54)

Sciant omnes tam presentes quam posteri quod ego Caradocus Uerbeis dedi Deo et Sancte Marie et ordini Cisterciensi et fratre Meilero et fratribus de Pendar terram meam totam que iacet inter tres aquas, scilicet Frutsanant et Cleudat et Nantclokenig in Bosco et plano qui boscus Hlowenroperdeit nominatur. Hanc etiam terram dedi eis in perpetuam elemosinam liberam et quietam ab omni seculari exactione concedentibus Margan et Caduwalan et Meriedoc filiis Carodoci de quorum feudo terra illa erat, et concedentibus fratribus meis Ioaf et Grunu et Meuric et filio meo et uxore mea Gladus, qui omnes abiurauerunt terram predictam cum omnibus parentibus suis. Et si contigit quod aliquis calumpniatus fuerit terram illam ego et omnes parentes mei stabimus pro fratribus ad warezizandum eam illis. Pro hac donatione dederunt mihi Meilerus et fratres de Pendar xx^{ti} solidos. Hac etiam pactione sub iuramento et sub sigillo domini mei Margan filii Carodoci quia sigillum non habui. Huius reo testes sunt: Magister Petrus de Landaf et Ioaf Edighet et Rogerus filius Eman et Kelin Wendoc et Ieruert filius Madoc et Johan Landaf, Maredud filius Oweni, Emauum presbiter de Pencirech, Philippus clericus frater eius, Ris filius Ioan, Adam filius Meileri.

May all present and future know that I, Caradoc Verbeis, have given to God and St Mary and the Cistercian Order and to Brother Meilyr and the brothers of Pendar all my land which lies between three rivers, that is, the Frutsanant and the Cleudac and the Nantclokenig, in wood and plain, which wood is called Hlowenrpede. I have granted all this land in perpetual alms, free and quit of all secular service and exaction. The grant is made with the permission of Morgan and Cadwallon and Maredudd, the sons of Caradog, of which fee the said land was, and my brothers, that is, Ioaf and Grunu and Meuric, and my son and my wife, Gwladus. These have all given up their rights to this land, along with their kin. And if it should happen that any claim shall be brought

concerning that land I and all my kin will stand firm and guarantee it for the brothers. For this grant Meilyr and the brothers of Pendar have given me 20 shillings. I have also confirmed this agreement under oath and under the seal of my lord, Morgan son of Caradoc, because I do not have a seal. The witnesses of this grant are: Master Peter of Llandaf and Ioaf Edighet and Roger son of Ennan and Kelin Wendoc and Jervet son of Madoc and Johan Llandaf, Maredudd son of Owen, Emaum the priest of Pencirech and Philip the cleric his brother, Rhys son of Johan, Adam son of Meilyr.

Figure I.2: Copy of Manuscript Penrice and Margam 54 supplied by the National Library of Wales.



This charter appears to be roughly contemporary with that of Philip son of Grifin, There are two witnesses in common, and the sons of Caradog gave their consent to the grant. One of

them, Morgan, sealed the charters as the lord of the grantor. The name of the last witness is intriguing. What is notable here is that the Cistercian abbey of Margam is not mentioned. However, the charter given by Philip son of Griffin (Gruffudd) is a joint gift naming Pendar and Margam Abbeys, suggesting that both institutions existed at the same time. Thus we must assume from this evidence that Pendar was probably not an abbey which later moved to Margam, and this leads us to the question: was Pendar a daughter house of Margam? If this had been so, would we naturally expect Pendar lands to have been legally passed to Margam? Why, therefore, do these lands, other than the lands located in Senghenydd, appear later to have been transferred to Caerleon otherwise known as Llantarnam? The only reason it would appear that these lands are associated with Margam lies in the written record of the documents associated with the earldom of Gloucester charters which had been held or been associated with Margam Abbey.

Confirmation by William, earl of Gloucester of the grant of Griffin son of Ifor: NLW Penrice and Margam charters no. 23 (Clark cartae CLXIX Patterson, ed., *Earldom of Gloucester Charters*, no. 120)

Willelmus comes Glow' daperifero suo et baronibus suis et omnibus hominibus suis Francis et Anglis et Walensibus salutem. Sciatis me concessisse donacionem quam Griffinus filius Ivor fecit abbacie de Marg' per manum fratris Meileri Awenet ad faciendum heremitagium seu abbaciam si fieri potest, scilicet super aquam de Taf totam terram que uocatur Stratvaga in bosco et in plano, et totam Brenkeiru et de Berkehum Taf usque ad Bargau Remni et totam Kardawardmenet et totam Maislette et de Mauhanis capite usque Taf, et piscarias in Taf et quantum sua terra extenditur. Preterea omnem terram Sancte Gwladvs in bosco et in plano et omnia Pascua ab illa terra usque Bohrukarn et ex altera parte terre Sancte Gwladvs et usque Henglau, scilicet ueterem

fossam usque ad aquam que uocatur Kidliha et totam terram Masinawan in bosco et in plano, tenendam in perpetuam elemosinam liberam et quietam ab omni seculari seruicio et exactione. Testibus Hawisia comitissa et Hamone de Valon', Alexandro de Tiches', Widone de Rupe, Willelmo de La Mare, Magistro Cyrusio, Osberto Clerico.

William, earl of Gloucester, to his steward and his barons and all his men, French, English and Welsh, greeting. Know that I have conceded the grant which Griffin son of Ifor made to the abbey of Margam by the hand of Brother Meilyr Awenet (Awenydd: an 'inspired' poet, seer) to create a hermitage or an abbey if it is possible, that is, above the water of Taff the land which is called Stravaga in wood and plain, and the whole of Brenkeiru, and from Bargoed Taff as far as Bargoed Rhymney, and the whole of Karpdawardmenet and the whole of Maislette, and from the head of Mauhanis as far as the Taff, and the fisheries in the Taff as far as their land may extend. Moreover [I grant] all the land of St Gwladys in wood and plain and all meadows from that land as far as Bohrukarn and from the other part of the land of St Gwladys as far as Henglau, that is, the old ditch as far as the water that is called Kidliha, and all the land of Masmawan in wood and plain. They are to hold these in perpetual alms, free and quit from all secular service and demand. Witnesses Countess Howisa, Hamo de Valon', Alexander de Tiches, Guy de Roche, William de la Mare, Master Cynisius, Osbert the cleric.

Figure I.3: Copy of Manuscript Penrice and Margam 23 supplied by the National Library of Wales.



The confirmation of Earl William (d. 1183) describes a grant made by Gruffudd ap Ifor (d. 1211) of Senghenydd to Margam for the foundation of a hermitage or – if it could be managed – an abbey.¹⁷ It is not clear what circumstances would lead from the first to the second, but that the recipient is named as Brother Meilyr (here with the additional name Awenet, or Awenydd), and the location of the lands, and especially of St Gwladys, identify the proposed foundation as Pendar. The significance of the boundaries described in this

¹⁷ Pryce, ed., *Acts of Welsh Rulers*, no. 616, notes that there is no charter of Gruffudd ap Ifor and that the confirmation by Earl William is the only source for his grant.

charter is discussed in Chapter II. Here we turn to the problem of dating of these documents and charters.

The Problem of Dating

Looking at the three charters which relate to Pendar, standing alone from other charters, it would appear that the foundation and confirmation charter of William, earl of Gloucester (d. 1183), given above, furnishes the fullest evidence for the largest block of land granted to Pendar, and for the foundation of Pendar itself. With regard to the dating of the foundation of the abbey, it would appear that much of the modern dating is dependent upon the dating of a charter issued by Morgan, Cadwallon, and Meredith, the sons of Caradog, as confirmation of the previously mentioned charter by Caradog Verbeis (Penrice & Margam 54).¹⁸ It has been noted that Owain ap Caradog does not appear in the charter as a brother and the assumption has been made that he must have been dead by the date the charter was issued.¹⁹ Therefore the charter had been dated according to the story of the murder of Owain ap Caradog ap Iestyn by his brother Cadwallon. The story of his murder appears to be recorded only by Gerald of Wales the *Journey through Wales*.

Accidit autem his nostris diebus, quatuor Caradoci filii Iestini filiis, et Resi principis ex sorore nepotibus, his in finibus herili portione, sicut Gualensibus mos est, pro patre dominantibus; Morgano videlicet et Mereducio, Oeneo, et Cadwallano; quod per invidiam et Caymiticam malitiam, iterum renatam, Oeneum fratrem Cadwallanus interemit. Nec mora: divina ultione subsecuta, cum castrum quoddam

¹⁸ The confirmation charter is Harley Charter 75 B. 29 given in Pryce, ed., *Acts of Welsh Rulers*, pp. 258-9.

¹⁹ See, for instance, Pryce, ed., *Acts of Welsh Rulers*, pp. 258-9.

hostiliter inuasisset, muri subito super eundem facta ruina, minutim confractus interiit: et inter tot tam sui quam fratrum suorum exercitus viros, dignas perpetrati facinoris et fratricidii poenas luens, solus miserabiliter exstinctus occubuit.²⁰

However, it happened in our days when the four sons of Caradoc ap Jestin, nephews of the Prince Rhys by his sister, that is Morgan, Maredudd, Owen and Cadwallon, were ruling on their father's place over those lands which they were due to inherit, as is the Welsh custom, that through envy and through the malice of Cain that were now reborn, Cadwallon killed Owen his brother. In no time divine vengeance followed. While he was aggressively attacking a certain castle, he perished, smashed to pieces when a wall suddenly crashed into ruin and fell on him. In the midst of so many of his own men and of the armies of his brothers he succumbed alone to a wretched death, paying an appropriate penalty for the perpetrator of the crime of killing a brother.

However, if the identity of Owain as a son of Caradog is questioned, then this dating for the foundation of Pendar on the basis of the charter of the grandsons of Iestyn falters. J. E. Lloyd refers to the murder of Owain and dates these events to some time before 1183.²¹ None of the chronicles make mention of either this event or the subsequent 'divine vengeance' which apparently overtook Cadwallon for the murder of his brother. The *Brut y Tywysogion* does make mention of Morgan ap Caradog (brother to both Owain and Cadwallon) in another context in 1175, as having attended Henry II's council at Gloucester along with his

²⁰ J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock and G. F. Warner, ed., *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, 6 vols (RS: London, 1861-91), VI, 69; my translation, cf L. Thorpe, trans., *Gerald of Wales, The Journey Through Wales* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), p. 128.

²¹ J. E Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, Vol 2 (London: Longmans, Green and co., 1911, repr. 1948), p. 572.

contemporary Gruffudd ap Ifor ap Meurig of Senghenydd.²² Both of these lords were nephews of Rhys ap Gruffudd of Deheubarth, Caradog being married to Gwladys, a sister of Rhys ap Gruffudd, and Ifor Bach being married to Nest the sister of Rhys.²³

The problem which arises here is not just the murder of Owain but his relationship to the sons of Caradog ab Iestyn and the nature of their power. Huw Pryce notes Gerald of Wales's report that the four sons of Caradog ap Iestyn 'shared authority over their father's lands after his death'.²⁴ Some doubt is cast upon this by J. Beverley Smith, who saw it as significant that it was Morgan alone of the four who had been invited to Gloucester in 1175 and not any of the other brothers.²⁵ On the basis of this evidence he suggests that Morgan may have had pre-eminence while his brothers exercised lordship under him over their father's lands. However, despite Gerald of Wales's description of Owain as a brother of Cadwallon, he is the only source to do so. It is suggested below that Owain was not in fact a blood brother of Cadwallon nor a son of Caradog and, if this is so, his exclusion from the charter would be less significant.

Clark in his work on 'The Lords of Avan, of the Blood of Jestyn' gives the pedigree of Caradoc ap Jestyn which includes Owain:

Caradoc, who may be assumed to have been born not later than 1078, married a sister of Prince Rhys, whose name of Gwladys is said to occur in a Margam Charter. By her he had – 1, Morgan (75, B. 31); 2, Meredydd (75, B. 28), who married Nest; 3 Owen; 4, Cadwallon. Giraldus, who, in 1188 mentions these sons, and their relationship to Prince Rhys, adds that Cadwallon killed Owen from

²² Thomas Jones, ed. and trans, *Brut y Tywysogion, Peniarth MS. 20* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1952), p. 70.

²³ Smith, 'The kingdom of Morgannwg and the Norman conquest of Glamorgan', p. 26.

²⁴ Pryce, ed., *Acts of Welsh Rulers*, p. 19.

²⁵ Smith, 'The kingdom of Morgannwg and the Norman conquest of Glamorgan', p. 36.

malice, and was himself crushed by the falling of a castle wall. Owen was the owner of a greyhound celebrated for fidelity to his master, and which, on his death, William earl of Gloucester gave to Henry II. (Gir. Camb., capVII).²⁶

Part of Gerald's account of the killing of Owain was given above, but at that point the reference was not made to the way in which the narrative continues with the story of the greyhound. It is evident that Clark, whom we can thank for his later work in compiling and publishing the many Glamorgan and Margam charters in the volumes of *Cartae et alia munimenta*, was fully familiar with the available charters and equally clear that he found no reference to Owain as one of the sons of Caradoc in any of the assembled charter material. Clark further notes in the same article a book of Glamorgan pedigrees preserved among the collection of Welsh manuscripts at Peniarth dating from the time of Charles I.²⁷ He notes Caradoc ap Jestyn's family as follows:

III. Caradoc ap Jestyn married Gladys, Daughter of Griffith ap Rhus ap Twdor, and had – 1, Morgan; 2, Retherch; 3, Meredyth; 4, Bredyr; 5, Wrgan Hir.

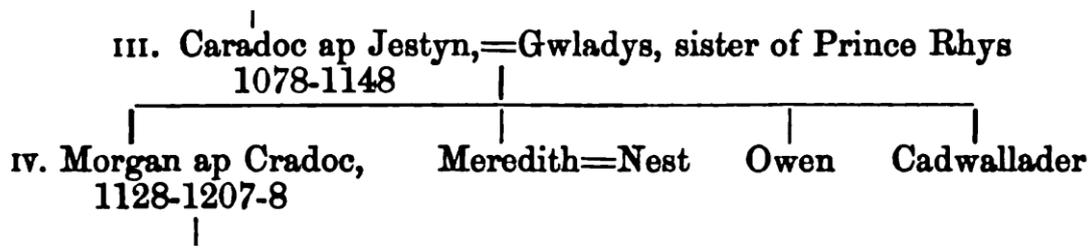
As in the charter material there is no mention here of Owain. What is interesting is Clark then follows with a family tree which differs from his other account of the family's descent and does indeed include Owain. It would appear he had made certain changes based upon his work with charters but by his own admission used Gerald of Wales's story of Owain's death by the hand of his brother.²⁸ This second pedigree is reproduced below.

²⁶ G.T. Clark, 'The Lords of Avon, of the Blood of Jestyn', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, third series, 11 (1865), pp. 261-76, 343-60, and 12 (1866). 1-29 (p. 5).

²⁷ Clark, 'Lords of Avon, of the Blood of Jestyn', p. 18.

²⁸ Clark, 'Lords of Avon, of the Blood of Jestyn', p. 5.

Figure I.4: Clark, 'Lords of Avon, of the Blood of Jestyn'



It may also be significant that, unlike Clark, Rice Merrick does not mention Owen as one of the sons of Caradog ap Iestyn. He does make mention of Morgan as son of Caradog, and Cadwallon and Morgan Gam as sons of Morgan. Merrick, it appears, has taken this information directly from the lost cartulary of Neath Abbey.²⁹ Huw Pryce refers to Merrick's reference in his study of the *Acts of Welsh Rulers* but is it possible that Huw Price has made a mistake here as he refers to Rice Merrick listing four sons of Caradog; there appears no reference to Owain as one of the four brothers in Merrick.³⁰ It appears therefore that our only reference to the existence of Owain as son of Caradog is made by Gerald of Wales, when he identifies Owain as one of Caradog's four sons in his story of Owain's murder by his brother. There appears to be no other evidence for his existence. J. Beverley Smith comments that Owain's share of inheritance from his father cannot be identified with any certainty unlike the other three brothers.³¹

Is it just possible that Gerald of Wales got it wrong? Or did he perhaps use an earlier entry from the Margam annals to justify Cadwallon's demise as God's punishment for the murder of his alleged brother Owain? If we accept this change in Owain's identification it is not surprising that he does not appear in the Pendar charter issued by three sons of Caradog, and the date of his murder is not therefore pertinent to the date of the foundation of the abbey.

²⁹ R. Merrick, *Morganiae Archaioграфия, A Book of the Antiquities of Glamorganshire*, vol. 1, ed. Brian Ll. James, South Wales Record Society (Barry Island), p. 39.

³⁰ Pryce, ed., *Acts of Welsh Rulers*, p. 19.

³¹ Smith, 'The kingdom of Morgannwg and the Norman conquest of Glamorgan'.

Indeed the whole episode as recorded by Gerald may be a misunderstanding of earlier events of 1127 which are recorded in the Margam Annals.

Rogerus Ymor a tribus filiis Gestin, Grifud, Garataue, Guoroni, occisus est dolo; et perjuri erga eum etiam sacrilegi effecti sunt, frangentes duas ecclesias, scilicet Sanctorum Tidauci et Tatani.³²

Roger Ymor was killed by treachery by three sons of Jestyn, that is, Griffith, Garataue, and Guoroni; and they committed perjury against him and were even sacrilegious, breaking into two churches, that is, those of St Tidauc and St Tatanus.³³

Or could the story of fratricide even be a deliberate distortion of the events to produce a good story, thus giving reason for Cadwallon's death by divine retribution? Or was Gerald seeking a fantastic story to embroider his basic tale that centred on a gift of a dog to Henry II? If we give Gerald the benefit of doubt, he may just have got his stories or facts confused. It would not be the only time: Gerald also deviates from the chronicles, as is noted by David Crouch, when he names Iorwerth ap Owain as responsible for the death of Richard de Clare,³⁴ whereas the *Brut y Tywysogion* credits Iorwerth's brother, Morgan ap Owain, as having been responsible for his death in 1135/6.³⁵ (Other chronicle sources also give Morgan ap Owain in 1136).³⁶ Further it would appear that Gerald is inaccurate in his chronology of

³² *Annales de Margam, 1066 – 1232*, in H. R. Luard, ed., *Annales Monastici*, 5 vols (London: RS, 1864), I, 12. The names of these saints have not been identified.

³³ These churches have not been identified.

³⁴ D. Crouch, 'The slow death of kingship in Glamorgan, 1067-1158', *Morgannwg: Transactions of the Glamorgan Local History Society*, 29 (1985), pp. 20-41 (p. 33); *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock and G. F. Warner, 8 vols (RS.; London, 1861-91), VI, pp. 47-8.

³⁵ Jones, ed. *Brut Y Tywysogion, Peniarth*, p. 70.

³⁶ Remfry, ed., *Annales Cambriae*, p. 80.

events pertaining to the fall of the castle of Usk and lands of Caerleon from the control of Hywel ap Iorwerth and his father.³⁷

It has already been mentioned earlier that J. Beverley-Smith notes that it is difficult to establish what lands were held by Owain ap Caradog. Is it just possible that we are looking for the wrong Owain?

It is possible that by re-evaluating the lands held by Morgan ap Owain (who is the presumed son of Owain ap Caradog) and other members of the descendants of Iestyn, we can establish a pattern of lordship which may in turn suggest a line of inheritance and, consequently, confirm Owain's parentage. Huw Pryce most certainly identifies Morgan as Morgan ap Owain ap Caradog ap Iestyn but he may have taken as accurate Gerald of Wales's identification of Owain as one of Caradog's sons. A possible alternative explanation for Morgan ap Owain's lands is that he is descended, not from Caradog, but from Rhys, Caradog's brother. Again, we know from the information gleaned from the Neath Abbey records (now lost) by Merrick that Rhys was a son of Iestyn and he held certain lands in Glamorgan. We therefore may expect those lands, if they were still held by the family, to be identified as lands held by Morgan ap Owain. If this is the case, can we therefore accept that this is as another argument in favour of Owain ap Caradog never having existed, never mind being murdered by Cadwallon. This, however, provides us with a further problem.

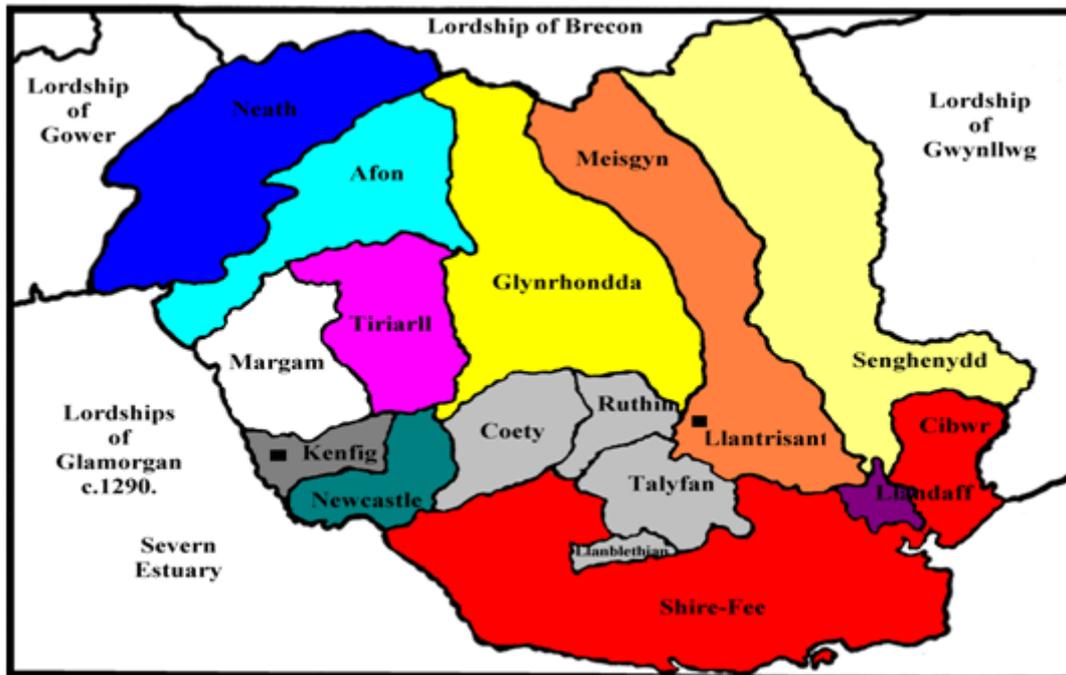
Records from Neath Abbey, transmitted to us by Merrick, suggest that Rhys ap Iestyn held Llanilid and Rhuthin as well as Reses Lege (Resolven which lies on the River Neath), and certain territories between the River Neath and River Tawe, which he later exchanged with the abbot of Neath for Cilbebyll.³⁸ It is also interesting here to note that Madog ap Iestyn

³⁷ See below, pp. 36-44 for Gerald of Wales's story relating to Meilyr and Usk castle.

³⁸ Merrick, *Morganiae Archaioographia*, p. 39.

held most of Meisgyn. These lordships can be clearly seen in J. Beverley Smith's map of Glamorgan lordships.³⁹

Figure I.5: The Lordship of Glamorgan, taken from J. Beverley Smith, 'The Lordship of Glamorgan', Morgannwg, 2 (1958), 9-37



This map is based upon J. Beverley Smith's map of the lordships c. 1290. This is admittedly somewhat later than our murder case of the twelfth century, but it will help us identify some of the areas mentioned in the historical record.

We can glean from the records some evidence of who held what and when but there is more than an element of confusion, as it would appear that, between the infighting of native lordship and expansionism of immigrant lordships, things were far from static. Beverley Smith argues that the early conquests of Glamorgan were restricted to the coastal margins of Glamorgan as far west as the River Ogwr.⁴⁰ This is displayed on the map approximating to the area shown in red. He further argues that lordship of Coety was an early lordship which probably fell into Norman hands as a true marcher lordship taken in the early twelfth century

³⁹ Smith, 'The kingdom of Morgannwg and the Norman conquest of Glamorgan', pp. 9-37.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

by the family of Turberville. It is uncertain if this acquisition was by conquest or marriage.⁴¹ (There is a tradition that a Turberville married a daughter of the house of Iestyn ap Gwrgant.) Morgan ap Owain, who is given by Pryce as Morgan ap Owain ap Caradog, is documented as giving lands of Hafodhalog to Margam Abbey.⁴² Beverley Smith links Hafodhalog with the lands of Llangynwyd, and suggests the later naming of these lands as Tir Iarll is evidence of the lands passing to the earl of Glamorgan. If this is so, we may ask why Morgan ap Owain was holding them in the years around 1183 to 1246 unless he was holding them direct from the earl. Is it possible that these lands may be part of the western share of Rhys ap Iestyn's lands that may have become Owain ap Rhys ap Iestyn's share, with his brother receiving eastern Ruthin / Talyfan? Merrick, who had access to the now lost Neath Abbey documents, lists Rhys as holding Llandilid, Rhuthin, and Cilybabyll.⁴³ It is therefore possible that the lands midway between upland Glamorgan and lowland Glamorgan were Rhys's inheritance from his father Iestyn. Is it consequently possible that the Owain of Gerald's story is the son of Rhys ap Iestyn and not Caradog ap Iestyn? The establishment of land holdings for native lordships for the early twelfth century is difficult to establish. A legend of the twelve knights of Fitz Hamo, the man responsible for the early conquest of Glamorgan, has been proven unreliable.⁴⁴ There is some charter evidence but it is limited, which makes a definitive assessment of the situation in Glamorgan impossible with the evidence available. To make matters worse, chronicle evidence is also practically non-existent and therefore unhelpful for a full assessment of the conquest of Glamorgan. Consequently, if we look at the map of Glamorgan and its lordships, any evidence to support or repudiate the sequence of events and

⁴¹ Smith, 'The kingdom of Morgannwg and the Norman conquest of Glamorgan'.

⁴² NLW Penrice and Margam 120 and Charter CCCXLIII, Clark, ed., *Cartae*, 2, 344.

⁴³ Merrick, *Morganiae Archaioграфия*, p. 39.

⁴⁴ Judith A. Green, 'Robert fitz Haimon (d. 1107)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [online] Available: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9596>

holdings of lordships is often sketchy. What is certain is that of the sons of Iestyn, Caradog and later his son Morgan, appear as the dominant unifying forces in native held Glamorgan. It may well be that this was achieved in part by force where coercion or persuasion was not effective and Owain may have been a casualty of this process. The question is: was this Owain son of Caradog or Owain son of Rhys? The answer again to this question may not be fully answerable with any certainty but, the evidence available to date suggests that his status as a son of Caradog can be questioned.

Another avenue of thought relating to Owain's parental status which is worthy of consideration is that of fosterage or God parentage.⁴⁵ It may be possible that Owain was the son of Rhys but referred to by Gerald of Wales as 'brother' to the sons of Caradog if Caradog had been given or accepted care of Owain upon the death of Rhys, Caradog's brother. If this were the case, it may well be that Owain would not have been mentioned in the London, British Library Harley Charter, 75 B. 29. Clark's charter CCXXXIV, as Owain's inheritance provision would not have included any of the lands of Caradog but only the former lands of his birth father, Rhys, which may have been under the care of Caradog for and behalf of Rhys and his brother. This may give answer to the problem of date for London, British Library Harley Charter, 75 B. 29. Clark CCXXXIV if Gerald of Wales's story of the killing of Owain by his supposed brother Cadwallon has any basis in fact. If we can follow this argument successfully and eliminate Owain as a son of Caradog then we most certainly can cast doubt on the modern dating of the Pendar charters. This done then we may be able to take things a little further in our understanding of the date, foundation, and geography of the abbey of Pendar.

⁴⁵ Llinos Beverley Smith, 'Fosterage, adoption and God-parenthood. Ritual and fictive kinship in medieval Wales', *Welsh History Review*, 16 (1992), 1-35.

By eliminating Owain ap Caradog ap Iestyn from the calculation of date, on the basis that he is a creation or misunderstanding of Gerald of Wales, it is now possible to give a much earlier date for the charter of Morgan, Cadwallon, and Caradog. It is impossible to date the original gift from the lord of Senghenydd to the Cistercians in upper Senghenydd as all that is currently known derives from a confirmation by William of Gloucester, son of Robert of Gloucester (given above). The confirmation would have to have been issued after Robert of Gloucester's death in 1147 but before William's own death in 1183.⁴⁶ This allows for an earlier date for the establishment of Pendar, and suggests that it was still in existence at the time of the charter given by Caradog ap Iestyn. Patterson dates the confirmation by William, earl of Gloucester to *c.* 1150-53.⁴⁷ This places it potentially some thirty years earlier than the date of 'between 1158 and 1183' suggested by Pryce.⁴⁸ Clark dates the document *c.* 1170.⁴⁹ In many respects the date of Earl William's confirmation is less relevant than that of other charters relating to Pendar because it is a later charter of confirmation not the original foundation charter. However it is crucial because we do not have an original charter of foundation by the lords of Senghenydd and William's confirmation offers us the only record of the act of foundation. Its value is not undermined by the political dynamic behind the confirmation, that is, the use of confirmation of a native foundation in order to cement William's authority over the area. Before we examine Earl William's motivation in issuing the charter in the form he does, it is worth looking at the evidence it provides for a possible time frame for the establishment of Pendar. We have already seen from the charter of Philip son of Griffin (Gruffudd) that it would appear that Margam and Pendar existed

⁴⁶ For discussion of the earls of Gloucester see below, chapter IV.

⁴⁷ R.B. Patterson, ed., *Earldom of Gloucester Charters The Charters and Scribes of the Earls and Countesses of Gloucester to A.D. 1217*: (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 115.

⁴⁸ Pryce, ed., *Acts of Welsh Rulers, 1120-1283*, p. 813.

⁴⁹ Clark, ed., *Cartae*, 1, 148-9.

simultaneously. Consequently we may therefore dismiss the various hypotheses that Pendar was an embryonic Margam. The question remains did it predate Margam Abbey, which was established by Robert, earl of Gloucester shortly before his death in 1147? Perhaps a part of the answer may lay within the wording of the charters and in particular the name of Brother Meilyr or Meiler and his activities and where we can place him in the chronology of events.

Who was Brother Meilyr?

It is evident from the charter evidence for Pendar that Meilyr is in some way inseparably linked to Pendar either as founder member of the community, or associate. Some historians of the Margam and Glamorgan charters link him closely with Margam as well. Cowley is of the opinion that Meilyr was a hermit used as an agent by the Cistercians of Margam to liaise with the Welsh to gain land for the establishment of a daughter house of Pendar.⁵⁰ Patterson states that Meilyr, into whose hand the land was given, was succeeded as abbot of Margam some time before 1153, the year of the death of Abbot William of Margam.⁵¹ Patterson also alludes to the notion that Meilyr had previously been at a hermitage of Pendar somewhere in Glamorgan and in fact became Margam's first superior, thus making Pendar a forerunner to the house of Margam. However, as was argued above, this may be discounted on the evidence of the dual charter for Margam and Pendar by Philip ap Ifor (given above).

Birch is of a similar opinion to Patterson but links Meilyr to both Margam and Pendar at the same time and writes:

⁵⁰ Cowley, *Monastic Order in South Wales*, pp. 23-4.

⁵¹ Patterson, ed., *Earldom of Gloucester Charters*, pp. 114-5.

It would not be unreasonable to suppose that the proximity of the flourishing Cistercian abbey of Neath, the foundation of which had taken place about the year 1129, may account either for the hermit Meiler having been an inmate of that house before his mission or retirement to Pendar, or for his leaning to Cistercianism, which he had a better opportunity of observing, rather than to any other phase of regular religion.⁵²

Birch further writes regarding Meilyr:

One interesting point is brought out by it, viz., that brother Meiler was presiding over the house of Margam, and receiving a grant in that capacity, at the same time that he was head of the house of Pendar, and receiving a grant of pasturage from the same grantor by the same charter.⁵³

This suggestion cannot be substantiated because Neath Abbey, originally founded around 1129 or 1130 as a house of the order of Savigny, did not become a Cistercian abbey until 1147, the same year of Margam's foundation.⁵⁴ Pendar is therefore unlikely to have been a Cistercian daughter house of Neath. The problem we have with Meilyr being listed as abbot of Margam is that the evidence for such does not exist. There are no records of Meilyr as abbot of Margam. According to the Margam Annals, its first abbot was William of Clairvaux who died 1153.⁵⁵

⁵² De Gray Birch, *History of Margam Abbey*, p. 9.

⁵³ De Gray Birch, *History of Margam Abbey*, p. 12.

⁵⁴ Burton and Stöber, *Abbeys and Priors of Medieval Wales*, pp. 147-54.

⁵⁵ Luard, ed., *Annales de Margam*, p. 14.

MCLIII. Obiit beatus Bernardus Clarevallensis abbas primus. Eodem anno discessit de Margam abbas Willelmus primus.⁵⁶

1153. Died blessed Bernard, first abbot of Clairvaux. In the same year died William the first abbot of Margam.

Evans also refutes Birch's idea that Meilyr was abbot of Margam, also quoting the Margam Annals.⁵⁷ Evans maintains the possibility that Meilyr was head of Pendar Abbey and acted in the immediate period before the establishment of Margam:

According to Cistercian rules, he [William] would have left Clairvaux with twelve monks, after the manner of Our Lord, but before they arrived at Margam temporary buildings of wattle, daub, and timber, had to be constructed for their use. These would have included a small church, dormitory, refectory, and guest hall, planned on similar lines as the later permanent buildings. The initial arrangements would have taken a considerable time, and it seems probable that Meiler of Pendar was authorised to carry them out and to accept interim grants on behalf of Clairvaux.⁵⁸

This presupposes that Pendar was a Cistercian house predating Margam and that Meilyr was head of the house.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* & *The Heads of Religious Houses England and Wales 940-1216*, ed. D. Knowles, C.N.L. Brook and V.C.M. London (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Second Edition 2001), p. 137

⁵⁷ A. L. Evans, *Margam Abbey* (Port Talbot: Port Talbot History Society, 1958), p. 18.

⁵⁸ Evans, *Margam Abbey*, p. 18.

As Meilyr is evidently linked to Pendar in some way, by establishing his possible dates we may get a little closer to a date for Pendar. Meilyr appears in a number of charters not just as recipient or agent but as witness. The only problem here is the fact that some of the dates given for the charters are questionable or open to ambiguity. It appears, however, that we do have a date for his death. This is given by Gerald of Wales who devotes a number of pages to Meilyr in which he paints an interesting if somewhat confusing picture of the individual.⁵⁹ Reading the writings of Gerald regarding Meilyr, the modern reader may be left with a sense of disbelief of the nature of events related by Gerald and also a sense that Gerald was suspicious of Meilyr. Gerald certainly uses Meilyr as a vehicle for ridicule of others and it may be that he does not like or approve of Meilyr's activities and accomplishments. Gerald does not indicate this directly but the way in which he writes and the subject matter may indicate Gerald is attempting to discredit Meilyr particularly with regard to his lifestyle and occult activities. He makes no reference to Meilyr's monastic status, which we have witnessed from charter evidence, but rather ignores or conceals any ecclesiastical status, while emphasising that of the occult and mysticism. This is a lengthy passage, but an appreciation of the whole is necessary.

It is worth relating that in our days there lived in the neighbourhood of this City of the Legions [Caerleon] a certain Welshman called Meilyr who could explain the occult and foretell the future. He acquired his skill in the following way. One evening, and, to be precise, it was Palm Sunday, he happened to meet a girl whom he had loved for a long time. She was very beautiful, the spot was an attractive one, and it seemed too good an opportunity to be missed. He was enjoying himself in her arms and tasting her delights, when suddenly, instead of the beautiful girl,

⁵⁹ Gerald of Wales, *Opera* VI, 60-61.

he found in his embrace a hairy creature, rough and shaggy, and, indeed, repulsive beyond words. As he stared at the monster his wits deserted him and he became quite mad. He remained in this condition for many years. Eventually he recovered his health in the church of St David's, thanks to the virtues of the saintly men of that place. All the same, he retained a very close and most remarkable familiarity with unclean spirits, being able to see them, recognizing them, talking to them and calling them each by his own name, so that with their help he could often prophesy the future. Just as they are, too, he was often mistaken about events in the distant future, or happenings far away in space; but he was less often wrong about matters nearer home or likely to occur within the coming year. He nearly always saw these spirits standing close beside him and near at hand. They would appear in the form of huntsmen, with horns hanging round their necks, but it was human souls which they were pursuing, not animals or wild beasts. He saw them most often and in greatest numbers outside monasteries and houses of religion. Wherever man is in revolt, there they deploy their full battalions; there they need their greatest strength. Whenever anyone told a lie in his presence, Meilyr was immediately aware of it, for he saw a demon dancing and exulting on the liar's tongue. Although he was completely illiterate, if he looked at a book which was incorrect, which contained some false statement, or which aimed at deceiving the reader, he immediately put his finger on the offending passage. If you asked him how he knew this, he said that a devil first pointed out the place with its finger. In the same way, and again with a demon to help him, whenever he went into the dormitory of a monastery, he would point to the bed of any false monk whose religion was a pretext and did not come from the heart. He maintained that the vice of gluttony and greed was sordid beyond words; the vice of lust and

libidinousness was perhaps more pleasing to the eye, but it was really even more foul. When he was harassed beyond endurance by these unclean spirits, Saint John's Gospel was placed on his lap, and then they all vanished immediately, flying away like so many birds. If the Gospel were afterwards removed and the *"History of the Kings of Britain"* by Geoffrey of Monmouth put there in its place, just to see what would happen, the demons would alight all over his body, and on the book, too, staying there longer than usual and being even more demanding. Barnabas, one remembers, or so we read in the stories told about him, used to place Saint Matthew's Gospel on people who were ill, and they were cured immediately. It is clear from this, and so it is, indeed, from the account which I have just given to you, how much respect and reverence we owe to each of the books of the Gospel. It is equally clear that anyone who knowingly perjures himself on one of the Gospels deviates from the path of truth with great danger to himself and with the risk of eternal damnation.

To what has gone before I add the story of the downfall of Enoch, Abbot of Strata Marcella, which disaster is quite notorious and, indeed, well known to everyone in Wales. Meilyr announced it to a great number of people on the very day following the night on which it happened. The date on which he made this announcement was noted carefully, and many who heard what he said remembered having done so: yet it was only eight days or so later that definite information arrived and that the affair became common knowledge. When they came to ask Meilyr how he learned of it, he said that the very next morning a demon visited him in the guise of a huntsman. This spirit told Meilyr the whole story, saying that the Abbot would be ruined, for he himself had persuaded him to run away from his monastery and take a nun with him. The demon was very

pleased with his success and exulted over Enoch's downfall. Maybe this was allowed to happen so that the Abbot might be humiliated and reprimanded. It certainly seemed so from what happened subsequently, for Enoch soon came back, a much humbler man and so much chastened that he could hardly be said to have sinned at all. As Seneca wrote: 'Anyone who rises to his feet even stronger after a fall can hardly be said to have fallen at all.' After he had denied Christ, Peter was stronger than ever. Paul was stronger after he had been persecuted and stoned: 'for where sin abounds, grace will much more abound'. After her fall from grace, Mary Magdalene was stronger than before.

Meilyr revealed in confidence to Cynan, the good and saintly Abbot of Whitland, his opinion of a certain woman whom he had been observing closely. Thereupon the holy man wept and confessed that he had lusted after her. He let himself be whipped by three of his monks, this being the punishment for incontinence. From his long experience of things and by natural intuition, drawing his conclusions from certain conjectural signs and from his knowledge of what has happened in the past, the Old Enemy can foretell the future with great skill. In the same way, and by taking note of the same revealing signs, he can insinuate himself into men's hearts, and sometimes discover the workings of their minds from exterior appearances.

About this same time an incubus frequented Nether Gwent. There he was in the habit of making love to a certain young woman. He often visited the place where she lived, and in his conversations with the local inhabitants he revealed many secret matters and events which had not yet occurred. Meilyr was questioned about this and he said that he knew the incubus well. He even said what his name was. He maintained that whenever war was imminent, or some great upset in a

country, these incubuses were in the habit of visiting human beings. This was soon proved to be true: for shortly afterwards Hywel, the son of Iorwerth of Caerleon, attacked the neighborhood and destroyed the whole area. A little later Henry II, King of the English, captured the King of Scotland and so restored peace to his own realm. As a result Hywel had good reason to fear that Henry would be free to take vengeance on him for the war which he had waged. He was relieved of his anxiety by this statement made to him by Meilyr. 'Hywel,' said he, 'you need not fear the King's anger. In a short time he will have to turn his attention elsewhere. One of his cities, the noblest which he possesses across the Channel, is being besieged by the King of the French. He will be forced to put aside all other preoccupations and to cross the sea without losing a moment.' Three days later Hywel received the news that this had indeed come about, for the city of Rouen was being besieged. Meilyr also prophesied long before the event the investment of Usk Castle, which Hywel had held for some time. He forewarned Hywel, who occupied the castle, in the following way, saying that he himself would be wounded in the engagement, but not killed, for he would escape from the town alive. Only in this detail was he wrong, for Meilyr died soon afterwards from the wound which he had received. The Enemy knows how to favour his friends, but this is how he rewards them in the end.

It seems most odd to me, among all these other remarkable circumstances, that Meilyr was able to see these demons clearly with the eyes in his head. Spirits cannot be seen with our physical eyes, unless they themselves assume corporal substance. Given that they had assumed such corporal substance, and thus made themselves visible, how was it that they could not be seen by other individuals who were assuredly present and were standing quite near? Possibly they could be

seen only by some supernatural sort of physical vision, rather like that in the Book of Daniel, when King Belshazzar saw the writing on the wall: 'Mene, Tekel, Peres', which means 'numbered, weighed, divide'. That same night Belshazzar lost both his kingdom and his life.⁶⁰

In this passage Gerald has endowed Meilyr with extraordinary abilities. Regardless of Gerald's views of Meilyr, however, this story does give us considerable information regarding Meilyr and indicate a date for his death. First let us consider a date for his death. Gerald places Meilyr's death as subsequent to Hywel ap Iorwerth's loss of Usk castle, claiming that Meilyr had been wounded during the fall of the castle and died some a short time after. This evidence for Meilyr's death may not enable us to determine the date quite as easily as it would at first appear. Unfortunately there is no direct chronicle evidence for the fall of Usk castle, and the difficulty in dating this event centres on the foundation charter for the priory at Usk.⁶¹ The castle had evidently fallen by 1174 when, as is clear from the pipe roll (illustrated below), which gives the cost of provisioning the castle against the Welsh, it was in royal hands.⁶²

⁶⁰ Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales and The Description of Wales*, translated with an introduction by Lewis Thorpe (London: Penguin Books, 1978), pp. 116-121.

⁶¹ London, British Library, Additional Charters 5342, cited by E. Owen, ed., *Catalogue of MSS Relating to Wales in the British Museum. Part III, Charters and Rolls* (London: Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1908), p. 660. For a recent account of the foundation and history of Usk see Burton and Stöber, *Abbeys and Priors of Medieval Wales*, pp. 210-12.

⁶² *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the twentieth year of the reign of King Henry the Second, A.D. 1173-1174*, Pipe Roll Society Publications, 21 (1896), p. 22.

Figure V.6 : *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the twentieth year of the reign of King Henry the Second, A.D. 1173-1174*, Pipe Roll Society Publications, 21 (1896), p. 22.

Id viç redd̄ Com̄p̄ de .x. li. de emendatiōe Mañioz̄ de
 Gloečscr̄. In Warniſ Castelli de Vsch̄ . q̄d hoñes Com̄
 Riç̄ cepert̄ sup Walenses . p̄ .xx. Bacon̄ . 7 .xxx.
 Cherñ fruñiti . 7 .viii. s̄umis Saſ̄ .lxxviii. ſ̄. p̄ bñ R̄.
 Et deb̄ .vi. li. 7 .xii. ſ̄.

Crouch, however, argues that the castle may have been taken from the Welsh earlier than 1174. He suggests that, since the Marcher lands of Earl Richard (Strongbow), who took the castle from the Welsh, had been confiscated during the summer of 1170, the capture of the castle must be sometime in the late 1160s.⁶³ He further argues that Earl Richard must have taken the castle some time before the foundation of the priory of Usk, the foundation charter for which survives in London, British Library, Additional charter 5342, which was attested by men who accompanied Earl Richard to Ireland in 1169/70, thus giving an earlier date for the capture of the castle at Usk and subsequent death of Meilyr. This chronology is possible regardless of the dating given by Gerald in his story of Meilyr. Writing at a later date, with the benefit of hindsight, Gerald has related the chronology of events which agree well with a date of 1174. At this date Henry II experienced serious problems not just in Rouen but throughout his whole dominions on both sides of the English Channel as a result of the actions of his son Henry (the Young King), who was effectively in revolt against his father with the connivance of his mother Eleanor and King Louis VII of France.⁶⁴ The Welsh chronicles also provide evidence that in 1173 Iorwerth ab Owain of Caerleon reclaimed Caerleon in the August of that year while his son Hywel ap Iorwerth continued and won all of

⁶³ D. Crouch, 'The Transformation of Medieval Gwent', in R.A. Griffiths, A. Hopkins and R. Howell, ed., *Gwent County History, II, The Age of the Marcher Lords, c. 1075-1536* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008), pp. 43-44.

⁶⁴ W. L. Warren, *Henry II* (London: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 123-36.

Gwent Is-Coed but most importantly ‘except the castles’ by the end of September.⁶⁵ This was undoubtedly a reaction to the treatment Iorwerth and his sons had received from Henry II in the autumn of 1171 when Henry took Caerleon-on-Usk from Iorwerth and his sons.⁶⁶ Again, no mention is made of Usk town and castle being held by Hywel; on the contrary it is evident that in 1172 Henry still held the new town of Usk, which presumably had grown round the relatively new foundation of the priory by Earl Richard a few years earlier. The *Brut y Tywysogion* relates that while travelling from Cardiff to this new town of Usk Henry II sought reconciliation with Iorwerth ab Owain.⁶⁷ It is here also recorded that the men of the earl of Bristol came from Cardiff and attacked and killed Iorwerth’s son Owain to prevent the meeting.⁶⁸ Thus it would appear that Hywel was still not holding the castle of Usk at this time and it was in the hands of Henry II, who had taken the castle out of Earl Richard’s hand around the same time as he took Caerleon from Iorwerth.⁶⁹ If, as Gerald claims, Hywel ap Iorwerth had put forward a claim over the castle of Usk for some time then it would appear from the evidence that Crouch is correct and the castle had been lost to Earl Richard’s men sometime between 1165 and 1170, having been held by the Welsh since the 1130s.⁷⁰ Davies offers 1136 as a credible date for the start of resurgence of Welsh resistance to Norman control in Gwent, starting with the death of Richard fitz Gilbert de Clare, lord of Ceredigion. Davies further agrees that Morgan and his brother Iorwerth effectively cut off Norman Glamorgan from the Norman castles of the Wye valley area and in 1154 Morgan and Iorwerth received a charter of confirmation from Henry II referring to the honour of

⁶⁵ Jones, ed., *Brut y Tywysogion, Peniarth*, p. 70.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁶⁷ Jones, ed. *Brut Y Tywysogion, Peniarth*, p. 68.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁶⁹ Crouch, ‘The Transformation of Medieval Gwent’, p. 30.

⁷⁰ Crouch, ‘The Transformation of Medieval Gwent’, p. 30.

Caerleon.⁷¹ This would confirm Gerald's assertion that Hywel had held the lands for some time before the castle of Usk was taken. Further it would appear from the documentary evidence, especially chronicle evidence, that Crouch's evaluation of the chronology is more accurate and detailed than the version offered by Gerald. It would appear that Gerald had offered a vague synopsis of events in the Caerleon and Usk area and mistakenly tied the more recent chronology to his own time in attempt to fit his story of the prophetic abilities of Meilyr. This is yet another account by Gerald which could also be interpreted as him not getting his story totally accurate, or even misrepresenting the facts to suit his own agenda. Perhaps we should interpret these stories in Gerald's writings not as an intended detailed account of Welsh history for posterity, but rather as a collection of stories to give record of the nature of the Welsh and their activities rather more as a compiler of entertaining tales and not as a chronicler.

The documentary and literary evidence for Meilyr's occurrences can be tabulated as follows in *figure I.7*.

⁷¹ J. R. Davies, *The Book of Llandaf and the Norman Church in Wales* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), p. 53.

Figure I.7: Dates and nature of appearances in documentary record of Meilyr

Source	Nature of occurrence	Date	Comment
Gerald of Wales, <i>The Journey Through Wales and The Description of Wales</i> , translated with an introduction by Lewis Thorpe (London: Penguin Books, 1978), pp. 116-121.	Soothsayer and mystic; advisor advisor to Hywel ap Iorwerth of Caerleon	Death at Usk castle, traditionally given as 1174, but see above for the argument that this can be redated to between late 1165 and 1170	
NLW Penrice & Margam 23 Glamorgan Charter CXLIX Pryce	Recipient of Pendar charter	NLW Gives 1158, Clark Vol. I p. 148.gives c. 1170 Pryce p. 813.gives 1158 x 74 Based on the revised date of Meilyr's death it must therefore be before 1170.	
NLW ref Penrice & Margam 10 Glamorgan Charter CXXX Pryce does not mention this charter	Recipient for joint grant to Margam and Pendar	NLW Gives c. 1170. Clark Vol. I, p. 127. gives c. 1151	Occurs as <i>Frater Meiler</i>
British Library, Harley Charter 75 B 32. Glamorgan Charter CCXXII	Witness	c. 1189: Clark, <i>Cartae</i> , V II p. 227 (see date of Meilyr's death above regarding date)	<i>Frater Meilerus heremita</i>
British Library, Harley Charter, 75 B 29 Glamorgan Charter CCXXXIV Vol. II. p.239. Pryce.	Recipient of Pendar charter in a Confirmation of Charter CCCXLVI,	No dates given by British Library or Clark. Pryce, p. 258, offers 1158 x Oct. 1191 as the range of possible dates for this confirmation. The grant which this confirms would have been made before Meilyr's death c. 1165/69.	<i>Frater Meiler</i>
NLW Penrice & Margam 54 Glamorgan Charter CCCXLVI	Recipient of Charter.	NWL offers c. 1170. c. 1147: Clark, <i>Cartae</i> , Vol. II p. 346-7 (See see date of Meilyr's death above regarding date)	As above

This chart, giving details of Meilyr's documented occurrences, now offers a new interpretation of the dating of many of the documents relating to Pendar and the possible chronology of Meilyr and that of his career. If we re-evaluate the date at which Usk and its castle fell from Hywel ap Iorwerth's possession, and we take the details of Meilyr's death associated with the fall of Usk, we are then given an earlier margin of time for the dates for all the charters associated with Meilyr (latest date c. late 1160s). It would be unwise to disregard all the testimony of Gerald of Wales, as there is much that is worthy of note in his accounts. In particular, the link Gerald makes between Meilyr and Hywel ap Iorwerth is potentially of great value as this link may provide important information concerning the lands of the abbey of Pendar and their transfer from Margam to Llantarnam, a point which will be discussed in a later chapter.⁷²

⁷² See chapter III.

Chapter II

The Problem of Pendar: the evidence of the landscape

The location of the lost abbey of Pendar presents us with many problems. First, we have no archaeological evidence for a ‘classic’ Cistercian monastery – or indeed any monastery – on any of the any of the lands associated with Pendar confirmed by the charter evidence discussed in Chapter I; and, second, the abbey – if there was one – was short lived and probably had not achieved such a level of construction. A third problem may be that the initial foundation of Pendar was not a ‘classic’ Cistercian house in any way or form, other than that the foundation may have loosely acknowledged the principles of poverty and isolation from the world characteristic of the White Monks.¹ It may even have been that the initial foundation did not see itself as Cistercian. Various places have been suggested for the site of Pendar based upon the charters giving lands to the brothers of Pendar, but the most compelling evidence is offered by the charter of confirmation of Earl William of Gloucester. William was the son of Robert of Gloucester, the eldest son of Henry I and founder of Margam. Earl William’s charter furnishes the only record of the grant by Gruffudd ap Ifor of a large area of land for the foundation of a hermitage or abbey in northern Senghenydd given into the hand of Meilyr.

Mapping the charter

Earl William’s charter survives as Aberystwyth, NLW, Penrice and Margam Charters no. 23, and was printed as Charter CXLIX in Clark’s Glamorgan charters. A full transcription

¹ The ‘classic’ Cistercian foundation was one established by what Constance Berman terms ‘apostolic gestation’, that is, a house colonized by twelve monks and an abbot dispatched from an existing abbey, which became the mother house. The relationship between mother and daughter was maintained by the process of visitation. As a universal pattern this is now questioned. For the diversity of origins of Cistercian foundations see Berman, Constance H., *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).

of the charter, from the original, with translation, is given above in Chapter I. Here the relevant boundary clauses are reproduced and translated.

W. comes Glow(cestrie) dapifero suo et baronibus suis et omnibus hominibus suis Francis et Anglis et Walensibus salutem. Sciatis me concessisse donacionem quam Griffinus filius Iuor fecit abbacie de Margan, per manum fratris Meileri Awenet ad faciendum heremitagium, siue abbaciam, si fieri potest, scilicet super aquam de Taf totam terram que vocatur Stratvaga in bosco et in plano et totam Brenkeiru et de Berkehu Taf usque Bargau Remni et totam Karpdawardmenet et totam Maislette et de Mauhanis capite usque Taf et piscarias in Taf quantum sua terra extenditur. Preterea omnem terram sancte Gladus in bosco et in plano et omnia pascua ab illa terra usque Bohrukarn et ex altera parte terre sancte Gladus usque Henglau, scilicet ueterem fossam usque ad aquam que uocatur Kidliha et totam terram Masmawan in bosco et in plano tenendam in perpetuam elemosinam liberam et quietam ab omni seculari servitio et exactione.²

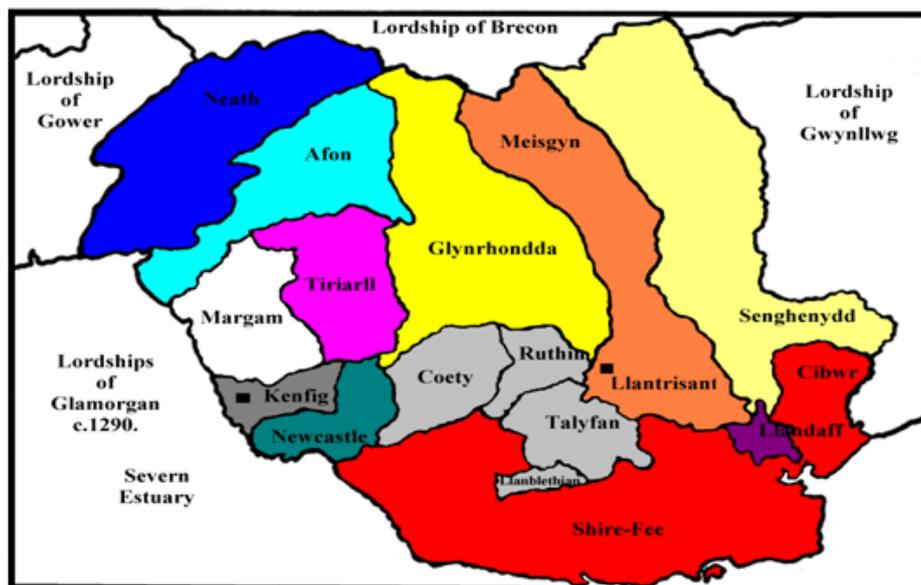
W[illiam], earl of Gloucester to his seneschal and to his barons and to all his men, French and English and Welsh greetings. Know that I have granted the gift which Griffin son of Ifor made to the abbey of Margam, by the hand of brother Meiler Awenet to make a hermitage or an abbey, if it can be done, namely above the water of the Taf all the land called Stratvaga in wood and in plain, and the whole of Bryn Caerau and from the Bargoed Taf as far as Bargoed Rhymney, and the whole of Karpdawardmenet and the whole of Maislette and from the head of Mauhanis down to the Taf and fisheries in the Taf as far as his land extends. Moreover, all the land of Saint Gwladys in woodland and in plain, and all the

² Clark, ed., *Cartae*, pp. 148-9.

pastures from that land as far as Fochrhiw and on the other side the part of the land of Saint Gwladys as far as Hengoed, namely the old ditch [*fossa*] to the water call Cylla and the whole of the land of Maes Mafan in woodland and in plain to hold in perpetual alms, free and quit of all secular service and exaction.

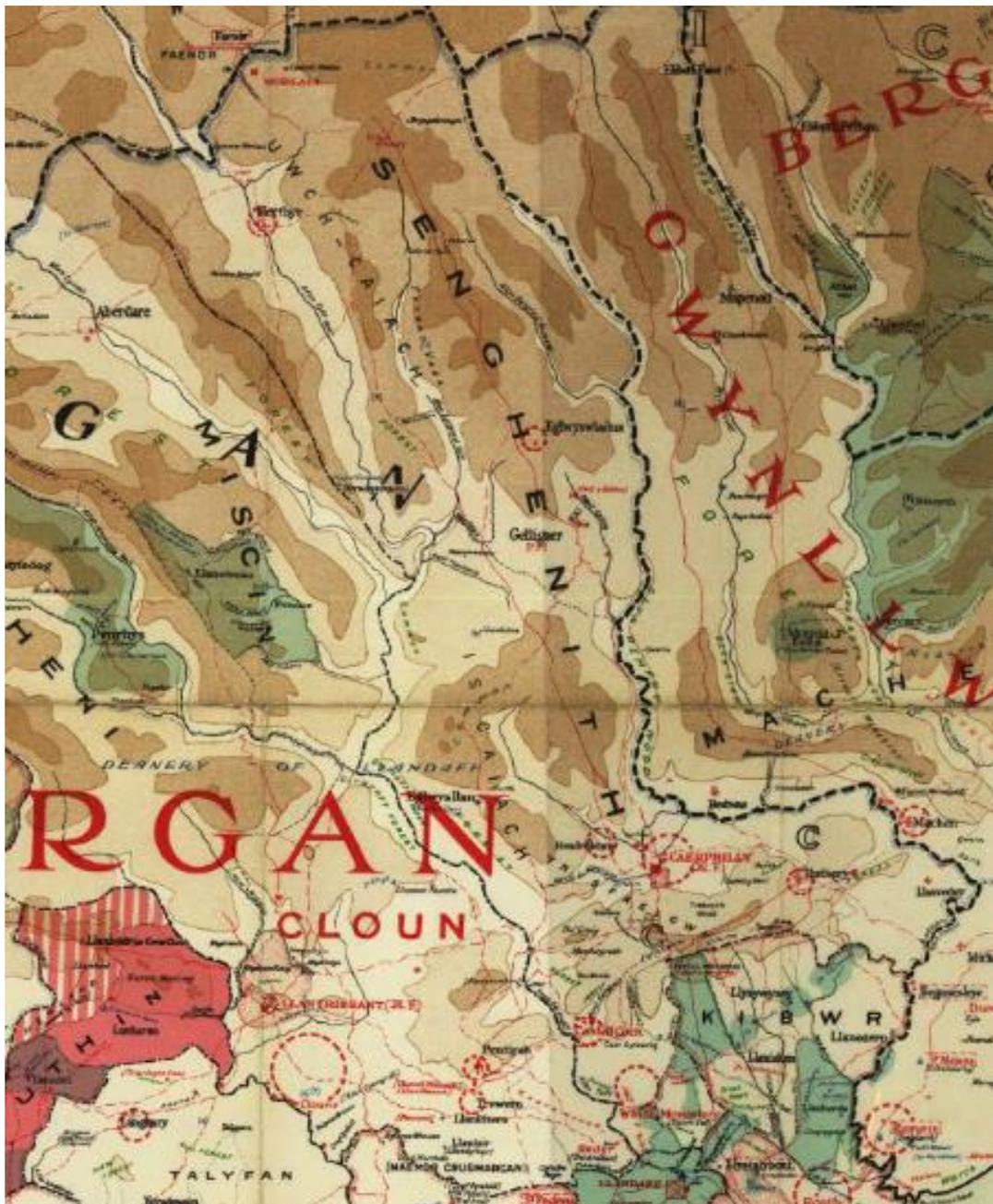
As can be seen on the following maps; the first of which is based on J. Beverley Smith's map (*figure II.1*), and the second on Rees's map of fourteenth-century Wales and the Marches (*figure II.2*), Senghenydd is situated in the east of Glamorgan and is bordered by the River Taff in the west and the River Rhymney in the east. The northern border is less distinct as the Brecon Beacons are effectively the territorial boundary. It can be noted that this boundary was fought over in the late thirteenth century as result of a land dispute between Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, who held Glamorgan, and Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, who held Brecon; Gilbert de Clare built a castle at Morlais in pursuance of his claim.³ The southern boundary is the high ground of Caerphilly Mountain and takes in what is now Whitchurch to the northwest of Cardiff.

Figure II.1: The Lordship of Glamorgan, taken from J. Beverley Smith, 'The Lordship of Glamorgan', Morgannwg, 2 (1958), 9-37.



³ M. Prestwich, *Edward I* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 348.

Figure II.2 W. Rees, *Map of South Wales and the Border in the 14th Century SE* (Ordnance Survey, 1932). [online] Available: <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/maps/uk/zoomify133553.html>



Gruffudd ap Ifor, whom this charter credits with the grant of land to Margam and to Brother Meilyr for the foundation of a hermitage or abbey, was the son and successor of Ifor ap Meurig (Ifor Bach), lord of Senghenydd in the second half of the twelfth century. Gruffudd ap Ifor had two brothers, Cadwallon and Maredudd, but they do not appear to have held any real influence or power in Senghenydd at this time but are found in the historic

record as serving the Angevin crown in Normandy.⁴ There are further references to Cadwallon in *Annales Cambriae* as a rebel against King John, attacking parts of Glamorgan both burning and pillaging. As upper Glamorgan was under Welsh control this act must presumably have taken place in lowland Glamorgan.⁵ The same act is also recorded in the *Annales de Margam* for the same year 1211, where Cadwallon is identified by his full name Cadwallan ab Yvor.⁶

Figure II.3: Gelligaer Castle



Reference is also made to the castle at Gelligaer which is assumed to be that of Ifor Bach and his descendants (the remains of the castle site are pictured above, *fig. II.3*). The name Gelligaer can be translated from Welsh to mean ‘the grove fort’. Walter Map made mention of the castle in *De Nugis Curialium* in a story titled *De Cheueslino fure* in which Walter Map relates the theft of a horse belonging to Cadwallon (Cadolan in the story) from

⁴ Smith, ‘The kingdom of Morgannwg and the Norman conquest of Glamorgan’, p. 35.

⁵ P. M. Remfy, ed. and trans., *Annales Cambriae*, p. 113.

⁶ *Annales de Margam, 1066–1232*, I, p. 31.

the castle at Gelligaer, thus linking the castle to Gruffudd's brother Cadwallon ap Ifor.⁷

Reference to the castle at Gelligaer is also made in the pipe roll for 1197, which instructed that *castrum Cadwalan* be fortified by the king's order.

Et Hoeli de Carliun xx m. Ad muniendum castrum Cadwalan. et ad se sustentandum in custodia eiusdem castelli.

And Hywel of Caerleon 20 Marks. To strengthen the castle Cadwalan. And to maintain himself in the custody of the same castle.⁸

It is interesting to note that the instruction is given to Hywel of Caerleon and not to any of the descendants of Ifor Bach (Ifor ap Meirig). This would appear odd as Gruffudd ap Ifor and his kin were still considered lords of Senghenydd until the Clares took the lands in the 1260s. It may suggest a closer relationship between Senghenydd and Caerleon than that which existed in 1158 when Ifor ap Meirig killed Hywel's uncle Morgan ab Owain.⁹ It is evident from charter evidence that Gruffudd was pre-eminent over his brothers in the lordship as it is only Gruffudd and not his brothers who appears to produce any charters for lands of Senghenydd. Further it was Gruffudd who had been the chosen representative of the dynasty when the leading princes under the influence of Rhys ap Gruffudd of Deheubarth met with King Henry II at the king's council in Gloucester on the feast of St James in 1175.¹⁰

⁷ M. R. James, ed. and trans., revised by C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors, *De Nugis Curialium (Courtiers' Trifles)*, Oxford Medieval Text (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 198–201.

⁸ Doris M. Stenton, ed., *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the ninth year of the reign of King Richard the First, Michaelmas 1197*, The Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, new series, VIII (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1931), p.194.

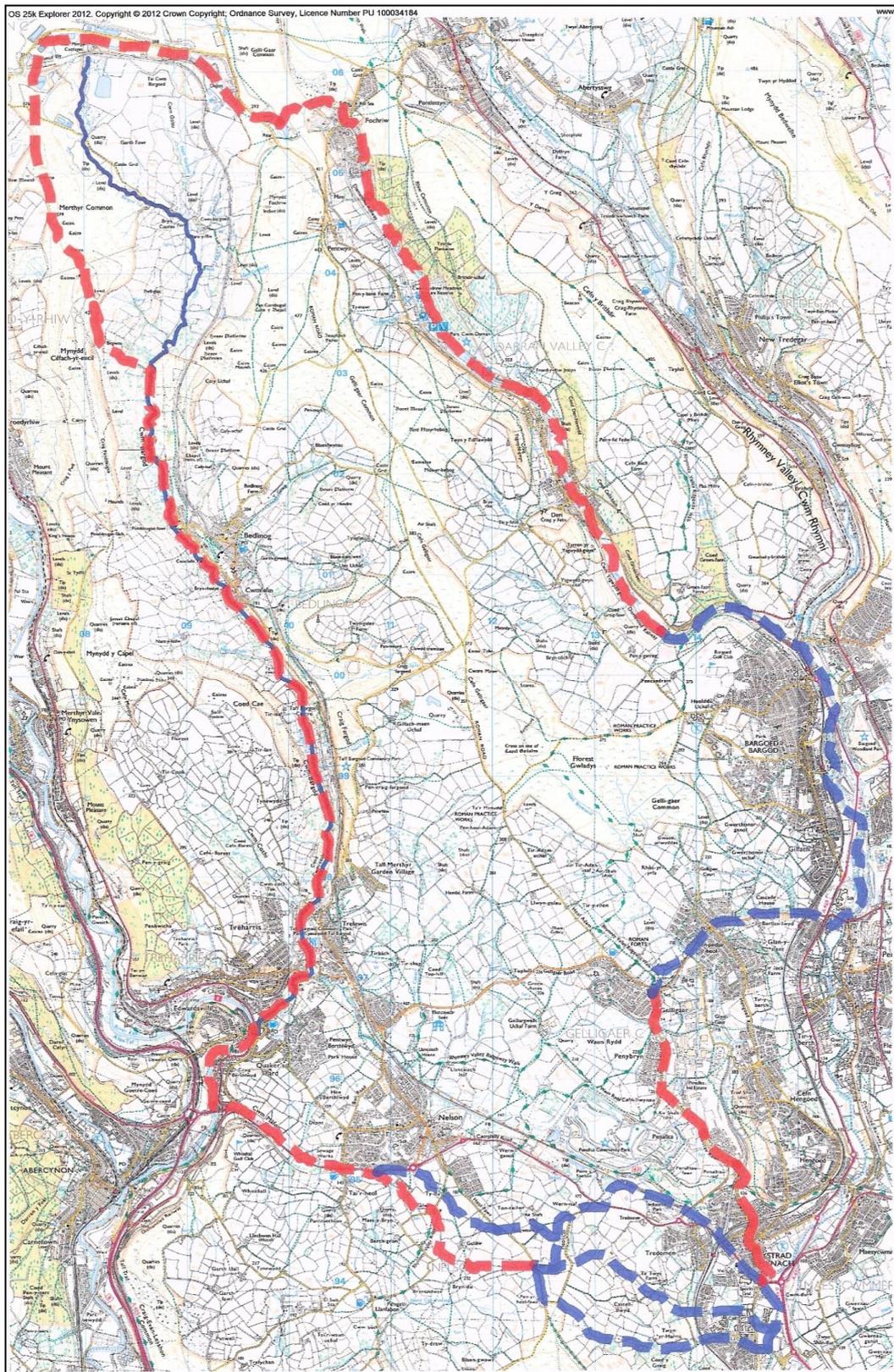
⁹ Thomas, ed., *Brut y Tywysogion Peniarth*, p. 60.

¹⁰ Jones, ed., *Brut y Tywysogion Peniarth*, pp. 70–71; also see above, Chapter I, and below, Chapter III.

As can be seen from the following map (*Figure II.4*), the charter of Earl William confirming the grant by Gruffudd ap Ifor covers a very large area of northern Senghenydd.¹¹ The conjectured boundaries are based on a close reading of the topographical features recorded in Earl William's charter.

¹¹ MEMORY-MAP ENGLAND & WALES Ordnance Survey 2014.

Figure II.4: Reconstructed boundary of the charter area in Senghenydd MEMORY-MAP ENGLAND & WALES Ordnance Survey 2014.



The charter grants the rights of fisheries on the rivers Taff as far as his [Gruffudd's] lands reach. These most probably extended from the Brecon Beacons in the north to Whitchurch, which borders Llandaf lands in the south. From this map (*fig. II.4*) we can see that the charter covers the areas of Ystrad Mynach in the south east of the charter area to Nelson and Quakers Yard north of the River Mabon in the south west through Trelewis and Bedlinog using the Bargoed Taff (marked in blue) as its western boundary to its source. The broken red line denotes these probable boundaries. Within the charter area the north-west region is difficult to establish, but it is probable that the western border is the water of the Bargoed Taff – other than the area of Bryn Caerau in the north western corner of the marked area. The exact establishment of the borders of Bryn Caerau as an area intended for the purposes of this charter are difficult to establish, but if we take Bryn Caerau as the river catchment area of the upper reaches of the Bargoed Taff, it does present a plausible boundary and, as shall be shown later, it may offer interesting possibilities relating to the name 'Pendar'. There is, however, a further problem in using the existing Bargoed Taff river catchment area as the extent of Bryn Caerau because of changes in the topography brought about by industrialization. The name *Bryn Caerau* contains the Welsh elements *bryn* (hill), and *caerau* (forts), and suggests the close proximity of the Roman fort found in the grounds of Penydarren House in the north of Merthyr Tydfil. However, it is difficult to evaluate the extent of Bryn Caerau particularly as there appears little evidence of any other forts on the ordnance survey maps.¹² Consequently, and despite the translation of Bryn Caerau, I have chosen the catchment area for the Taff Bargoed as the more probable boundary. The following nineteenth- and twenty-first-century maps (*figs II.5, II.6, II.7*) clearly show the problem of increased industrial development and consequent obliteration of archaeology.

¹² F. T. James, 'Roman Remains: Penydarren Park, Merthyr Tydfil', *Arch. Camb.*, 6th series, VI (1906), 193-208.

Figure II.5: Nineteenth-century map of Merthyr Tydfil and Bryn Cerau
MEMORY-MAP ENGLAND & WALES

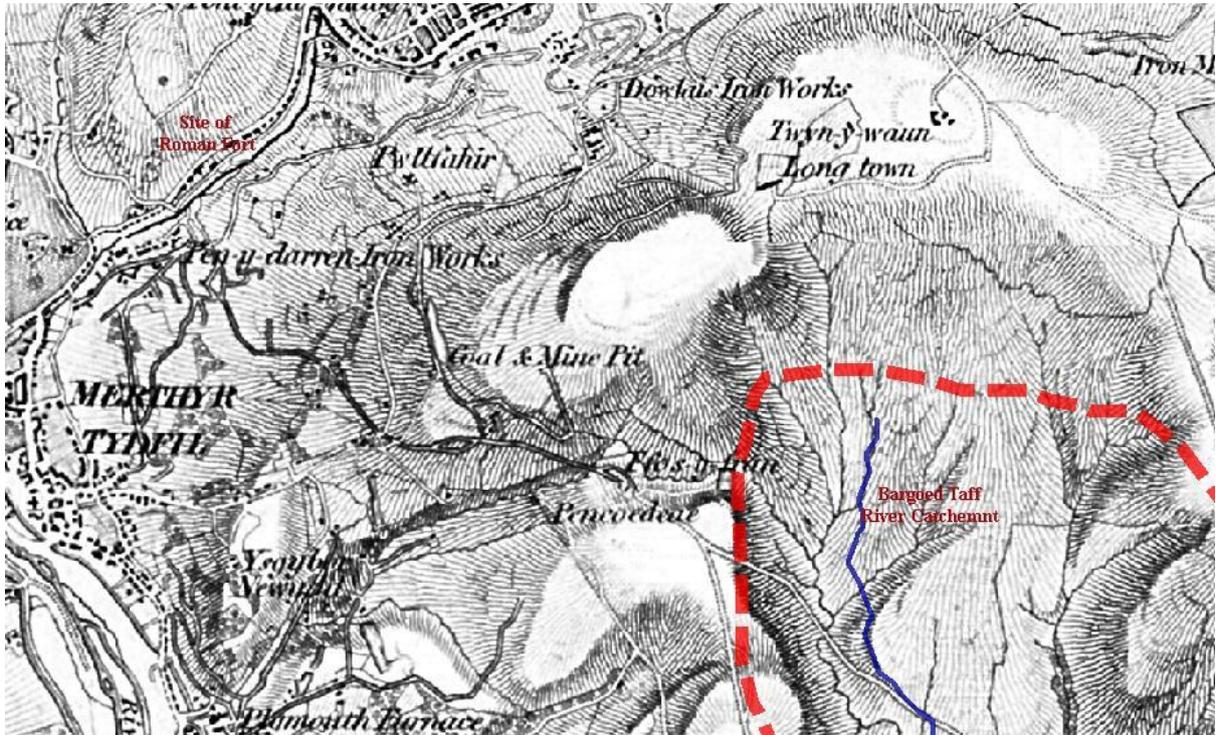


Figure II.6: OS map of Merthyr Tydfil and Bryn Cerau 1885

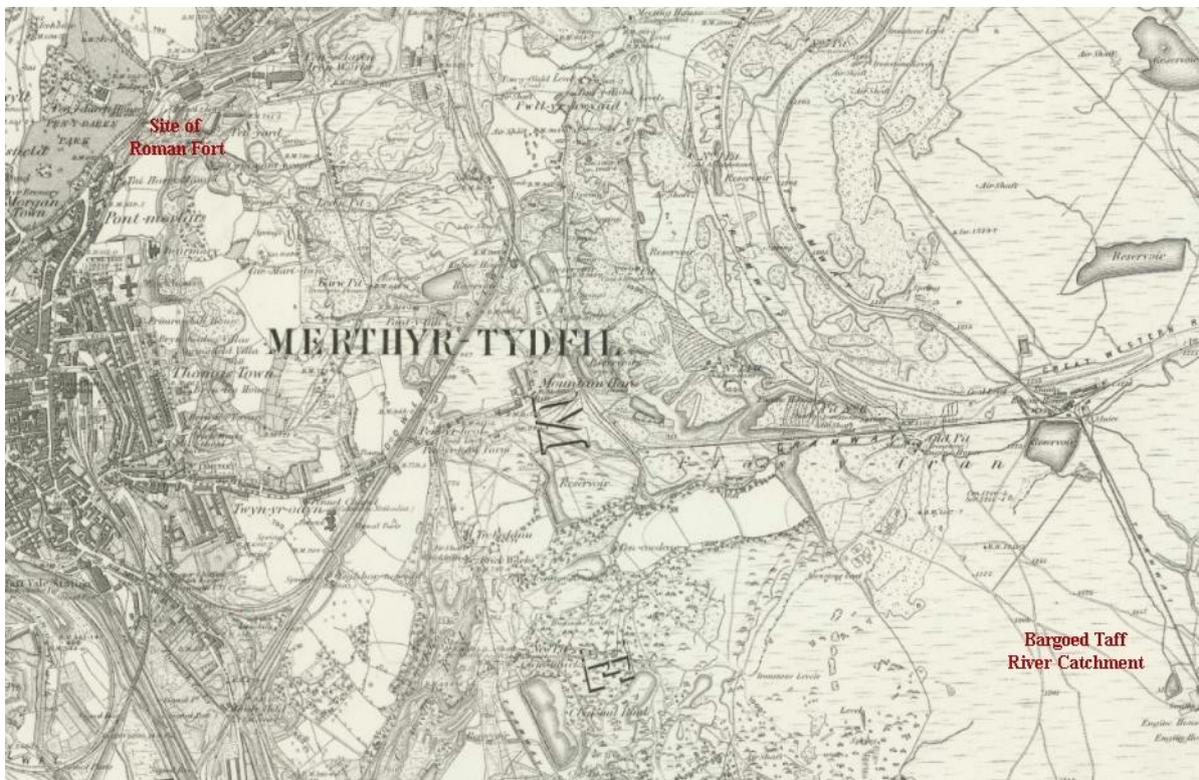
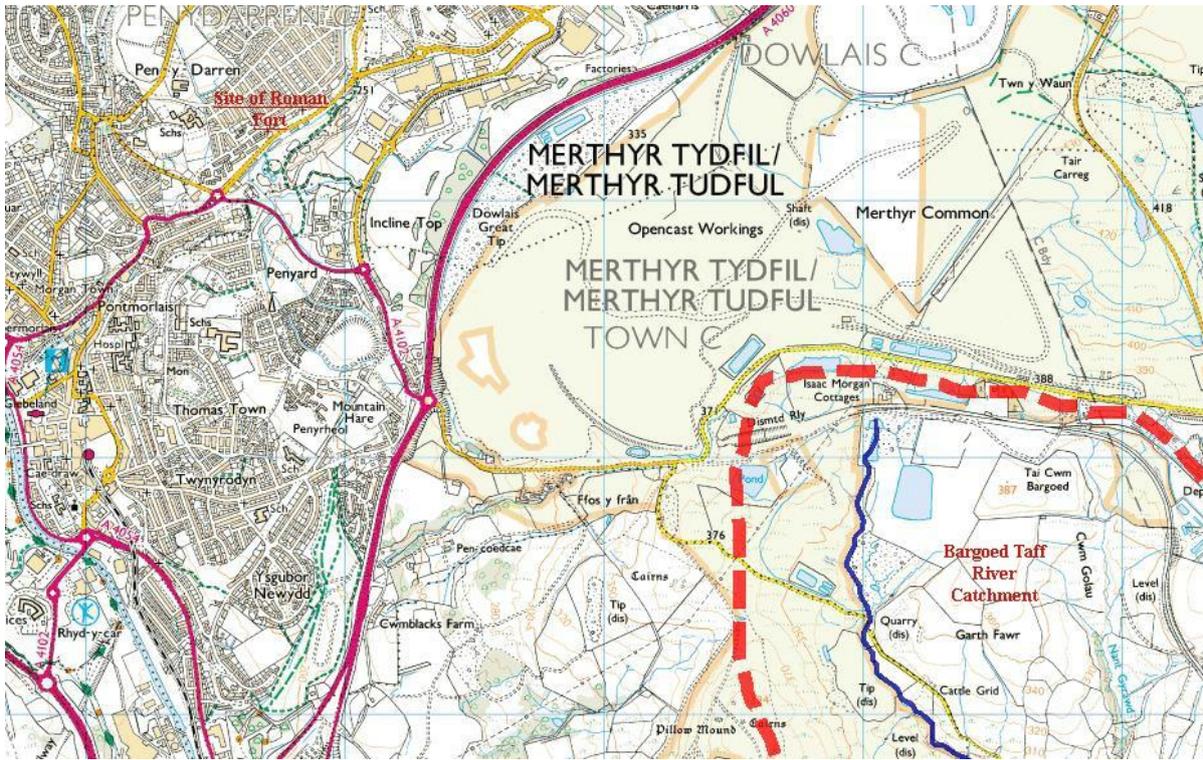


Figure II.7: OS map of Merthyr Tydfil and Bryn Cerau, 2014
MEMORY-MAP ENGLAND & WALES



Comparison between these three maps and earlier ones confirm that there is little detail in early maps and consequently they offer no evidence for forts in the hills surrounding the Bargoed Taff river catchment area. The modern 2014 ordnance survey map clearly shows the area of destruction due to open cast mining and the other industrialisation in the area. It is also evident viewing the maps that the water courses for the whole area appear to have been disrupted and changed, which is not surprising considering the mass removal of the hill north of Foss Y Fran which is evident at the centre north of this view of the early nineteenth-century map.

The border for the charter (marked in red) then cuts across to the source of the Bargoed Rhymney extends down the western bank of the river from Fochrhyw south to Deri and Bargoed. The inclusion of the Bargoed Rhymney is clearly given by the charter as the north eastern boundary. The next area of the boundary is not as clear to identify as there are some difficulties establishing the boundaries in the modern Bargoed area, and it is by looking at

early ordnance survey maps and local place names that we may suggest that the charter includes the western bank of the Rhymney at what is now the town of Bargoed. The name Bargoed or Bargod can be translated as ‘eaves’ or ‘boundary’ consequently it may be here interpreted it as ‘boundary’. This opens a possibility for identification, as the pre industrialisation maps show names in the area as Bargoed and Fargoed only as farm names and not village, town or regional names; it would thus seem reasonable to include this area as part of the charter. It may well be reasonable to argue that Forest Gwladys may well have extended to the river at the time the lands of the charter were given. These farms can be seen on the eastern sides of the maps pictured below highlighted in red.

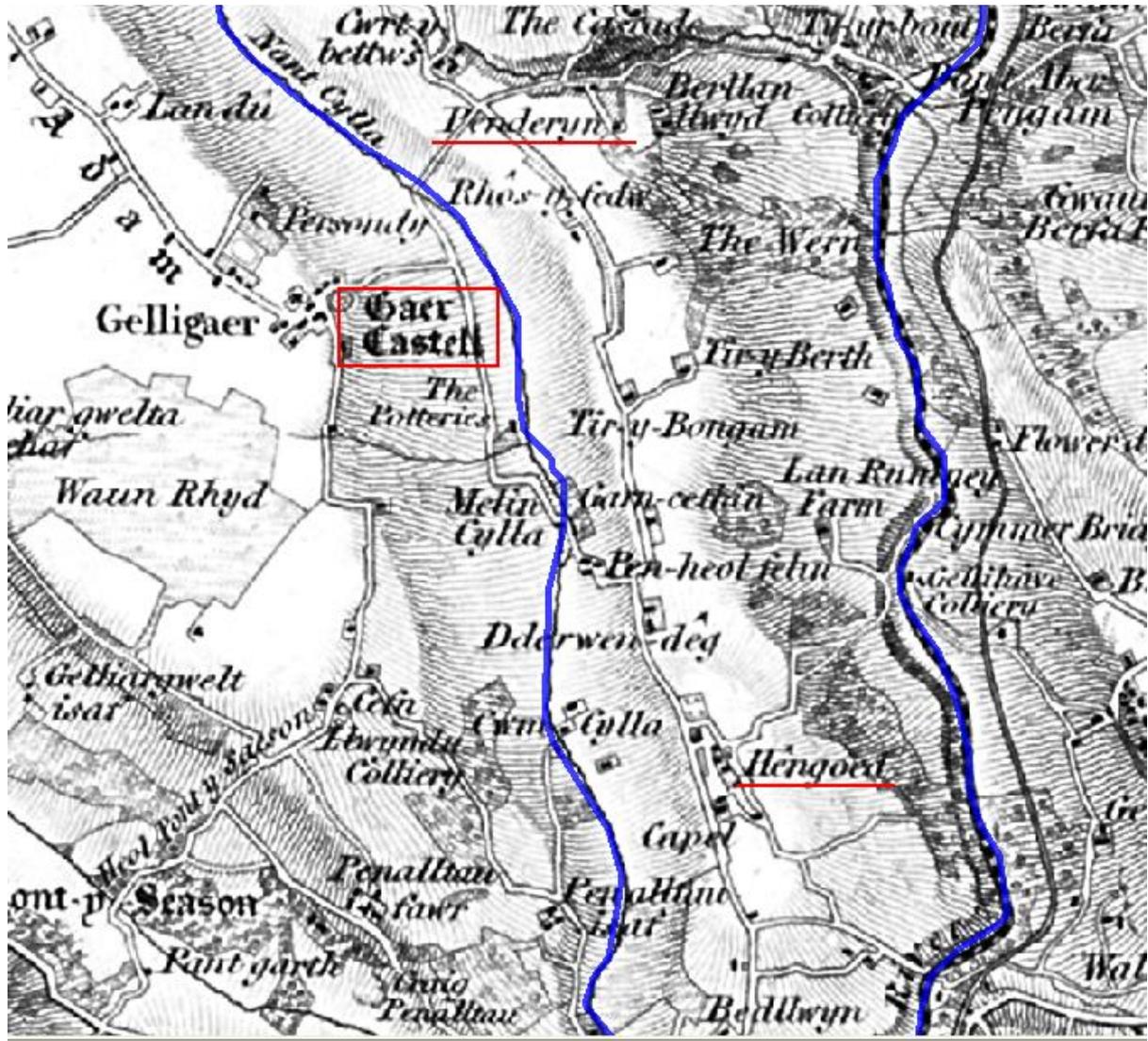
Figure II.8 Showing the Bargoed area of Gelligaer Common
Charles Budgon, map of Abergaveny, 1813 [online]. Available:

<http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/ordsurvdraw/a/zoomify82494.html>



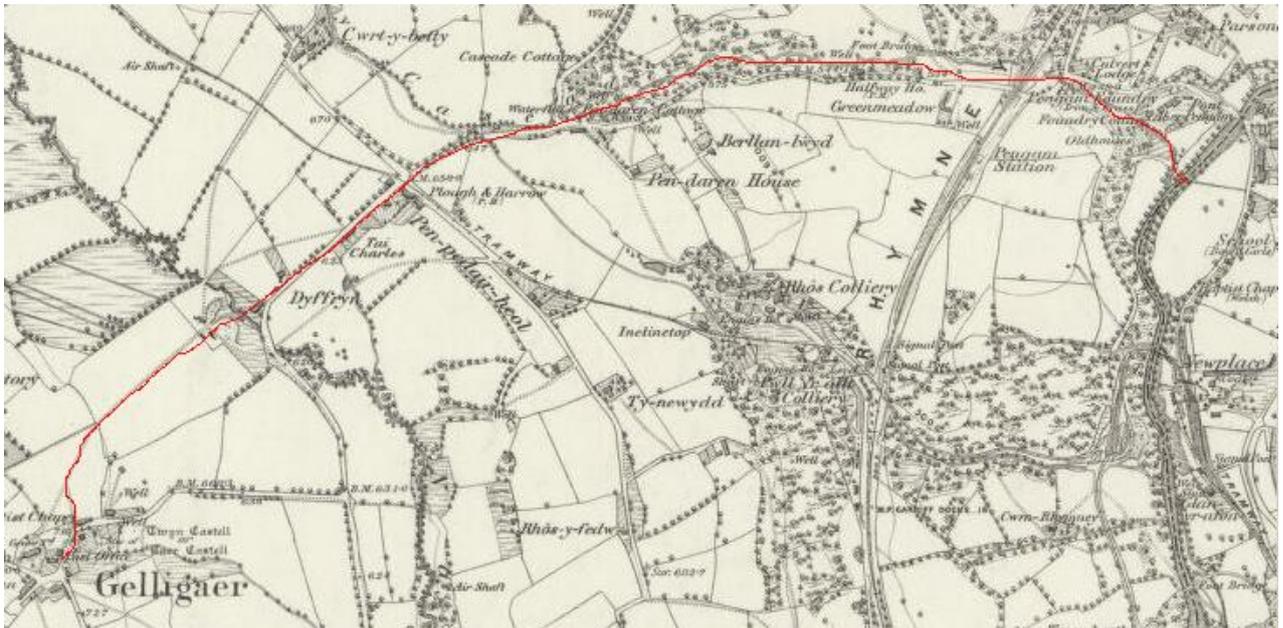
<http://www.oldmapsonline.org/#map/britishlibrary/002OSD000000022U00152000> 1813 Charles Budgon

Figure II.10: Nineteenth-century map of Hengoed, Gelligaer, and Penderyn
 MEMORY-MAP ENGLAND & WALES



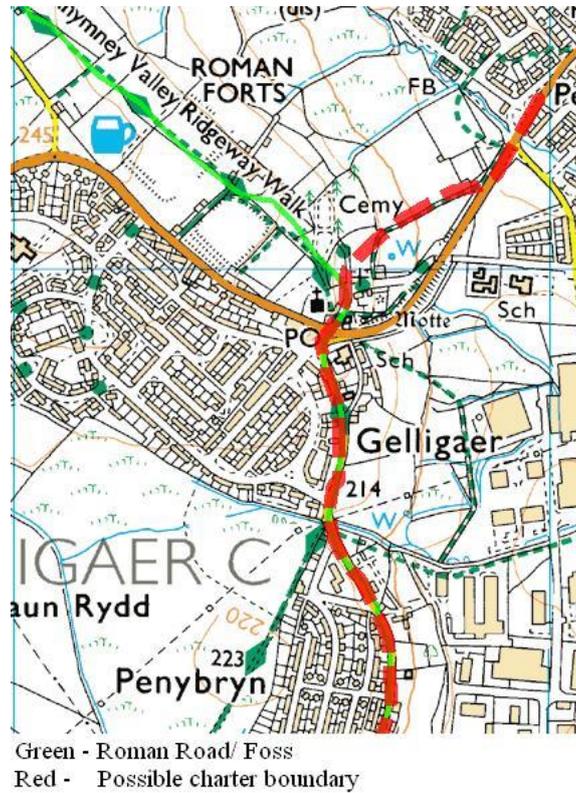
It is improbable that the castle and seat of the Senghenydd dynasty would be included within the area transferred by the charter to establish a religious house. Therefore, it can be assumed that the castle area, marked in a red box, must lie outside the boundaries contained in the charter. This leaves us with a boundary to be located from somewhere between the areas just outside the castle to pick up the boundary on the River Rhymney to the east of the castle. The most obvious choice would appear to be the river valley following the river called Cascade as seen in the following map, and cutting across to Gelligaer.

Figure II.11: Monmouthshire sheet XXII surveyed 1873-1879, published 1886 [online]. available: <http://maps.nls.uk/view/102346043>



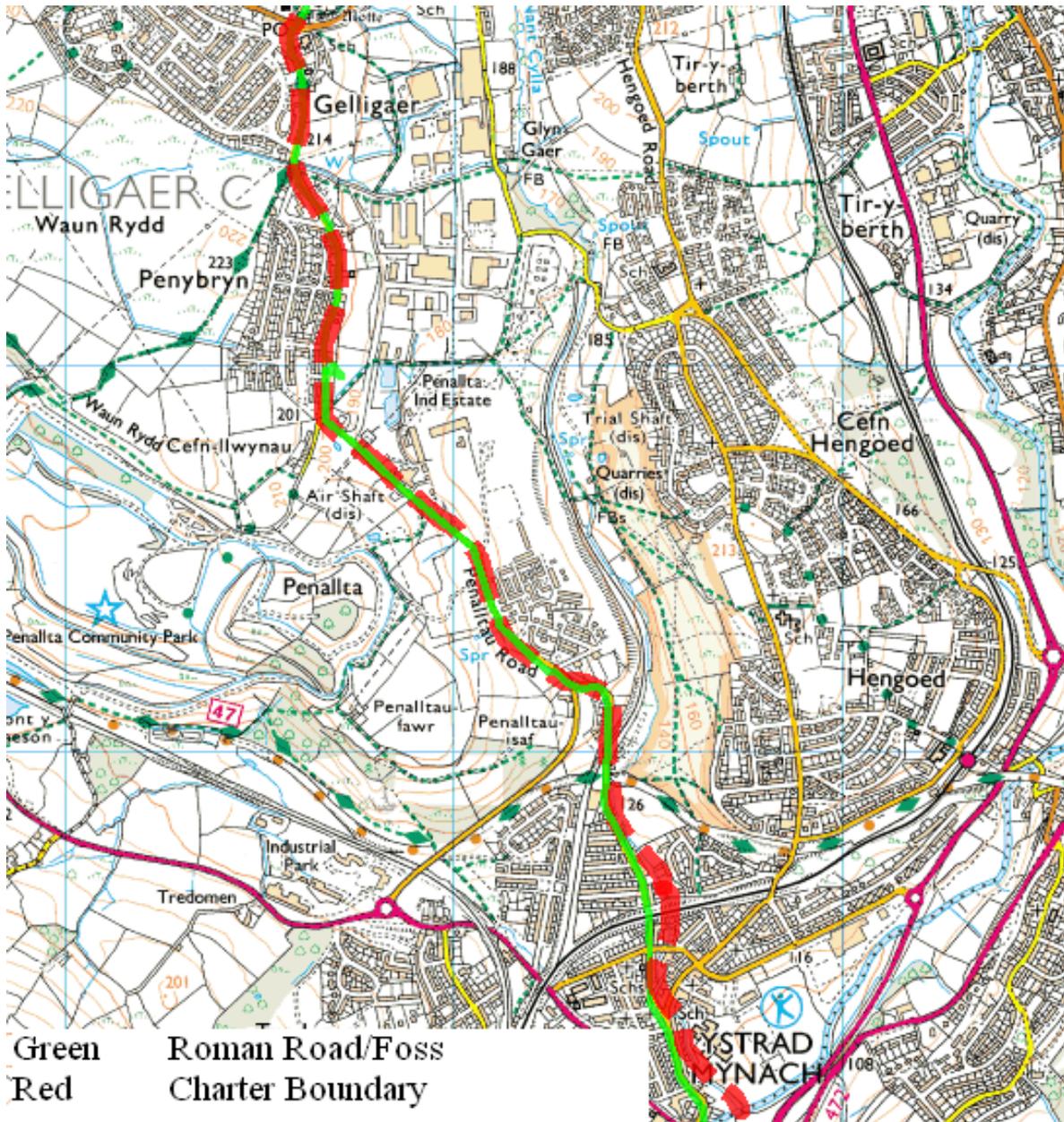
The positioning of the route of the charter boundary at Gelligaer is interesting in so far as it is dependent upon the route of the old Roman roads. The charter writes of ‘the old ditch’ or *veterem fossam*. This can be taken as referring to the Roman remains and road from Caerphilly, in the south, to Pen-y-darwen near Merthyr Tydfil via Gelligaer. As can be seen from the above map, this would allow us to bypass the castle at Gelligaer which, as mentioned above, would be unlikely to have been included within the charter area.

Figure: II.12: OS map of Gelligaer, 2014
MEMORY-MAP ENGLAND & WALES



The course of the border then follows the old Roman Road south to meet with Nant Cylla which flows into the River Rhymney at the modern town of Ystrad Mynach.

Figure. II.13: OS map of Gelligaer and Ystrad Mynach, 2014
 MEMORY-MAP ENGLAND & WALES



The boundary from the mouth of Nant Cylla to the head waters or source of Nant Mabon is very difficult to ascertain. The name of the town Ystrad Mynach is less helpful than might first appear. It would seem to be a comparatively modern name, and does not appear on earliest available maps. The occurrence of the element ‘mynach’ meaning ‘monk’ also appears to be a red herring. It would appear that it relates to a local story, of uncertain

provenance but which is recorded on a current local authority website, of the hanging of a monk.

The reason for the name is not actually known, though this may be the now-unused name of a river that flowed into the Rhymney as currently there is no evidence of a monastery existing in the area. One curious folktale about the place name does exist however. Apparently a monk was forced to flee from Caerphilly Castle after it became known that he was having an “unsavoury” relationship with the young daughter of the French family in residence at the Castle at the time. He was captured, sentenced to death and hung from a tree in the valley, the area becoming known as ‘Monk’s Valley’ or in Welsh – Ystrad Mynach.¹³

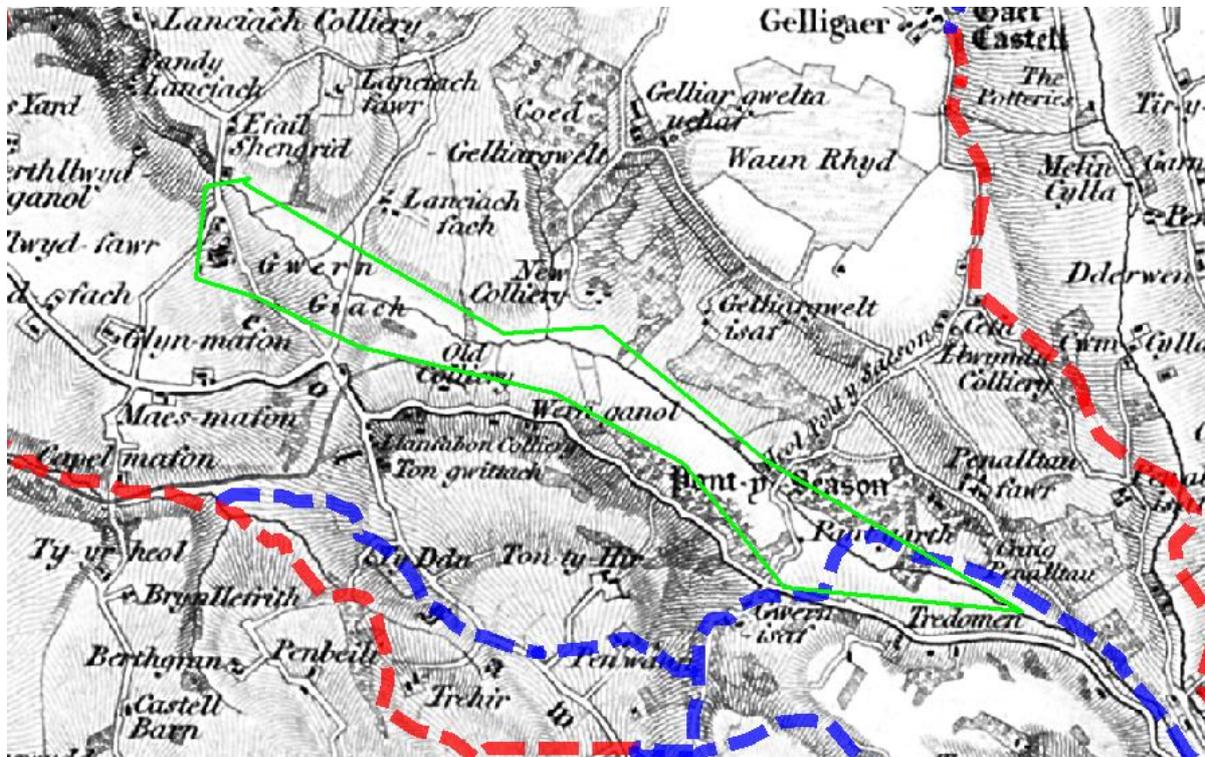
However, it is more than likely that the story has been invented as an explanation for the place name, and reflects a local tradition of monastic association within the area, which may or may not date to the medieval period.

The southern border is quite distinct as it is named as the River Mabon: ‘and the whole of Maislette and from the head of Mauhanis down to the Taf’. Birch suggested that ‘Maislette’ can be interpreted as ‘wet meadow’; that the name is immediately followed by ‘the head of Mauhanis’ or ‘head of Mabon’ suggests the area as the wetlands which would have extended from what is now Ystrad Mynach, westwards, incorporating Tredommen and Nelson. As can be noted from the early nineteenth-century ordnance survey map (*Figure II.14*) there is a large wetland area marked within the green area on the map. It would appear from the name references for parts of this area that it has historically been an area of wetness

¹³ County Borough Council [online]. Available: <http://www.caerphilly.gov.uk/chronicle/english/places/placenames/ystradmynach.htm>

as the word ‘wern’ or ‘gwern’ translates from Welsh to refer to a wet area where alder trees grow. The area remains a wetland area even today.

Figure II.14: Nineteenth-century OS map: area between Nelson and Ystrad Mynach
MEMORY-MAP ENGLAND & WALES



The village now known as Nelson was named after the public house the ‘Lord Nelson’ after the Lord Nelson himself visited the area in 1803.¹⁴ Previously the name *Ffos y Cerddinen* (underlined in red in fig. II.15) is associated with this area of Maes Mabon in the 1813 map made by Charles Budgen shown below (fig. II.15). *Ffos* translates as a ditch or a moat, and the word *cerddinen* translates as a mountain ash tree. What is evident from this map are the abundant references to ‘mabon’ and the name Maes Mabon appears on both the above map and the following 1813 Budgen map.

¹⁴ *Ibid*: <http://www.caerphilly.gov.uk/loopsandlinks/english/villages/nelson.html>

This brings us full circuit of the boundary for the charter and a useful place to note in particular the wording early in the charter describing an area, ‘Stratavaga’, and if we accept ‘vaga’ as ‘Bargod’ or ‘Bargoed’ then this gives us considerable assistance in identifying territories. Rees, in his map of Wales in the fourteenth century, identifies ‘Stratvaga’ with the valley of the Bargoed Taff, naming it Ystrad Vaga as can be seen on the relevant part of the map printed below (*fig. II.17*).¹⁵ One interesting possibility worth noting is another possible translation of *vaga*. The *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources* offers an intriguing translation and links the word *vaga* in its various forms to ‘vagabond’ or ‘mental derangement’.¹⁶ Remembering Gerald of Wales’s account of Meilyr as discussed in the previous chapter, it is difficult not to make some connection between the description of the area and Meilyr himself as perhaps maliciously depicted by Gerald. This may be coincidental but none the less worthy of note.

¹⁵ Rees. *Map of South Wales and the Border in the 14th Century SE*. (Ordnance Survey, 1932). [online] Available: <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/maps/uk/zoomify133553.html>

¹⁶ R. E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-list from British and Irish Sources* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 504.

Figure II.17 Rees. *Map of South Wales and the Border in the 14th Century SE.* (Ordnance Survey, 1932). [online] Available: <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/maps/uk/zoomify133553.html>



South Wales and the Border in the 14th century, SE. Rees

More generally the word ‘vaga’, when associated with this charter, is assumed to refer to the Welsh place name ‘Bargoed’ or ‘Bargod’.

Many areas within this charter were heavily industrialized during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and population areas have consequently grown considerably. The evident result of this development is that large areas covered by the charter are lost to

archaeology due to the destructive effects of urban growth and the coal industry from both mining and tipping waste, as well as in more recent times using open cast mining and quarrying on a large scale. The steel and iron industries have also left large areas devoid of archaeology with quarrying of limestone and the associated waste spoil of the industry. Similarly, the coal industry has also left an indelible mark on the landscape not just with spoil tips and the late twentieth-century landscaping of these tips, but also the vast open cast operations most notably in the north west corner of the charter area. Whereas the iron, steel, and coal industries had a comparatively short life in the timescale of the landscape, the effects have been disproportionately devastating on the archaeology from earlier times. It can also be seen from the maps already used that along with the industrialisation of the area from 1800 to the present day, large areas of hillside have been deforested. This leads to the question: how well forested was the area at the time the land was given for the establishment of the monastery or hermitage? Here some of the place names are very helpful. The place name 'Bargoed' has already been discussed as a border to woodland or eaves of woodland. Two of the main rivers are referred to in part as 'Bargoed', the Bargoed Taff to the west and Bargoed Rhymney to the east of Gelligaer Common. Farms on both sides of Gelligaer Common and within the charter boundaries are named 'Fargoed' or 'Bargoed'. 'Coed yr Hendre' at grid reference SO 10448 01709 makes reference to woodland, and Welsh place names containing the words *Llwyn* and *Gelli* or *Celli* refer to a 'grove', both suggesting the existence of ancient woodland. The lands of Gwladys are referred to on the ordnance survey maps as 'Fforest Gwladys' or 'Fforest Gwladis'. As Fforest Gwladys constitutes a major part of the Gelligaer Common, it would be interesting to establish the full nature of forestation of the area covered by the charter.

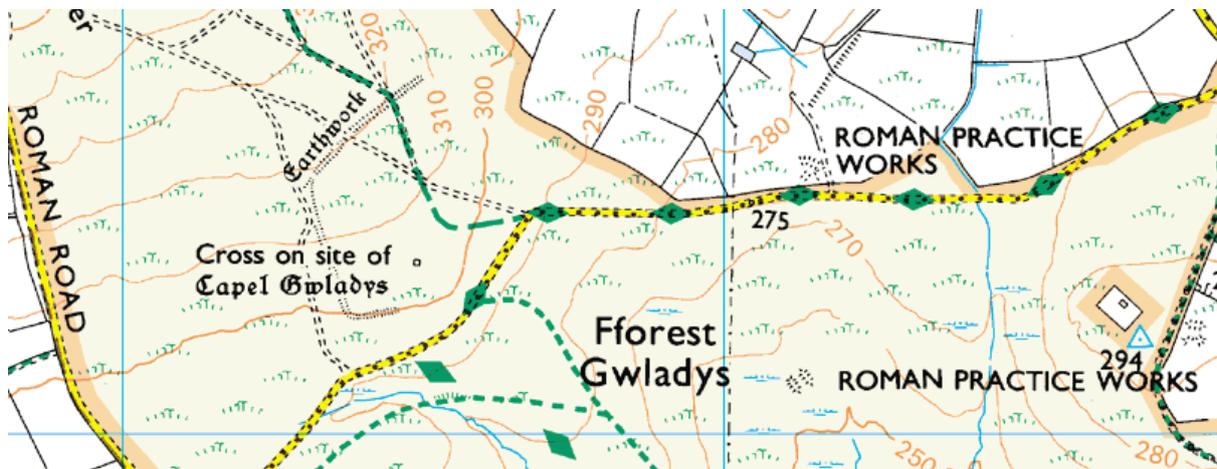
Another name mentioned in the charter area which needs addressing is 'Karpdawardmenet'. This has been variously translated as Field of four mountains and Field

of birch trees on the mountains.¹⁷ A more convincing translation may be ‘the fort of four mountains’ which would relate directly to the Roman fort at Gelligaer and the associated lands.¹⁸

The archaeology of the charter area

A considerable amount of work has already been done in the area now loosely described as Gelligaer Common, with identified archaeology from prehistory, Roman, medieval to modern. There are numerous Roman sites that can be identified at Gelligaer in *Figure: II.12* and in the Fforest Gwladys area shown in *figure II.18*.

Figure II.18: OS map of Fforest Gwladys area, 2014
MEMORY-MAP ENGLAND & WALES

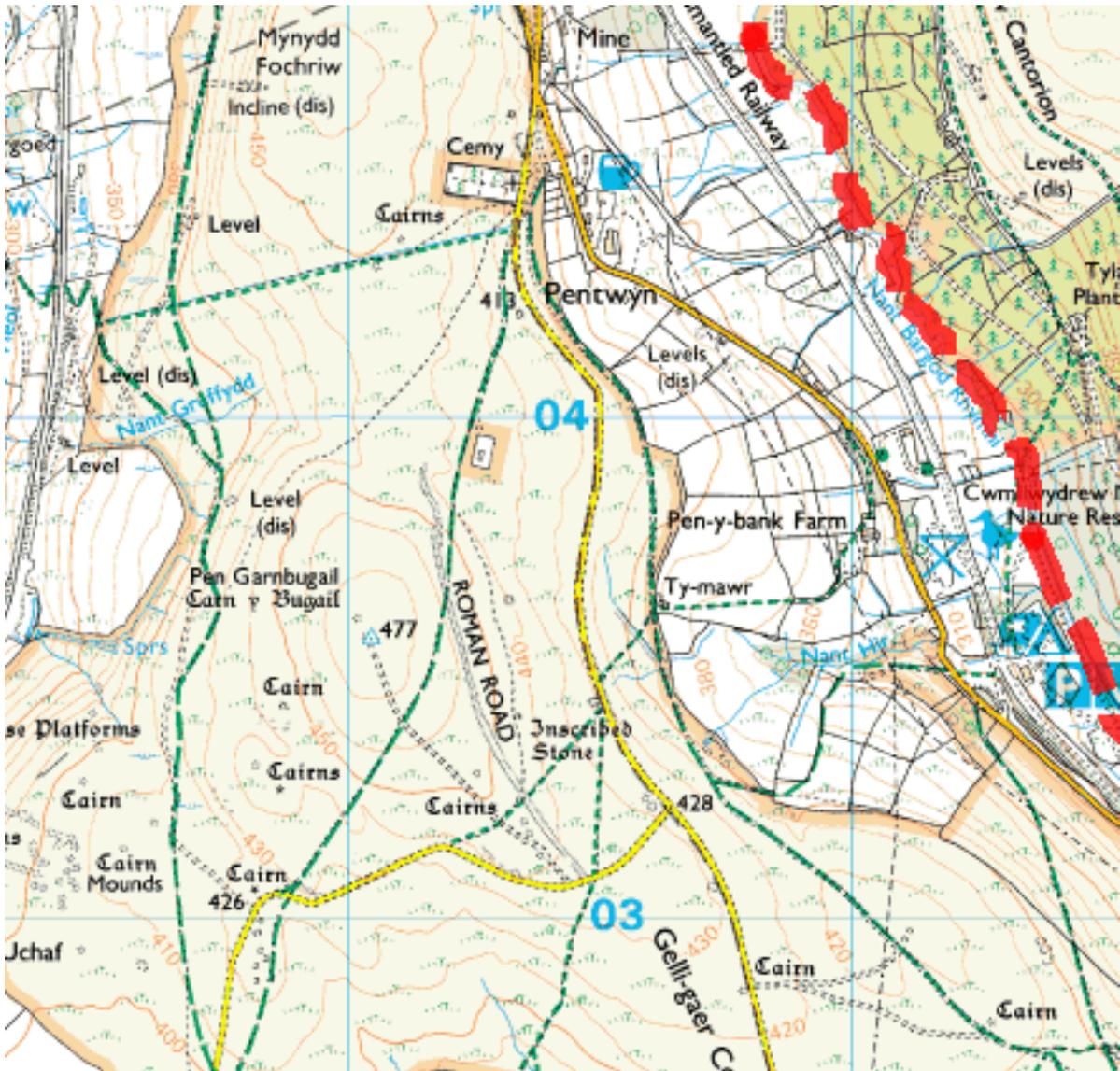


The abundance of pre-history sites can be witnessed in the following figure II.19 displaying numerous ‘cairns’ and sites of Early Medieval’ importance with ‘Inscribed Stones’ in the northern area of Gelligaer Common.

¹⁷ Patterson, ed., *Earldom of Gloucester Charters*, p. 115.

¹⁸ I am grateful to Dr. Euryrn Roberts of Bangor University who made this suggestion at the presentation of a paper at the Bangor Medieval Colloquium November 2014.

Figure II.19: OS map of northern Gelligaer Common, 2014
 MEMORY-MAP ENGLAND & WALES



This, as can be seen on the map (*Figure II.4*), comprises much of the upland area of the charter. The existence of many medieval remains scatters the area and it is these sites that are considered here.

If we look at ecclesiastical sites first we have the obvious site of Capel Gwladys as well as another unnamed site to the north west which is marked on the ordnance survey map only as a chapel (SO 08961 02121) at the site of Coly Isaf. Capel y Brithdir is situated in the north of the charter area. St Catwg in Gelligaer may well have been inside the charter area

with its boundary running between the castle of Ifor Bach and the church grounds. The church of St Mabon in Llanfabon is most definitely outside the charter area and consequently has no direct bearing on the placing of the lost abbey in question. The existence of the local churches at Capel Gwladys and St Catwg are important as these dedications reflect a pre-existing monastic cult dating back to the sixth century.¹⁹ The dedications of many ancient churches can be attributed to the memory of their founders.²⁰ The dedication of the parish church at Gelligaer is unique in that it relates to St Catwg or Cadoc, who is said to have been born and to have spent his early years in the area now known as the parish. St Catwg (500–570) was the eldest son of Gwynlliw and Gwladys, rulers of a large tract of land centred on Gelligaer. Both are said to have adopted the monastic habit. Gwynlliw went to live at what is now called Newport on the site of what was to become the cathedral of St Woolos, and Gwladys lived on the site of a chapel near Gelligaer which was named after her.²¹ St Catwg is believed to be the founder of the pre-Norman monastery at Llancarfan in the Vale of Glamorgan.²²

The house on the map known as Llancaeath Fawr has been disregarded as an ecclesiastical site not just because of the recent archaeology by ‘Time Team’ but by the

¹⁹ [CADOG \(5th/6th century\) Saint](http://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/waencywales/cadog_5th_6th_century_saint/0). (2008). In *The Welsh academy encyclopedia of Wales*, retrieved from http://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/waencywales/cadog_5th_6th_century_saint/0

²⁰ Edith Evans, *Early Medieval ecclesiastical sites in southeast Wales: Desk-based assessment* (GGAT: 2003-04) http://www.ggat.org.uk/cadw/cadw_reports/pdfs/GGAT%2073%20Early%20Medieval%20Ecclesiastical%20Sites%20Yr1.pdf
See also below, chapter V.

²¹ S. Baring-Gould, and John Fisher, *The Lives of the British Saints: The Saints of Wales and Cornwall and Such Irish Saints as Have Dedications in Britain*, vol. 2, The Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion (Place, date), p. 15.

²² [CADOG \(5th/6th century\) Saint](http://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/waencywales/cadog_5th_6th_century_saint/0). (2008). In *The Welsh academy encyclopedia of Wales*. Retrieved from http://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/waencywales/cadog_5th_6th_century_saint/0

nature of the name, as in this case 'llan' has over time mutated from 'glan' meaning, next to, and caeach, which in this case the name of a stream not a saint. As to the unnamed chapel, this is of some interest as there is no known documentation for its existence or knowledge of its dedication, or for that matter anything else concerning it, other than the work of Lady Fox (her excavations of many of the platform houses on Gelligaer Common) and the placing of the site on Rees's map as illustrated below.²³

Figure II.20: Rees. *Map of South Wales and the Border in the 14th Century SE.* (Ordnance Survey, 1932). [online] Available: <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/maps/uk/zoomify133553.html>



²³ Lady Aileen Fox, 'Early Welsh homesteads on Gelligaer Common, Glamorgan, *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, XCIV (1939), 163-199 (p. 194); Rees. *Map of South Wales and the Border in the 14th Century SE.* (Ordnance Survey, 1932). [online] Available: <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/maps/uk/zoomify133553.html>

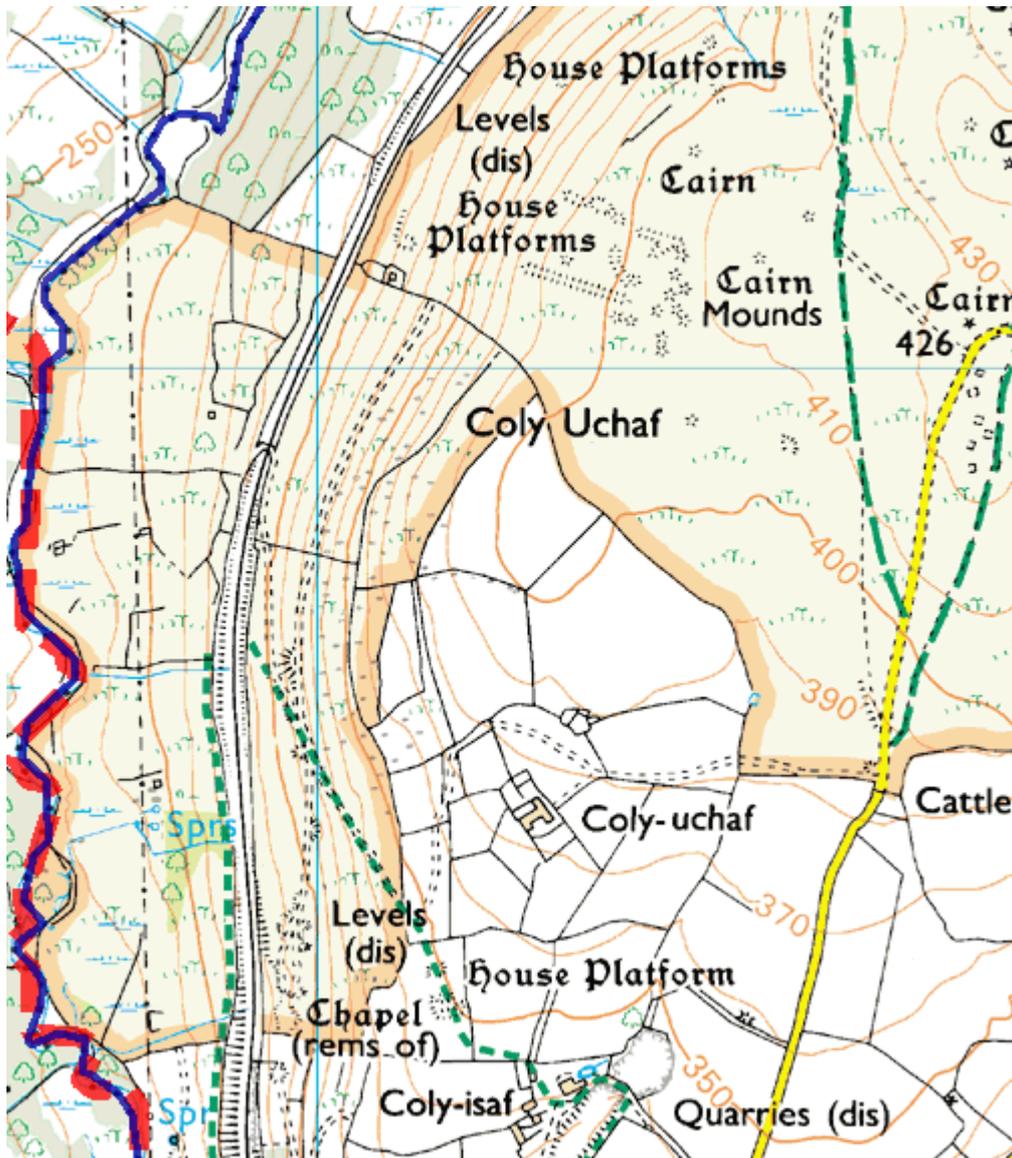
Again turning to archaeology, the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust give the following details on the Archwilio website:

Description

Marked on Rees's map of South Wales and the Border in 14th century. 'Ruins of medieval chapel' are noted by Fox 1939, 194. The remains of rectangular building, oriented slightly N of E, are situated on the crest of a W-facing slope; 16x6m, walls represented by stony banks; fragments of two moulded stones in the interior. Within a rectilinear enclosure 26 x15m, surrounded by grass-covered banks.²⁴

²⁴ Archwilio Glamorgan Gwent Archaeological Trust, [online]. Available: <http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

Figure II.21: OS map of western area of Gelligaer Common 2014
MEMORY-MAP ENGLAND & WALES



Looking at the above ordnance survey map, the remains of the chapel are closely accompanied by the platform houses worked on by Fox in 1936 and 1938. It may well be a lost community or village but the site does offer other intriguing possibilities. As can be seen from the following Google satellite image (*figure II.22*), to the south of the chapel there is evidence of an enclosure. Is it possible that this enclosure could be the remains of an embryonic cloister? What is evident is that the structure did not continue to develop and no

written record is known of its existence.²⁵ What is also valuable and most intriguing is suggested by name evidence for the immediate area of this site, 'Dinas Noddfa' which translates 'City of Sanctuary'.²⁶ Could this site be an embryonic abbey site for Pendar?

Figure II.22: Aerial view of the chapel at Dinas Noddfa.

Imagery ©2014 Bluesky Infoterra Ltd. & COWI A/S Digital Globe. Getmapping plc. The GeoInformation Group Map data ©2014 Google.



The parish church of St Cattwg cannot be easily eliminated as a potential site. It is situated just west and above the castle motte. If we assume that the Roman road divides the castle from the church then it is most certainly a contender but there is no archaeology to sustain such a proposition that it was ever part of a monastery. Regrettably the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust Historic Environment Record cannot help us as it would appear that the fabric of the existing church, at its earliest estimates, dates from the early thirteenth century. Unlike the sites of Capel Gwladys and the unidentifiable site at Coly-Isaf, Gelligaer church is mentioned in the *Taxatio ecclesiastica* (1291). T. J Pritchard noted that unlike the churches of Cardiff, which had been appropriated to Tewkesbury Abbey, Eglwysilan and its

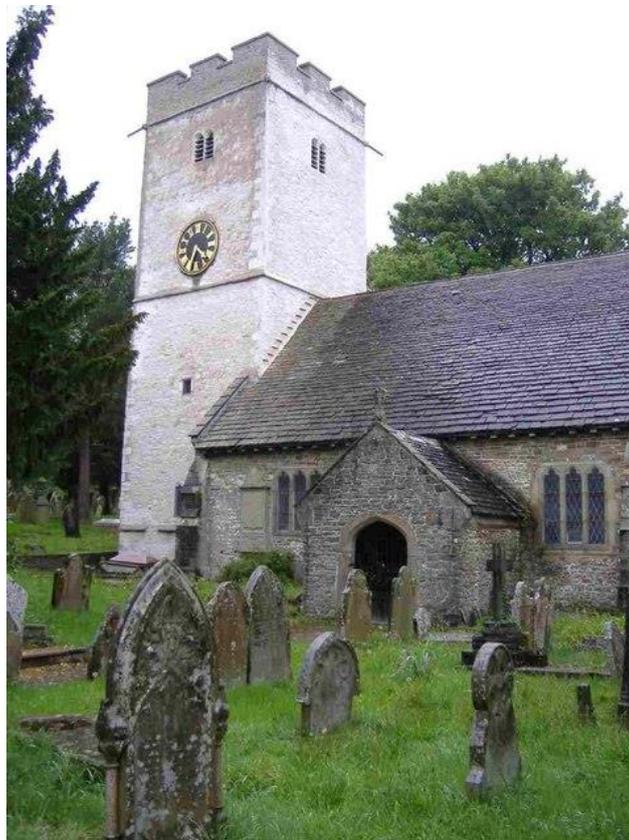
²⁵ Imagery ©2014 Bluesky Infoterra Ltd. & COWI A/S Digital Globe. Getmapping plc. The GeoInformation Group Map data ©2014 Google.

²⁶ Fox, 'Early Welsh homesteads on Gelligaer Common', p. 163.

chapel of Llanfabon ,Gelligaer, Capel Gwladys, Coly-Isaf and Merthyr Tydfil had not.²⁷ This may be of value insofar as it indicates a status of protection given by native lordship in Senghenydd, unlike the fate of churches subject to immigrant lordship in lowland Glamorgan such as those appropriated to Tewkesbury as part of the package with St Mary's Cardiff. For more on the appropriation of churches see chapter V.

Figure II.23: Gelligaer church

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There appears to be no record of, or evidence for, any other ecclesiastical site dating back to the medieval period within the charter area, although the possibility remains that such may have existed. The lack of archaeological or documentary evidence does not preclude its

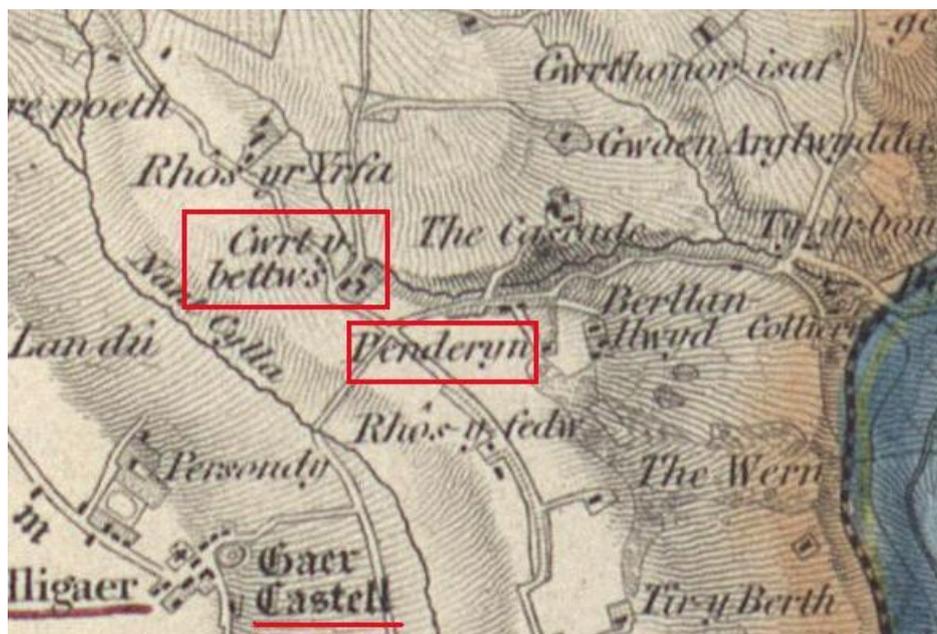
²⁷ T. J. Prichard. 'The Church in Medieval Senghenydd', *Journal of Welsh Ecclesiastical History*, 1 (1984), 44-62 (p.46).

existence, particularly in the light that the area has been heavily developed both industrially and with urban development. Further indications may, however, be revealed by place names.

The evidence of place names

The first such site is Cwrt Yr Bettws. This name offers very interesting possibilities as it translates as follows: *cwrt* as ‘courtyard’ and *bettws* as ‘chapel’ or ‘oratory’, thus giving a possible monastic enclosure attached to a chapel where prayers are sung. This site which shows considerable possibilities is illustrated on the following nineteenth-century map of the area (*figure II.24*) almost directly north-east of Ifor Bach’s castle at Gelligaer. It is given the name *Cwrt y Bettws*, and is indicated on the map in a red box; adjacent to the site we see the name *Penderyn* which may be an alternative form or a misspelling of Penderwen, Penderlwyn or Pendar, all of which relate to oak whereas *deryn* (as in *Penderyn*) refers to a bird.

Figure II.24 Charles Budgon, map of Abergavenny 1813 [online]. Available: <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/ordsurvdraw/a/002osd000000022u00152000.html>



As can be seen on the following 1901 and 1953 Ordnance Survey maps the name 'Penderyn' has been given as 'Pendarren'. The reference to oak would make more sense, as the area to the north east is 'Bargoed' a word associated with the eaves or borders of a wood, and Hengoed which is old wood or old forest.

Figure II.25: Ordnance Survey Maps - Six-inch England and Wales, 1901 [online] Available: <http://maps.nls.uk/view/102183030>

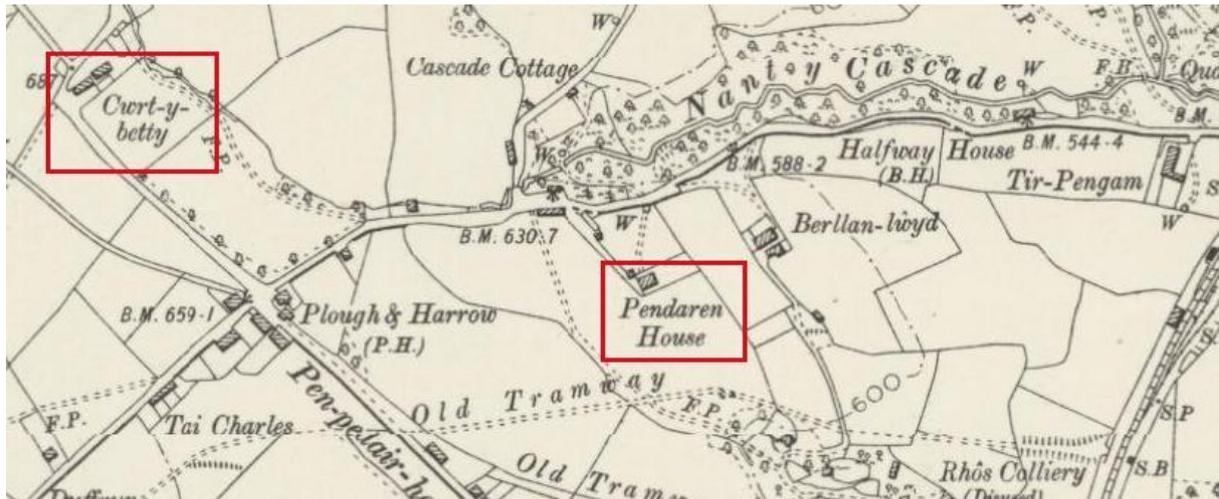
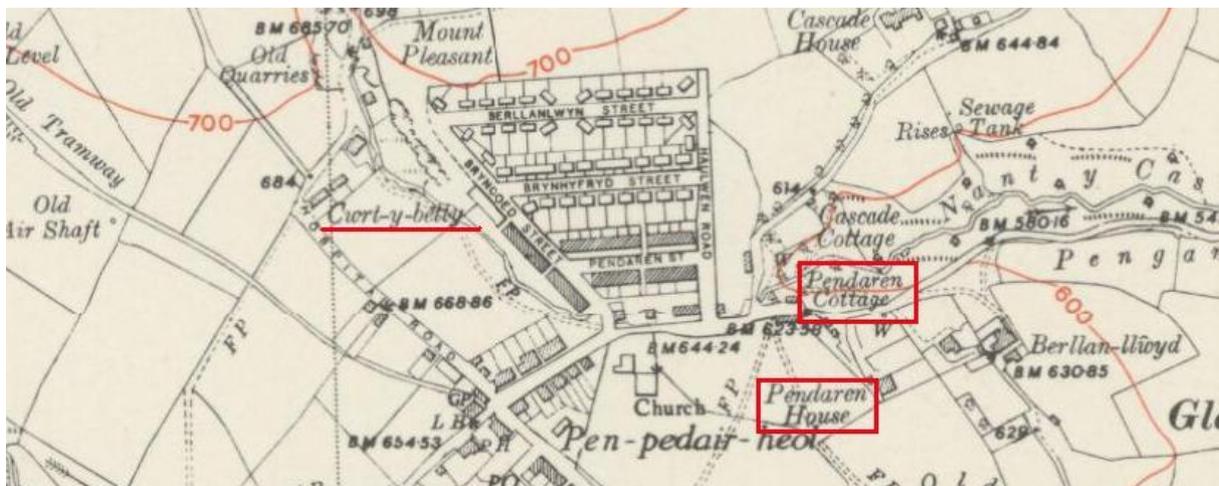


Figure II.26: Ordnance Survey Maps - Six-inch England and Wales, 1953 [online] Available: <http://maps.nls.uk/view/102183021>



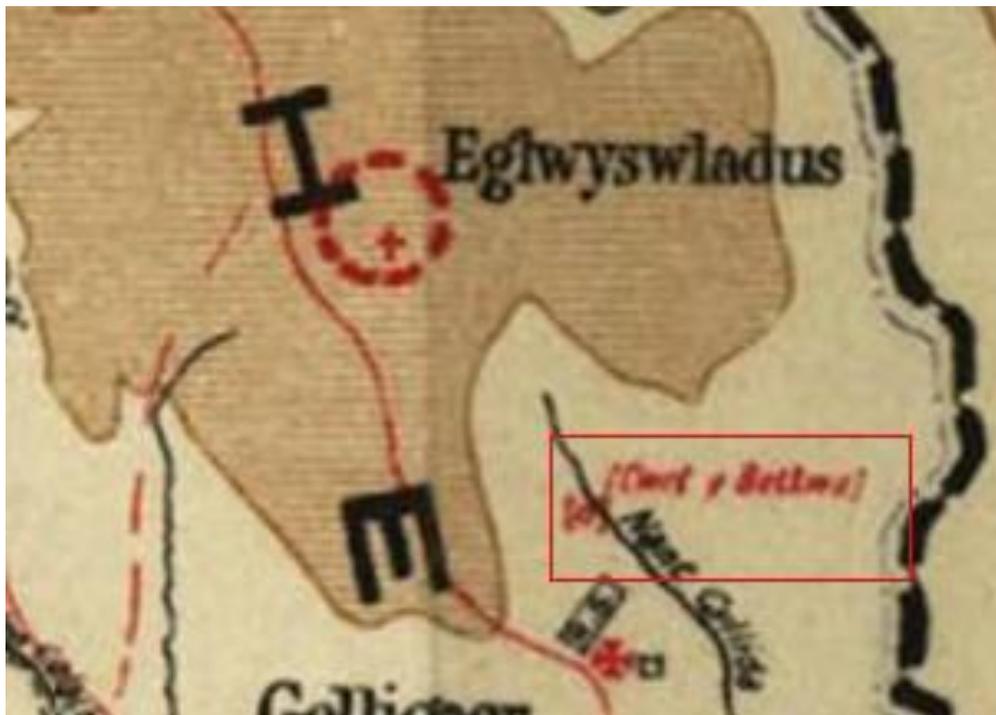
A major problem in the investigation of this site, as can be seen on the 2014 Ordnance Survey map (figure II.4), is that it is now under a housing estate. Rees does, however, make reference to Cwrt y Bettws in his map of Wales in the fourteenth century. However this has

been discredited by Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust with the statement on their Archwilio web site as follows:²⁸

Reference to manor house on Rees' map. The area indicated comprises marshy rough pasture fields with no evidence of antiquity. According to the local farmer there are no significant field names.²⁹

Figure II.27: Rees. Map of South Wales and the Border in the 14th Century SE. (Ordnance Survey, 1932). [online] Available:

<http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/maps/uk/zoomify133553.html>



Further, the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust lists on the same web site a record for Cwrt y Betty as: ‘a post medieval house with fireplace.’³⁰ This only dates the site as a nineteenth-century farm complex. Regrettably this site cannot be investigated further as no

²⁸ Archwilio Glamorgan Gwent Archaeological Trust [online]. Available: <http://www.cofiadurcahymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

²⁹ Archwilio Glamorgan Gwent Archaeological Trust [online]. Available: <http://www.cofiadurcahymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

³⁰ Archwilio Glamorgan Gwent Archaeological Trust [online]. Available: <http://www.cofiadurcahymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

archaeology has taken place at the site to confirm or deny the existence of previous medieval layers beneath the Victorian farm. The possibility remains that future investigation will yield evidence.

Another possibility that is worthy of consideration is also a site identified in a report given by Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust in a desk top study on Maesllan Lands, Gelligaer in June 1992.³¹ It was written as a result of a planning application to develop lands of an area known as Maesllan for the development of a golf course. The report makes mention Prehistoric, Roman and medieval activity with the area including the close proximity of the medieval castle at Gelligaer. It also identifies the Roman road known as Heol Adam which is identifiable as one of the major boundaries of the charter for these lands given to the hand of Meilyr. The report does however suggest that the actual Roman road may have existed some 100 metres to the east and passed through the Roman fort situated there. It suggests that the route of the present road Heol Adam is a bypass for the fort and the main route which passes through the fort follows the line of the hedgerow. This information does make the case stronger for including the existing site of St Cattwg's church inside the charter boundary.

The subject area for the Maesllan paper is marked on the following 2014 ordnance survey map (*fig. II.28*):

³¹ C. N. Maylan, 1992 , *Archaeological Desk Top Study Maesllan Lands, Gelligaer* ( © GGAT) & GGAT assessment Maesllan Lands Gelligaer 1992 - [online]. Available: http://www.herwales.co.uk/her/groups/GGAT/media/ReportPDF/40_A067_MaesllanLandsGelligaerDTA.pdf

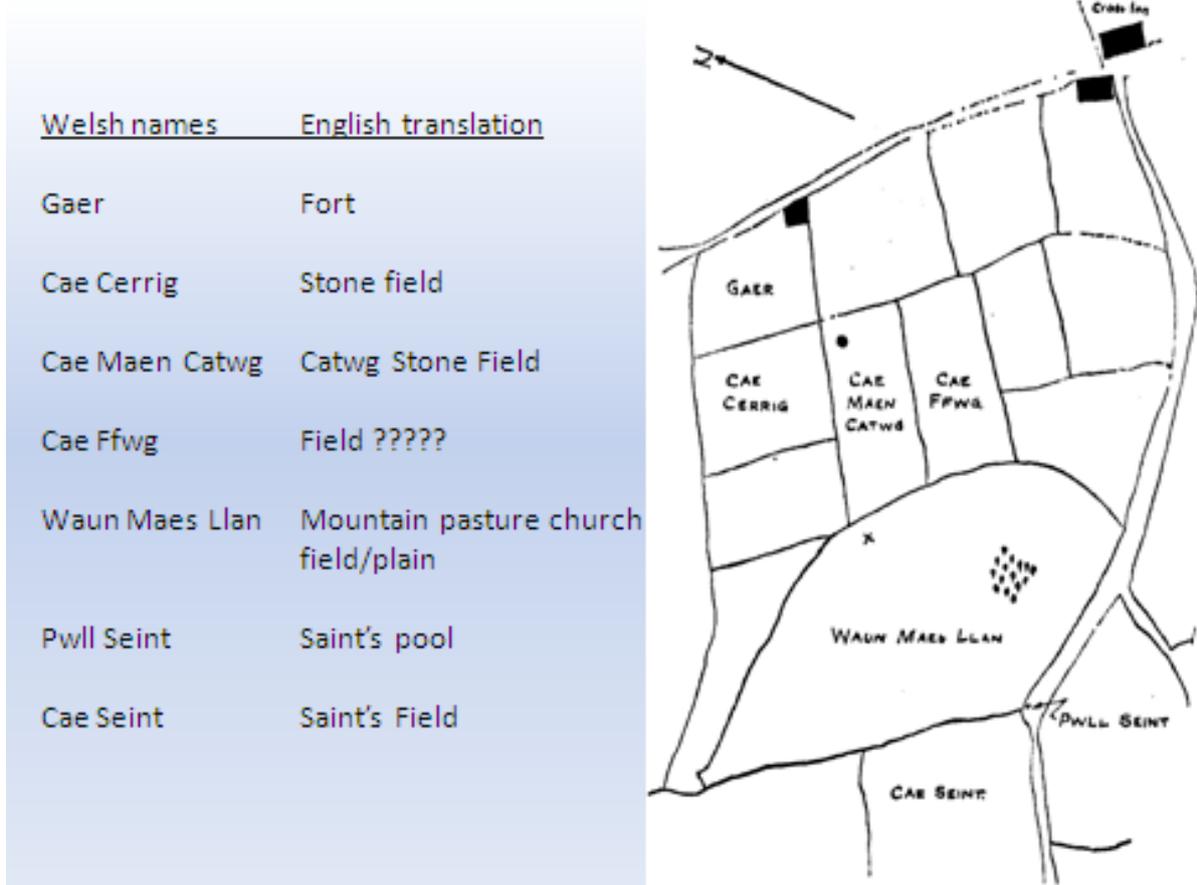
Figure II.28: OS map of Gelligaer 2014
MEMORY-MAP ENGLAND & WALES



It would be unwise to ignore the Maesllan site on the basis of its name alone as a monastery of St Cattwg. A local historian D. Gethin-Thomas wrote a paper ‘Home for a Patron Saint’ for the Gelligaer History Society in the 1960s in which he speculated about the area shown on the map below (*figure. II.29*), and working with local names he concluded that it was the site of an early abbey dating back to Cattwg himself.³²

³² D. Gethin-Thomas, ‘Home of a Patron Saint?’, Gelligaer III (1966), pp. 28-33.

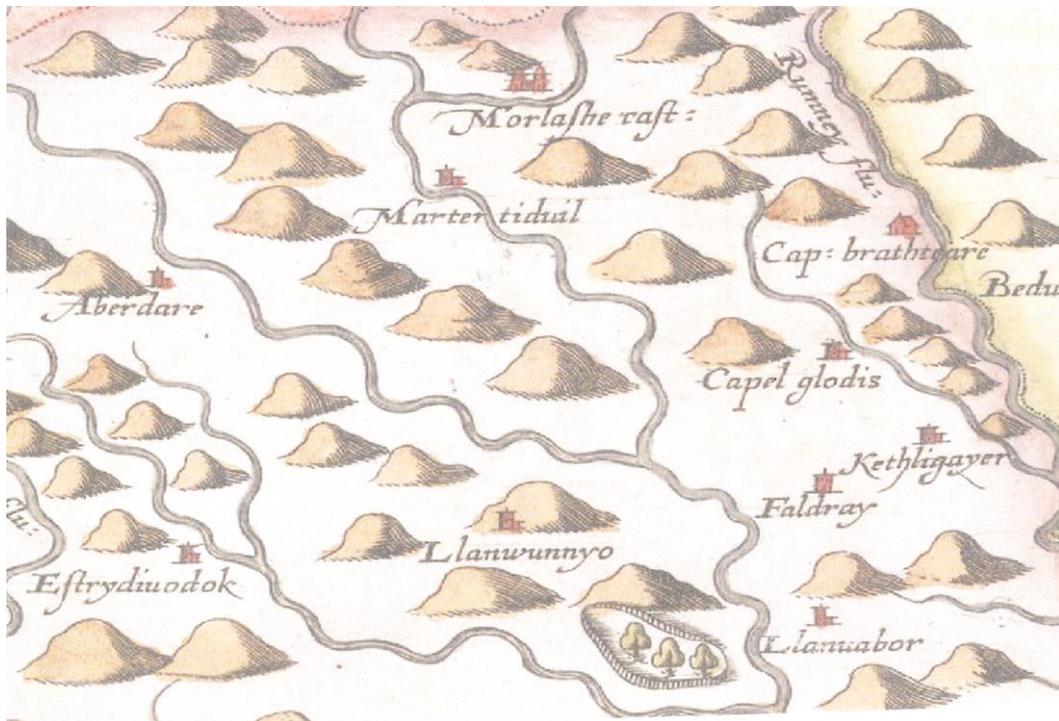
Figure II.29: Gethin-Thomas map of Maes Llan area.
 ‘Home of a Patron Saint?’, Gelligaer III (1966), pp. 28-33.



Unfortunately on close examination of the paper it can be demonstrated that Gethin-Thomas made a number of errors, not least misunderstanding the dating of many of the sites in the area and showing too much reliance on local names. Within the area he notes field names such as Maesllan, Pull Seint, and Cae Seint, all of which he argues offers evidence for the existence of Cattwg’s abbey. The association of St Cattwg with Maen Cattwg, a Bronze Age cup-marked stone standing a short distance to the north west of Gelligaer must certainly be a later tradition that developed in the area and have no relationship to St Cattwg himself. Gethin-Thomas was also heavily dependent upon Saxton’s sixteenth-century map (*fig.II.30* below), interpreting the site marked ‘Faldray’ on the map as the sixth-century abbey of St Cattwg. This makes no sense for a number of reasons. First, Faldray would appear not to have the same symbol as the churches at Gelligaer or Capel Gwladys and would most probably have been a large house or property such as Llancaiach Fawr; further, it would

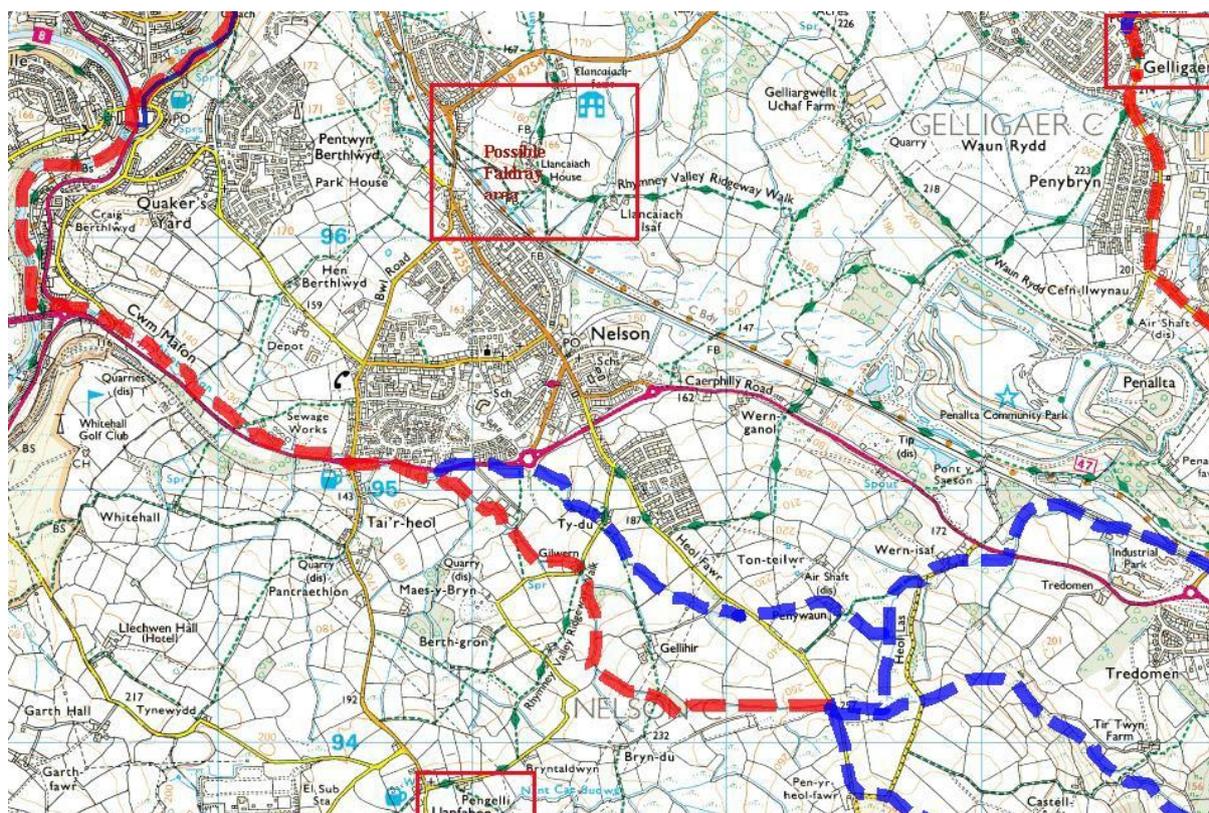
appear to be placed approximately where Maes Mafon is currently located on the 2014 ordnance survey map (*figure II.31*).

Figure II.30: Saxton map of Glamorgan. [online] Available: <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/unvbrit/g/zoomify83530.html>



It would be unwise to be over dependent on Saxton's geographical representation of distances, but when comparing the portion of Saxton's map noted above with the same area of the 2014 ordnance survey map, and noting the position of Gelligaer in the top right hand corner of the map and Llanfabon in the middle bottom of the map, it is possible to make an approximation of the area for Faldray as being north of Nelson in the Llancaeath area, thus placing it to the south of the B4254 and not north of that road as the Maesllan lands are in the earlier map (*figure II.28*).

Figure II.31: Possible site of Faldray
 MEMORY-MAP ENGLAND & WALES Ordnance Survey 2014



Thus, when next compared with the earlier map of the Maesllan area (*figure II.28*) it is most notable that the Maesllan lands are too far north and east from the area marked ‘Faldray’. The site is taken seriously enough to be noted by the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust on their website as a possible abbey site under a search for Maesllan.³³

Description:

The Monastery of St Cadoc: This feature was suggested by Gethin-Thomas in 1966. His theory was based on a local legend that St Cadoc had founded a monastery near to Gelligaer. On a plan drawn by Saxton in the seventeenth century, a church is depicted to the north of the Gelligaer. By comparing the

³³ Archwilio Glamorgan Gwent Archaeological Trust [online]. Available: <http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

distances between other features on the plan, the Maesllan area was suggested as the site. The missing church is identified by Saxton as "Faldray" and whilst no evidence for this name in the Maesllan area can be identified, Gethin-Thomas suggested that the name Maesllan meant Church Field and that this proved that it was the site of the church. The apportionment to the tithe plan named the field to the west of field 2 as "Cae Seint" (meaning Saint's Field), and the first edition of the Ordnance Survey gives the small pool at ST 1246 9713 the name "Pwll Seint" (Saint's Pool). The association of this saint with St Cadoc is the name given to the cup-marked stone in field 3 as Maen Cattwg.

When he visited the site Gethin-Thomas identified features in the north-eastern corner of field 2 as graves and his conclusive evidence for the position of the monastery was the "mysterious foundations" discovered by the Water Board during work in the copse of oak trees in field 2.

This theory, whilst producing circumstantial evidence, appears to have many possible errors. The distances on Saxton's map may well not be accurate, especially as it is drawn at a very small scale. The name Maesllan can mean Church Field, but this may refer to land owned by the church, as easily as the field in which a church stood (it is possible that this area was part of land given to Margam Abbey by Griffith ap Ivor in 1150 (Patterson 1973, 115)). There are no signs of the graves in the north-eastern part of the field, and it would be very odd that earthwork evidence for these should remain whilst none are apparent for the monastery. There is no corroborated evidence for foundations having been discovered by the Water Board; however, a 24" water main does cross the field close to the copse of oaks.

It would therefore appear that there is only circumstantial evidence for a monastery in this field. Although it is possible to refute all of the evidence cited, there is still the possibility of an archaeological site being present in this area. Trial excavation would confirm or refute such claims.³⁴

Could Gethin-Thomas possibly have something to offer not as a site for a lost abbey of St Cattwg but rather the lost abbey of Pendar? *Figure II.32* is a photograph of the wooded area which may contain some archaeology which could either confirm or repudiate the existence of a lost monastery at this site.

Figure II.32: suggested site of the St Cadog monastery



The site, known as Capel Gwladys, has already been mentioned but is far more interesting as it offers better archaeology although I have yet to find any evidence of a

³⁴ C. N. Maylan, 1992, *Archaeological Desk Top Study Maesllan Lands, Gelligaer* (GGAT) & GGAT assessment Maesllan Lands Gelligaer 1992 - [online]. Available: http://www.herwales.co.uk/her/groups/GGAT/media/ReportPDF/40_A067_MaesllanLandsGelligaerDTA.pdf

thorough archaeological investigation of the site to establish what, if any, evidence can be revealed below the surface. What little evidence is offered on the Glamorgan Gwent Archaeology website in the form of references is limited to landscape and site observation with no suggestion of an actual dig. The observations given are none the less helpful and relevant:

Description

First mentioned in the 12th century (Arch Camb 1901, 58-9). At Capel Gwladys are the remains of an ancient chapel which consisted of western tower, nave and chancel, within an enclosure. Now represented by restored foundations; enclosure with rounded corners bounded by a drystone wall or earthwork (information either contradictory or refers to two enclosures) (OS card ST 19 NW 1). (Rees's map of Wales and the Borders in 14th century gives the name as Eglwyswladys.)³⁵

The *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 1901 reference (which should read pages 57 – 59), gives detail of a field excursion to Gelligaer to be made that coming August and references Baring-Gould's publication on 'Lives of the British Saints' which would be the earliest description for the site, given as follows:³⁶

The situation of another church dedicated to S. Gwladys is well known, viz. Eglwys Wladys, or Capel Gwladys, on Gelligaer Mountain, about two miles to the north of Gelligaer Church. It has been in ruins for many centuries, but its

³⁵ Archwilio Glamorgan Gwent Archaeological Trust [online] Available: <http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

³⁶ S. Baring-Gould, and John Fisher, *The Lives of the British Saints: The Saints of Wales and Cornwall and Such Irish Saints as Have Dedications in Britain*, vol. 3, For the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion (place, date), p. 204.

foundations, consisting of west tower, nave and chancel, within an enclosure, are still visible. It was privately occupied "as a house" in 1584. The parish attached to it now forms part of the parish of Gelligaer, the parish church of which is dedicated to S. Cadoc.³⁷

The detail regarding the private occupation of the church is given in an Exchequer deposition of 1584, as follows:

It'm Watkin Dio THO's of kelligaer of thage of l [fifty] yeares beinge sworne and exam, saieth that in tyme past ther was in the said p'ishe a chapele called cappell gwladis in w'ch was masse and such like service w'th dim. acre of land wherifi the chapele standethe, the chappell beinge nowe used as a house in occupac'on of Walter W'ms. and more he knoweth not.³⁸

Another description given by Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust in its Historic Landscape description of Gelligaer common describes the Capel Gwladys site as:

Occupation in the post-Roman period is attested by the Church of Capel Gwladys and its associated earthworks. The site, referred to in the 12th century Life of St Gwynllyw, in a context which implies that it was of some antiquity at that date, consists of the dry-stone foundations of the rectangular church, about 6m by 12m, comprising a western tower, nave and chancel, set within an enclosure. A rough

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p.204.

³⁸ John Hobson Matthews, ed., *Cardiff Records*, 6 vols (London: Corporation of Cardiff, 1898-1911), I, 398.

cross slab with an incised ring-cross was found at the site in 1906 and probably dates to the 8th or 9th centuries. It is preserved in the porch of the later parish church at Gelligaer. An outer enclosure may have been the settlement associated with Capel Gwladys.³⁹

It is perhaps the last part of this description that is of considerable value to this investigation of the site as a possible home for the abbey of Pendar. Further evidence of medieval activity associated with the site and enclosure can be found outside the north east corner of the enclosure where the archaeology of a medieval house and field system can be seen.⁴⁰ The following photographs give the remains of the stone foundations and enclosure boundaries associated with the chapel. (*Figures II.33-38*).

³⁹ Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust Ltd. [online] Available: http://www.ggat.org.uk/cadw/historic_landscape/Gelligaer/GGdescription-3.htm

⁴⁰ Archwilio The Glamorgan Gwent Archaeological Trust, [online] Available: <http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

Figure II.33: modern representation and cross on the site of St Gwladys chapel



Figure II.34: south west boundary of the enclosure of Capel Gwladys



Figure II.35: Enclosure boundary viewed from the east Capel Gwladys



Figure II.36: Further view of the eastern enclosure boundaries: Capel Gwladys



Figure II.37: Two boundary banks to the north west: Capel Gwladys



Figure II.38: Enclosure boundaries to the north Capel Gwladys



As can be seen on the map at *figure II.39*, there are many areas marked with ‘platform houses’. The most important are the ones in the area of Dinas Noddfa/Coly Uchaf, Coly Isaf, Coed-yr-Hendre and Gelligaer Common East house platforms. These have been excavated and largely dated, from pottery finds, by E. Fox as thirteenth- and fourteenth-century but she also notes that a start date of the sites cannot be easily identified and could well be earlier.⁴¹ This is valuable as Fox also notes that the sites are probably not of the ‘hafod’ type (summer occupation for farmers) but probably permanent residences.⁴² Fox also notes that these sites displayed few artefacts, and concluded the occupants would have lived an impoverished existence.⁴³ This of itself is not conclusive evidence of monastic presence but, linked with the possibilities of the area of Dinas Noddfa and its chapel remains, which have already been discussed, this area is worthy of continued consideration. Further with the spread of farms such in the area could suggest a continued occupation from perhaps the twelfth century or even earlier which may display a structure similar to that of granges or maybe individual cells as part of a collection of hermitages. The fact that the farms bordering the Common claim sole right to common usage further suggest a commonality between the properties which may again be linked to the subject charter for an abbey or hermitage. It must be noted that many of the modern farms do not appear structurally to have any great antiquity; documentary evidence does however substantiate a continuity of farm names dating back to the sixteenth century and probably earlier, and much work has been compiled by the Gelligaer History Society on this subject as can be seen in the case of Coly Isaf, Coly Uchaf, and Tylaglas Farm. Tylaglas has been confirmed as having a medieval longhouse adjoining the nineteenth-century structure and is described as follows by The Glamorgan-Gwent

⁴¹ Fox, ‘Early Welsh homesteads on Gelligaer Common’ p. 175.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 172.

⁴³ Lady Aileen Fox, ‘Dinas Noddfa, Gelligaer Common, Glamorgan, Excavations 1936’, *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, XCIII (1937), 247-268 (p. 262).

Archaeological Trust Historic Environment Record as being a medieval longhouse attached to a nineteenth-century farmhouse.⁴⁴ The Gelligaer History Society has researched the property Tylaglas identifying records of occupation as far back as 1519.⁴⁵ A similar story can be made for a number of farms in the area including Bedlinog Uchaf, at grid ref. SO09800185, which has records dating back to the 1540 ‘Senghennydd manor survey’ and is described by The Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust as post medieval.⁴⁶ Blaenllwynau (SO 1024102246) is not mentioned by The Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust, but Gelligaer History Society has traced documents to 1449.⁴⁷ Blaen Nant Wen (SO 1041801129) is described by The Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust as post medieval and Gelligaer History Society has traced its history back to the 1540 ‘Senghennydd manor survey’.⁴⁸ Records for Clwyd Trawscae can be associated with a property recorded in a 1449 ‘Senghennydd manor rental’ under the name of *Terre Malde Ferch Howell Gam* but The Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust can only date the existing buildings to post medieval.⁴⁹ Nant y ffin, Coly uchaf, Coly isaf, Garth-gynydd, Lan Isaf, Lan Uchaf, Nant

⁴⁴ Archwilio Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust Historic Environment Record, ‘Tylaglas’, [online]. Available <http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

⁴⁵ The Gelligaer History Society, [online]. Available <http://www.gelligaerhistoricalsociety.co.uk/index.php/garthgynydd-hamlet/tylaglas>

⁴⁶ The Gelligaer History Society, [online]. Available <http://www.gelligaerhistoricalsociety.co.uk/index.php/garthgynydd-hamlet/bedlinog-uchaf> Archwilio Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust Historic Environment Record, Bedlinog Uchaf, [online]. Available <http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

⁴⁷ The Gelligaer History Society, [online]. Available <http://www.gelligaerhistoricalsociety.co.uk/index.php/garthgynydd-hamlet/blaenllwynau>

⁴⁸ The Gelligaer History Society, [online]. Available <http://www.gelligaerhistoricalsociety.co.uk/index.php/garthgynydd-hamlet/blaen-nant-wen> Archwilio Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust ‘Historic Environment Record, Blaen Nant Wen, [online]. Available <http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

⁴⁹ The Gelligaer History Society, [online]. Available <http://www.gelligaerhistoricalsociety.co.uk/index.php/garthgynydd-hamlet/clwyd-trawscae>

Wen, and Twyn Giden Farms all appear to have similar pedigrees, and the land of the farms have be traced back at least to the 1540 ‘Senghennydd manor survey’.⁵⁰

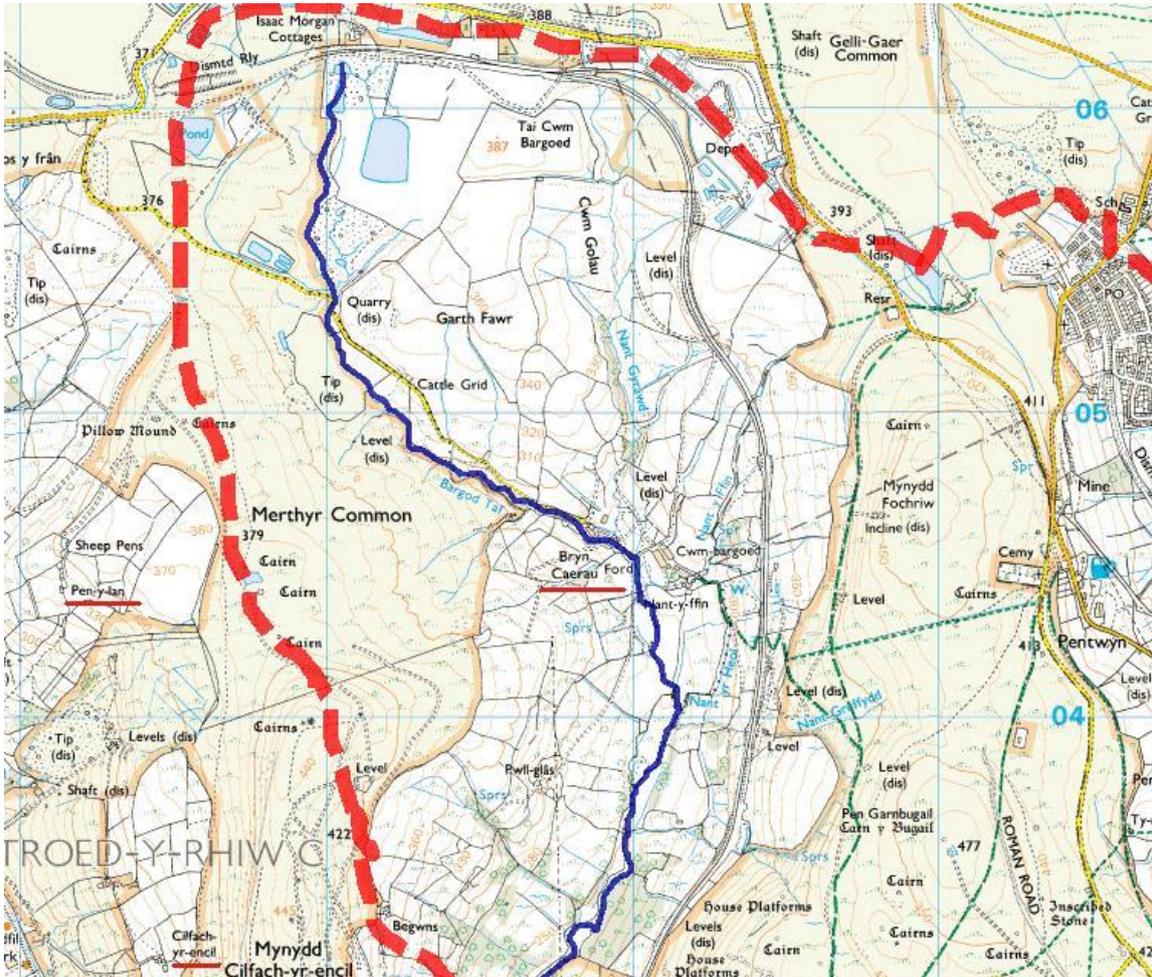
Unfortunately we do not have the same evidence to call upon for Cwrt y Bettws as this name offers very interesting possibilities but Cwrt y Bettws could be put back on the list of possibilities as having monastic origins if the site had the same antiquity as Tylaglas. As can be seen from the pedigree of many of the aforementioned farms, it may well be the case that a number of the farms in the area could have their ancestry traced back to the same origins, starting their life as medieval house platforms similar to many such platforms which scatter the area and in some cases may even be built upon such sites obscuring their underlying archaeology.

One area not yet looked at in any detail is in the north west corner of the charter area. The name evidence in this area is very compelling. On the following section of the 2014 ordnance survey map (*figure II.40*) the area of Bryn Caerau is underlined in red. It is not until we look again at older maps (*figure II.41*) that things become more interesting. Underlined in red can be seen the names of Pen-y-lan and Cilfach-yr-encil as well as Mynydd Cilfach-yr-encil.

Archwilio Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust ‘Historic Environment Record, Clawdddrawsgae, [online]. Available <http://www.cofiadurcahymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

⁵⁰ The Gelligaer History Society, [online]. Available <http://www.gelligaerhistoricalsociety.co.uk/index.php/ghs-farms>

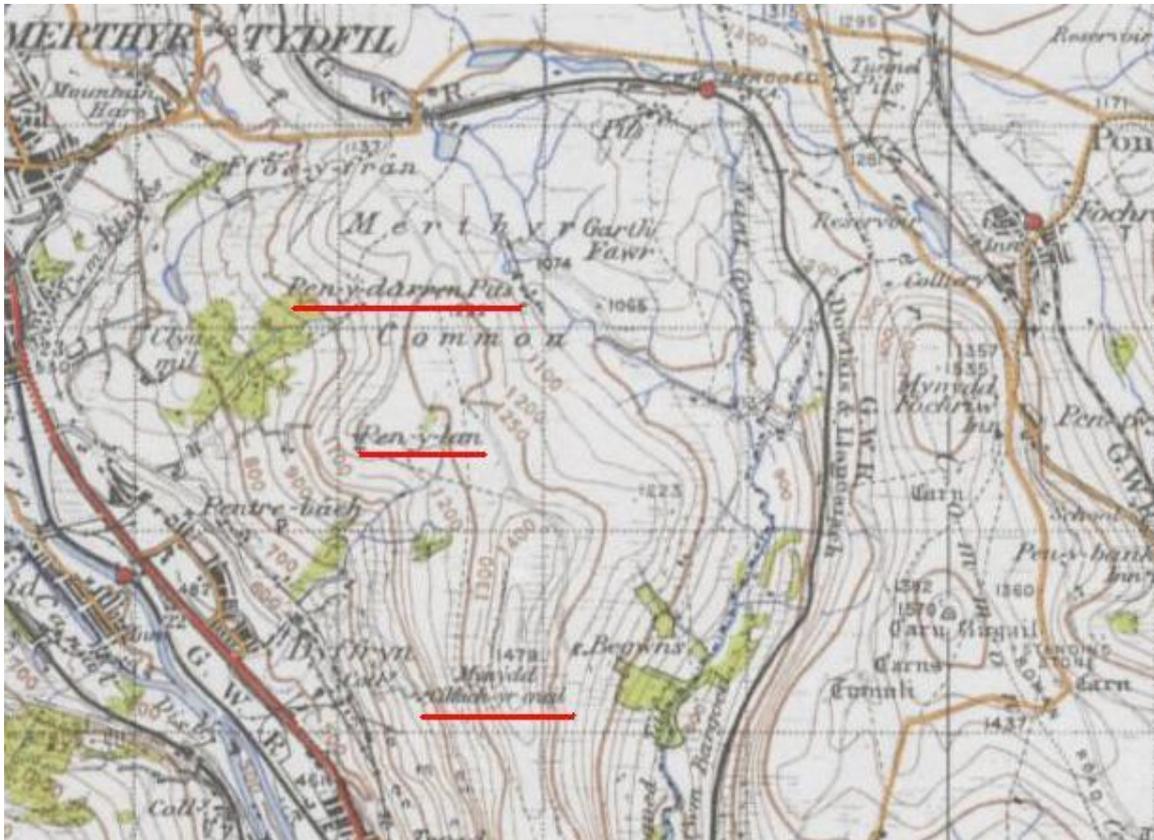
Figure II.40: Ordnance Survey map of Bryn Caerau, 2104
MEMORY-MAP ENGLAND & WALES



If we look at an earlier ordnance survey map things become even more revealing. Looking at the following ordnance survey maps of 1945 (*fig. II.41*) we again see both Pen-y-lan and Mynydd Cilfach-yr-encil shown on the map as constituent parts of the high ridge known as Cefn Merthyr but at the top of the Cum Bargoed Taff we also see Pen-y-darren pits. The name ‘Penydarren’ can be compared favourably with ‘Pendar’, Pen-y-lan could translate as ‘the top of church lands’ and Cilfach-yr-encil may be translated as a ‘cove or nook of retreat’. Given the fact that most of the archaeology in this area is destroyed by industrial development, it is impossible to give evidence of a potential abbey site. Nonetheless, it must be accepted as good name evidence for the presence of the brothers of Pendar and their

abbey, and may give extra argument for the site at Dinas Noddfa as being a possible abbey site.

Figure II.41 Ordnance Survey of Great Britain 154 - Cardiff 1:63360 New Popular Edition 1945. [online]. Available http://visionofbritain.org.uk/maps/sheet/new_pop/264_154



Conclusion

The search for a single abbey site may be a fruitless exercise, not just because such a monastery may have been destroyed by one means or another, but rather because it may never have existed as a single entity. One possibility may be given as a clue in the wording of Earl William's charter, which confirmed the grant of land for the foundation of an 'abbey or hermitage if that can be done': the grant could have resulted in a hermitage or collection of such sites. T. J. Prichard hints at this possibility when he notes that the Gelligaer and Uwch Caech areas display a very strong link with the Catwg cult and suggests that these churches

were at one time outposts of the central monastery of Llancarfan.⁵¹ He also draws attention to the charter of Nicholas, bishop of Llandaff, in which the bishop confirms to the church of St Mary, Tewkesbury, all the churches and all their benefits and appurtenances of the parish church of St. Mary's Cardiff along with a number of other churches.⁵² What is more important in this list for the purpose of this study is not the churches included in the list of appropriations but the churches which are not listed.⁵³ Eglwysilan, also called Merthyr Ilan, Llanfabon, Capel Gwladys, Gelligaer and Merthyr Tydfil were not appropriated. Prichard makes mention in another paper that it was not until the mid to late thirteenth century that Eglwysilan became a vicarage and makes the link with Gilbert de Clare's annexation of Senghenydd at the end of the thirteenth century. He further mentions that Llandaff had a strong enough claim over the church enabling them to keep it out of Gilbert de Clare's hands.⁵⁴ It is clear from the *Liber Landavensis* that Llandaff had an early claim dating back to 1129, at which time Honorius II gave a papal bull to Urban, bishop of Llandaff, in which Honorius II confirmed possession of many lands and churches to Llandaff and placed Llandaff under the protection of the apostolic see. Merthyr Ilan was included as one of these churches.⁵⁵ No mention is made of Gelligaer or Capel Gwladys, nor is any mention made of the unidentified church at the Coly Isaf site. The existence of Gelligaer and Capel Gwladys is not in question but the question has to be asked is why Llandaff made no claim over them.

⁵¹ Prichard, 'The Church in Medieval Senghenydd', pp 50-51.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ For appropriation of churches to monastic houses see below, Chapter V.

⁵⁴ T. J. Prichard. 'The Reformation in the Deanery of Llandaff', *Morgannwg*, 13 (1969), 5-46 (p. 7).

⁵⁵ John Gwenogryrn Evans and John Rhys, ed., *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv reproduced from the Gwysaney Manuscript* (Oxford: John Bellows, 1893).

Could this be simply that Llandaff recognised another claim, which was that of the brothers of Pendar or the Cistercian Order?

This abundance of possible embryonic abbey sites or possible sites for evidence for monastic activity leads to another interesting possibility.

Looking at the problem of no obvious archaeology for the classic Cistercian abbey structure that we may hope to find, and given Ifor Bach's evident resistance to Norman influence, most notably events of 1158, his kidnapping of William of Gloucester with his wife and son as well as his success against his eastern neighbour Morgan ab Owain, is it just possible that he had the dream of recreating a Celtic monasticism in Senghenydd? There is no documentary evidence to suggest that Ifor was the founder of Pendar, and indeed the confirmation charter of William of Gloucester suggests that Gruffudd, Ifor Bach's son, was responsible for a donation, not a confirmation, of land to the Cistercians. However, we may suggest that Gruffudd ap Ifor may have been realising his father's dreams. If this was the case then it may be possible that utilising the Cistercian ideals of poverty and strict discipline, or for that matter purely founding a collection of hermitages with no reference to the Cistercians, then the foundation could have manifested itself in the form of a collection of sites inhabited by hermit like individuals embodying the cult of Gwladys and Cattwg. This may have even extended to other local saints which are not recorded in church dedications such as the church at Coly Isaf and other sites such as Maesllan and Cwrt y Bettws, or for that matter any, as yet, unidentified sites. It is important we recognise that the only reason the brothers of Pendar are associated with the Cistercians is the fate of the charter documentation and subsequent affiliation of the lands with the Cistercian house of Caerleon (otherwise known as Llantarnam) and the reference given to Cistercians in William's confirmation charter discussed in chapter I (but this may be attributed to William's own motives in creating a confirmation in the first place. See Chapter IV for discussion.). Constance

Berman's book *The Cistercian Evolution*, has drawn attention to the wide variety of origins of houses which became Cistercian, including those with eremitical origins. Seen in this context it is compelling to see Pendar not as a 'failed' Cistercian house, but a groups of hermitages which were not Cistercian until their lands become incorporated into the Cistercian house of Caerleon (Llantarnam). Berman suggests that part of the reason for the speed of growth of the Cistercian Order lies in the absorption of other houses and orders in the twelfth century.⁵⁶ It must be noted that all the lands associated with Pendar, other than those of this charter, ended up in the possession of Llantarnam Abbey and not Margam Abbey. Is it therefore possible that the abbey of Pendar did not fail, as is so often assumed, but was absorbed into the new abbey at Llantarnam. In looking at the larger picture of Cistercian settlement in Wales, the lands of Senghenydd in south east Wales would have been an appropriate place for such a foundation as there appear to been a large area of inactivity of Cistercian monastic development. It may even be possible to speculate that it may have been a collective decision within the native Welsh Cistercian abbeys to consider Llantarnam as a site to fill this gap in Cistercian influence and to incorporate into it the house or hermitages of Pendar, thus consolidating and standardising practice in much the way Berman suggests in the development of what we now recognise as classic Cistercian practice. A major gap in the primary source material is the lost cartulary of Llantarnam. Equally we must remember the role of Meilyr, into whose hands this land was given. As already discussed in Chapter I; Meilyr's influence evidently extended across the whole of South Wales and most notably in those areas of South Wales which were under the control of native Welsh lordship. His influence can be seen in his dealings with Hywel ap Iorwerth in the east as well as the dynasties of Senghenydd and the 'sons of Iestyn'. One description of Meilyr is as Meilyr the

⁵⁶ Constance H. Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp.108, 213.

hermit. With the effective loss of the important native abbeys to perceived foreign control, it may have been that the area of this Senghenydd charter could have been seen as a last outpost of traditional Welsh ecclesiastical or monastic life. Could the intention of this charter have been to rekindle the Cadog cult in the saint's own childhood lands, reinforcing the link with his mother St Gwladys, in an attempt to regain some sort of religious authority and tradition? Glyndwr made a similar act when using the flag of Uther Pendragon and not Arthur as his rallying flag during the rebellion in the early fifteenth century.

Chapter III

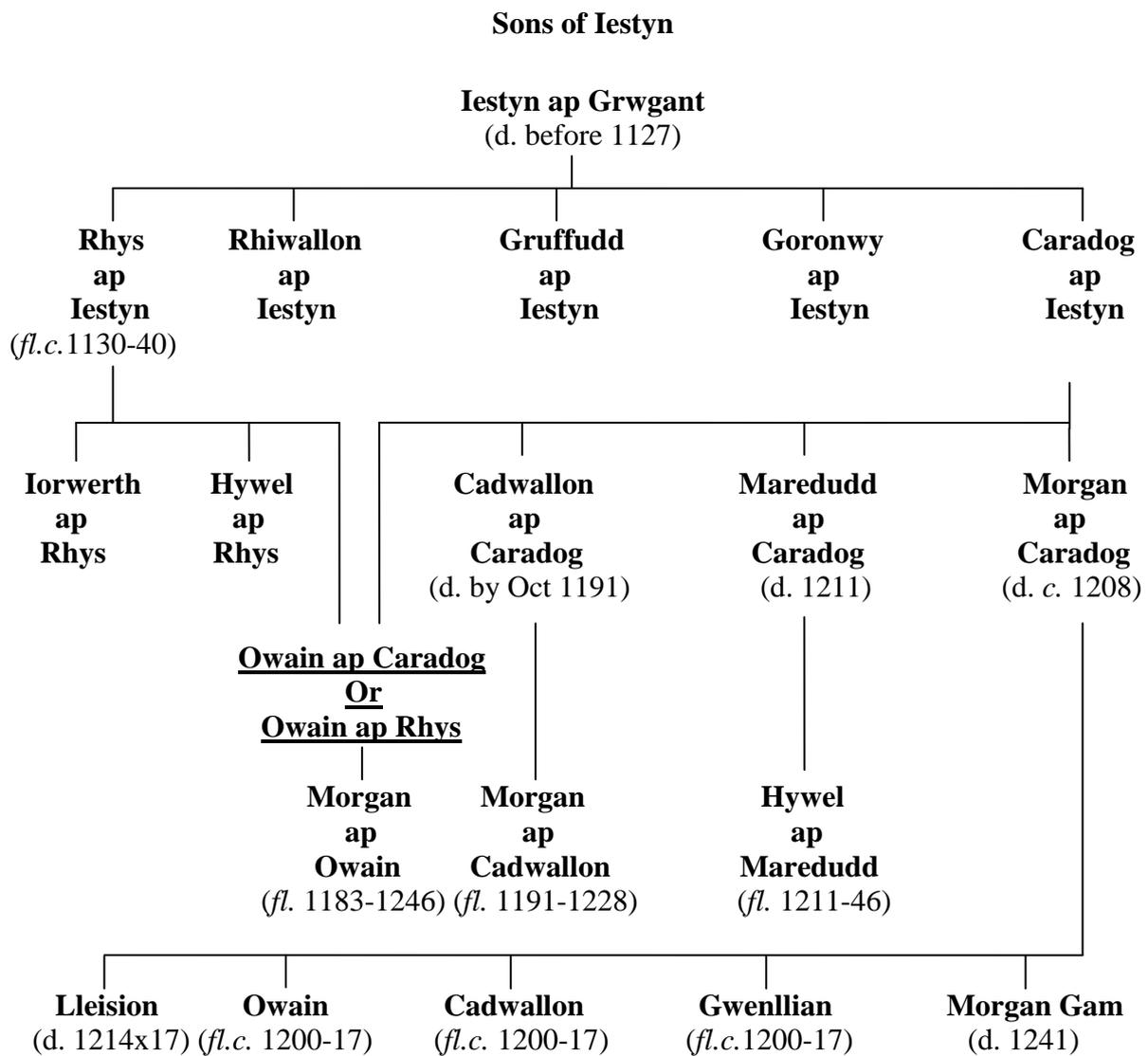
The Native Lords of Glamorgan, Senghenydd and Gwynllŵg

After the invasion of lowland Glamorgan by Robert fitz Hamo there emerged three main dynasties among the native Welsh which were largely confined to the upland areas of south east Wales. Working from west to east, these were Upland Glamorgan under the sons of Iestyn ap Gwrgant, Senghenydd under Ifor Bach, and Gwynllŵg under what remained of the territory of the kings of Gwynllŵg who also had earlier claims on Glamorgan and Deheubarth. From 1093 onward it is the members of these three dynasties that kept native lordship alive in south east Wales for over two hundred years after the supposed conquest of Glamorgan and Gwent.

This chapter gives the political history of the main native dynasties which were in some part involved in the foundation, endowments and fate of Pendar. It gives detail of the shifting political changes and affiliations which contributed to the history of Pendar and how Pendar itself became a tool of political alliance. The chapter also displays the marital links between dynasties which shed light on the changing political affiliations of the dynasties of upland Glamorgan, Senghenydd and Gwynllŵg showing their extended political ties with the Lord Rhys of Deheubarth and so some extent indicating his influence on the unification of native lordship in the South Wales March.

The native lords of Glamorgan

Figure III.1: Native Lords of Glamorgan¹

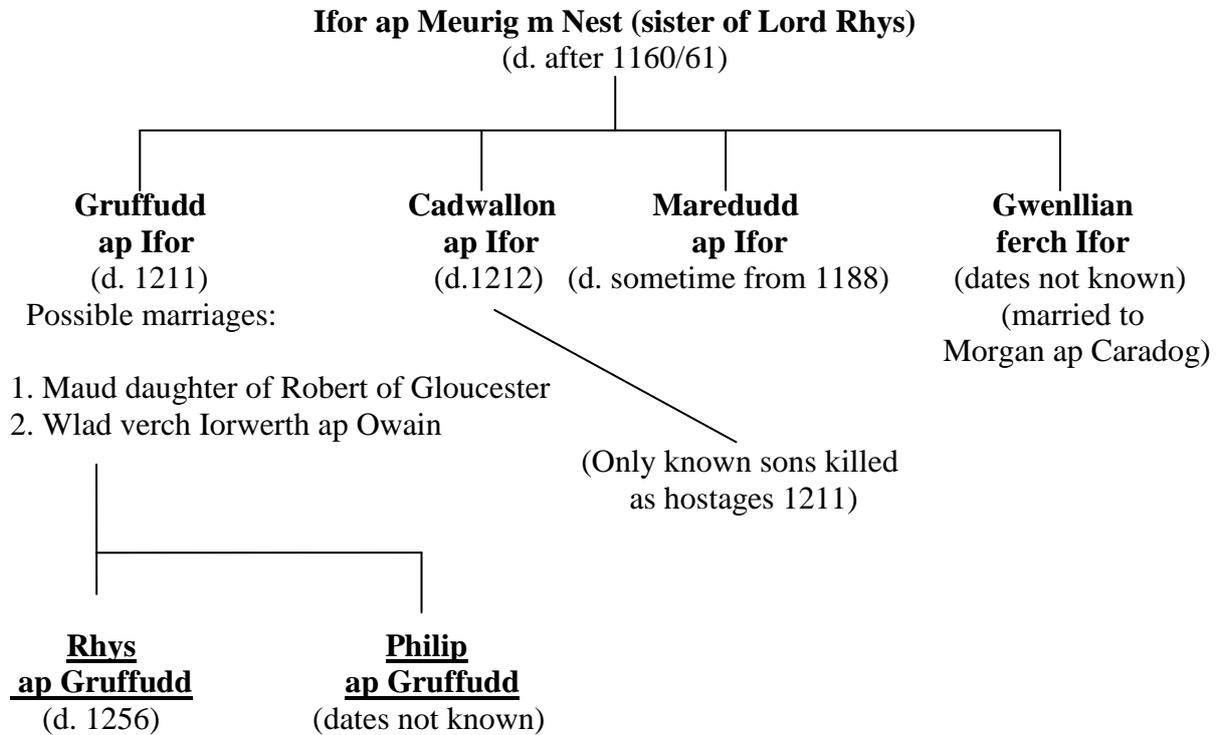


Much has already been written about the sons of Iestyn in Chapter I above. The most important feature to note regarding this dynasty is that it would appear from the records that the line of Caradog ap Iestyn was the dominant surviving lineage of those parts of Morgannwg which continued under the control of native lords until nearly the end of the thirteenth century.

¹ Pryce, ed., *Acts of Welsh Rulers, 1120-1283*, Table 5. Amended.

The Lords of Senghenydd

Figure III.2: Lords of Senghenydd²



Senghenydd is situated between the rivers Taff in the east and Rhymney in the west and in its earliest form would have stretched from the mountains of the Brecon Beacons in the north to the sea at what is now Cardiff. This said, David Crouch has some difficulties dating it as an established *cantref* and suggests it may have its earliest origins dateable to the 1120s or 1130s.³ The earliest documented evidence for the dynasty of Senghenydd names Ifor ap Meurig, also known as Ifor Bach, of whom little can be determined with any certainty regarding his ancestry or origins. J. Beverley Smith makes no reference to the ancestry of Ifor Bach in the Glamorgan County History.⁴ David Crouch in his entry for Ifor Bach in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* notes that even the unreliable royal genealogies

² Pryce, ed., *Acts of Welsh Rulers, 1120-1283*, Table 9. Amended.

³ Crouch, 'The slow death of kingship in Glamorgan, 1067- 1158', p. 31.

⁴ Smith, *The Kingdom of Morgannwg and the Norman Conquest of Glamorgan*, pp. 9-37.

offer no insight into the origins of Ifor or his father Meurig and suggests they were most likely to have been descended from a lesser noble family whereas the greater native dynasties had largely fallen victim to the turbulence of the period following Norman incursions as well as the native dynastic struggles subsequent to the death of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn in 1063.⁵ Walker identifies Gruffudd as an important individual who unified Wales under his sole rule but as a consequence of his death, and by the time the Normans arrived in England in 1066, the rule of Wales returned to its fragmentary kingships which continued its power struggles as had been the custom in earlier times.⁶

It is not until 1158 that Ifor Bach first appears as ruler of Senghenydd as far as we can deduce from the contemporary sources. His appearance is both heroic and yet in another sense limited. It is heroic in that he successfully defended his lands from an attack on his eastern borders by William of Gloucester's ally Morgan ap Owain of Gwynllŵg and in the same year undertook a daring and successful attack on William of Gloucester at Cardiff Castle. The second part of these events is recorded most eloquently by Gerald of Wales who weaves a wonderful tale of daring and perhaps audacity. Giraldus Cambrensis recounts the story as having taken place in his own lifetime:

An extraordinary circumstance occurred likewise at the castle of Caerdyf. William earl of Gloucester, son of earl Robert I, who, besides that castle, possessed by hereditary right all the province of Gwladmorgan, that is, the land of Morgan, had a dispute with one of his dependants, whose name was Ivor the Little being a man of short stature, but of great courage. This man was, after the manner of the

⁵ David Crouch, 'Ifor ap Meurig', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography [online]. Available <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/48549>

⁶ David Walker, 'Gruffudd ap Llywelyn', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography [online]. Available <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11695>

Welsh, owner of a tract of mountainous and woody country, of the whole, or a part of which, the earl endeavoured to deprive him. At that time the castle of Caerdyf was surrounded with high walls, guarded by one hundred and twenty men-at-arms, a numerous body of archers, and a strong watch. The city also contained many stipendiary soldiers; yet, in defiance of all these precautions of security, Ivor, in the dead of night, secretly scaled the walls, and, seizing the count and countess, with their only son, carried them off into the woods, and did not release them until he had recovered everything that had been unjustly taken from him, and received a compensation of additional property.⁷

It may be that Gerald presented the story in such form to make it exciting to his audience but none the less the story is recorded in *Annales Cambriae* and *Annales de Margam* but the latter does not name Ifor as the captor of Earl William of Gloucester and Hawise his countess and only son, by night, from Cardiff Castle in 1158.⁸ It is only the death of Morgan ap Owain and his poet Gwrgant ap Rhys which is recorded in *Brut y Tywysogion* (Red Book of Hergest version) and *Brut y Tywysogion* (Peniarth version),⁹ whereas we get the chronology of both events from *Annales Cambriae* in which we discover, first, Ifor's defence against the incursion of Morgan ap Owain (annal B, pro E.164/1) and, subsequently that year, his offensive act attacking Cardiff Castle and taking the earl and his family captive (annal E, pro E.164/1).¹⁰

⁷ *The Historical works of Giraldus Cambrensis*, trans. by R.C. Hoare (London: H.G. Bohn, 1863), pp. 379-380.

⁸ Remfry, ed., *Annales Cambriae*, p. 250; Luard, ed, *Annales de Margam*, I, 15.

⁹ Jones, ed., *Brut y Tywysogion, Peniarth*, p. 60; Jones, ed., *Brut y Tywysogion, Red Book of Hergest*, p. 137.

¹⁰ Remfry, ed., *Annales Cambriae*, p. 88.

It is evident from these events that Ifor had become a notable power in Senghenydd prior to 1158 even if it took the events of 1158 to bring his abilities to the notice of the chronicles and annals. It is evident that Ifor was considered a worthy ally to the Lord Rhys of Deheubarth as is suggested by his marriage to Nest, sister of Rhys ap Gruffudd of Deheubarth. The *Brut* records this union in 1175, naming Gruffudd ab Ifor ap Meurig of Senghenydd as nephew to the Lord Rhys by Rhys's sister Nest.¹¹ One further entry which is worthy of note and which may give us further indication of Ifor's activities and dates can be found in the Pipe Rolls in the seventh year of Henry II's reign (1160-61).¹² The entry shown below gives William de Beauchamp as sheriff of Worcester paying *Iuori paruo* or *Ivor Parvus* forty marks.

The same renders account of the sheriff twenty pounds. A census of the forest of:
Fecheham.

For disbursement to Hywel ap Owen 20 m.

And to Jonas de Powys 40 s

And Roderic and Caducan. 40 s gift.

And to small Ifor (Ifor Bach?) 4 m gift.

As Ifor ap Meurig was called Ifor Bach in his own lifetime, it is possible that this refers to Ifor Bach of Senghenydd as William de Beauchamp was at this time also sheriff of Worcester, Gloucester, and Hereford.¹³ It is possible that he was acting for William of Gloucester in making this payment or as a result of Ifor's military stand against William in 1158. William de Beauchamp was the probable elder brother of Stephen de Beauchamp

¹¹ The entry in Jones, ed., *Brut y Tywysogyon, Peniarth*, p. 71, gives evidence of the consanguinity through marriage to Nest sister of Rhys ap Gruffudd.

¹² *Pipe Roll 7 Henry II* (London: The Pipe Roll Society, 1885), p 55.

¹³ Emma Mason, 'Beauchamp, William (I) de (1100x10–1170)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004). [online] Available: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/47243>

(Bellocampo) a close friend of Earl Robert of Gloucester and a witness to the foundation charter for Margam Abbey in 1147.¹⁴ This is an interesting entry and if linked with Ifor Bach of Senghenydd, must in some way relate to the unrest in south east Wales around the year 1158, and to William's kidnap.

Lloyd notes that Ifor acted from a power base supposedly subject to Norman baronial power.¹⁵ Crouch understandably questions this relationship and argues for Senghenydd's closer relationship with Rhys ap Gruffudd of Deheubarth.¹⁶ There are two indications here that Ifor was not dependent on the earldom of Gloucester. The first is his marriage to Nest; the second is the very fact that Ifor was engaged in conflict on two of his borders with forces vastly superior to his own, namely Gwynllŵg and William, earl of Gloucester. Crouch is convincing in his description of Senghenydd as a 'Parvenu House' which probably dates no earlier than the late eleventh century.¹⁷ All this points to the dynasty starting with a lesser member of a noble family overlooked in the warring depredations of the latter part of the previous century. This, linked with the preoccupations of Norman royal power during the reign of Stephen, sets the scene to allow Ifor Bach to catapult himself and Senghenydd into a position of importance. Crouch suggests that in 1137 Earl Robert of Gloucester negotiated a similar settlement with Ifor Bach as he did with King Morgan ab Owain of Gwent, thus enabling himself to turn his back on Welsh affairs in order to undertake the visit to Normandy

¹⁴ Emma Mason, 'Beauchamp, Walter (I) de (c.1065–1130/31)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004). [online] Available <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/47246>

¹⁵ J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales* (London: Longmans, Green and co., 1911, new impression 1948), p. 507.

¹⁶ Crouch, 'The slow death of kingship in Glamorgan, 1067-1158', pp. 20-41.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p.31.

where he formally shifted his alliance from King Stephen to his half sister the Empress Matilda in 1138.¹⁸

It is evident that any former relationship or treaties between Ifor and the earldom of Gloucester had died most probably with Robert at his death in 1147.¹⁹ Henry II confirmed William in all Robert's possessions held at the time of Henry I,²⁰ but William evidently did not have his father's skills in dealing with his Welsh neighbours. It may be that with the cessation of civil war in England and stable government under Henry II, William looked to recover his father's concessions to the Welsh without considering the political prudence shown by Robert and attacked his father's former Welsh allies in Glamorgan. This action was possibly encouraged by the return of Henry II from his French territories in 1157 to subdue the Welsh and bring them back in to line.²¹ Equally, Ifor may have learned from Rhys ap Gruffudd's dealings with Henry II and subsequent losses as a result of Rhys's dispossession after safe passage to meet Henry at his court in April 1158.²² Ifor's actions certainly appear to be in tune with a greater dissatisfaction of the native lordships, many having regained territory at the expense of Norman supporters of Stephen. What is interesting is the probable use by William of his ally King Morgan ap Owain, who may well have seen this as an opportunity to further his own dynastic ambitions in the direction of Morgannwg which his grandfather Caradog ap Gruffudd had held before his death at Mynydd Carn in 1081.²³ It

¹⁸ David Crouch, 'The Transformation of Medieval Gwent', in Ralph A. Griffiths *et alia*, ed., *The Gwent County History Vol. 2 : The Age of the Marcher Lords, c.1070-1536* (University of Wales Press: Cardiff, 2008), p. 29, and Crouch, 'The slow death of kingship in Glamorgan, 1067- 1158', 34.

¹⁹ Remfry, ed., *Annales Cambriae*, p. 250.

²⁰ Patternson, ed., *Earldom of Gloucester Charters*, p. 4.

²¹ Roger Turvey, *The Lord Rhys, Prince of Deheubarth* (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1997), p. 40.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ David Walker, *Medieval Wales*, Cambridge Medieval Textbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 27, 30.

was in 1070 that Caradog ap Gruffudd ap Rhydderch had seized the kingdom of Morganwg, with the aid of Norman allies, from Maredudd ap Owain.²⁴ There would appear to have been no territorial advantage to Ifor in initiating the actions against King Morgan ap Owain in 1158, and it would according seem probable that King Morgan precipitated the action either by the suggestion or encouragement of his Norman allies. The latter is not unlikely and most probably the conclusion that Ifor Bach reached, considering his resultant raid on Cardiff as eloquently recounted by Gerald of Wales.

We cannot be sure of the chronology of Ifor Bach's marriage to the sister of Lord Rhys, but given the events of 1158 in Senghenydd little doubt can remain that Ifor was a leader to be reckoned with and a valuable asset as ally to Lord Rhys. Ifor ap Meurig's marriage to the daughter and sister of a dynasty of kings²⁵ must have placed Ifor in a social elite within native Welsh society. Ifor Bach certainly had three sons: Gruffudd, Cadwallon, and Maredudd, and according to Professor Thomas Jones Pierce Ifor Bach had a daughter Gwenllian who was married to Morgan ap Caradog ap Iestyn.²⁶ The evidence for Gwenllian is as yet elusive.

It would appear that by 1175 Ifor had died. It is clear that by then responsibility for rule had passed to his son Gruffudd, as it was in 1175 that Gruffudd accompanied Lord Rhys to Gloucester, along with a large number of princes of Wales said to have incurred Henry's displeasure. Amongst these princes were Gruffudd's western neighbour Morgan ap Caradog ap Iestyn of Glamorgan and his eastern neighbour Iorwerth ab Owain of Caerleon. Including Gruffudd, Two out of the three of these men were related to Rhys as nephews and it was only

²⁴ Jones, ed., *Brut y Tywysogyon, Peniarth*, p. 16.

²⁵ K. Maund, *The Welsh Kings* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd, 2000), p 97.

²⁶ Thomas Jones Pierce, 'Morgan ap Caradog ap Iestyn', *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* (Aberystwyth, The National Library of Wales, 2007). [online] Available: <http://wbo.llgc.org.uk/en/s-MORG-APC-1208.html>

Iorwerth who was not bound by such ties to Rhys.²⁷ This said, Paul Remfry claims a marriage between Gruffudd ap Ifor and Wlad (Gwladus), daughter of Iorwerth ab Owain, making Gruffudd and Hywel ab Iorwerth brothers-in-law.²⁸ Clark notes that Gruffudd was married to Mabel, who was most probably an illegitimate daughter of Earl Robert of Gloucester, but this would appear to be dependent upon a much later genealogical tract of doubtful reliability.²⁹ If Clark is correct it would indicate that Gruffudd was related by marriage to the English crown, as his wife would have been cousin to Henry II. It is not out of the question that both sources could be right and Gruffudd married Wlad (Gwladus) after the death of Mabel his first wife. If Gruffudd had been married to Mabel, it was most certainly a consequence of either his father's agreement with Earl Robert in 1137 or linked to the settlement of the events in 1158. Equally, if Remfry is correct, and it appears he is from the following entry in the Calendar of Inquisitions in the thirty third year of Henry III, the newfound alliance with Hywel ap Iorwerth may have initiated this marriage agreement with Hywel's sister.

150. Morgan de Karleun alias de Karlyon.

Commission to Robert Walerand and others, 11 Jan. Inq. Sunday after St.

Matthias, 33 Hen. III. Mereduht ap Grifin, aged 14, is his heir, if he can prove that he is legitimate, but the jury understand that he is not : if not, the four daughters of Jorvard ap Oweyn are the heirs, of whom Nesta and Mabel are living and Wlad' and Angared are dead: Rees, son of Grifin, is son and heir of Wlad', and Grifin,

²⁷ Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, p. 545.

²⁸ Remfry, ed. and trans., *Annales Cambriae*, p. 269.

²⁹ Clark, ed., *Cartae*, vol. 1, p. 149.

son of Donewal, son and heir of Angared : these women were sisters of Owel ap Jorvard father of the said Morgan.³⁰

This entry suggests Rhys ap Gruffudd's father, Gruffudd, had married Wlad (Gwladus) sister of Hywel ap Iorwarth and as he inherited Senghenydd, it would suggest that the issue regarding legitimacy was proven positive.

An intriguing charter, issued by Gruffudd ap Ifor to Margam, raises many questions about the extent of lands under the control or claim of Senghenydd.³¹

Omnibus sancte ecclesie filiis presentibus et futuris Griffinus filius Ivor salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et dedisse et hac carta [confirmasse] Deo et ecclesie Sancte Marie de margan et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus in puram et perpetuam elemosinam centum acras terre arabilis terre mee de Lecwithe cum aisiamentis et pertinenciis suis ad electionem suam et duodecim acras prati ad electionem suam et communem pasturam terre mee de Lecwithe et piscaturas de Helei que ad ipsam terram pertinent et commune pasturam de Seinhei de subtus boscum quantum terra mea durat in longum et in latum. Et si contigerit quod ego vel heredes mei eis predictam terram de Lecwithe warrantizare non possimus, tunc de eis in excambiam terre illius in terra mea de Seihenit centum acras terre arabilis et XII acras prati ubi sibi viderint expedire et piscationes de Taf. Hec omni eis dedi in perpetuam elemosinam pro salute anime mee et patris mei at matris mee et fratrum meorum et antecessorum et successorum meorum ut habeant et teneant ea libere et quiete absque omni seculari servicio . consuetudine et exactione . sicut

³⁰ *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Henry III.* Volume I. Ed. & Translated by J. E. E. S. Sharp (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1904), p. 37, Item 150. (I am grateful to Paul Remfry for supplying this reference to his claim.)

³¹ Pryce, ed., *Acts of Welsh Rulers*, pp. 814-5.

ulla elemosina liberius teneri potest et hoc sciendum quod quando ego Griffinus dedi eis hanc donacionem tunc simul eum donacione mea delegavi corpus meum Deo et ecclesiae Sancte Marie de Margan . et mater mea Nesta corpus suum . ubicunque moriamur sive in Anglia sive in Wallia. Testibus Henrico episcopo . Landavensi Capitulo . Ivor sacerdote filio Wrgani . Willemo de Lechefeld et Thoma de Bristollia monachis de Margan . Jordano et Justino conuersis . Gnaithuro Canterel . Ivor Peredeu nepote meo. Brugeir Seis.

To all the sons of Holy Church, present and to come, Griffin, son of Ivor greetings. Know that I have given and granted, and by this our charter [confirmed] to God and the church of St Mary of Margam and the monks there serving God, in pure and perpetual alms a hundred acres of arable land in Lecwithe of their choice, with easements, and with appurtenances, and twelve acres of meadow of their choice, and common pasture in my land of Leckwith and the fisheries of Ely which pertain to that land, and common pasture in Senghenydd from below the woodland for as long as my land stretches, in length and in width. And if so be that I or my heirs are not able to warrant the aforesaid land of Lecwithe to them, then I will give them in exchange for that land, a hundred acres of arable land and twelve acres of meadow in Senghenydd, wherever it may seem expedient to them, and fisheries on the Taff. I have given all these things unto them in perpetual alms for the salvation of my soul and those of my father and of my mother, and those of my brothers, and of my ancestors and successors, to have and hold these things freely and peacefully, without any secular service custom and exaction, as freely as any alms can be held. Know that when I, Griffin, made this grant to them, at the same time and with this donation, I gave my body to God and to the church of St

Mary of Margam, and my mother, Nesta, also gave her body, wherever we may die, whether in England or in Wales. With these witnesses: Bishop Henry, the chapter of Llandaff, Ivor the priest, son of Wrgani, William of Lechfield, Thomas of Bristol, the monks of Margam, Jordan and Justin *conversis* (lay brothers), Gnaithuro Canterel, Ivor Peredeo my nephew, Brugeir seis.

This document is dated by Clark to the year 1179.³² Pryce, on the other hand, assigns it to the period between 12 December 1193 and 1211, based on the fact that Bishop Henry was not consecrated to the see of Llandaff until 12 December 1193.³³ Gruffudd, within this charter, offers alternative lands if he and his heirs are unable to secure, or guarantee, the lands at Leckweth, which lies on the western side of the Ely from Cardiff.

Beverley Smith rather glosses over the possibility of Gruffudd's actual possession of the lands in lowland Glamorgan and describes it rather as 'a valuable memory of the former glories of Senghenydd', and attributing any claim over the land as resulting from Ifor's attack on Cardiff Castle in 1158 and the possible receipt of said lands in settlement of Ifor's grievances in 1158.³⁴ David Crouch attributes Gruffudd's ownership of these lands to Earl Robert's need to put his house in order with the native Welsh before leaving for Normandy in 1137 and suggests it may have been part of an agreement with Ifor Bach, mentioned earlier in this chapter.

³² Clark, ed., *Cartae*, vol. 1, p 159.

³³ *Episcopal Acts Relating to Welsh Dioceses 1066-1272*, 2 vols, ed. James Conway Davies (Cardiff: Historical Society of the Church in Wales, 1948), p. 679, L.235.

Pryce, ed., *Acts of Welsh Rulers*. p. 815.

³⁴ Beverley Smith, 'The kingdom of Morgannwg and the Norman conquest of Glamorgan', p. 35.

It is significant that Gruffudd made this grant of land to Margam after the death of Earl William. It may be linked to the fact that Prince John was by then in control of Glamorgan and that both Gruffudd's brothers had been or were in the service of John. This may indicate that Gruffudd's grant was intended to remind the king of his family's claim to Leckweth. In his work on the Cistercians in Wales David H. Williams includes the lands of Leckwith as Cistercian lands of Margam but did not include any other part of Senghenydd in the holdings.³⁵ Consequently it must be assumed that Gruffudd's claim to these lands must have been recognised by Prince John.

What is evident from this charter is Gruffudd was acting in sole name and not including his brothers in any way; similarly, when Rhys ap Gruffudd took Gruffudd to Gloucester in 1175, no mention is made of Gruffudd's brothers Cadwallon and Maredudd: it was Gruffudd who was evidently in the seat of power for Senghenydd until his death. This is an interesting development given the existence of the brothers (see figure 3.1). It would appear that Ifor Bach may have moved away from the Welsh tradition of inheritance and favoured the Anglo-Norman principle of inheritance by an eldest son, recognising that a split of lands among all three brothers would have considerably weakened Senghenydd. Here we may be seeing an attempt to keep the lordship of Senghenydd intact as a territory. It is unlikely that the conditions of inheritance were imposed by Norman lordship as Ifor has consistently displayed allegiance with Deheubarth and not Gloucester.

1183 was to prove an interesting turning point for the Welsh with the death of Earl William of Gloucester, as there were major incursions into his lands by native lordship. Beverley Smith gives an account of this rising and what is most striking is the lack of activity apparent by the lord of Senghenydd on this occasion. Hywel ap Iorwerth of Caerleon and

³⁵ D. H. Williams, *Atlas of Cistercian Lands in Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1990), p. 101.

Gwynllwg came out on the side of the Anglo-Normans, and Morgan ap Caradog of Neath and Afan to the west joined with Rhys ap Gruffudd in attacks on the west of Glamorgan.³⁶

Chronicle details of these events are not present in the *Brut* but the *Annales de Margan* give details which date them to 1185 and confirm the areas of aggression as Kenfig, Neath and Cardiff.³⁷ Beverley Smith suggests that the intention of this action was to reverse Norman advances in the area on the part of Morgan, and that Hywel took his stance to help secure his hold on Caerleon by gaining royal favour. This left Senghenydd as a neutral buffer zone between the native lords and one may speculate that this was not by accident but part of a larger approach or plan emanating from Deheubarth to limit the political damage caused by military action. Beverley Smith believes there appears no evidence that any native lords of south east Wales were required to attend the king at Worcester 1184 or later at Gloucester.³⁸ If this was a calculated response on the part of the collective native lordship, then it offers further evidence of lordship independent of Norman control.

On the death of William the earldom lacked a male heir, as his only son had died in 1166. According to custom his land should have been divided up among his three daughters as dowry but Prince John, son of Henry II was betrothed to William's youngest daughter, Isabel, as sole heiress to the exclusion of her sisters. This resulted in John having control of Glamorgan from 1189 to 1216.³⁹ For Senghenydd, this marked an important new period. Linked with the death of Rhys ap Gruffudd 1197,⁴⁰ the region saw a complete change of lordship and for the native lords a partial power vacuum. As has been seen, the dynasty of

³⁶ Beverley Smith, 'The kingdom of Morgannwg and the Norman conquest of Glamorgan', p. 38.

³⁷ Luard, ed., *Annales De Margan*, pp. 17-18.

³⁸ Beverley Smith, 'The kingdom of Morgannwg and the Norman conquest of Glamorgan', p. 38.

³⁹ Beverley Smith, 'The kingdom of Morgannwg and the Norman conquest of Glamorgan', pp. 39-40.

⁴⁰ Jones, ed., *Brut Y Tywysogyon, Peniarth*, pp. 76-8.

Senghenydd had been no stranger to the English crown. It was in this period the three sons of Ifor, as well as other princes of south east Wales, took an important role in English royal affairs both home and in wider Europe. Gruffudd ap Ifor and Lleision ap Morgan can be found leading large forces in Normandy for Henry II, with records of payments made in the Pipe Roll of 1187-8.⁴¹ Gruffudd is recorded by the *Brut* as having died along with his neighbour Maredudd ap Caradog of Meisgyn in 1211.⁴² Maredudd most probably fought alongside Gruffudd in the service of Henry II 1188.⁴³ The *Annales Cambriae* also record his death and place it at Caerleon Abbey (the Cistercian house of Llantarnam),⁴⁴ but there is no reference to suggest that his wish to be buried at Margam was honoured. It is interesting that after Gruffudd's death in 1211, Cadwallon appears to have taken some element of power, for he can be seen in that same year waging war, apparently coinciding with the military activity of Maelgwn (son of Lord Rhys of Deheubarth) in south Wales: Cadwallon attacked Glamorgan and took booty but not without losing men.⁴⁵ The record of this is given in the *Annals Cambriae* but it is the *Annales de Margan* that gives more interesting details:

Quo statim post discessum exercitus anglorum ab eisdem principibus capto et combusto, eorum obsides duo, scilicet filii Mailgum, diffaciuntur, et prae dolore moriuntur; duo etiam filii Cadwallan ab Yvor diffaciuntur: Hinc caedes et incendia, multaque mala a Walensibus exercentur.⁴⁶

⁴¹ *Pipe Roll 34 Henry II*, ed. D.M. Stenton (London: The Pipe Roll Society, 1925), pp. 8, 106.

⁴² Jones, ed., *Brut y Tywysogyon, Peniarth*, p. 86.

⁴³ *Pipe Roll 34 Henry II*, ed. D.M. Stenton (London: The Pipe Roll Society, 1925), p. 106.

⁴⁴ Remfry, ed., *Annales Cambriae*, p. 237.

⁴⁵ Remfry, ed., *Annales Cambriae B*, p. 188.

⁴⁶ Luard, ed., *Annales de Margan*, p. 31.

Immediately after the departure of the army of the English this [Aberystwyth castle] was taken and burnt by the same leaders. Two of their hostages, that is, the sons of Maelgwm, were mutilated and they died of the trauma. Two of the sons of Cadwallon ap Ifor were also mutilated. As a result slaughter and burning and many evil deeds were carried out by the Welsh.

Further evidence of Cadwallon's losses is recorded in the *Rotulus Mise*, which is a record payments made from the Exchequer to various departments of the royal household. From this record we are told that:

Ibidem Willelmo homini Ade Crok qui tulit VI capita Wallensium servientum
Cadewallan amputata ad dominus Regem apud Roffam .VI s. pro Rex.

A payment to William, the man of Adam Crok, for bringing six heads of Welsh men, sergeants of Cadwallon, to the king at Rochester, six shillings on behalf of the king.⁴⁷

This evidence might explain why Gruffudd's son Rhys did not contest his inheritance to the lordship of Senghenydd, even if Cadwallon had taken the reins of power after Gruffudd's death in 1211, as it would appear Cadwallon's sons were now dead.

Cadwallon is no stranger to the historic record. He appears in a number of entries in the exchequer records as serving Henry II and his sons Richard and John. Cadwallon is well

⁴⁷ *Rotulus Mise* in *Documents Illustrative of English History in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: Selected from the Records of the Department of the Queen's Remembrances of the Exchequer*, ed. Henry Cole (London: George E. Eyre & Andrew Spottiswoode, 1844), p. 231.

represented in the records of this time. He is recorded in 1197 as holding a castle in *Hartford in Wallia* (Herefordshire) fortified by *Hoeli de Carliun* (Hywel ap Iorwerth of Caerleon) as *castrum de Cadwalan* by Richard I.⁴⁸ This is most probably the same castle referred to in a story given by Walter Map which places Cadwallon in a castle in Gelligaer.⁴⁹

Cheueslin (Genillyn?) of North Wales, wearing a bridle on his neck and spurs at his belt, asked shelter in South Wales at the house of Traer; and when after a sober and frugal supper they had sat long silent, he said to Traer: ‘You are all wondering, yet out of respect for our customs no one asks who or whence I am. But as you are all eager to know it, I am from the north part of Wales and have been attracted to the southern parts by the renown of a noble mare which a man who lives on our and your marches keeps with such care that for a whole month past all my ambushes have been frustrated, all my attempts defeated, though, as was proper and as you know to be the rule, I have always kept these tokens of bridle and spurs hid.’ Traer laughed and replied: ‘It is certainly with right and reason that your people are called cowardly and slow by ours. Any one of us would sooner for honour’s sake have been caught in a valiant, though foolhardy, attempt at theft, and have died a hard death, than have dawdled a whole month in slack laziness about a valuable prize; see how abject and dull you are not to blush at confessing such a reproach. Expound to us who has this mare, and where and how it is kept, and wait here with my wife and children till the third day from my reaching the place, that you may hear that I have either fallen gloriously or

⁴⁸ *Pipe Roll 9 Richard I*, ed. D.M. Stenton (London: The Pipe Roll Society, 1931), p. 194.

⁴⁹ Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium Courtiers’ Trifles*, ed. and trans. M.R. James, Oxford Medieval Texts, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 198-201.

returned to your surprise with the spoil.’ Said the other: ‘We have heard of many of the loud boasts of your people, that they end like the tamarisk plant which is made into besom. Cadolan who you know, the son of Uther, has her, at Gelligaer. By day she feeds in the midst of his troop; at night she stands in the farther corner of his house, with the whole household sleeping between her and the only door, and four of his best men to guard her closely, between her and the fire, on a brachan (that is to say, a fire carpet) if you bring that back with you on the mare, ten kine shall be the price of the mare and five of the carpet.’ Traer snatched the bridle and spurs; and though in Wales no thief caught in the act is arrested or redeemed, but killed on the spot, he unconcernedly approached near and laid his plans, and discovered that the case stood as had been reported. On the first night he watched close to the house with ears attent and sleepless eyes, and the night was one suited to his exploit, very dark and starless: so watching his time he made as noiselessly as he could with his knife a hole beside the door, by which he put in his hand and opened it to himself. Having got the door wide open, he stole to the mare and loosed her. Then noticing the four men who slept on the carpet, in his excitement of spirits he was emboldened to tie tightly to the tail of the mare the fringes of the carpet, which were long and very strong, and dragged the four bodily right through a huge fire which lay covered with its ashes, outside the door, and left them gaping. A hue and cry was raised, and the whole band set out after him, guided only by the sparks which he bore ahead of them in the rug. There he quenched and got back home safe, handed over the mare and rug, received the cows, and gained for himself and his people, so far as in him lay, a renown for daring against the men of the North.

Cadwallon also appears as an important leader in Normandy under John as well as Henry. It is in this period we get a wider insight into the activities of Cadwallon ap Ifor, and Maredudd ap Ifor, Gruffudd's brothers, as they are also mentioned leading forces in Normandy in the 1187-8 Pipe Roll.⁵⁰ Cadwallon further appears in the roll in the fourth year of John's reign when the clerk was ordered to pay Cadwallon £74 for going overseas in the service of the king with 200 foot soldiers (*serjeants*)⁵¹ and again the following year.⁵² Further evidence of Cadwallon's activities in Normandy are given by Gerald of Wales, who records that when, in 1203, Cadwallon was serving with the king, he helped Gerald with money difficulties.⁵³

It is also clear that Cadwallon was also a landholder in Cornwall.⁵⁴ Lands there were restored to him in 1212 by King John. Further evidence is available from the Pipe Rolls of the fourteenth and seventeenth year of John's reign where debts are recorded associated with land held by *Cadewadlan* as a tenant in *Winieton*;⁵⁵ this demonstrates that the debt continued to be recorded after Cadwallon's death in 1212.⁵⁶ The amount of detail available regarding Cadwallon can leave us in no doubt that he was a major player in the political world both in Wales and in Angevin Europe. Little is known about the third brother Maredudd, for whose life we have little known evidence; he may even have not returned from Normandy. Nothing

⁵⁰ *Pipe Roll 34 Henry II*, ed. D.M. Stenton (London: The Pipe Roll Society, 1925), pp. 8, 106.

⁵¹ *Pipe Roll 4 John*, ed. D.M. Stenton (London: The Pipe Roll Society, 1937), p. 129.

⁵² *Pipe Roll 5 John*, ed. D.M. Stenton (London: The Pipe Roll Society, 1938), p. 80.

⁵³ Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, III, 303.

⁵⁴ *Rotuli Litteratum Clauarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati A.D. 1204 – A.D. 1227* Vol. I, ed. T.D. Hardy (London: Record Commission, 1832-44), p. 123b.

⁵⁵ *Pipe Roll 14 John*, ed. P. M. Barnes (London: The Pipe Roll Society, 1955), pp. 68-9, and *Pipe Roll 17 John*, ed. D.M. Stenton (London: The Pipe Roll Society, 1964), p. 18.

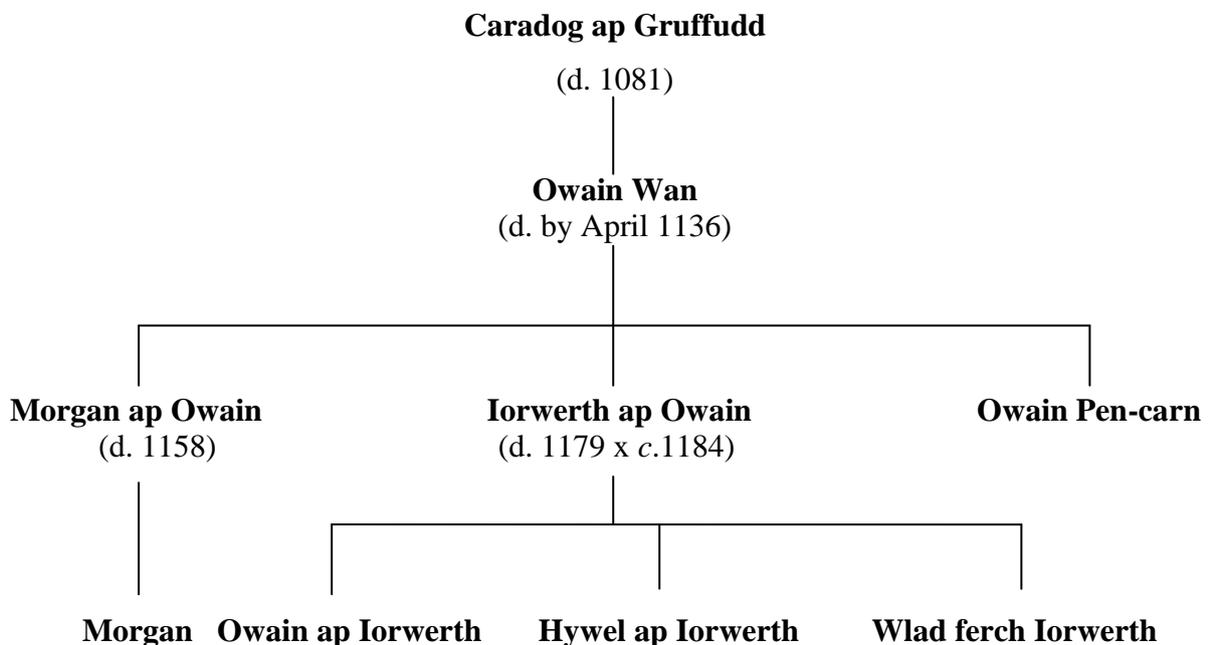
⁵⁶ See Figure 3.2.

of significance is to be found to offer any suggestion as to his activities other than that of Normandy 1188.

Gruffudd may have had a son other than Rhys who inherited Senghenydd. The charter of Phillip ap Gruffudd has been taken by Birch to suggest a – questionable – link with Gruffudd ap Ifor.⁵⁷ If this were to be correct, it is not too surprising to find Maredudd ap Caradog witnessing the charter not just as lord as the lands lying within Miskin, but also having given lands to Phillip as a result of marriage into Maredudd’s family. This is speculative but not inconceivable given Gruffudd ap Ifor’s military and cultural links, mentioned above, and for that matter distant family links through the sisters of Rhys ap Gruffudd.

The kingdoms of Deheubarth, Caerleon and Gwynllŵg

*Figure. III.3: Kings of Deheubarth, Caerleon and Gwynllŵg.*⁵⁸



⁵⁷ Walter de Gray Birch, *A History of Margam Abbey: with a New Introduction by Susan Beckley, David Walker, and John Vivian Hughes* (West Glamorgan County Archives: Swansea, 1997), p. 12.

⁵⁸ Remfry, ed., *Annales Cambriae*, p. 269; Pryce, ed., *Acts of Welsh Rulers, 1120-1283*, Table 7.

(d. c.1186) (d. 1186) d. 1215 x Oct 1217; (married Gruffudd ap Ifor?)

Caradog ap Gruffudd is recorded as the king of Gwent who in 1065 destroyed Earl Harold's attempts to annex Portskewett. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles tell us that Earl Harold ordered the construction of a hunting lodge at Portskewett in Wales but just as it was about to be completed Caradog ap Gruffudd attacked on St Bartholomew's Day 1065 and killed most of the people at the hunting lodge.⁵⁹ Crouch suggests that the hunting lodge at Portskewett may well have been intended for far greater purposes than just hunting but as a foothold in Gwent to consolidate his perceived earlier gains in lowland Gwent in 1063/4 when he led a two pronged attack against Gruffudd ap Llywelyn.⁶⁰ Harold used his fleet from Bristol to sail around the Welsh coast to meet up with Earl Tostig's cavalry to accomplish this attack, which led to a humiliating defeat for Gruffudd and which probably led to his eventual downfall and assassination. It is conceivable that as a consequence of the death of King Gruffudd ap Llywelyn Harold viewed the Portskewett area of Gwent as an easy foothold in south Wales from which to consolidate his victory but he had probably underestimated the new leader for the south east, namely Caradog.⁶¹ Even at the time of Domesday Book it is recorded that for Iscoed four villages were destroyed by King Caradog.⁶² It would appear that Caradog's main interests lay to the west in Glamorgan and Deheubarth as it was not long before Caradog was able to settle his position in the south-east and confrontation arose between Maredudd ap Owain ap Edwin and Caradog. It was in 1072 that Maredudd died in battle on the banks of the river Rhymini on the border between Morgannwg and Gwent, killed by Caradog in

⁵⁹ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, ed. and trans. Michael Swanton (London: Phoenix Press, 2000), pp.190-1.

⁶⁰ David Crouch, 'The Transformation of Medieval Gwent', in Ralph A. Griffiths *et alia*, ed., *The Gwent County History Vol. 2 : The Age of the Marcher Lords, c.1070-1536* (University of Wales Press: Cardiff, 2008), p.2.

⁶¹ E. Mason, *The House of Godwine* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004), pp. 99-100.

⁶² *Domesday Book, vol. 15: Gloucestershire*, ed. & trans. John S. Moore (Phillimore, 1982). p.162a w1.

alliance with French (Norman) forces.⁶³ The best explanation for Maredudd's presence in the south-east is that Maredudd was attempting to consolidate the whole of south Wales under his rule. This is certainly the view of Maund.⁶⁴ Crouch is of a similar opinion, suggesting that Maredudd and Caradog had long been warring over lands and that this led to Maredudd's invasion of Morgannwg and subsequent defeat at Rhymni by Caradog, and, as Crouch views it, 'Norman forces loaned to him by his ally the Earl of Hereford'.⁶⁵ This battle did not give Caradog control of Deheubarth. It was his cousin Rhydderch ap Caradog, Caradog's first cousin, who took control of Deheubarth⁶⁶ only to be killed by a year later by Meirchion ap Rhys ap Rhydderch, his first cousin.⁶⁷ Thy family relationships can be best seen below:

⁶³ Jones, ed., *Brut y Tywysogyon, Peniarth MS. 20*, p. 16.

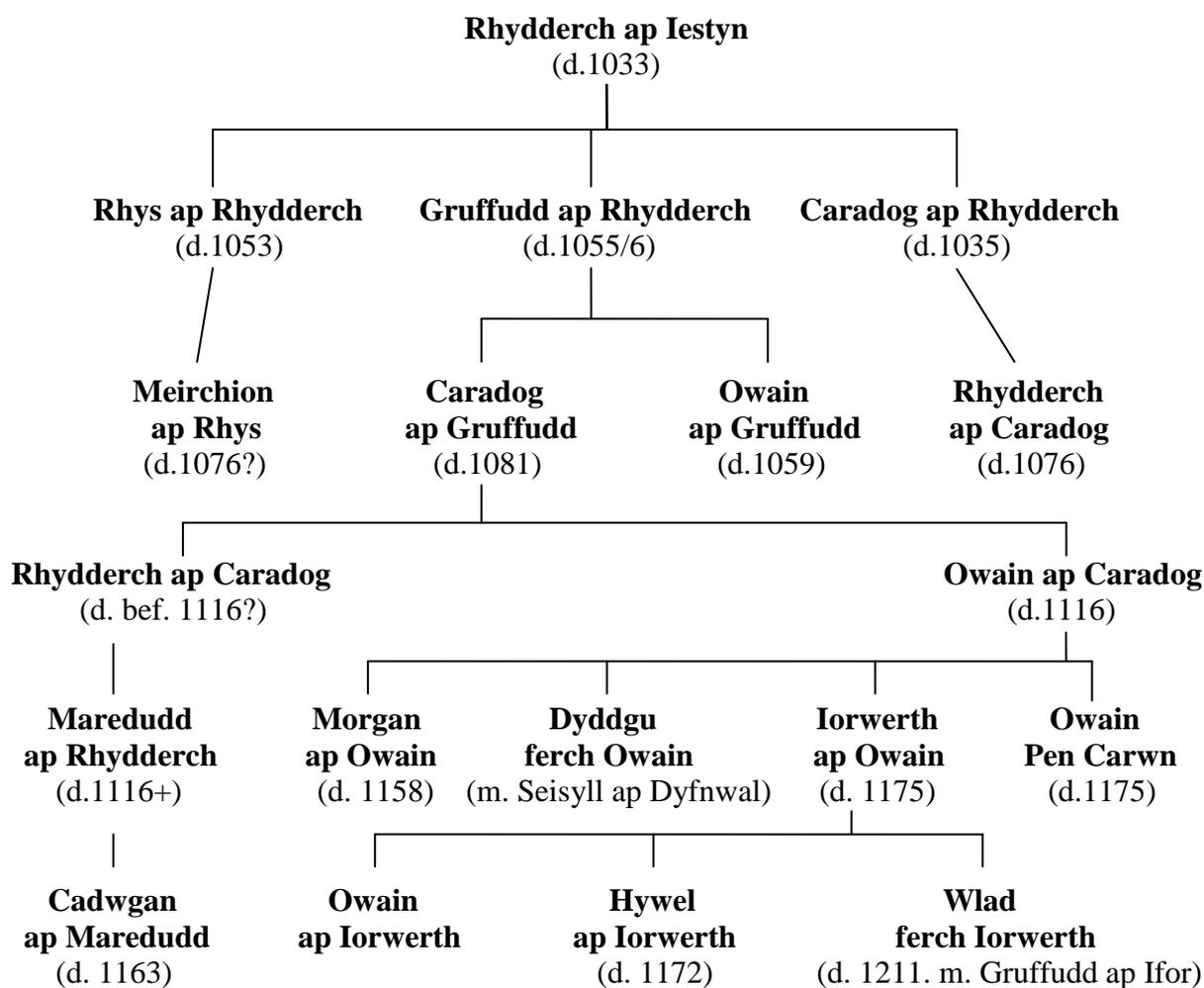
⁶⁴ Maund, *The Welsh Kings*, p. 73.

⁶⁵ Crouch, 'The Transformation of Medieval Gwent', p. 8.

⁶⁶ Jones, ed., *Brut y Tywysogyon, Peniarth MS. 20*, p. 16.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

Figure III.4: Kings of Deheubarth and lords of Caerleon, 1023-1248 ⁶⁸



Caradog does not seem to have had any lessening of his ambitions in Deheubarth despite his ally, Earl Roger of Hereford falling from grace in a rebellion against William, king of England, in 1075. Roger, incidentally, spent the rest of his time in prison and the earldom was not granted to anyone else. In late 1078 Caradog⁶⁹ eliminated Hywel ab Owain and Rhys ab Owain,⁷⁰ brothers of Maredudd ab Owain who was killed at the battle of Rhymini by Caradog in 1072, thus bringing this branch of the family dynasty to an effective

⁶⁸ Remfry, ed., *Annales Cambriae*, p. 269.

⁶⁹ Here the Chronicles do not agree. *Annales Cambriae B, PRO E.164/1* and *Annales Cambriae A, Harleian 3859* say it was Trehaearn ap Caradog, but *Annales Cambriae C, Cottonian Domitian, A1*, and the *Brut Y Tywysogyon, Peniarth MS. 20*, say Caradog ap Gruffudd.

⁷⁰ Jones, ed., *Brut y Tywysogion, Peniarth*, p. 17.

close. Even so, Caradog still found the kingship of Deheubarth elusive, as Rhys ap Tewdwr of a younger branch of the same dynasty that Caradog had been trying to end, made a challenge for kingship of Deheubarth.⁷¹ Caradog was killed at the battle of Mynydd Carn 1081 in pursuit of his claims for Deheubarth.⁷²

He was succeeded by his only son Owain who was probably an infant at the time of his father's death. It was not until the following decade that Owain made appearances in the chronicles. Crouch argues that it is probably under his leadership that in 1096 the men of Gwent, Brycheiniog and Gwynllŵg threw off the French and further ambushed the French at Celli Carnant.⁷³ It would appear that Owain made no attempt to exert any dynastic ambitions in Morgannwg or Deheubarth, probably because of the devastation of his lands consequent to the death and defeat of his father at Mynydd Carn. For this reason Crouch is of the opinion that Owain gained the epithet *Gwan* meaning 'Weak'.⁷⁴ Owain had evidently looked to Henry I as his father had to the Normans, as he appears as client to Henry as a keeper of the royal castle of Carmarthen and as holder of lands in Deheubarth.⁷⁵ The fact that the *Brut* mentions Owain ap Caradog ap Rhydderch as holding a portion of Cantref Mawr in Ystrad Tywi may indicate that instead of trying to use military force to gain title to the lands of Deheubarth he made his claim through Henry I who may have awarded Owain part of Deheubarth as a means of preventing Gruffudd ap Rhys regaining his influence in Deheubarth as rightful king. It is notable that the Red Book of Hergest version of the *Brut*

⁷¹ Jones, ed., *Brut y Tywysogion, Peniarth*, p. 17. Also Remfry, ed., *Annales Cambriae*, p. 174.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ Crouch, 'The Transformation of Medieval Gwent', pp. 8-9; Jones, ed., *Brut Y Tywysogion, Peniarth*, p. 20. Also Remfry, ed., *Annales Cambriae*, p.17; Jones, ed., *Brut y Tywysogion, Red Book of Hergest version*, p. 35.

⁷⁴ Crouch, 'The Transformation of Medieval Gwent', p. 9.

⁷⁵ Jones, ed., *Brut Y Tywysogyon, Peniarth MS. 20*, pp. 40-1.

gives Maredudd ap Rhydderch ap Caradog, the uncle of Owain ap Caradog ap Rhydderch, defending the castle at Llandovery, as steward for Richard fitz Pons who had received Cantref Bychan from Henry I, during an abortive attempt at taking the castle by Gruffudd ap Rhys earlier in the period 1113-1116.⁷⁶ Crouch also offers this opinion as a possibility in the mind of Owain as his perceived dynastic heritage.⁷⁷ It was while participating in the rota of castle guard at the royal castle at Carmarthen that Owain was killed when the castle was attacked by Gruffudd ap Rhys of Deheubarth in 1116.⁷⁸

Little can be deduced from contemporary sources about the descendents of Owain until the death of Henry I on the first of December 1135.⁷⁹ It was within a year that Morgan ab Owain is recorded in the Brut as being active in upland Gwynllŵg where he killed Richard fitz Gilbert.⁸⁰ The exact place is given by Gerald of Wales recounting his journey from Llanddew through the pass of Coed Grwyne:

A short time after the death of Henry I, King of the English, it happened that Richard de Clare, a nobleman of high birth who, in addition to the Clare estates, held Cardiganshire in South Wales, passed this way on a journey from England to Wales. He was accompanied by a large force of men-at-arms led by Brian de Wallingford, then overlord of this area, who was acting as his guide through the pass. When they reached the entrance to the wood, Richard de Clare sent back Brian and his men, and rode unarmed into the forest, although this was much

⁷⁶ Jones, ed., *Brut y Tywysogyon, Red Book of Hergest version*, p. 87.

⁷⁷ Crouch, 'The Transformation of Medieval Gwent', p. 9.

⁷⁸ Remfry, ed., *Annales Cambriae*, p. 177.

⁷⁹ Judith A. Green, *Henry I: King of England and Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 220.

⁸⁰ Jones, ed., *Brut y Tywysogion, Peniarth*, p. 51.

against Brian's wishes and, indeed, against his express advice. Richard was foolish enough to imagine that the trackway was safe. Ahead of him went a singer to announce his coming and a fiddler who accompanied the singer on his instrument. From then onwards things happened very quickly. The Welsh had prepared an ambush for Richard. All of a sudden Iorwerth, the brother of Morgan of Caerleon, and others of their family, rushed out from where they were hidden in the thickets, cut down Richard de Clare and most of his men, and made off with their baggage which they had seized in this savage way.⁸¹

The date is given by John of Worcester as 15 April:

Among these the noble and personable Richard fitz Gilbert was ambushed and slain by these same Welshmen on 15 April. His body was taken to Gloucester and honourably buried in the chapter house of the brethren.

[1136] The following year there was another very great battle at Cardigan in the second week of October. There was such slaughter that besides those men taken into captivity there remained 10,000 captive women whose husbands with numberless children were drowned, consumed by flames, or put to the sword. When the bridge over the river Tevi was broken it was piteous to see crowds passing backwards and forwards across a bridge formed by a horrible mass of human corpses and horses drowned in the river.⁸²

⁸¹ Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales and The Description of Wales*, translated with an introduction by Lewis Thorpe (London: Penguin Books, 1978), p.108.

⁸² *The Chronicle of John of Worcester. Vol. III, The Annals from 1067 to 1140 with the Gloucester Interpolations and the Continuation to 1141*, ed. & tr. P. McGurk, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p 221

This single action signalled a major resurgence of native Welsh power in Wales. Crouch notes that this is how the event is represented in the Welsh chronicles.⁸³ But it is interesting to note that *The Chronicle of John of Worcester* precedes the death of Richard fitz Gerald with record of a battle in Gower:

Immediately after the death of King Henry on 2 December, a fierce battle took place on 1 January in Gower between the Normans and the Welsh in which 516 of both armies died. Their bodies were scattered horribly among the fields and eaten up by wolves. Thereupon the Welsh invaded in force, violently destroyed churches, townships, crops, and beasts far and wide, burnt down castles and other fortifications, slew, scattered, and sold into captivity abroad innumerable men, both rich and poor.⁸⁴

This detail is omitted by the Welsh chronicles; consequently, it may be suggested that Morgan and Iorwerth were acting in conjunction with other native dynasties in a coordinated strike against Norman power in Wales and expecting Richard fitz Gilbert to make the dash back to Cardigan by the shortest route, having been in attendance with King Stephen, and the requests which *Gesta Stephani* tells us were made by Richard and turned down by King Stephen may have been his requests for assistance in Wales.⁸⁵

Crouch argues that Morgan ap Owain made considerable gains in the Usk Valley and Caerleon and all the land east of the river Usk in Netherwent as well as the Candos lordship

⁸³ D. Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen 1135-1154* (London: Longman, 2000), p. 54.

⁸⁴ *The Chronicle of John of Worcester. Vol. III, The Annals from 1067 to 1140 with the Gloucester Interpolations and the Continuation to 1141*, ed. & tr. P. McGurk, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p.220-221.

⁸⁵ *Gesta Stephani*, ed. and trans. K. R. Potter (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1955), pp.10-11.

of Llebenydd and there is later evidence of his dynasty holding lands at Undy and Salisbury in the honour of Strigoil while also gaining the advocacy of Goldcliff Priory, but not gaining the castle of Newport which was retained by Robert of Gloucester.⁸⁶ Morgan ap Morgan ap Owain's gift to St Peter's Gloucester of 40 acres for the moor of Goldcliff and a grant to Goldcliff Priory of 10 shillings of land at Nash, as well as the many charters to Glastonbury Abbey, Goldcliff Priory and Malpas Priory, reflect both Morgan ap Owain's and Iorwerth ap Owain's achievements in recovering and sustaining those recoveries after the death of Richard fitz Gilbert.⁸⁷ It is evident that Robert of Gloucester and the other Norman barons of Gwent were forced to come to terms with Morgan and his renewed status having recovered large areas of his ancestral patrimony. Robert's acceptance of Morgan is bound in a treaty in which Robert evidently gives Morgan large tracts of land in exchange for Morgan's homage which is reflected in a charter from Morgan granting lands to the abbey of St. Peter's Bristol, suggesting Earl Robert had also come to some understanding with Morgan conceding lands in lowland Gwynllŵg.⁸⁸ Crouch argues that Morgan was a valuable Welsh ally who supplied the Welsh mercenaries against Stephen.⁸⁹

We do not hear anything from the chronicles of King Morgan ap Owain until his death at the hands of Ifor Bach 1158 at which time Iorwerth ap Owain makes a smooth transition in possession of Morgan's lands.⁹⁰ It was on this occasion that Morgan evidently miscalculated – possibly for the first time in a successful career. It would appear that he was over-confident in his position, having regained many of the lands of his patrimony and looked to re-establish

⁸⁶ Crouch, 'The Transformation of Medieval Gwent', pp. 26-7.

⁸⁷ Pryce, ed., *Acts of Welsh Rulers*, pp. 661-76.

⁸⁸ *The cartulary of St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol*, ed. David Walker (Bristol: Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 1998), p. 29.

⁸⁹ Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen 1135-1154*, pp. 111, 142.

⁹⁰ Jones, ed., *Brut y Tywysogyon, Peniarth MS. 20*, p. 60.

old dynastic ambitions in Morgannwg. His move against Ifor Bach was ill fated and proved to have been ill advised. Whether he acted independently or, most probably, with the authority of William of Gloucester, Ifor Bach had been underestimated at Morgan's cost.

Iorwerth ap Owain, Morgan's brother and successor, confined his ambitions to Gwynllŵg and to maintaining the gains made during the reign of King Stephen. It is also evident from a general confirmation charter that Iorwerth ap Owain and his son Hywel ap Iorwerth maintained their possessions with transition of king from Stephen to Henry II.⁹¹ The support given to Henry II's cause during the reign of Stephen was evidently recognised further in payments made to Morgan's son from Gloucester of 40 shillings:

Et filio Morgani. XL s. blancum. in Carliun.⁹²

And to the son of Morgan. 40 s. Blanched. In Caerleon. (*Blanched- subject to a 5% addition*)

It would appear that Iorwerth managed to maintain this status quo until sometime between 1165 and 1170 when he sustained losses to Earl Richard son of Earl Gilbert. Earl Richard, also called Strongbow, succeeded to his father's lands of Netherwent, having probably lost the title of earl of Pembroke in 1153 / 54 when Henry II gained the throne of England: the last time that Strongbow appears in documents as earl of Pembroke is as witness to the Treaty of Wallingford on 7 November 1153; by January 1156 he appears as a witness

⁹¹ *Regesta Regum Anglo-normannorum, 1066-1154*, 5 vols, ed. H. A. Cronne, R. H. C. Davis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), III, charter 373, pp. 143-4.

⁹² *The Great Rolls of the Pipe for the second, third and fourth years of the reign of King Henry the second, A.D. 1155, 1156, 1157, 1158*, ed. Rev. Joseph Hunter (London: George E. Eyre & Andrew Spottiswoode, 1844), p.167.

for the king in a charter creating the earl of Oxford; and it is not until 1172 that contemporary sources refer to Strongbow as earl of Striguil.⁹³

Further problems were encountered in the 1170s, as can be seen from the *Brut*. It is evident that up to this time the dynasty had seen its future in the hands of Henry II, but problems arose over the dispute with Strongbow and the handling of issues by Henry II. Crouch notes that as a result of the conflict between Strongbow and Iorwerth, Henry II seized Strongbow's lands in Netherwent and ordered Iorwerth to surrender Caerleon to a royal garrison while arbitration took place. Iorwerth took this badly, and having withdrawn from the king, who was travelling with his army to Ireland, Iorwerth proceeded, with his sons and his nephew Morgan ap Seisyll ap Dyfnwal of upper Gwent, to make an abortive attempt to retake Caerleon.⁹⁴ The situation was exacerbated when, on Henry II's return from Ireland, Owain ap Iorwerth was murdered by the men of William of Gloucester in an evident attempt to sabotage the king's attempts to a peaceful outcome to the problems. Unfortunately, despite Henry II's attempts to place the problem in the hands of Rhys ap Gruffudd as justice of south Wales, Gwent rose in rebellion and according to the *Brut*, attacked Gloucester and Hereford, and it was also at this time Seisyll ap Dyfnwal and Seisyll ap Rhiryd were killed at Abergavenny.⁹⁵

The details of Hywel ap Iorwerth's difficulties and military activities regarding the reconquest of Usk and its lands to the east are discussed above in Chapter I. The apparent end of the conflicts were eventually dealt with by Henry II in Gloucester when on the feast of St James the Apostle 1175 many of the princes of Wales accompanied Rhys ap Gruffudd to a

⁹³ M. T. Flanagan, 'Clare, Richard fitz Gilbert de, second earl of Pembroke (c.1130–1176)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [online] Available <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5447>

⁹⁴ Crouch, 'The Transformation of Medieval Gwent', p. 30.

⁹⁵ Jones, ed., *Brut y Tywysogion, Peniarth*, pp. 68-9.

meeting at which Iorwerth was reinstalled in Caerleon; this resulted in a renewed native dominance of Gwent.⁹⁶ It was most probably in this period that Hywel ap Iorwerth founded the Cistercian abbey of Caerleon otherwise known as Llantarnam. The *Brut* gives the date as 1179, with the new abbey being colonized by monks from Strata Florida, whereas David Williams suggests either 1175 or 1179 as possible dates.⁹⁷ The coincidence of the foundation date of Caerleon within a few years of Rhys ap Gruffudd's meeting with Henry II along with many of the princes of southern Wales must add evidence to the hypothesis of this thesis that the foundation was a result of a collective agreement of the native dynasties in the region of native South East Wales.

Hywel ap Iorwerth had, during this latter period, seen the advantages of looking to Rhys ap Gruffudd and certainly gained from the association. By 1184 he was again showing considerable loyalty to the Angevin Crown, securing custodianship of Newport Castle and Wentloog and, as Crouch agrees, probably utilised his family links with Henry II through his nephew Morgan who was an illegitimate son of Henry by Nest ferch Iorwerth.⁹⁸ For the same family reasons it would appear that John held the dynasty with the same favour but it was at the death of John and the appointment of William the Marshal as the infant Henry III's protector the dynasty was driven back to its castle of Machen.⁹⁹

Conclusion:

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 70-1.

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 70-1; David H. Williams, *White Monks in Gwent and the Border* (Pontypool: Hughes and Son, Ltd., 1976), p. 77.

⁹⁸ Crouch, 'The Transformation of Medieval Gwent', p. 32; David Crouch, 'Bloet, Nest (*d.* 1224/5)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; dn, Jan 2008[online] Available <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/47222>

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

This chapter has displayed the political ambitions of the native dynasties with particular emphasis on Senghenydd and Gwynllŵg. It has shown the disunity of native lordship in the face of Norman aggression in this region as well as presenting how each native dynasty individually dealt with the threats at its borders. The importance of the distant influence of the Lord Rhys which was evident in the process of diplomatic marriages, his mediation with the Norman crown, which included the taking of his relations from the native dynasties to the Norman Court, and his exercising overlordship over what was a developing unity amongst native lordship of the region is shown as a vital element in the equation that formulates the history of Pendar. The presence of monks from Strata Florida displays the fingerprint of the Lord Rhys's influence in Gwynllŵg. Moreover, the earlier presence of Meilyr (see chapter I) as an advisor to Hywel ap Iorwerth leads to the conclusion that the use of Pendar as a major constituent part of the foundation of the Cistercian house of Caerleon/Llantarnam in 1175/9 was a result of the combining of the political as well as ecclesiastical interests of Senghenydd, Gwynllŵg, Deheubarth, and to some extent the native lordship of Glamorgan, into a melting pot of diplomatic unification of native lordship in the southern half of Wales.

Chapter IV

The Earls of Gloucester and Lands of Glamorgan

The purpose of this chapter is to give details of the political changes in the region of South East Wales, in which the discussion of this thesis is set, and to identify and give pertinent details about the immigrant lords and lordships and how their conquests, losses and policies impacted on the areas of influence in South East Wales both politically and ecclesiastically. The chapter is structured chronologically into sections which give the impact of each of the immigrant Lords of Glamorgan beginning with Robert fitz Hamo through to the Clares, finishing with brief mention of Earl Despencer and his impact on the lands of Pendar. In each section titled after the earl there are subsections giving pertinent detail of important families in the service of the immigrant Lords of Glamorgan. As chapter III set the scene for the native motivations which resulted in the foundation of Pendar and its eventual fate, this chapter will provide the opposite side of the same coin providing the sometimes opposing activities of the immigrant lordship.

Robert fitz Hamo and the establishment of Norman power in south Wales

The early settlement of Glamorgan by Norman conquerors was most probably led by Robert fitz Hamo but this needs some qualification as will be seen. Although fitz Hamo was not titled an earl, the earldom of Gloucester was not to be created until Henry I bestowed the title on his son Robert. Fitz Hamo had been granted considerable lands in Gloucestershire by William Rufus and it was on the basis of these lands and fitz Hamo's later conquests that Henry created the earldom. These lands had formerly been held by William I's queen,

Matilda, who had come into possession of the extensive and rich estates of the Anglo-Saxon thegn, Beorhtric son of Aelfgar.¹

It is probable that an initial move by William I into South Wales in 1075 was prompted by the rebellion of Earl Roger of Hereford, son of William fitz Osbern earlier that year. This was either as David Bates suggests a punitive measure for King Caradog ap Gruffudd's assistance in harbouring the escaped rebels or may have been a more exploratory initiative to test the strength of King Caradog.²

David Walker suggests that it was probably on the instruction of William Rufus that Robert fitz Hamo initiated his first advances into South East Wales.³ Already mentioned, the detail of early conquest of Glamorgan needs some qualification. An entry in the Margam Annals records the building of Cardiff by William I in 1081 two years before the death of Matilda his queen.⁴ Crouch gives argument to corroborate the claim of this entry and with use of coin evidence of the period, the production of silver coins in St Davids and Cardiff by William I.⁵ This finds support in the *Brut y Tywysogion* entry for 1081, which records that 'King William and much of France' (it must be noted that the Normans are often referred to as French in the Welsh chronicles) made a pilgrimage to Menevia (St Davids).⁶ It is evident from a *Book of Llandaff* entry that Caradoc was allied to William and the Norman barons

¹ Judith A. Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 127-8.

² David Bates, *William the Conqueror* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd., 2001), p. 189.

³ D. Walker, *Medieval Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 29.

⁴ *Annales De Margan, 1066 – 1232, Annales Monastici, Vol. 1*, ed. H.R. Luard (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1864).

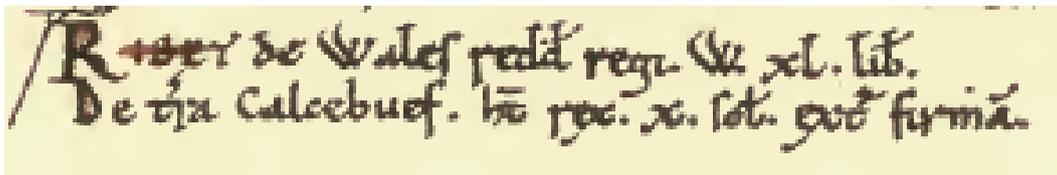
⁵ David B. Crouch, 'The Slow Death of Kingship in Glamorgan'. *Morgannwg*, 29 (1985). p. 27-8.

⁶ *Brut y Tywysogyon, Peniarth MS. 20*, trans. Thomas Jones (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1952). p. 17.

prior to his death when he is witnessed attending the consecration of St Mary's church at the castle of Monmouth along with a number of Norman barons.⁷

William I's so called pilgrimage to St Davids was almost certainly precipitated by the death of Caradoc ap Gruffudd at the hands of Rhys ap Tewdwr at the battle of Mynydd Carn.⁸ William I certainly took the opportunity to stamp his authority on the region thus establishing his presence in Cardiff while journeying to St David's probably to remind Rhys ap Tewdwr the influence of the Norman throne of England and exact tribute of £40 per year.

Figure IV.1: Rhys of Wales debt to William I £40. Domesday Book
[online] Available <http://www.domesdaymap.co.uk/place/ST3390/caerleon/>



The establishment of Cardiff as a Norman outpost before Robert fitz Hamo's invasion in the 1090s is refuted by A. G. Williams, who maintains that all the evidence for such a conclusion is only circumstantial.⁹

It is also evident from *Domesday Book* that sometime around this period and most probably as part of the same campaign of 1081 William established a castlery at Caerleon as the most westerly outpost mentioned in South Wales 1086.¹⁰ This evidence suggests the establishment of a trading outpost or outposts with the possible aim of extracting some form of fealty or tribute from a new ruler in south Wales, Rhys ap Tewdwr. If we accept the

⁷ *The Book of Llan Dav*, ed. Evans J.G. (Oxford: Issued to subscribers only, 1893), p. 378.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19; see also *Annales Cambriae C, Cottonian Domitian*, A1, ed. & trans. P.M. Remfry (United Kingdom: Castle Studies Research and Publishing, 2007), p. 211.

⁹ A. G. Williams, 'Norman Lordship in South-East Wales during the reign of William I', *Welsh History Review*, vol. 16, no. 4 (1993), p. 445-466, p. 459-461.

¹⁰ *Domesday Book* [online] Available <http://www.domesdaymap.co.uk/place/ST3390/caerleon/>

premise that the Welsh economy was not a moneyed economy, the £40 mentioned in Domesday owed annually to the English crown by Rhys ap Tewdwr may explain the mints at both Cardiff and St Davids as a need to convert produce to coin enabling such a payment to be made.¹¹ George C. Brooke has examined the finds of these coins associated with both Cardiff and St Davids and describes them as ‘barbarous coins’ but confirms the legitimacy of the coins as probably minted in Cardiff and St Davids.¹²

This suggests either William I was happy to accept stability in Wales under native kingship which acknowledged William as in some part overlord, or he was reluctant to spend time and resources to engage in conquest. It may also be simply a combination of both and intervention would only be undertaken when instability in native leadership could threaten border integrity in the march. In many ways, the establishing of castles at Cardiff and Caerleon, would give a corridor of influence easily maintained by sea from Bristol.¹³ This would have given Chepstow, Caerleon, and Cardiff in 1081.

It would appear William Rufus sought to continue his father’s early policy of limited expansion into Wales. Kari Maund has tied this resumption of royal expansion into Wales to the revolt against William Rufus led by Bishop Odo and supported by a number of lords with lands on the borders of Wales, which led to the king buying off his opponents off with permission to renew expansion into southern and central Wales.¹⁴ It is more probable that William Rufus instigated expansion into South Wales to re-establish his authority over the Welsh in the light of the growing power and influence of Rhys ap Tewdwr of Deheubarth and

¹¹ Crouch, ‘The slow death of kingship in Glamorgan, 1067-1158’, p. 28.

¹² George C. Brooke, *English Coins from the Seventh Century to the Present Day* (London: Methuen & Co, 1932), p. 80.

¹³ John Reuben Davies, *The Book of Llandaf and the Norman Church in Wales* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), p. 23.

¹⁴ K. Maund, *The Welsh Kings* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd., 2000), p. 80.

Cadwgan ap Bleddyn of Powys.¹⁵ It can therefore be assumed with some confidence that Robert Fitz Hamo had by the beginning of the twelfth century gained an important foothold in lowland Glamorgan based in Cardiff with at least the blessing and, if we accept the idea that William I had founded the town in 1081, most probably by the direction of William II. Certainly by 1102 Robert felt secure enough in his acquisition of Cardiff to endow a priory of St Mary's as a dependency of Tewkesbury.¹⁶ Thus we can see Robert placing Tewkesbury at the centre of his lands. As mentioned above, it is important to note that Robert Fitz Hamo had not been granted the title of earl; this was to come in the time of his son in law Robert, the eldest son of Henry I.

¹⁵ David Crouch, *The Normans The history of a Dynasty* (London: Hambledon, 2002), p. 143.

¹⁶ Clark, ed., *Cartae*, vol. 1, p. 37.

Robert fitz Hamo

Figure IV.2: Robert Fitz Hamo

<http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/sewmss/wmss/medieval/mss/top/glouc/d/002.htm>



It is impossible to evaluate the effect of Normanisation on both lowland and upland Glamorgan and its structure without fully understanding the role of Robert fitz Hamo in the events of the last decade of the eleventh century. The motivation, the strategy, and the collective impact of the restructuring of the administration and ecclesiastical organization in lowland Glamorgan are vital to understanding the possible motives of the native house of Senghenydd, just over half a century later, in establishing the monastic house of Pendar.

Robert Fitz Hamo's career was a fascinating one. A man from moderate beginnings, he was to become one of the most influential men of his age in the Norman rule of England serving two kings; William Rufus and Henry I.¹⁷ Warren Hollister estimates the value of the

¹⁷ Judith A. Green, 'Robert fitz Haimon (d. 1107)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [online] Available <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9596>

barony at an annual income of around three hundred pounds and notes that fitz Hamo had previously been without any lands to his name.¹⁸

Robert's early history is somewhat vague and uncertain. It would seem that he first makes appearance in charter evidence as a witness in a grant by William I to the church of Bayeux dated *circa* 1074.¹⁹ He also appears again as a witness in a grant by William I to the church of St Mary, Mortam *circa* 1082-4.²⁰ The third context in which fitz Hamo appears during the reign of William I is again as a witness to a grant to the prior and monks of St Cuthbert Durham confirming their previous held rights *circa* 1086/7.²¹ However, Judith Green notes that it is not possible to confirm categorically that the Robert fitz Hamo of these documents are the one and the same person discussed in this survey.²²

Robert first rose to significance in the historical record during the time of a revolt against William Rufus in 1088. The revolt was probably inspired by Bishop Odo of Bayeux who had been released from prison upon William the Conqueror's death the previous year.²³ Robert fitz Hamo was one of a small but loyal group which included Hugh d'Avranches, earl of Chester, and William of Warenne.²⁴ Robert was amply rewarded for his loyalty. William Rufus gave him the lands of Queen Matilda and the honour of Gloucester as well as the hand

¹⁸ C. Warren Hollister, 'Magnets and "Curiales" in early Norman England', *Viator*, 8 (1977), 65-81, p. 72.

¹⁹ *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154 Vol.I*, ed. and trans. H.W.C. Davies (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), p. 20.

²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 55.

²¹ *Ibid.* p. 73.

²² Judith A. Green, 'Robert fitz Haimon (d. 1107)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

²³ Emma Mason, 'William II Rufus, the red king' (Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd., 2005), pp. 54-5.

²⁴ F. Barlow, *The Feudal Kingdom of England 1042-1216* (Harlow: Longman, 1999), p. 115.

in marriage of Sybil the daughter of Roger of Montgomery.²⁵ It is evident that Robert received considerable recognition for his loyalty to William Rufus and the bestowing of Matilda's lands is most significant particularly given that Henry I had petitioned them from his brother, William, claiming to be his mother's heir. Orderic Vitalis was certainly of the opinion that Henry I had just claim for these lands as the legitimate heir of his mother.²⁶ Orderic further records Henry's petition of his brother for his mother's lands:

In the summer, when positive news of the surrender of Rochester was heard in Normandy, Prince Henry, count of the Cotentin, crossed to England, and asked his brother for this mother's lands. King William received him kindly as a brother should, and fraternally granted his petition.²⁷

David Crouch is of the opinion that William II bestowed these lands on Robert fitz Hamo not because fitz Hamo may have been William II's homosexual lover, but rather to insult Henry, William II's own brother.²⁸ What is most interesting about this collection of testimonies relating to Robert fitz Hamo's acquisition of these lands is the fact that despite Henry's claim, Henry appeared to hold no grudge or malice toward Robert over the apparent injustice of being deprived of these lands, considering his claim of inheritance. We see rather that Robert and Henry become very close not just within the court but an apparent friendship is evident.²⁹ One could speculate that Henry could see the strategic advantages of fitz

²⁵ Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969-80), vol. IV, p. 221; *Ibid*, vol. IV, p. 183.

²⁶ *Ibid*. vol. II, p. 215.

²⁷ *Ibid*. vol. IV, p. 149.

²⁸ David Crouch, *The Normans The history of a Dynasty* (London: Hambledon, 2002), p. 139.

²⁹ *Ibid*. p. 166.

Hamo's promotion and, maintaining a long term view, Henry might seek to benefit if he were to become king of England. It was probably evident to Henry that there was little he could do about the loss of lands and a policy of patience would serve him best. Whatever the realities of the time, Henry's policy toward fitz Hamo paid off as Henry gained not just a faithful and loyal baron but also a trusted friend not to mention the eventual benefits gained by the marriage of his eldest son to fitz Hamo's daughter. Also significant to Robert was his marriage to Sybil the third and youngest daughter of Roger of Montgomery. Barlow suggests that this marriage opened a wealth of experience of war with the Welsh, which most probably consequentially aided Robert fitz Hamo in his considerable success in dealing with the Welsh of South Wales.³⁰

Fitz Hamo's advance into Glamorgan is somewhat shrouded in legend and mystery. The exact date is not certain but must have been after 1088 and probably no later than 1096. There is an interesting and entertaining legend which relates to the acquisition of Glamorgan by fitz Hamo and his twelve knights given in the Llanover manuscript attributed to Sir Edward Mansel of Margam 1591.³¹

The realities of fitz Hamo's move into Glamorgan were probably very different from this account. Judith Green's entry for Robert fitz Hamo in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography describes the accounts by Edward Stradling, Humphrey Llwyd, and David Powel, as an account where 'history, legend, and family pride are intermingled'.³²

³⁰ F. Barlow, *William Rufus*, Yale English Monarchs (London: Yale University Press, 1983), p. 173.

³¹ 'The winning of Glamorgan: Documents', *Cardiff Records: volume 4* (1903), pp. 6-47 (<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=48294#s1>)

³² Judith A. Green, 'Robert fitz Haimon (d. 1107)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

If we accept that Cardiff had already been founded by William I in 1081 as a probable trading station and garrison being supplied by sea as argued by David Crouch,³³ fitz Hamo's move into Glamorgan would consequently have been made much easier. The dating of this campaign is made more difficult to establish as there is no mention of it in any of the contemporary chronicles. It is probable that as a consequence of William II's struggle to keep his brothers in check in Normandy, it would appear unlikely he would be able to give attention to Wales or likewise be able to free fitz Hamo from his court to move into Wales. Consequently we could view fitz Hamo's move into South Wales as a continuation of Williams I's policy of containment with direct interference only at times to establish stability and the re-establishment of status quo of regal authority by then a guarded regal prerogative. It may have been that peace and stability in South Wales was needed to guarantee trade and that Cardiff had been established as a trading centre for Norman profit. This could well raise a question as to whether the so called conquest of Glamorgan was not an attempt to achieve military conquest but an exercise in engendering a stable region for trade and subsequent profit for the enterprising Norman knights and barons rather than an attempt at outright conquest. The slow spread of Norman control as a patchwork within the Vale of Glamorgan could indicate this approach and the opportunistic nature of Norman advances dependent upon taking advantage of weakness and lack of unity in native lordship with the excuse of creating stability and bringing economic growth and prosperity. Further, the silence of contemporary chronicles on the apparent conquest of Glamorgan would support the theory that the Norman advance in Glamorgan was not as a result of outright confrontation but as a result of Norman intervention in an apparent vacuum or as aids to establish stability in an area already familiar to a Norman presence *i.e.* the immediate areas of lowland Glamorgan surrounding Cardiff.

³³ Crouch, 'The slow death of kingship in Glamorgan, 1067-1158', p. 28.

Judith Green is of the view that the sixteenth-century chronicles are correct in that Robert fitz Hamo most probably landed in Cardiff, having been rewarded with the land and resources of Gloucester which included the port of Bristol for his services to William Rufus, to accomplish such a venture into South Wales.³⁴ Equally, the lack of contemporary chronicle evidence for any actions in Glamorgan may simply be that in 1093 the greater campaigning of Rufus in Wales in that period overshadowed any events in Glamorgan. Certainly there is plenty of evidence for the period of the 1090s in the two versions of the *Brut* and *Annals Cambriae* which record the many activities in Dyfed, Deheubarth, Ceredigion, Gwynedd, Powys, Brycheiniog, Gwent, and Gwynllŵg but no mention of Morgannwg or Senghenydd is made other than Gower and Cydweli and Ystrad Tywi being laid waste.³⁵

It is evident that William felt the need to reinforce his power in Wales and judging by the recorded Norman attacks throughout Wales which occurred after the death of Rhys ap Tewdwr, advancing into Brycheiniog, Ceredigion, and Dyfed, it would appear as a far more coordinated attack probably directed from Gloucester by William II himself and carried out by his barons. Robert fitz Hamo's role was evidently to secure South Wales from an existing foothold at Cardiff where an already existing castle and Norman presence in Glamorgan had been established by William I in 1081. David Crouch is of the opinion that Robert fitz Hamo was with William II at Gloucester at the beginning of March 1093 and that William II was unable to lead the fight as a result of illness, remaining at Alveston in Gloucestershire and leaving Robert fitz Hamo to take command. This would reinforce the hypothesis that Robert

³⁴ Judith A. Green, 'Robert fitz Haimon (d. 1107)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

³⁵ *Brut y Tywysogyon, Peniarth MS. 20*, ed. and trans. Thomas Jones (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1952), pp. 19-20; *Annales Cambriae*, ed. & translated by P. M. Remfry (United Kingdom: Castle Studies Research and Publishing, 2007), pp. 71-2; *Brut y Tywysogyon, Red Book of Hergest version*, ed. & translated by Thomas Jones (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1955), pp. 33-6.

fitz Hamo sailed from Bristol to Cardiff, as Alveston is near Thornbury only a few miles north of Bristol and on the eastern side of the Severn estuary.³⁶

Looking at William II's itinerary from when he assumed the throne on the death of his father it would appear that after the revolt of 1088 he first had to deal with the disaffected nobles who had rebelled against him as well as reward his loyal men. His next task was the security of Normandy, next to contain the border with Scotland, and he only turned to Wales in 1093. It may well have been on William II's mind that during the rebellion of 1088 that many of his adversaries were from the March of Wales, namely Roger of Montgomery, Roger de Lacy, Ralph Mortimer, and Bernard of Neufmarché; consequently, Bernard of Neufmarché's moves westwards through Brecon may have weighed heavily on him and strengthened his resolve to reassert himself in south east Wales in person using the already established castle at Cardiff to check and divert Bernard's attentions away from Glamorgan.³⁷ William II was unable to complete this task himself as he was taken ill and had to rely on a trusted friend and newly made baron to continue on and complete the campaign for him. From William's perspective it was probably safer to trust Robert fitz Hamo in Gloucester and Glamorgan than to have others with a less favourable record gaining too much power in the March.

It is difficult to assess how much time fitz Hamo spent on this task but, as already discussed, it was probably not long as he soon appeared on other duties with William the king in Normandy. It is clear that as soon as the king had returned his attentions to Normandy by March 1094, fitz Hamo would probably have accompanied the king as part of the royal court. This is credible as Warren Hollister notes that fitz Hamo attested twenty one of William II's

³⁶ David Crouch, *The Normans The history of a Dynasty* (London: Hambledon, 2002), p.143.

³⁷ Kari Maud, *The Welsh Kings, The Medieval Rulers of Wales* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing, 2000), pp. 80-1.

charters placing him in third highest attester in the top ten curiales still alive in 1100.³⁸ This statistic suggests that fitz Hamo would have spent most of his time in the company of the king's court or at the very least on duties for the king. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle gives precise dates for the king's movements in 1093, placing William II in Gloucester in the spring during his illness, already mentioned, and at Gloucester for his Christmas court. However the following Candlemass (2 February) he travelled to Hastings, leaving for Normandy in mid-Lent, and returning to England on the following Feast of All Saints (2 November 1094), then staying in London until after Christmas.³⁹ The *Brut* tells us that while William II was in Normandy looking after the duchy for his brother Robert who had gone on crusade, the Britons (Welsh) rose against the tyranny of French (Norman) rule which led to William leading an unsuccessful campaign into Wales. There is a seeming inconsistency here, for Duke Robert does not seem to have gone on crusade until the September of the following year, 1096.⁴⁰ What is certain is that William II was in Normandy for his own reasons trying to gain influence with the barons there against the interests of his brother and while away the Welsh took advantage of his absence as John of Worcester was quite explicit:

In addition to this, first the people of North Wales, and then those of West and South Wales, shaking off the yoke of slavery, which they had long endured, and holding their heads up high, sought to recover their liberty. Assembling a multitude of men, they razed the castles which had been built in West Wales, and often ravaged townships in Cheshire, Shropshire, and Herefordshire, taking booty,

³⁸ C. Warren Hollister, 'Magnates and "Curiales" in early Norman England', *Viator*, 8 (1977), 65-81, p. 76.

³⁹ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, ed. and trans. by Michael Swanton, revised ed. (London: Phoenix Press, 1952), pp. 228-9.

⁴⁰ Crouch, *The Normans The history of a Dynasty*, p. 150.

and killing many of the English and Normans. They demolished the castle on Anglesey, and reduced the island to their control. At the same time the Scots, on the advice and goading of Donald Bane, ambushed and slew their king Duncan, and many with him, and again set Donald Bane as king over them. After this, king William on the 29th December went back to England and led an army into Wales in order to fight the Welsh, and there lost many men and horses.⁴¹

Crouch notes that at the beginning of April 1097 William II returned to England and led another campaign against the Welsh which according to the chronicles was unsuccessful and after much loss had to return to England empty handed.⁴² Again John of Worcester is quite explicit:

[1097] William, king of England, returned to England during Lent, and after Easter [5th April] set out a second time for Wales with an army of horse and foot with the intention of killing all the male population, but he was barely able to capture or kill anyone, but lost many men and horses.⁴³

It may be dangerous to assume Robert fitz Hamo was at the king's side in all the travels the king undertook but if we accept that Robert was a conspicuous member of William II's court then it would be evident that Robert would by necessity have had to leave many of the

⁴¹ *The Chronicle of John of Worcester. Vol. III, The Annals from 1067 to 1140 with the Gloucester Interpolations and the Continuation to 1141*, ed. & tr. P. McGurk, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 73.

⁴² Crouch, *The Normans The history of a Dynasty* p.152; Swanton, ed. and trans. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, p. 233; Thomas, ed., *Brut y Tywysogion Peniarth*, p. 20; Remfry, ed., *Annales Cambriae*, p. 175.

⁴³ *The Chronicle of John of Worcester. Vol. III, The Annals from 1067 to 1140 with the Gloucester Interpolations and the Continuation to 1141*, ed. & tr. P. McGurk, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 85.

mundane running of his affairs in South Wales to his trusted knights who accompanied him into Glamorgan in 1093. It is probable that he remained long enough to give final instructions for building of castles and appropriation of lands to his knights and left the undertaking of the work to his followers; this view is supported by Judith Green.⁴⁴ John Reuben Davies suggests that fitz Hamo had at sometime between 1089 and 1093 became the first lord of a formally constituted lordship of Glamorgan and had formalised the structure of the shire with lands distributed to knights which owed him military service and castle guard at Cardiff which he made a borough with a sheriff as the centre of the newly restructured county.⁴⁵

The death of William II and the stories that grew up around the event give valuable insight to Roberts fitz Hamo's relationship with his king. The restructuring of the lands acquired by fitz Hamo are vital to the arguments of this thesis, as will be seen in his reordering of the churches of lowland Glamorgan as gifts to Gloucester, Tewkesbury, and as will be seen in Chapter V below, other monastic houses outside of Wales. Fitz Hamo probably left Wales for the last time in 1104. He had been a staunch supporter of William Rufus and had transferred with great ease that loyalty to the new King Henry I. Any potential problems between the new king and himself regarding the gift of Henry's mother's lands intended for Henry never appears to have been as an issue between them. Robert fitz Hamo's death took place in March 1107 following his injury at the siege of Falaise 1106. According to the tradition preserved at Tewkesbury Abbey, Robert left four daughters and no sons; three of the daughters entered the religious life and the remaining daughter named Mabel was married to Henry I's eldest illegitimate son Robert.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Judith A. Green, 'Robert fitz Haimon (d. 1107)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁴⁵ Davies, *The Book of Llandaf and the Norman Church in Wales*, p. 24.

⁴⁶ Judith A. Green, 'Robert fitz Haimon (d. 1107)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

The followers of Robert fitz Hamo

Robert de la Haye

Robert de la Haye is possibly one of the most important players in fitz Hamo's company from the perspective of this thesis. It was Robert de la Haye who claimed conquest of the lands of Gwynllŵg and most importantly, as will be seen in the Chapter V below, endowed Glastonbury Abbey with the *clas* churches of Basseleg, thus effectively giving almost all the churches of lower Gwynllŵg to a non-native monastic institution.

It would appear that Robert de la Haye's family were originally from the Cotentin, and Robert attached himself to fitz Hamo, whose family also was from the Cotentin, possibly because of a lack of any expected inheritance of any family lands in England, possibly because of the realization that counts of Mortain, with whom his family served as steward, were on the descent at court. Additionally he may have discerned that Robert fitz Hamo's star was in the ascendant in the 1090s and foreseen probable gains of land in Wales.⁴⁷ Robert de la Haye evidently received Gwynllŵg from fitz Hamo as his reward for service and with the consent of his overlord set about the reformation of the native churches in the area displaying both his loyalties to fitz Hamo and to the counts of Mortain, of whom he was steward, endowing the abbeys of Gloucester, Glastonbury, and later Montacute.⁴⁸ Robert de la Haye transformed Gwynllŵg into a distinct honour dependent upon, but not part of, Glamorgan. Despite this, however, he eventually relinquished it to fitz Hamo's successor Robert of Gloucester, possibly as a negotiated exchange by Henry I for the honour of Brattleby in Lincolnshire; certainly he is no longer in evidence in Gwynllŵg after 1107.⁴⁹ As will be

⁴⁷ Bruce Coplestone-Crow, 'Robert de la Haye and the Lordship of Gwynllwg', *Gwent Local History*, 85 (1998), pp. 3-46 (p 4); Crouch, 'The Transformation of Medieval Gwent', p. 19.

⁴⁸ See below, chapter V.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* p. 20.

discussed below in Chapter V, Robert de la Haye is remembered for his monastic foundations: Basseleg Priory as a dependency of Glastonbury Abbey, Malpas Priory as a dependency of Montacute Abbey, and St Woolos (a pre-existing native monastic centre dedicated to St Cadoc's father, St Gwynllyw), granted to the abbey of Gloucester.⁵⁰

An interesting issue arising from de la Haye's foundation of the priory at Basseleg is the extent to which his actual conquests took him into Gwynllŵg, given that two churches granted to the priory, Bedwas and Mynyddislwyn, are in upland areas.⁵¹ It may be that in endowing Glastonbury with the mother church with its dependencies in the early stages of conquest, de la Haye was able to reform churches which were territorially outside his immediate jurisdiction. This is discussed below in Chapter V.

The family of de Londres

Little is known of the de Londres family before William de Londres appears as a knight in the company of fitz Hamo upon his entry into Glamorgan c. 1093. Davies describes William de Londres as probably being one of fitz Hamo's household knights and one of the original knights to accompany fitz Hamo who, unlike many of the twelve knights of legend mentioned earlier in this chapter, can be identified with certainty.⁵² It would appear that William was entrusted with the westerly most area of Robert fitz Hamo's adventures into lowland Glamorgan and William built his castle at Ogmere (c. 1100) at the site of a ford, thus guarding the border with what was yet unconquered Welsh territory.⁵³ The foundation of the

⁵⁰ See chapter V for details.

⁵¹ See map V.9a chapter V.

⁵² R. R. Davies, 'The Social Structure of Medieval Glamorgan: Bro Morgannwy and Blaenau Morgannwg I The Lordship of Ogmere', in T. B. Pugh, ed., *Glamorgan County History 3: the Middle Ages* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1971). pp. 285-297 (p.286).

⁵³ Janet Burton and Karen Stöber, *Abbeys and Priories of Medieval Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2015), p.90.

castle was closely related to the foundation of Ewenny Priory as a dependency of Gloucester. The church of St Michael at Ewenny was probably built on a pre-Norman native site of some importance thus echoing the same practice in Gwynllŵg by Robert de le Haye as already discussed in this chapter. Ewenni was dedicated by Bishop Urban of Llandaff c. 1107 and it would seem that William de Londres gave all the churches in his lands in Glamorgan to Ewenni.⁵⁴ A more detailed discussion of the foundation and endowment of the priory appears below in Chapter V. William de Londres's son, Maurice de Londres, extended the family's fortunes further west when he was granted Cydweli and Carnwyllion, and it was at Cydweli that the name of Maurice de Londres acquired infamy in Welsh tradition with the defeat of a Welsh army led by Gwenllian, wife of Gruffydd ap Rhys, which resulted in her execution along with many of her company including her young son Morgan and the capture of her other son Maelgwn.⁵⁵ As will be further discussed in Chapter V Maurice was also responsible for raising the status of Ewenny Priory and entrusting the churches of his newly acquired lands mentioned above to the priory. He is further remembered for his benefactions to Tewkesbury Abbey, Neath Abbey, and Margam Abbey. R. R. Davies notes that the Londres family was still part of the *curia* of the earldom of Gloucester and still had duties of 'castle guard' at Cardiff, and regular attendance at the earl's court and was subjected to being a hostage given by Robert of Gloucester to Miles, earl of Hereford, concordant with the treaty of Robert and Miles during the reign of King Stephen.⁵⁶ The position of the Londres family was further advanced. David Crouch notes that King John replaced William the Marshal at the

⁵⁴ F. G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales 1066-1349*, Studies in Welsh History (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1977), pp.15-6.

⁵⁵ Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales and The Description of Wales*, translated with an introduction by Lewis Thorpe (London: Penguin Books, 1978). p. 137; Davies, 'The Social Structure of Medieval Glamorga', pp. 285-297 (p. 287).

⁵⁶ Davies, 'The Social Structure of Medieval Glamorgan', pp. 285-297. pp. 287/8.

royal castle of Cardigan with William, grandson of Maurice de Londres.⁵⁷ The male line of de Londres ran out with this last William (who was also entrusted with the custody of Carmarthen Castle by King John) and his brother Thomas. It was Thomas's daughter, Hawise, who inherited on the Thomas's death in c. 1216 and survived a total of three marriages ,thus ending the line of de Londres family of Ogmore.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ David Crouch, *William Marshal Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147-1219*, 2nd edition (London: Longman, 2002), p. 102.

⁵⁸ Davies, 'The Social Structure of Medieval Glamorgan', pp. 285-297. p. 290.

The earls of Gloucester

Robert, earl of Gloucester

Figure IV.3 Robert of Gloucester:

<http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/medieval/mss/top/glouc/d/002.htm>



As previously discussed, Robert of Gloucester was Henry I's eldest illegitimate son. Robert did not gain the lands of Gloucester and Glamorgan until 1121 when they came to him as a result of his marriage to Roberts fitz Hamo's daughter, Mabel, who had been in royal wardship since 1107.⁵⁹ King Henry's motivation for raising his eldest illegitimate son was probably prompted, as much as anything, by the death of William, Henry's only legitimate son, in the White Ship disaster in 1120.⁶⁰ The consequence for Robert was that he was brought closer into Henry's household and government to play a leading role militarily, as

⁵⁹ David Crouch, 'Robert, first earl of Gloucester (b. before 1100, d. 1147)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [online]. Available <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23716?docPos=29>

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

confidant, and at court.⁶¹ Henry had, as a consequence of these actions, also recovered lands which were his inheritance from his mother but most importantly gained a position for a son for whom Henry evidently had great affection. As an indirect consequence of Henry's actions, Robert was well placed to be of considerable aid in supporting Matilda in gaining and keeping the throne after Henry's death. Henry's faith and trust in Robert is most evident in entrusting the keeping of Duke Robert in captivity from Bishop Roger of Salisbury to Robert of Gloucester to Bristol and then to Cardiff. Further it was to Robert that Henry turned to for advice of a potential husband for Matilda.⁶²

In the years up to 1136 Robert advanced his lands in Wales by pushing further west beyond the River Ogmore into the native lordship of Afan (See *figure I.5* chapter I) at the expense of the sons of Iestyn, native lords of Glamorgan, and entrusting the Neath lands to the Granville family who founded Neath Abbey as an abbey of Savigny with the consent of Robert *c.* 1128.⁶³ It was also at this time we know Robert came to terms with Urban, bishop of Llandaf, regarding an ongoing dispute over church lands and losses to the see of Llandaf with agreement being reached in 1126.⁶⁴ The evident affection which Robert held for his father is shown at Henry's death bed but it is surprising perhaps that Robert did not immediately show his hand in support of his half sister, Matilda. Robert appears to have forestalled Stephen to some degree at both Dover and Canterbury but Stephen none the less had a good reception at London and by conspiracy or otherwise, which is outside the remit of this study, Stephen was made king and his advisers set about a campaign against Matilda's

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² David Crouch, *The Normans The history of a Dynasty*, pp.198-9.

⁶³ *Episcopal Acts Relating to Welsh Dioceses 1066-1272*, 2 Volumes, ed. James Conway Davies (Cardiff: Historical Society of the Church in Wales, 1948), p. 621.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 620-1.

claims.⁶⁵ It may well be that Robert was distracted by the problem of the succession from taking immediate action to deal with problems in Wales which followed the death of his father. It is certain he was in little rush to return from Normandy to England upon his father's death and possibly he wanted to see how support lay within England and how best he should act for his own position.

It was not long before events unfolded which kept his attention on Wales. As already discussed in Chapter III the signs of discontent had shown themselves and the kings of Gwent had ambushed and killed a discontented baron of Stephen namely Richard de Clare, one of the most powerful marcher barons of Wales.⁶⁶ This death was the catalyst for a resurgence of Welsh resistance to Norman power in Wales which led to problems for Robert in Glamorgan. It is noticeable that while this was happening in Wales to the great loss of Norman barons, Stephen was doggedly determined in his efforts at the siege of Exeter despite the discontent of his barons of which Robert of Gloucester was one who Stephen insisted remained at Exeter.⁶⁷

Robert needed to deal with his problems in Glamorgan and it is evident that Robert, on returning to set his estates in some sort of order, had decided to make a change of direction in his allegiances. His recorded change of support and the subsequent actions in support of his half-sister are well documented elsewhere, and they are relevant here for their bearing on his dealings with native lordship in Glamorgan which are discussed above in Chapter III. Robert was evidently able to stabilise his territorial position in Glamorgan and utilise the Welsh kings Morgan ab Owain of Glamorgan and Cadwaladr ap Gruffudd of Gwynedd with their

⁶⁵ David Crouch, *The Normans The history of a Dynasty*, pp.246-8.

⁶⁶ David Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen 1135-1154* (London: Longman, 2000), pp. 44 & 54.

⁶⁷ David Crouch, *The Normans The history of a Dynasty*, pp. 251-2.

levies and household at the Battle of Lincoln 1141.⁶⁸ Robert's lasting legacy in Glamorgan must be deemed as his endowing the Cistercians with Margam for an abbey site founded in the months before his death on 31 October 1147 at Bristol, after which he was buried at St James's priory church in Bristol.⁶⁹ He had held the earldom for twenty six years, the bulk of which was taken with support for his half-sister's claim for the throne of England but he did not live long enough to see his nephew, Henry, become king.

Figure IV.4: Robert of Gloucester Founders Chapel Tewkesbury Abbey



⁶⁸ Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen 1135-1154*, pp.141-2.

⁶⁹ Crouch, 'Robert, first earl of Gloucester (*b.* before 1100, *d.* 1147)'.

William, earl of Gloucester

Figure IV.5 William of Gloucester

<http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/medieval/mss/top/glouc/d/002.htm>



William succeeded his father, Robert, in the earldom of Gloucester and to his English lands, and continued to support the Angevin cause, and despite remaining an important baron, Patterson notes that William ‘did not remain long the royal *familiaris* his father had been’.⁷⁰ Crouch argues that William was politically weaker than his father and only ruled Glamorgan and Gwent by the consent of his mother.⁷¹ William is possibly best remembered in Wales for an incident, fully discussed in Chapter III, when he suffered what amounted to a humiliating defeat at the hands of Ifor Bach of Senghenydd in the year 1158. William had maintained and renewed his father’s loyalties and treaties with such counterparts as Roger, earl of Hereford, as his father had done with Roger’s father Miles.⁷² To compound William’s lack of prestige,

⁷⁰ R.B. Patterson, *The Scriptorium of Margam Abbey and the Scribes of Early Angevin Glamorgan* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002), p. 3.

⁷¹ David Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen 1135-1154*, p. 236-7.

⁷² R.H.C. Davies, *From Alfred the Great to Stephen* (London: Hambledon Press, 1991), p. 255.

he lost his most valuable asset, the city of Bristol, which Henry II wanted in royal keeping.⁷³ Bristol was the third most important city of England and Henry must have viewed its possession in crown hands as an important step given its strategic value during the civil war against Stephen. The castle was probably re-garrisoned sometime before 1174 and possibly as early as 1164.⁷⁴ William consequently had to make Cardiff the centre of his realm. In William's dealings with the Welsh, it is very probable that he attempted to recover the lands lost by his father at the beginning of Stephen's reign while his father was serving the king at Exeter and negotiated away as a result of Robert's need for peace in Glamorgan before his leaving for Normandy.

William evidently had a less than close relationship with Henry as in 1174, regardless of the support he gave to Henry over the revolt, which is discussed later, Crouch notes that the murder of Owain ap Iorwerth was carried out by the soldiers of the earl, despite the king's issue of safe conduct for Iorwerth and his household, and may well have been intended to scupper the peace negotiations between Henry and the Welsh.⁷⁵ Henry had no time to stop and deal with the problem as he was in haste to get to Normandy but his trust in dealing with the issues and in the Lord Rhys must have been evident to Earl William.⁷⁶ It is evident that William's efforts in thwarting Welsh peace were not to his advantage on a number of levels. First, Iorwerth pursued his interests to the detriment of William's lands, attacking Caerleon as well as the lands of William and his allies ultimately to have Caerleon confirmed as his possession by Henry in a later meeting on 25 July 1175 with the Lord Rhys and other native

⁷³ Patterson, ed., *Earldom of Gloucester Charters*, p. 4.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* p. 4.

⁷⁵ David Crouch, 'The Transformation of Medieval Gwent', p. 31.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

lords present.⁷⁷ Second, William may, in showing his hand against the king's wishes, have raised Henry's suspicions of William's true loyalties, suspicions which were confirmed, as shall be seen, by Henry some eight years later.⁷⁸ It is very clear that the balance of power in the South Wales region had made a seismic shift away from the earl of Gloucester.⁷⁹ This may have been part of the strategy which Warren alludes to in the reduction of the power of the Earls in the kingdom when not a single earl was to be found in Henry's inner councils at this time.⁸⁰ Patterson argues that William's discontent with the loss of Bristol was also an open sore between Henry and William which cannot have aided trust between the men.⁸¹ William gave support to the king at the time of the revolt of 1173-4 and was recorded on 17 October with the earls of Cornwall and Arundel at Fornham near Bury St. Edmunds taking the earl of Leicester, who was in rebellion, captive.⁸² It was only ten years later in 1183 that Henry had established that William had changed to the side of the barons, who were against him. William was one of the first Henry arrested along with the Earl of Leicester.⁸³ William died on 23 November while still in the king's custody, and was survived by three daughters. It was arranged that Isabel was to marry Prince John, the future king.⁸⁴ Most importantly for the purpose of this discussion, the so called confirmation of the grants by Gruffudd ap Ifor of

⁷⁷ *Brut y Tywysogyon, Peniarth MS. 20*, trans/ Thomas Jones (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1952), pp. 70-1.

⁷⁸ Robert B. Patterson, 'Bristol: An Angevin Baronial Capital under Royal Siege', *The Haskins Society Journal*, Ed. Robert B. Patterson, Vol. 3 (1991), pp. 171-181. p. 179.

⁷⁹ Smith, 'The kingdom of Morgannwg and the Norman conquest of Glamorgan', p. 34.

⁸⁰ W.L. Warren, *Henry II* (London : Yale University Press, 2000.), p. 366.

⁸¹ Patterson, ed., *Earldom of Gloucester Charters*, pp. 3-4.

⁸² F. Barlow, *The Feudal Kingdom of England 1042-1216* (Harlow: Longman, 1999), p. 282.

⁸³ *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi benedicti abbatis. The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I, AD 1169-1192*, 2 vols., ed. William Stubbs (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1967), vol.I p. 294.

⁸⁴ Patterson, *The Scriptorium of Margam Abbey and the Scribes of Early Angevin Glamorgan*, p. 5.

lands to found a hermitage or abbey need to be seen in the light of William’s political and diplomatic ineptitude given the prevailing direction of political winds under the greater influence of Henry II and the Lord Rhys. The production of the confirmation by Earl William can best be seen in the light of the new political climate he found himself in as a result of his perceived diminishing authority in South Wales. The influence and career of the Lord Rhys was in the ascendancy whereas it would appear that his own was being at best, overshadowed, at worst, he was becoming obsolete. This latter interpretation may well be applied considering his later incarceration by Henry II already discussed. In this light, it does not stretch the imagination too much if we place the confirmation of Gruffudd ap Ifor’s gift as Earl William; not just claiming overlordship over the Lordship of Senghenydd, but also attempting to claim Pendar for his own Abbey of Margam, thus trying to undermine the foundation of Caerleon on the terms hypothesised within this thesis. The evident enmity shown against William as Lord of Glamorgan is evidenced by the regular conflict in Glamorgan.⁸⁵ Equally it must be reasonable to believe William’s feelings toward the Welsh reflected the same enmity.

King John

Figure IV.6: King John

<http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/medieval/mss/top/glouc/d/002.htm>



⁸⁵ Smith, *The Kingdom of Morgannwg and the Norman Conquest of Glamorgan*, pp. 9-39. pp.33-39.

For the purposes of this discussion little needs to be said of John as earl of Gloucester and lord of Glamorgan, as the events surrounding the establishment and fate of the lost abbey of Pendar and its attendant issues do not appear to have been influenced by John's involvement in South Wales.

The de Clare earls

Figure IV.7 Gilbert de Clare I earl of Gloucester d. 1230

<http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/medieval/mss/top/glouc/d/002.htm>



Figure IV.8 Richard De Clare II, Earl of Hertford and Gloucester d. 1262

<http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/medieval/mss/top/glouc/d/002.htm>



Figure IV.9 Gilbert II, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford (Gilbert the Red) d.1295
 Gilbert III, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford. (Gilbert the last) d. 1314
<http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/medieval/mss/top/glouc/d/002.htm>



It is not necessary here to give a full discussion of the rise of the de Clare family in England and its acquisition of the earldom of Gloucester. The details that are relevant to this thesis are those that relate to the much later annexation of native lands by Gilbert de Clare (d. 1295) called Gilbert the Red, and his son also called Gilbert (d.1314) called Gilbert the Last, and his treatment of the lands of Llantarnam Abbey. This discussion is vital to the argument of this thesis in so far as it gives an ultimate fate of the lands given by the lordship of Senghenydd for the foundation of a hermitage or abbey which is at the centre of the argument about the problem of the lost abbey, Pendar.

The de Clare family's hold on Glamorgan can be attributed to its ruthless pursuance of its perceived rights over native lordship of upland Glamorgan. During the thirteenth century the de Clares managed to annex all the native lordships in upland Glamorgan and Gwynllŵg and take complete possession of them. Senghenydd was one of the last lordships to be annexed in 1267 when its native lord Gruffudd ap Rhys, a direct descendent of Ifor Bach, was

captured and made captive in the castle at the Clare possession of Kilkenny, Ireland.⁸⁶ Cowley relates well the problems which were subsequently encountered by Llantarnam Abbey, which claimed lands in Glamorgan which were greater in total than the lands held by Margam, the majority of which had been taken by Gilbert de Clare.⁸⁷ Both Gilbert the Red and Gilbert the Last died without coming to agreement over settlement of these claims and Llantarnam resorted to the king over their grievances.⁸⁸

Hugh le Despenser

Figure IV.10: Hugh le Despenser, Earl of Gloucester d. 1326

<http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/medieval/mss/top/glouc/d/002.htm>



A detailed account of the Hugh le Despenser is not required for the purposes of this thesis but it is enough to say Hugh le Despenser gained the Earldom of Gloucester by marriage to Eleanor de Clare, the co-heiress of the three sisters to Gilbert the Last who had no male issue. Cowley also notes that the successors to the Clare dynasty as earls of Gloucester,

⁸⁶ R. R. Davies, *The age of Conquest Wales 1063-1415* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 321-2.

⁸⁷ Cowley, F. G., *The Monastic Order in South Wales 1066-1349*, p. 252.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

Despenser also dealt a blow to the Llantarnam lands in Senghenydd by again confiscating all lands which Llywelyn Bren and his followers held from Llantarnam as tenants and that the lands should be restored to the abbey.⁸⁹ Llywelyn Bren, probably the eldest son of Gruffudd ap Rhys mentioned earlier, another descendent of Ifor Bach, was in open rebellion against Hugh Despenser in the winter of 1316-17; he ultimately capitulated and surrendered to the Crown in the early part of 1317 but later was taken unlawfully by Despenser and hung drawn and quartered in Cardiff that 1318.⁹⁰

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the driving forces of immigrant lordship from the early conquest of South Wales to later annexations which this thesis argues provided the motivation for the native lordship of Senghenydd to found Pendar as an ecclesiastical institution modelled on their perceptions of church structure. The chapter has also presented evidence for the changes which Pendar undertook, and offers a solution to one of the many problems relating to the lost abbey of Pendar; what ultimately happened to its founding charter lands in Senghenydd and the fate of the abbey of Pendar.

⁸⁹ T. B. Pugh, 'The Marcher Lords of Glamorgan and Morgannwg, 1317-1485', in T. B. Pugh, ed., *Glamorgan County History 3: the Middle Ages* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1971), p 167.

⁹⁰ R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest Wales 1063-1415*, p. 388; J. Beverley Smith, 'The Rebellion of Llywelyn Bren', in T. B. Pugh, ed., *Glamorgan County History 3: the middle ages* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1971), pp. 72-86.

Chapter V

The changes made by immigrant lordship on the church in South East Wales in the early years of the conquest

The purpose of this chapter is to place the foundation of the abbey of Pendar in the context of the changes brought about in the native Welsh church in south-east Wales in the years after the Norman settlement of the area, from the last two decades of the eleventh century and evaluate the influences such changes may have had on the motivation of the founders of Pendar. It outlines the nature of the pre Norman church in south east Wales and identifies the changes made to the church, particularly in the reallocation of its lands and property in the areas that came under Norman control. Further, the chapter discusses the different expectations and intentions of the native lords in relation to the founding of the abbey of Pendar as well as the different agenda of immigrant lords in the reordering of the church. It also considers both the foundation of Pendar and the broader spread of the Cistercian movement in Wales in relation to the native Welsh church, paying particular attention to the areas of Glamorgan, Senghenydd, Gwynllŵg and parts of Gwent. Utilising archaeological details for each of the church sites given online by Archwilio, the online data base for Welsh Archaeological Trusts, and the Monastic Wales website, as well as the online database of the 1291 *Taxatio ecclesiastica*, information has been gathered to produce mapping of the geography of the developments of change, particularly in relation to the spread of early Cadoc churches and sites, and those saints who were associated with him. In Chapter II it was argued that the foundation of Pendar may have taken the form of a collection of hermitage based on the cults of local saints *i.e.* Cadoc and his mother, Gwladys.

Consequently this chapter aims to display a link between the loss of sites associated with native saints such as Cadog and his associated saints, their the apparent loss of status under immigrant lordship who put the control of many native churches to non native monastic houses of Norman England and Normandy, and the hypotheses of this thesis that those churches under native lordship experienced a form of protection from the external monastic influences of perceived alien monasteries and received a revitalisation of their native cult status. Consequently an understanding of the extent of appropriation of churches and their fate is important to the understanding of the ecclesiastical motivations for the foundation of Pendar.

All sources of information relating to the dedication of churches have been gathered together and entered in appendices which correlate with the maps that have been prepared and which appear in this chapter. The churches associated directly with the cathedral church of Llandaf have been omitted from this chapter, which is concerned with monastic foundation. However, it is useful to note that Llandaf may have been regarded with some suspicion by native lordship as an immigrant institution, given the greater importance placed on it by the reforming Normans compared to the treatment of other native ecclesiastical sites which may have been historically and culturally more important. This suggests that as a bishopric for greater Glamorgan and Gwent Llandaff may have been a Norman invention.¹

¹ John Reuben Davies, *The Book of Llandaf and the Norman Church in Wales* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), pp. 13-ff.

The Pre-Norman church

The nature of the pre Norman church in Wales would have been very alien to the Norman invaders. It would appear to not have been dependent on a diocesan and parish structure but more on monastic centres which did not correlate to strict geographical boundaries but rather those of the historic influence of the saints associated with that monastic centre which was often founded by that saint.² I have used the word ‘dedication’ of churches, but as Fisher notes, this is not to be understood in the same way as we look at post-Conquest notions of dedication. Most pre-Conquest dedications were based, not on past saints, but on the saint or person who first built the church which was done usually of wood. In many cases, according to Fisher, the church may have been named after the hermit or priest who was its first incumbent, or even the person who gave the land and built the church.³ For the purpose of this study, this chapter focuses largely upon the saints’ cults associated with south east Wales and pays particular attention to the cults of St Gwynllwyn, St Gwladys, and St Cadog, as these represent a family of saints (father, mother, and son) closely associated with the area of south east Wales of which Senghenydd was the political centre.

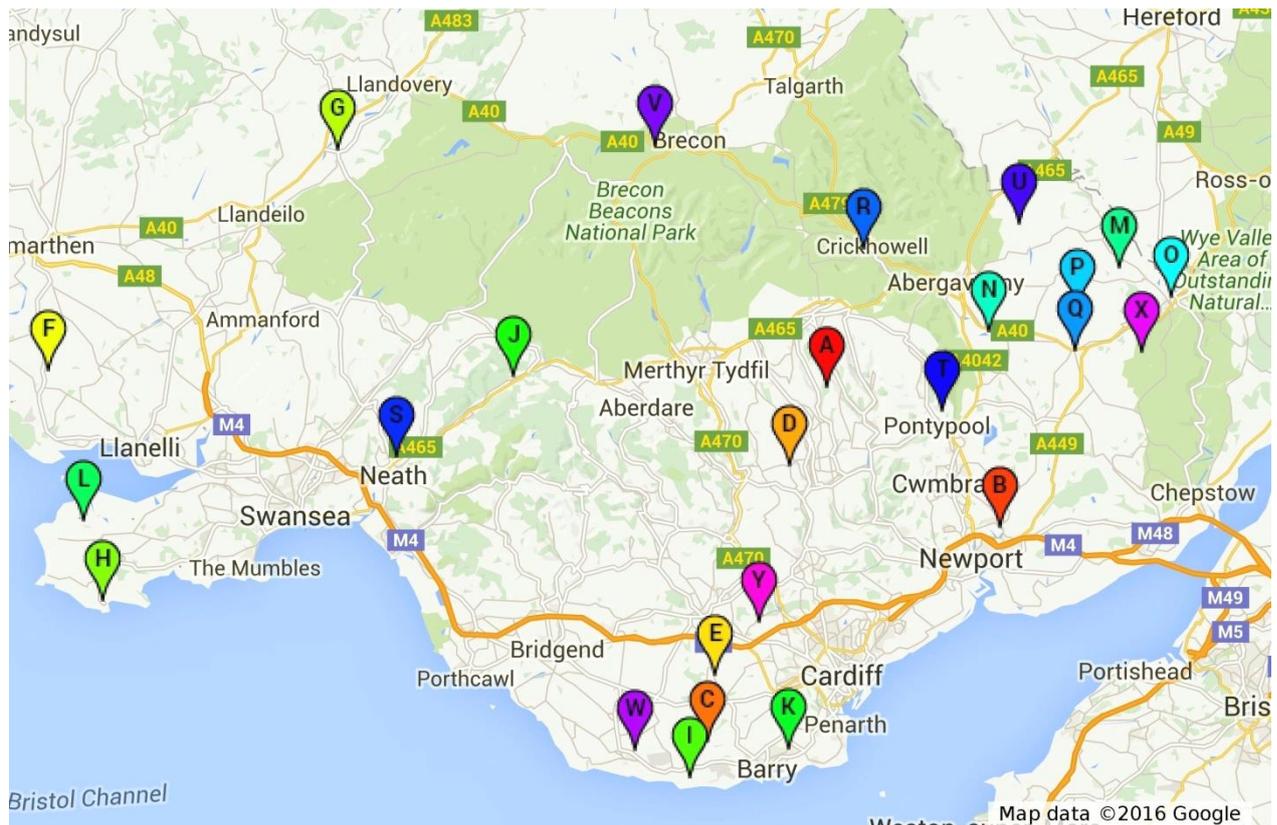
There are a number of ecclesiastical sites associated with St Cadog or Cattwg which are widely spread across South Wales from Llangadog chapel of St Cadoc, near Kidwelly, Carmarthenshire, in the west, to St Cadoc’s church at Monmouth in the east and St Cadoc’s at Llangattock Lingoed, just a few miles south east of Grosmont. Some of these sites are probably not original dedications dating from Cadog’s time, whereas others most certainly are. The following *figure V.1* gives the distribution of sites in Glamorgan, Carmarthenshire,

² J. Fisher. ‘Welsh church dedications’, *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1906-1907), pp. 76-108 (pp. 80-1).

³ *Ibid.*

and Gwent associated with St Cadog. The list also includes the chapel at Manmoel, a site mentioned in *Vita Sancti Cadoci* as the chapel of Macmoil, the dedication relates to Macmoil who was a disciple of St Cadog, for whom Cadog built the chapel with an altar and secured it with a rampart.⁴

Figure V.1: St Cadog (Cattwg) church sites



Key to Figure V.1

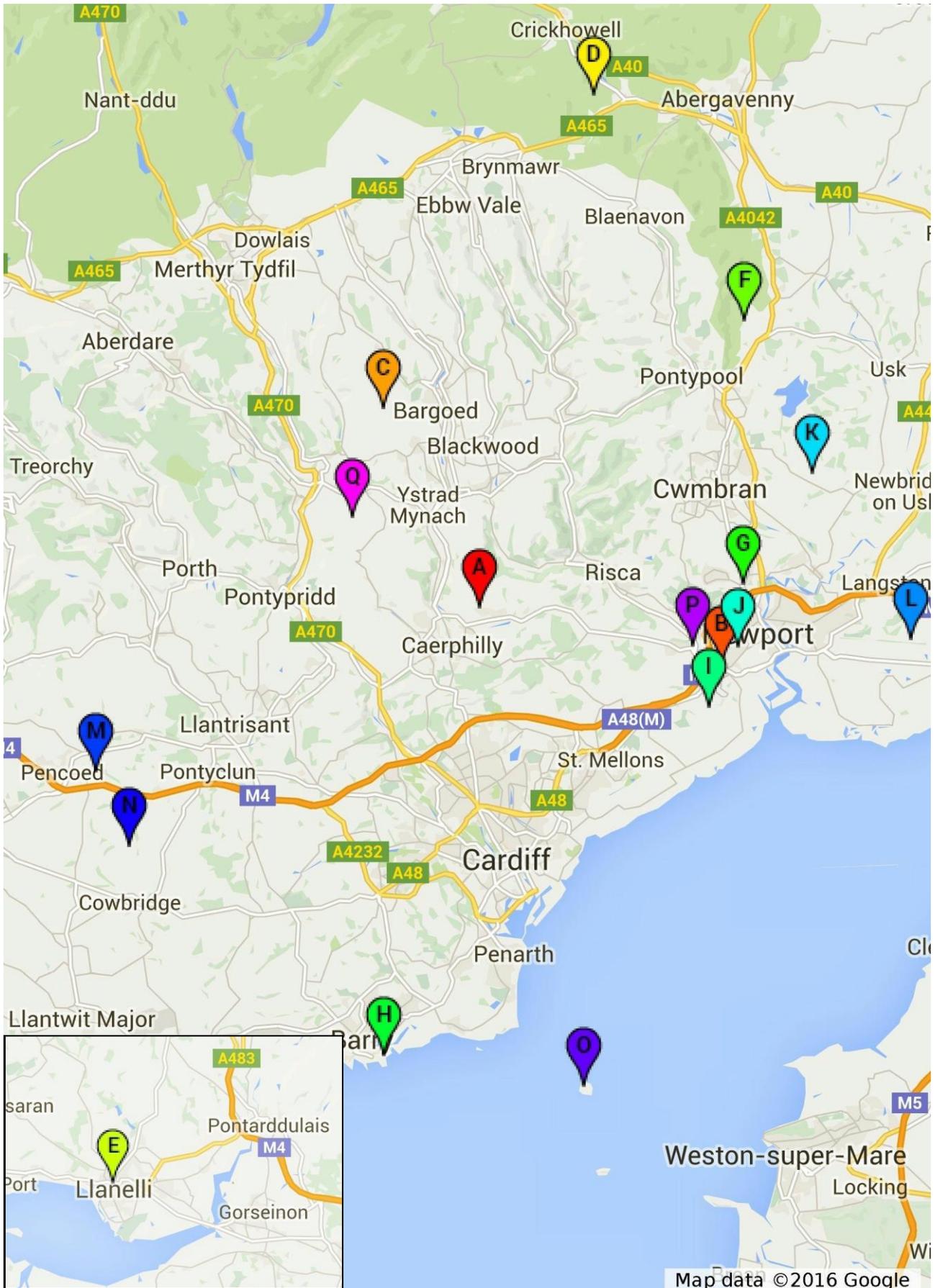
- A Chapel at Manmoel
- B St Cadoc's Church, Caerleon
- C St Cadoc's Church, Llancarfan
- D St Cattwg's Church, Gelligaer
- E St Cattwg's Church, Pendoylan
- F St Cadoc's Chapel, Kidwelly
- G St Cadog's Church, Llangadog
- H St Cattwg's Church, Port Eynon
- I St Cadoc's Chapel, East Aberthaw
- J St Cadoc (Cattwg)'s Church, Aberpergwm
- K St Cadoc's Church, Cadoxton-Juxta-Barry

⁴ *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*, ed. & trans. A.W. Wade-Evans, new edition, ed. Scott Lloyd (Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press, 2013), p. 129.

- L St Cadoc's Church, Cheriton
- M St Cadoc's Church, Llangattock Vibon Avel
- N St Cadoc's Church, Llangattock-juxta-Usk
- O St Cadoc's Church, Monmouth
- P St Cadoc's Church, Penrhos
- Q St Cadoc's Church, Raglan
- R St Cadog's Church, Llangattock
- S St Cadoc's Church, Cadoxtonjuxta-Neath
- T St Cadoc's Church, Trevethin
- U St Cadoc's Church, Llangattock Lingoed
- V St Cattwg's Church, Llanspyddid
- W St Cattwg's Church, Llanmaes
- X St Catwg's Church, Cwmcarvan
- Y St Catwyg's Church, Pentyrch

The following map (*Figure V.2*) displays sites which are dedications to those directly associated with Cadog and best described as Cadog disciples; consequently these sites can be included within Cadog cult of saints.

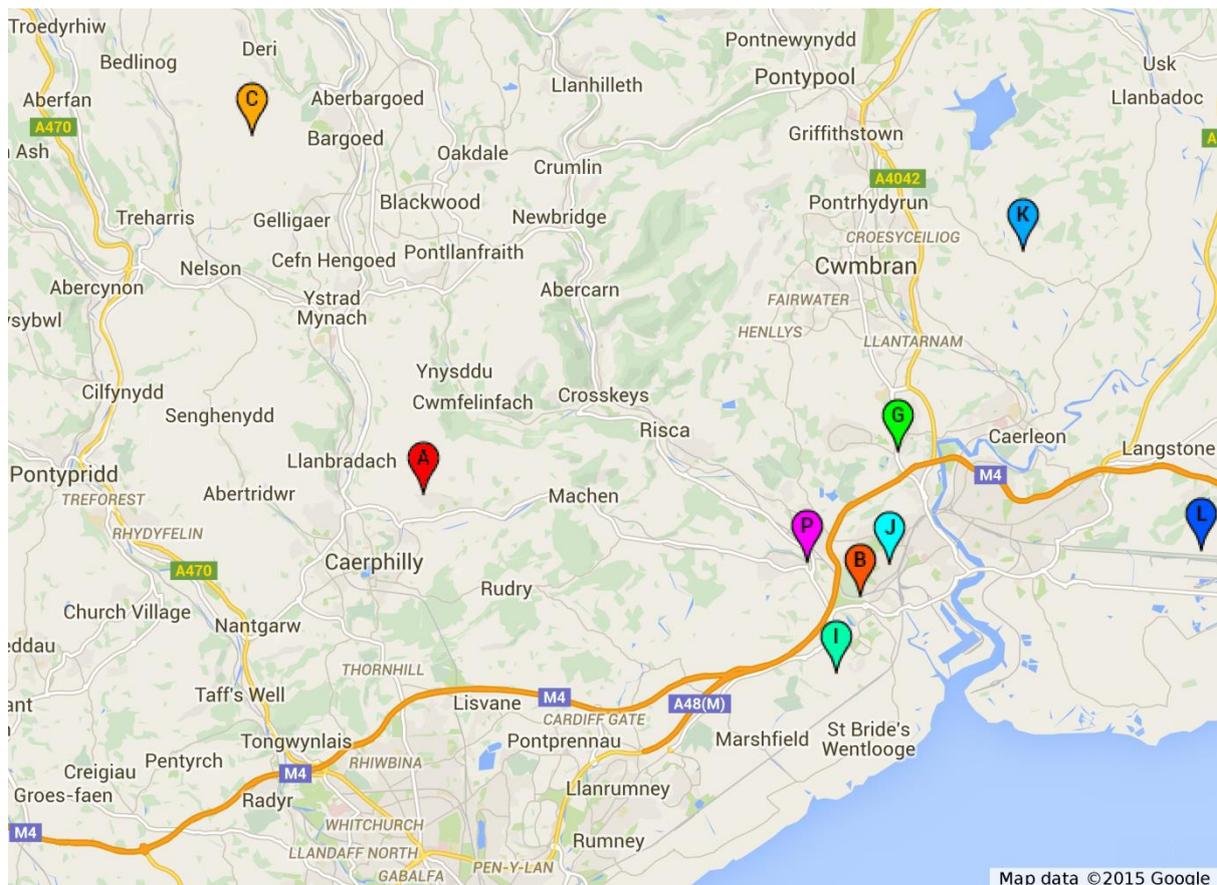
Figure V.2: church sites associated with Cadog's associates



Key Figure V.2

- A St Barrwg’s Church, Bedwas
- B Chapel of St Gwladys
- C Capel Gwladys
- D St Ellwy’s Church, Llanelly
- E St Ellyw’s Church, Llanelli
- F Mammeliat Locus
- G St Gwladys’s Church, Malpas
- H St Barruc’s Chapel
- I Ager Pencarnov
- J Egglis Guunliu
- K Merthir Tecmed
- L St Cadwaladr’s Church, Bishton
- M Llanilid
- N Civitas Beneventana (Llansannon?)
- O Echni (Flatholm)
- P St Basil’s Church, Bassaleg

Figure V.3 Inset of the Senghenydd / Gwynllŵg / Gwent areas of Figure V.2



It is interesting to note the grouping of the sites as given in *figures V.1-3* and in particular the geographical position of Capel Gwladys near Gelligaer. It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that D. Gethin-Thomas was inspired to place a lost monastery of St Cadog in the Gelligaer area (already discussed in chapter II).⁵ Edith Evans notes that sites and most importantly church dedications of St Cadog are by far the most numerous compared to any other native saint within Wales.⁶ What is most striking from *figures V.1-3* is the density of dedications and sites associated with Cadoc, Gwladys, and Gwynllwy, in the areas controlled by lords of Senghenydd and the native lords of Caerleon. It may be suggested from this evidence that this family of saints were most dear to the devotions of the native lordships compared with devotion to other saints. This should not be surprising, as Jeremy Knight notes that it would appear standard practice for many Cadoc sites to be near Roman forts, but he further notes that these sites were later associated with the centres of governance of native Welsh lords or princes, noting Gelligaer and Caerleon as examples.⁷ It is undeniable that there are other saints' cults represented in the south east Wales area, such as Iltyd and Teilo, David, and Brigit also known as Ffraid, but the Cadog group appears to overshadow these saints. It is also interesting to note at this point that St Mabon, who has a dedication at Llanfabon, would appear to have been a sister of Gwladys, both being daughters of King Brychan.⁸ This is valuable evidence, as the lands of Maesmafon constituted a portion

⁵ D. Gethin-Thomas, "'Home of a Patron Saint?'" *Gelligaer III* (1966), pp. 28-33.

⁶ Edith Evans, *Early Medieval ecclesiastical sites in southeast Wales: Desk-based assessment* (GGAT: 2003-04) [online] available at: http://www.ggat.org.uk/cadw/cadw_reports/pdfs/GGAT%2073%20Early%20Medieval%20Ecclesiastical%20Sites%20Yr1.pdf

⁷ Jeremy Knight, *South Wales from the Romans to the Normans, Christianity, Literacy and Lordship* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing., 2013), pp. 90-1.

⁸ Peter C. Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary: People in History and Legend up to about A D. 1000* (Aberystwyth: The National Library of Wales, 1993), p. 493 [online] available <http://www.llgc.org.uk/collections/digital-gallery/printedmaterial/a-welsh-classical-dictionary/> & *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*, ed. & trans. A.W. Wade-Evans, new edition, ed. Scott Lloyd (Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press, 2013), p. 25. See also the entry for Llanfabon in appendix I.

of the Senghenydd charter given to establish a hermitage or monastery of Pendar. More details on the dedications of Llanfabon can be found under 'F' in *Appendix V.9*.

Changes made by Immigrant Lordships

The subject of changes made by immigrant lordships and the consequent new affiliations of pre-existing ecclesiastical establishments and churches is a matter of debate. Lloyd makes clear that change did happen, and that sites such as Carmarthen, where St Teulyddog was replaced by St John the Evangelist, and at Cilgerran, where St Llawddog was replaced with the dedication to St Laurence, represent these changes.⁹ There is evidence for sites with dual dedications which may be attributed to the invading Norman lords feeling the need to add a more familiar dedication to an existing native dedication which would have appeared alien to them.¹⁰ An interesting church dedication is at Llangennith on the Gower which was a pre-Norman site and a *clas* church dedicated to St Cennydd.¹¹ With the coming of the Normans it was granted to the monks of St Taurinus of Evreux in Normandy early in the twelfth century by Henry de Beaumont. As an alien priory it was confiscated by the Crown in 1414, and granted to All Souls' College, Oxford, in 1442.¹² It was recorded in

⁹ J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales* (London: Longmans, Green and co., 1911, new impression, 1948), pp. 458-9.

¹⁰ Edith Evans. *Early Medieval ecclesiastical sites in southeast Wales: Desk-based assessment* (GGAT: 2003-04) p. 32 [online] available http://www.ggat.org.uk/cadw/cadw_reports/pdfs/GGAT%2073%20Early%20Medieval%20Ecclesiastical%20Sites%20Yr1.pdf

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Janet Burton and Karen Stöber, *Abbeys and Priors of Medieval Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2015), pp. 116-7.

1578 that it was jointly dedicated to Our Lady and St Cennydd.¹³ It is likely that the dedication to ‘Our Lady’ dates from the early years of the twelfth century when it was given to St Taurinus of Evreux. Jeremy Knight notes two areas in Glamorgan, Cardiff in the east and Ewenny/St Brides Major in the west, where there is almost a complete absence of native saints’ dedications and suggests that this is due to the post-Conquest replacement of dedications to saints familiar to the invaders, sometimes with the same feast days.¹⁴ Equally, there are many churches which retained their original dedications but were appropriated to the favoured monastic institutions of the invaders. It is difficult to establish the exact motivation for the immigrant lords’ need to change or add a new dedication of saint but it may be worth citing Fisher’s views on some of the origins of named native sites. He suggests that sites may have acquired or appropriated the name of the founder, and may not necessarily represent a formal dedication to a saint as we would understand the term ‘dedication’.¹⁵ If this had been a consideration of the new immigrant lords, then it would have been an alien practice to their understanding of dedication and thus from their reforming perspective, would have needed change.

Let us now consider the process by which immigrant lords gave native churches to abbeys outside Wales. These houses include Tewkesbury, Gloucester, and Glastonbury, as well as others further afield in France. Included in this discussion is the nature of the new foundations created by the incomers and the nature of their affiliations, as well as the effects on diocesan structure particularly in relation to the church of Llandaf.

¹³ Rice Merrick, *Morganiae Archaïographia, A Book of the Antiquities of Glamorganshire*, vol. I, ed. Brian L. James (Barry Island: South Wales Record Society, 1983), pp. 118-9.

¹⁴ Jeremy Knight, ‘Sources for the Early History of Morgannwg’, in H.N. Savory, ed., *Glamorgan County History 2: Early Glamorgan* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1984), pp. 380-1.

¹⁵ J. Fisher, ‘Welsh church dedications’, *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1906-1907), pp. 76-108 (pp. 80-1).

Tewkesbury Abbey

In the early years of fitz Hamo's expansion into lowland Glamorgan we find many churches and former native monastic sites given to monastic institutions outside Wales. It is not surprising that upon consolidating his lands at Cardiff, Fitz Hamo looked to 'provide a spiritual focus for the honour' as well as to gain prestige by establishing St Mary's, Cardiff, as a dependent priory of Tewkesbury Abbey.¹⁶ To this new foundation of St Mary's, Fitz Hamo donated the castle chapel, St John's Cardiff, St Thomas's Cardiff (see appendix for *Figure V.4*), the chapel at Roath (dedicated to St Margaret), St Denis of Cibbwr (Llanishen), Lisvane, Llanederyn, and Lanforda.¹⁷ By the time of the confirmation charter issued by Bishop Nicholas of Llandaff sometime between c.1173 and 1183, the endowment of Tewkesbury Abbey, of which Cardiff was a dependency, had been extended to include the following: Llandough, a pre-Conquest monastery, with its chapels of Leckwith and Cogan, is listed as a possession of the church of Cardiff, along with Llantwit Major and its chapels of Llysworney, the chapel of St Bartholomew (not identified) and St Euian of Cherletona (probably Ystradowen), the appurtenances of Llanharry, Llanharan, and Llanilid as well as St Leonard of Newcastle and its chapels of Tythegson, Laleston, the chapel in the wood east of Llynfi (the location has been identified as a chapel of Bettws at map ref: SS89908676 and listed in the *appendix V.4* as St David's Bettws), and St Thomas between Avan and Neath, the church of St James Kenfig and its chapels of St Thomas Kenfig, north and south Cornelly, Creitic (not identified) and Llangynwyd, the church of Llanbleddian and its chapel of Welsh

¹⁶ Martin Heale, *The Dependent Priors of Medieval English Monasteries*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, 22 (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2004), pp. 48-9.

¹⁷ See Appendix for *figure V.4*.

St Donats, Llanquian and Llansannor .¹⁸ *Figures V.4 and V.5* give an excellent overview of the wholesale transfer of churches to fitz Hamo's newly re-founded abbey of Tewkesbury. Tewkesbury was re-founded in 1102 when monks of Cranbourne moved from what had been its mother house to Tewkesbury. Tewkesbury became the mother house and Cranbourne was reduced to the status of a dependent priory.¹⁹ The refoundation of Tewkesbury and changed relationship between mother and daughter may indeed have been the result of expansive donations of churches and lands already made or anticipated – which came hand in hand with fitz Hamo's expansion in South Wales. *Figure V.4* demonstrates that the only obvious gaps in the sweep of Tewkesbury donations lie in the Ogmore and Llancarfan areas of lowland Glamorgan. The churches of both the Llancarfan and Ogmore/Ewenny areas, as shall be discussed later, had already been taken up with donations to Gloucester Abbey. Out of the thirty three churches in South Wales listed as grants to Tewkesbury, only fourteen appear to have kept their native dedication. The church of St Mary's in Cardiff may well have existed from an earlier date as the established church of the town of Cardiff, assuming we accept the evidence of the Margam Annals that Cardiff had already been established by King William on his journey through to St David's in West Wales.²⁰ There is no documentary or, as yet, archaeological evidence suggesting that Cardiff had an early Christian site but the presence of the Roman fort may be an indicator suggesting that such may have existed in pre-Norman times.²¹ Little is known regarding any continuity of settlement in the Cardiff area but given the possible existence of a small Roman settlement at Cardiff, it would seem logical that this

¹⁸ *Llandaff Episcopal Acta 1140 – 1287*, ed. David Crouch (Cardiff: South Wales Record Society, 1988), pp. 28-9.

¹⁹ Houses of Benedictine monks: The priories of Cranbourne and Horton', in *A History of the County of Dorset: Volume 2*, ed. William Page (London, 1908), pp. 70-73 [online]. Available <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/dorset/vol2/pp70-73>

²⁰ See above

²¹ Richard Morris, *Churches in the Landscape* (London: J.M. Dent, 1989), pp. 39-40.

site was not totally abandoned.²² The prevailing popular argument given that the site was too close to the coast to deter Viking raids seems artificial as Carmarthen, Newport, Caerleon, and Caerwent would have encountered just such a problem of raids.²³ Equally the absence of evidence of continuity of settlement would not just exclude the presence of a pre-Norman church at Cardiff, but cast doubt upon other churches such as Gelligaer which is accepted as pre-Norman.²⁴

Figure V.4 and *V.5* list and locate the identified churches held by Tewkesbury in South Wales. It will be seen that the groupings of these churches take the form of three main areas, with notable gaps for the Ewenny area and west of the Neath / Margam area; there is another void in the Llancafán area west of Cardiff and Penarth. This latter area can to some extent be explained by the presence of the cathedral church of Llandaf, but, as suggested above, even this may well have been regarded by native Welsh as an alien foundation. John Reuben Davies has expressed doubt as to the importance or existence of a pre Norman bishopric of Glamorgan or Llandaff, and this point will be discussed further below.²⁵

²² David Petts, *The Early Medieval Church in Wales* (Stroud: The History Press, 2009), p. 159.

²³ Cardiff castle official web site perpetuates the theory that the Roman site was totally abandoned see: <http://www.cardiffcastle.com/the-romans/> & Nick Shepley, *The Story of Cardiff* (New York: The History Press, 2014), Chapter 3.

²⁴ See entry for Gelligaer (L) in *appendix V.9*.

²⁵ John Reuben Davies, *The Book of Llandaf and the Norman Church in Wales* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), pp. 9-10.

Figure V.4: map of churches of Tewkesbury Abbey

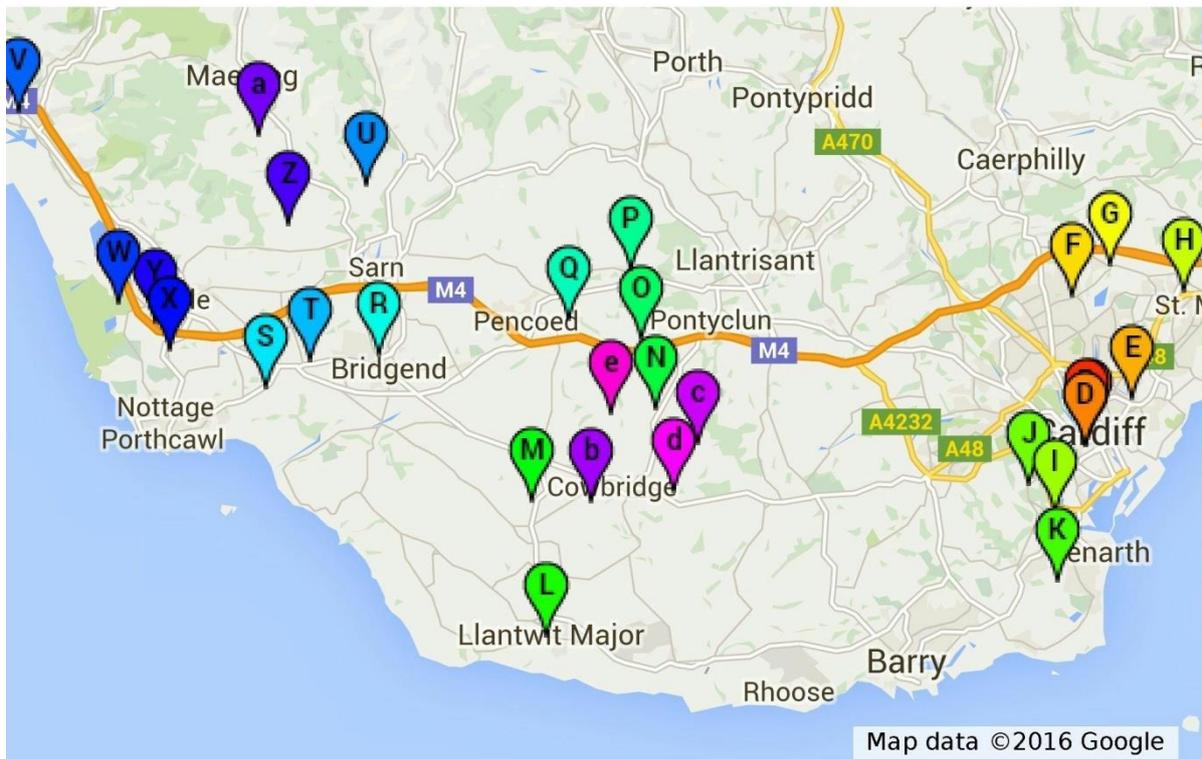


Figure V.5: the churches of Tewkesbury Abbey in Cardiff



Key to Figures V. 4 and V. 5

A	ST MARY'S PRIORY CHURCH, CARDIFF
B	CASTLE CHAPEL
C	ST JOHN THE BAPTIST'S CHURCH, CARDIFF
D	ST THOMAS'S CHURCH, CARDIFF
E	ST MARGARET'S CHURCH, ROATH
F	ST DIONYSIUS'S CHURCH, LLANISHEN
G	ST DENIS'S CHURCH, LISVANE
H	ST EDERN'S CHURCH, LLANEDEYRN
I	CHURCH OF ST DOCHDWY, LLANDOUGH
J	ST JAMES'S CHURCH, LECKWITH
K	ST PETER'S CHURCH, COGAN
L	ST ILLTYD'S CHURCH, LLANTWIT MAJOR
M	ST TYDFIL'S CHURCH, LLYSWORNEY
?	ST BARTHOLOMEW'S CHURCH (no possible site can be identified)
N	ST OWAIN'S CHURCH, YSTRADOWEN
O	ST ILLTYD'S CHURCH, LLANHARRY
P	ST JULIAN'S AND ST AARON'S CHURCH, LLANHARAN
Q	CHURCH OF ST ILID AND CURIG, LLANILID
R	ST ILLTYD'S CHURCH, NEWCASTLE
S	ST TYDWG'S CHURCH, TITHEGSTON
T	ST DAVID'S CHURCH, LALESTON
U	ST DAVID'S CHURCH, BETTWS
V	CHAPEL DEDICATED TO? ST THOMAS
W	ST JAMES'S CHURCH, KENFIG
X	CHURCH OF ST CORNELIUS, SOUTH CORNELLY
Y	ST WENDUINSS CHAPEL, NORTH CORNELLY
Z	CAPEL BAIDEN/ST THOMAS OF CREITIC (TREYKIK)
a	ST CYNWYD'S CHURCH, LLANGYNWYD
b	ST JOHN THE BAPTIST CHURCH, LLANBLETHIAN
c	ST DONATS CHURCH, WELSH ST DONATS
d	ST JAMES CHAPEL, LLANQUIAN
e	ST SENEWYR'S CHURCH, LLANSANNOR

It is evident that many of the dedications remained unaltered but there is some evidence of change, such as Llanishen and Lisvane, which most probably started with the dedication of Isen to a post conquest Dionysius or Denis (see *Appendix to figure V.4*).

Gloucester Abbey and its dependency at Ewenny

Gloucester was another important recipient of lands and churches as a result of the Norman advances in South Wales. In analysing the significance of the churches acquired by

Gloucester Abbey it is advantageous to look at the groups of churches administered by Gloucester's priories in South Wales. Ewenny Priory was situated near Ogmores Castle, which marked the westernmost advance of Fitz Hamo's followers in the initial years of Norman advances. As discussed above, Ogmores was entrusted to William de Londres and he it was who was the founder of Ewenny c. 1131 as a dependency of Gloucester.²⁶ The priory achieved conventual status c. 1141 under the patronage of Maurice, son of William de Londres.²⁷ By 1141 Ewenny Priory had gained a significant number of churches, and these are shown in the following map (*Figure V.6*). It is evident that the two stages in the early development of Ewenny were engineered first by the father, William, c. 1131, and second by the son, Maurice, c. 1141. An interesting element in the establishment of the priory at Ewenny is that it is believed that the foundation stands on a pre-existing native site of some importance (see *Appendix V.6* for more details.).

²⁶ See Chapter IV.

²⁷ Burton and Stöber, *Abbeys and Priories of Medieval Wales*, p. 90.

Figure V.6: churches granted to Gloucester's dependency of Ewenny Priory



Key to Figure V. 6

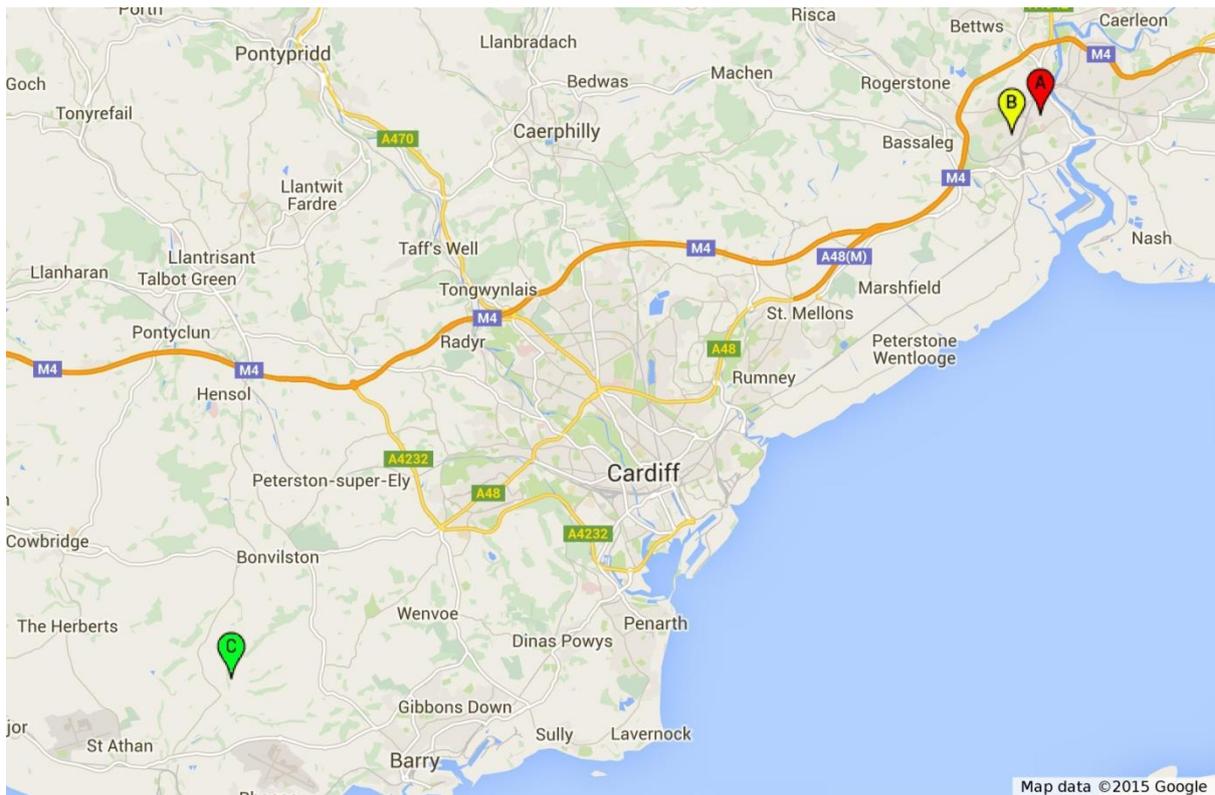
- A EWENNY PRIORY
- B ST BRIDGET'S CHURCH, ST BRIDES MAJOR
- C ST MICHAEL & ALL ANGELS, COLWINSTON
- D ST TYFODWG'S CHURCH, LLANDYFODWG (GLYNOGWR)
- E ALL SAINTS CHURCH, OYSTERMOUTH
- F ST ILLTUD'S CHURCH, PEMBREY
- G CAPEL CYNNOR, ST CYNFWR'S
- H ST ISHMAEL'S CHURCH, ST ISHMAELS
- I ST TYFAELOG'S CHURCH, LLANDYFAELOG
- J CAPEL IFAN, ST JOHN'S CHAPEL, CAPEL IEUANR
- K ST CYNDEYRN'S CHURCH, LLANGYNDEYRN
- L CAPEL LLANGYNHEIDDON; CAPEL KENEYTHAN;
- M CAPEL DYDDGEN; CAPEL LLYDDGEN
- N ST CEINWYR'S CHURCH, LLANGAINOR
- O ST ELLYW'S CHURCH, LLANELLI
- P ST JOHN'S, CAPEL IFAN; ST JOHN'S CHAPEL PONTYBEREM
- Q ST DAVID'S CHURCH, LLANELLI; CAPEL DEWI, CAPEL BERWICK

Not in Wales: Hunnington, Wilts, and East Garston, Berks. (not shown on map).

What is evident in the establishment of this cell at Ewenny by de Londres, is his ambition to emulate both fitz Hamo's establishment Cardiff as a dependent priory and similarly Robert de la Haye in Newport who had established a dependent priory of Gloucester Abbey at what is now St. Woolos. The latter is discussed later in this chapter. When Maurice de Londres sought to raise Ewenny to conventual status around 1141 he increased his father's initial endowment with the addition of lands and churches in the commote of Carnwyllion which lay between the rivers Loughor and Towy in what was the diocese of St Davids.²⁸ It is evident from Maurice's actions that the family perceived Ewenny as the spiritual centre of their dominions in South Wales. It can be deduced that the Londres dynasty thus far had pursued a policy of rapacious evangelistic patronage to their priory of Ewenny must therefore be assumed that, if they had been permitted any further expansion of their domains, they would have almost certainly donated more churches to Ewenny Priory with equal energy as they had displayed by c. 1141. This is self evident in their gleaning every advantage from their held lordships to the benefit of Ewenny. This is non-so evident with the churches of Pembrey and St Ishmael the detail of which can be seen in *appendix V.6*.

²⁸ *St Davids Episcopal Acta, 1085-1280*, ed. Julia Barrow (Cardiff: South Wales Record Society, 1998), pp.115-6.

Figure V.7. Gloucester churches other than Ewenny.



Key to Figure V.7. Gloucester churches other than Ewenny.
(see also *Appendix V.7* for more details on the sites).

- A ST WOOLOS' CATHEDRAL, NEWPORT
- B EGLIS GUUNLIU
- C ST CADOC'S CHURCH, LLANCCARFAN

As well as the churches associated with Ewenny, the only other churches given to Gloucester were Llanccarfan and St Woolos (Newport). Llanccarfan was given by Robert fitz Hamo sometime before he died in 1107. Therefore a possible date for the gifts to Gloucester were sometime in the intervening years of 1095-1104, the later date given is the date of the death of one of the witnesses of the charter, Bishop Serlo, and the early date that of as another witness, Garimon who was abbot of Winchcombe from 1095 to 1122.²⁹ Llanccarfan was a significant native monastery in South Wales and, as mentioned above, was the important

²⁹ Jeremy Knight, *South Wales from the Romans to the Normans, Christianity, Literacy and Lordship* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2013), p. 153.

centre of the Cattwg or Cadoc cult of saints. Knight suggests that the takeover by Gloucester of Llanccarfan may not have been totally unwelcome, but given its former status in Glamorgan as an important monastery, with a history pre-eminent to that Llandaff, and its reduction to a possession of a Norman abbey, this view would seem hard to sustain.³⁰ Regardless of how the takeover may have been viewed at Llanccarfan, for the purposes of this thesis, the more important perception to be addressed is that of the view of native lordship and how Senghenydd in particular may have seen the demise of St Cadog's monastery. It may well be that it was another axe to be ground regarding the Normanisation of South East Wales and its disregard for native tradition. The overriding perception may have been of another monumental insult to their spirituality and traditions of worship. We must remember that the lords of Senghenydd would most probably have been aware of the traditional links Cadog had with Senghenydd.

Figure V.8 St Cadoc's church, Llanccarfan



³⁰ John Reuben Davies, *The Book of Llandaf and the Norman Church in Wales*, p.15; Knight, *South Wales from the Romans to the Normans, Christianity, Literacy and Lordship*, p. 153.

St Woolos in Newport was also a pre-existing native monastic centre dedicated to Cadoc's father, Gwynllyw who founded the monastery.³¹ The donation was made by Robert de la Haye with fitz Hamo's consent and apparently the consent of William Rufus, probably sometime around 1093.³² This pattern of ecclesiastic patronage and priory foundation on a site of an important pre-Norman church and establishing a site of secular lordship nearby was to become a recurrent pattern as already witnessed with Ewenny and will be discussed with fitz Hamo later in this chapter.³³ Robert fitz Hamo followed the same example already discussed, first with the grant of Llancarfan to Gloucester and then with the transfer of Cardiff and the many other centres of pre Norman churches in lowland Glamorgan to Tewkesbury (see *Figure V.4*).

Glastonbury Abbey

Another major beneficiary in the Gwynllwg area was Glastonbury Abbey. Probably very soon after Robert de la Haye gave the church of St Woolos to Gloucester, he endowed the monks of Glastonbury with Bassaleg and its dependent churches and chapels. The geographical spread of these churches as located on *Figure V.9a*, is clear evidence of the considerable gains that Robert de la Haye had made in Gwynllwg at the expense of native lordship in the years around the turn of the century. These have been discussed in Chapter IV. It is certainly evident that there were considerable depredations to native influence over the

³¹ *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*, ed. & trans. A.W. Wade-Evans, new edition, ed. Scott Lloyd (Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press, 2013), p. 177.

³² David Crouch, 'The Transformation of Medieval Gwent', in Ralph A. Griffiths *et al*, ed., *The Gwent County History Vol. 2 : The Age of the Marcher Lords, c.1070-1536* (University of Wales Press: Cardiff, 2008), pp.19-20.

³³ *Ibid.*

church of lower Gwynllwg. Of the churches mentioned below, Bassaleg would most certainly be one of considerable importance. The dedication of St Basil is an evident corruption of the word *basilica* (A basilica is a high ranking church confirmed by the Pope and often built over the burial place of a saint.³⁴) and it has been argued that Bassaleg may be a late Roman ecclesiastical site and most certainly a monastery probably more important than St Woolos cathedral site.³⁵ It can be suggested that as Bassaleg had a number of pre-Norman chapels under its umbrella of influence, some with evident Cadoc connections, the loss of such a church by native lordship would have been hard felt. Most importantly for the purposes of this discussion, Knight notes a possible link between Bassaleg and St Gwladys, the very same Gwladys of Capel Gwladys of the Senghenydd charter given to the brothers of Pendar to establish a monastery.³⁶ Knight notes that only a few yards from Bassaleg church a detached chapel named Eglwys y Bedd which was where the grave chapel of St Gwladys had stood until the nineteenth century and it was Bassaleg which had been the mother church of Gwynllŵg not St Gwynllwy's (later St Woolos).³⁷ Understanding the importance of Bassaleg as the mother church of Gwynllŵg it may be that in one fell swoop Robert de la Haye gave control of the bulk of Gwynllŵg's churches possibly without establishing military control over the whole of Gwynllŵg. This is a view supported by Crouch who notes that Robert de la Haye does not give any land grants to his new priory other than fishing rights and meadowland in the lower reaches of the Ebbw Valley which suggests de la Haye did not have full control of all of Gwynllŵg.³⁸ Of the constituent churches making up the dependencies of

³⁴ <http://english.stackexchange.com/questions/20382/whats-the-difference-between-a-cathedral-and-a-basilica>

³⁵ See *Appendix V.9a* for details of arguments relating to Bassaleg.

³⁶ See above

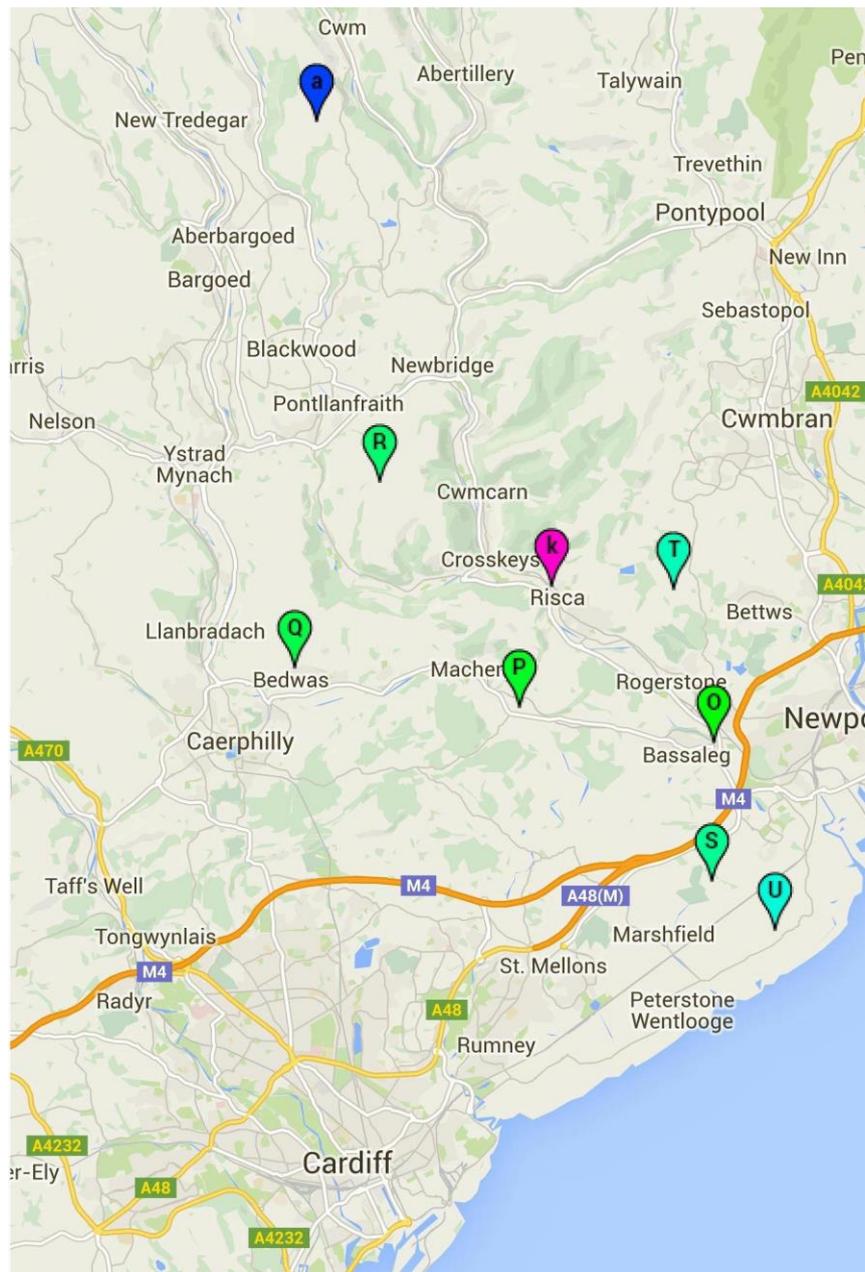
³⁷ Jeremy Knight, *South Wales from the Romans to the Normans, Christianity, Literacy and Lordship*, pp. 37-8.

³⁸ David Crouch, 'The Transformation of Medieval Gwent', p. 20.

Bassaleg, the only certain church to retain its native dedication was that of St Barrwg, who had Cadoc links. The church at Manmoil (item 'a' on figure V.9a) does not appear to have had a dedication attached to it but was none the less an important Cadoc related site. The church of St Bridget would most probably have been previously dedicated as St Ffraid and it is most probable that as all the sites would appear to be pre-Norman sites then their dedications would have been native.³⁹ It is possible therefore to suggest that, if the identification of Bassaleg as the burial site of St Gwladys can be accepted, the identification 'Basilica' may reinforce this hypothesis, it may well be that a number of the dependent chapels may have had Cadog or Cadoc disciple dedications and most certainly dedications to native saints.

³⁹ See *appendix V.12* for details of argument.

Figure V.9a: Bassaleg Churches



Key to Figure V.9a: Bassaleg churches

- O. ST BASIL'S CHURCH, BASSALEG
- P. MACHEN CHURCH
- Q. ST BARRWG'S CHURCH AT BEDWAS
- R. ST TUDOR'S CHURCH AT MYNYDDISLWYN
- S. COEDKERNEW CHURCH
- T. ST PETER'S CHURCH AT HENLLYS
- U. ST BRIDGET'S CHURCH AT ST BRIDES WENTLOOG
- k. ST MARY'S CHURCH AT RISCA
- a. MAC MOILO/MAPENOIL/MAMHOLE

The Alien Priors

The problems which arose from the loss of influence over churches from the perspective of native lordship in south east Wales was not a totally new phenomenon. Norman expansion into Gwent had been taking place before fitz Hamo had made his moves with de la Haye in the 1090s. *Figure V.10* demonstrates the geographic spread of churches lost to alien priories, that is, priories dependent upon French houses as opposed to the abbeys in England such as Gloucester and Tewkesbury. To some extent, with the exception of Llangua, the establishment of these priories follow the movement east to west of the Norman advance, starting with the Norman foothold at Chepstow in the east, then Monmouth in the north east of Gwent, moving West to Abergavenny, followed by lowland Gwent with Goldcliff, Malpas, and then inland to Usk. Looking at each of these priories in chronological order of foundation, it is evident that the individual lords responsible for their establishment looked to home foundations to create spiritual centres for their new domains. It is not surprising that within just a few years of the Norman Conquest of Anglo-Saxon England the new elite would still be looking to Normandy for mother houses to enrich.

Key to *Figure V.10*

CHEPSTOW PRIORY founded by William fitz Osbern before 1071⁴⁰

All items ●

MONMOUTH PRIORY founded by Wihenoc before 1087⁴¹

All items ●

ABERGAVENNY PRIORY founded by Hamelin de Ballon c. 1100-35⁴²

All items ●

GOLDCLIFF founded by Robert de Chandos 1113⁴³

All items ●

MALPAS PRIORY founded by tradition by Winbald de Baeluns but most probably by Robert de la Haye c. 1122⁴⁴

All items ●

USK PRIORY founded possibly by Richard de Clare before 1136, but more likely by Richard (Strongbow) before 1176⁴⁵

All items ●

LLANGUA founder not known but before 1183⁴⁶

All items ●

⁴⁰ Burton and Stöber, *Abbeys and Priories of Medieval Wales*, p.77.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 144.

⁴² *Ibid.* p. 36.

⁴³ *Ibid.* p. 95.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p. 135.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p. 210.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. 118.

Figure V.10: churches granted to the alien priories

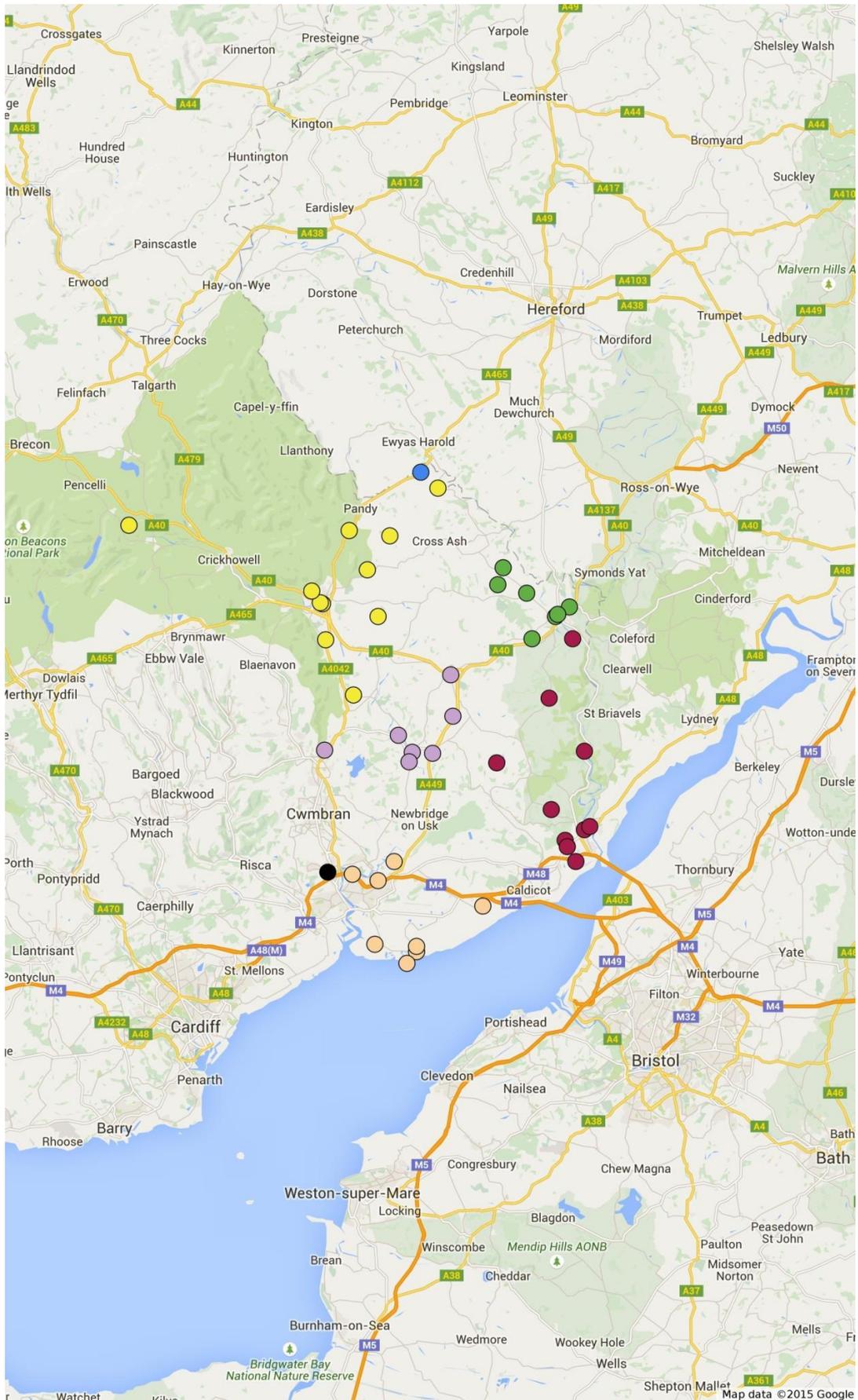


Figure V.10 shows the extent of the influence of the alien priories over the churches in the area of south east Wales. The following paragraphs give a breakdown of the churches of the priories and the geographical extent of their influence.

Chepstow Priory

Chepstow was a dependent priory of Cormeilles Abbey.⁴⁷ According to Cowley the only church it was granted was the priory church of St Mary's Chepstow, but closer investigation reveals that the following churches were also granted to Chepstow Priory. Of these, Howick, Mathern, and Mounton were most probably pre-Norman ecclesiastical sites:⁴⁸

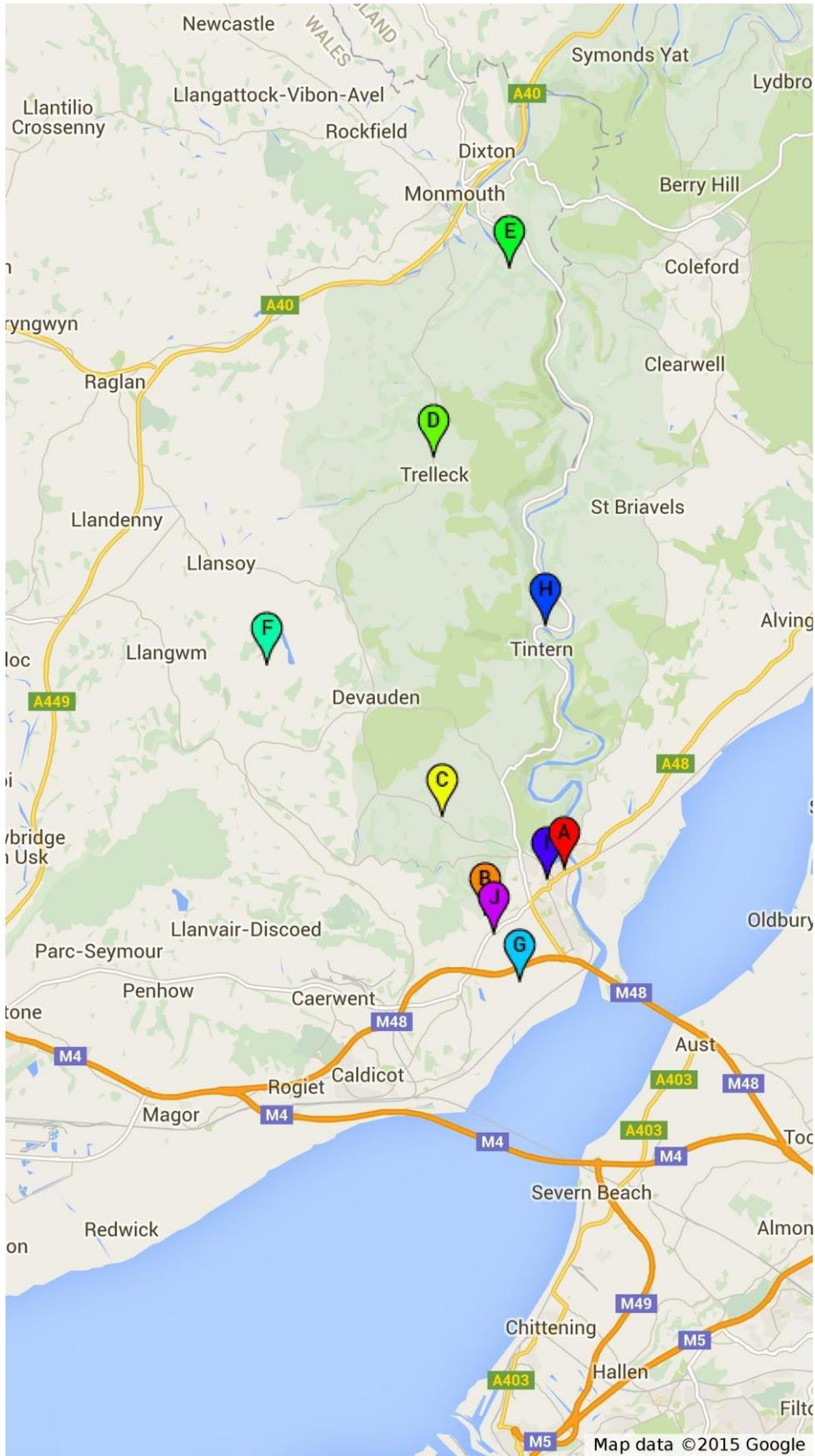
Key to Map V.10b: The churches of Chepstow Priory

- A ST MARY'S CHURCH, CHEPSTOW
- B ST AUDOENUS'S CHURCH, MOUNTON
- C ST WARMET'S CHAPEL, HOWICK *
- D ST NICHOLAS'S CHURCH, TRELLECH
- E ST MARY'S CHURCH, PENALLT OLD CHURCH
- F ST THOMAS BECKET'S CHURCH, WOLVESNEWTON
- G ST TEWDERIC'S CHURCH, MATHERN*
- H CHURCH OF ST MICHAEL AND ALL ANGELS, TINTERN
- I ST THOMAS'S CHAPEL (MOUNTON?)*
- J PWLL MEURIG CHAPEL (HOWICK?)*

⁴⁷ Burton and Stöber, *Abbeys and Priories of Medieval Wales*, p.77.

⁴⁸ See *appendix V.10b* for details of dedications and origin.

Map V.10b: The churches of Chepstow Priory



Monmouth Priory

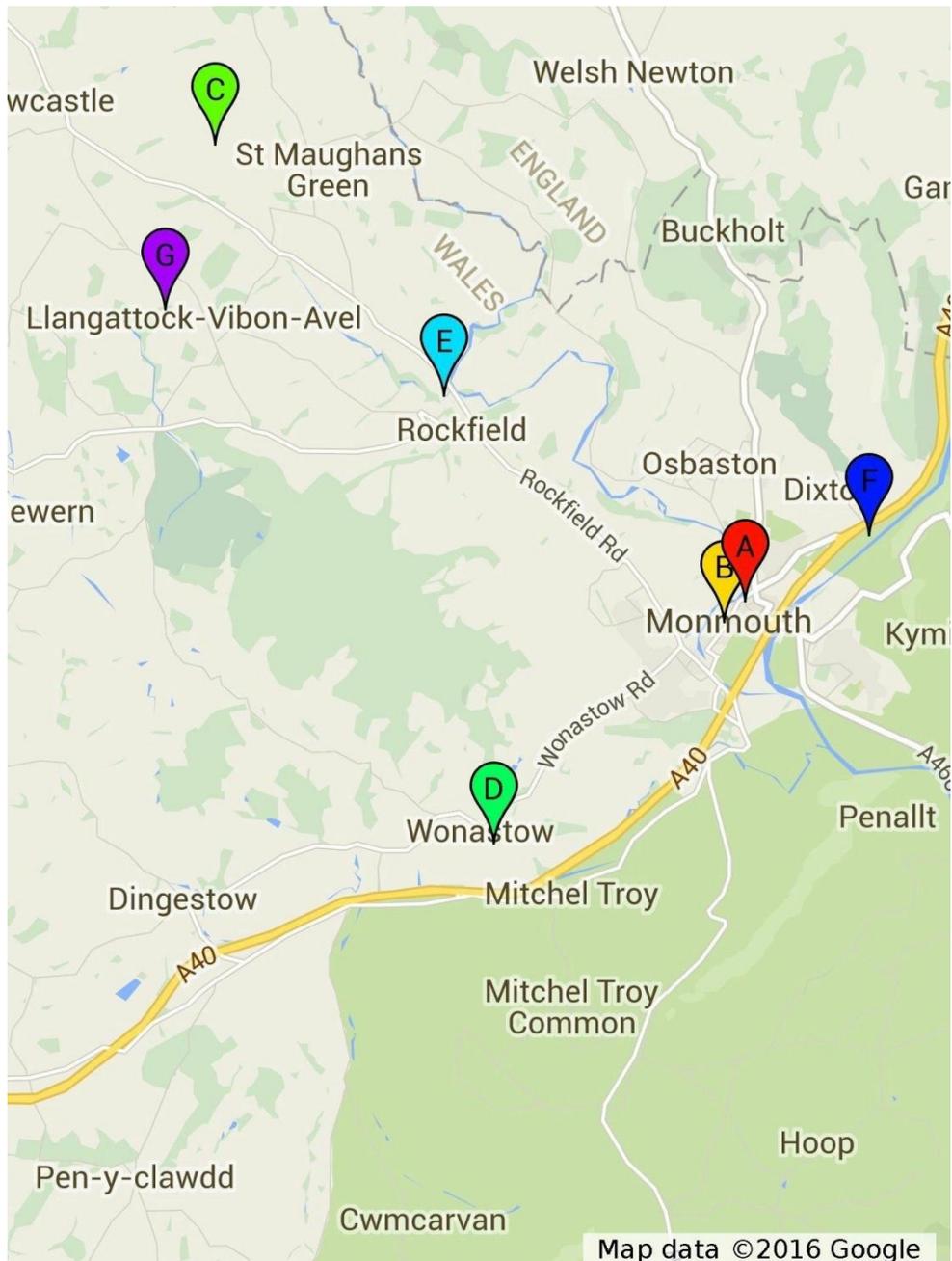
A dependency of St Florent de Saumur, Monmouth is another alien priory site which may have occupied a previously established native ecclesiastical site. It most certainly had a pre-Norman foundation within sight of the castle at Monmouth with a Cadoc dedication, as this provided the original home of the monks who were brought to Monmouth by Wihenoc. It is also possible that there was an early medieval church somewhere in Monmouth with the Mary dedication '*ecclesiam sancte Marie*'. This is supported by a Llandaff charter 231 as a gift by Brochfael ap Meurig of three modii of land to this church c. 910. Wendy Davies lists this charter in her study of the Llandaff Charters and identifies it with Monmouth.⁴⁹ As can be seen from the list of churches associated with the Monmouth Priory, most have a native dedication and can be linked either to Cadoc or Cadoc's disciples (see *Appendix V.10c*). The church at Dixton was previously dedicated to St Tedioc which may be a reworking of the name of Cadoc.⁵⁰ The only dedication of these churches not linked in some way with St Cadoc is the Mary dedication mentioned above.⁵¹ The pre-existence of a native monastic foundation at Monmouth cannot be ruled out as discussed earlier but as to whether it had the same status in the region as Bassaleg with its attendant churches cannot be easily verified.

⁴⁹ Wendy Davies, '*The Llandaff Charters*' (Aberystwyth: The National library of Wales, 1979), p.122. & See *Appendix V.10c* for details.

⁵⁰ Annales de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'arrondissement de Saint-Malo, *Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'arrondissement de Saint-Malo* (Saint-Malo (France), 1911), p. 180.

⁵¹ See *Appendix V.10c*.

Figure V.10c: the churches of Monmouth Priory



Key to Figure V.10c: the churches of Monmouth Priory

- A ST MARY'S CHURCH, MONMOUTH
- B ST CADOC'S CHURCH, MONMOUTH
- C ST MAUGHAN'S CHURCH, ST MAUGHANS
- D ST WONNOW'S CHURCH, WONASTOW
- E ST CENEDLON'S CHURCH, ROCKFIELD
- F DIXTON CHURCH
- G ST CADOC'S CHURCH AT LLANGATTOCK VIBON AVEL

Abergavenny Priory

The Benedictine priory of St Mary's Abergavenny was a dependency of St Vincent de Mans.⁵² Abergavenny boasted a number of churches dedicated to St Cadoc and his disciples of which some of their dedications have been changed. Llanelen, which may be the Llanelli of St. Elli referred to in *Vita Sancti Cadoci*, changed to St. Helen.⁵³ The church at Dixton is of considerable interest as it may be, if the sources are correct, that the church's original dedication may refer directly to St Cadog. (For more information on Dixton see entry in appendix V.10c.)

Key to *Figure V.10d*.

- A ST MARY'S PRIORY, ABERGAVENNY
- B ST JOHN'S CHURCH, ABERGAVENNY
- C ST MICHAEL'S CHURCH, LLANFIHANGEL CRUCORNEY
- D ST NICHOLAS'S CHURCH AT GROSMONT
- E ST CADOC'S CHURCH AT LLANGATTOCK LINGOED
- F ST DAVID'S CHURCH, LLANDDEWI SKIRRID
- G ST HELEN'S CHURCH, LLANELEN
- H ST DAVID'S CHURCH, LLANDDEWI RHYDDERCH
- J CAPREOLO
- K ST DAVID'S CHAPEL AT LLWYNDU, ABERGAVENNY

⁵² For more information on the foundation see *appendix V.10d*.

⁵³ *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*, ed. & trans. A.W. Wade-Evans, new edition, ed. Scott Lloyd (Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press, 2013), pp.104-6.

Goldcliff Priory

The conventual priory of Goldcliff was established as an alien priory of Bec Abbey, near Rouen (Normandy), by Robert de Chandos in 1113.⁵⁴ As Cowley indicated, Goldcliff was the wealthiest Benedictine priory in South Wales.⁵⁵ Most of the areas associated with Goldcliff's acquisitions and its churches were under some Norman influence from early years after 1066. With the probable omission of St Julian's (H) which was a pre-Norman shrine, due to the scarcity of archaeological and documentary evidence for the sites given to Goldcliff, it is difficult to evaluate the impact of their transfer to Goldcliff on the native pre-Norman church. Holy Trinity at Christchurch may date from the pre-Norman, as may Mount St Albans Chapel. St Mary's Undy may also have been pre-Norman with an earlier dedication of Gwndi.⁵⁶ However, this dedication is questionable as a dedication in its modern sense of the term dedication; it is more probably that they record the lands given to the church, as Rees suggests in noting the lands of 'Caer Nonou' from the Liber Llandavensis charter 221 c. 950, which he associates with Undy.⁵⁷ Nonetheless, it would appear from this entry in *Liber Landavensis* that there may have been a pre-Norman church here.⁵⁸ Perhaps an important point to make here is that Goldcliff did not stay long in the hands of Norman patronage and as a result of a resurgence of native lordship, Morgan ab Owain gained by conquest the patronage of Goldcliff from 1136.⁵⁹ Goldcliff seems to have stayed under Welsh patronage with intermittent interruptions until 1270 when Gilbert 'the Red' de Clare brought

⁵⁴ Marjorie Morgan, *The English Lands of The Abbey of Bec* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946), p. 11.

⁵⁵ F. G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales 1066-1349*, p. 15.

⁵⁶ Diane Brookes, 'The Early Christian Church in Gwent', *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*, vol. V Part 3 (1985-1988), pp. 67-84 (p. 84).

⁵⁷ *The Liber Llandavensi, Llyfr Teilo*, ed. Rev. W. J. Rees (Llandoverly: Welsh Mss. Society, 1840), pp. 15, 479.

⁵⁸ See *Appendix V.10e* for more details.

⁵⁹ David Crouch, 'The Transformation of Medieval Gwent', p. 26.

Welsh influence in the area to its final end.⁶⁰ More important is the appearance in historic record of the church of Undy granted to Goldcliff by Hywel of Caerleon who was the native lord of Caerleon and descendent of Morgan ab Owain's brother Iorwerth.⁶¹ This gift to Goldcliff may have represented Hywel's claim to the area which is geographically close to Caldicot and Chepstow to display his claims of lordship for the area, at the same time emulating the practice of previous Norman lords in their donations to abbeys and priories. As can be seen from *figure V.10e*, Undy is the most easterly church possessed by Goldcliff and borders on lands and churches given to Chepstow. For more information of the churches see *appendix V.10e*.

Key to *figure V.10e*

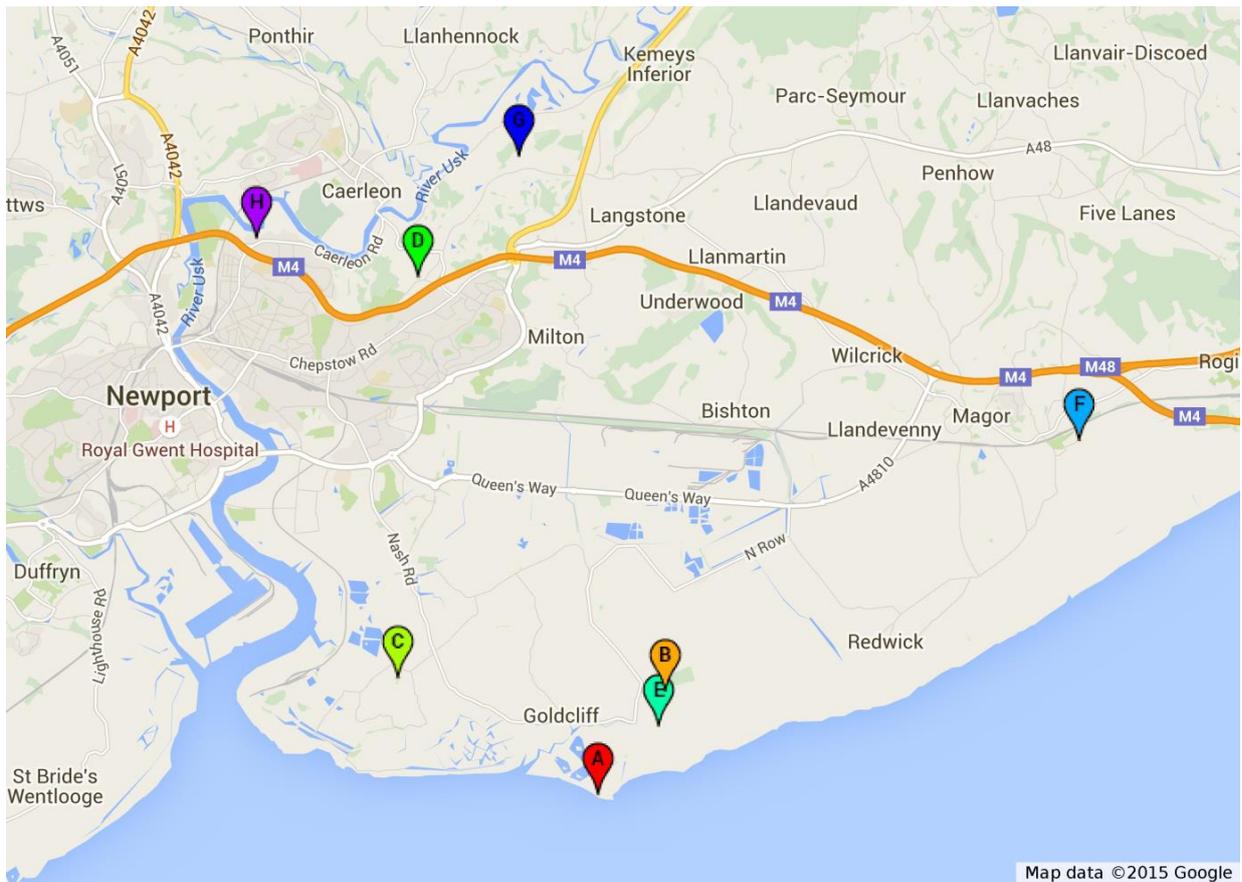
- A GOLDCLIFF PRIORY
- B WITSON PARISH CHURCH
- C ST MARY'S CHURCH, NASH
- D HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, CHRISTCHURCH
- E PORTON CHURCH
- F ST MARY'S CHURCH, UNDY
- G MOUNT ST ALBANS CHAPEL
- ST. PETER'S CHURCH, PETERSTONE (not included on map see text)
- H ST JULIAN'S CHAPEL⁶²

⁶⁰ David Crouch and Graham Thomas, 'Three Goldcliff Charters', *National Library of Wales Journal*, 24 (1985), pp 153-163 (p. 154).

⁶¹ *Calendar of the Charter rolls preserved in the Public Record Office*, ed. H.C. Maxwell Lyte, in 6 vols, (London: Public Record Office, 1903-27), vol. II, p. 360.

⁶² See *Appendix V.10e* for more details regarding sites.

Figure V.10e: churches of Goldcliff Priory



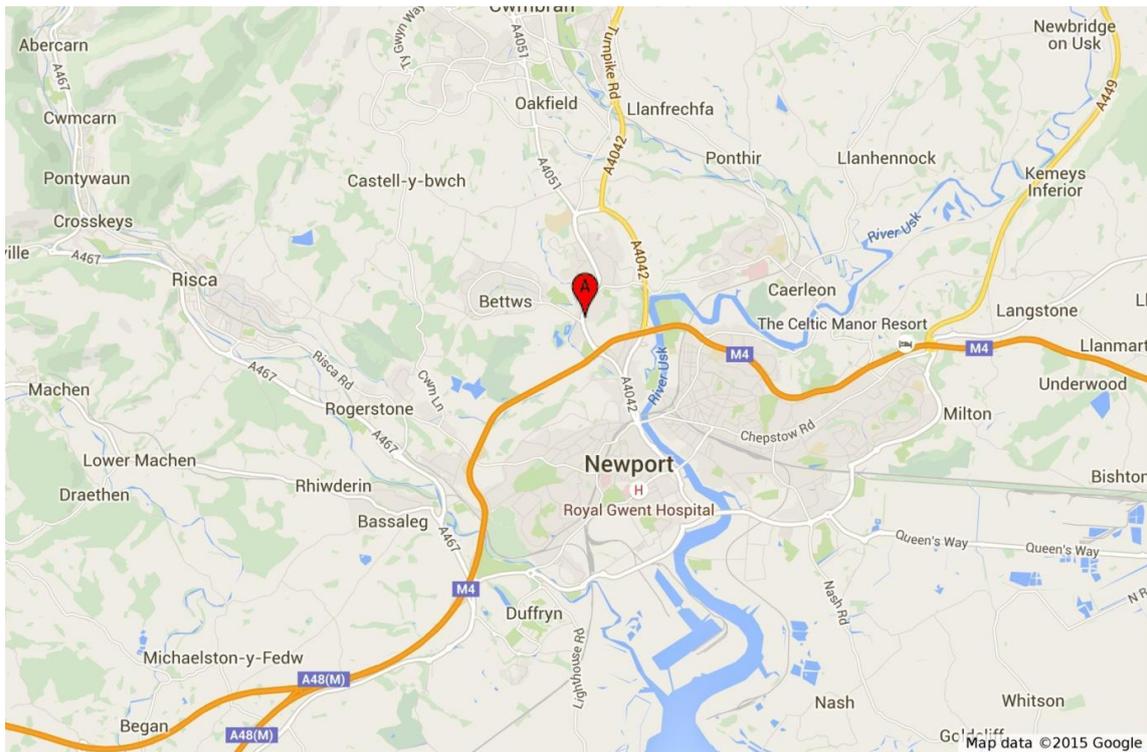
*Malpas Priory*⁶³

The church of St Mary, Malpas was probably given as a cell to the Cluniacs of Montacute Priory, Somerset, by Robert de la Haye sometime around 1110. It would appear that this site was probably a pre-Norman site founded by St Gwladys.⁶⁴ If this so, it would give an important example of the loss to native lordship of an important native ecclesiastical institution linked with the Cadoc family and cult.

⁶³ See *Appendix V.10f* for more details of the priory site.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

Figure V.10f: Malpas Priory



Usk Priory

The priory at Usk may have been founded as early as some time before the death of Richard de Clare in 1136. Richard was killed in an ambush by Morgan ap Owain, who took Caerleon and Usk which remained in native Welsh hands, specifically the native lordship of Caerleon, until they were retaken by Strongbow in 1174.⁶⁵ As already discussed in chapter I, Crouch argues for a later date of between 1165 and 1170 for the foundation of Usk Priory. If we accept the later date for its foundation it is less clear what effect the foundation and the churches that were granted to Usk may have had on native lordship, and any influence would most certainly have post dated any Pendar foundation in Senghenydd but not Llantarnam, the foundation of which, this thesis links with Pendar. It is noticeable that the churches granted to Usk, except Usk itself and Aberberthin, were pre-Norman foundations, and Llangeview

⁶⁵ Paul Courtney, 'The Marcher Lordships', in Ralph A. Griffiths *et al*, ed., *The Gwent County History Vol. 2 : The Age of the Marcher Lords, c.1070-1536* (University of Wales Press: Cardiff, 2008), p. 48.

and Pontymoile were also possible pre-Norman churches.⁶⁶ The church of Ponymoel presents a problem in that it would appear to be also listed by David Williams under the possessions of Llantarnam Abbey.⁶⁷ However, it is clear from the evidence of the 1291 *Taxatio* that it was a possession of Usk, and this identification is accepted by Cowley.⁶⁸ It would appear that there is a confusion which arises from the identification of the name Kylgoygan which has been suggested as Llanvihangel Pontymoel as well as Llangybi. (See sites on figure V.10g) Both sites are offered by the Archwilio website but the exact site for Kylgoygan at Llangybi cannot be identified. Given the geographical proximity of both the churches and their proximity to the associated lordships of native Gwynllŵg and the immigrant Clare's at Usk, it would make sense that a Llangybi site would be linked with Usk Priory and Llanvihangel Pontymoel would be linked to Llantarnam. As yet the problem of identification is not settled therefore a concrete explanation cannot be offered to the correct identification of churches.

⁶⁶ See Appendix V.10g for more information on the church sites.

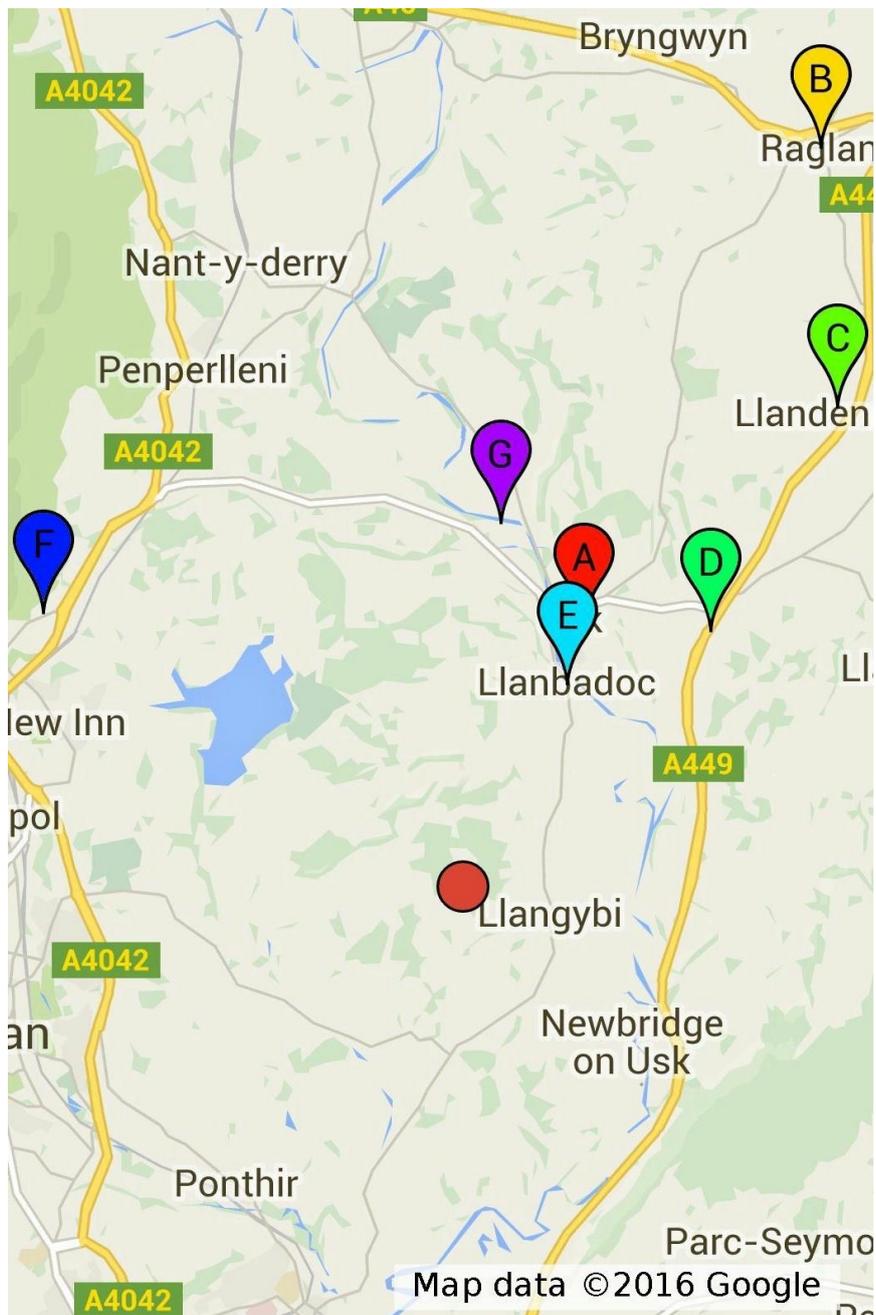
⁶⁷ David H. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians* (Leominster: Gracewing, 2001), p. 305.

⁶⁸ F. G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales 1066-1349*, p. 576.

Key to figure V.10g

- A ST MARY'S CHURCH, USK
- B ST CADOC'S CHURCH, RAGLAN
- C ST JOHN'S CHURCH, LLANDENNY
- D ST DAVID'S CHURCH, LLANGEVIEW
- E ST MADOC'S CHURCH, LLANBADOC
- F ST MICHAEL'S CHURCH, LLANFIHANGEL PONTYMOILE
- G ABERBERTHIN CHAPEL
- KYLGOYGAN (possible site)

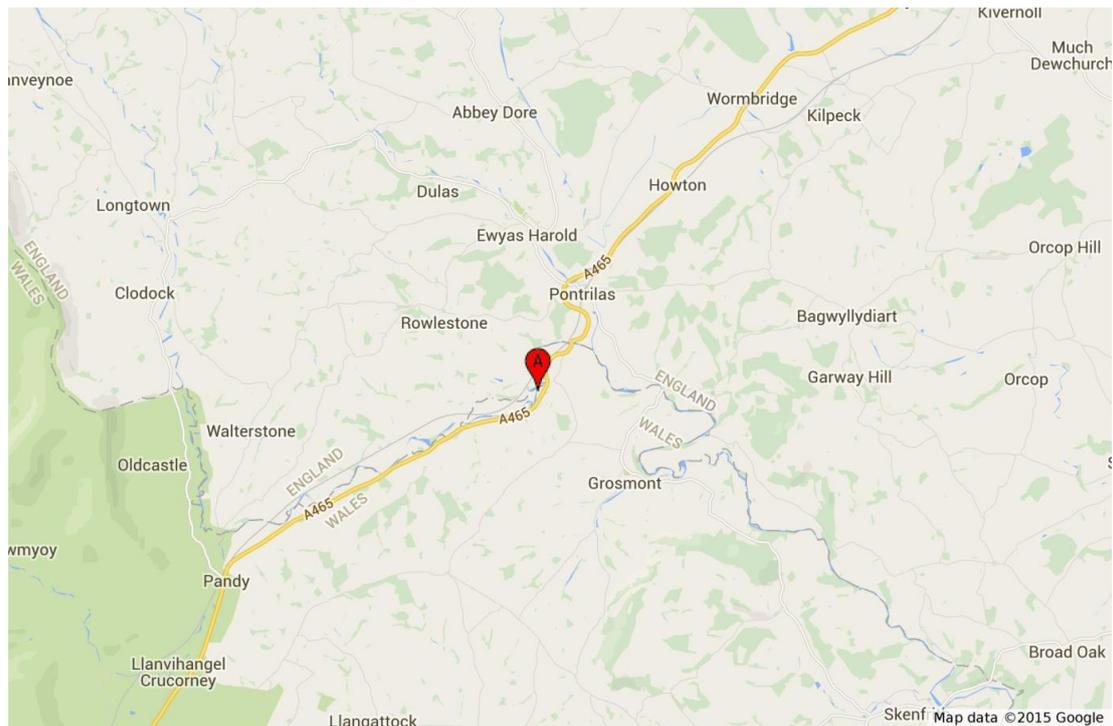
Figure V.10g: churches of Usk Priory



Llangua Priory

The foundation of Llangua incorporates a pre-Norman site but its value to this discussion is limited as its date of foundation is uncertain and may have had little impact on the hypothesis regarding the motivation for the foundation of Pendar.⁶⁹

Figure V.10h: Location of Llangua Priory



St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol

The Augustinian abbey of St Augustine, Bristol, was founded by Robert fitz Harding by 1148 although there is some ambiguity surrounding the origins of the abbey as it is recorded that building may have started as early as 1140. According to the chronology given by Walker, the earliest charters for the abbey date from 1148 and the canons were not formally admitted into their new abbey unit 1158-60. There is appears some controversy over the state of the abbey from 1140, one suggestion is that there were two successive foundations, one of

⁶⁹ See *Appendix V.10h* for more detail on the site.

which may have involved the future Henry II. The answer to this ambiguity may lie in the fact that until the abbey church was completed the daily routine of the canons took place at the church of St Augustine the Less and then moving into the completed foundation at the later date.⁷⁰

The majority of the lands and interest in the churches listed below would appear to have been granted in the years immediately following the death of Robert of Gloucester and largely before the death of Robert's wife Mabel in 1156.⁷¹ Of these churches it is difficult to estimate with the available evidence which are pre-Norman and thus native foundations. Only Echni which was a cell on Flatholm, can definitively be said to be a pre-Norman establishment. For further detail on these sites see *appendix V.11*.

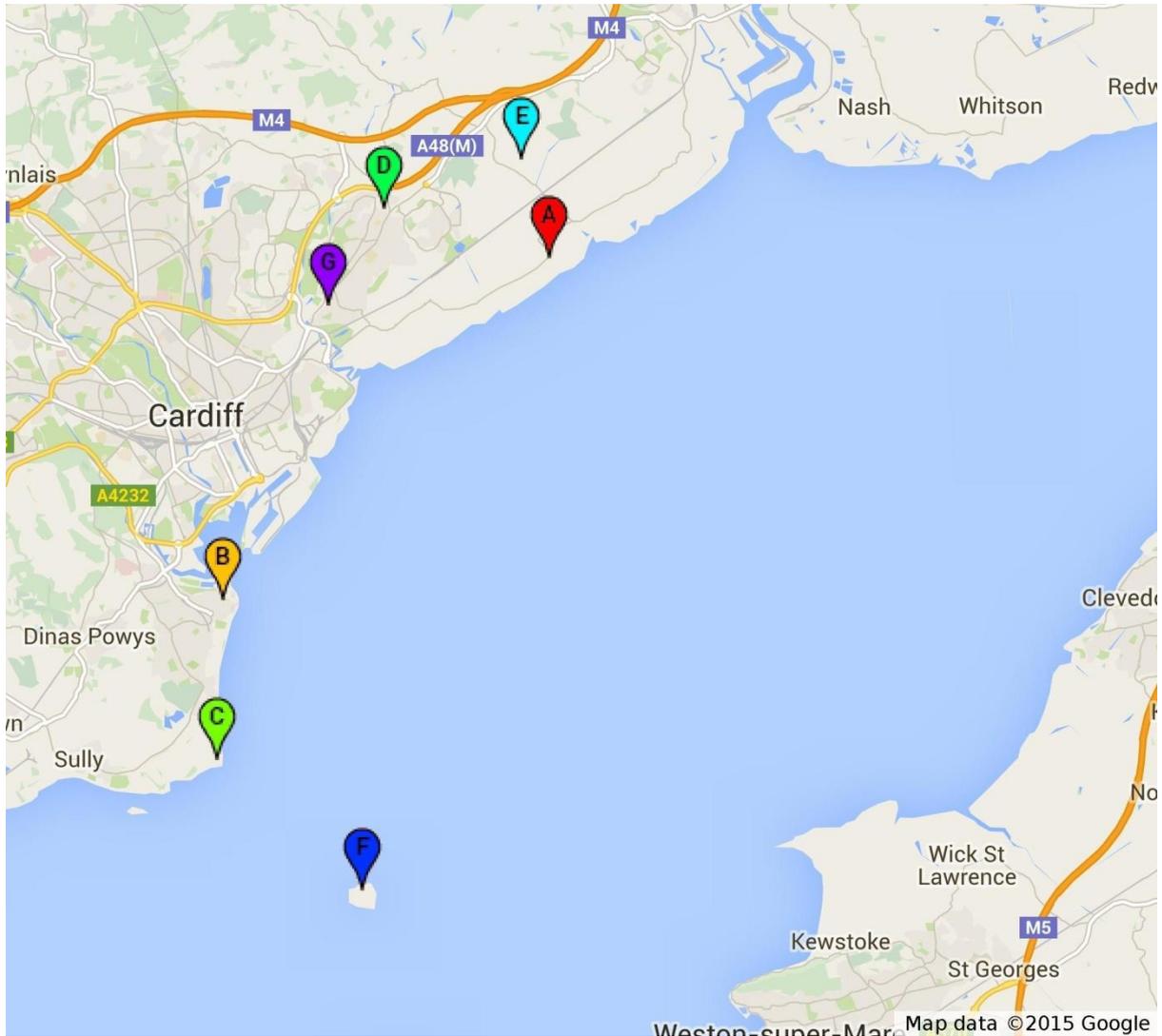
Key to *Figure V.11: the churches of St Augustine's, Bristol*

- C ST LAWRENCE'S CHURCH, LAVENOCK
- D ST MELLON'S CHURCH, ST MELLONS
- E ST MARY'S CHURCH, MARSHFIELD
- F ECHNI (FLATHOLM)
- G ST AUGUSTINE'S CHURCH AT RUMNEY

⁷⁰ *The Cartulary of St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol*, ed. David Walker (Bristol: Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 1998), pp. xiv-xv.

⁷¹ David Crouch, 'The slow death of kingship in Glamorgan, 1067- 1158', *Morgannwg: Transactions of the Glamorgan Local History Society*, 29 (1985), p. 41.

Figure V.11: the churches of St Augustine's, Bristol



The church under native lordship

The next areas to be looked at are the areas under the control of native lordship and in some way evaluate the nature of the church in these areas. What can be seen at first glance is the predominance of native dedications or names and an absence of immigrant Norman dedications. This would appear to indicate that there was little or no change and that native lordship resisted changes such as those seen in areas under Norman control, that is, Glamorgan and Gwent.

The church and chapels of Sengehenydd

What is most striking about the list of churches in Sengehenydd is the relative abundance of native dedications. With the exceptions of St Martin's Caerphilly and St James's Rudry, all the known dedications are native. The dedication of St Martin's Caerphilly may be explained by its late foundation, for it is unlikely to have pre-dated Gilbert de Clare's annexing of Sengehenydd in 1268. St James's Rudry may have been a chapel of Bedwas and so a church appropriated by Glastonbury. If this was so then any original dedication may have been changed to St James.⁷² Thus it is probable that the only exception to native dedication in the mid to late twelfth century would have been Rudry, which may have been rededicated by Bassaleg Priory a dependency of Glastonbury Abbey. This would leave only Capel Brithdir, Forest Chapel and the church at Coly Uchaf as unknown origin or dedications. Of the remainder churches, the dedication of the church of St Tydfil (listed as L in figure V12. a) has been identified by Bartrum as Tudful, the daughter of St Brychan. Baring-Gould also comes to the same conclusion regarding St Tydfil, thus it would appear that St Tydfil or St Tudful was daughter of St Brychan making her a sister to St Gwladys which gives yet another link to the Cadog cult and thus an important constituent of this chapter.⁷³ The church of Llanfabon is one of interest as it would appear that there has not to date been a satisfactory explanation of its dedication or pre-Norman history. The church is tentatively listed by Glamorgan Gwent Archaeology Trust as an early church but the dedication has not been fully

⁷² See notes in appendix V.9

⁷³ Peter C. Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary: People in History and Legend up to about A D. 1000* (The National Library of Wales, 1993), p. 712. [online] available <http://www.llgc.org.uk/collections/digital-gallery/printedmaterial/a-welsh-classical-dictionary/>

⁷³ S. Baring-Gould and John Fisher, *The Lives of British Saints: The Saints of Wales and Cornwall and such Irish Saints as have Dedications in Britain*, 3 (London: The Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1913), p. 286.

explained.⁷⁴ Its dedication may be better understood if we look more closely at the named saint. The dedication of Mabon is not easy to evaluate, Baring-Gould identifies Mabon as a brother of St Teilo based on the Iolo Morganwg manuscripts.⁷⁵ The Iolo Morganwg manuscripts are a collection of works produced by Edward Williams who used the pseudonym 'Iolo Morganwg. Edward Williams was a poet and antiquarian living 1747 to 1846 and has also been described as a Welsh poet and forger. Consequently much of his collections of histories are considered 'suspect in origin' or fabricated.⁷⁶ Another possibility is that we are not dealing with Mabon but Mabyn who was, according to Cornish sources, a daughter of St Brychan and consequently a sister to the same St Gwladys who was mother to St Cattwg.⁷⁷ If this is the case, the consequence would be that all the churches with known dedications within the boundaries of the Pendar charter area and on the direct boundaries of the charter have the important Cadoc links. This would also extend to the church at Bedwelldy to the east of the lordship of Senghenydd which is dedicated to St Sannan who, as discussed below under the churches of Gwynllwg, also has Cadoc family links.

The importance of the Cadoc connections with most of these churches particularly in the general area of the Pendar charter cannot be over emphasised. This suggests that the native lordship of Senghenydd protected its churches from Normanisation and, as Prichard

⁷⁴ Edith Evans. *Early Medieval ecclesiastical sites in southeast Wales: Desk-based assessment* (GGAT: 2003-04), p.57. [online] available http://www.ggat.org.uk/cadw/cadw_reports/pdfs/GGAT%2073%20Early%20Medieval%20Ecclesiastical%20Sites%20Yr1.pdf

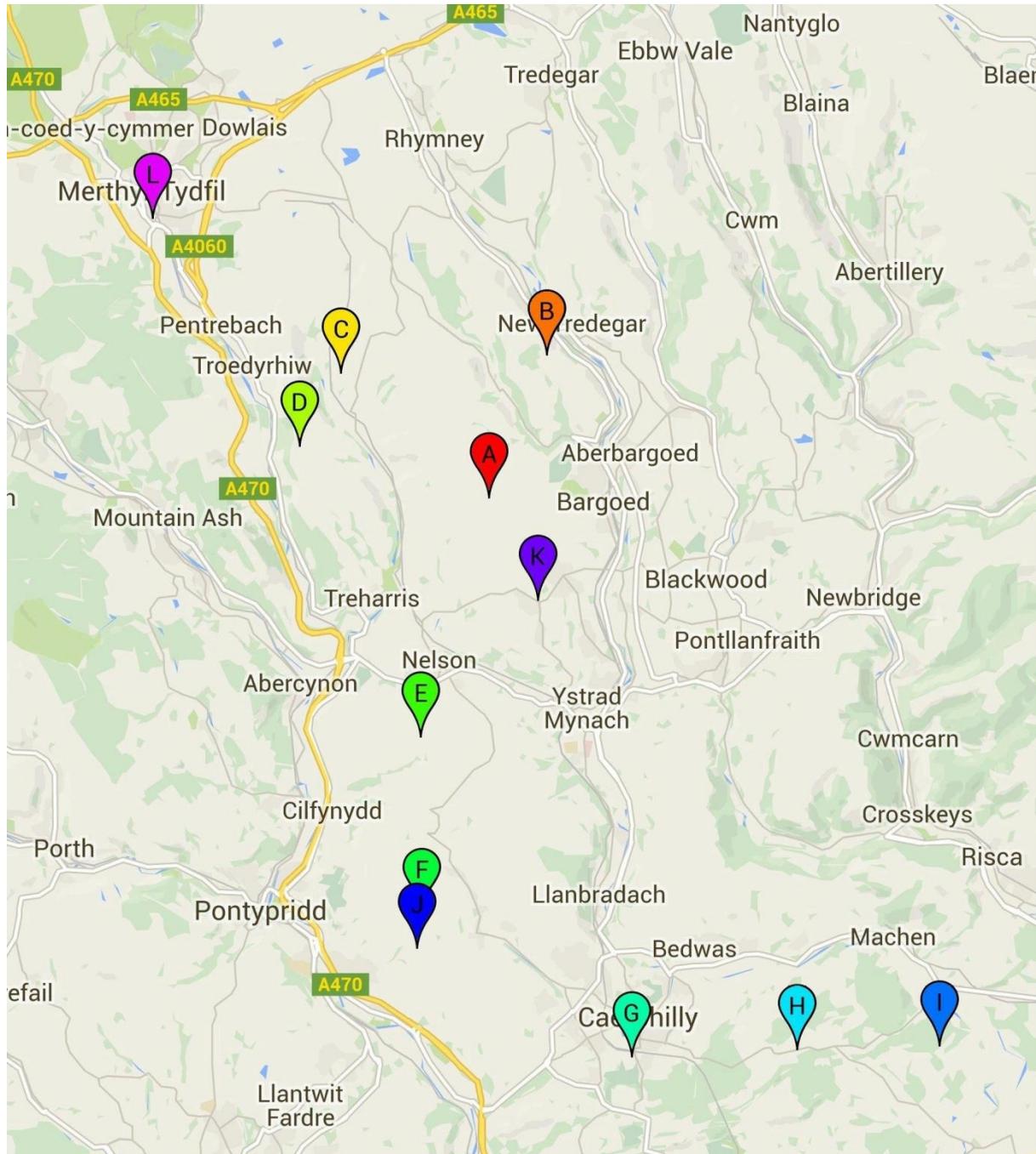
⁷⁵ S. Baring-Gould, & John Fisher, *The Lives of British Saints: The Saints of Wales and Cornwall and such Irish Saints as have Dedications in Britain* (London: The Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1913), 3, p. 391.

⁷⁶ Prys Morgan, 'Williams, Edward (1747–1826),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [online] Available: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29498?docPos=1>

⁷⁷ Peter C. Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary: People in History and Legend up to about A D. 1000* (The National Library of Wales, 1993) [online] available <http://www.llgc.org.uk/collections/digital-gallery/printedmaterial/a-welsh-classical-dictionary/>

suggests, gives the history of churches in Senghenydd a unique pattern of history in South Wales.⁷⁸

Figure V.12a: the churches of Senghenydd



Key to Figure V.12a: The churches of Senghenydd

⁷⁸ T. J. Prichard, 'The Church in Medieval Senghenydd', *Journal of Welsh Ecclesiastical History*, 1 (1984), 44-62, p. 50.

- A. CAPEL GWLADYS
- B. CAPEL Y BRITHDIR
- C. COLY UCHAF, GELLIGAER COMMON
- D. FOREST CHAPEL
- E. ST MABON'S CHURCH AT LLANFABON
- F. ST CENYDD'S CHAPEL
- G. ST MARTIN'S CHURCH AT CAERPHILLY
- H. ST JAMES'S CHURCH AT RUDRY
- I. LLANFEDW CHURCH
- J. EGLWYSILAN CHURCHYARD
- K. ST CATTWGS CHURCH GELLIGAER
- L. ST TYDFIL'S CHURCH AT MERTHYR TYDFIL

Caerleon / Llantarnam Abbey

The Cistercian house of Llantarnam was founded by Hywel ap Iorwerth, with an official foundation date of 22 July 1179 with monks from Strata Florida.⁷⁹ Regrettably there is so surviving cartulary from this house. This gives us a problem in identifying the churches which the Cistercian house claimed. David Williams has done wonderful work in mapping the Cistercian lands in Wales and in collecting data relating to each of the Cistercian houses there, including a comprehensive list of churches claimed by Llantarnam.⁸⁰ Williams' list raised some questions, particularly as a number of churches assigned to Llantarnam would appear also to have been granted to Glastonbury as part of the Bassaleg gift made by Robert de la Haye. It is understandable that Llantarnam would have had a keen interest in the Bassaleg churches and lands considering these were of ancient and important native origin and as shall be discussed. But it is obvious that a dispute had arisen between Glastonbury and Llantarnam over Bassaleg and its lands which are evidenced in the final concord between the houses of Glastonbury and Llantarnam c. 1193-1218.⁸¹ It would appear that from this

⁷⁹ Burton and Stöber, *Abbeys and Priories of Medieval Wales*, p. 125.

⁸⁰ David H. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, p. 305; D. H. Williams, *Atlas of Cistercian Lands in Wales*, p.48.

⁸¹ *Episcopal Acts Relating to Welsh Dioceses 1066-1272*, 2 vols, ed. James Conway Davies (Cardiff: Historical Society of the Church in Wales, 1948), p.692.

agreement, Llantarnam only gains the tithes of the lands but not the patronage of the churches. It would appear that by c. 1230-40 Glastonbury Abbey is happy to relinquish its control of Bassaleg and its associated chapels and rent it to Llandaff.⁸² Glastonbury Abbey include in the agreement with Llandaff a clause relating to expenses incurred as a result of being troubled by anyone regarding possession of Bassaleg, then Glastonbury will not be liable. This may suggest that there could have been an ongoing issue which may have been Llantarnam's claims over the churches and chapels of Bassaleg. As mentioned earlier, the churches of Bassaleg would have been important to Llantarnam as an important native foundation with the burial place of St Gwladys in a chapel named Eglwys y Bedd, this chapel stood a few yards from Bassaleg church and probably formed part of the basilica complex.⁸³ Further, the churches associated with Bassaleg were mainly pre-Norman foundations and with important native dedications with Cadog cult links. This would most certainly be of vital importance if the hypothesis of this study is correct in placing the motivation for the foundation of Pendar as a haven for native Cadog cult protection and Pendar becoming a constituent part in the foundation of Llantarnam.⁸⁴

Looking at the *figure V.12b*, the distribution of churches and lands of Llantarnam can be seen covering a comparatively small geographical area centring on Gwynllŵg. If the hypothesis of this study is correct, and the lands of the Pendar in Senghenydd are included along with Bassaleg, then looking at *figure V.12c*, the size of Llantarnam's estates would have been considerably more impressive. This being the case, we get greater understanding of the plight of the abbey in its complaints to the crown against the Earls, de Clare theft of

⁸² *Llandaff Episcopal Acta 1140 – 1287*, ed. David Crouch (Cardiff: South Wales Record Society, 1988), pp. 61-2.

⁸³ Jeremy Knight, *South Wales from the Romans to the Normans, Christianity, Literacy and Lordship*, p. 37.

⁸⁴ This argument will be discussed in the conclusion of this thesis.

their lands as already mentioned in chapter IV. Looking again at *figure V.12c*, it is clear that if this were the state of Llantarnam churches, the native lordships of both Gwynllŵg and Senghenydd are major benefactors to the abbey in its early foundation. Further it is evident from the list of churches in the upland areas that most of the churches have a Cadoc connection thus revitalising the cult's significance in the new monasticism in a post-Norman conquest South Wales.

Key to *Figure V.12b: churches of Llantarnam Abbey*

C	ST SANNAN'S CHURCH AT BEDWELLTY
N	ST MICHAEL'S CHURCH, MICHAELSTON Y FEDW ? (Not confirmed)
O	ST BASIL'S CHURCH, BASSALEG
P	MACHEN CHURCH
Q	ST BARRWG'S CHURCH AT BEDWAS
R	ST TUDOR'S CHURCH AT MYNYDDISLWYN
S	COEDKERNEW CHURCH
T	ST PETER'S CHURCH AT HENLLYS
U	ST BRIDGET'S CHURCH AT ST. BRIDES WENTLOOG
V	ST DIALS?
W	LLANDDERFEL (ST DERFEL'S CHAPEL)
X	ST ILLTYD'S CHURCH AT LLANHILLETH
Y	CHAPEL OF ST GWNOG
Z	ST MICHAEL'S CHURCH AT LLANFIHANGEL PONTYMOILE
a	MAC MOILO/MAPENOIL/MAMHOLE
b	ST ILLTYD'S CHURCH AT MAMHILAD
c	ST CADOC'S CHURCH AT TREVETHIN
d	CAE EGLWYS, CIL-LONYDD, ABERCARN
e	ST PETER'S CHURCH AT BRYNGWYN
f	ST BRIDGET'S CHAPEL, GELLI-LAS
g	PWLL-PEN/PWLL-PAN (GRANGIA DE PULPEN)
h	CAPEL FANTIALOG, YSYSYBWL
i	ST MARY'S CHAPEL, PENRHYS
j	LLANTARNAM ABBEY
k	ST MARY'S CHURCH AT RISCA

It must be noted that certain of the churches associated with Bassaleg and consequently Glastonbury Abbey (listed below) are also noted as possessions of Llantarnam by D Williams.⁸⁵ These are as follows as displayed in figures V.12 b (Churches of Llantarnam

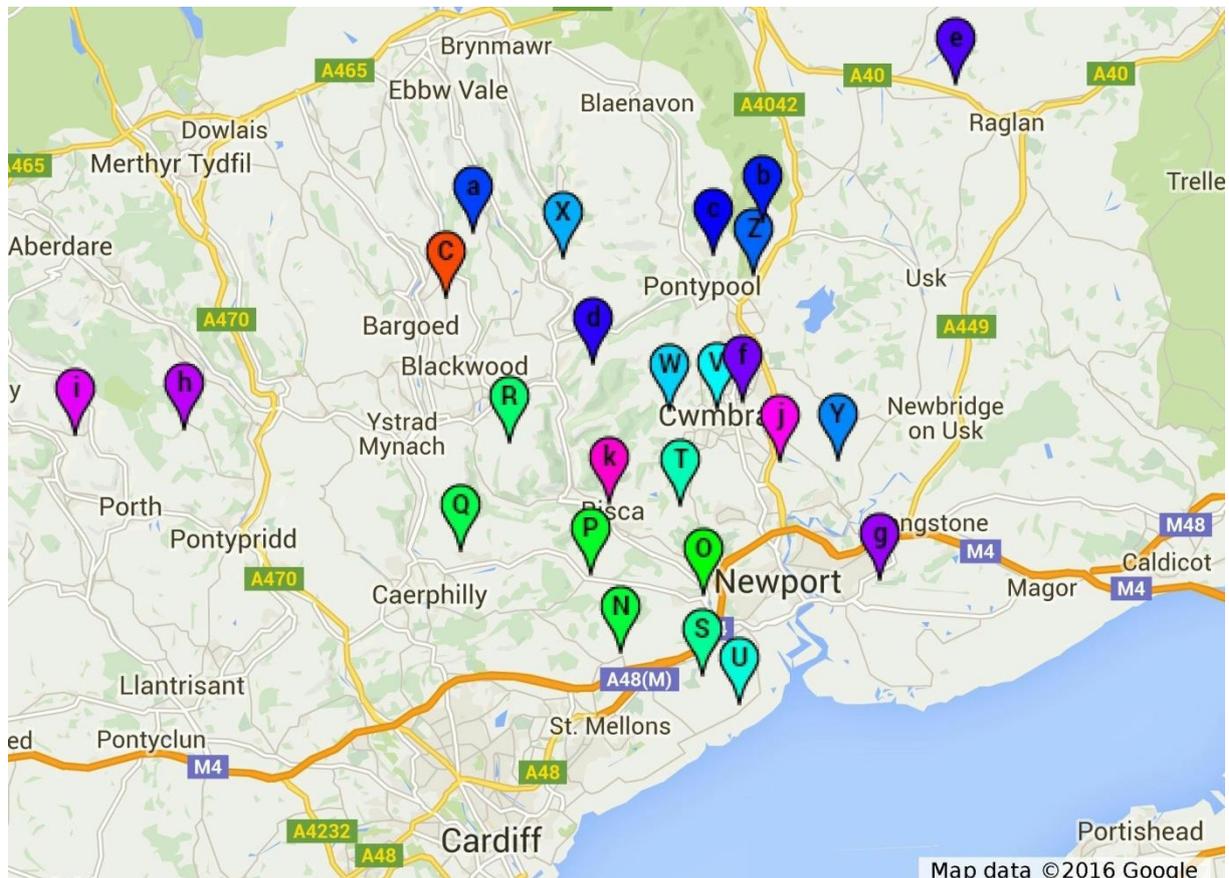
⁸⁵ D. H. Williams, *Atlas of Cistercian Lands in Wales*, p.48; David H. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, p. 305.

Abbey) and V.12c which shows the churches of Senghenydd, Llantarnam and Bassaleg on the same map:-

Churches associated with Bassaleg and Glastonbury claimed by Llantarnam Abbey

- O ST BASIL'S CHURCH, BASSALEG
- P MACHEN CHURCH
- Q ST BARRWG'S CHURCH AT BEDWAS
- R ST TUDOR'S CHURCH AT MYNYDDISLWYN
- S COEDKERNEW CHURCH
- T ST PETER'S CHURCH AT HENLLYS
- U ST BRIDGET'S CHURCH AT ST BRIDES WENTLOOG
- k ST MARY'S CHURCH AT RISCA
- a MAC MOILO/MAPENOIL/MAMHOLE

Figure V.12b: churches of Llantarnam Abbey

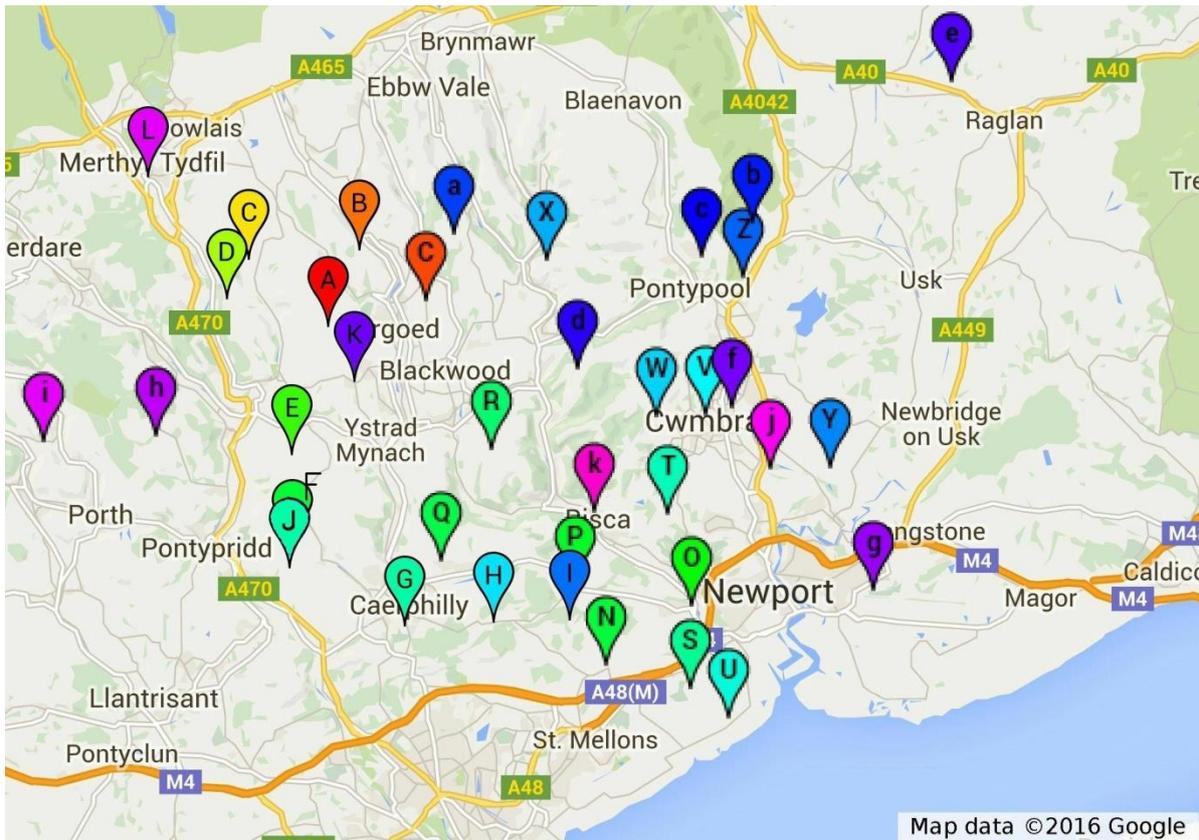


Key to figure V.12c Senghenydd, Llantarnam, and Bassaleg Churches.

- A CAPEL GWLADYS
- B CAPEL Y BRITHDIR
- C** ST SANNAN'S CHURCH AT BEDWELLY
- C** COLY UCHAF, GELLIGAER COMMON

D FOREST CHAPEL
E ST MABON'S CHURCH AT LLANFABON
F ST CENYDD'S CHAPEL
G ST MARTIN'S CHURCH AT CAERPHILLY
H ST JAMES'S CHURCH AT RUDRY
I LLANFEDW CHURCH
J EGLWYSILAN
K ST CATTWGS CHRUCH GELLIGAER
L ST TYDFIL'S CHURCH AT MERTHYR TYDFIL
N ST MICHAEL'S CHURCH, MICHAELSTON Y FEDW
O ST BASIL'S CHURCH, BASSALEG
P MACHEN CHURCH
Q ST BARRWG'S CHURCH AT BEDWAS
R ST TUDOR'S CHURCH AT MYNYDDISLWYN
S COEDKERNEW CHURCH
T ST PETER'S CHURCH AT HENLLYS
U ST BRIDGET'S CHURCH AT ST BRIDES WENTLOOG
V ST DIALS?
W LLANDDERFEL (ST DERFEL'S CHAPEL)
X ST ILLTYD'S CHURCH AT LLANHILLETH
Y CHAPEL OF ST GWNOG
Z ST MICHAEL'S CHURCH AT LLANFIHANGEL PONTYMOILE
a MAC MOILO/MAPENOIL/MAMHOLE
b ST ILLTYD'S CHURCH AT MAMHILAD
c ST CADOC'S CHURCH AT TREVETHIN
d CAE EGLWYS, CIL-LONYDD
e ST PETER'S CHURCH AT BRYNGWYN
f ST BRIDGET'S CHAPEL, GELLI-LAS
g PWLL-PEN/PWLL-PAN (GRANGIA DE PULPEN)
h CAPEL FANTIALOG, YSYSYBWL
i ST MARY'S CHAPEL, PENRHYS
j LLANTARNAM ABBEY
k ST MARY'S CHURCH AT RISCA

Figure V.12c Senghenydd, Llantarnam, and Bassaleg churches



Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the effect of the Norman plantation of South Wales on its parish churches. It has demonstrated that there was a widespread transfer of churches to the priories established by the Normans and the distribution has been plotted on the maps. The collected data demonstrates a variety of ways in which original dedications were treated. In some cases the Welsh dedication was retained; in others it was supplemented and in other cases it was replaced. Within this context of continuity and change it has been argued that in the case of Pendar the founder, Ifor Bach or his son Gruffudd, attempted to protect the pre-Norman Welsh ecclesiastical structure by associating with Pendar the lands and cults of St Gwladys and St Cadoc. This protection of native churches under the umbrella of Pendar may have been carried forward into the Cistercian foundation of Llantarnam and further inspired a revitalisation of the Cadoc cult of Pendar throughout not only northern Senghenydd but also Gwynllŵg. Further it is evident from the list of churches in the upland areas that most of the

churches have a Cadoc connection thus re-energising the cult's significance in the new monasticism in a post-Norman conquest native southeast Wales.

Conclusion

It has been the aim of this thesis to build a picture of Pendar and place it in the social and political context of its time. This has raised many problems, the greatest of which is the lack of documentary and archaeological evidence; this has made the overall picture of Pendar a little like a jigsaw puzzle with many of its pieces missing. Consequently it has been important to investigate thoroughly all the charter evidence available and attempt a time frame for the picture of Pendar. This study places for the first time all four charters related to Pendar alongside each other to attempt an identification of Pendar not just on the monastic map of South Wales but also its parentage or origins.

It was evident that Meilyr was a central figure in establishment of Pendar. He appears in many roles from recipient of charters, witness to charters, ecclesiastic brother, advisor and mystic. From the outset so it seemed important to establish who this man was and for the first time place him in the context of his time and place. Second, it was evident that little work had been done on mapping the foundation charter of Gruffudd ap Ifor which exists only in a confirmation by William of Gloucester. This required many visits, photographs, field work and studies of maps for place names and topographical studies to conjecture a boundary for this charter, which covered a vast geographical area of northern Senghenydd. To date this had not been done. By identifying a number of possible sites for an abbey and evaluating the evidence, the thesis has been able to argue for the first time that the house of Pendar was probably not a Cistercian house at its conception but a vehicle designed to reinvigorate an ecclesiastical structure built on the cult of local saints to the lordship of Senghenydd. The resultant development of Pendar from what may have been a collection of hermitage-like church sites embedded in the pre-Norman 'clas' hierarchy of churches, this time centred on Capel Gwladys, displays a native lordship's reaction to – and to some extent against – the

new immigrant monastic culture. This interpretation, for the first time, conjectures that the motivation for the foundation of Pendar marks a resistance to radical change, marked by the preservation, by the native lordship in Senghenydd, of the concepts of the native ecclesiastical heritage. This has been achieved by identifying the fate of many of the pre-Norman 'Cadoc and associated cult' churches and their radical transformation under the immigrant monastic reforming culture and further by identifying the fate of those maintained or regained by native lordship.

The last piece of the jigsaw that this thesis offers, for the first time, is an explanation to the disappearance of Pendar and its foundation lands, as evidenced in its charters, from the historical record at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII. This in turn gives further understanding of the petitions by the abbots of Caerleon to the king in 1317.

This thesis has aimed to contribute to modern scholarship by arguing that we may see, in the creation of Pendar, an example of the resistance by native lordship to the radical change introduced by immigrant lordship; at the same time Pendar exemplifies change in the broader geographical context of Senghenydd. Pendar evolved and under the next generation of native lords displayed not only a change in political ambition and cooperation between Senghenydd and Gwynllŵg, but a shared objective in preserving and advancing the cult of native saints. The hypothesis that Pendar became a major constituent in the foundation of the Cistercian house of Caerleon which we also know as Llantarnam gives support to the recent scholarship which brings into question the validity or usefulness or ubiquity of the classic mother-daughter house model in the dramatic expansion of Cistercian monasticism. It follows some of the arguments of Constance Berman and others, and casts new light on the nature of Cistercian expansionism in Wales. This thesis puts forward a new concept of Pendar not as a predecessor of Margam, nor a failed daughter house, but a successful and significant

constituent part of a transformed native ecclesiastical movement in native South Wales, securing the future veneration of native saints and their place in the continuity of change in the melting pot of immigrant and native cultural and spiritual development of South Wales. The hypothesis presented in this thesis is that Pendar was founded possibly by Ifor Bach and or his son Gruffudd as a collection of hermitages centred on Capel Gwladys. This 'Brotherhood of Pendar' was not Cistercian but evolved into a major constituent of the foundation of the Cistercian house of Caerleon/Llantarnam under the influence and arbitration of the individual Meilyr and probable political instigation of the Lords Rhys. Both Pendar and later Llantarnam revitalised the cult of native Glamorgan and Gwynllŵg saints, only suffering the depredations of lands particularly in Senghenydd by the conquests of the de Clares and later revolt of Llywelyn Bren in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

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The Problem of Pendar:
a lost abbey in medieval
Senghenydd and the
transformation of the church in
South Wales

‘A thesis submitted to the
University of Wales Lampeter
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Paul Anthony Watkins

Volume II (Appendices)

Appendix to St. Cadoc sites Figure V.1

What follows is a summary of the current state of knowledge about the churches with a Cadoc affiliation or dedication. It relies heavily on the *Archwilio* website to which the reader is directed for fuller descriptions and references.

Churches with a Cadoc affiliation or dedication.

- A. CHAPEL AT MANMOEL**
- B. ST CADOC'S CHURCH, CAERLEON**
- C. ST CADOC'S CHURCH, LLANCARFAN**
- D. ST CATTWG'S CHURCH, GELLIGAER**
- E. ST CATTWG'S CHURCH, PENDOYLAN**
- F. ST CADOC'S CHAPEL, KIDWELLY**
- G. ST CADOG'S CHURCH, LLANGADOG**
- H. ST CATTWG'S CHURCH, PORT EYNON**
- I. ST CADOC'S CHAPEL, EAST ABERTHAW**
- J. ST CADOC'S CHURCH, ABERPERGWM**
- K. ST CADOC'S CHURCH, CADOXTON-JUXTA-BARRY**
- L. ST CADOC'S CHURCH, CHERITON**
- M. ST CADOC'S CHURCH, LLANGATTOCK VIBON AVEL**
- N. ST CADOC'S CHURCH, LLANGATTOCK-JUXTA-USK**
- O. ST CADOC'S CHURCH, MONMOUTH**
- P. ST CADOC'S CHURCH, PENRHOS**
- Q. ST CADOC'S CHURCH, RAGLAN**
- R. ST CADOG'S CHURCH, LLANGATTOCK**
- S. ST CADOC'S CHURCH, CADOXTON JUXTA-NEATH**
- T. ST CADOC'S CHURCH, TREVETHIN**

- U. ST CADOC'S CHURCH, LLANGATTOCK LINGOED
- V. ST CATTWG'S CHURCH, LLANSPYDDID
- W. ST CATTWG'S CHURCH, LLANMAES
- X. ST CATWG'S CHURCH, CUMCARVAN
- Y. ST CATWG'S CHURCH, PENTYRCH

A. CHAPEL AT MANMOEL

Dedication: St Cadoc association
Community: Argoed
Map Ref.: SO17840318
Site Type: Medieval Chapel

Description:

This site is probably a pre-Norman site with the first known documentary evidence for the Chapel of Macmoil mentioned in the Life of St Cadoc c.1110. (see as following)

MAC MOILO/MAPENOIL/MAMHOLE

Dedication: St Illtyd
Community : Argoed
Map Ref : SO179031
Site Type : Medieval Church

Description:

This site is an early site with its first reference of Macmoilo coming in the charters attached to the Life of St Cadoc. StCadoc is alleged to have built a church with an altar within a rampart and sent his disciple Mac Moil to be its prior.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

B. ST CADOC'S CHURCH CAERLEON

Dedication: St Cadoc
Community: Caerleon
Map Ref.: ST33939063
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The position of the church in the middle of the Roman legionary fortress, the pre-Norman sculpture found in the churchyard (now in the NMW) and the dedication to St Cadoc, all suggest a pre-Norman foundation date.

Although Caerleon is probably to be identified the site of a Roman-period martyrdom of SS Julius and Aaron, recorded in the 6th century by Gildas, there is no evidence for any ecclesiastical presence here before the Norman period, with the exception of a fragment of a pre-Norman cross (PRN 556) However, the dedication to St Cadoc is also suggestive of an early dedication, and the position of the church over the principia of the Roman fortress may suggest continuity from the Roman period. The first documentary reference is in 1254.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

Mentioned in *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate P. Nicholai IV, 1291-2* as dedicated to St Cadoc.¹

¹ *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate P. Nicholai IV, 1291-2* [online]. Available: <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/index.html>

C. ST CADOC'S CHURCH, LLANCARFAN

Llancarfan EC Monastery (Nant Carban) (Llan Gharban)

Dedication: St Cadoc
Community: Llancarfan
Map Ref: ST05157008
Site Type: Early Medieval Monastery

Description:

The monastery, an early Celtic monastery or a greater 'Clas', is attributed to either St Germanus in the 5th century, Dubricius in the late-6th century, or, more generally accepted, St Cadoc/Cattwg, a contemporary of Dubricius, about 500 AD. It is first mentioned in documentary sources in the Llandaff Charters; LL144 c. 650.

ST CADOC'S CHURCH, LLANCARFAN

Dedication: St Cadoc
Community: Llancarfan
Map Ref.: ST05127020
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The ancient church of St Cadoc at Llancarfan is traditionally identified with the Early Christian monastic site of Lann Gharban.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.





Further Information:

Benefice of LLANCARFAN

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.LL.10>

Gloucester's beneficiary Robert fitz Hamo's donation of Llanccarfan.²

² *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestria*, Rolls Series, 33, 3 vols, ed. W. H. Hart (London, 1863-1867), Vol. I. p. 93.

D. ST CATTWG'S CHURCH, GELLIGAER

Dedication: St Cattwg
Community: Gelligaer
Map Ref: ST13569693
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The church at Gelligaer is located short distance to the South of the Roman fort. Although there is no proof of continuity from the Roman period, it cannot be ruled out that the church developed from a Roman/sub-Roman cemetery as at Llandough-juxta-Penarth; churches in a similar relationship to Roman forts and towns are known from elsewhere in Britain. An Early Christian monument now in Gelligaer church is however not from this site, but came from the site of Capel Gwladys. The church itself first appears in the documentary sources in 1254.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

Benefice of GELLIGAER

secular, Gilbert de Clare , Earl of Gloucester and Hertford

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.LL.U35>

and references there cited.

E. ST CATTWG'S CHURCH, PENDOYLAN

Dedication: St Cadoc
Community : Pendoylan
Map Ref: ST05977668
Site Type : Medieval Church

Description:

The church of Pendoylan is mentioned in 1254 Valuation of Norwich but a charter predating this at 1205 refers to a charter Urban the priest of Pendoylan.³

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

³ Clark, *Cartae*, Vol.2 p. 291.

F. ST CADOC'S CHAPEL, KIDWELLY

Dedication: St Cadoc
Community: Kidwelly
Map Ref.: SN4207
Site Type: Medieval Chapel

Description:

This is the possible site of medieval chapel to Kidwelly parish belonging to Sherborne Abbey; it is described as a `church' in c.1148 by Conway Davies D.172. The exact location unknown but the general area is still called Llangadog, and location of site might be indicated by place-name `Sanctuary Bank' at map ref. SN 422 079.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

G. ST CADOG'S CHURCH, LLANGADOG COLLEGIATE CHURCH; ST CADOG'S; ST DAVID'S

Dedication: St Cadoc & St David
Community: Llangadog
Map Ref.: SN7062328456
Site Type: Medieval Church / Early Medieval Church

Description:

This is described as an early medieval C site *i.e.* low-probability of early medieval origins. Churchyard occupied by the medieval Llangadog parish church, which was a possession of the Bishops of St Davids by the 13th century, and constituted as Episcopal Collegiate Church from 1283 to 1287. It was already dedicated to Cadog by the 1130s but Cadog may just have been a lay benefactor as the church was originally dedicated to St David.

http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/dyfed/english/dyfed_interface.html

and references there cited.

Further information:

None.

H. ST CATTWG'S CHURCH, PORT EYNON

Dedication: St Cadoc
Community: Port Eynon
Map Ref.: SS46708538
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The church of Port Eynon is mentioned in 1230 when it would appear that the church was given to 'Slebech commandery'.⁴ The dedication to St Cadog (Cattwg) is confirmed by Merrick. It is situated in a partly curvilinear enclosure in the centre of the village.
Published and printed

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

None.

⁴ J. Rogers Rees, 'Slebech commandery and the Knights of St John', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 5th series, 14:54 (1897), pp. 85-107, 197-228, 261-284

I. ST CADOC'S CHAPEL, EAST ABERTHAW

Dedication: St Cadoc
Community: Rhoose
Map Ref.: ST03276683
Site Type: Medieval Chapel

Description:

This is the probably site of St Cadoc's chapel, the chapel is supposed to have been in the area now covered by elder bushes immediately E of the disused railway cutting. The field is called Chapel Field (OS card ST 06 NW 22). Pierce noted a reference to 'Chapellfield', a 'Chapellclose', and 'a croft called St Caddock Chapell, having the Chapellfield Southwest and Northwest'.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

None.

J. ST CADOC'S CHURCH, ABERPERGWM

Dedication: St Cadoc
Community: Glynneath
Map Ref.: SN86990615
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

St Cadoc's church at Aberpergwm is first mentioned in 1294 as a `grangia' to Neath Abbey by Clark. The exact site of the grange is unknown but it is probable that the present church is the successor to the grange chapel, as a Crynant, with the other buildings immediately to the W.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

K. ST CADOC'S CHURCH, CADOXTON-JUXTA-BARRY

Dedication: St Cadoc
Community: Barry
Map Ref.: ST12996934
Site Type: Medieval Church/Early medieval site

Description:

The church of Cadoxton first appears in the documentary sources in 1254 Valuation of Norwich. Following the discovery of burials predating the late 12th century the site is now considered pre-Norman foundation.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

L. ST CADOC'S CHURCH, CHERITON

Dedication: St Cadoc
Community: Llangennith, Llanmadoc and Cheriton
Map Ref.: SS45059319
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The first mention of Cheriton church is in 1472 (Clarke 1910, 1697). It stands less than 2km from Llanmadoc church, which is known to be a pre-Norman foundation, it has been conjectured by Cowley that it was constructed to serve the ringwork castle on North Tor Hill, and that its parish was carved out of the original parish of Llanrhidian church, which is also a pre-Norman foundation. It is however possible that Llanmadoc and Cheriton may have been a pair of churches, such as are associated with some early monastic sites, though Cheriton, unlike Llanmadoc, has produced no Early Christian monuments, and the placename is not indicative of pre-Norman activity; the dedication, to St Cadoc, is the only possible such pointer, and this is not conclusive. The fact that the church is not mentioned in the 1291 Taxatio Ecclesia is not proof that that it was not in existence at that time.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

M. ST CADOC'S CHURCH, LLANGATTOCK VIBON AVEL

Dedication: St Cadoc
Community: Llangattock-vibon-avel
Map Ref: SO45651566
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The church of Llangattock Vibon Avel is first mentioned in 1186 in a bull of Bishop Urban confirming churches to Monmouth Priory.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

See Monmouth Priory

N. ST CADOC'S CHURCH, LLANGATTOCK-JUXTA-USK

Dedication: St Cadoc
Community: Llanover
Map Ref: SO33030963
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

Llangatock-juxta-Usk church is first attested in 1254 Valuation of Norwich. There is no evidence which would suggest a pre-Norman foundation, other than the name.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

O. ST. CADOC'S CHURCH, MONMOUTH

Dedication: St Cadoc
Community: Monmouth
Map Ref: SO50871298
Site Type: Unknown Church

Description:

The foundation charter of Monmouth Priory (c1075) includes the grant to the monks of the pre-existing church of St Cadoc near the castle 'the church of St Cadoc, on ground near my castle in my manor, where the monks were first accommodated before the church of Monmouth was finished'. The most likely site is below the castle between Monnow Street and the Monnow.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

See Monmouth Priory

P. ST CADOC'S CHURCH, PENRHOS

Dedication: St Cadoc
Community: Llantilio Crossenny
Map Ref.: SO41601174
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

Penrhos church is first mentioned in 1254 valuation of Norwich. It was probably a pre-Norman foundation, since churchyard is partly curvilinear and there is a Celtic dedication.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

Q. ST CADOC'S CHURCH, RAGLAN

Dedication: St Cadoc
Community: Raglan
Map Ref.: SO41330768
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The first mention of Raglan church in documentary sources is probably to be dated to *c.* 1100. The Celtic dedication for this church is the only detail to suggest a possible pre-Norman foundation.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

See Usk Priory

R. ST. CADOG'S CHURCH, LLANGATTOCK

Dedication: St. Cadoc
Community: Llangattock
Map Ref.: SO2109117878
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

Little is offered by Clwyd Powys Archaeology other than bare detail of standing monuments. The description may indicate an early medieval site. B. Silvester suggests it is a probably pre-Norman ecclesiastical site.⁵

http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/cpat/english/cpat_interface.html

and references there cited.

Further Information:

⁵ B. Silvester, 1998, 'Welsh Historic Churches Project. The Historic Churches of Breconshire and Radnorshire'. [online] available
<http://www.herwales.co.uk/herumd.php?group=CPAT&level=3&docid=301357449>

S. ST CADOC'S CHURCH, CADOXTON-JUXTA-NEATH

Dedication: St Cadoc
Community: Blaenhonddan
Map Ref: SS75609857
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The church of Cadoxton-juxta-Neath is first recorded in 1254 Valuation of Norwich, though the dedication to St Cadoc and church yard evidence may be an indication of a pre-Norman foundation.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

The 'Taxatio' website offer this church as belonging to Neath Abbey (Cistercian)

Patronage: *monastic*, Neath, Glamorgan, abbey, *Cistercian Monks*

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.KE.09>

and references there cited.

T. ST CADOC'S CHURCH, TREVETHIN

Dedication: St Cadoc
Community: Trevethin
Map Ref.: SO28380202
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

Trevethin church is first mentioned in documentary sources in the 1254 Valuation of Norwich. The site is a category 'C' possibility for pre-Norman foundation.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

U. ST CADOC'S CHURCH, LLANGATTOCK LINGOED

Dedication: St Cadoc
Community: Grosmont
Map Ref.: SO36152006
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The church at Llangattock Lingoed first recorded in documentary sources in 1254 Valuation of Norwich. It is probably a pre-Norman foundation as it has a Celtic dedication (St Cadoc), and the S side of the churchyard is curvilinear.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

See Abergavenny Priory.

V. ST CATTWG'S CHURCH, LLANSPYDDID

Dedication: St Cadoc
Community: Glyn Tarell
Map Ref.: SO0118328195
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

Little is offered by the Clwyd Powys Archaeology but B. Silvester suggests it is a probably pre-Norman ecclesiastical site.⁶

http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/cpat/english/cpat_interface.html

and references there cited.

Further Information:

Taxatio website offers that this church was appropriated as follows:

Patronage: *monastic*, Great Malvern, Worcs, priory, *Benedictine Monks*

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=DA.BC.BN.26>

and references there cited.

⁶ B. Silvester, 1998, 'Welsh Historic Churches Project. The Historic Churches of Breconshire and Radnorshire'. [online] available
<http://www.herwales.co.uk/herumd.php?group=CPAT&level=3&docid=301357449>

W. ST CATTWG'S CHURCH, LLANMAES

Dedication: St Cadoc
Community: Llan-maes
Map Ref.: SS98076948
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The church of Llanmaes is first mentioned in documentary sources in the 1254 Valuation of Norwich. It has a Celtic dedication and the churchyard now appears almost oval but with the NW and SE corner rounded.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

X. ST CATWG'S CHURCH, CUMCARVAN

Dedication: St Cadoc
Community: Mitchel Troy
Map Ref.: SO4774807499
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

Cwmcарvan is first mentioned in 1348. It is now dedicated to St Catwg and the churchyard is largely curvilinear; a pre-Norman foundation might be therefore be supposed, except that it is variously recorded at the beginning of this century as being dedicated to St Michael or St Clement.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

This dedication is interesting in that the name of the area 'Cwmcарvan' would suggest an association with 'Llancarvan' which was the monastic centre for St. Cadoc. The church at Cwmcарvan has a history of various dedications: St. Clement, St. Michael and St. Cadoc as indicated above, but also as a dependent chapel of Mitchel Troy.⁷ A church was almost certainly in existence to sometime before 1071 when William fitz Osbern gave the monks of Cormeilles and Lyre portions of the tithes of Cwmcарvan.⁸ It would appear there was a probable link to St. Cadoc given the place name and probably therefore an original St. Cadoc dedication and the subsequent dedications relate to the claims of alien priories.

⁷ The Church in Wales [online]. Available:

<http://www.churchinwales.org.uk/structure/places/churches/?id=5083> ,

Rev. A. W. Wade-Evans, *Parochiale Wallicanum* (Stow on the Wold, 1911). p. 62. C. A. H. Green, Notes on the Churches in the Diocese of Llandaff, 3 vols, (Aberdare: T. E. Smith, 1906-7). p.147.

⁸ David Crouch, 'The Transformation of Medieval Gwent', in Ralph A. Griffiths *et alia*, ed., *The Gwent County History Vol. 2 : The Age of the Marcher Lords, c.1070-1536* (University of Wales Press: Cardiff, 2008). p.5. & *Episcopal Acts Relating to Welsh Dioceses 1066-1272*, 2 Volumes. ed. James Conway Davies (Cardiff: Historical Society of the Church in Wales, 1948). pp. 662 & *Llandaff Episcopal Acta 1140 – 1287*, ed. David Crouch (Cardiff: South Wales Record Society, 1988). pp. 37 - 40.

Y. ST CATWG'S CHURCH, PENTYRCH

Dedication: St Cadoc
Community: Pentyrch
Map Ref.: ST1032481736
Site Type: Medieval church

Description:

St Catwg's church Pentyrch first appears in the documentary sources in the bull of Pope Honorius II to Urban of Llandaff confirming the possessions of the see in 1128.⁹ This early appearance, combined with the Celtic dedication and the fact that it was a prebend suggests that the church may well be a pre-Norman foundation.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

⁹ Clark, *Cartae*, p. 62.

Appendix V.4 Tewkesbury Possessions (churches)

List as per confirmation charter Tewkesbury cartulary.¹

St. Mary's Cardiff

Cardiff Castle chapel
St. John's Cardiff
St. Thomas' Cardiff
Chapel at Roath
St. Denis of Cibbwr (Llanishen)
Lisvane
Llanedeyrn
Lanforda

Llandough listed as an existing possession of the church of Cardiff in the charter.

Chapels of Leckwith and Cogan

Llantwit major

Chapel of Llysworney
Chapel of St. Bartholomew (not identified)
St. Euian of Cherletona (probably Ystradowen)
Appurtenances of:
Llanharry
Llanharan
Llanilid

St. Leonard of Newcastle

Chapel of Tythegson
Chapel of Laleston
Chapel in the wood east of Llynfi (Location not identified)
Chapel of St. Thomas between Avan and Neath

¹ *Llandaff Episcopal Acta 1140 – 1287*, ed. David Crouch (Cardiff: South Wales Record Society, 1988), pp. 27-31.

St. James Kenfig

Chapel St Thomas Kenfig

Chapels of north and south Cornelly

Chapel of Creitic (not identified but see possible site listed under Z)

Chapel of Llangynwyd

Llanbleddian

Chapel of Welsh St. Donats

Llanquian

Llansannor

What follows is a summary of the current state of knowledge about the churches belonging to Tewkesbury Abbey. It relies heavily on the *Archwilio* website to which the reader is directed for fuller descriptions and references.

A. ST MARY'S CHURCH, PRIORY CHURCH

Dedication: No Previous dedication known.
Community: Castle
Map Ref.: ST18307595
Site Type: Medieval Ecclesiastical building

Description:

Nothing remains of the priory church of St Mary's Cardiff which was a monastic cell founded c. 1100-2. It was established for five monks of Tewkesbury. The monks were recalled to Tewkesbury in 1221. Cowley describes it as more of a monastic cell than a priory proper.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

None.

B. CASTLE CHAPEL

Dedication: No dedication known.
Community: Castle
Map Ref.: Location not know
Site Type: Medieval Ecclesiastical building

Possible others site

ST PIRAN'S CHAPEL AT CARDIFF

Dedication: St Prian. (see notes below)
Community: Castle
Map Ref.: ST1818076455
Site Type: Medieval Chapel

Description:

The medieval chapel of St Piran's was situated close to the outside gates of Cardiff Castle and said to be on the line of Shoemakers Street. Henry II heard mass here in 1172. This is the only dedication to St Piran outside Cornwall and the most probable explanation for its existence is that it resulted from a relic brought from Lanpiran in Cornwall in Anglo-Norman times or shortly before.

<http://www.cofiadurcahymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

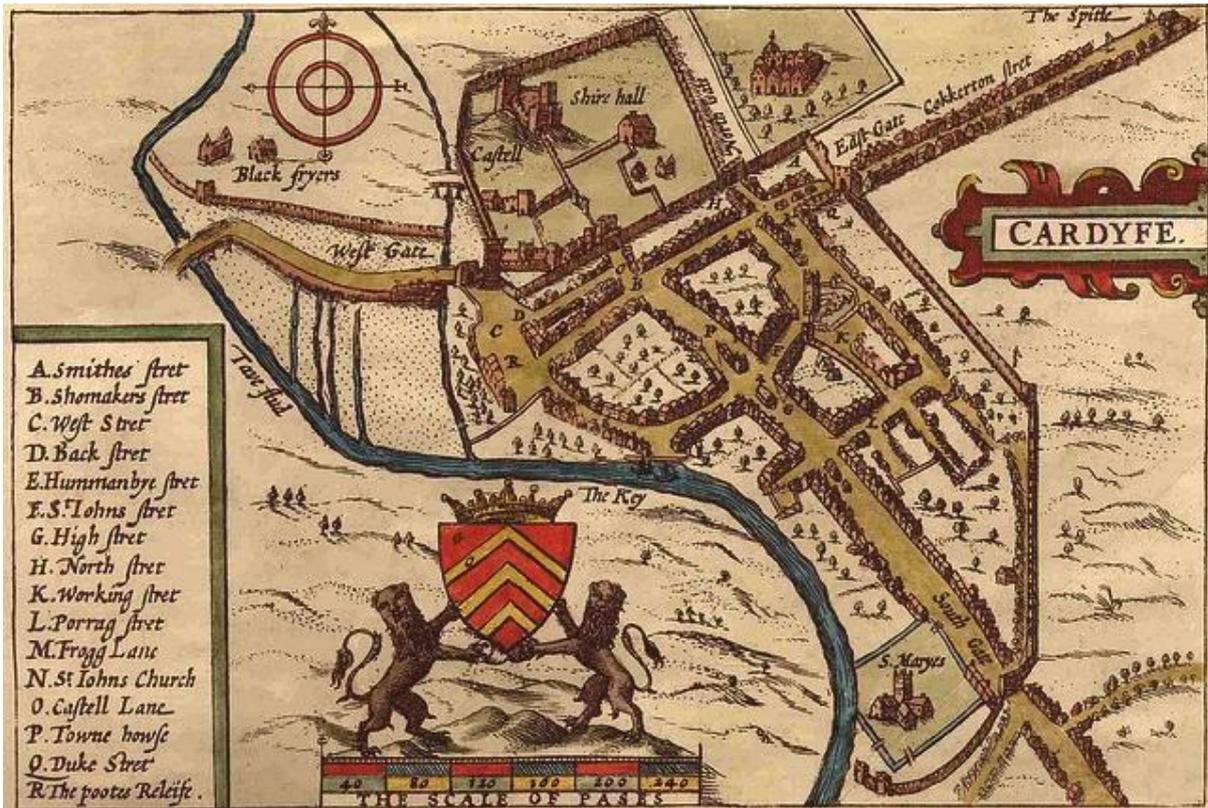
and references there cited.

Further Information:

The chapel was given to Tewkesbury abbey along with the church of St Mary's and its other dependent chapels by Robert fitz Hamon. The only other chapel recorded and not given is the chapel of St. Perine on Shoemaker Street said by William Rees to have become the church of the Guild of Cordwainers.² Doble suggests that St Perine was on this occasion a welsh saint of Glamorgan.³ Is it possible that this chapel acted as the castle chapel due to its proximity to the main gate of the castle also given that Gerald tells us Henry II took mass there?

² William Rees, 'The Lordship of Cardiff', *Reports and transactions (Cardiff Naturalists' Society)*, Vol. 63 (1930), pp. 18-34, p. 33.

³ G. H. Doble, *The saints of Cornwall* (Chatham: Printed for the Dean and Chapter of Truro by Parrett & Neves, 1960), p.27



[http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/bb/John Speed%27s map of Cardiff%2C Wales %28full%29.jpg](http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/bb/John_Speed%27s_map_of_Cardiff%2C_Wales_%28full%29.jpg)

C. ST JOHN THE BAPTIST'S CHURCH, CARDIFF

Dedication: No Previous dedication known.
Community: Castle
Map Ref.: ST18277641
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

St John's Church was already in existence in 1173. It was a chapelry of St Mary's, the parish church of Cardiff, which was affected by river erosion and finally disappeared in the 17th century. St John's was already in existence in 1173, when it was one of the churches recorded as granted to Tewksbury Abbey.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

None.

D. ST THOMAS' CHURCH, CARDIFF

Dedication: St Thomas.
Community: Castle
Map Ref.: ST18307595
Site Type: Medieval Ecclesiastical building

No evidence is offered by Glamorgan/Gwent archaeology Trust.

Further Information:

C. A. H. Green says the chapel of St. Thomas was added to the priory when it was rebuilt by Earl William of Gloucester in 1173.⁴ The grant is recorded by Clark as given 1147-1148.⁵

⁴ C. A. H. Green, *Notes on the Churches in the Diocese of Llandaff*, 3 vols, (Aberdare: T. E. Smith, 1906-7), p. 50.

⁵ *Cartae et alia munimenta que ad dominium de Glamorgancia*, ed. G. L. Clark, in 6 vols (Cardiff: William Lewis, 1910), p.104.

E. ST MARGARET'S CHURCH, ROATH

Dedication: St Margaret
Community: Roath
Map Ref.: ST19937774
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The medieval church of St Margaret at Roath is first mentioned in sources in 1393. It was a chapel of ease to Cardiff St Mary.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

None.

F. ST DIONYSIUS CHURCH, LLANISHEN

Dedication: St Dionysius
Community: Llanishen
Map Ref.: ST17628187
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

This medieval church of Llanishen may have been the ecclesia Sanct Nisea mentioned in a papal bull from Pope Calixtus II to Urban, Bishop of Llandaff recorded by Clark. It was a chapel of ease to St Mary's Cardiff and was mentioned in a confirmation of churches granted to Tewksbury Abbey c. 1173.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

The dedication of St. Denis is unlikely to be an original dedication for a native church. A most probable explanation for this dedication is St. Isen whose latin name would have been St. Dionysius which would have been later corrupted to St Denis.⁶ This may have also been the case with Lisvane.

⁶ S. Baring-Gould, & John Fisher, *The lives of British Saints: The Saints of Wales and Cornwall and such Irish Saints as have Dedications in Britain*, 4 Volumes (London: The Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1913), Vol. 3. p. 321.

G. ST DENIS'S CHURCH, LISVANE

Dedication: St Denis
Community: Lisvane
Map Ref.: ST19158305
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The church St Denis at Lisvane is first mentioned documentary sources in 1173, a confirmation of grants to Tewksbury Abbey. It was a chapel of ease to St Mary's Cardiff.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

The dedication of St. Denis is unlikely to be an original dedication for a native church. There is no record of any previous dedication. C. A. H. Green disputes the dedication to St. Denis.⁷ Its earliest documented name is Capellum de Liffenni.⁸ A most probable explanation for this dedication is St. Isen whose latin name would have been St. Dionysius which would have been later corrupted to St Denis.⁹

⁷ C. A. H. Green, Notes on the Churches in the Diocese of Llandaff, 3 vols, (Aberdare: T. E. Smith, 1906-7), p. 52.

⁸ Conway Davies ed. *Episcopal Acts Relating to Welsh Dioceses 1066-1272*, Vol.2 p. 659.

⁹ S. Baring-Gould, & John Fisher, *The lives of British Saints: The Saints of Wales and Cornwall and such Irish Saints as have Dedications in Britain*, 4 Volumes (London: The Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1913), Vol. 3. p. 321.

H. ST EDERN'S CHURCH, LLANEDEYRN

Dedication: St Edern
Community: Old St Mellons
Map Ref: ST22058199
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

St Edern's church of Llanedeyrn is first mentioned in documentary sources in 1173, a confirmation of grants to Tewksbury Abbey. It was a chapel of ease to St Mary's Cardiff. The place name suggests that it is a pre-Norman foundation, and the partly curvilinear shape of the churchyard may offer some support to this.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

St Edern is given a listing by Bartrum who writes:

A certain Edern is mentioned as one of the household of Cybi (q.v.) but chronology makes it impossible for this to have been Edern ap Beli. Wade-Evans thought that Edern ap Beli might have been among the followers of St. Beuno (Arch.Camb., 85 (1930), p.325). Wade-Evans also thought that the saint of Llanedern in Morgannwg was Aetern, a clerical witness to one of the 'Llancarfan Charters' in the Life of St. Cadog (§55 in VSB p.126). See Arch.Camb., 87 (1932), p.156.¹⁰

LANFORDS

Dedication: Not Know
Community: Not identified
Map Ref.: Not identified
Site Type: Medieval Church

Further Information:

Nothing has been identified about this chapel neither its identity nor its location.

¹⁰ Peter C. Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary: People in History and Legend up to about A D. 1000* (The National Library of Wales, 1993), p. 252. [online] available <http://www.llgc.org.uk/collections/digital-gallery/printedmaterial/a-welsh-classical-dictionary/>

I. CHURCH OF ST. DOCHDWY, LLANDOUGH

Dedication: St Dochdwy
Community: Llandough
Map Ref.: ST16807327
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The church of Llandough is a site of considerable antiquity and have its origins as early as the fourth century with supporting evidence of links with the occupation of a Roman Villa, also on the same site, from the second to the fourth centuries. Archaeologists have identified this ground as the site of the monastery Sancti Docguinni mentioned in the Book of Llandaff. It is also mentioned in 1173, a confirmation of grants to Tewksbury Abbey.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

Wade-Evans offers St Cyngar as correct for this church.¹¹ Bartrum disputes the dedication St Dochdwy and offers St Dochau.¹² The latter would appear more convincing.

¹¹ Rev. A. W. Wade-Evans, *Parochiale Wallicanum* (Stow on the Wold, 1911), p.46.

¹² Peter C. Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary: People in History and Legend up to about A D. 1000* (The National Library of Wales, 1993), p. 227-8. [online] available <http://www.llgc.org.uk/collections/digital-gallery/printedmaterial/a-welsh-classical-dictionary/>

J. ST JAMES' CHURCH, LECKWITH

Dedication:	St James (see notes)
Community:	Michaelston
Map Ref:	ST15797440
Site Type:	Early Medieval Ecclesiastical building

Description:

The medieval church of St James' was rebuilt in 1867 on site of the medieval church. The only surviving relic of old church is a small memorial tablet of 1787. The site is probably early medieval ecclesiastical site.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

A possible earlier dedication of St Baglan if this is so he was a contemporary of St Catoc.¹³

¹³ *Ibid*, p. 38.

K. ST PETER'S CHURCH, COGAN

Dedication: St Peter
Community: Penarth
Map Ref.: ST1687570550
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

Cogan church is first attested in 1173 as a chapel belonging to Tewksbury Abbey.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

There is nothing to suggest any other dedication for this church.

L. ST ILLTYD'S CHURCH, LLANTWIT MAJOR

Dedication: Illtyd
Community: Llantwit Major
Map Ref.: SS96606872
Site Type: Early Medieval Church

Description:

St Illtyd's church at Llantwit Major is a site of incredible interest as pre-Norman monastic foundation from the early 6th century. Excavations in 1915 in an area W of the present churchyard, enclosed with a bank and ditch, demonstrated that this was the site of the grange of Tewksbury Abbey established before, but no traces of the Early Christian site were found. It has therefore concludes that the earlier site was in the present churchyard and adjoining streets, but this cannot be regarded as conclusive since it is now known that sites of this period are very difficult to recognise because of the general absence of artefacts. The pre-Norman establishment was a clas church; it was granted to Tewksbury Abbey in 1080. (this is an error and should read 1106 and 1180.)¹⁴

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

¹⁴ Geoffrey R. Orrin, *Medieval Churches of the Vale of Glamorgan* (Cowbridge: D. Brown and Sons Ltd, 1988), p.239.

M. ST TYDFIL'S CHURCH, LLYSWORNEY

Dedication: St. Tydfil
Community: Llandow
Map Ref.: SS96187410
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The church of Llysworney is first mentioned in 1173 as a possession of Tewksbury Abbey. However, the presence of an Early Christian monument of Class F, possibly a lintel of 11th-12th century date suggests that it may have been a pre-Norman foundation; Llysworney itself appears to have been the centre of the pre-Norman cantref of Gwrinydd. The church does not survive.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

There is little reason to suspect a different dedication.

ST BARTHOLOMEW'S CHURCH

Dedication: St. Bartholomew
Community: not known
Map Ref.: not known
Site Type: Medieval Church

Further Information:

Not identified as yet.

N. ST OWAIN'S CHURCH, YSTRADOWEN

Dedication: St Euian/Owain
Community: Penllyn
Map Ref.: ST01127767
Site Type: Unknown Church

Description:

The church of Ystradowen (of Cherletona) is first mentioned in a confirmation of 1173 as a possession of Tewksbury Abbey (Crouch 1988, 28-31); it was a prebend and may therefore be a pre-Norman foundation.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

There is little information available for St. Owain if this is a correct dedication.

O. ST ILLTYD'S CHURCH, LLANHARRY

Dedication: St. Illtyd
Community: Llanharry
Map Ref.: ST00618044
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The church of Llanharry is first mentioned in 1173 as a dependency of Ystradowen, in the possession of Tewksbury Abbey.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

P. ST JULIAN'S AND AARON'S CHURCH, LLANHARAN

Dedication: St. Julian and St. Aaron
Community: Llanharan
Map Ref.: ST00258320
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The church of Llanharan is first mentioned in a confirmation in 1173 as a possession of Tewksbury Abbey but the place name suggests that it may be a pre-Norman foundation.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

If this is a pre-Norman site it is probable that the original dedication has been changed.

Q. CHURCH OF ST ILID AND CURIG, LLANILID

Dedication: St Ilid and St Curig
Community: Llanharan
Map Ref.: SS97808130
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The church of Llanilid is first mentioned in documentary sources in 1173 as a dependency of Ystradowen and in the possession of Tewksbury Abbey but '*Lifris's Vita Sancti Cadoci*' of c. 1100 refers to '*uilla Ecclus Ilid*' as a property of Llancarfan. It seems likely that '*Ecclus Ilid*' is the church later known as Llanilid. the 'eglwys' form of which indicates an early date. If this is so then it is evidently a pre-Norman foundation.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

Wade-Evans gives Ilud as a daughter of St. Brychan and consequently a sister to Gwladys and Mabyn (Llanfabon).¹⁵

¹⁵ Rev. A. W. Wade-Evans, *Parochiale Wallicanum* (Stow on the Wold, 1911), p. 51.

R. ST ILLTYD'S CHURCH AT NEWCASTLE (BRIDGEND)

Dedication: St. Leonard
Community: Bridgend
Map Ref.: SS90268004
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The presence in this church of two early christian monuments of Class G and late 11th-early 12th century date suggest that it may be a pre-Norman foundation, though not necessarily so, since it first appears in the documentary sources in 1106. Its dedication as attested in documentary references appears to have been St Leonard. The present dedication to St Illtyd, recorded by Glynne (1901, 263) in 1860, may be an antiquarian conjecture, based on the fact that the festivals of St Leonard and St Illtyd fall on the same day.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

See Text above for St. Leonard v's St Illtyd

S. ST TYDWG'S CHURCH, TITHEGSTON

Dedication: St Tydwg
Community: Merthyr Mawr
Map Ref.: SS85787883
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The church of Tithegston is first mentioned in 1173 document when it was confirmed as a chapel of Tewkesbury Abbey. However, the presence of a Class D Early Christian monument in the churchyard, and another fragment reworked as part of a window, as well as its Celtic dedication indicate that it is a pre-Norman foundation.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

The origin of this saint is confused but is most certainly native.

T. ST DAVID'S CHURCH, LALESTON

Dedication: St. David
Community: Laleston
Map Ref.: SS87547985
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The church at Laleston first appears in the documentary sources in 1173 confirming it as a chapel belonging to Tewkesbury Abbey. However, two Early Christian headstones of Class G and 11th-12th century date have been found in the parish one of which may rather have been a slab-cross. This, combined with the raised polygonal churchyard, which was previously circular, suggests that the site may have been pre-Norman. Glynn suggests the dedication to have been St Illtyd.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

U. ST DAVID'S CHURCH, BETTWS (GLAM)

Dedication: Any previous not know
Community: Garw Valley
Map Ref.: SS89908676
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The church of Bettws is identified as the *`capella in nemore ex orientale parte Leveni'* in a list of the possessions of Tewksbury Abbey confirmed in 1173.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

V. CHAPEL DEDICATED TO? ST THOMAS (THE CROFT)

Dedication: Any previous not know
Community: Aberavon
Map Ref.: SS76338998
Site Type: Medieval Chapel

Description:

An early Christian monument and a piscina (now built into St Mary's Port Talbot) were found when a farmstead called The Croft was demolished. This location has tentatively been identified as the site of a medieval chapel and a possible candidate for St Thomas's Chapel which is known to have stood between the Rivers Neath and Avan.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

None.

W. ST JAMES' CHURCH, KENFIG

Dedication: St. James
Community: Margam
Map Ref.: SS80068240
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The medieval church of St James lay 300 yards to the S of the castle, the walls of the cemetery adjoining the castle bailey were erected about the same time as Margam Abbey or soon after (1147-54) and still extant in 1397. Sites of the church of St James's and its graveyard are well known and fragments of stone are still to be seen in quantities about it, including worked Sutton stone.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

X. CHURCH OF ST CORNELIUS, SOUTH CORNELLY

Dedication: St Cornelius
Community: Cynffig
Map Ref.: SS82058043
Site Type: Medieval Chapel

Description:

Small thatched cottage called Ty Capel preserved small Perpendicular window and slightly arched doorway in early 20th century which was too ruined to preserve any architectural features by 1957 (OS card SS 88 SW 10). A number of burials found in 1982 during building work on site of Rock Cottages, South Cornelly at the above map reference, and a small apsidal East to West structure was noted and identified as the lost site of the chapel. It has been suggested that it may have been a manorial chapel recorded as belonging to Tewksbury Abbey by Clarke. It may be that it should be associated with Tanglwst Grange; and possibly the church referred to in an indenture of 1257, which exchanged the Abbey's land at the sanctuary of the Chapel of Corneli for other land adjoining the Abbey's land starting at '*Tangestellond*'.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

Y. ST WENDUIN'S CHAPEL, NORTH CORNELLY

Dedication: Any previous not know
Community: Cynffig
Map Ref.: SS81488150
Site Type: Medieval Chapel

Description:

There is documentary reference to a chapel of St Wenduin in North Cornelly. The site at this map reference applies to a cottage (now demolished) traditionally identified as this chapel. The charter is in the Cottonian MSs (Cleop AVII.68) given by Nicholas Bishop of Llandaff, in which mention of a chapel in each Cornelly; St Wenduin is given as the name of the saint to whom the chapel of North Cornelly is dedicated. Gray identified a cottage with a pointed doorway with a plain chamfer in the pine end of Heol Las, between Mawdlam and Cornelly, about 500 yards East North East of North Cornelly, on the grounds that it cannot be domestic but must be Early English ecclesiastical (with standard med/post-med shaped domestic door-head type).

This site is now doubted as the confirmed site of St Wenduin's chapel but in the absence of an alternative it has been included.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

Possible site for the north chapel mentioned in the confirmation of Tewkesbury churches.

Z. CAPEL BAIDEN/ST THOMAS OF CREITIC (TREYKIK)

Dedication: St Thomas of Creitic
Community: Llangynwyd Lower
Map Ref.: SS86828523
Site Type: Medieval Chapel

Description:

The chapel of St Thomas of Creitic is recorded as a possession of Tewkesbury in *c.* 1172. The first edition Ordnance Survey map shows a chapel as a building aligned west-south-west to east-south-east. It is marked by Rees on his map of South Wales and the Borders in the fourteenth century as 'Chapel of St Thomas, appropriated to a Monastic House'. (There are other indicators suggesting this site please refer to the website for more detail.)

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

Possible site for Chapel of Creitic otherwise not identified.

a. ST CYNWYD'S CHURCH, LLANGYNWYD

Dedication: St Cynwyd
Community: Llangynwyd Middle
Map Ref.: SS85758884
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The Church of St Cynwyd at Llangynwyd first appears in the documentary sources in 1173 as a chapel belonging to Tewkesbury Abbey, but the place name and other indicators suggest it is probably a pre-Norman site, though the dedication is not confirmed by Merrick, who describes it only as 'a parish church of that name (Llangynwyd)'.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

b. ST JOHN THE BAPTIST'S CHURCH, LLANBLETHIAN

Dedication: St John the Baptist
Community: Cowbridge With Llanblethian
Map Ref.: SS98507402
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The church of St John the Baptist at Llanblethian is first mentioned in a confirmation of the possessions of Tewksbury Abbey dated 1172 and the Celtic dedication suggests that it was a pre-Norman foundation.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

c. ST DONATS CHURCH, WELSH ST DONATS

Dedication: St Donat
Community: Welsh St Donats
Map Ref.: ST0279076287
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The church of at Welsh St Donat is first mentioned in a confirmation of the possessions of Tewksbury Abbey dated 1172 as a chapel of Llanblethian.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

d. ST JAMES CHAPEL AT LLANQUIAN

Dedication: St James
Community: Cowbridge With Llanblethian
Map Ref.: ST01837434
Site Type: Medieval Chapel

Description:

This is a site where the settlement had a medieval chapel dedicated to St James.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

Llanquain is listed as a chapel of Llanblethian in 1173's confirmation to Tewkesbury Abbey.

e. ST SENEWYR'S CHURCH, LLANSANNOR

Dedication: St. Senewyr
Community: Penllyn
Map Ref.: SS99377751
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

This is a possible site of a pre-Norman foundation and the medieval church of Llansannor first appears in the documentary sources in 1173 as '*Capellae Sanctae Senwarae de la Thawa*', a dependency of Ystradowen, in the possession of Tewksbury Abbey

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

None.

Appendix V.6.

What follows is a summary of the current state of knowledge about the churches belonging to Ewenny Priory. It relies heavily on the *Archwilio* website to which the reader is directed for fuller descriptions and references. The introductory page is based on the monastic Wales website to which the reader is directed for further information and detailed references.

The churches of Ewenny Priory

- A EWENNY PRIORY**
- B ST BRIDGET'S CHURCH, ST BRIDES MAJOR**
- C ST MICHAEL & ALL ANGELS, COLWINSTON**
- D ST TYFODWG'S CHURCH, LLANDYFODWG (GLYNOGWR)**
- E ALL SAINTS CHURCH, OYSTERMOUTH**
- F ST ILLTUD'S, PEMBREY**
- G CAPEL CYNNOR; ST CYNFWR'S**
- H ST. ST ISHMAEL'S CHURCH, ST ISHMAEL'S**
- I ST TYFAELOG'S LLANDYFAELOG**
- J CAPEL IFAN; ST JOHN'S CHAPEL; CAPEL IEUANR**
- K ST CYNDEYRN'S CHURCH, LLANGYNDEYRN**
- L CAPEL LLANGYNHEIDDON; CAPEL KENEYTHAN;**
- M CAPEL DYDDGEN; CAPEL LLYDDGEN**
- N ST CEINWYR'S CHURCH, LLANGAINOR**
- O ST ELLYW'S CHURCH, LLANELLI**
- P ST JOHN'S, CAPEL IFAN; ST JOHN'S CHAPEL PONTYBEREM**
- Q ST DAVID'S, LLANELLI; CAPEL DEWI, CAPEL BERWICK**

Not in Wales: Hunnington, Wilts and East Garston, Berks.

EWENNY PRIORY

Ewenny Priory had its origins in the grant (before 1131) by William de Londres, lord of Ogmore Castle, of the church of St Michael Ewenny to St Peter's, Gloucester, to establish a cell. It was raised to conventual status by William's son, Maurice.

Sources

Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestria, 3 vols, ed. W. H. Hart, Rolls Series (London, 1863-1867), I, pp. 75-6

The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot, Abbot of Gloucester (1139-48), Bishop of Hereford (1148-63), and London (1163-87), ed. Z. N. Brooke, completed by Dom Adrian Morey and C. N. L. Brooke (Cambridge, 1967), no. 45 (p. 82)

Burton, Janet, 'Transition and transformation: the Benedictine houses', in *Monastic Wales: New Approaches*, ed. Janet Burton and Karen Stöber (University of Wales: Cardiff, 2013), pp. 21-37

Cowley, F. G., *The Monastic Order in South Wales 1066-1349* (Cardiff, 1977), pp. 15-17

Heale, Martin, *The Dependent Priories of Medieval English Monasteries*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, 22 (Boydell and Brewer: Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 88, 123, 291

<http://www.monasticwales.org/event/18>

A EWENNY PRIORY

Dedication:	St Michael
Community:	Ewenny
Map Ref.:	SS91207775
Site Type:	Medieval Castle (given by Archwilio but perhaps needs amendment to Medieval / Early Medieval Ecclesiastical Building)

Description:

Ewenny Priory is a fine survival from Wales's monastic heritage. Parts of the monastic church remain in use as a parish church, while the gatehouse and precinct wall are substantial. The priory was constructed on flat ground about three kilometres from Ogmore Castle, caput of the de Londres estate. The presence of nine early Christian memorial stones found on the site suggests the existence of an earlier church.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

All the evidence suggests a pre-Norman religious site of some significance.

B ST BRIDGET'S CHURCH, ST BRIDES MAJOR

Dedication: St Bridget
Community: St Bride's Major
Map Ref.: SS89427501
Site Type: Medieval church

Description:

The medieval church of St Bridget is presumably that at St Brides Major and was one of the endowments conferred on Ewenny Priory at its refoundation as a conventual priory in 1141.¹

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

C ST MICHAEL & ALL ANGELS, COLWINSTON

Dedication: St Michael and All Angels
Community: Colwinston
Map Ref.: SS9396275396
Site Type: medieval church

Description:

The church of Colwinston was one of the endowments conferred on Ewenny Priory at its refoundation as a conventual priory in 1141.² Before the church was granted to Ewenny it was apparently served by two parsons. Orrin suggests one possible interpretation, that is, that the church had previously been a *clas*. However, there are other possible explanations; and there is no certain evidence that it is a pre-Norman foundation.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and sources there cited.

¹ (Clark 1901, 100).

² Orrin 1998b 121

D ST TYFODWG'S CHURCH, LLANDYFODWG (GLYNOGWR)

Dedication: St Tyfodwg
Community: Ogmere Valley
Map Ref.: SS9564087235
Site Type: medieval church

Description:

The church of Llandyfodwg is first recorded in the *Taxatio ecclesiastica* of 1291. However, it has a Celtic dedication to St Tyfodwg, confirmed by Merrick.³ The existence of a trackway from the early Christian period, and of a partly curvilinear churchyard, may suggest that the church was a pre-Norman foundation. Medieval fabric survives in the walls of the nave and porch. Particularly noteworthy is a carved slab of a pilgrim (probably fourteenth-century), with symbols of pilgrimages to Jerusalem, Rome, and Santiago. Butler considers this to be the product of a local craftsman. Merrick records a tradition that the person commemorated was one Dafydd ap Fychan.⁴ The font is also medieval.

Further Information:

This church of Llandyfodwg is confirmed by Cowley as a possession of Ewenny.⁵

³ (ed James 1983, 100)

⁴ Butler 1971, 400; (ed James 1983, 100)

⁵ F. G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales 1066-1349*, p.227.

E ALL SAINTS CHURCH, OYSTERMOUTH

Dedication: Not known
Community: Mumbles
Map Ref.: SS61668801
Site Type: medieval church

Description:

Oystermouth church, which lies close to the castle, is first mentioned in the documentary record in 1141.⁶ The discovery of fragments of mosaic pavement in the churchyard indicates that there was a Roman building of some importance on the site. Parts of the surviving parts of the structure may be medieval, and others are more definitely datable to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. There is an early medieval font, and a pillar piscina.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

This church of Oystermouth is confirmed by Cowley as a possession of Ewenny.⁷

⁶ Clarke 1910, 100).

⁷ F. G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales 1066-1349*, p.227.

F ST ILLTUD'S, PEMBREY

Dedication: St Illtud
Community: Cefn Sidan
Map Ref.: SN42850122
Site Type: early medieval churchyard

Description:

The churchyard, which was occupied by the medieval parish church of Pembrey (listed in the *Taxatio* of 1291) may be of early medieval origin. It was in existence by 1107-1115 and probably served a large *parochium* based on Kidwelly/Llangadog in the early 12th century, as like those churches, its tithes were granted to Sherbourne Abbey in 1107-1115. This was followed by a grant of the advowson, with 'chapels and lands', in 1147-48, and it is in this context that the Celtic St Illtud dedication was specifically mentioned. The churchyard was originally small and subcircular.

http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/dyfed/english/dyfed_interface.html

and sources there cited.

Further Information:

Cowley lists Pembrey as an Ewenny possession.⁸ For more on this see further information below under St Ishmael's.

⁸ *Ibid.* p.228.

G CAPEL CYNNOR; ST CYNFWR'S

Dedication:	St Cynfwr
Community:	Cefn Sidan
Map Ref.:	SN4502
Site Type:	Medieval Chapel

Description:

This was a medieval chapel-of-ease to Pembrey parish. It may have been in existence in 1147-48 when Pembrey Church, with its 'chapels and lands', was granted to Sherborne Abbey (Conway Davies 1946). It was certainly mentioned in 1353 when Penbre Church, 'with its chapels of Llanthdury (Llandyry) and Llancommowr' was granted to the New College of Leicester (Stephens, 1939, 69). The chapel was in 'ruins' in 1833, when the site was used as a coal yard by the Pembrey Iron & Coal Co. (Lewis 1833). It had gone by the early 20th century and its precise location is unknown, but it clearly occupied the site of one of the former industrial workings along the valley called 'Cwm Capel', centering on NGR SN 45 02. It appears to have been dedicated to the 'Celtic' St Cynfwr but there is no current evidence for an early medieval date.

http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/dyfed/english/dyfed_interface.html

and sources there cited.

Further Information:

Cowley lists Pembrey as an Ewenny possession which would make this also an Ewenny possession.⁹ For more on this see further information under St Ishmael's.

⁹ *Ibid.*

H ST ISHMAEL'S CHURCH, ST ISHMAEL'S

Dedication: St Ishmael's
Community: St Ishmael
Map Ref.: SN36220840
Site Type: Early Medieval Church

Description:

St Ishmael's church is built on what is described as of medium-probability early medieval origins. The church was in existence by 1107-1115. It probably occupied a large 'parochium' based on Kidwelly/Llangadog in the early 12th century, as like those churches, its tithes were granted to Sherborne Abbey in 1107-1115. This was followed by a grant of the advowson, with 'chapels and lands', in 1147-48 - when the 'Celtic' St Ishmael' dedication was specifically mentioned. (This reference to advowson is repudiated by Cowley, see further information.)

http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/dyfed/english/dyfed_interface.html

and sources there cited.

Further Information:

Cowley gives St Ishmael as a church of Ewenny Priory.¹⁰ However in the episcopal acts of St David's (J. Conway-Davies) it is recorded that the tithes of French, English and Flemish were given to Sherbourne Abbey.¹¹ Further, the *Taxatio* records Ewenny as patron and cites St Davids Episcopal Acta, ed. J.Barrow (South Wales Record Society, Cardiff, 1998) p.116.¹² It needs also to be noted that in 1131 x 47 it appears that Ewenny has some hold on the churches of Oystermouth, Carnewaylan, Pembrey and St. Ishmael, in the case of Pembrey and St. Ishmael, Ewenny had the right to appoint the vicars.¹³

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Episcopal Acts Relating to Welsh Dioceses 1066-1272*, 2 Volumes. ed. James Conway Davies (Cardiff: Historical Society of the Church in Wales, 1948), Vol. I, p. 237.
& J. Conway Davies, 'Ewenny Priory: Some Recently-found Records', *National Library of Wales journal*, vol. 3 (1944), pp 107-137. pp. 109-10
& *St. Davids Episcopal Acta 1085-1280* Ed. Julia Barrow (Cardiff: South Wales Record Society, 1998), pp.115-6.

¹² *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate P. Nicholai IV, 1291-2* [online]. Available: <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/index.html>

¹³ *Episcopal Acts Relating to Welsh Dioceses 1066-1272*, 2 Volumes. ed. James Conway Davies (Cardiff: Historical Society of the Church in Wales, 1948), Vol. 1. p. 374.

I ST TYFAELOG'S LLANDYFAELOG

Dedication: St Maelog
Community: Llandyfaelog
Map Ref.: SN4149111877
Site Type: Medieval Church / Early Medieval Church yard

Description:

This is listed as a medieval parish church on an early medieval site which may have had monastic origins.

http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/dyfed/english/dyfed_interface.html

and sources there cited.

Further Information:

Conway-Davies lists Llandyfaelog as a church of Ewenny Priory.¹⁴ It would appear from a charter by Maurice de Londris that sometime before 1148, possibly 1141; he gave Llandyfaelog along with its chapels to Ewenny to raise it to conventual status.¹⁵ This so, it would be expected that the following chapels of Llandyfaelog would have also been included as listed by Wade-Evans.¹⁶

¹⁴ James Conway Davies ed. *Episcopal Acts Relating to Welsh Dioceses 1066-1272*, Vol. I, p. 237. & J. Conway Davies, 'Ewenny Priory, pp. 109-10.

¹⁵ G. L. Clark, ed., *Cartae et alia munimenta que ad dominium de Glamorgancia*, Vol. VI. p.2265-6.

¹⁶ Rev. A. W. Wade-Evans, *Parochiale Wallicanum*, p.29.

J CAPEL IFAN; ST JOHN'S CHAPEL; CAPEL IEUAN

Dedication: St. John
Community: Llangyndeyrn
Map Ref.: SN490155
Site Type: Medieval Chapel

Description:

This is the site of a former chapelry to Llandyfaelog parish (now in Llangendeirne parish). Its precise location is unknown, but it presumably lay on or near the site of the present farmstead of Capel Ifan, which also has fields named `Cae Capel' and `Capel Ifan'. The chapel is marked on William Rees' 1932 map, the source of which is a mention in the `Black Book of St Davids', written in 1326 giving the chapel was a possession of the Bishop of St Davids.

http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/dyfed/english/dyfed_interface.html

and sources there cited.

Further Information:

None.

K ST CYNDEYRN'S CHURCH, LLANGYNDEYRN

Dedication: St. Cyndeyrn
Community: Llangyndeyrn
Map Ref.: SN4562113985
Site Type: Medieval Church / Post-Medieval Church

Description:

This was a medieval chapelry to Llandyfaelog, now a parish church.

http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/dyfed/english/dyfed_interface.html

and sources there cited.

Further Information:

None.

**L CAPEL LLANGYNHEIDDON; CAPEL KENEYTHAN; LLANGENHYTHEN
CHAPEL**

Dedication: St. Keneythan
Community: Llandyfaelog
Map Ref.: SN42981504
Site Type: Medieval Chapel

Description:

There is no longer any visible sign of this medieval chapel-of-ease to Llandyfaelog parish. It was possibly a site of early medieval origins. The site occupied the 'Englishry' of Kidwelly, but was dedicated to the 'Celtic' St Cynheiddon in the 12th century source, suggesting possible early medieval origins.

http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/dyfed/english/dyfed_interface.html

and sources there cited.

Further Information:

None.

M CAPEL DYDDGEN; CAPEL LLYDDGEN

Dedication: St. Dyddgen
Community: Llangyndeyrn
Map Ref.: SN4654112608
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

There are substantial standing remains of this medieval chapelry to Llandyfaelog parish. It was dedicated to the 'Celtic' St Dyddgen, which is normally rendered 'Hyddgen' and may in fact denote the name Llyddgen. There is no current evidence for an early medieval date.

http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/dyfed/english/dyfed_interface.html

and sources there cited.

Further Information:

None.

N. ST CEINWYR'S CHURCH, LLANGAINOR

Dedication: St. Ceinwyr
Community: Garw Valley
Map Ref.: SS92488793
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

It is likely that the church at Llangeinor is a pre-Norman foundation as it has a Celtic dedication to St Cein(wyr) and is associated with a track way used in the Early Christian period.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and sources there cited.

Further Information:

Llangeinor is confirmed as another church of Ewenny.¹⁷

¹⁷ J. Conway Davies ed. *Episcopal Acts Relating to Welsh Dioceses 1066-1272*, Vol. I, p. 237.
& J. Conway Davies, 'Ewenny Priory, pp. 109-10.

O ST ELLYW'S CHURCH, LLANELLI

Dedication: St Elli
Community: Llanelli
Map Ref.: SN5069900539
Site Type: Medieval Church / Post-Medieval Church

Description:

This medieval church is built on an early medieval C site, low-probability of early medieval origins. The churchyard site is occupied by the medieval Llanelli parish church which was listed in a very early post-Conquest documentary source c.1130, in the 'Llandaff Charters'. It is referred to as 'the church of Carnwillion' in a mid 13th century source, suggesting that it may have been the mother-church of Cwmwd Carnwilion.

http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/dyfed/english/dyfed_interface.html

and sources there cited.

Further Information:

Llanelli along with its chapels of St. David and St. John the Baptist are listed by Conway-Davies as belonging to Ewenny.¹⁸

¹⁸ James Conway Davies ed. *Episcopal Acts Relating to Welsh Dioceses 1066-1272*, Vol. I, p. 237.
& J. Conway Davies, 'Ewenny Priory', pp. 109-10.
& W. H. Hart, ed., *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestria*, Vol II, pp. 299-300.

P ST JOHN'S, CAPEL IFAN; ST JOHN'S CHAPEL PONTYBEREM

Dedication: St John
Community: Pontyberem
Map Ref.: SN498103
Site Type: Medieval Chapel

Description:

The medieval chapelry to Llanelli parish. It is believed to have medieval origins and is marked on William Rees' 1932 map. The present structure is probably built on the same site, if not in the same location, as the medieval chapelry. There there is no current evidence for an early medieval date.

http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/dyfed/english/dyfed_interface.html

and sources there cited.

Further Information:

St. John's Pontyberem is given as a chapel of Llanelli consequently belonging to Ewenny Priory church.¹⁹

Q ST. DAVID'S, LLANELLI; CAPEL DEWI, CAPEL BERWICK

Dedication: St. David
Community: Llanelli Rural
Map Ref.: SS53899968
Site Type: Medieval Chapel / Medieval Cemetery

Description:

The remains of a medieval chapel-of-ease to Llanelli parish still survive in Llwynhendy, on the opposite side of the B4297 to the modern church of St Davids. Part of the west and south walls of the nave survive and are believed to date from the 12th or 13th century, the rest of the structure is believed to survive under the road.

http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/dyfed/english/dyfed_interface.html

and sources there cited.

Further Information:

The chapel of St. David's listed in the chapels of Llanelli could be here. The problem of dating to late medieval may be because of lack of documentary evidence that a chapel of St. David existed in the early part of the 12th century. The existence of such a chapel is given by Gloucester Abbey for Ewenny Priory.²⁰

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ W. H. Hart, ed., *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestria*, Vol II, pp. 299-300.

Appendix V.7

What follows is a summary of the current state of knowledge about the churches belonging to Gloucester Abbey, other than the churches held by Ewenny Priory. It relies heavily on the *Archwilio* website to which the reader is directed for fuller descriptions and references.

A ST WOOLOS' CARTHEDRAL, NEWPORT

B EGGLIS GUUNLIU

C ST CADOC'S CHURCH, LLANCRAFAN

A ST WOOLOS' CATHEDRAL, NEWPORT

Dedication: St Woolos
Community: Stow Hill
Map Ref.: ST30908760
Site Type: Unknown Church

Description:

What is now the cathedral church of St Woolos is an early ecclesiastical site and described as a monastery in c.1100 and in 1156 as belonging to Gloucester Abbey for many years.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

By tradition the cathedral claims its origins in the foundation of the site by St Gwynllyw, Woolos being the English corruption of the original Welsh name, c. 500.

<http://www.newportcathedral.org.uk/index.php?id=78>

Benefice of NEWPORT

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.NE.01>

St. Gwynllyw judged to belong to Gloucester 1156.¹

¹ *Llandaff Episcopal Acta 1140 – 1287*, ed. David Crouch (Cardiff: South Wales Record Society, 1988), p. 11.

B EGGLIS GUUNLIU

Dedication: St. Gwynllyw
Community : Gaer
Map Ref. : ST3087
Site Type : Early Medieval Monastery

Description :

This is the site given as the original site of Eglwys Wynllyw (Egglis Guunliu) as given in *Vita Sancti Cadoci* of c 1100 as a monastery founded by St Gwynllyw, the father of St Cadoc; it also appears in the *Vita Sancti Gundlei* of c1130

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

None.

C ST CADOC'S CHURCH, LLANCRAFAN

See Appendix V.1 entry 'C. ST CADOC'S CHURCH, LLANCARFAN' for full entry.

Appendix V.10b Chepstow Priory a cell of Cormeilles Abbey

What follows is a summary of the current state of knowledge about the churches belonging to Chepstow Priory. It relies heavily on the *Archwilio* website to which the reader is directed for fuller descriptions and references.

Chepstow Priory a cell of Cormeilles Abbey

also known as: Striguil; St Mary's, Chepstow

Order: Benedictine

The Priory at Chepstow, in the lordship of Striguil and the medieval diocese of Llandaff, was founded by William fitz Osbern, lord of Chepstow Castle, as an alien priory of Cormeilles (Normandy) sometime before 1071. It later became an independent priory. Whereas the monks occupied the east end of the church the nave functioned as the parish church and continued to do so after the suppression of the house.

People associated with this event:

William fitz Osbern, earl (founder)

Bibliographical sources

Printed sources:

Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales, ed. R. Neville Hadcock and David Knowles (Harlow, 1971), pp. 53, 62

Cowley, F. G., *The Monastic Order in South Wales 1066-1349* (Cardiff, 1977), p. 17

Graham, Rose, 'Four alien priories in Monmouthshire', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 35 (1930), p. 103

<http://www.monasticwales.org/browsedb.php?func=showsite&siteID=15>

<http://www.monasticwales.org/event/76>

and references there cited.

Chepstow Priory Churches:

- A ST MARY'S CHURCH, CHEPSTOW**
- B ST AUDOENUS' CHURCH, MOUNTON**
- C ST WARMET'S CHAPEL, HOWICK**
- D ST NICHOLAS' CHURCH, TRELLECH**
- E ST MARY'S CHURCH, PENALLT OLD CHURCH**
- F ST THOMAS BECKET'S CHURCH, WOLVESNEWTON**
- G ST TEWDERIC'S CHURCH, MATHERN**
- H CHURCH OF ST MICHAEL AND ALL ANGELS, TINTERN**
- I ST THOMAS' CHAPEL (MOUNTON?)**
- J PWLL MEURIG CHAPEL (HOWICK?)**

A ST MARY'S PRIORY CHURCH AT CHEPSTOW

Dedication: Not known
Community: Chepstow
Map Ref.: ST53599397
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The priory church at Chepstow is first seen in the historic recorded in 1071. It was a daughter house of the Benedictine abbey of Cormeilles and the nave was used as the parish church. There does not appear to be any evidence for a pre-Norman foundation.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

The following is taken from the 'Taxatio' Website including references as they appear on the site:

CHEPSTOW

(dependent chapel) **MOUNTON**

C.A.H.Green, *Notes on the Churches in the Diocese of Llandaff*, 3 parts continuously paginated (Aberdare, 1906-7), p.111-12

Dedication St. Ouen

(dependent chapel) **HOWICK**

The phrase '*cum capell*' appears to refer to two chapels, and these were perhaps Mouton and Howick, though there remains some uncertainty about these identifications, especially the second. Two chapels, of St Ouen and St Thomas, were referred to in 1193 X 1218, and these were, in all probability, chapels in Chepstow itself. C.A.H.Green, *Notes on the Churches in the Diocese of Llandaff*, 3 parts continuously paginated (Aberdare, 1906-7) p.111-12

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.GW.17>

and references there cited.

B ST AUDOENUS' CHURCH, MOUNTON

Dedication: St. Audoenus (See additional notes)
Community : Mathern
Map Ref. : ST51379272
Site Type : Unknown Church

Description:

Mounton church is not mentioned before 1348 (this should read 1291 as this chapel is recorded in the taxatio of that date. See further notes below.) and before the Reformation it belonged to Chepstow Priory.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

St. Audoenus is a non native saint of France otherwise known as Saint Ouen, archbishop of Rouen.¹

The '*Taxatio*' website gives St. Ouen at Mounton as a dependent chapel of Chepsow, consequently the data given in the Archwilio website about the earliest documentary evidence is incomplete.

(dependent chapel) **MOUNTON**

Dedication St. Ouen

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.GW.17>

and references there cited.

¹ Philip Schaff, *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* Vol. VIII (Michigan: Cushing-Malloy, 1953), p.290.

C ST WARMET'S CHAPEL, HOWICK

Dedication: St. Warmets
Community: Devauden
Map Ref.: ST502955
Site Type: Medieval Chapel/ Early Medieval Church

Description:

Howick was identified by Thomas Wakeman as the location of St Warmet's church. The ecclesia de Sancto Wormeto was mentioned in a document of 1348.

ECCLESIA GURUID (HOWICK)

Dedication: St. Warmets?
Community: Devauden
Map Ref.: ST502955
Site Type:

Description:

First mentioned in the Llandaff charters, LL143 c.620, as a pre-existing institution; a grant of ecclesia Guruid with its land by King Meurig to Bishop Euddogwy.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

The *taxatio* gives Howick as a dependent chapel of Chepstow Priory and offers a dedication of St. Thomas.

(dependent chapel) **HOWICK.**

The phrase '*cum capell*' appears to refer to two chapels, and these were perhaps Mounton and Howick, though there remains some uncertainty about these identifications, especially the second. Two chapels, of St Ouen and St Thomas, were referred to in 1193 X 1218 (LlanEpAct 39), and these were, in all probability, chapels in Chepstow itself.²

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.GW.17>

and references there cited.

² C. A. H. Green, Notes on the Churches in the Diocese of Llandaff, 3 vols, (Aberdare: T. E. Smith, 1906-7), pp. 111-12.

D ST NICHOLAS' CHURCH AT TRELLECH

Dedication: St Mary
Community: Trellech United
Map Ref.: SO50040548
Site Type: Medieval Church

Summary :

This is probably not the 'ecclesia Trilecc' of the Llandaff charters. The church consists of a nave with two aisles and a clerestorey, separate chancel, W tower and S porch. With the exception of the 17th/18th century S porch, the church appears to be of one build, probably of the early 14th century.

Description:

St. Nicholas, church at Trellech is probably the ecclesia Trilecc of the Llandaff charters; LL199 c.755. Thus it is a pre-Norman site.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

TRELLECH

It is not clear whether the phrase 'cum capell' refers to one chapel or more. The chapel of Penallt certainly seems to have been attached to this church.³

(Dependent chapel) PENALLT *ded*: ST MARY⁴

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.US.02>

³ *Ibid.* p. 113.

⁴ *Ibid.*

E ST MARY'S CHURCH AT PENALLT OLD CHURCH

Dependent chapel of St Nicholas above.

Dedication: St Mary
Community: Trellech United
Map Ref.: SO5219810732
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

Penallt church is first recorded in documentary sources in 1254 Valuation of Norwich.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

TRELLECH

It is not clear whether the phrase '*cum capell*' refers to one chapel or more. The chapel of Penallt certainly seems to have been attached to this church.⁵

(Dependent chapel) PENALLT *ded*: ST MARY⁶

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.US.02>

⁵ *Ibid*

⁶ *Ibid.*

F ST THOMAS BECKET'S CHURCH, WOLVESNEWTON

Dedication: St Thomas
Community: Devauden
Map Ref.: ST45429977
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

Wolvesnewton church is first recorded in documentary sources in 1254 Valuation of Norwich, and appears to be a Norman foundation.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

WOLVESNEWTON

The king presented to this church in 1344 and many times in 1349/1350 since the temporalities of the alien priory of Chepstow were in the king's hands because of the war with France: CalPat1343-45 319, CalPat1348-50 passim

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.US.05>

G ST TEWDERIC'S CHURCH AT MATHERN

Dedication: St Tewderic
Community: Mathern
Map Ref.: ST52329088
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

This is a very early site, with its first mention in c.620. The name Mathern is a corruption of merthyr and the dedication is Celtic. It may have been a pre-Norman monastery:

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

MATHERN

The marginal note in BLL 116 states that two parts belonged to Llandaff chapter and the third part to the prior of Chepstow. As a third part Chepstow's portion, as well as Llandaff chapter's portion is very likely to have been considered as appropriated, that is with patronage rights, and both portions are, therefore, allocated here as appropriated.

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.GW.02>

and references there cited.

H CHURCH OF ST MICHAEL AND ALL ANGELS AT TINTERN

Dedication: St Michael and all Angels
Community: Tintern
Map Ref.: SO53140075
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The parish church of Tintern is first mentioned in c 1348 (See notes below).

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

TINTERN PARVA

The king presented to this church in 1346, 1347, 1348 and 1350 since the alien priory of Chepstow was in the king's hands because of the war with France: CalPat1345-48 165, 249, CalPat1348-50 216, 471

Calendar of Patent Rolls (with dates covered for each cited volume) *vol* 1345-48 p.165, 249

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.GW.U31>

and references there cited.

I ST THOMAS'S CHAPEL

Dedication: St Thomas
Community: Chepstow
Map Ref.: ST53099370
Site Type: Medieval Chapel

Description:

St Thomas's chapel was the original parish church of Chepstow, in (St) Thomas Street; it became a possession of Chepstow Priory.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

Further Information:

This chapel is not mentioned in the *Taxatio* or by Cowley.

J PWLL MEURIG CHAPEL

Dedication: Not known
Community: Mathern
Map Ref.: ST516922
Site Type: Medieval Chapel

Description:

First mentioned *c.*970 but its exact location has not been confirmed. It was as possessions of Chepstow Priory.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

This site could be the site of the chapel of Mounton mentioned in the *Taxatio* and not the site marked 'B'.

Appendix V.10c Priory church of St Mary, Monmouth

What follows is a summary of the current state of knowledge about the churches belonging to Monmouth Priory. It relies heavily on the *Archwilio* website to which the reader is directed for fuller descriptions and references. The introductory two pages are taken from the Monastic Wales website to which the reader is also directed for more details of references for the content.

The churches of St Mary, Monmouth

- A ST MARY'S CHURCH, MONMOUTH**
- B ST. CADOC'S CHURCH, MONMOUTH**
- C ST MAUGHAN'S CHURCH, ST MAUGHANS**
- D ST WONNOW'S CHURCH, WONASTOW**
- E ST CENEDLON'S CHURCH, ROCKFIELD**
- F DIXTON CHURCH**
- G ST CADOC'S CHURCH AT LLANGATTOCK VIBON AVEL**

MONMOUTH PRIORY

Order: Benedictine

Wihenoc (Guiethenauc), lord of Monmouth, granted the church of St Cadoc and other endowments to the abbey of St Florent près Saumur (Anjou) to establish an alien priory. This gave rise to Monmouth Priory.

During monastic occupation the nave of the priory church served as the parish church and was divided from the monks' choir by a screen.

Dedicated to: Blessed Virgin Mary; St Florent Medieval Diocese: Llandaff

Affiliated to: St Florent près Saumur (mother-house)

Lordship at foundation: Hereford

Main events in the history of this site

c.1080: Foundation - William the Conqueror confirmed the endowment of the priory before his death in 1086.

c.1536: Dissolution - The exact date of the priory's suppression is not now known but it was certainly not before the start of June when the house was still functioning.

People associated with this site:

Hervey, bishop of Bangor (dedicates church).

Priors of Monmouth:

Walter de Lacy, magnate (patron).

Wihenoc of Monmouth (de Monemue) (founder).

<http://www.monasticwales.org/browsedb.php?func=showsite&siteID=9>

and references there cited.

St Cadoc's Church Monmouth¹

Ecclesia S. Marie de Monemuta, cum æclesiis S. Tadioci, S. Cadoci de Lantcadoc et S. Liwili de Lanliguit et S. Roaldi, cum omnibus decimis de Trejet; cum ecclesiis de Rochevilla, de Castello Godrici de Stanton, de Lindineia, de Hopa Eilildis, de Hopa Gingeni, de Hunteleia, de Tibrichtuna, de Suthintuna, de Schretuna; et capella de Aspretuna cum ecclesiis S. Wingaloi et S. Georgii de Castello Dune¹, et omnibus ecclesiis villarum pertinentium ad idem castellum, cum ecclesiis S. Petri de Tadintune, S. Radegundis de Grahingahan, cum terra ejusdem ville et pertinentiis suis.

¹ *Les Prieurés Anglais de Saint-Florent Prés Saumur*, Ed 1879), p.14.

: Les Roches-Baritaud,

A ST MARY'S CHURCH AT MONMOUTH

Dedication: St Mary
Community: Monmouth
Map Ref.: SO50881297
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The church of St Mary (dedicated 1101-2) was constructed for the Benedictine priory of Monmouth, founded in the 1070s by Gwethenoc as a daughter house of St Florent in Saumer, though the first priory church was not dedicated until 1101-2. There was however an earlier church at Monmouth, known from the Llandaff charters with a first reference dating to c. 733.

LANN MEIRIPEN ROS/SANCTAE MARIAE (?MONMOUTH)

Dedication: St. Mary
Community: Monmouth
Map Ref.: SO50881297
Site Type: Early Medieval Church

Description:

First mentioned in the Llandaff charters, LL231 (c910), as a pre-existing institution; its location is still speculation with Monmouth and Tredegar being the most likely candidates. It also appears as Lann Meir Pen Ros in the Bulls of Honorius II.² Evans also makes a link with his to the Cecin Pen Ros ar Guy of LL264a,³ which is stated to lie '*super ripam minui ex alia parte Lanncinfall*' (not otherwise known), and also to the *Lann Meir Castell Mingui* listed among the churches of Ergyng in LL275 (Monmouth is not normally accounted as lying in Ergyng, but is just on the edge). If Lann Meir Pen Ros is the same as Cecin Pen Ros, it must be at Monmouth (confluence of the Wye and Monnow).

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

² *The Liber Llandavensi, Llyfr Teilo*, ed. Rev. W. J. Rees (Llandoverly: Welsh Mss. Society, 1840) pp. 32 & 44.

³ *Ibid.* p. 408.

B ST CADOC'S CHURCH, MONMOUTH

See Appendix V.1 under **O. ST. CADOC'S CHURCH, MONMOUTH**

C ST MAUGHAN'S CHURCH, ST MAUGHANS

Dedication: St Maughan
Community: Llangattock-vibon-avel
Map Ref.: SO46111716
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

Earliest reference to St Maughans is c AD 860, in the Llandaff Charters which indicate that there was a monastery here. The churchyard itself is partly curvilinear and elevated above the surrounding area.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

Baring-Gould gives St. Malo's or Maughans' place of birth as being near St. Cadoc's monastery of Llancarfan and notes his later entry to Llancarfan monastery for ordination.⁴

⁴ S. Baring-Gould, and John Fisher. *The Lives of the British Saints: The Saints of Wales and Cornwall and Such Irish Saints as Have Dedications in Britain*. 4 Vols. (For the honourable Society of cymmrodorion), Vol. III p. 418-420.

D ST WONNOW'S CHURCH AT WONASTOW

Dedication: St. Wonnow?/ Winwaloe?⁵ / Gwyno?⁶
Communit: Mitchel Troy
Map Ref.: SO4856810793
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The site of Wonastow church first appears in 750 in the Llandaff Charters with a Celtic dedication.

ECCLESIA LANNGUNGUARUI GURTHEBIRIUC SUPER TRODI (WONASTOW)

Community: Mitchel Troy
Map Ref.: SO48551080
Site Type: Early Medieval Church

Description:

First mentioned in the Llandaff charters, LL201 (c. 750), as a pre-existing institution; Cynfor ap Iago bought Ecclesia Gurthebiriuc and granted it to Bishop Tyrchan on the River Trothy. Bradney notes that the bounds are probably much the same as those of the ecclesiastical parish of Wonastow as it was in his time, and that the manor of Wonastow was granted by Withenock to Monmouth Priory c.1074.⁷

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

St Winwaloe is recorded as a Saint of Britany but Bartrum suggests that this may be Saint Gwyno.⁸

⁵ Peter C. Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*, pp.735-6.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 211.

⁷ Wendy Davies, *'The Llandaff Charters'* (Aberystwyh: The National library of Wales, 1979), p.116.

⁸ Peter C. Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*, p 211.

E ST CENEDLON'S CHURCH AT ROCKFIELD

Dedication: St. Cenedlon / Kenelm?⁹/ Cynheiddon
Community: Llangattock-vibon-avel
Map Ref.: SO4817014862
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The earliest reference to Rockfield church is datable to c. 970, in the Llandaff Charters, and there is a Celtic dedication.

LANN GUORONOI (ROCKFIELD)

Dedication: St. Cenedlon / Kenelm?¹⁰/ Cynheiddon / Goronwy
Community: Llangattock-vibon-avel
Map Ref.: SO48181485
Site Type: Early Medieval Church

Description:

This site is first mentioned in the Llandaff charters, as one of the church given in a list of 'omnia territoria eiusdem ecclesie' (all the lands of the same churches) in the Llandaff Charter LL 240 (c. 970). Wendy Davies identifies this site (Lann Guoranoi) as Rockfield.¹¹

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

Baring-Gould offers the accepted dedication to St. Cynheiddon, daughter of Brychan as incorrect and should be St. Kenelm an Anglo Saxon saint.¹² It would be strange that this early welsh medieval church site would have had an anglo saxon dedication not British dedication so it may well have had its dedication changed. Wade-Evans offers St. Goronwy as a dedication not Kenelm.¹³ Little can be obtained about St Goronwy other than an entry in 'Bonedd y Saint'.¹⁴

⁹ S. Baring-Gould. *The Lives of the Saints*. 16 Vols. (London: John C. Nimmo, 1898). Vol. VIII July pt. 2. pp. 427-8.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Wendy Davies, 'The Llandaff Charters', p. 125.

¹² S. Baring-Gould. *The Lives of the Saints*. Vol. VIII July pt. 2. p. 256-7.

¹³ Rev. A. W. Wade-Evans, *Parochiale Wallicanum* (Stow on the Wold, 1911). p. 54.

¹⁴ A.W. Wade-Evans, ed. *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae Genealogiae*, p. 321.

F DIXTON CHURCH

Dedication: St. Tedioc or Tidioc / now St. Peter
Community : Monmouth
Map Ref. : SO5196613564
Site Type : Medieval Church/Early Medieval Monastery

Description:

The church of Dixton appears in the Llandaff Charters, with a probable date of *c.* 735. It was a Celtic monastery; the name is an anglicisation of its original name of Lann Tidiuc.

HENNLANN/SANCTI TITUUC (DIXTON)

Dedication: St. Tedioc or Tidioc
Community : Monmouth
Map Ref. : SO51941355
Site Type : Early Medieval Monastery

Description:

First mentioned in the Llandaff charters LL 183a (*c.* 866); a grant of 'podum Hennlann', glossed 'i eccl'a Tituuc sc'i', with four modii of land and its weirs, by Ithel to Bishop Bethwyn, for the soul of his son Athrwys.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

An example of a native dedication being changed to a Norman recognised dedication. St. Tedioc could be a transformation of St. Cadoc.¹⁵

¹⁵ Annales de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'arrondissement de Saint-Malo, *Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'arrondissement de Saint-Malo*, (Saint-Servan: Haize, 1911), p. 180.

G ST CADOC'S CHURCH AT LLANGATTOCK VIBON AVEL

See full description in Appendix V.1 under **M. ST CADOC'S CHURCH, LLANGATTOCK VIBON AVEL**

Further Information:

Benefice of LLANGATTOCK-VIBON-AVEL

The king presented to the vicarage of this church in 1349 and 1350 since the alien priory of Monmouth was in the king's hands because of the war with France: CalPat1348-50 334, 477. St Maughans was apparently a dependent chapel of this church at a later date (Robinson Patrons 53), but it was included in BLL 115v as a separate church (LL.LL.AB.U25).

Ecclesia de Landcaddok Canel cum capell'

There is a difficulty concerning the chapel or chapels noted as attached to this church in all MSS except BLL. While it is possible, but far from certain, that Llanfaenor should be identified as a chapel here, St Maughans appears to be a strong possibility: see especially Green Notes 102-3, and Robinson Patrons 53. But St Maughans appears as a separate church in BLL 115v, and it therefore has a separate entry here (LL.LL.AB.U25). Thus, on the evidence of BLL, with its additional listing of minute benefices, St Maughans was not treated as a dependent chapel at the time of the taxatio. The details of this church's chapel or chapels thus remain in some doubt.

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.AB.09>

and references there cited.

Appendix V.10d

What follows is a summary of the current state of knowledge about the churches belonging to Abergavenny Priory. It relies heavily on the *Archwilio* website to which the reader is directed for fuller descriptions and references. The introductory page is based on the monastic Wales website to which the reader is directed for further information and detailed references.

Abergavenny Priory

'Abergavenny takes its name from its situation at the confluence of the River Gavenny and the Usk.'

(Gerald of Wales, *Journey Through Wales*, p. 108)

Abergavenny was a Benedictine Priory in the medieval diocese of Llandaff, founded by Hamelin of Barham (Ballon), Lord of Abergavenny, as an alien cell of St Vincent, Le Mans. It was later raised to conventual status c.1154 – 89 but was dissolved with the suppression of the alien priories.

<http://www.monasticwales.org/browsedb.php?func=showsite&siteID=1>

- A ST MARY'S PRIORY, ABERGAVENNY**
- B ST JOHN'S CHURCH, ABERGAVENNY**
- C ST MICHAEL'S CHURCH , LLANFIHANGEL CRUCORNEY**
- D ST NICHOLAS'S CHURCH AT GROSMONT**
- E ST CADOC'S CHURCH AT LLANGATTOCK LINGOED**
- F ST DAVID'S CHURCH, LLANDDEWI SKIRRID**
- G ST HELEN'S CHURCH, LLANELEN**
- H ST DAVID'S CHURCH, LLANDDEWI RHYDDERCH**
- J CAPREOLO**
- K ST DAVID'S CHAPEL AT LLWYNDU, ABERGAVENNY**

A ST MARY'S PRIORY, ABERGAVENNY

Dedication: St Mary
Community: Abergavenny
Map ref.: SO30131411
Site Type: Medieval Priory

Description:

The Priory Church of St Mary's is now used as the parish church with the site of the Priory House demolished and redeveloped as the Priory centre. Benedictine priory (of conventual status), founded 1087-1100 as a daughter house of St Vincent, Le Mans, by Hamelin of Ballon, Lord of Abergavenny. Seized as an alien priory in 1294, and dissolved in 1536.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

Priory founded by Hamelin of Ballon c.1090.¹

Cowley:²

¹ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Vincent du Mans (Ordre de Saint-Benoît). Premier cartulaire (572–1188)*, ed. Abbé R. Charles and vicomte Menjot d'Elbenne (Mamers and Le Mans, 1886–1913), p. 467. & LXXV.

² F. G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales 1066-1349*, Studies in Welsh History (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1977), p. 276.

B ST JOHN'S CHURCH, ABERGAVENNY

Dedication: St John
Community: Abergavenny
Map Ref.: SO2983914198
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

St. John was the medieval parish church of Abergavenny, replaced as such after the Reformation by the priory church of St Mary; the building was then used for the grammar school.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

Cowley gives this church as belonging to the Priory of Abergavenny.³ Also recorded as belonging to Abergavenny Priory in the *Taxatio*.⁴

³ Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales 1066-1349*, Studies in Welsh History (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1977), p. 276.

⁴ *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate P. Nicholai IV, 1291-2* [online]. Available: <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.AB.011>

C ST MICHAEL'S CHURCH , LLANFIHANGEL CRUCORNEY

Dedication: St Michael
Community: Crucorney
Map ref.: SO3250520587
Site Type: Medieval Church/ Early Medieval Church

Description:

St Michael's church at Llanfihangel Crucorney is mentioned in the Llandaff Charters LL 240 c. 970. The site is a pre-Norman foundation as follows:

LANN MIHACGEL CRUC CORNOU (LLANFIHANGEL CRUCORNEY)

Description:

First mentioned in the Llandaff charters, as one of the church given in a list of 'omnia territoria eiusdem ecclesie' (all the lands of the same churches) LL 240 c.925)

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

Cowley gives this church as belonging to the Priory of Abergaveny.⁵ Also recorded as belonging to Abergavenny Priory in the *Taxatio*.⁶

⁵ F. G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales 1066-1349*, Studies in Welsh History (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1977), p. 276.

⁶ *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate P. Nicholai IV, 1291-2* [online]. Available: <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.AB.02>

D ST NICHOLAS'S CHURCH AT GROSMONT

Dedication: St Nicholas
Community: Grosmont
Map ref.: SO40462430
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

St Nicholas' church in Grosmont is first recorded in documentary sources in 1254 Valuation of Norwich.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

Cowley gives this church as belonging to the Priory of Abergaveny.⁷ Also recorded as belonging to Abergavenny Priory in the *Taxatio*.⁸

⁷ F. G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales 1066-1349*, Studies in Welsh History (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1977), p. 276.

⁸ *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate P. Nicholai IV, 1291-2* [online]. Available: <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.AB.03>

E ST CADOC'S CHURCH AT LLANGATTOCK LINGOED

For more details see appendix V.1 under 'U. ST CADOC'S CHURCH, LLANGATTOCK LINGOED'.

Further Information:

Cowley gives this church as belonging to the Priory of Abergaveny.⁹ Also recorded as belonging to Abergavenny Priory in the *Taxatio*.¹⁰

⁹ F. G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales 1066-1349*, Studies in Welsh History (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1977), p. 276.

¹⁰ *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate P. Nicholai IV, 1291-2* [online]. Available: <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.AB.15>

F ST DAVID'S CHURCH, LLANDDEWI SKIRRID

Dedication: St David
Community: Llantilio Pertholey
Map Ref.: SO34081706
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The church of Llanddewi Skirrid first recorded in documentary sources in 1254 Valuation of Norwich.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

Cowley gives this church as belonging to the Priory of Abergavenny.¹¹ This is contradicted by the *Taxatio*.¹²

¹¹ F. G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales 1066-1349*, Studies in Welsh History (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1977), p. 276.

¹² *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate P. Nicholai IV, 1291-2* [online]. Available: <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.AB.U24> & W.R.B. Robinson, 'Patrons, parishes and appropriations in the deanery of Abergavenny in the early sixteenth century', *National Library of Wales journal*, vol. 22 (1981), pp. 38-63.

G ST HELEN'S CHURCH, LLANELEN

Dedication: St Elen
Community: Llanfoist Fawr
Map Ref.: SO3033610905
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

Llanelen was a parish by 1254 first recorded in documentary sources in 1254 Valuation of Norwich.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

Cowley gives this church as belonging to the Priory of Abergaveny.¹³ Also recorded as belonging to Abergavenny Priory in the *Taxatio*.¹⁴

¹³ F. G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales 1066-1349*, Studies in Welsh History (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1977), p. 276.

¹⁴ *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate P. Nicholai IV, 1291-2* [online]. Available: <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.AB.17>

H ST DAVID'S CHURCH, LLANDDEWI RHYDDERCH

Dedication: St David
Community: Llanover
Map Ref.: SO34991296
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The church of Llanddewi Rhydderch is first recorded in documentary sources in 1254 Valuation of Norwich.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

Cowley gives this church as belonging to the Priory of Abergaveny.¹⁵ Also recorded as belonging to Abergavenny Priory in the *Taxatio*.¹⁶

¹⁵ F. G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales 1066-1349*, Studies in Welsh History (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1977), p. 276.

¹⁶ *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate P. Nicholai IV, 1291-2* [online]. Available: <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.AB.16>

I GOETRE CHURCH

Dedication: St Peter
Community: Goetre Fawr
Map Ref.: SO32710592
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The first mention of Goetre church in the documentary record dates to c.1348.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

This church is not mentioned by Cowley as belonging to the Priory of Abergavenny.¹⁷ But it is mentioned in

‘Presentation of Thomas de Bretby to the church of Coytre, in the diocese of Llandaff, in the king’s gift by reason of the temporalities of the priory of Bergeveny being in this hands on the account of the war with France.’ Sept. 22. Westminster.’¹⁸

¹⁷ F. G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales 1066-1349*, Studies in Welsh History (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1977), p. 276.

¹⁸ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward III. Vol. VIII. A.D. 1348-1350.* . Volume III. Ed. & Sir Henry Churchill Maxwell Lyte. (London : Printed for H. M. Stationery Off., by Eyre and Spottiswoode , 1905) p. 376.

J CAPREOLO

Buckland Church in Lordship of Brecon

Dedication:	Capreolo
Community :	See Map
Map Ref :	Not easily identifiable
Site Type :	Medieval Chapel

BUCKLAND CHURCH (1100-1118)

Balloon Harnelin yields to Saint -Vincent, 1110, Church Capreolo, England, with his tithes belong, those cheeses and premises, and Land of the priest who serves. Capreolo must be identified with the County of Buckland Brecon.¹⁹

It is not possible to identify this site from archaeology records but a possible area has been identified given the information above.

Cowley does not mention this church as belonging to the Priory of Abergaveny.²⁰

¹⁹ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Vincent du Mans (Ordre de Saint-Benoît). Premier cartulaire (572–1188)*, ed. Abbé R. Charles and vicomte Menjot d'Elbenne (Mamers and Le Mans, 1886–1913), p. LXXV.

²⁰ F. G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales 1066-1349*, Studies in Welsh History (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1977), p. 276.

K ST DAVID'S CHAPEL AT LLWYNDU, ABERGAVENNY

Dedication: St David
Community: Abergavenny
Map Ref.: SO29201526
Site Type: Medieval Chapel

Description:

A chapel of St David, which belonged to Abergavenny Priory before the Dissolution; some of structure believed to survive in Chapel Barn (1943g).

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

Cowley does not mention this church as belonging to the Priory of Abergavenny.²¹

²¹ *Ibid.*

Appendix V.10e

What follows is a summary of the current state of knowledge about the churches belonging to Goldcliff Priory. It relies heavily on the *Archwilio* website to which the reader is directed for fuller descriptions and references. The introductory page is based on the monastic Wales website to which the reader is directed for further information and detailed references.

The Churches of Goldcliff Priory

A GOLDCLIFF PRIORY

B WHITSON PARISH CHURCH

C ST. MARY'S CHURCH, NASH

D HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, CHRISTCHURCH

E PORTON CHURCH

F ST MARY'S CHURCH, UNDY

G MOUNT ST ALBANS CHAPEL

ST. PETER'S CHURCH, PETERSTONE, (not included on map see text)

H ST JULIANS CHAPEL

GOLDCLIFF PRIORY

High above the water and not far from Caerleon there stands a rocky eminence which dominates the River Severn. In the English language it is called Goldcliff, the Golden Rock. When the sun's rays strike it the stone shines very bright and takes on a golden sheen.
[Gerald of Wales, *Journey through Wales*, trans. Thorpe, pp. 115-16.]

q, and was later re-founded as a cell of Tewkesbury Abbey. It became the largest and wealthiest Benedictine house in South Wales. The priory church also served as the parish church.
show details of standing remains

Dedicated to: St Mary Magdalene Medieval Diocese: Llandaff
Affiliated to: Bec Abbey, Normandy (mother-house); Tewkesbury Abbey (mother-house)
Lordship at foundation: Glamorgan.

<http://www.monasticwales.org/browsedb.php?func=showsite&siteID=5>

and references there cited.

1113: Foundation

The priory was founded and endowed in 1113 by Robert de Chandos, at the instigation of Henry I.

Robert granted the church of St Mary Magdalene of Goldcliff with the lands and tithes belonging to it to the monks of Bec, Normandy, to establish an alien priory for twelve monks living under a prior who would pray for the souls of their benefactors. Robert's endowment included the chapel of Nash, the church of St Julius and St Aaron and the church of the Holy Trinity. Robert later supplemented his endowment with the manors of Memebury (Devonshire), Monksilver and Preston (Somerset).

As a dependency of Bec the monks of Goldcliff were required to pay the mother-house £1 annually. Bec would have retained the right to send and recall monks from the dependency at will, and to present priors.

People associated with this event:

Robert de Chandos , Norman magnate (founder)

Printed sources:

Janet Burton & Karen Stöber, *Abbeys and Priries of Medieval Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2015), pp. 95-98.

Cowley, F. G., *The Monastic Order in South Wales 1066-1349* (Cardiff, 1977), p. 15.

Graham, Rose, 'Four alien priories in Monmouthshire', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 35 (1930), p. 105.

<http://www.monasticwales.org/event/23>

and references there cited.

A GOLDCLIFF PRIORY

Dedication: St Mary Magdalenes
Community: Goldcliff
Map Ref.: ST37138196
Site Type: Medieval Priory

Description:

Nothing now exists of the priory of Goldcliff, founded in 1113 by Robert de Candos as a cell of the great abbey of Bec near Rouen, was located on an promontory of land, effectively an island on the edge of the reclaimed Gwent Levels. After the suppression of alien priories it was granted initially to Tewksbury in 1442, and then to Eton in 1450.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

Benefice of GOLDCLIFF

GOLDCLIFF

ded: ST MARY MAGDALENE as in evidence of 1236 X 1240¹

(dependent chapel) WHITSON *ded:* UNKNOWN

(dependent chapel) NASH *ded:* ST MARY

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.GW.03>

and references there cited.

¹ *Llandaff Episcopal Acta 1140-1287*, ed. D.Crouch (Cardiff: South Wales Record Society, 1988) p.64.

B WHITSON PARISH CHURCH

Dedication: Not known
Community: Goldcliff
Map Ref.: ST38068344
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

Whitson church is first mentioned in c 1348. (This is in error as it refers to the Bull of Honorius II which is dated April 1128. See further information below.)

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

This church is mentioned in Bull of Honorius II which is dated April 1128. Thus it has earlier documentary evidence than 'Archwilio' has perpetuated in its website.²

² James Conway Davies, ed. *Episcopal Acts Relating to Welsh Dioceses 1066-1272*, pp.662-3.

C ST. MARY'S CHURCH, NASH

Dedication: St Mary
Community: Nash
Map Ref.: ST34318367
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The church of St Mary,s is first mentioned in documentary sources in 1113.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

St Mary's Nash is described as a dependent chapel of Goldcliff as follows:

(dependent chapel) NASH *ded:* ST MARY of Goldcliff

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.GW.03>

and references there cited.

D HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, CHRISTCHURCH

Dedication: Holy Trinity
Community: Caerleon
Map Ref.: ST34678936
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

Christchurch is first recorded in 1113. However, the churchyard is partly curvilinear, possibly indicating a pre-Norman foundation.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

Benefice of CHRISTCHURCH

Ded. Holy Trinity³

Llandaff Episcopal Acta 1140-1287, ed. D.Crouch (South Wales Record Society, Cardiff, 1988), p.64

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.GW.04>

and references there cited.

³ Ibid.

E PORTON CHURCH

Dedication: Not known
Community: Goldcliff
Map Ref.: ST3883
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

A church stood here formerly, the site of which does not seem to be known. The patronage of the church was given by William de Burgh, Bishop of Llandaff, to the prior and convent of Goldcliff in 1245.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

Crouch also notes this grant.⁴

Benefice of GREAT PORTON

For the appropriation of this church to Goldcliff priory in 1245 see LlanEpAct 76-7. The king presented to the vicarage here in 1349 since the alien priory of Goldcliff was in his hands because of the war with France: CalPat1348-50 433.

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.GW.05>

and references there cited.

⁴ David Crouch, & Graham Thomas, 'Three Goldcliff Charters', pp 153-163. p. 161.

F ST MARY'S CHURCH AT UNDY

Dedication: St Mary
Community: Magor With Undy
Map Ref.: ST43998693
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

Undy church is first mentioned in 1254, but may have been constructed on an earlier site. There is a possible earlier Celtic dedication of 'Gwndy'. It belonged to the abbey of Bec and priory of Goldcliff.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

Benefice of UNDY

The presentation to this church in 1349 was by the king since the temporalities of the alien priory of Goldcliff were in the king's hands because of the war with France: CalPat1348-50 336.

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.GW.10>

and references there cited.

G MOUNT ST ALBANS CHAPEL

Dedication: St Alban
Community: Caerleon
Map Ref.: ST36119105
Site Type: Medieval Chapel

Description:

First definite mention of the church in 1495 and the site is associated with the place name 'Chapel Yard', where burials have been found. However, the earliest reference may be in 1290 when given to the priory at Goldcliff along with chapel of SS Julius and Aaron and Goldcliff church.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

ST. PETER'S CHURCH, PETERSTONE, WENTLOOG

Dedication: St Peter
Community: Wentlooge
Map Ref.: ST26808015
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The first documentary record of the church at Peterstone Wentloog is in 1291 (note below 'Taxatio'). There is a tradition that in the first half of the 12th century the monastery of St Peter on the Moor, presumably at Peterstone, was given to the priory of St Augustine in Bristol.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

Further Information:

Cowley gives this church as a Goldcliff Priory possession where as Taxatio, like Glamorgan Gwent Archaeology Trusts site, offers it as the Abbey of St. Augustine's, Bristol.⁵ It may be that Cowley has mistakenly taken '*ecclesiam de portreueston*' for 'the church of Peterstone' instead of 'the church of Porton', in the grant to Goldcliff by Robert de la More.⁶

Benefice of PETERSTONE WENTLOOGE

monastic, Bristol, St Augustine, Glos, abbey, *Augustinian Canons*

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.NE.04>

and references there cited.

⁵ F. G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales 1066-1349*, Studies in Welsh History (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1977). pp. 60 & 276.

⁶ Crouch, & Thomas, 'Three Goldcliff Charters', p. 161

H ST JULIANS CHAPEL

Dedication: St Julian
Community: St Julians
Map Ref.: ST32418995
Site Type: Medieval Chapel

Description:

St Julian's chapel is first mentioned in documentary sources in c.864 as SS Julian and Aaron. The traditional site was a barn with traces of medieval architectural detail at the great house called St Julians but no longer in existence.

ST AARON'S CHAPEL

Dedication: St. Julian
Community: Caerleon
Map Ref.: ST34139177
Site Type: Medieval Chapel

Description:

According to the local tradition of Caerleon, the site of St Aaron's chapel at Penrhos, but this may be a mis-interpretation of the antiquarian evidence. The chapel of St Aaron has had a rather shadowy existence in the archaeological and antiquarian literature. St Aaron, with St Julian, was one of the two saints martyred in the Diocletianic persecutions at a location which has generally been accepted as Caerleon.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

Crouch indicates that Goldcliff held the churches of Julius and Aaron in Caerleon along with Holy Trinity Christchurch.⁷

⁷ Crouch, & Thomas, 'Three Goldcliff Charters', p.155.

Appendix V10.f

What follows is a summary of the current state of knowledge about the churches belonging to Malpas Priory. It relies heavily on the *Archwilio* website to which the reader is directed for fuller descriptions and references. The introductory page is based on the monastic Wales website to which the reader is directed for further information and detailed references.

Malpas Priory

Malpas, in the lordship of Glamorgan, was a Cluniac house founded in the medieval diocese of Llandaff as a cell of Montacute Priory, Somerset, by Robert de la Haye. The community was small and probably comprised two or three monks who resided there as custodians. In 1407 Malpas became a denizen cell and following its dissolution in 1539 the site was granted to Sir William Herbert.

c.1110: Foundation - Founded c. 1110 and pre 1122. While Winebald de Baeluns has traditionally been considered the founder of Malpas, it is now thought that Robert de Hay was responsible for the establishment of a priory here.

1407: Status - Malpas became a denizen cell.

1539 : Dissolution - Malpas was surrendered on 20 March 1539, at the same time as Montecute.

Robert of Hay, lord of Gwynllŵg (founder)

Winebald de Baeluns (Ballon; Balun) , lord of Caerleon (patron)

<http://www.monasticwales.org/browsedb.php?func=showsite&siteID=11>

and references there cited.

A CLUNIAC CELL, MALPAS

Dedication: St Mary
Community: Malpas
Map Ref.: ST30299016
Site Type: Medieval Monastery

Description:

The foundation of the priory at Malpas is attributed to Robert de la Haie, and took place sometime between 1107 and c.1110, when he was lord of the whole cantref of Gwynllŵg, and according to a 12th century charter the church was dedicated to a saint given as St Triac(e), which has been equated to St Brioc though little is known of the site's history, early dedication suggests the church possibly had earlier origins than the later dedication to St Mary, would indicate.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

The documents in Montecute cartulary give Ranulph the king's physician as grantor of the lands with the permission of Robert de la Hay.¹

NUNNERY OF ST MARY

Dedication: St Mary
Community: Malpas
Map Ref.: ST30299017
Site Type: Early Medieval Nunnery

Description:

Lifris's Vita Sancti Gundleiii of c 1130 states that St Gwladus, wife of St Gwynllyw and mother of St Cadoc moved from the site of her original hermitage on the River Ebbw to found a nunnery with a cemetery and a church dedicated to St Mary. It also seems to have had a concentric double enclosure. Another possibility might however be the abbey site at Llantarnam.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

¹ *The Two Cartularies of the Augustinian Priory of Bruton and the Cluniac Priory of Montacute*, ed. H.C. Maxwell-Lyte *et al.*, (Somerset Record Society, 8, 1894), pp.182-3.

Appendix V.10g

What follows is a summary of the current state of knowledge about the churches belonging to Usk Priory. It relies heavily on the *Archwilio* website to which the reader is directed for fuller descriptions and references. The introductory two pages are based on the monastic Wales website to which the reader is directed for further information and detailed references.

The churches of Usk Priory

*List Given by Cowley:*¹

Usk
Raglan
Mykenny (Mathenni?)
Langrinon (Llangyfiw?)
Llanbadog
Kylgoygan (Llanfihangel pent-y-moel)

- A ST MARY'S CHURCH, USK**
- B ST CADOC'S CHURCH, RAGLAN**
- C ST JOHN'S CHURCH, LLANDENNY**
- D ST DAVID'S CHURCH, LLANGEVIEW**
- E ST MADOC'S CHURCH, LLANBADOC**
- F ST MICHAEL'S CHURCH, LLANFIHANGEL PONTYMOILE**
- G ABERBERTHIN CHAPEL**

Usk (Priory)

also known as: Cairusk; Brynbuga.

Order: Benedictine

The priory of St Mary's, Usk, was famed for its shrine of St Radegund and became a popular pilgrim site. The original community comprised five nuns but numbers later rose to thirteen. At the turn of the fifteenth century Adam of Usk maintained that only maidens of noble birth were received at the priory; several of his relatives had taken the veil there.

¹ F. G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales 1066-1349*, p. 276.

Dedicated to: Mary Medieval Diocese: Llandaff

Lordship at foundation: Striguil

Main events in the history of this site

pre 1135: Foundation - Richard de Clare settled Benedictine nuns at Usk before 1135.²

1536: Dissolution - In June 1536 the priory was surveyed and on 29 August it was dissolved. At this time the prioress, Ellen Williams, resided with five other nuns; she was granted a pension on 28 June.

<http://www.monasticwales.org/browsedb.php?func=showsite&siteID=40>

and references there cited.

² See Argument for a later date of 1176 in chapter IV.

A ST MARY'S CHURCH, USK

Dedication: St Mary
Community: Usk
Map Ref.: SO3789200811
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

Usk church is first mentioned in 1236 as a Benedictine nunnery, founded probably in the third quarter of the twelfth century, and was also used as the parish church.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

The

Benefice of USK

monastic, Usk, Monmouth, priory, *Benedictine Nuns*

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.US.08>

and references there cited.

B ST CADOC'S CHURCH, RAGLAN

See appendix V.1 **Q. ST. CADOC'S CHURCH, RAGLAN**

Further Information:

'*Taxatio*' database offers as follows:

Benefice of RAGLAN

monastic, Usk, Monmouth, priory, *Benedictine Nuns*

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.US.06>

and references there cited.

C ST JOHN'S CHURCH AT LLANDENNY

Dedication: St John
Community: Raglan
Map Ref.: SO4151203923
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

As can be seen from the accompanying site details below, Llandenny church is a medieval church built upon the site of a pre-Norman foundation, the first recorded mention of which is in c.750.

ECCLESIA MATHENNI (LLANDENNY)

Map ref: SO41510393
Site Type: Early Medieval Monastery

Description:

First mentioned in the Llandaff charters, LL208 (c.785), as a pre-existing institution; grant of 'ecclesiam Mathenni' with three modii of land, by Morcim(b)ris; identified with Llandenny.³

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

'Taxatio' database offers as follows:

Benefice of LLANDENNY

monastic, Usk, Monmouth, priory, *Benedictine Nuns*

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.US.07>

and references there cited.

³ Wendy Davies, 'The Llandaff Charters', p. 118.

D ST DAVID'S CHURCH AT LLANGEVIEW

Dedication: St David
Community: Llantrisant Fawr
Map Ref.: SO3968300694
Site Type: Post-Medieval Church

Description:

Llangeview church is probably first mentioned in 1254, but the churchyard itself is a fine example of a nearly circular enclosure surrounded almost completely by a bank; slight traces of a ditch are also visible. The dedication is now to St David; but the name is a pre-Norman llan-form (Brook 1988, 67-8, 72, 73, 80). The churchyard cross does not survive.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

'*Taxatio*' database offers as follows:

Benefice of LLANGEVIEW

The (modern) dedication to St David, as in Forster Studies 3 185, is confirmed by the church records of Llangeview as noted on www.genuki.org.uk (Wales, Monmouthshire, Towns and Parishes), accessed 8 July 2008.

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.US.16>

and references there cited.

E ST MADOC'S CHURCH AT LLANBADOC

Dedication: St Madoc
Communit: Llanbadoc
Map Ref.: SO37600007
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The first mention of Llanbadoc church in documentary sources is in 1254, but the partly curvilinear churchyard and the Celtic dedication make it likely that it is a pre-Norman foundation.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

'*Taxatio*' database offers as follows:

Benefice of LLANBADOC

monastic, Usk, Monmouth, priory, *Benedictine Nuns*

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.US.17>

and references there cited.

F ST MICHAEL'S CHURCH AT LLANFIHANGEL PONTYMOILE

Dedication: Not known
Community: New Inn
Map Ref.: SO30130110
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

Llanfihangel Pontymoile church is first mentioned in 1254, as Kilgoigen, but the cil element is not necessarily an indicator of a pre-Norman foundation (Brook, 1988, 69, 80).

KILGOYGAN CHAPEL

Community: Llangybi
Map Ref.: ST3697
Site Type: Medieval Chapel

Description:

Llanbaddoc - Kilgoygan Chapel was dedicated to St Maughan but now destroyed. Kilgoygan is the old name of Llangybi. It is possible that the chapel of St Maughan belonged to Llangybi Castle, though it is not known where it was situated. It is also argued that Kilgoygan is the old name of Llanmihangel Nantymoel and not Llangybi. No further information concerning this chapel was obtained during field investigation. Tithe maps were of no assistance in tracing its site.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

'Taxatio' database offers as follows:

Benefice of LLANVIHANGEL PONTYMOEL

monastic, Usk, Monmouth, priory, *Benedictine Nuns*

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.US.18>

Further Information:

This church presents a dilemma in that it would appear to be also listed under Llantarnam by David Williams.⁴ But it is evident that both the Taxatio web site and Cowley list it as a possession of Usk Priory.⁵ It would appear that the confusion arises from the identification of the name Kylgoygan which has been suggested as Llanvihangel Pontymoel. Both sites are offered by the Archwilio website but the exact site for Kylgoygan at Llangybi cannot be

⁴ David H. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, p. 305.

⁵ F. G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales 1066-1349*, p. 576.

identified. Given the geographical proximity of both and the attendant lordships of native Gwynllŵg and Clare's at Usk, it would make sense that a Llangybi site would be linked with Usk Priory and Llanvihangel Pontymoel would be linked to Llantarnam.

G ABERBERTHIN CHAPEL

Dedication: Not known
Community: Llanbadoc
Map Ref.: SO36720230
Site Type: Medieval Chapel

Description:

This site refers to a fraternity chapel appropriated to Usk Priory, mentioned in Dissolution documents, which had 'disappeared long before the Reformation, but may be the mill eye, now called the Prioress Mill, where the brook Berthyn enters the River Usk' according to Bradney.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

Further Information:

This chapel is not mentioned by Cowley or evident in the *Taxatio*.⁶

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 276.

Appendix V.10h

What follows is a summary of the current state of knowledge about the churches belonging to Llangua Priory. It relies heavily on the *Archwilio* website to which the reader is directed for fuller descriptions and references. The introductory page is based on the monastic Wales website to which the reader is directed for further information and detailed references.

Llangua Priory

pre 1183: Foundation

The priory was founded before 1183 when the manor and church of Llangua were granted to Lyre Abbey in Normandy, to establish an alien priory.

The founder is not now known and indeed the history of the house remains 'rather shadowy'. Llangua remained a small cell with modest holdings, and probably functioned as an outpost of Lyre with one or two representatives from the abbey sent to monitor its holdings and tithes. The abbot of Lyre reserved the right to appoint and dismiss the priors of Llangua.

Printed sources:

Janet Burton & Karen Stöber, *Abbeys and Priories of Medieval Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2015), pp. 118-9

The Heads of Religious Houses in England and Wales, I, 940-1216, ed. D. Knowles, C. Brooke and V. London (London, 1972; 2001), p. 105

Hockey, S. F., 'Llangua, alien priory of Lyre', *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales*, 27 (1990), pp. 8-13

<http://www.monasticwales.org/browsedb.php?func=showsite&siteID=8>

and references there cited.

A ST JAMES'S CHURCH, LLANGUA

Dedication: St Culan¹
Community: Grosmont
Map Ref: SO38972575
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

Llangua is a pre-Norman is first mentioned in the Book of Llandaff, at a date of c. 872 (Brook 1988, 80). Guy and Smith (1979, 37) claim that there was a Benedictine priory here in the 12th century, but neither Brook nor Davies record this, Davies classifying it merely as a parish church impropriated to the Benedictine abbey of Loire (Davies 1953, 99 and map);

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

'*Taxatio*' website offers the following:

Benefice of LLANGUA

ded: ST JAMES / ST CIWAN

Patronage: *monastic*, Lire, dep. Eure, France, abbey, *Benedictine Monks*²

¹ D. Brook, '*The early Christian church in Gwent*', pp. 67-84. p.81.

² This church passed to Sheen priory shortly after 1414: see W. R. B. Robinson, 'Patrons, parishes and appropriations in the deanery of Abergavenny in the early-sixteenth century', *National Library of Wales Journal*, 22 (1981), pp. 38-63 p.54

Appendix V.11

What follows is a summary of the current state of knowledge about the churches belonging to St Augustine's Abbey Bristol. It relies heavily on the *Archwilio* website to which the reader is directed for fuller descriptions and references.

ST AUGUSTINE'S ABBEY, BRISTOL

Lists of churches:

- A ST PETER'S CHURCH, PETERSTONE**
- B ST AUGUSTINE'S CHURCH, PENARTH**
- C ST LAWRENCE'S CHURCH, LAVENOCK**
- D ST MELLON'S CHURCH, ST MELLONS**
- E ST MARY'S CHURCH, MARSHFIELD**
- F ECHNI (FLATHOLM)**
- G ST AUGUSTINE'S CHURCH AT RUMNEY**

A ST PETER'S CHURCH, PETERSTONE

Dedication: St Peter
Community: Wentlooge
Map Ref.: ST26808015
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The first documentary record of the church at Peterstone Wentloog is in 1291 and there is a tradition that in the first half of the 12th century the monastery of St Peter on the Moor, presumably at Peterstone, was given to the priory of St Augustine in Bristol.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

The '*taxatio*' website confirms the dedication and patronage:

Benefice of PETERSTONE WENTLOOGE

PETERSTONE WENTLOOGE *ded:* ST PETER

monastic, Bristol, St Augustine, Glos, abbey, *Augustinian Canons*

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.NE.04>

and references there cited.

B ST AUGUSTINE'S CHURCH, PENARTH

Dedication: St Augustine
Community: Penarth
Map Ref.: ST18837205
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The first mention of Penarth church in documentary sources is in 1242 when its vicarage was involved in litigation by Tewksbury Abbey. It has been suggested that the dedication is connected with the fact that the Augustinian priory at Bristol held the manor of Penarth. Amongst the grants of lands which created this holding in the 12th century there does not appear to be any record of a church, so it is possible that it was actually built by the Augustinians.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

The '*taxatio*' website confirms the dedication and patronage as follows:-

Benefice of PENARTH

PENARTH *ded*: ST AUGUSTINE

(dependent chapel) LAVERNOCK *ded*: ST LAWRENCE

monastic, Bristol, St Augustine, Glos, abbey, *Augustinian Canons*

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.LL.23>

and references there cited.

C ST. LAWRENCE'S CHURCH, LAVENOCK

Dedication: St. Lawrence
Community: Sully
Map Ref.: ST1869368235
Site Type: Medieval Church

The church of St Lawrence in Lavernock was a chapel of Penarth (see previous 'Taxatio' entry).

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

D ST MELLON'S CHURCH, ST MELLONS

Dedication: St. Mellon
Community: Old St Mellons
Map Ref.: ST2283581404
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

St Mellon's church first appears in the documentary sources in 1254 Valuation of Norwich.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

The advowson of the church of St. Melons is granted to St. Augustine's before 1166.¹

Benefice of ST MELLONS

ST MELLONS *ded:* ST MELAN

monastic, Bristol, St Augustine, Glos, abbey, Augustinian Canons

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.NE.06>

and references there cited.

¹ *The cartulary of St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol.* Edited by David Walker. (Bristol: Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 1998), p. 27.

E ST MARY'S CHURCH, MARSHFIELD

Dedication: St. Mary
Community: Marshfield
Map Ref.: ST26168257
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

There is a possible mention of ecclesiastical property at Marshfield in the early 12th century in the Book of Llandaff but it only mentions land. The first definite mention of the church is in 1254 Valuation of Norwich.

<http://www.cofiadureahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

According to the Charter of James Barry, Abbot of St. Augustine, Steep Holm is granted to Gilbert de Clare in exchange for the advowson of Marshfield c. 1307-8.²

Benefice of MARSHFIELD

MARSHFIELD *ded:* ST MARY

secular, Gilbert de Clare , Earl of Gloucester and Hertford (*see additional information above.*)

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.NE.03>

and references there cited.

² *Ibid.* pp. 392-3.

F ECHNI (FLATHOLM)

Dedication: St Cynalees
Community: Butetown
Map Ref.: ST21946496
Site Type: Early Medieval Shrine

Description:

The hermitage on Flatholm is usually identified with the 'Echni' given by Lifris's Vita Sancti Cadoci of c. 1100 as a place for Lenten retreat and the burial place of St Cynalees, a disciple of St Cadoc. The site is later documented as a grange of St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

FLATHOLM GRANGE

Description:

Flatholm Grange, belonged to St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol. (

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

See the charter no 43 St. Augustine's Abbey Cartulary.³

³ *Ibid.* pp. 26-7.

G ST AUGUSTINE'S CHURCH AT RUMNEY

Dedication: 1. St. John the Baptist. / 2. St. Augustine.
Community: Rumney
Map Ref.: ST21427910
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The church of Rumney is first mentioned in the documentary sources between 1163 and 1183 (this reference only refers to the chaplain of Rumni and should read 1153 not 1163)⁴. Newman quotes a foundation date of 1108 but does not give any authority.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further Information:

Originally dedicated to St. John the Baptist and later St. Augustine.

Benefice of RUMNEY

RUMNEY *ded*: ST AUGUSTINE

monastic, Bristol, St Augustine, Glos, abbey, *Augustinian Canons*

This was apparently the church at Rumney that was recorded in the mid-twelfth century, before the appropriation to St Augustine's abbey, as dedicated to St John the Baptist: CartStAug 29-30.

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.NE.05>

and references there cited.

⁴ James Conway Davies, ed., *Episcopal Acts Relating to Welsh Dioceses 1066-1272*, L.184.p.663.

Appendix to Figures V.12.

What follows is a summary of the current state of knowledge about the churches of Senghenydd, Gwynllwg and Bassaleg Priory. It relies heavily on the *Archwilio* website to which the reader is directed for fuller descriptions and references. The introductory page is based on the monastic Wales website to which the reader is directed for further information and detailed references.

Churches and Chapels in Senghenydd, Gwynllŵg and those of Bassaleg Priory

Senghenydd Chapels and Churches:

- A. CAPEL GWLADYS**
- B. CAPEL Y BRITHDIR**
- C. COLY UCHAF, GELLIGAER COMMON**
- D. FOREST CHAPEL**
- E. ST MABON'S CHURCH AT LLANFABON**
- F. ST CENYDD'S CHAPEL**
- G. ST MARTIN'S CHURCH AT CAERPHILLY**
- H. ST JAMES'S CHURCH AT RUDRY**
- I. LLANFEDW CHURCH**
- J. EGLWYSILAN CHURCHYARD**
- K. ST CATTWGS CHURCH GELLIGAER**
- L. ST TYDFIL'S CHURCH AT MERTHYR TYDFIL**

Gwynllŵg Chapels and Churches:

- C. ST SANNAN'S CHURCH AT BEDWELLTY**
- N. ST MICHAEL'S CHURCH, MICHAELSTON Y FEDW**
- O. ST BASIL'S CHURCH, BASSALEG**
- P. MACHEN CHURCH**
- Q. ST BARRWG'S CHURCH AT BEDWAS**
- R. ST TUDOR'S CHURCH AT MYNYDDISLWYN**
- S. COEDKERNEW CHURCH**
- T. ST PETER'S CHURCH AT HENLLYS**
- U. ST. BRIDGET'S CHURCH AT ST. BRIDES WENTLOOG**
- V. ST DIALS?**
- W. LLANDDERFEL (ST DERFEL'S CHAPEL)**
- X. ST ILLTYD'S CHURCH AT LLANHILLETH**
- Y. CHAPEL OF ST GWNOG**
- Z. ST MICHAEL'S CHURCH AT LLANFIHANGEL PONTYMOILE**
 - a. MAC MOILO/MAPENOIL/MAMHOLE**
 - b. ST ILLTYD'S CHURCH AT MAMHILAD**
 - c. ST CADOC'S CHURCH AT TREVETHIN**
 - d. CAE EGLWYS, CIL-LONYDD, ABERCARN**
 - e. ST PETER'S CHURCH AT BRYNGWYN**
 - f. ST BRIDGET'S CHAPEL, GELLI-LAS**
 - g. PWLL-PEN/PWLL-PAN (GRANGIA DE PULPEN)**
 - h. CAPEL FANTIALOG, YSYSYBWL**
 - i. ST MARY'S CHAPEL, PENRHYS**
 - j. LLANTARNAM ABBEY**
 - k. ST MARY'S CHURCH AT RISCA**

Bassaleg Priory Churches

It must be noted that certain of the churches associated with Bassaleg and consequently Glastonbury Abbey are also noted as possessions of Llantarnam by D Williams.¹ These are as follows:-

- O. ST BASIL'S CHURCH, BASSALEG**
- P. MACHEN CHURCH**
- Q. ST BARRWG'S CHURCH AT BEDWAS**
- R. ST TUDOR'S CHURCH AT MYNYDDISLWYN**
- S. COEDKERNEW CHURCH**
- T. ST PETER'S CHURCH AT HENLLYS**
- U. ST. BRIDGET'S CHURCH AT ST. BRIDES WENTLOOG**
- a. MAC MOILO/MAPENOIL/MAMHOLE**
- k. ST MARY'S CHURCH AT RISCA**

¹ D. H. Williams, *Atlas of Cistercian Lands in Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1990), p.80. & David H. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians* (Leominster: Gracewing, 2001), p. 305.

A. CAPEL GWLADYS

Dedication: St. Gwladys mother to St. Cattwg
Community: Darran Valley
Map Ref: ST12499928
Site Type: Medieval Chapel

Description:

Capel Gwladys has the remains of an ancient chapel with evidence of a double enclosure with rounded corners. The chapel is first mentioned in documentary evidence in the twelfth century. Rees's map of Wales and the Borders in the 14th century lists it as Eglwyswladys.
<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

B. CAPEL Y BRITHDIR

Dedication: Not Known
Community: New Tredegar
Map Ref: SO1386702535
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description :

The medieval chapel of Capel-y-Britthdir was demolished in 1960 but was the site of a seventh century memorial stone of Tegernacus, and a cross incised slab of the tenth or eleventh century which is now kept in the local church of St Gwladys, Bargoed. The site is of national importance in view of its proximity to the seventh century memorial stone, which was presumably the predecessor of the first church here.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

C. COLY UCHAF, GELLIAGER COMMON

Dedication: Not Known
Community: Bedlinog
Map Ref: SO09150221
Site Type: Medieval Long hut

Description:

Nothing is known about this site other than the archaeology and the detail given by Rees's map of fourteenth century Wales and the Marches. It is also marked on the ordnance survey map as the site of a chapel.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

There is no documentary evidence for this church only archaeological, subsequently no dedication can be established. It is also referred to as 'Dinas Noddfa' which translates 'City of Sanctuary'.²

² Fox, 'Early Welsh homesteads on Gelligaer Common', p. 163.

D. FOREST CHAPEL

Dedication: Not Known
Community: Merthyr Vale
Map Ref: SO08200056
Site Type: Unknown agricultural building / Medieval Chapel

Description:

This chapel is marked on Rees's map. There is no other evidence for this chapel other than the ordnance survey map referencing it as 'Forest Chapel'. The remains of Forest Chapel, oriented ENE-WSW consisting of drystone walling, 9.3x6.2m. Recent doubt has been cast on this site being the site of an ecclesiastical site.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

None available.

E. ST MABON'S CHURCH AT LLANFABON

Dedication:	St Mabon/Mabyn?
Community:	Nelson
Map Ref:	ST10849384
Site Type:	Medieval Church

Description:

For this medieval church, there is no early reference for Llanfabon as an early site. It is not mentioned in documentary sources until post reformation when it appears as a chapel of Eglwysilan. It does however have a Celtic dedication. There is no evidence that any of the medieval fabric survives.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

The dedication of Mabon is not easy to evaluate, Baring-Gould offers Mabon as a brother of Saint Teilo based on the Iolo Morganwg manuscripts.³ Another possibility may be that we are not dealing with Mabon but Mabyn who is, according to Cornish sources, a daughter of St Brychan and consequently a sister to the same St. Gwladys who was mother to St. Cattwg.⁴ The present church is of Victorian construction in the Norman style, but the name evidence of St Mabon is linked with place names 'MaesMafon' and 'River Mabon' we know existed in the twelfth century, namely as lands listed in the confirmation charter of William of Gloucester which is the subject of this thesis.⁵

³ S. Baring-Gould, & John Fisher, *The lives of British Saints: The Saints of Wales and Cornwall and such Irish Saints as have Dedications in Britain* (London: The Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1913), Vol.3. p. 391

⁴ Peter C. Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary: People in History and Legend up to about A D. 1000* (The National Library of Wales, 1993) [online] available <http://www.llgc.org.uk/collections/digital-gallery/printedmaterial/a-welsh-classical-dictionary/>

⁵ See chapter II.

F. ST CENYDD'S CHAPEL

Dedication: St. Cenydd
Community: Aber Valley
Map Ref: ST1190 Exact location unknown
Site Type: Medieval Ecclesiastical building

Description:

It seems certain that there was a cell or chapel of St Cenydd in the neighbourhood of Senghenydd but no trace of it survives. There appears to be an inference from place name evidence only, with no supporting evidence apart from a dubious local tradition reported by Baring-Gould but not extant when the Ordnance Survey was compiling information in the 1950s.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

Bartrum offers the following entry for Cennydd and is somewhat inconclusive:

CENNYDD, ST.

The saint of Llangennydd (Llangennith, Llangynydd, WATU), and of Capel Cynnydd under Rhosili, both in Gŵyr Is Coed, (PW 54, 55). PW calls him Cynnydd. William of Worcester (*Itineraries* ed. John H. Harvey, p.66 says: *Translacio Sanctus Keneth hermita die 3o post nativitatem Sancti Johannis Baptiste [June 24]; jacet apud ecclesiam villae Sancti Keneth in Gowerland.* There is a Life by John of Tynemouth, published by Capgrave in *Nova Legenda Angliae*, but it is mainly worthless. It says that Kinedus was a cripple, a contemporary of SS.David, Teilo and Padarn and died on August 1. The Life is outlined in LBS II.107-10. His day was observed in Llangennith on July 5 (LBS II.115), but in Nicholas Roscarrock's Calendar his day is August 1. He was known in Brittany as Kinède, Kidi, Quidi, Guidec and Kihouet and there his day is August 1 (LBS II.113-4).

In a list of Abbots of Llanilltud Fawr, quoted from an old deed in David Williams's *History of Monmouthshire*, 1796, Appendix p.50, a certain Cennit is mentioned fourth in the list. Egerton Phillimore suggested that this abbot was perhaps St.Cennydd (OP II.286).

The Iolo MSS. have much to say about St.Cennydd. He is there said to have been a son of Gildas, also called Aur, Euryr, Aneurin (*sic*) or of Caw.⁶

Baring-Gould on the other hand offers the following and displays the ties with Senghenydd:⁷

To sum up what we derive from the Welsh authorities:—Cenydd was the son of Gildas, who is identified with Aneurin, but not the Aneurin composer of the

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 137.

⁷ S. Baring-Gould, & John Fisher, *The lives of British Saints*, Vol.3. pp. 107-115.

Gododin. He was himself a married man, and the father of S. Ffili. From other entries we know the name of another of his sons, Ufelwy or Ufelwyn. He was, for a while, a member of the college of S. Iltyd, then of S. Catwg, and he was placed by S. David in charge of his foundation in Gower; but afterwards he became an independent founder of a monastic establishment, or Bangor, at Llangenydd, now generally Llangennith, also in Gower. The ruins of a chapel of S. Cenydd, at the new village of Senghenydd, are still pointed out, and there is a Bryn Cenydd or Cynydd at Caerphilly.

G. ST MARTIN'S CHURCH AT CAERPHILLY

Dedication: St. Martin (any earlier dedication is not know)
Community: Caerphilly
Map Ref: ST15538651
Site Type: Medieval Ecclesiastical building

Description:

The date of foundation for the chapel of St Martin's Caerphilly, which lay within the parish of Eglwysilan, is uncertain. There are no medieval references to St Martin's chapel, the earliest being in 1552 (Richards 1975, 66, 84). It was possibly contemporary with the foundation of the town c. 1270 and there is reference to a 'St Martin's Fair' from the early 14th century'.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

The 'taxatio' 1291 makes no mention of this as a chapel or a church.

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.LL.U39>

and references there cited.

H. ST JAMES'S CHURCH AT RUDRY (original dedication uncertain)

Dedication: St. James but a possible earlier dedication not know
Community: Rudry
Map Ref: ST19308655
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The church at Rudry first appears in the documentary sources in 1254 (Lunt (ed) 1926, 316), assuming that it is to be identified with Rutheri in the Valuation of Norwich: Guy (1976, 9) appears to reject this, since he places the earliest reference in 1295. It was a chapelry of Bedwas until 1914.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

If this was a medieval chapelry of Bedwas which may be unlikely (it is not in the lordship of Gwynllwg but in Senghenydd thus Robert de la Haye would not have had any authority here.), any dedication for this church prior to Glastonbury's acquisition of this church as part of the gift by de la Haye of Bassaleg and its attendant chapels is unknown and it is possible that it would have been a native dedication which was changed to St. James by Glastonbury but this can only be speculation.

Benefice of LLANSANNOR AND RUDRY

RUDRY *ded*: ST JAMES

secular, Gilbert de Clare , Earl of Gloucester and Hertford

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.LL.U33>

and references there cited.

J. LLANFEDW CHURCH

Dedication: Not Known
Community: Rudry
Map Ref: ST22588656
Site Type: Medieval Ecclesiastical building

Description:

The site of this medieval church is marked on Rees's map of South Wales and the Borders in 14th century as a chapel and the ordnance survey 6" map of 1922 show it as chapel and graveyard.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

K. EGLWYSILAN CHURCHYARD AND CHURCH

Dedication: St Ilan
Community: Aber Valley
Map Ref: ST10668901
Site Type: Medieval Church and Churchyard and Early Medieval Shrine

Description:

The church of Eglwysilan, also known as Merthyr Ilan, has its earliest mention in documentary sources in a list given in the Bulls of Honorius of 1128 and 1129. This site is confirmed as a pre-Norman site and contains an early Christian stone of the eighth to tenth century.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

This church is referred to in a Bull of Honorius II the bishop of Llandaff as Merthyr Ilan 19th April 1128.⁸ And The site of 'Tref Eliau' is also mentioned in a Llandaff Charter 255 c. 1035.⁹

Benefice of EGLWYSILAN

secular, Gilbert de Clare , Earl of Gloucester and Hertford

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.LL.U39>

and references there cited.

⁸ *Episcopal Acts Relating to Welsh Dioceses 1066-1272*, 2 Volumes. ed. James Conway Davies (Cardiff: Historical Society of the Church in Wales, 1948), p.622.

⁹ Wendy Davies, *'The Llandaff Charters'* (Aberystwyth: The National library of Wales, 1979), p. 127.

L. ST CATTWGS CHRUCH GELLIGAER

See Appendix V.1 under ‘**D. ST CATTWG’S CHURCH, GELLIGAER**’

Further information:

Benefice of GELLIGAER

secular, Gilbert de Clare , Earl of Gloucester and Hertford

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.LL.U35>

and references there cited.

M. ST TYDFIL'S CHURCH AT MERTHYR TYDFIL

Dedication: St. Tydfil
Community: Merthyr Tydfil
Map Ref: SO04950585
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The church at Merthyr Tydfil is a pre-Norman foundation, attested by the merthyr placename and the presence of a pillar stone of 8th or 9th century date now displayed in the N aisle. The church first appears in the documentary sources in 1119. (The papal bull of Calixtus II to Urban Bishop of Llandaff does not appear to contain a reference to Merthyr Tydfil, see further information.)

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

Bartrum links Tydfil to Tudful as a daughter of St. Brychan as does Baring-Gould, it would appear that St. Tydfil was St. Tudful, daughter of St. Brychan making her a sister to St. Gwladys which links her to the subject Cadog cult of this work.¹⁰ The 1119 reference of documentary sources in the 'Archwilio' website gives Clark's Glamorgan Cartae vol. I page 50 as reference and this entry is a transcription of a papal bull from Calixtus II to Bishop Urban of Llandaff. Neither John Reuben Davies nor James Conway Davies make any connection with Merthyr Tydfil in this document.¹¹ Consequently the 'Archwilio' entry must be in error.

Benefice of MERTHYR TYDFIL

secular, Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.LL.17>

and references there cited.

¹⁰ Peter C. Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*, p. 712.

¹⁰ S. Baring-Gould, & John Fisher, *The lives of British Saints*, Vol.3, p. 286.

¹¹ Clark, ed., *Cartae* Vol. I, p. 50. & Davies, ed., *Llandaff Acts* p. 615. & Davies, *Book of Llandaf* pp. 166-8.

ST GWYNNO'S CHURCH AT VAYNOR

Dedication: St Gwynno
Community: Vaynor
Map Ref: SO04811029
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

St Gwynno's church at Vaynor has a Celtic dedication and a partly curvilinear churchyard, though the latter may be because it is partially bounded by a stream than because it was deliberately intended. It is an early medieval church with possible foundation dates given as 714, 844, and 874, but this is as yet unconfirmed. The original church lies at the lower end of the churchyard which was replaced by the present building.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

According to Browne Willis Gwynno was also one of the three saints of Llantrisant itself, the other two being Illtud and Tyfodwg (PW 67 n.1). Conversely Baring-Gould Gwynno is one of five brothers represented in the Carmarthenshire Pumpsaint and Llanpumsaint.¹²

¹² Peter C. Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*, p. 211.

¹² S. Baring-Gould, & John Fisher, *The lives of British Saints: Vol.3*, pp. 225-8.

Gwynllwg Chapels and Churches

C. ST SANNAN'S CHURCH AT BEDWELLTY

Dedication: St Sannan
Community: Bargoed
Map Ref: SO16660030
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The church at Bedwellty is not mentioned in documentary sources before 1535-6, it has a Celtic dedication and a nearly circular churchyard suggestive of a pre-Norman foundation. (See entry immediately following)

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

BEDWELLTE

Community: Bargoed
Map Ref: SO16660030
Site Type: Early Medieval Ecclesiastical building

Description:

The placename Bedwellte from bod+Mellteu, Mellteu being a rare personal name recorded in an early 13th century genealogical tract, and makes reference to the burial place of one of the daughters of St Brychan of Bycheiniog. Another possibility given is that the use in South Wales of the word 'bod' may be the equivalent of 'tŷ' in the medieval Welsh poetic usage ty+saint's name = church.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

Bartrum and Baring-Gould identify the St. Sannan of Bedwellte as the Irish St. Senan of Iniscathy.¹³ Baring-Gould also mentions a Cornish connection of the saint as Sennen. This may be significant given the geographical proximity of Llanfabon and saint Mabon/Mabyn who also was recorded in Cornish sources. (see entry for Llanfabon). It is also noted by Edith Evans that Bedwellte may be derived from bod+Mellteu and may refer to the place being the burial place of Mellteu, one of the daughters of St. Brychan.¹⁴

¹³ Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*, p. 663.

¹³ S. Baring-Gould, & John Fisher, *The lives of British Saints*, Vol.3. p. 182ff.

¹⁴ Evans. *Early Medieval ecclesiastical sites in southeast Wales:*

N. ST MICHAEL'S CHURCH, MICHAELSTON Y FEDW

Dedication: St. Michael
Community: Michaelstone-y-fedw
Map Ref: ST24058460
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The first documentary reference to the church of Michaelston-y-Fedw is in 1254.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

Benefice of MICHAELSTON-Y-FEDW

Patronage *not identified*

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.NE.07>

and references there cited.

O. ST BASIL'S CHURCH, BASSALEG (Bassaleg Priory)

Dedication: Not Known (see notes)
Community: Graig
Map Ref: ST27748712
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

Bassaleg is first mentioned in documentary sources in *c.* 1075. It is the site of a pre-Norman monastery and mother church for Wentloog and probably older than St Woolos, and it has been suggested that the name, a derivation of basilica, may indicate that it is a Late Roman Christian site. A small Benedictine priory was founded at the beginning of the 12th century endowed with the tithes of Bassaleg (among other parishes), but had been closed by 1291. But what little evidence there is suggests that it was not on the site of the parish church.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

Neither Bartrum nor Baring-Gould offers any information on St. Basil but Jeremy Knight suggests that the name Bassaleg is derived from basilica which would make the dedication to St. Basil redundant. He further notes that there is a strong link with St. Gwladys and the Cadoc cult and links a number of churches as chapels of Bassaleg which had been given to Glastonbury Abbey by Robert de la Haye. (see following list).¹⁵

Bedwas, Machen, Mynyddislwyn, Risca, Henllys, St. Brides Wentloog and Coedkernew.

Benefice of BASSALEG

BASSALEG *ded:* ST BASIL

(dependent chapel) ST BRIDES WENTLOOGE *ded:* ST BRIDE

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.NE.02>

and references there cited.

¹⁵ Knight, *South Wales from the Romans to the Normans*, pp. 37-8.

P. MACHEN CHURCH, POSSIBLE OUTER ENCLOSURE

Dedication: Saint Michael's & All Angels
Community: Graig
Map Ref: ST22808808

Description:

Machen church is first mentioned in documentary sources c. 1102. The churchyard is irregular and retains its cross, though this is now so covered with ivy that no detail can be seen. Evidence of Continuing occupation from Roman times is suggested by Roman pottery, provisionally dated between AD55 and 110 which has recently been discovered during the digging of a pit in the grounds of the adjacent property so it is likely that Roman occupation extends under the churchyard. There is possible evidence of an outer enclosure giving testimony that this is an early medieval ecclesiastical site.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

Edith Evans describes this church as a St Michael dedication not at St Michael and All Angels.¹⁶ It is part of a list of chapels attached to Basseleg in a charter given by Glastonbury Abbey to Llandaff in 1230-1250.¹⁷ These gifts originally made by Robert de la Haye to Glastonbury before 1104 and given the Glastonbury monk did not arrive until 1116, it can be assumed that this church probably pre-existed the original grant in the first part of the 12th century.¹⁸ Consequently it may be that this site had a dedication other than St. Michael which as subsequently been lost.

Benefice of LOWER MACHEN

LOWER MACHEN *ded:* ST MICHAEL

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.NE.U11>

and references there cited.

¹⁶ Edith Evans. *Early Medieval ecclesiastical sites in southeast Wales*, p. 38.

¹⁷ Davies, ed., *Llandaff Acts* p. 719.

¹⁸ Coplestone-Crow, 'Robert de la Haye and the Lordship of Gwynllwg', pp. 3-46, p. 11.

Q. ST BARRWG'S CHURCH AT BEDWAS

Dedication: St Barrwg
Community: Bedwas, Trethomas and Machen
Map Ref: ST17108918
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

St Barrwg's medieval church Bedwas first appears in the documentary sources *c.* 1102. There is evidence for the existence of an old thatched tithe barn which stood in the North East corner of the Churchyard until it was burnt down shortly after 1863.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

Baring-Gould is inconclusive regarding the dedication of this church and offers it may be dedicated to St. Barrac/Barrwg or St. Bedwas assuming St. Bedwas ever existed.¹⁹ Bartrum is more positive in that he does not offer St. Bedwas as an option and under St. Barrwg writes that the church at Bedwas in Gwent is most probably that of St. Barrwg.²⁰ Barrwg appears in the life of saint Cadog as a disciple of Cadog.²¹ It is part of a list of chapels attached to Basseleg in a charter given by Glastonbury Abbey to Llandaff in 1230-1250.²² These gifts originally made by Robert de la Haye to Glastonbury before 1104 and given the Glastonbury monk did not arrive until 1116, it can be assumed that this church probably pre-existed the original grant in the first part of the 12th century.²³

Benefice of BEDWAS

BEDWAS *ded:* ST BARROG / ST BARRWG

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.NE.U10>

and references there cited.

¹⁹ S. Baring-Gould, & John Fisher, *The lives of British Saints*, pp. 194-6.

²⁰ Peter C. Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*, p.39.

²¹ *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae Genealogiae*, ed. & trans. A.W. Wade-Evans, New Edition ed. Scott Lloyd (Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press, 2013), pp. 91-2.

²² Davies, ed., *Llandaff Acts* p. 719.

²³ Bruce Coplestone-Crow, 'Robert de la Haye and the Lordship of Gwynllŵg', p. 11.

R. ST TUDOR'S CHURCH AT MYNYDDISLWYN

Dedication: St. Barrwg
Community: Ynysddu
Map Ref: ST19349391
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The church at Mynyddislwyn is first mentioned in documentary sources c. 1102. However, given the Celtic dedication and the churchyard, which is quadrangular with a curved W side and occupies a central position on the Mynyddislwyn central plateau and is respected by the North to South road across Mynyddislwyn which makes a detour around the church's boundaries, are suggestive of an early medieval site.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

According to Baring-Gould, the church of Mynydd Islwyn, in Monmouthshire, was formerly sometimes called " Plwyf Tudur ab Hywel " but he is not able to identify who this was but notes that Browne Willis gives the parish feast on October 7.²⁴ It is part of a list of chapels attached to Basseleg in a charter given by Glastonbury Abbey to Llandaff in 1230-1250.²⁵ These gifts originally made by Robert de la Haye to Glastonbury before 1104 and given the Glastonbury monk did not arrive until 1116, it can be assumed that this church probably pre-existed the original grant in the first part of the 12th century.²⁶

Benefice of MYNYDDISLWYN

MYNYDDISLWYN *ded*: ST TUDUR / ST TEWDWR AB HOWEL

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.NE.08>

and references there cited.

²⁴ S. Baring-Gould, & John Fisher, *The lives of British Saints*, p. 270.

²⁵ Davies, ed., *Llandaff Acts* p. 719.

²⁶ Bruce Coplestone-Crow, 'Robert de la Haye and the Lordship of Gwynllŵg', pp. 3-46, p. 11.

S. COEDKERNEW CHURCH, POSSIBLE OUTER ENCLOSURE

Dedication: All Saints?
Community: Coedkernew
Map Ref: ST27618349
Site Type: Early Medieval Enclosure

Description:

Coedkernew church is set within an early medieval churchyard site. The current building is a conversion to a dwelling (1991) of the church built 1853. It is thought that the Victorian church was built on site of the earlier church, and probably on site of church mentioned c.1102. The only relic from the earlier church is a font.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

The last known dedication of this church was All Saints but is mentioned as a chapel in a list of chapels attached to Basseleg in a charter given by Glastonbury Abbey to Llandaff in 1230-1250.²⁷ These gifts originally made by Robert de la Haye to Glastonbury before 1104 and given the Glastonbury monk did not arrive until 1116, it can be assumed that this church probably pre-existed the original grant in the first part of the 12th century.²⁸ Consequently it may be that this site had a dedication other than All Saints which as subsequently been lost.

²⁷ Davies, ed., *Llandaff Acts* p. 719.

²⁸ Bruce Coplestone-Crow, 'Robert de la Haye and the Lordship of Gwynllŵg', pp. 3-46, p. 11.

T. ST PETER'S CHURCH AT HENLLYS

Dedication: St Peter
Community: Henllys
Map Ref: ST26769104
Site Type: Unknown Church

Description:

The first documentary evidence for a church at Henllys is in 1230-40. There appear to be earthworks (not previously recorded) in the field to the W.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

The church is dedicated to St. Peter but it is part of a list of chapels attached to Basseleg in a charter given by Glastonbury Abbey to Llandaff in 1230-1250.²⁹ These gifts originally made by Robert de la Haye to Glastonbury before 1104 and given the Glastonbury monk did not arrive until 1116, it can be assumed that this church probably pre-existed the original grant in the first part of the 12th century.³⁰ Consequently it may be that this site had a dedication other than St. Peter which as subsequently been lost.

²⁹ Davies, ed., *Llandaff Acts* p. 719.

³⁰ Bruce Coplestone-Crow, 'Robert de la Haye and the Lordship of Gwynllŵg', pp. 3-46, p. 11.

U. ST. BRIDGET'S CHURCH AT ST. BRIDES WENTLOOG

Dedication: St. Bridget
Community: Wentlooge
Map Reference: ST29238230
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The church of St Brides Wentloog is first mentioned in documentary sources in 1230-40.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

The dedication is interesting in that it is an Irish saint who is often referred to in Wales as San Ffraid.³¹ Baring-Gould also notes that she has links with Glastonbury which would suggest that this may be a rededication by the Glastonbury monks.³² This church it is part of a list of chapels attached to Basseleg in a charter given by Glastonbury Abbey to Llandaff in 1230-1250.³³ These gifts originally made by Robert de la Haye to Glastonbury before 1104 and given the Glastonbury monk did not arrive until 1116, it can be assumed that this church probably pre-existed the original grant in the first part of the 12th century.³⁴ Consequently it may be that this site had a dedication other than the one given and the original dedication has subsequently been lost.

³¹ Peter C. Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*, p.301.

³² S. Baring-Gould, & John Fisher, *The lives of British Saints*, Vol. 1. pp. 264-285.

³³ Davies, ed., *Llandaff Acts* p. 719.

³⁴ Bruce Coplestone-Crow, 'Robert de la Haye and the Lordship of Gwynllŵg', pp. 3-46, p. 11.

V. ST DIALS?

Dedication: This may not be a site for the Llandaff Charter
Community: Cwmbran Central
Map Ref.: ST28419526
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The church of St Dials was identified in the 19th century as the St Tylull of the Llandaff Charters (LL16b), and subsequently accepted as site of a medieval chapel. There is no firm evidence for either interpretation, but it has been suggested that it had once been the site of a chapel extant in c. 877 and connected with Llantarnam Abbey, of which no record has been found.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

W. LLANDDERFEL (ST DERFEL'S CHAPEL)

Dedication: St. Derfel
Community: Fairwater
Map Ref: ST26299530
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

A chapel site, first mention is of a David as chaplain of 'Llanderfol in 1412 by D. H. Williams. Mention is also made as Capella Sti Dervalli in 1535 Valor Ecclesiasticus as one of the possessions of Llantarnam. Williams also states it as a Pilgrimage chapel with tavern.

<http://www.cofiadureahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

Little is known other than St Derfel was a warrior who survived the battle of Camlan.³⁵ Site is listed as a pilgrimage cell with chapel by David Williams.³⁶

³⁵ Peter C. Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*, p.218.

³⁶ Williams, *Atlas of Cistercian Lands in Wales*, p.80. & Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, p. 305.

X. ST ILLTYD'S CHURCH AT LLANHILLETH

Dedication: St Illtyd
Community: Llanhilleth
Map Ref: SO21790196
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

Originally a religious centre during the ninth century, Llanhilleth church site has strong archaeological indicators that it was a pre-Norman religious sites, whilst historical confirmation is supplied in a ninth or tenth century poem recorded in the Black Book of Carmarthen in 'stanzas of the Graves'. The parish was given to the Cistercian monks of Llantarnam Abbey c.1175-9.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

The current dedication is to St. Illtyd but tradition presents an interesting problem as Bartrum writes:

HILEDD, ST.

The presumed saint of Llanhilledd, Gwent (PW 73). In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was called Llanhilledd, Llanhyledd, and Llanhyledd Vorwyn. See RWM i.920. The implication is that Hilledd or Hyledd was female. The name is perhaps equivalent to Heledd and it may be noted that a place called Llanheledd (*Llan Helet*) is mentioned in the Stanzas of the Graves in the Black Book of Carmarthen (No.14, in SG pp.120/1). There seems to be no good reason for identifying her with Heledd ferch Cyndrwyn. See also LBS III.254-5, TYP p.405.³⁷

Baring-Gould makes the link with Heledd of Canu Heledd and the loss of her brothers to the Saxons. He is unsure that it is the same Heledd but notes that there is no Heledd mentioned in Welsh saintly genealogies other than the aforementioned possible link.³⁸

David Williams lists this as a Cistercian property of Llantarnam.³⁹

³⁷ Peter C. Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*, p. 415.

³⁸ S. Baring-Gould, & John Fisher, *The lives of British Saints*, Vol. 3. pp. 224-5.

³⁹ Williams, *Atlas of Cistercian Lands in Wales*, p.80. & Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, p. 305.

Y. CHAPEL OF ST GWNOG

Dedication: St Gwnog
Community: Llanhennock
Map Ref.: ST337929
Site Type: Medieval Chapel

Description:

The chapel of St Gwnog ('Quencke Chapel') was a church where the tithes had been appropriated by Llantarnam Abbey;

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

According to both Bartrum and Baring-Gould St Gwnog is the son of St. Gildas and Baring-Gould notes a link with St. Cadog who would most certainly have known him.⁴⁰ David Williams lists this as a Cistercian property of Llantarnam.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*, p. 405.

⁴⁰ S. Baring-Gould, & John Fisher, *The lives of British Saints*, Vol.3. pp. 242-247.

⁴¹ Williams, *Atlas of Cistercian Lands in Wales*, p.80. & Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, p. 305.

Z. ST MICHAEL'S CHURCH AT LLANFIHANGEL PONTYMOILE

Dedication: St. Michael
Community: New Inn
Map Ref.: SO30130110
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

Llanfihangel Pontymoile church is first mentioned in 1254, as Kilgoigen. The cil element may not necessarily be an indicator of a pre-Norman foundation.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

The dedication of St. Michael is interesting in the light of the name given at the taxatio of 1254, as Kilgoigen which suggests it was previously a hermitage cell of Goigen or Coeigen.⁴²

⁴² J. Daryll Evans, 'Parson Cook of Llanfihangel Pontymoel', *Gwent local history : the journal of Gwent Local History Council*, No. 59 (Autumn 1985), pp. 23-30. p. 23

a. MAC MOILO/MAPENOIL/MAMHOLE

See entry appendix V.1 under 'A. CHAPEL AT MANMOEL' for full description of site.

Further information:

Confirmed by David Williams as a possession of Llantarnam Abbey.⁴³

⁴³ Williams, *Atlas of Cistercian Lands in Wales*, p.48. & Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, p. 305.

b. ST ILLTYD'S CHURCH AT MAMHILAD

Dedication: St Illtyd
Community : Goetre Fawr
Map Ref : SO3053703427
Site Type : Medieval Church

Description:

The first mention of the church of Mamhilad occurs *c.* 1100 but the dedication to St Illtyd and partly curved churchyard suggests that it was a pre-Norman foundation. It was a monastic site dependent upon Llancarfan in the Vale of Glamorgan.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

MAMMELIAT LOCUS

Dedication: St Illtyd
Community: Goetre Fawr
Map Ref.: SO30540344
Site Type. Early Medieval Monastery

Description:

Lifris's *Vita Sancti Cadoci* of *c.* 1100 refers to 'Mammelliat locus' as the place to which the shrine of Cadoc was taken for safekeeping.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

Benefice of MAMHILAD

MAMHILAD *ded:* ST ILLTYD

ecclesiastical, Llandaff, cathedral, Glamorgan, secular college, *Secular*

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.AB.19>

and references there cited.

c. ST CADOC'S CHURCH AT TREVETHIN

Dedication: St Cadoc
Community : Trevethin
NGR : O28380202
Site Type : Medieval Church

Description:

This medieval church of Trevethin gains its first mentioned in documentary source in 1254.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

The church is described in 1733 as a chapelry of Llanover, dedication to St. Cadoc in Parochiale Wallicanum along with Capel Newydd and Mamhilad as dependant chapels to Llanover.⁴⁴ Confirmed by David Williams as a possession of Llantarnam Abbey.⁴⁵

Benefice of TREVETHIN

TREVETHIN *ded:* ST CADOC

ecclesiastical, Llandaff, cathedral, Glamorgan, secular college, *Secular*

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.AB.18>

and references there cited.

⁴⁴ Wade-Evans, *Parochiale Wallicanum* , p.53.

⁴⁵ Williams, *Atlas of Cistercian Lands in Wales*, p.48. & Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, p. 305.

d. CAE EGLWYS, CIL-LONYDD

Dedication: Not known
Community : Newbridge
NGR : ST22959730
Site Type : Medieval Chapel
Legal Protection :

Description:

Rees marks a site in this area as probably a chapel attached to a monastic grange. Williams gives this as definite site for such

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

Confirmed by David Williams as a possession of Llantarnam Abbey.⁴⁶ There is no known dedication for this site.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

e. ST PETER'S CHURCH AT BRYNGWYN

Dedication: St. Peter
Community: Llanarth
Map Ref.: SO3905409322
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The medieval church of St Peter has its first mention in documentary sources in 1254 as Bryngwyn church. There is thus little to suggest a pre-Norman foundation.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

BRYNGWYN GRANGE CHAPEL (CHAPEL FARM BRYNGWYN)

Dedication: Not known
Community: Llanarth
Map Ref.: SO398092
Site Type: Medieval Chapel

Description:

This is probably the site of a grange chapel now named Chapel Farm, and is associated with Bryngwyn Grange.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

No apparent dedication. Confirmed by David Williams as a possession of Llantarnam Abbey.⁴⁷

Benefice of BRYNGWYN

BRYNGWYN *ded:* ST PETER

secular, Laurence de Hastynges , Earl of Pembroke

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LL.LL.AB.U26>

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

f. ST BRIDGET'S CHAPEL, GELLI-LAS

Dedication: St. Bridget
Community: Cwmbran Central
Map Ref.: ST29569550
Site Type: Medieval Chapel

Description:

This was the site of a chapel dedicated to St Bridget on the grange site at Gelli-las;

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

Confirmed by David Williams as a possession of Llantarnam Abbey.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

g. PWLL-PEN/PWLL-PAN (GRANGIA DE PULPEN)

Dedication: Not known
Community: Llanwern
Map Ref.: ST35478765
Site Type: Medieval Grange

Description:

'Grangia de Pulpen' was a possession of Llantarnam with extensive foundations and an enclosure in the orchard. Lands consisted of some 12 caracutes plus 10 acres of meadow, and included both marshland and well-drained land; one of the most important of Llantarnam granges in terms both of arable acreage and overall value.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

Confirmed by David Williams as a possession of Llantarnam Abbey.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

h. CAPEL FANTIALOG, YSYSYBWL

Dedication: Not known
Community: Ynysybwl and Coed-y-cwm
Map Ref.: ST05119474
Site Type: Medieval Ecclesiastical building

Description:

This chapel is associated with a grant to the brethren of Pendar and in particular the land in the northern part of the area is a site called Capel Fanhalog, a corruption of Capel Fynachlog.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

Confirmed by David Williams as a possession of Llantarnam Abbey.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

i. ST MARY'S CHAPEL, PENRHYS

Dedication: St. Mary
Community: Tylorstown
Map Ref.: ST00299459
Site Type: Medieval Chapel

Description:

The medieval pilgrimage chapel associated with St Mary's Well, Penrhys, and was owned by the Cistercian Abbey of Llantarnam.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

Confirmed by David Williams as a possession of Llantarnam Abbey.⁵¹

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

j. LLANTARNAM ABBEY

Dedication: St Mary
Community: Llantarnam
Map Ref.: ST31179290
Site Type: Medieval Abbey

Description:

Llantarnam Abbey was a Cistercian house founded in c. 1195 by Howel Ap Iorwerth, Sir Howel of Caerleon and dedicated to St Mary. Its mother house was Strata Florida and has been variously named Nant Teyrnnon, Dewma and Caerleon or Caerleon-on-Usk.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

k. ST MARY'S CHURCH AT RISCA

Dedication: St Mary
Community: Risca
Map Ref.: ST23679117
Site Type: Medieval Church

Description:

The medieval church at Risca was a possession of Bassaleg and is mentioned in documentary sources 1230-4. Evidence of a Roman building was found when the foundations of the chancel were dug. It has a partly curved churchyard, terraced into the hillside and is associated with a holy well to the east of the chancel.

<http://www.cofiadurcahcymru.org.uk/arch/ggat/english/index.html>

and references there cited.

Further information:

Confirmed by David Williams as a possession of Llantarnam Abbey.⁵²

⁵² *Ibid.*