

CPAT Report No. 1340

The Monastic Granges of East Wales

A SCHEDULING ENHANCEMENT PROJECT



Llywodraeth Cymru
Welsh Government

**YMDDIRIEDOLAETH ARCHAEOLEGOL CLWYD-POWYS
CLWYD-POWYS ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRUST**

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The Monastic Granges of East Wales. Scheduling Enhancement Programme

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THE MONASTIC GRANGE IN EAST WALES A PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT

Background to the Scheduling Enhancement Programme

This report on medieval monastic granges lies within the third phase of scheduling enhancement undertaken by the four regional trusts in Wales since the mid-1990s. The first phase began in 1995 when two pan-Wales projects were started, one looking at historic churches, the other on the heritage of the Welsh coast. Other pan-Wales projects followed, the results being used for increasing the schedule of protected ancient monuments, for increasing the coverage and quality of the then regional Sites and Monuments Record, and for more academic outputs. When we summed up the situation in the spring of 2010 in *The Archaeologist* published by the Institute for Archaeologists, we estimated that over 26,000 sites (or assets as we are now advised to call them) had been visited and more than a thousand new schedulings made (Murphy and Silvester 2010, 14).

In the second quarter of 2007/8, Cadw requested a scoping study of sites and assets recorded in the regional Historic Environment Records (the HER being the successor term to the SMR) that might still need assessment in order to complete the scheduling enhancement programme for prehistoric and Roman sites in the region, taking the study from the earliest times through to around 400 AD. Such a study was required to inform thinking on priorities for scheduling enhancement in the two years up to April 2010 which at that time was the projected date timetabled for the implementation of the proposals in the Heritage Reform White Paper.

Though the White Paper was ultimately shelved, the completion of the prehistoric and Roman studies went ahead, and between September 2008 and March 2010 a second series of scheduling enhancement assessments (SEPs) were conducted. Reports were submitted covering both themes (e.g. caves, mines and quarries, burnt mounds and Roman settlements) and geographical areas where multiple site types were in evidence (e.g. the Vale of Clwyd, Elan Valley, Black Mountains etc). The submission of the final report in March 2010 effectively marked the end of the second phase.

In the summer of 2010 a scoping study was conducted by each of the Welsh trusts to examine the range of medieval and early post-medieval (pre-1750) site types that might warrant further assessment with a view to enhancing the schedule of designated sites. Independent of this Cadw had also assessed the types of material evidence relating to the period and developed a list of themes that might usefully be progressed. On completion of the scoping study and as an introduction to the period, a monastic and ecclesiastical project was completed during the later part of 2010/11. Industry was completed 2011-2, Mills and milling in 2012, Farms and Farming in 2012-3, and Parks and Rabbit Warrens in 2014. The complete series of SEP reports are available as grey literature reports and most appear as downloadable pdfs on CAT's website. Some of these projects, and not just the monastic and ecclesiastical starter, have provided information that has proved useful in carrying out this study and, unwittingly, also fed into its planning and implementation.

The monastic and ecclesiastical project which initiated the third phase of scheduling enhancement in 2010/11 focussed entirely on the monastic establishments themselves, whether abbeys, priories or friaries. Their landholdings, extensive though they were as far as could be established from the work of William Rees and other eminent historians, and more recently by the Cistercianologist, David Williams, were deliberately omitted from the study, for even the most superficial examination of the evidence suggested that the evidence warranted a project in its own right. Already at that time the Gwynedd Archaeological Trust had undertaken a scoping project on monastic landscapes in the north-west of the country (GAT 2001), and rather more recently a new phase of monastic landholding study has commenced with Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust assessing Cistercian granges in the south-east (Roberts 2014). Yet one issue emerges from all these studies, that of materiality. Monastic

landholdings may have occurred extensively across Wales in the Middle Ages, but it is the variable historical documentation that provides the information on which this view is founded. The archaeological remains that are associated with these landholdings are considerably sparser, other than in truly exceptional circumstances. This study sets out to quantify what does remain in east and north-east Wales, for even Williams in his pioneering study of 1990, much praised as an exemplar of monastic mapping (see below) did not approach the subject systematically, and some of his judgements are not as reliable as one might hope.

Monastic Granges: An Introduction

Regardless of their size and importance – and none of the monasteries in Wales can compare with Glastonbury, Gloucester, Peterborough or the major houses in Yorkshire in these respects – the Welsh monastic establishments and their inhabitants depended on land and estates for their continuing existence throughout the Middle Ages. In practice this meant that they needed produce which might come from a home farm or from further afield, and they also needed to turn surplus production into a financial profit (see for instance Cowley 1977, 55; Moorhouse 1989, 32). Coppack has noted that ‘.. most monasteries that derived their wealth from the land had several granges at a distance from the house, forming self-contained estate centres’ (1990, 124).

Not every landholding in the possession of a monastery could or should be classed as a grange. In many cases the estates were manors, no different from those in secular ownership and with the abbot simply functioning as the lord of the manor, and the peasants owing the same types of duty to the abbey as they would to a secular lord (Greene 1992, 134). Williams’ take on this was slightly different for he noted that ‘long before the suppression, the lands of several monasteries were organised in a series of manors, which generally included more than one of the initial granges within their borders (1984, 243), but then went on to note that the two terms – grange and manor – became interchangeable over time. Furthermore a distinction needs to be made between the home farm and those that lay at a distance from the parent monastery, though this is not always apparent in general discussions (see Coppack 2006, 135-42). It is, however, particularly relevant to the predominantly upland regions of Wales.

General discussions of granges almost inevitably tend to be dominated by those of the great Cistercian abbeys in Yorkshire (Platt 1969; Moorhouse 1989; Aston 1993, 115) while the few that have been examined and analysed in detail are spread widely, the best-known examples perhaps being Roystone Grange (Derbys) and South Witham (Lincs) (for which see Greene 1992, 136-9; Coppack 2006, 139). In the Welsh landscape it is those of Glamorgan that have drawn the attention (RCAHMW 1982, 245-306) with Monkash acknowledged as the finest surviving grange in the country (Coppack 1998, fig 72).

Granges are archetypically associated with the Cistercian order, but it would be incorrect to assume that the concept and the practice were restricted to that order. At one time or another, historians have used the term for the distant farms of the Benedictines, the Cluniacs, for houses of canons such as the Augustinians, the Premonstratensians and the Gilbertines, and for the Templars and the Hospitallers. Virtually the only orders where the term doesn’t appear to fit were the Carthusians and of course the friaries. Nor was it just the monasteries amongst the religious. Bishoprics too could own granges. Perhaps the term may on occasions have been used too loosely and other labels would have been more appropriate, but as a generic, rather than a period-specific, title it is useful.

Definitions

The term grange appears to be utilised in three rather different ways by historians. Firstly it can define a tract of land which formed a discrete portion of a monastery’s estate. Thus David Williams stated that ‘the grange was in earlier centuries the essential unit of Cistercian farming: each abbey had a series of these farms, worked by *conversi* (or lay brothers) and supposedly but not always, within a day’s

journey of the monastery' (Williams 1990, 22). In later centuries some if not many of these lands were leased out to tenants. F. G. Cowley (1977, 89) distinguished it as '...an extensive ring-fence farm centred around isolated farm buildings which was worked by lay-brethren and hired labourers'.

Then the grange was also a place. Cowley described it in these terms: 'The main unit of exploitation on the Cistercian estates was not the manor, centred around a village with its hall, its church and cluster of peasant cottages, but the grange, a group of buildings which included a granary, stalls and pens for livestock, living quarters for the lay-brethren and hired labourers, and in some cases a chapel' (1977, 78). Williams echoed a similar view in writing that 'Cistercian lands were ideally, organised into a series of units of exploitation termed *granges* which, lying normally at no more than a day's journey from the monastery, could be directly controlled by it...The granges were meant to offer hospitality, like the abbeys of which they were possessions' (Williams 1984, 227).

The nature of these estate centres is likely to have varied. Coppack stated, without conviction, that 'it has long been assumed that these granges represented monasteries in miniature with a chapel and domestic ranges at the centre set around a cloister, and with agricultural buildings in an outer enclosure. Such an arrangement would particularly suit the Cistercians, who ran their estates with armies of lay brothers subject to monastic discipline...' He then qualified it in the following terms. 'Field survey, however, indicates that this is not the norm and that the hundreds of granges that survive as earthworks or standing buildings are virtually indistinguishable from contemporary lay manors. Deserted sites commonly show an outer enclosure with barns and other farm buildings and an inner enclosure containing the principal domestic ranges' (Coppack 1990, 125).

However, not every tract of land which might be termed a grange would necessarily have a distinguishable farm (or grange) at its centre, particularly in the hills. Some upland pastures were used only for summer grazing. Williams (1990, 22) quotes several examples – for the Minera lands owned or at least used by Valle Crucis, and the Cwmbuga grange supporting 400 kine for Cwmhir in the summer but only 30 in the winter – and this might mean that the grange centre might be of limited extent.

There is a third meaning which is not so relevant to this particular study. The word 'grange' (Latin *grangia*, *grangium*: Latham 1965, 215), often occurs in a documentary context of medieval date where it appears to refer to one building set amongst others, and is translated as a barn or granary. Latham in his Revised Medieval Latin Word-list (1965) has under *grangia*, as well as 'grange', *grangia* decimalis meaning tithe barn, derived from Latin *granea*, meaning 'grain'. Likewise E. A. Gooder in Latin for Local History (1967) has *grangia* meaning 'grange' or 'barn'.

Returning to the first of these definitions, we may try to distinguish between the grange and the manor as far as it is possible, yet it is not certain, at least to this writer, that such a distinction was made by the monastic authorities prior to the Dissolution. Farms in some contemporary documents appear as *grangia*, but no attempt has been made during the present study to examine original or transcribed documents to establish the nomenclature adopted. Other terms that are encountered include *bercaria* (usually translated as sheepwalks, but also as sheepcotes) and *vaccaria* (or cattle ranches).

One difference emerges from the perception, perhaps more modern than medieval, that the grange was broadly identified as a consolidated block of land, a single holding, in contrast to the manor where though the monastery might be the lord of the holding, it was not necessarily a single readily defined block of land but one where its grounds were interspersed with those owned by others, or where demesne and tenanted lands ran together. As a secondary difference, the manor is seen by some commentators as a lowland phenomenon in contrast to the grange which was more likely to be established in the hills, so an estate in a river valley with some or much arable land is more likely to be termed a manor, an upland farm with the onus on stock raising is likely to be classed as a grange.

This introduces, moreover, another, more restricted slant to the grange phenomenon, one articulated by Procter (2007, 41) that ‘granges were newly established outlying farming complexes set up by monastic houses outside the traditional manorial system to exploit waste and other lands newly brought into economic use and worked by *conversi* (lay brothers)’. Procter went on to cite Ian Simmons who claimed that granges were ‘often higher and more remote than ordinary settlements of the same period and so maintained a frontier of relatively intensive land use’, though it is evident from his slightly later work which focussed more specifically on moorlands that Simmons was concerning himself primarily with the estates of the Cistercian order (Simmons 2001, 90; 2003). In the context of the Augustinians to which order Llanthony belonged and which Procter was focussing on, the rarity of granges could be attributed to the fact that the order tended not to employ lay brethren and the canons would thus have to maintain the farm themselves (Procter 2007, 41).

David Robinson has discussed Augustinian land holdings in considerable detail, distinguishing between those manors ‘of traditional standing, given in their entirety to the order’ and those which were artificially created units ‘...grouped together under a single title, largely for administrative purposes’. There is then a long and useful dissection of the nature of Augustinian manors. Robinson also noted that granges too were ‘...artificially created units but they were more often ran into consolidated units’ (1980, 309) and cited the *Victoria County History* for Shropshire which claimed that ‘whatever the method of exploitation on the granges may have been, the word grange implies some form of direct demesne cultivation’ (1980, 311). However, distinguishing the Augustinians from the Cistercians who in the earlier period at least relied on lay brethren to run their granges, Robinson suggests that ‘..as a working definition it is reasonable to assume that the labour supply for Augustinian granges, as for those belonging to other communities of regular canons, was provided by toftholding tenants who hired themselves out to the monastery in question’ (1980, 311).

Past studies

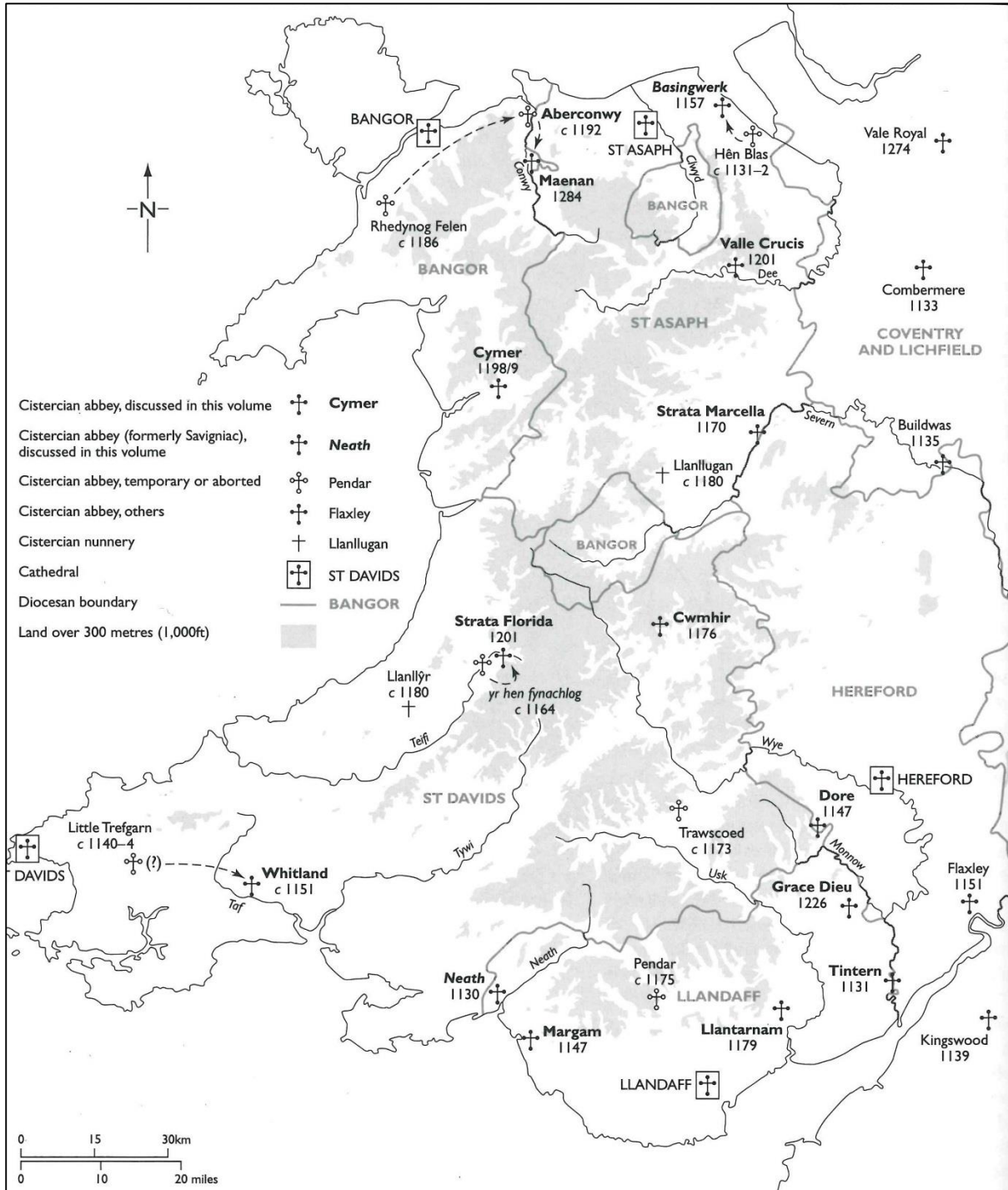
We may differentiate initially between Sources and Past Studies, the former those publications which further the definition and identification of granges in east Wales, the latter which refer to the estates in greater or lesser detail without necessarily generating any useful information on the sites that are specifically of interest within the context of this study. Not, however, that the distinction is necessarily so sharp. Earlier studies may easily generate occasional information which can be used here, whilst those publications referenced here under past studies provide information that needs to be addressed in the sources section that follows.

Monastic landholdings have been considered, directly and indirectly, for at least a couple of centuries, as with W J Rees’ study of Cwmhir Abbey as long ago as 1849. As Stephen Moorhouse pointed out some years ago: ‘the published literature on medieval monasticism and monastic economy is vast’, citing several bibliographical sources as evidence (1989, 29). To interrogate these would almost certainly produce relatively little as a return, but it is worthwhile to focus on a limited number of publications over the last few decades. In recent times it is James Bond’s study of monastic landholdings in their landscape setting that stands out (2004). This is a ground-breaking volume, though organised by theme rather than geography it is not the easiest publication to search out details.

Professor William Rees’ map of *South Wales and the Border in the Fourteenth Century* (1932) marks the first concerted attempt to depict monastic properties across mid and south Wales, though as Rees himself acknowledged some could be shown in only the most generalised way. Half a century later, in 1977, F G Cowley published a version of his 1965 PhD thesis on the monastic orders in south Wales which carried a useful chapter on the monastic economy.

For specific monastic orders, one must start with David Williams’ on-going studies of the Cistercians, singling out his two volume assessment of *The Welsh Cistercians* (1984) and the synthesis of past work that culminated in his much cited *Atlas of Cistercian Lands in Wales* in 1990. The former carries considerable detail about the history and development of the Cistercian estates which provides an

invaluable background to a study of the material remains of estate ownership but does not need to be recycled here. The latter is likely to remain the benchmark publication on the subject for years to come, and Moorhouse (1989, 34) went as far as to say, even before its publication, that ‘...it should provide a model of [monastic estate mapping] to follow elsewhere’. David Williams was fulsome in his thanks to the many historians and geographers who assisted, knowingly or unknowingly, with the *Atlas*, really a multi-authored compilation which he steered through to publication. In this respect it is perhaps rather different from almost all the other sources cited in this study.



Cistercian Abbeys in Wales (after David Robinson 2006)

Other monastic studies, regrettably but quite understandably, carry little in the way of information about the geography of Cistercian estates. A conference at Cardiff in 1998 on ‘Cistercians in Wales and the West’ and subsequently published under the same name in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* in 2005 (Britnell 2005), focussed almost exclusively on the order’s abbeys and nunneries, while David Robinson’s *The Cistercians in Wales. Architecture and Archaeology 1130-1540* (2006) dealt with the estates only summarily, a useful synthesis of past work but without providing any detail that would be helpful to this study.

At the level of the individual monastery, the only research to have been published is on Aberconwy and more recently on Strata Marcella. Graham Thomas’ analysis of the charters of Strata Marcella inevitably led to an examination of the land holdings of the abbey and the production of several maps showing the extent of monastic lands in the Severn Valley, in the vicinity of Bala Lake (the grange of Penllyn, in Merioneth) and the grange of Talerddig (Thomas 1997, Maps I-III). Thomas also referred to a more extensive study of the abbey’s lands which he was engaged on (1997, 112), but as far as can be established this has not yet appeared in print. A further one that seems worth mentioning is the current study at Lampeter of the extensive lands of Strata Florida (see for instance Bezant 2013).

The Augustinians appear to be the only other order for which a detailed assessment of land holdings has been attempted. David Robinson’s doctoral thesis was translated into a two-volume BAR entitled *The Geography of Augustinian Settlement in Medieval England and Wales* in 1980. Its enormous level of detail appears to show that though there were several Augustinian houses along the central Welsh border – Alberbury, Chirbury, Wigmore and Llanthony – the order held relatively little in the way of land in east Wales during the medieval era (1980, 327).

Other monastic orders have been paid less attention. The Benedictine holdings in south Wales, as well as the episcopal estates of St Davids are no more than undefined areas shaded on to William Rees map of fourteenth-century south Wales.

As Stephen Moorhouse perceptively remarked some years ago ‘historians have created the geographical, functional and chronological framework for many estates: it is the task of the landscape historian to cover this documentary skeleton with the flesh of the contemporary landscape’ (1989, 39). It is a challenge which is only occasionally answered, and indeed for some orders, historians haven’t even got as far as Moorhouse thought they had.

The Sources

The late Mick Aston stated that there were three types of information about medieval monastic estates available to us. First was the multitude of names on the map which have some sort of monastic connotation. Then there was the wealth of surviving monastic estate buildings in farms, villages and towns, a category that we should assume to include earthworks. And finally there was the abundance of historical material about the activities of monasteries in the countryside (Aston 1993, 113-4).

Medieval and Tudor source material such as the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas in 1291 and the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* in 1535 have been used in the past in monastic studies though these are more likely to produce place-specific information and details of economic resources than the boundaries which would inform this study. Other key sources as Moorhouse has pointed out (1989, 30) are the charters, which granted property rights, and the cartularies that collected them and other documents together. Gareth Thomas has translated and published the charters for Strata Marcella (1997), the late Derrick Pratt the same for Valle Crucis (2011). Other such as the charters for Brecon Priory were transcribed in their original Latin (Banks 1882; 1883). Time limits have prevented an analysis of the charter evidence. A more comprehensive project than can be attempted here would certainly involve examination of those that survive. The Records of the Court of Augmentations (Lewis and Conway Davies 1954) hold references to monastic lands, but it is reasonable to assume that at least for the Cistercians, the published material has been thoroughly quarried by David Williams.



Distribution of Augustinian Houses (after David Robinson 1980)

Place-names have their part to play. Apart from the term ‘grange’ itself, Williams (1984, 228) focussed on two words, *cwrt* and *mynachty* (or variant forms). He argued that *cwrt* might have a range of meanings, the complex of buildings, to the court-house as a place of judgment, and thirdly, and less convincingly, as the whole landholding. But there is no reason to think that the appearance of *cwrt* was peculiar to ecclesiastical landownership; courts are as likely to have been established by secular authorities in the Middle Ages, and it is their coincidence with known or presumed monastic or ecclesiastical estates that focuses the researcher’s attention on them.

Mynachty and variant forms such as Mynachlog are interesting. *Mynachty* with its general meaning of ‘monk’s house’ appears more clear cut and is readily distinguishable on the map. This has resulted in a reasonable number of such names being recorded, particularly by the Royal Commission in the early decades of the twentieth century, from which they have made their way into both the HER and the NMR. There is not necessarily anything, though, in the way of corroborative evidence to support a monastic equation, and it can be unclear whether a landholding has been defined solely on the basis of a place-name occurrence. Nantymynach in Nantmel, said to be part of Cwmhir’s Golon manor is a case in point. And Mynachlog is affixed to a small, now abandoned farm in the hills above Llangurig and the upper Wye, which but for the name would have attracted no more attention than the many hundreds of similar holdings in the uplands.

Each name, however, needs to be assessed on its individual merits. In Northop (Flints) is the farm known as Mynachlog which has led to suggestions (repeated in the HER) that this was possibly the site of a monastic grange; unverified is the claim that human bones were dug out of the garden of the modern house that now occupies the site. Archdeacon Thomas on the other hand took a different view, suggesting that the place-name related to the portionary nature of the parish as suggested by the *Taxatio* of 1291 (1911, 429). Neither of these suggestions on current evidence would seem to be particularly compelling. Efenechtyd (105957), south-west of Ruthin, presents a similar problem. In its earliest form it can be taken back to 1254, and as the element *mynach* means monk, it is accepted that this should be a monastic site. The place-name specialists (Owen and Morgan 2007, 137) are less specific in distinguishing between a monastery proper and a grange but noted that a vaccary and dairy house were documented in 1545. While all this is satisfactory, it appears that no particular monastic establishment can lay claim to Efenechtyd. Valle Crucis Abbey would be the obvious one, but neither Williams (1990) nor Pratt (2011) will admit ownership, though the latter does cite Samuel Lewis who in his *Topographical Dictionary* in 1833 dismissed it as ‘an appendage or a farm of some religious house of which no particular mention occurs’!

Methodology

As with all methodologies this, for monastic estates, has necessitated a staged approach:

- Collate and upgrade monastic estate boundaries in GIS, almost entirely focussed on Cistercian holdings
- Acquire HER extract for granges, and cross-reference it with NMR data made accessible through END
- Compare defined estates with HER extract for physical remains, isolating where the two coincide to create gazetteer
- Access other sources, mainly printed sources, early maps, aerial photographs to enhance gazetteer, and extend entries to non-Cistercian holdings
- Field visits if appropriate

Estate boundaries

David Williams' *Atlas* (1990) mapped 74 land holdings that he identified as belonging to Welsh Cistercian establishments. Some of these had been transcribed into CPAT's GIS some years ago, at a level of accuracy which appeared commensurate with the small-scale plots that Williams' himself created in his preliminaries study for the *Atlas*. The remaining areas as defined by Williams were scanned and integrated into the GIS table as an element of the current project. The original omission of PRNs for each of these land units was rectified as one of the preliminary tasks of the current project (though they have not been included in this report though they can be interrogated through the HER), and the original CPAT mapping was checked and amended as necessary.

Not all Welsh Cistercian houses held lands in east and north-east Wales. The Cistercian houses that are significant in the context of this study are from north to south, Basingwerk, Valle Crucis, Strata Marcella and Cwmhir, and beyond the borders of east Wales, Aberconwy (Caerns), Cymer (Merioneths), Strata Florida (Cards) and Dore (Herefs). Temporary, transient or poorly understood houses included Coleshill, Cridia, Llanllugan, Llansantffraid and Trawscoed, but generally are of lesser interest here.

Other mapping of the estates such as that by Gareth Thomas of the Strata Marcella holdings (Thomas 1997) and William Rees' for all monastic and episcopal holdings in south Wales (1932) has not been scanned, primarily because it is selective (by monastic house or by geographical region).

Broadening this out, E R Morris attempted a map of monasteries and their lands in Montgomeryshire which looked beyond the Cistercians alone to the houses of other orders (Morris 1982). This is the only study by county that has been encountered, and sadly was not as detailed as it might have been in listing the sources, nor in mapping the estates (see p.10). The late Derrick Pratt (2011) in one of his last publications examined the estates of Valle Crucis, building on but sometimes disagreeing with Williams' judgements.

William Rees also studied the Knights Hospitallers in Wales in some detail (1947), but failed to map out their two main holdings in Montgomeryshire, at Carno and Llanwddyn, preferring to describe them according to the townships in which they lay. Llanwddyn was referred to as a grange, Carno as a manor, but it is not specified whether this was a statement of their respective topographical locations.

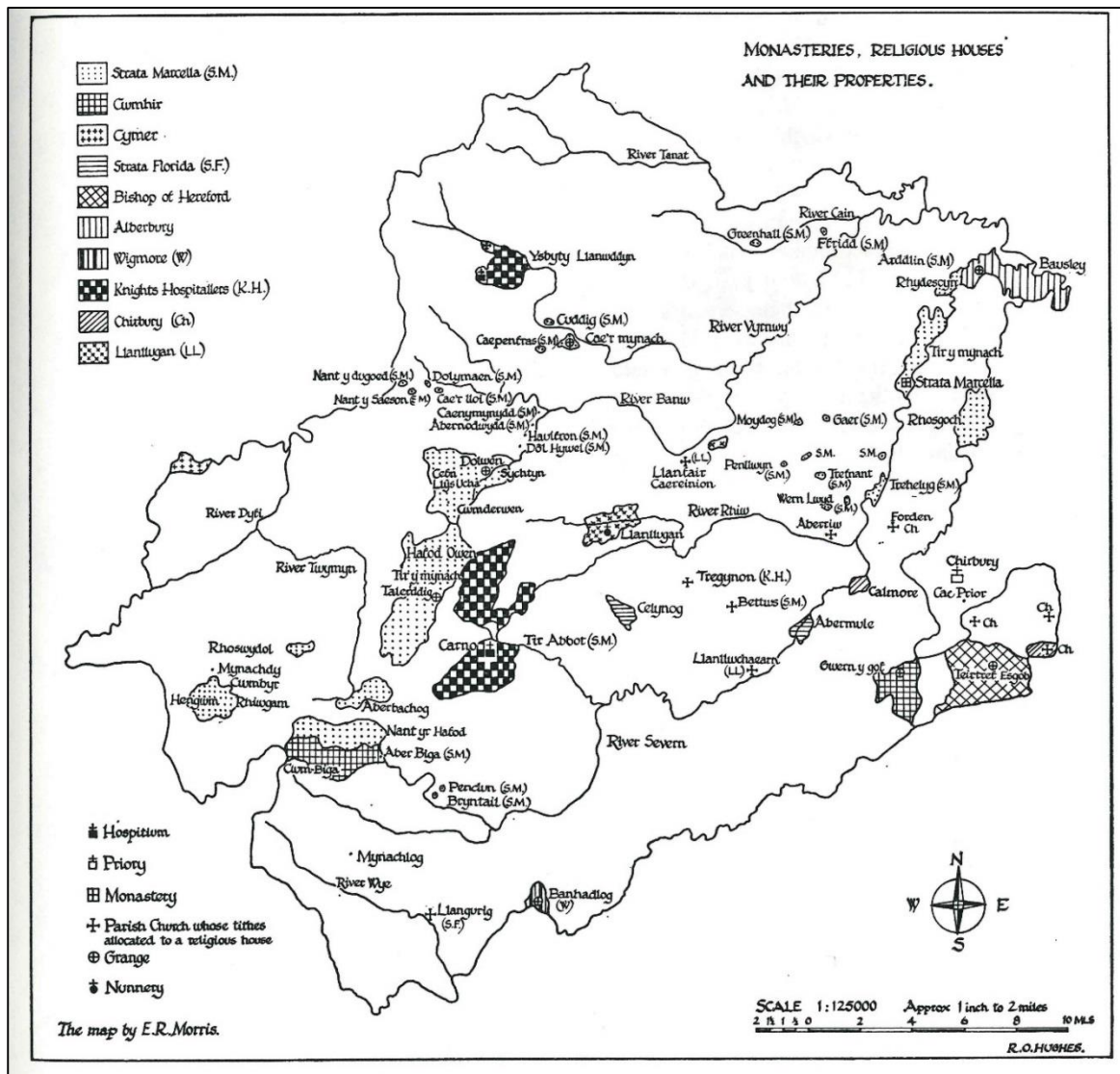
HER

The initial stage in the project involved the interrogation of the HER coupled with a similar search of the NMR. The former threw up 77 records containing the term 'grange' as a type, and 83 where the term had been incorporated in the site name. The word was also isolated in the descriptive field within the records, leading to a total of 199 instances which for easy reference were grouped together into a GIS dataset by the Trust's HER officer, whose assistance is gratefully acknowledged here. It was not feasible to follow a precisely similar approach for the NMR's data in Coflein, the search instead being restricted to site type. Using this method only five records were identified for east and north-east Wales. END was also accessed and provided some information, but the NMR paper files in Aberystwyth were not examined.

Generally these records were not distinguished by monastic Order and provided a truly heterogeneous set of data entries, some considerably more useful than others. For instance of three 'buried features' designated by form incorporated a cave and two Roman roads where 'grange' was incorporated in the name. There were 59 entries where the record relied on a documentary reference and 23 where it was place-name. The 27 entries involving earthworks were potentially more promising. The numbers included 5 scheduled ancient monuments and 18 listed buildings.

Accessing sources

We have already drawn attention to Stephen Moorhouse’s comment on monastic sources above. A literature search has been undertaken for additional detail but it has concentrated on reasonably accessible and almost entirely secondary sources and has not involved primary material. Undoubtedly there are sources that have not been consulted which probably would yield the odd piece of information, but what has become evident is how little has been written on what might be termed the geography of granges. Put bluntly it is not a topic that has much attracted the interest of historians, and the careful and detailed study of grange boundaries and the areas that these enclosed is again something that is only rarely encountered. Graham Thomas’s publication of the Strata Marcella charters (1997, 112) alludes to a ‘more extensive study of the lands of the abbey’ and holds out hope for some progress for its estates in mid Wales, but the research has yet to appear in print.



Properties of religious houses in Montgomeryshire (after E R Morris)

The examination of maps and aerial photographs has been led primarily by the nature of references in the HER, with specific sites being examined but no general interrogation of such sources in anticipation of the discovery of new sites.

Field visits

Field visits have been limited to a few specific sites where it was felt that ground examination might throw new light on the remains. Thus the field visit to Old Mills Moat near Criggion in the shadow of the Breidden was determined by the fact that there was no record of it being visited by CPAT since 1978. Similarly a visit to the court site at Halton near Chirk provided useful information on the setting of a likely grange centre, even though virtually nothing now remains. Several grange boundaries have also been examined, particularly where there was some apparent confusion in the existing records.

Speculative fieldwork, however, has been eschewed, at least at this stage of the work. A name given to a grange or manor in the medieval era is no guarantee that a modern farm with a similar or derived form of the name occupies the same spot as its putative medieval predecessor. It is no coincidence that the best surviving grange remains in east Wales do not have working farms planted on top of or very close to them – Mynachdy, Llanwddyn, Carno, Old Mills – and that conversely where farms appear to succeed their medieval predecessors – Gwernygo, Carnaf – little has come to light despite the efforts of both antiquaries and more recent scholars. This is not to argue that field research around a modern farm would be valueless, rather that it would necessitate the integration of a suite of techniques – early mapping, aerial photographs, LiDAR in advance of any field visits – and would require the surrounding environs to be examined, not just the farm centre itself. Such an approach would be resource-intensive, and not something that could be undertaken on an extensive scale for a sizeable number of potential sites.

Mapping the grange

It is not without significance that in 1989 Stephen Moorhouse could write that ‘few attempts have been made to plot out the boundaries of medieval landed property, whether lay or monastic’, and then went on to laud David Williams’ forthcoming *Atlas of Cistercian Lands in Wales* which ‘... should provide a model of this approach [the plotting of monastic property boundaries] to follow elsewhere’ (1989, 34). As Moorhouse pointed out the most common method of representing the extent of an estate at the time that he writing ‘was to show each holding with a dot’ (1989, 32), but it is questionable whether Williams’ lead has been followed to any degree over the last twenty-five years.

It is inevitable, then, that this study starts with David Williams and specifically his *Atlas of Cistercian Lands in Wales* which appeared in 1990, but amplified and presented in a more geographic fashion research which had been going on for many years and had already appeared in *The Welsh Cistercians* (Williams 1984). The introductory essay, despite an enthusiastic endorsement from the late H. C. Darby, is less geographical and more economic and political in its tone as well as initially taking an international view of Cistercian practices. It is, instead, the mapped Cistercian lands (henceforward termed land units) together with their components that are important to us here. Williams was, however, not the first to map these holdings. William Rees’ compilation map of South Wales and its borderlands which must have seen a considerable amount of preparatory work before its publication in 1932 displays church lands, both monastic and ecclesiastical (in the sense of bishops’ holdings). But Rees was at pains to point out that ‘... only occasionally are we able to obtain a record of the detailed boundaries of the church lands. The blue patches [on the map] therefore, unless contained within specific boundaries are to be regarded only as an index to possession’ (Rees 1933, 17). Then, too, there was the work of the Aberystwyth geographer, E. G. Bowen who attempted a broad depiction of the landholdings of Strata Florida, an illustrative but probably imprecise depiction (Bowen 1950).

It is also evident that in their details the maps of David Williams and William Rees do not coincide, and that the former did not copy the latter. Indeed, there is no indication in Williams’ bibliography that he used or was aware of the 1932 publication.

Williams himself was candid in admitting that 'the exact extent of Cistercian lands in Wales will, however, probably never be fully known' and that those that he had delineated almost certainly represented an underestimate (1990, 21). By way of example he recorded that Strata Florida Abbey had lesser lands in Breconshire than the two landholdings of Aberdihonw and Cae'r Mynach, but that these could not now be identified. More seriously, geographical precision we have to assume remains impossible for many holdings. Commentators have emphasised that river, streams and perhaps other linear features will frequently have defined grange boundaries, but unless there is a specific reference in a medieval charter, this recreation of a grange landholding becomes an intuitive exercise which is rarely commented upon. Unfortunately, determining what degree of precision was possible in mapping the boundaries of any particular land unit is not feasible from the data provided by Williams. It was after all derived from the work of earlier scholars and not just his own research (1984, 218). Bezant has questioned some of Williams' conclusions regarding the Strata Florida estate (2013, 81), and it may be suspected that other land holdings in the *Atlas* are not as reliable as one might initially assume.

By way of a general example we can examine the Strata Marcella's land holding around Talerddig in western Montgomeryshire which included *Hauot Oweyn* (Hafod Owain). It has been mapped by both Williams (1990, 95) and by Gareth Thomas (1997, map III). The former links this land unit into that around Dolwen, the latter keeps the two as discrete entities. This apart the outlines are broadly comparable, i.e. on small-scale maps they can be recognised as representing the same land holding, but the details of the outlines are different. Williams does not provide any written details to authenticate his outline; Thomas transcribes the charter in its Latin original and offers an English translation (1997, 153-5), as well as a topographical interpretation of the charter boundaries (1997, 114). Whether this means that Thomas is more accurate than Williams is a moot point, because pinpointing charter bounds remains a subjective task. But of more concern, of course, for this study is whether our perception of the grange centre or indeed its infrastructure such as any physical manifestation of its boundaries is affected by selecting one outline over another.

There is at large some scepticism about the potentially broad-brush approach that Williams adopted in defining the land units of the medieval Cistercians. This will probably never be entirely dispelled but it is worth remarking on a couple of the guides that Williams has used which may not be immediately obvious, namely the tithe-free character of some Cistercian lands which could have survived through to the 19th century and described by him in some detail in *The Welsh Cistercians* (1984, 240) and the extra-parochial nature of other land units, again a feature that could assist in defining monastic holdings (Williams 1990, 21).

Williams pointed out following suggestions from T. Jones Pierce in 1950 that at least at Strata Florida with its vast holdings, the monastery simply took over existing communities and their lands subsuming a 'semi-manorial Celtic pattern with attendant dues and customs' (Williams 1990, 23). There is no reason to think that Strata Florida would have been unique in this respect and other granges may have integrated pre-existing structures'.

The uncertainties that inevitably arise in mapping estates are highlighted by a comparison of Graham Thomas' location maps with those of David Williams. Both use the same source material, we must assume, but the results appear rather different, and to a large degree the outlines of the various holdings on a map base speak for themselves.

Looking beyond the Cistercians, establishing the size of a landholding is extremely difficult unless there is detailed charter evidence, regardless of the monastic order. Robinson (1980, 313) cited precisely the same problem for Augustinian manors, 'since there are no details available on the acreage of the manors themselves'. GAT (2001, para 2) are fortunate in their belief that 'the boundaries of lands formerly in monastic ownership were often described in contemporary land grants, and can still be recognised today'. For east Wales, this does not appear to be the case, other than in exceptional circumstances.

Grange numbers

For the Cistercian order, some figures do appear to be available. At the end of the 13th century, Strata Florida was considered to have twenty-three granges, Whitland seventeen (Cowley 1977, 78), figures that were based on the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas in 1291. Comparable figures for Cwmhir and the more northern Welsh monasteries were not computed. The *Taxatio* too illustrates the difference between the south Walian monasteries and their mid-Wales counterparts. Margam at the time had 5200 sheep, Neath nearly 4900 and Tintern over 3200. In comparison, Cwmhir had 300 (Cowley 1977, 88).

Going beyond this, it is not possible to estimate the number of granges that formerly existed. Williams and others warn that granges might be amalgamated or become fragmented, granges could lie within larger granges (though without specific contextual information it is not possible to determine whether a grange centre is being referred to), while the potential difficulties in differentiating between granges and manors has already been alluded to. At this stage it is a fruitless exercise.

Features of the Grange

The normal grange was in essence a farm, though a few may have had specialisms in industry, or side lines in fishing and the like. On the face of it the physical remains that have remained to be found are not likely to have been distinctively different from the farming remains of contemporary secular estates and or even of peasant farming. For this reason the approach that GAT adopted in their pilot study of monastic landscapes in 2001, embracing all potentially contemporary features of the landscape within a defined grange area (as well as those from before and after the monastic era) – long huts, field systems, holloways, tracks etc – has been eschewed here, in favour of focussing on those exceptional features which stand out as being specifically monastic in origin.

Such physical elements of a grange fall into relatively few classes or site types.

The grange farm or centre.

These would be expected on most estates, other than perhaps where the land was entirely given over to seasonal grazing. Whether it would be possible in every case to distinguish a monastic farm centre surviving only as earthworks from other farms is a moot point. It might be assumed that there would have been some central farm for a vaccary (as for instance *Trekedewe* on Aberconwy's Hiraethog grange), perhaps too for a *bercaria*, but these are documentary labels for which few attempts have been made to translate them into physical remains visible on the ground. Even in northern England where considerably more research has been undertaken, particularly by Angus Winchester, the vaccary can be elusive on the ground.

David Williams suggested some years ago that 'the grange buildings must have been the agricultural showpieces of their day' (1984, 224). It is a concept that may well have held true for Monknash and Llanfair Cilgoed and other complexes of some sophistication in Glamorgan and Monmouthshire, but is less easy to accept for a remote upland farm in the central mountains of Wales. Similarly dubious is his stated belief that 'the whole complex of buildings generally had a precinct wall..' (*op. cit.*). Elsewhere, in an admission that directly impacts on the current study, he conceded that 'there are [often] but scant relics today of the medieval grange buildings' (1984, 229). His recognition of both grange centres and other landscape elements thus relies heavily on surviving or derived place-names, particularly *cwrt* and *mynach*.

Known grange centres in east Wales, often in lowland positions – Abermule near Newtown, Halton near Chirk, Gwern-y-go, near Kerry – have virtually nothing that survives from the Middle Ages. Indeed, it is the names alone which guide the attribution: with Aberdihonw near Builth Wells for instance, it is no more than an assumption that the medieval grange centre lay where the modern farm is today, but can such an inference be justified? Court Farm at Clyro must now it seems be removed

from the list of survivals: late medieval building survival has been rethought by Richard Suggett and a secular origin is preferred.

Surviving earthworks are limited to a handful of sites: the valley-sited moat at Mynachdy, Llangunllo, the putative moat known as Old Mills Moat, the Hospitallers' site at Llanwddyn. If moats feature quite strongly in this brief list, it is because there is a long tradition of associating them with monastic sites, and Old Mills if it is associated with Alberbury has a good model in the priory itself, for an Elizabethan map shows it to have been moated.

Buildings

Buildings of monastic origin, actual or presumed, are a rarity. Gelli Fawr in Whitford (Flints), belonging to Basingwerk Abbey, has been tagged as a chapel and as such has been integrated in the HER; the listed building report and a late 18th-century drawing suggest that the chapel, whose existence cannot be doubted, was part of a larger building complex. Basingwerk, indeed does seem to be exceptional in the higher status buildings associated with its granges and manors. Resting below Holywell Mountain is Grange Farm where a late medieval open hall survives, a link to what Williams has said was Over or Higher Grange, less than three kilometres from the abbey itself (1990, 38).

Chapels

Churches and chapels are identified occasionally by Williams, as with Hiraethog grange where the occurrence of the name Llanfair-isaf was thought to indicate the possible presence of a chapel (Williams 1990, 37), and there is a fuller list with discussion in his earlier book on *The Welsh Cistercians* (1984, 233-8). It might be the case that a chapel could signal a grange centre, or simply be a remote and isolated place of worship on an estate. The chapel at Gwern-y-go is documented and uncontroversially falls into the former class – unfortunate then that only its door seems to have survived. It is usually assumed that the chapel known as *Capel Madog*, now an earthwork platform beside the road to the Elan Valley reservoirs was part an element of the grange known as Llanmadog which was the main centre of Strata Florida's Cwmdeuddwr grange. Nothing of the rest of the grange has ever been detected, and the underlying premise is perhaps not as secure as it might be. Others such as the 'old' chapel at Alltgybyd (106491) near Llanarmon-yn-Iâl, based on local traditions, have yet to be verified, and the church at Gwenddwr in Breconshire as the chapel for the grange of the same name may, at least in this writer's view, be a convenient but perhaps not necessarily correct association. However, ecclesiastical and religious features have been examined at several points in the past within the Cadw SEP programme, and re-visiting this theme now is not really appropriate.

Mills

Mills feature prominently in Williams' *Atlas* (1990), some extremely convincing as with Aberduhonw below Builth Wells. They are not included here, for 'mills and milling' were the subject of a specific scheduling enhancement project (Hankinson and Silvester 2012).

Urban holdings

Urban properties certainly constituted elements of some lowland manors – Basingwerk held land in Holywell for instance – but are not particularly relevant to the current study. Williams (1984, 220) refers to Valle Crucis holding two urban manors at Wrexham Abbot which had a 'court' and a mill, and Llangollen Abbot with a mill, and a fishery on the Dee.

Boundaries

It would be an exaggeration to imply that dykes in the form of banks and ditches were common components of granges. Nevertheless, substantial boundary earthworks are (or were) a feature of several granges in the region and have also been noted in other parts of Wales, as for instance the Gwys-y-Ychen-Bannog dyke on Strata Florida's uplands (Bezant 2013, 81) and Clawdd Seri on the open hill of Aberconwy's Cwm grange (GAT 2001, section 7.3). In east Wales, to the pair of Abbot's Ditches – one at Celynog where a stretch of bank survives and at Dolwen in Llanerfyl – and the surviving Abbot's Dyke in Talerddig can be added a boundary dyke at Gwern-y-go known only from documents as the

Grange Ditch, but not traced on the ground, and the Dolhelfa boundary, located by the Royal Commission, to the north of Rhayader, now complemented with a further boundary across the next ridge to the north as a result of fieldwork conducted for this project.

Crosses

Crosses were flagged up by Moorhouse (1989, 37) as an aid to defining monastic land boundaries, but few have been recognised in Wales, as a synthesis of an earlier Cadw-funded pan-Wales revealed (Silvester 2013).

Trackways

Trackways do not really feature in Williams' suite of site types, but were discussed by him in his two-volume survey where he emphasised the vital importance of land communication (1984, 230). In the Monk's Trod leading across western Radnorshire from Strata Florida to Cwmhir, we have one of the most studied medieval trackways in Britain (Fleming 2009). Doubts have been expressed, though probably not in print, as to whether it was as 'constructed' as Andrew Fleming believes, but this aside, the study is one of the most detailed and significant pieces of fieldwork on the Welsh monastic landscape for many years, and is perhaps the best recent demonstration of the need for bottom-up as opposed to top-down research.

Williams noted too passing comments on routeways in documentary sources, as with the statement in 1511 about 'the way that led from Llandefalle to Trawscoed', a grange belonging to Dore Abbey, while at Plas Newydd in Llanwnnog was *Wtra Abbot* (the Abbot's lane) on Strata Marcella's Tir Abbot holding was (1984, 231).

It is anticipated that roads and tracks will be the subject of a separate SEP study in a future year, so further consideration will be held over until then.

Sheepcotes

Sheepcotes occur in the records but only occasionally, as with the 'noted sheepcot' of *Llechelwyddan* in Cefnlllys, part of Golon Manor, and the 'great house called the Sheepcote' at Trawscoed in Breconshire that belonged to Dore Abbey. Those that are documented do not appear on the ground, and vice versa, or at least that seems to be the pattern in east Wales. The so-called chapel at Dyrsgol is such a sheepcote, now scheduled. Chris Dyer (1995, 136) has defined sheepcotes as 'late medieval buildings for the shelter of flocks and the storage of fodder, amongst other functions', noting that the term *bercaria* can apply to such structures. In passing Dyer also found that nine out of the ten sites that he had evidence of were located on what he termed 'church manors', though he qualified this by noting that his study area (the Cotswolds of Gloucestershire) had a high proportion of ecclesiastically held lands. GAT (2001, section 5.4) have remarked that 'it would be very useful to be able to distinguish between genuine farmsteads and sheepcotes', but without excavation this can only be achieved intuitively on the basis of length.

Fish weirs

Inevitably there are also some physical remains that do not comfortably fit under any of the headings already given. Such are the fish weirs on the coast near Llandrillo-yn-Rhos, one of which was known as Rhos Fynach.

Conclusions

What emerges from this study is the fundamental difficulty of defining the monastic grange in material terms. The publication of David Williams' *Atlas* in 1990 generated considerable approbation, and we should applaud an outstanding achievement, which as far as can be discovered is generally unparalleled outside Wales. Yet a caveat is necessary here, and it relates not to the near impossibility of satisfactorily

defining the boundaries of many monastic estates in Wales, a problem that Williams himself acknowledged. Rather it is the leaps of faith employed in tying down the material remains of the monastic past. The economic resources as listed by Williams – the grange and other chapels, the mills, the sheepcotes, the medieval roads – are given six-figure national grid references, but what is less clear is that many of these are little more than best fits, as with the Abbot's Ditch near Dolwen in Llanerfyl, its location at very best no more than speculative. Perhaps it should be argued that the Williams' *Atlas* offers a starting point, but no more, for more detailed research and analysis, for more fieldwork, and perhaps for excavation.

The other slightly illusory factor with the *Atlas* is that its country-wide coverage distorts the picture of Cistercian survivals, through the obvious and well-documented richness of the remains in the south-east. Remove the granges of Margam, Neath and Tintern, and the collected survivals across the rest of Wales are indubitably more modest. This is not a criticism to be laid at David Williams' door, simply an observation of the imbalance of what remains.

There has always been an attraction – for the historian and the archaeologist – of linking features in the rural landscape with monks, and plenty of examples have been encountered in the records. Regrettably it can be far from clear whether the original recorder had stumbled upon a long-held local tradition, or had generated the association himself. The Spite Inn at Llanddulas is an example where a name attributed only in the early 19th century has engendered speculation on the site's history and not a few problems which we have been able to put into perspective only through the fortuitous survival of an obscure estate map.

Mynachty (Llangullo) apart, it is curious that the best earthwork survivals in east Wales are non-Cistercian, the Knights Hospitallers' *hospitium* at Llanwddyn and the enclosure at Carno, and the enclosed sheepcotes at Hen Ddinbych, which are presumably episcopal. There is no evident reason for this, presumably just a quirk of indiscriminate survival, but both have been known since the 19th century and it seems highly improbable that anything comparable will turn up in the future.

We can end with one of Glyn Coppack's comments, that in 'many parts of the country the development of granges had a dramatic effect on the medieval landscape, much of which still survives in spite of modern farming methods and four-and-a-half centuries of dispersal (1990, 128). It is a comment which does not ring particularly true for east and north-east Wales.

Gazetteer

This is not an exhaustive list of landholdings of the Cistercians nor of any other order. Some lands as defined by Williams and others may never been granges or perhaps were simply discrete tracts of land that formed elements of larger granges that went under other names. Thus, for example, *Nantyr* on the eastern side of the Berwyns is mentioned by Pratt (2011, 36) in the context of ‘barren mountain land’ and had various farmholdings relating to it in post-medieval times, yet there is no evidence of a grange *per se* and David Williams was silent on the area. Different is Glynfechan which seems on the basis of post-Dissolution records to have consisted of arable lands scattered across the common field around the village of Glynceiriog (Denbs). Pratt does not name this as a grange, but confusingly this status has to be inferred from the map that he produced which shows two granges by the village (2011, 24; fig 1). It is presumably the latter that has led to the term ‘grange’ being used in the HER entry.

Cistercian Granges

Abbey Grange, Pool Quay (Montgomeryshire) Strata Marcella PRN 132039

This was the home estate for Strata Marcella and included the abbey itself.

Williams 1990, 59

Aberdihonw Grange (Breconshire) Strata Florida 6993, 35777

Aberdihonw lay beside the Wye, granted to Strata Florida in 1202. Williams picks out the watermill with its leat still traceable. In 1532 the ‘place of winnowing’ was remarked on, as was the grange wood (perhaps at SO 057 508 as Williams equates it with Great Wood, 500m to the west of the farm).

Aberdihonw is a modern farm on the west bank of the Wye, a short distance below Builth Wells. Nothing within or adjacent to the farm complex can be taken as evidence of a grange centre; any link is speculative, albeit an attractive one. The mill on the opposite side of the road from the farm of Aberdihonw—referred to as Melin Aberdihonw in records from 1619 – is probably likely to be on the site of its medieval predecessor and is fed by a well-defined leat (for which see the 1st edition of the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map of 1889).

HER; Rees 1932; Williams 1984, 222; Williams 1990, 58

Aber-miwl (Abermule) Grange (Montgomeryshire) Strata Florida 7737

A lowland grange on the bank of the Severn between Welshpool and Newtown. A farm – The Court (SO 158 944) – supposedly represents the grange centre, and was presumably the site of the ‘great barn’ that burnt down in 1263. Nothing of a likely medieval origin has been reported in the vicinity of The Court. Williams shows the landholding running for a distance of around 5km along the river valley with The Court close to the centre: the basis for this definition is not given.

Rees 1932; Williams 1984, 222; Williams 1990, 57

Acton Grange, Wrexham (Denbighshire) Valle Crucis 120657

The site of a grange belonging to Valle Crucis, Acton’s exact location and extent are not known, though Williams gave the NGR as SJ 337 535, citing a ‘grange’ a little further to the north near Plas Acton. Pratt drew attention to Acton Grange, a house of undoubtedly later date that stood next to Acton Hall and by extension Acton Park), and felt this could be a pointer. He thought too that the

grange was probably coterminous with Acton Fechan also known as Acton Parva, and today as Little Aston. Today most of this area is lost beneath suburban Wrexham.

Pratt 2011, 18; Williams 1990, 65

Bacton (Denbighshire) Valle Crucis 35784

The Valle Crucis grange above Llangollen was termed Bacton by Williams in 1984, based on the earlier name of *Baketon* (SJ 217411), and this has been linked to the area around several farms termed ‘Bach’ to the west of Llangollen. In the *Atlas* the estate is termed Tirabad incorporating the townships of Bach and Pengwern, whilst acknowledging that the bounds were uncertain, while he also pointed out that *Tir Abbot* appears to have been part of the later Pengwern Hall estate, and he postulated another grange there (*q.v.*). It would thus appear that Williams may have been using the term ‘grange’ in its sense of a farm centre, but not inconceivable that he considered that there were several granges as tracts of land within a larger cohesive holding on the southern side of the Dee.

Pratt 2011, 20; Williams 1984, 220; Williams 1990, 65

Banhadlan (Denbighshire) Valle Crucis 35791

Banhadlan is thought by Williams to equate with the *Bodhang* grange recorded in the *Taxatio* of 1291 and centred by him at SJ 181567, in Iâl. Pratt was more cautious, pointing out that the place-name also appeared further south around Llansilin and Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant, an area which would still have fallen within the ambit of Valle Crucis. The documentary evidence apart there is nothing here, as yet, that points to a monastic establishment.

Pratt 2011, 20; Williams 1984, 220; Williams 1990, 65

Baggechurch (Beggeseburch) Grange, Bagillt (Flintshire) Basingwerk 100126

Known from documentary sources only, this grange of Basingwerk Abbey is thought to have lain in what was Bagillt Fawr township.

HER; Williams 1990, 38

Blaen Carno and Llysyn (Montgomeryshire) Strata Marcella 17932; 132019

Williams only names these two places or areas – at SN 944 941 and c.SH 956 974 respectively – as parts of a specific land holding but provides no further detail. They appear to be recognised as part of the large manor of Tirymynach in Talerddig, but there is no guidance as to whether they were considered granges in their own right, but the area as defined by Williams is a small one, seemingly less than 20 hectares.

In one of the rare ‘grange’ entries in the NMR (Coflein), as a result of an upland study, Trysor in 2006 noted that ‘Blaen Carno has been identified by David Williams and his map seems to coincide with the farm known as Blaen Cerniog (SN 944 942). During rapid field survey, no evidence of the grange was seen’.

Coflein; Williams 1990, 60

Buddugre'r Abad Township, aka Bodigre'r Abbot (Denbighshire) Valle Crucis 120660

Williams refers to the Cistercian ownership of this township in Llandegla without citing it as a grange. Instead there is a court – *Cwrt'r Abad* at SJ 192 518 – with a water mill and lands that included a Cefn Du (SJ 191 510) which he thought might be a remnant of the abbey's 'great pasture in Yale'. He also noted that John Leland in the late 1530s described a Cefn Du, half way between Valle Crucis and Ruthin as 'the bakke of the Blake Hille, where now shepherds kepe shepe'.

Pratt commented on the fact that though the name appears in various forms up to and including the 16th century (*Bothegrey*, c.1544), it does not appear to have survived to the time of Ordnance Survey mapping in the 19th century. He placed it at the head of the Vale of Bryneglwys around the modern crossroads of the A542 and the A5104, and concurred with Williams in placing *Cwrt'r Abad* at the farm known as Court and associating *Kevynduy* with the Cefn-du of early Ordnance Survey maps. He speculated too that Valle Crucis' 'great meadow' might be found along the Alyn where there are smallholdings called Ddol-ddu and Marshes (SJ 193 510).

Court lies on level ground beside the fledgling River Alyn. The remnants of medieval open field strips cover the slope on the other side of the river, but nothing of known significance as been identified at Court.

Pratt 2011, 21; Williams 1984, 220; Williams 1990, 65

Cae'r Mynach, Maesmynis (Breconshire) Strata Florida 132006

Williams placed this in the hills to the west of the River Wye (SN 984 071) and thought that it might have been a landholding used for summer pasturing of stock from the grange at Aberdihonw.

Williams 1990, 58

Calcot (Flintshire) Basingwerk 132028

In Holywell parish, Williams had little to say about this estate in the *Atlas*. Whether then it constitutes a grange, or a manor, or simply a detached block of land owned and perhaps farmed from the abbey is unclear.

Williams 1990, 38

Capelau, Cerrigydrudion (Denbighshire) ?Aberconwy 100689

The suggestive name of this farm site has sometimes been taken to indicate a grange or at least a chapel associated with a grange, which in this location would almost certainly have belonged to Aberconwy. Thus Archdeacon Thomas mentioned it in his *History of the Diocese of St Asaph* (1911) and this was picked up by the Royal Commission in their *Inventory* of the county in 1914. But it goes unmentioned by Williams, and Hays dismissed it, pointing out that it lay a mile and a half beyond the boundary of Hiraethog grange. This is not to say that there wasn't a chapel here, and with Moel Eglwys towering over it there could have been a monastic property here.

Hays 1963, 15

Carnaf Grange Radnorshire Cwm-hir 437; 17959

A lowland grange close to the River Wye that specialised in wheat. Williams thought that the grange centre was either at *Tiryrynach* (SO 225 434) or at SO 231 450, but also remarked that Court Farm (at SO 213 433) had been suggested by another commentator. His definition of the landholding in 1990

centred on the farm of Tirymynach where a well by the farm is known, perhaps through a local tradition, as the Monk's Well.

Just over one kilometre to the west is Clyro Court Farm, and for the Royal Commission in 1913 'there can be no doubt that the Court Farm occupies the position of the monastic grange'. For decades this view held and Cadw in listing it stated that 'the barn range, north of the court is believed to be a surviving portion of a medieval monastic grange, formerly belonging to Cwmhir. The surviving range is thought to date from the 15th century or early 16th century', and on the basis of this attribution has been classified as Grade II*. However, in 2003 Richard Suggett of RCAHMW revised his previous interpretation of the site and he now suggests that this is not a monastic grange in origin but the 'court' associated with the Vaughan family of Clyro.

Current thinking therefore favours Tirymynach as the centre for Carnaf grange or manor, but physical remains, other than a well of dubious nomenclature, are elusive.

Coflein; RCAHMW 1913, 35, Rees 1932, Robinson 2006, 230; Williams 1990, 28, 41

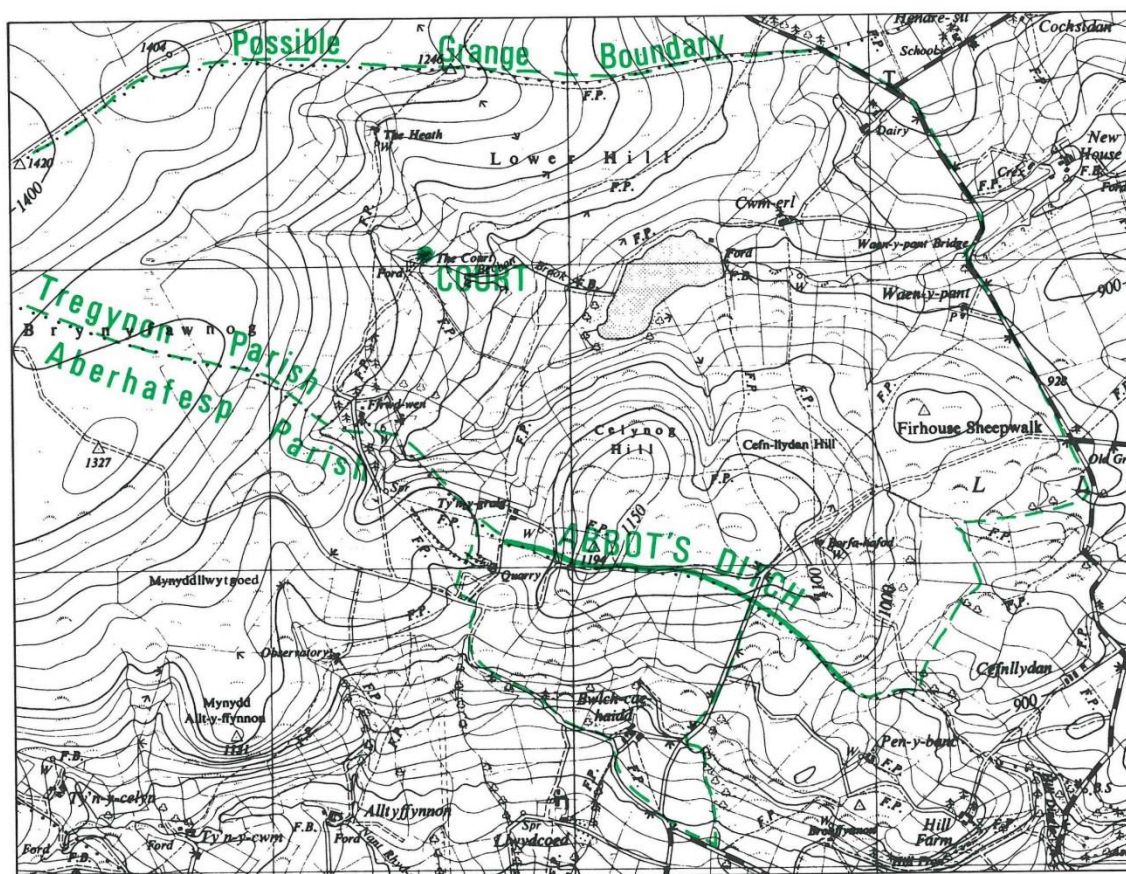
Celynog Grange, Tregynon (Montgomeryshire) Strata Florida 766; 35775; 35776

Williams recognised that a court occurred at SO 158 944 and this might be equated with *yr hen Gelynog* which appears to be a documentary reference. The lands of the grange were partly bounded by the Abbot's Ditch.

Following an article published in *Montgomeryshire Collections* in 1876, the Royal Commission in 1911 in a detailed exposition in the *Montgomeryshire Inventory* cited a lease of AD 1638 which stated that the grange and frith of Celynog was said to be 'meered and surrounded with a two-faced ditch called the Abbot's Ditch', the course of which was shown on an estate map of 1770 belonging to the Gregynog Estate, delimiting the area described on the Ordnance Survey map as Celynog Hill. The full description in the indenture of 1638 (as given in 1876) states that 'all that parcell of waste land which now lyeth unenclosed, commonly called or knowne by the names or names of Bulke y Kay haydd and yr hên Gelynog, being part and parcel of the Grange and frythe of Gelynog, and which is meered and surrounded with a two-faced ditch called the Abbot's Ditch from the rest of the common there... and being in the parish of Tregynon...'

The Royal Commission reported that the ditch could clearly be seen at SO 0508 9706) and could be traced sporadically around the hill and was plain at a point where two paths converged on Cefn-llyden Hill at SO 0579 9750. It consisted of a bank and ditch with the latter always outside the bank, and stressed its origin of a boundary feature though at that time they speculated it might be a lot earlier than the monastic grange.

The Ordnance Survey using RAF vertical photography from 1947 suggested in 1972 that some lengths of the Abbots Ditch were visible around Celynog Hill. However, their field investigator in the same year was unable to distinguish its course from modern drainage ditches and could find no internal banks that appeared authentic. This was probably a boundary dyke delimiting Celynog Hill and said to surround a monastic grange, comprising a double bank with a medial ditch.



44a Map: Celynog Grange, Powys. (Based upon the Enclosure Award Schedule for the parishes of Tregynon and Aberhafesp (1815): NLW, MCC1, 18.)

Celynog Grange (after David Williams 1990)

Nearby is the Borfa Hafod ditch (4746), first recorded in 1978, as a short stretch of ditch 2m wide and 0.5m deep. Its proximity to the boundary known as the Abbot's Ditch (PRN 766) led to the suggestion of an association. A further visit in 1987 noted that it was perhaps possible to make out the double bank of the Abbot's Ditch, passing through the east flank of a small copse of fir trees.

In an attempt to clarify conflicting records, a field visit to the grange boundary was undertaken in March 2015. Details are to be found in the Annex to this report.

CPAT 2015; Morris 1876; OS Card SO 09 NE 2; RCHMW 1911, 175; Williams 1990, 24, 57

Cowny, Llangadfan (Montgomeryshire) Llanllugan 132040

Williams noted that there were eight holdings on this estate which were later leased to secular tenant. He speculated too that references to a grange centre or court at *Caldemoor*, had been incorrectly sited by the River Severn and instead could refer to Court Cowny near the River Vyrnwy. Whether this inference is correct cannot be determined, and it is not assisted by the fact that Williams gives no grid reference for Court Cowny which it has not been possible to trace on larger scale Ordnance Survey maps.

Williams 1990, 45

Creigiog Grange (Denbighshire) Valle Crucis 35792

Creigiog grange lay in Llanarmon-yn-Iâl, and featured in the foundation charter of the abbey in c.1199. Williams drew attention to the presence of a farm called Creigiog Uchaf (at SJ 193553) whilst admitting that it was not possible to define the exact extent of the property.

The boundary of this grange was the subject of a dispute with the secular lord of the neighbouring Allt-y-gymbyd landholding in the mid-thirteenth century (in 1247), but it is not known whether this boundary took a form which might be physically detectable today. The late Derrick Pratt noted that in 1596 its bounds had been 'meered' which might be taken to mean that they had been defined, but that the landmarks and place-names have been lost. His source citation DD/WY/5404 P.2 in the Denbighshire Record Office has not been examined, but it is assumed that had there been any boundary indicators he would have referred to them in his published text.

Of Creigiog Uchaf, little can be said. The farmhouse is listed and has been attributed a late 16th- or early 17th-century date, though a local tradition claims a construction date of 1516. Nothing of identifiable monastic origin has been noted here.

A field visit in March 2015 was fruitless.

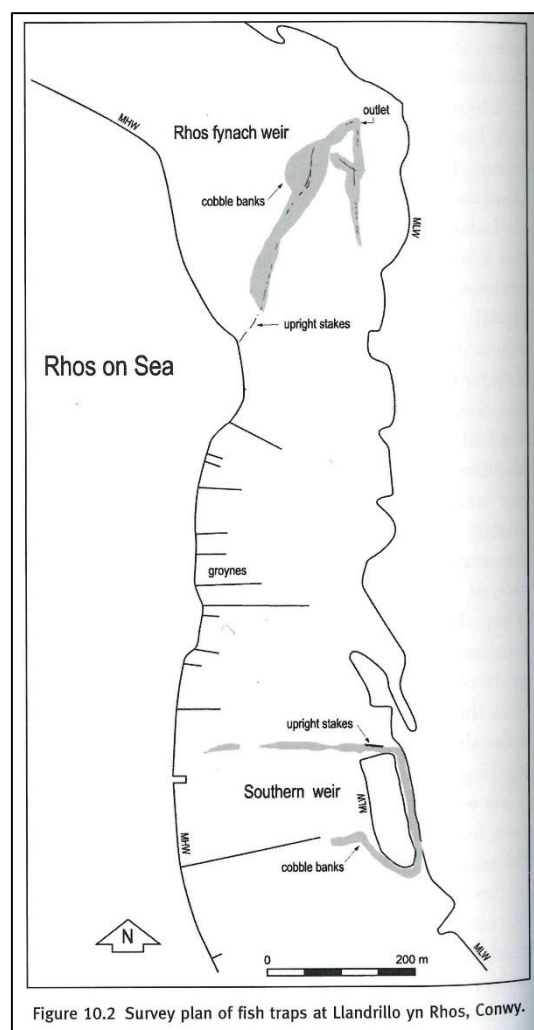
Cadw listing; CPAT 2015; Pratt 2011, 33; Williams 1984, 217; Williams 1990, 65

Creuddyn Grange, Llanrhos (Denbighshire) Aberconwy 34278; 100501

This grange lies outside CPAT's region; though formerly in historic Denbighshire, it is now in western Conwy which is within GAT's sphere of responsibility. Notwithstanding this circumstance, Williams has associated the fishing weir at Rhos-on-Sea with the grange, although they are not connected spatially. Here, *en passant*, we might note the differing depictions of the extent of the grange at Llanrhos by Hays in 1963 and Williams in 1990.

Rhos-on-Sea fish weirs. These have been described in print by Rick Turner, following grey literature reports by Flook and Jones.

The more northerly of the two (100501; SH 8445 8100) is known as Rhos Fynach weir. A bank of compacted cobbles runs out from the shore for 425m, with a shorter arm on the seaward side and a cross-piece to close off a pool at the apex almost entirely. Posts were set into the bank, some still surviving, and excavation revealed wattling, radiocarbon dating indicating a post-medieval phase. However, Rhos Fynach is mentioned in a charter of 1230 which identifies the fisheries amongst the appurtenances subsequently transferred to Aberconwy Abbey. Post-dissolution references indicate that it reverted to the Crown and Pennant mentioned the weir at the end of the 18th century. The association of the physical remains and the monastic name is assumed to be a safe one.



Rhos-on-Sea fish traps (after Rick Turner 2002)

The more southerly weir (34278; SH 8450 8030) is also of cobbles with timber posts, one arm running out from dry land for 260m to low water mark, then running 170m parallel to the shore, before turning back towards the shore. Within these banks a large pool of water could form. No dating evidence nor a specific name have been identified for this weir.

Flook 1995; Hays 1963, plate between pp18 and 19; Jones 1997; Turner 2002, 96-7; Williams 1990, 93

Cwmbuga Grange (Montgomeryshire) Cwm-hir 17952

Cwmbuga grange was defined by Rees as a single holding lying between the Afon Biga on the south and the Afon Llwyd on the north, and running up to the Pumlumon range watershed which is now the county boundary. The grange centre was according to Rees the present farm of Cwmbuga. There is though a complication for Rees labelled the more northerly part of this land as a holding of Strata Marcella, with only the southern part belonging to Cwmhir.

This coincides but not closely with Williams' representation which shows two contiguous holdings, with the Strata Marcella holding defined as Dol-gwyddol, part of the Tirymynach manor that was centred at Talerddig.

Cwmbuga for Williams was a landholding primarily comprising sheepwalks and summer pastures. As far as can be established nothing that can be attributed to the monastic era has been identified here.

Rees 1932, Williams 1990, 40, 60

Cwmbugail, Beguildy (Radnorshire) Cwm-hir 132007

This was ascribed to the Cistercians by William Rees but Williams was doubtful about its authenticity.

Rees 1932; Williams 1990, 40

Cwmteuddwr Grange (Radnorshire) Strata Florida 1644, 3739, 12634, 35773, 53088

Leland noted that it 'be mountainous ground, belonging to Strata Florida'. Rees claimed two separate holdings based on Abermethan and Nannerth, while Williams defined the whole of the commote, west of the Wye as monastic land, but perhaps also showed common ground with Rees (no pun intended), by stating this was a large area of common pasture with isolated holdings (Williams 1990, 57).

We can pass over the fact that there has been considerable discussion of the survival of the pre-Conquest pattern of customs and administration of these uplands which were inherited by the Cistercians, whilst noting that Williams was also keen to stress that 'much use was made of natural boundaries to delimit [this and other properties]'

Williams identified the grange centre as Llanmadog (c. SN 939 656), with a subsidiary centre at Nannerth (c. SN 947 716). The chapel, known as *Capel Madog* reputedly stood on the bank of the Elan opposite the modern Elan Valley Hotel where the field name is *Llwyn-y-capel* (SN 939 658). *Coed-y-mynach* is the name of both a farm and an expanse of woodland lower down the Elan on the northern slopes of the valley.

All commentators seem happy with the location of the chapel site. A visit by CPAT in 2002 found very little trace of the chapel remains, though there is an amorphous and slightly levelled platform aligned east/west which might have been the site of a building. The overall dimensions of the platform are approximately 9m by 4m, and there is good evidence of a surrounding enclosure, which survives as a 38m long scarp on the south-east and a 42m long bank/scarp on the south-west sides of the platform; it was probably square in shape, but its north side has been truncated by the railway. The site is situated on a small knoll on the valley floor, with good views of the valley in all directions. LiDAR appears to confirm the presence of the enclosure.

It might be assumed that the grange centre was adjacent, and if this is correct it seems likely to have disappeared beneath the hotel. Whether there were other, perhaps subsidiary, centres in the hills on the west side of the Wye has yet to be determined.

Nannerth consists of a group of farms on the south-facing slopes of the Wye Valley, where the river meanders on its journey above Rhayader. It is a fine spot, but nothing of the monastic era has yet been adduced as evidence to support this as a grange centre. Richard Suggett who has written at length on Nannerth-ganol, tree-ring dated to the post-Dissolution 1550s acknowledges the grange context of Nannerth but makes no reference to any monastic survivals or indeed to a grange centre here.

That cultivation ridges on Llanwrthwl Common could be 'medieval land-taking associated with monastic agriculture undertaken from the Grange of Cwm Deuddwr' as suggested by the Royal Commission should be treated with extreme caution. This is less because it falls outside the grange boundary as defined by Williams, for he has acknowledged the difficulties in accurately plotting ill-defined medieval bounds, more because of the equally difficult task of distinguishing medieval from later agricultural activity in the uplands, let alone differentiating the monastic from the secular.

Coflein; HER; Rees 1932; RCAHMW 1997, 249; Suggett 2005, 183; Williams 1984, 222; Williams 1990, 57

Cyfeiliog grange, Llanwrin (Montgomeryshire) Cymer

A group of properties spanning the border between Montgomeryshire and Merionethshire, these if correct, constitute Cymer Abbey's only holding in modern Powys. The integrity of this is not completely clear from documentary sources and according to Williams is down to a reading of a 1292 subsidy role which could refer to a 'grange of Cyfeiliog'. According to Williams, Colin Gresham had doubts about it, but a careful reading of Gresham's cited article suggests that he had no doubts that Esgairneiriau, one of the four properties mentioned by Williams (at SH 786 096), was part of the land given to the abbey by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, and is thus just within Montgomeryshire.

Gresham 1986, 288, 293-4; Williams 1990, 42

Cyffin, Llangadfan (Montgomeryshire) Strata Marcella 132041

There is a tradition of a monastic cell at Cyffin (SJ 038 141 or SJ 039 133) and Williams links this to Cuddig (SJ 018 162) and a *Coed-llyn* whose location is now lost. On the basis of this tradition, Cyffin might be a grange centre but the evidence is hardly compelling.

Williams 1984, 220; Williams 1990, 60

Dol-gwyddol, Trefeglwys (Montgomeryshire) Strata Marcella 132027

Williams describes this holding as being over 2000 acres in extent, and names five farms or elements, four of which can be identified today, but provides not further detail. They are recognised as part of the large manor of Tirymynach, Talerddig, but there is no guidance as to whether this was a grange.

Williams 1990, 60

Dolhelfa Grange (Radnorshire) Cwm-hir 17950

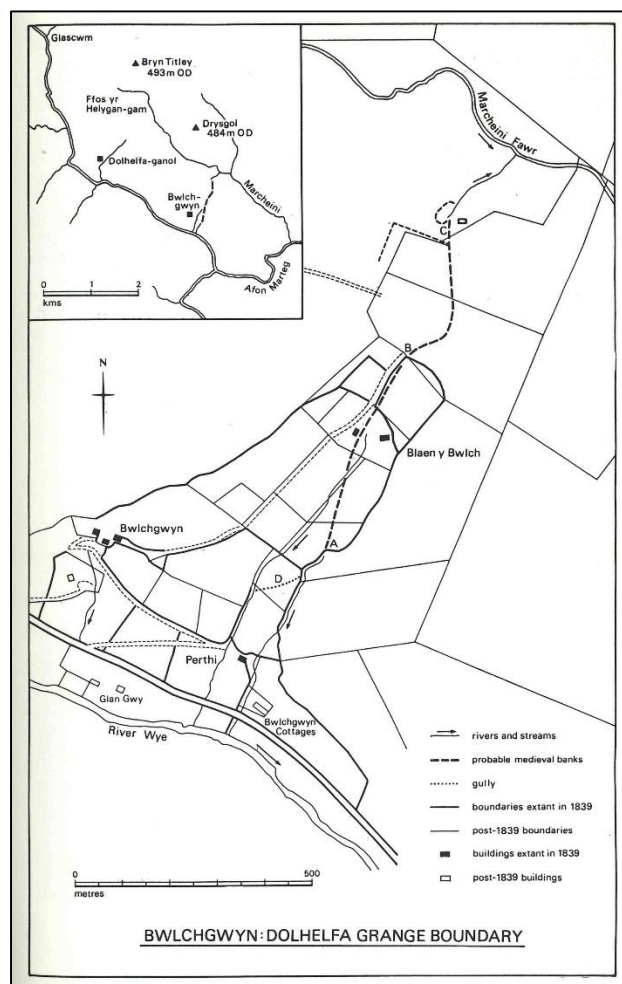
Dolhelfa grange was land given to Cwmhir Abbey by Roger Mortimer in 1200 AD. Williams claims that a barn at SN 927 738 within the farm complex of *Dol-helfa-ganol* is the oldest feature, but it is not clear whether this remark has any wider significance.

A boundary to the grange was mooted by the Royal Commission in 1993 and was published in full in the county *Transactions* to which reference should be made. In summary it was described as a low earthen bank with an accompanying ditch, though in open moorland the former is up to 2m high and the ditch on the east side of the bank is substantial.

In 2002, the earthwork was visited during the Cadw-funded short dykes project and this resulted in the following description. 'The earthwork commences at its N end (SN 9516 7341) at the head of a steep stream gully flowing NE down to the Marcheini Fawr stream. It runs S as a bank with a ditch and counterscarp, c.7m wide overall, then curves SSW from SN 9517 7323, before curving sharply SW, then W from SN 9516 7318. The final part of the earthwork curves back to the WSW and may end at the head of a track at SN 9507 7314, though there are two sections of bank on the SE side of the track which may continue the line of the earthwork as far SW as SN 9501 7306.

The site was recorded as one of the boundaries of the *Dolhelfa* Grange; adjacent to the N end of the earthwork is a long hut and associated enclosure which might compare with similarly spaced associations present in the area of the *Cwmystwyth* Grange. A second long hut has been recorded at SN 9497 7298; this is in a direct line to the SW of the nearest section of bank, located at SN 9501 7306,

approximately 90m distant. The original recorder of this site noted its potential relation to a stream called *Lleussic* along which the boundary was supposed to run and which flowed into the River Wye; the name is no longer extant but given the close special relationship between this site and two deserted settlements it is possible that the name reflects the word 'Llestau', generally taken to mean an upland pastoral settlement'.



Dolhelfa Grange plan (after David Percival 1993)

Eight auger samples were taken from the dyke in 2005, in the belief, even now not dismissed, that this could be an early medieval dyke which might have been re-used at a later date. Unfortunately the augering failed to expose any obvious palaeoenvironmental deposits that might have been subjected to further analysis.



Dolhelfa Grange boundary from the air, bottom centre (after David Percival 1993)

From remote sensing data, particularly LiDAR, it might be inferred that the boundary is a more extensive feature than currently credited. On the next ridge to the north, that of Dyrsgol, a boundary bank mirrors the alignment of the Dolhelfa boundary reasonably tightly, making its way across the end of the ridge before curving back on itself where it reaches the lip of the Marcheini Fach valley. This has not been examined in the field. But perhaps significantly, it (or at least the natural gully that appears to act as its continuation) passes within thirty metres of two platforms one of which is scheduled (RD 176). One of these was first described by Cyril Fox in 1939 whose views were influenced by local traditions that it was the site of a chapel. One platform (992) is 36.2m long NNW-SSE by 7.6m wide, and has building foundations on it. A second platform (4457), nearby but in poorer condition, is 32.3m long and 6.9m wide. Full details can be found in the HER, but what is important here is that their extraordinary size puts them outside the range of the standard range of houses on platforms and suggests instead that they are best interpreted as sheep cotes or sheephouses, structures usually associated with large landholding concerns such as monastic or lordly estates, and normally of medieval date.

A field visit to a possible grange boundary was undertaken in March 2015. Details are to be found in the Annex to this report.

CPAT 2015; Dyer 1995; Fox 1939; Hankinson 2002; Hankinson 2006, 6; Percival 1993; Rees 1932; Silvester 2006, 26

Dolwen, Llanerfyl (Montgomeryshire) Strata Marcella 132003

Williams records Dolwen as a landholding (south-west of Llanerfyl) within the vast manor of Tirymynach at Talerddig, and talked of a Dolwen grange in his 1984 analysis of the Welsh Cistercians. This seems to have based on the presence of a Capel Dolwen which was in ruins in 1792, near to the modern farm and close to the banks of the River Gam, unless there are other sources which have not been cited. But as far as one can judge the name is of no great antiquity in monastic terms, and if this was a grange with its own centre, it has yet to be found.

Here too is the Abbot's Ditch referred to in 1588 as 'the print of an old ditch' coming from Dolwen and passing between Brynmawr and Llidiart-y-dallva (perhaps at c.SN 980 070, according to Williams, but not included in the HER). As far as can be established no traces of this features have been found; this said it is not known whether they have been looked for.

HER; Williams 1984, 234; Williams 1990, 60-1

Dol-y-maen, Garthbeibio (Montgomeryshire) Strata Marcella 132036

Part of the great manor of Talerddig, Dol-y-maen is a modern farm at SH 9424 1363, lying close to the county border with Merionethshire. Associated with the land holding was *Moel Mynach*, its location now lost. It is not clear from Williams' work why he centred the land holding on this farm, nor how why he defined the boundaries as he did. Thomas's plan appears rather different.

Nevertheless as upland granges go, this seems a respectable candidate.

Thomas 1997, Map III; Williams 1990, 60

Efenechdy, Llandysilio (Denbighshire) Valle Crucis 120661

Williams centred this at SJ 166 434 and claimed that the name implied the presence of a vaccary here. The sparsity of this entry is evidence enough of how little is known about Efenechdy.

Williams 1990, 65

Esgair-maen and Mynachlog, Llangurig (Montgomeryshire) Cwm-hir3367

The only information that Williams provides about what must have been an upland tract and perhaps a grange is a grid reference of c. SN 860 840, while his location maps show a small area of less than 24 hectares on the southern side of Hafren Forest.

The Ordnance Survey flagged the name as having monastic associations in 1978, and suggested the possibility of a grange. They recognised too that there were undated foundations visible, and a Tir Gofal assessment in 2005 found 'a small hafod or farmstead...located in a sheltered south-facing valley next to a small stream and consisting of the remains of at least one building (54127) with a yard or close-like enclosure (54128) to its south'. The building was recorded as 'two-celled', 9m by 4.5m defined by earthen banks 1.5m wide and 1m high, aligned north/south, with a possible entrance in the east-facing elevation. [It lay] in a south-facing valley forming part of a larger hafod or possible grange [sic]'.

There is nothing in these records to suggest anything particularly unusual about Mynachlog. That said the 1st edition 25" Ordnance Survey plan of the area is interesting in that it shows the farm on the west bank of the stream but a large semi-circular ditched enclosure abutting the east bank of the stream, and

one could suggest that the dwelling was positioned so as to be able to view virtually the whole of that enclosure.

HER; Williams 1990, 32

Fulbrock Grange, Holywell (Flintshire)

Known from documentary sources only, this grange (102413) of Basingwerk Abbey is thought to have lain in the western part of Holywell parish. Its precise location is unknown.

HER; Williams 1990, 38

Gabalva Grange (Radnorshire) Cwmhir 17957, 17958

Williams referred to this as an important arable holding, a lowland grange close to the River Wye that specialised in wheat. There were associated lands in Herefordshire.

Cabalva Farm lies in a bend in the River Wye, about 3km north-east of Clyro and close to the English border. This was Upper Cabalva in the late 19th century with Cabalva itself where Calbalva House is now marked. A watermill lay a further 900m to the north-east, beside a winding stream dropping off the hills to the west. Ordnance Survey maps show no mill remains so it remains unclear where Williams got his evidence from.

There is no evidence of any substance for locating the grange centre at Cabalva, attractive as the idea seems.

HER: Rees 1932; Robinson 2006, 230; Williams 1990, 28, 41

Gelli grange (Flintshire) Basingwerk 102341

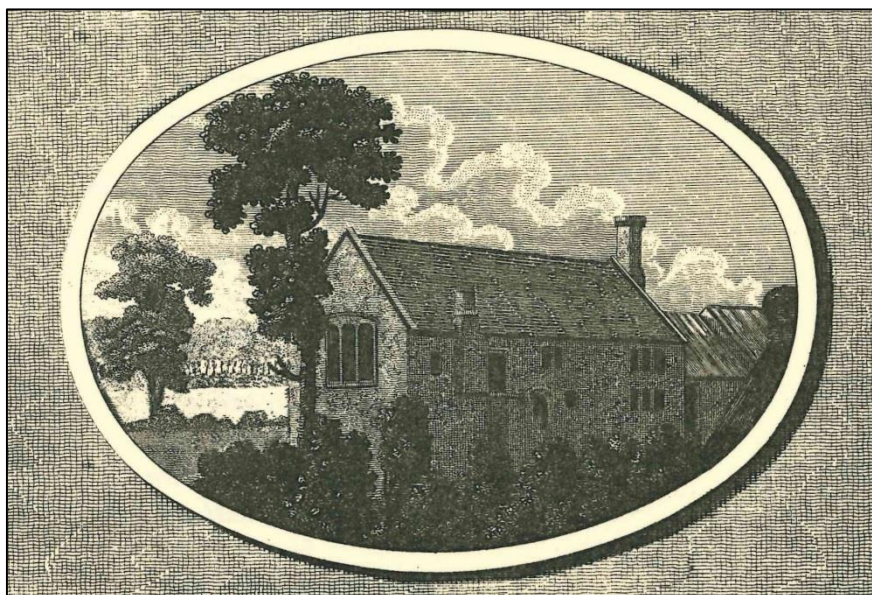
A property to the west of Basingwerk, this was reportedly given to the abbey by Llywelyn ab Iorwerth. Williams refers to a chapel here, which was presumably either at Gelli itself or at Gelli Fawr. It is unclear, however, whether the grange name is an ancient one, or has been derived from the house. Either way the assumption, founded or unfounded, seems to be that the manorial centre of the grange was at or close to Gelli.

Archdeacon Thomas recorded a pre-Reformation chapel at Gelli, which was subsequently converted into a farmhouse and later into cottages, and his description points to Gelli Fawr, a little to the south.

Cadw's listed building description for no. 2 Gelli Fawr is helpful – it carries a Grade II* classification. Gelli Fawr 'is said to have contained a cell and a chapel, apparently for performing divine service to the Abbot [sic]. Remains of a medieval hall and cross-passage survive, along with a probable gallery and chamber (or chapel) at 1st floor level. The doorway and several pairs of arched lights belong to this phase. After the reformation, the building was converted to a farmhouse, and is illustrated in a publication of 1796 [Thomas Pennant's *History of Whitford*]. The central doorway and openings to the [right] are as now, but to the [left] an external staircase led to an upper storey doorway, next to which was a lateral stack followed by a small window. A 3-light segmental headed window at the [east] end was replaced in the 1950s by an arched window of Gothic character. The house had been divided into 2 dwellings by 1871.

Interior: The front entrance leads into a small lobby, ahead of which is a galley kitchen. These occupy the former cross-passage. To the [left] is the partition wall with No 1, which obscures the positions of former doorways. To the [right] is the hall, which has a large stone fireplace to the [west] end with timber lintel and narrow chamfer. The ceiling has 2 spine beams with narrow chamfers and cut stops,

and plain joists. Stone window seat to front. To the rear, close to the fireplace, is a panelled door leading to stone stairs in the projecting bay. The stone staircase leads to the 1st floor, with timber stairs continuing to the attic storey. The 1st floor has flat-headed timber doorways. The roof has substantial collar trusses with central posts, the purlins altered. Some wattle and daub panels are retained. Internally, the upper level windows of the staircase bay and hall have ovolo-moulded mullions’.



Gelli Grange (after Thomas Pennant and Moses Griffith 1796)

This suggests that the chapel at Gelli Fawr may have been but one element of a building that might have functioned as a manorial centre for the abbey. Certainly it appears to be of the right date, but a more nuanced assessment of the building’s architecture and its putative context within a monastic environment could be useful, as Moses Griffiths’ drawing (below) suggests something more akin to a rest-house for the abbot than a functioning administrative centre.

Cadw 2001 listing; HER; Silvester et al. 2011; Williams 1990, 38

Golon Manor (Radnorshire) Cwm-hir 132023 & 132024 & 17938

According to Williams this, the home manor of Cwmhir which included the abbey itself, specialised in growing oats and also concentrated on sheep-rearing. However, he also defined it as a single extensive tract of predominantly upland ranging from Cwmhir Abbey in the south to Llyn-dwr Hill in the north, but also recorded two detached blocks of land at Nantymynach in Nantmel parish and at Rhymney which lay between the abbey and Nantmel. With the first of these, it is only the name that seems to provide a pointer today.

William Rees mapped it differently, displaying two separate tracts of land. To the south was the Golon estate and more than a mile to the north was a larger area in which three places were shown – *Nantu* (modern Nanty, a now ruined farmstead, at SO 10128128), *Laythde* (modern Laethdy at SO 0688 8003) and *Pebbeliwith* (seemingly close to modern Penyarreg at SO 06408233) – and all were specifically referenced to Cwmhir Abbey. It is not, however, entirely clear what Rees’ purpose was in showing these three places, other than the obvious one that they were names that in one form or another had significance of these Rees did not show the two small detached blocks referred to by Williams.

The manor included a ‘noted sheepcot’ at *Llechelwyddan* in Cefnlllys, a location that sadly cannot now be traced.

HER; Rees 1932; Robinson 2006, 230; Williams 1984, 221; Williams 1990, 28, 40

Gwenddwr Grange (Breconshire) Dore 3913, 17215, 19429, 35769, 123734

One of three granges belonging to Dore Abbey on the west side of the Wye, Gwenddwr as Williams noted has a ‘cwr’t’ at SO 072 461, yet this is nearly three kilometres to the north of the village of Gwenddwr and in the valley of the River Wye, well away from the remaining pointers of monastic activity that he invoked. In this context he considered the parish church at Gwenddwr as a grange chapel, a water mill and a fulling mill which Williams was unable to locate, and a vineyard.

CPAT surveyed a leat here in 1993, its remains leading off Nant Gwenddwr towards an area of deserted settlement (partially scheduled as Br168). A possible mill site survived as a 15m by 7m stone platform. Williams’ observation that the terraced slopes on the north side of the little Nant Gwenddwr might indicate the former existence of viticulture is perhaps rather fanciful.

The evidence for a grange centre at Gwenddwr appears largely circumstantial. There is nothing sufficiently distinctive amongst the earthworks to infer a monastic origin, the parish church may or may not have been a grange chapel and nothing has yet been identified at Cwr’t Gwenddwr that could be significant.

Paul Remfrey has queried whether a small and somewhat anomalous earthwork castle at Crickadarn known as Waun Gunllwrch might be linked to the grange at Gwenddwr. No evidence to support this contention has been presented.

HER; Jones 1993, 10, Rees 1932;

Remfrey: <http://www.castles99.ukprint.com/Essays/wuangunllwch.html>;

Williams 1984, 222; Williams 1990, 28, 43

Gwernfeifod Grange, Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant (Denbighshire) Valle Crucis 35793

David Williams believed that this grange may have been lost to the Cistercians at an early date, presumably because it does not figure in later accounts. He gives the location as SJ 094290, a modern farm of that name, noting that there were tithe-free fields which went under the name of *Maesydd yr Abad* though these did not appear in the mid-19th-century tithe survey. There was also the tradition of a chapel and sanctuary at Glanirwch (SJ 144 256) but nothing to indicate that this was within the ownership of the Cistercians.

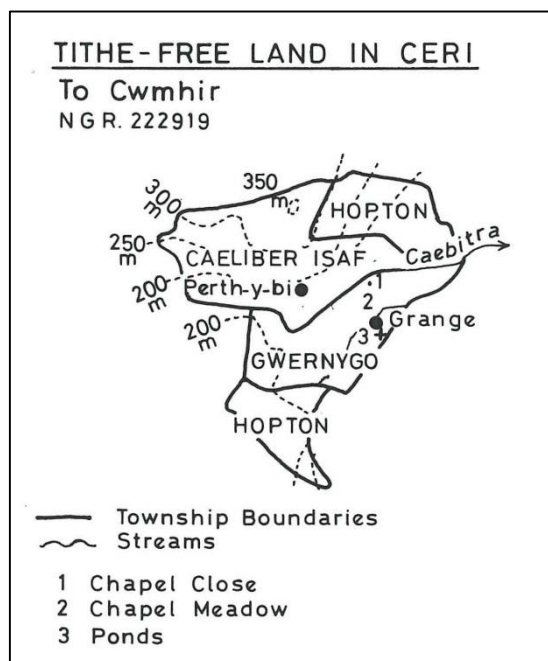
Williams 1984, 220; Williams 1990, 65

Gwern-y-go Grange (Montgomeryshire) Cwm-hir 1828

Lying in a shallow valley that carries at least two of the branches of the Caebitra, a tributary of the Camlad, this grange had a mixed economy, and its lands included two townships in their entirety and two-thirds of another. Williams defined the holding as including both the valley and the higher ground that edged it to the north. The grange itself was reportedly separated from other monastic lands in Caeliber Isaf and Hopton by a ditch termed the ‘Grange Ditch’, which would presumably have crossed this higher ground, though elsewhere Williams suggested that the ditch entirely encompassed the Gwern-y-go grange lands, and this appears to be backed up by the speculations of E. R. Morris in the 1890s who claimed that the area of the grange was around 740 acres (this based on an inquiry of 1573), and thus the ditch would have been several miles in length. There was a watermill and also a chapel,

possibly dedicated to St Michael. This in 1548 was termed Chapel Gwernygo and was used as a school as late as the 17th century.

Despite the fact that this is one of the better known granges in mid Wales, very little of a monastic nature seems to have survived to the 21st century, although Morris in 1893 claimed that remains were still visible. The boundary ditch is documented but has no physical presence; in the farm buildings the Cadw listing inspector noted only a cross-boarded studded door, and a moulded bressumer re-used in the cellar, remaining from the medieval period, the house although structurally of the 17th century, having been extensively altered and modernised.



Gwernygo Grange (after Williams 1990)

Of the chapel Archdeacon Thomas (1908, 548) stated that some ruins were still surviving near the end of the 19th century, though this conflicts with Morris's statement that there were no remains and no consensus amongst visitors and the farmer as to where it had been. However, the old font was supposedly in use as a trough in the farmyard at Lower House (SO 207 916), and Morris believed that the cellar door was the old chapel door, perhaps tying in with the observations of the Cadw listing inspector.

Also here should be added Bachaethlon deserted farmstead (5774), an area of interconnecting earthworks and possible building platforms which probably represent a single deserted farm. A connection has been made in the HER that the site may be associated with the grange at Gwern-y-Go, but the evidence is hardly compelling. A sketch survey was prepared by CPAT in 1990 as part of a watching brief on an adjacent gas pipeline, and the description as given was a series of platforms, boundaries and possible holloways. The most clearly defined is an enclosure, sub-square, c.35m across x 0.9m high max, and raised with possible holloways on the south and east.

There is a reference, too, in the HER to Cwmmerrl monastic grange, supposedly built between 1450 and 1475. It was demolished in 1893, and earthworks centred at the given NGR – SO196899 – were probably associated and were visited by CPAT in 1978, this record being picked up by the Ordnance

Survey in 1980. The Ordnance Survey card states that ‘on either side of the stream at this reference are earthworks and features which relate to the farm of Great Cwm-exl (demolished 1893) which was known to have been a monastic grange of the Gwern-y-go estate. The farm as marked on the south side of the stream on the Tithe Map but there are vague but definite outlines of platforms or overgrown debris on the north side. HER specifically refers to this being a grange to Gwernygo by provides not additional information’. From Morris in 1893 comes ‘the old monastic grange of Cwmmerrl, a timber building dating from 1450-1475 has been demolished. It was one of the grange farms on the Gwernygoe estate which was given to Cwmhir Abbey in the 13th century’. Finally the Ordnance Survey’s field investigator reported that ‘there is an area of much-disturbed ground in the lower part of the pasture field north of the stream, but no recognisable surveyable features such as building platforms, could be made out. South of the stream is a small rectangular field enclosure bank abutting onto the stream, and a hollow way up the slopes, but again, no other recognisable features’.

The Royal Commission in 1911 recorded a field name *Mynachlog* (6327) near Cockshutt in Weston Madoc which some later commentator thought might link this land to Gwernygo grange, although it lies well away from the grange centre and nearly a kilometre outside the grange holding as defined by Williams in 1990. Other suggestive field names include Cae yr Abbot (190) to the east of Gwern-y-go, near Llan-y-hared, Far Gwern Mynach (192) immediately to the west of Gwernb-y-go farm, and Cae Abbot about 1.8km to the south-east of Gwern-y-go.

HER; Morris 1893, 82-4, 111-113; Ordnance Survey SO 18 NE 28; Rees 1932; Robinson 2006, 230; Silvester et al 2011, 39; Thomas 1908, 548; Williams 1984, 221, 237, 239; Williams 1990, 40

Hafod, Minera (Denbighshire) Valle Crucis 120667

Centred at SJ 257 515 this landholding according to Williams included the area of Park Farm and Lower Park Mine, and included 215 acres of summer pasture. Pratt disagreed, pointing out that it belonged to the secular lordship of Bromfield and Yale, an error originating with A N Palmer at the end of the 19th century.

Pratt 2011, 34; Williams 1990, 65

Hafodyrabad, Llandegla (Denbighshire) Valle Crucis 101486

In his 1984 study, Williams referred simply to the pastures of *Hafod-yr-abad*, but in 1990 he was more specific, remarking on the fact that these lands lay close to the River Alun and identifying an enclosure known as *Hen Eglwys* as a possible grange site (at SJ 1767 4845). We should note that he does not in fact claim this as a chapel site. Instead it was the Royal Commission who earlier had recorded a building here – 18’ by 15’ – which seems to have been still standing when they visited it in 1911, with a small enclosure attached to it. They went to some lengths to point out that this was not a deserted chapel but postulated that it was a monastic grange, without remarking on the fact that it was A N Palmer who had first sated this some years previously. The two records have been conflated into one in the HER.

Pratt has warned that *Hafodyrabad* does not put in an appearance in any medieval records: - ‘the place-names and strong local traditions are the only grounds of including it in the list of [Valle Crucis] possessions’.

To the equation we should add the farm known as *Hafod-yr-abad* (101486; SJ 1880 4858). This lobby-entry house probably dates from the 17th century, but Cadw’s lists suggest that it could incorporate parts of an older building, and that it was ‘built on the site of a mountain pasture, farm or grange formerly belonging to Valle Crucis Abbey’ while the NMR (through Coflein) have it as ‘16th century and later, of irregular plan, with massive stop chamfered beams, a grange of Valle Crucis Abbey’.

In these circumstances it needs hardly be said that Williams' definition of this landholding seems exceptionally speculative.

Cadw listing; HER; NMR (Coflein); Pratt 2011, 26; RCAHMW 1914, 160; Williams 1984, 220; Williams 1990, 65

Halton Manor (Denbighshire) Valle Crucis 132022

Near Chirk, Halton grange (or Halghton Manor as Williams termed it) included a court and two water-mills. Pratt goes into some detail about this holding. It occupied an undulating plateau at the confluence of the Dee and Ceiriog rivers, stretching from 'the cow farm' and *Koed yr Abad* (Halton Wood) to *Maes-y-mynach* which lay in the vicinity of Brynkinalt. The manor or bailiwick of Halghton in 1545, administration centred on a farm known as the Grange which by 1648 had been renamed as The Court, having been acquired by the Myddeltons of Chirk Castle, thirty years previously. By 1871 this was uninhabited and was providing a quarry for brick and stone. When the Royal Commission inspected it in June 1911, only a north-facing gable remained, with fragments of mullioned windows scattered around and footings visible. Pratt gives this a NGR of SJ 316 393.

The 1874 large-scale Ordnance Survey map shows the precise location of The Court, positioned less than 150m from the confluence of the two rivers, a pair of buildings lying at right angles to each other at SJ 3161 3953. However, Boydell's map of the Myddelton estate at Chirk from 1776 in the National Library shows a more impressive set of at least five buildings around a courtyard.

The location was examined during a visit in March 2015, but access could not be arranged (see Annex).

CPAT 2015; Pratt 2011, 26; RCAHMW 1914, 37; Williams 1990, 65

Hiraethog Grange (Denbighshire) Aberconwy 132037

Aberconwy's grange on the Denbigh Moors (otherwise known as Mynydd Hiraethog) reputedly extended over more than 8000 acres, covering the townships of Tir Abad Uchaf and Tir Abad Isaf according to Williams.

Within this area, Williams listed a vaccary at *Trekedewe* and a grange farm or centre at *Karennok* which he thought might be modern Cernioge (at SH 906504), although he did not explain his thinking on this association. He also queried whether *Cwrt-y-llan* (at SH 905516) reflected a medieval court. The HER also cites the place known as *Bryn-yr-eglwys* (SH 8730 5236) following a comment by Williams, although he did not go as far as positing a church here. There is though no evidence as yet to corroborate any foundation here, and overall the physical remains of this extensive grange have proved elusive.

Silvester et al 2011; Williams 1984, 219; Williams 1990, 37

Hopton Grange (Montgomeryshire) Cwmhir

Rees saw this as a separate grange, whilst Williams has it as a part of Gwernygo.

Rees 1932; Williams 1990, 40

Hydan Grange (Montgomeryshire) Llanllugan 132030

This it appears was the most important of Llanllugan Nunnery's holdings. It had two mills but little else is known of it. Williams speculated that its centre – at 'Ehudan' – was Hydan Fawr (SJ 1474 0701; 26786), where lay one of the mills (though it has also been suggested that it could have been *Hen Felin*

on the edge of Hydan Ucha township (77823), and that it may have been the earlier site of the nunnery. Ty'n Gwilym at Nant-fforch (35772).

A little over 2km to the south-east of Hydan Fawr is Pen-y-llwyn, a 16th-century timber-framed house, on the edge of Castle Caereinion which the Royal Commission in 1911 claimed was a grange of Strata Marcella. Again this seems to have originated as an idea in the 1911 *Inventory* – its origins prior to this have not been established.

HER; RCAHMW 1911, 16; Williams 1984, 222; Williams 1990, 45

Llanddulas alias Tiryrabad (Breconshire) Strata Florida 17809; 132005

David Williams records the Llanddulas estate under Carmarthenshire but Llanddulas was in Breconshire. He points to the name Tyr Abad at SH 874416, and noted that lands included the early property of Cefn Ioli at SH 886 407, but was more cautious with the present church which he rightly points out is an early 18th-century foundation and the water-mill at Llanddulas which he felt was of post-monastic origins. He also drew attention to Spite Inn Farm on the periphery of Llanddulas, incorporating a term that traditionally has connotations with the Knights' Hospitallers. However, research by CPAT in 2007 revealed that in the 18th century the farm was named Tyrgorse, and only around the turn of the century was its name changed to Spite Inn when it served as a hostelry for drovers.

Llandulas is now known as Tirabad and this names goes back to at least 1619 when *Tyr yr abate* was used for land in the vicinity. In the late 1690s Edward Lhuyd referred to the parish of *Tŷ Abat* and in 1821 it was *Newchurch Tyr Abbott* confirming the age of the church.

Williams' comment on a property at Cefn Iolo is interesting. The farm of that name is on the Sennybridge Firing Range and has been reduced to foundations; what little is left suggests an unusually long building but this is hardly sufficient to signal an early origin, and indeed there can be no certainty that the early reference relates to the farm at this location.

Jones 2007; Silvester and Martin 2010; Williams 1990, 58

Llanelidan (Denbighshire) Strata Marcella 35779

Williams recorded lands held in Nant Clwyd and speculated that these were possibly around Brynbanadl whose NGR he gives as SJ 103 504. Ordnance Survey maps, however, show no such place at this point.

HER; Williams 1990, 61

Llangollen Abad (Denbighshire) Valle Crucis 132029

An urban estate consisting of part of the town of Llangollen with a fishery and a mill.

Williams 1990, 65

Llanllugan Manor (Montgomeryshire) Llanllugan 132013

The home manor of the nunnery of Llanllugan which lay within its bounds. The nunnery itself is thought to have been adjacent to the present parish church and Williams noted that Court Field lay immediately to the east, but otherwise there is nothing of any significance known.

Williams 1984, 222; Williams 1990, 45

Lordship of Greenfield alias Fulbrook (Flintshire) Basingwerk 102413

This ill-defined area included the abbey itself, land in Holywell that included several granges listed by Williams as Home Grange, Middle Grange, Over (or Higher) Grange, *Fulbrook Grange*, *Sovereign Grange* and *Beggesburch Grange*, the last three all earlier names now gone. A tithe barn known as the Abbot's Barn, cannot be located.

Merton Abbot (Flintshire) Basingwerk 132025

Now Mertyn Abbot, near Whitford (at SJ 157778), Williams had little to say about this estate in the *Atlas*, but an earlier reference in his 1984 study suggests that he saw it not as a grange but as either a manor or simply as a block of land held by Basingwerk.

Williams 1984, 219; Williams 1990, 38

Moelfre-fawr, Llangwym (Denbighshire) Valle Crucis 35790

Williams centred this landholding at SH 958 472, but admitted that its bounds were unknown. Pratt was unable to throw any light on it, but did state that after it was granted to Valle Crucis in 1207, the records fall silent, with nothing further heard of it. Thus no grange centre can be determined, and it remains unclear as to whether one actually developed. Pratt also noted that this upland grange would have adjoined that of Llechwedd Figwn owned by Strata Marcella and close to transhumant pastures belonging to Basingwerk and Cymer.

Pratt 2011, 35; Williams 1990, 65

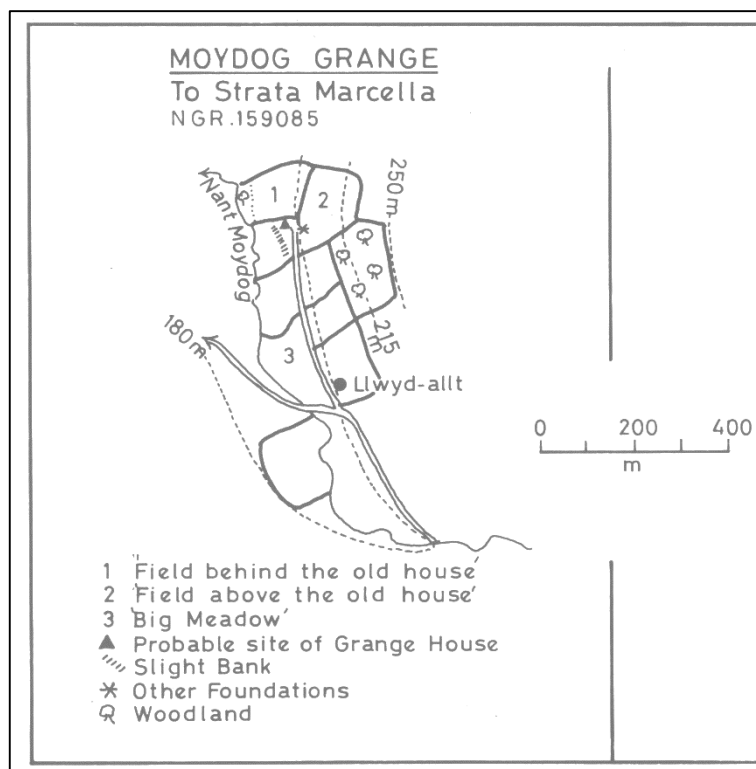
Moydog Grange, Castle Caereinion (Montgomeryshire) Strata Marcella 35913 & 132033

Williams offered alternative sites for Moydog, either at SJ 159 085 on the basis of the mid-19th century tithe survey or at Moydog Fawr (at SJ 168 079), the assumption, being one might suppose that one or the other of these could have been the grange centre. Other associated granges were at Trefnant Mynach (about SJ 185 092) and at Stradelfeden whose location is uncertain, though Williams felt it might be in the area known as Hydan. Elsewhere he posited that the land of Moydog might have been of little importance other than for pasture.

What he failed to do was to cross reference his gazetteer entry with a map that he had compiled from the mid-19th-century tithe survey and which was included all the other illustrations at the end of the 1990 *Atlas*. This is reproduced below. On it he identifies the 'probable site of Grange House', 'other foundations and a 'slight bank' grouped above the little Nant Moydog.

The picture is complicated by the HER record made after a Deserted Medieval and Later Rural Settlement survey visit in 1992, where we confidently asserted that two house platforms at Llwyd-allt were the probable site of Moydog Grange following Williams' discovery, and this in spite of a family tradition articulated by the owner that it was the site of the former farmhouse (17997). Whether we would be quite so confident of this attribution today is less certain, particularly as an estate map of 1780 in a private collection does show a farm building on the site and identifies it as the original Llwyd-allt which by the end of the 19th century had been replaced by a similarly named farm nearly 400m to the south.

A further complication is added by a Coflein record which states that the house known as Moydog Fawr (110886) and not listed is 'modern, replacing a grange of Strata Marcella Abbey. [A] wing of old house left standing, is known as 'The Dryll''. This statement appears to have originated with the Royal Commission's *Inventory* in 1911.



Moydog Grange (after David Williams 1990)

Coflein; RCAHMW 1911, 16; Williams 1984, 220; Williams 1990, 28, 59, 111

Mwstwr Grange, Corwen (Merionethshire) Valle Crucis 35786

Williams termed this a grange, noting that Valle Crucis owned half of the township of Mwstwr in Corwen. He tentatively suggested that it might have been centred on Plas Isaf (at SJ 164 421) where there were tithe free lands and formerly a water-mill, and Pratt has agreed with this. However, no trace of a monastic farming establishment has been identified at Plas Isaf.

Pratt 2011, 35; Williams 1984, 220; Williams 1990, 65

Mynachty, Penegoes (Montgomeryshire) Strata Marcella 17935/35914/35915

Williams centred this holding at SN 7883 9545, in the hills to the south-east of Machynlleth, with lands at Hengwm (SN 781 948), Cwmbir (SN 785 951) and Rhosgwidol (SN 839 977), some of which may have been an integral part of a holding, others perhaps detached. There is nothing to say whether this was considered a grange, and although a grange or manorial centre seems a likely appurtenance, there is no indication that one has been identified.

Williams 1990, 60

Nant Eglwys (alias Llaneglwys), Gwenddwr (Breconshire) Dore 4439, 132008

One of three granges belonging to Dore Abbey on the west side of the Wye, this is also known as *Nant Eglwys*. Little is known about this holding, although Williams refers to a vague reference to a *pont-mynach* in Cantref Selyf in 1268. It was associated with Dore's Gwenddwr holding to the north, and

indeed into the 19th century formed a detached part of Gwenddwr parish, the outline of which provided Williams with the landholding boundary on his 1990 map.

The name is suggestive with *Nanteglus* in 1241 having an earlier currency than *Laneglus* which is recorded in 1372. Morgan and Powell claimed that the church stood beside the Scithwern Brook, a result of the presence of the two farms of Llaneglwys. But while there is a local tradition of a church here, and William Rees showed it on his map of 14th-century South Wales, its position has never been established.

There is however, no evidence that it was a grange in its own right, nor that there was a specific centre that controlled the use of the holding.

HER; Morgan and Powell 1999; Rees 1932; Williams 1984, 222; Williams 1990, 28, 43

Over Grange, Holywell (Flintshire) Basingwerk

The grange (35912) as an administrative centre lay by the road from Holywell to Whitford. A document in the National Archives records that the last abbot, a Nicholas Pennant, made 'a new close in the mountains' above it. Williams theorised that 'the Tudor-style buildings might reflect something of the medieval nature of the complex' at Over Grange, but nothing else on this theme has come to light.

The Cadw listing of 1991 reports that 'the Grange farmhouse [102409] is situated at the top end of the lane, reached [south] from the Holyway [sic] area. This building is to [the south-west] of the modern farmhouse; [it] faces [north]. This was originally a monastic grange to the Cistercian Abbey of Basingwerk and was then known as Over Grange meaning that it was the higher or upper one; it continued as a farm after the [D]issolution in 1536. This building has late- medieval open-hall origins and was then the main grange house; it may all date from the period when Nicholas Pennant (Abbot 1529-36) "made a new close in the mountains" or alternatively the projecting bay at the [west] end may be a post[-D]issolution improvement as was the addition of the later 16th-century] stone chimneypiece. At a later date the loft was carried across the whole building; [and there were] some subsequent alterations.

L-plan, type A, rubble, 2-storey building with modern corrugated roof. 3 bays to left with blocked buttresses to front and rear. The projecting bay has crucifix finial and loft window over a large Tudor window of 3-lights - now blocked with rubble above the former central transom; the sandstone dressings of the surround remain outlining the original opening; segmental headed lights with cavetto jambs and straight chamfered mullions; small-pane glazing; formerly painted. The original entrance has been blocked - now entered from the [west] end.

Graded II* as a rare surviving example of a monastic grange that retains substantial original fabric'. Williams in his 1990 *Atlas* included a photograph of Over Grange.

Beyond this little can be said about Over Grange. Abbot Pennant's intake was presumably on Holyhead Mountain but of its precise location nothing is known.

Cadw Listing; Williams 1990, 30, 38, 120

Pengwern, Llangollen (Denbighshire) Valle Crucis 35785

Opinion is divided on whether Pengwern was ever a grange of Valle Crucis. Derrick Pratt was clearly sceptical, attributing the a long-running tradition to the Royal Commission who when they visited the house in 1913 were minded to suggest a probable monastic link, against which Pratt noted Thomas Pennant's comments when he visited at the end of the 18th century. Williams in his 'lands of Pengwern

Hall Estate, where perhaps another grange' seemed more inclined to accept the tradition, but the Cadw listing report is probably the most useful, pointing out that this was an early home of the ancestors of the Mostyns, and that an abbey is unlikely to have taken to have such a holding in the late Middle Ages.

Cadw listing; Pratt 2011, 37; Williams 1990, 65

Penwar, Llanidloes (Montgomeryshire) Strata Marcella 132016

Williams centred this holding at c.SN 925 868 and included Bryn Tail (SN 919 871) and Pen-y-clun (SN 930 874). This is recognised as part of the large manor of Tirymynach, Talerddig, but there is no guidance as to whether it was considered a grange.

Williams 1990, 60

Rhos-goch Township, Buttington and Hope (Montgomeryshire) Strata Marcella 132032

There are no salient details of this landholding, other than a grid reference of c. SJ 279 080.

Williams 1990, 60

Stansty Grange, Wrexham (Denbighshire) Valle Crucis 35797

Williams noted Stansty as the site of a former grange of Valle Crucis abbey and centred it on the farm known as Grange in Rhosddu at SJ 3304 5181. Pratt also homed in on this as a possible guide to where the grange was, but focused more on the alternative names of Stansty Abbatis and Stansty Isaf, and a calculation which implied that the grange covered an area of around 330 acres. The farm and its surroundings have long since been swallowed up by the expansion of Wrexham.

Pratt 2011, 39; Williams 1990, 65

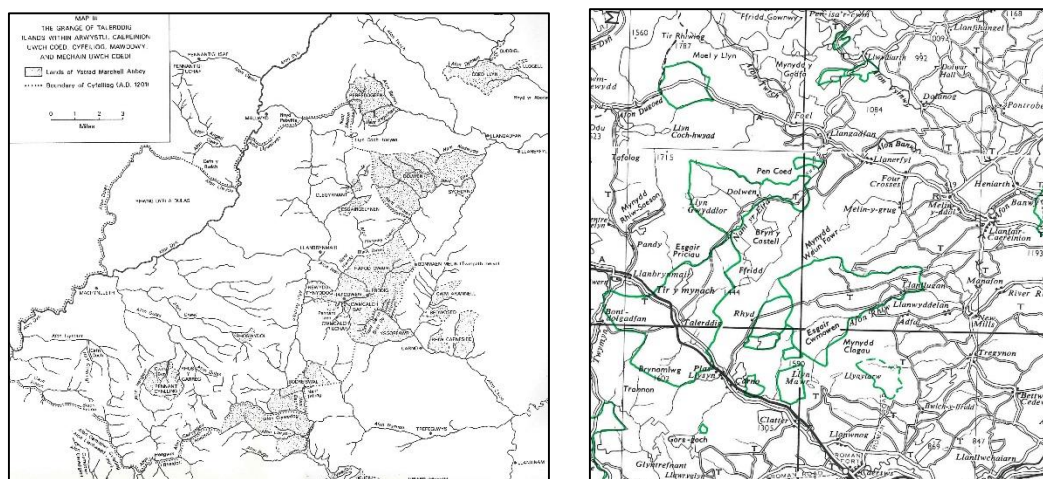
Tir Abad, Llanwnnog (Montgomeryshire) Strata Marcella

Williams saw this as a holding that included five farms, one of which was Pantygesail (at SN 989 972). Part of the large manor of Tirymynach, Talerddig, there is no guidance as to whether or not this was considered a grange in its own right.

Williams 1990, 60

Tirymynach, Talerddig (Montgomeryshire) Strata Marcella

This was a manor with its judicial courts at Talerddig, but with its lands detached and spread over nearly a dozen parishes, most of them predominantly upland. It is far from easy to disentangle these and determine whether they were neighbouring granges or simply a large tract of land where centres can only be recognised if mentioned by name in documents. Grange chapels were recorded at Talerddig and Dolwen.



The extent of Talerddig Grange (after Graham Thomas, left, and David Williams, right)

It included Hafod Owain granted to the abbey in 1190 (SH 928 027) and nearby the ‘black dyke’ first referenced in c.1185 which by the late 16th century had become known as the Abbot’s Dyke.

The Abbot’s Dyke Williams noted that it stretches for about 1km, and was associated with lands of Strata Marcella abbey. A Tir Gofal assessment in 2004 attempted unconvincingly to disassociate the boundary earthwork from the abbey, whilst noting that it was aligned roughly east to west and ran along the ridge known as Esgair Garnedd. The bank was some 1.5m to 2m wide and some 0.3m high with a shallow ditch 0.5 to 1m deep to the south. Graham Thomas in his study of the charter bounds reported that it crossed the ridge on a saddle between Bryn Gwyn and Esgair Garnedd, two local summits forming part of the watershed between the valleys of the Afon Gam (a tributary of the River Banwy) and the valley of the Afon Laen (a tributary of the River Dyfi). The ditch and bank of the boundary were apparently still partially traceable in 1997, running from the source of Nant y Capel (SH 927 028) to Afon Gam at SH 938 034. The HER speculated that it might be the boundary feature depicted on the second edition of the OS 6" map of 1903 (Montgomeryshire 27NE). However, as far as can be established, no attempt has yet been made to plot its line.

The charter of 1185 conferring lands on Strata Marcella referred in its boundary clauses in two places to the *fossa nigra* or black dyke. Although it is not overtly stated in the charter, this dyke has been assumed (by David Williams, for instance) to be a monastic construction, but this cannot be the case as it was evidently already in place at the time when the land was granted to the abbey. Possibly then it was an earlier estate or township boundary.

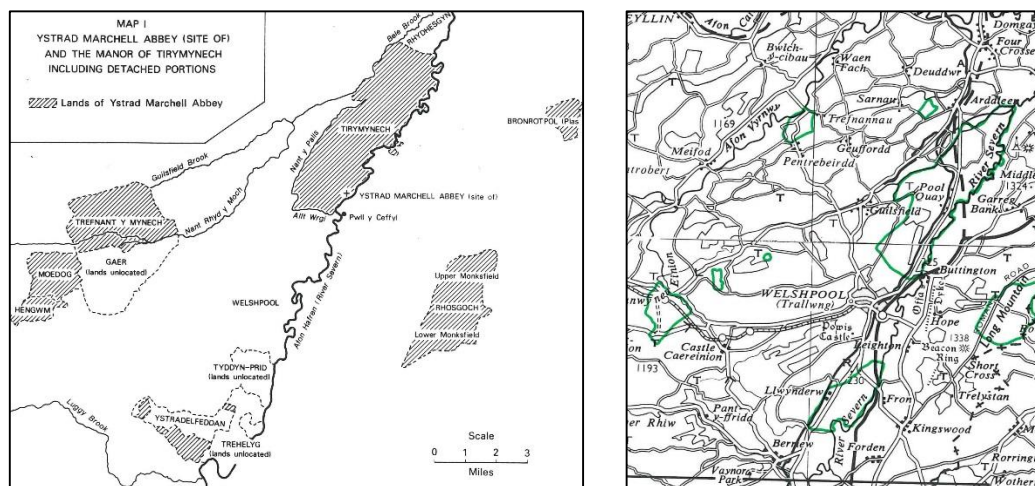
The name Hafod Owain (17925) though now assigned to a modern farmstead just to the east of the boundary ditch has a longer history. Thomas notes, for instance that it shows on the Llanbrynmair title map. It also appears as a name in one of the earliest charters, from 1185, as *Hauot Oweyn* or *Hawoth Owen* (in 1226), but it should be remembered that the term *hafod* could be used for an area of land as well as a seasonally occupied building, and it is probably in the former context that *Hauot Oweyn* appears in the charter.

A field visit to examine the grange boundary was undertaken in March 2015. Details are to be found in the Annex to this report.

CPAT 2015; HER; Silvester and Hankinson 2002; Thomas 1997, 114; Williams 1984, 220; Williams 1990, 24, 60

Tirymynach, Guilsfield (Montgomeryshire) Strata Marcella 35153

The home manor of Strata Marcella, Tir-y-mynach lay in the Severn valley, with its land spread across several parishes. It had a high arable component with 534ha of ploughland recorded in 1291, though it is not entirely clear whether all of the Ty-y-mynach estate lay within the manor. Williams refers to the 'home' grange, and also neighbouring granges at Ysgubor Fawr, Trefnant, Moydog and Stradelfedan, which all lay within the manor, though the last three were seen as one unit under a single bailiff.



The extent of Tirymynach Grange (after Graham Thomas, left, and David Williams, right)

Williams refers to Grange Farm (at SJ 2468 1558) on the western side of Arddleen specifying that the holding, itself a discrete tract of land separate from the main estate in the Severn Valley farm and according to Williams' depiction extending over little more than 30 hectares, was known as grange, but not confirming that this had an antiquity attached to it. On this basis alone the link appears somewhat tenuous. Grange Farm sits at the apex of the south-west corner of a curious D-shaped enclosure extending over about 5.7 hectares. Evident today from the footpaths that fringe every side, it is even clearer on early Ordnance Survey maps from the late 19th century where, divided into small fields it has the appearance of a common sub-divided into small plots by encroachments. Whether this is correct or it has earlier origins, there is currently no way of knowing.

Graham Thomas, another authority on Strata Marcella, does not include this block on land on his map of Strata Marcella lands.

Thomas 1997, map I; Williams 1984, 220; Williams 1990, 59

Tiryabad Uchaf (Denbighshire) Aberconwy 132038

Williams differentiated this from the Hiraethog Grange, showing them as discrete landholdings on his maps. Tiryabad Uchaf lay within Cerrigydrudion and Nantglyn, and included a vaccary at Llyn Cymer in 1191.

Williams 1990, 37

Trawscoed Grange (Breconshire) Dore Abbey 35766, 123721

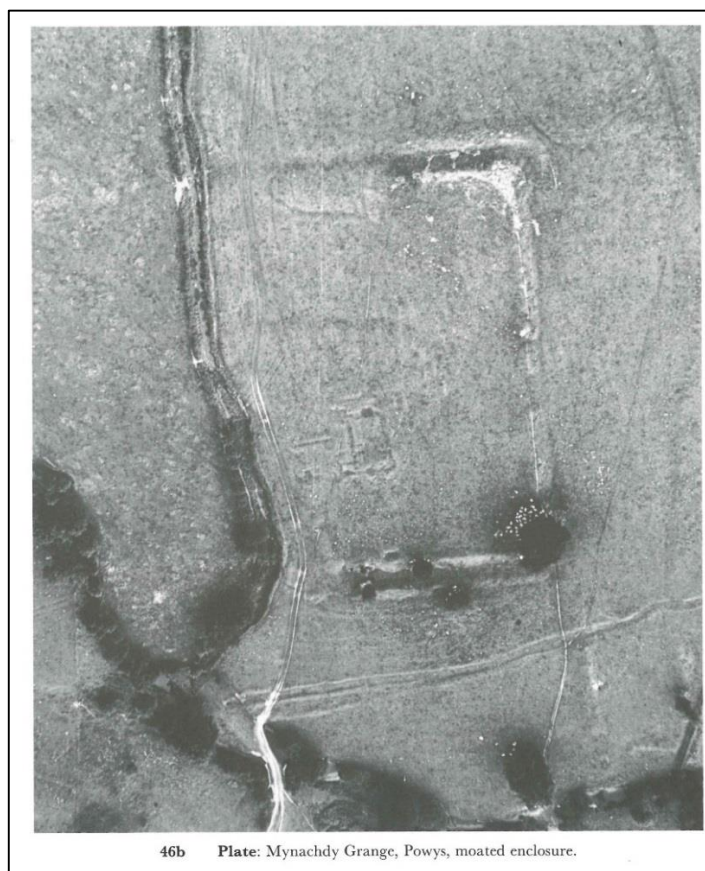
Trawscoed originated as a daughter abbey but by the time that Gerald of Wales was writing towards the end of the 12th century, Dore had downgraded it to a grange. It was one of three granges belonging to Dore Abbey on the west side of the Wye (see also Gwenddwr and Nant Eglwys), and Paul Remfry has suggested these came to Dore as part of extensive lands associated with the lordship of Llaneglwys which were confirmed by Walter Clifford in 1220. Williams mentions a water-mill, possibly at SO 074 357, and a 'great house called the Sheepcote' whose location is not known. Its lands were enhanced by the addition of Wernddyfwg (at SO 077 360), formerly a grange in its own right, about 1.5km to the north-west.

Trawscoed is the name of a farm in Llandefalle, Wernddyfwg is also a modern farm. Nothing with any monastic associations has been reported from here.

Remfry: <http://www.castles99.ukprint.com/Essays/Trawscoed.html>; Williams 1984, 212 and 222; Williams 1990, 43

Treburvaugh Grange, Llangunllo and Bleddfa (Radnorshire) Cwm-hir 278, 17955 and 17956

Williams identified the grange centre at Mynachty where there is a moated enclosure (SO 229 697), and recorded a tradition of burials at the more southerly *Mynachty* (SO 239 686), also a wood known as *Coed-y-mynach* at SO 250 672, and speculated too that the granges of *Thlayan-wyddan* and *Blakenhavoe* recorded in the *Taxatio* of 1291 were in this area. He suggested that this could be the original Treburvaugh Grange, the present name being attached to a property about one kilometre to the east-north-east. It is, however, not clear from this whether the name Treburvaugh Grange goes back to the medieval era.



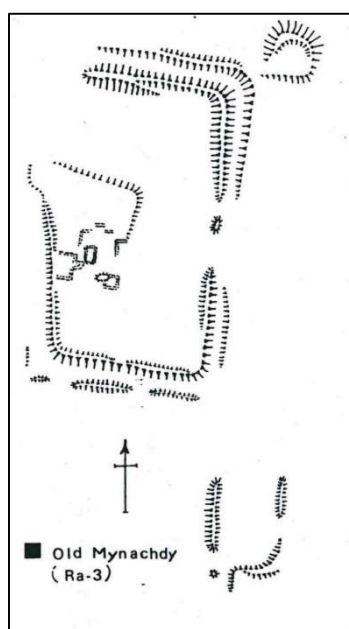
46b Plate: Mynachdy Grange, Powys, moated enclosure.

Mynachdy Grange, Llangunllo (from David Williams 1990)

The moated site is a large one, termed by Spurgeon Old Mynachdy, with an enclosed area of 1.36 acs, the largest in Radnorshire (other than the anomalous Cwrt Llechrhyd). He remarked too on the traces of internal stone buildings, with possibly others external to the eastern corners; his plan reproduced here, appears to be the Ordnance Survey plan re-drawn. It is also a scheduled ancient monument (Rd097).

Full descriptions of this site are surprisingly elusive. The Ordnance Survey when they re-surveyed it in 1974 reported that it was rectangular, had an inner bank up to 0.8m high which had been destroyed in the north-west corner, with an extant ditch 1.2m deep but absent on the west. There was also a fragmentary outer bank (termed a counterscarp bank) 0.2m high on the north and south sides. The levelled interior 100m from north to south by 55m from east to west showed evidence of building foundations in the south-west corner. ‘Two other small banked enclosures, probably contemporary, exist to the north-east and south-east but the Ordnance Survey could not establish their functions’.

The Cadw field monument warden in 1986 thought that the entrance to the moated enclosure was probably on the east side, describing it as roughly rectangular, but otherwise reiterating the Ordnance Survey’s remarks.



Mynachdy Grange, Llangunllo (after Jack Spurgeon 1990)

A casual examination of the Ordnance Survey plan indicates that the building foundations are not in the south-west corner, but on the west side, that the entrance is almost certainly on the east, if only because the stream flowing down Cwm Byr forms a part of the western boundary (though for a moated enclosure this would not necessarily be a handicap) that the feature outside the north-east corner is curvilinear or more precisely D-shaped and perhaps 16m in internal diameter, but it lies beyond the scheduled area. The 1st edition large-scale Ordnance Survey map of 1889 strengthens the argument in favour of an eastern entrance, but also acts as a commentary on the siting of the enclosure near the junction of the Cwm Byr stream with the River Lugg in a way that has been overlooked by the various commentators. Interesting too, given that Bailey Mill, 500m to the south-east, has been suggested as a possible monastic mill (by Williams if not others), that the mill leat runs off the Lugg immediately below the moated enclosure; and also that 300m higher up Cwm Byr is a large pond. Whether this is purely a farming feature associated with Griffen-llŵyd has yet to be established. LiDAR suggests the presence of intriguing field patterns to the north-west and north-east of the moat enclosure, and perhaps some additional detail inside it, but would benefit the archaeology by being manipulated.

A final unanswered question. When did the site acquire the name Old Mynachdy and who originated it? There is no evidence of it in 1815 when the Ordnance Survey first surveyed the area, and nothing to suggest that the late eighteenth-century Radnorshire antiquary, Jonathan Williams, had any knowledge of it. It is tempting to think that it is a Victorian creation, and perhaps has no basis in fact.

Monaughty, derived from Welsh *mynachdy* usually taken to refer to a monastery or grange, lies 1.3km to the south-east of the moated enclosure. As a name *Mynachty* appears in the 16th century, and raises the question as to whether this was also a grange centre or indeed the grange centre. The Royal Commission are in no doubt stating that the house of Monaughty was 'built on the site of a grange to Abbey Cwmhir'. The tradition of burials in the grounds of the house, referred to by David Williams appears to have originated with the antiquary Jonathan Williams and reflects an event in the late 18th or early 19th century; there is however no independent source of information on the discovery. David Williams defines Treburvaugh Grange as a tract of land that takes in both the Lugg valley and the higher ground including Black Hill that lies to the east. Both putative grange sites are set on the periphery of the grange landholding as defined by David Williams.

Cadw 1986; Davies 1905, 307; HER; Morgan 1998, 77; OS no: SOM 26 NW 1; Rees 1932; Spurgeon 1981, 30; Williams 1990, 31, 41

Trehelyg, Welshpool (Montgomeryshire) Strata Marcella 132031

Williams locates this landholding at SJ 218 033 and includes Wernllwyd at SO 204028.

Williams 1990, 59

Tre'rabad, Gelli and Hendre Mynach (Flintshire) Basingwerk 102341

These lands lay in Whitford (Flints) and the adjacent parish of Cwm. Williams did not list anything that could be taken to be grange components other than a wayside chapel still identifiable in 1890.

Williams 1990, 38

Trevor Mills, Llangollen (Denbighshire) Valle Crucis 35782

According to Williams this was the probable site of a former grange of Valle Crucis which he centred at SJ 261 413. Pratt claimed that the abbey lands here had been tentatively associated with the grange of *Tregant* recorded in the *Taxatio* of 1291, but also hinted that with its bounds listed at the end of the 16th century this was probably a small land holding.

Within the group of buildings is Plas-yn-pentre which the listed building specialists see as early 17th-century, 'a timber-frame farmhouse of characteristic E-plan layout' Carrying a date of 1634 on one of the projecting wings which may be a slightly later addition to an earlier building, the NMR (Coflein) class this as formerly a grange of Valle Crucis. And there is a tradition that fragments of sculpted alabaster figures found here in 1834 are thought to have come from the Abbey.

HER; NMR (Coflein); Pratt 2011, 39; Williams 1990, 64

Valle Crucis alias Llanegwest (Denbighshire) Valle Crucis 35782 and 120668

The home grange which included the abbey site itself.

Williams 1990, 64

Wrexham Abbot (Denbighshire) Valle Crucis 120659

Williams stated that this was a valuable manor that included a court (at SJ 328 492) near which is an earthwork. The court was sufficiently important to be mentioned in the proceedings of the Court of Augmentations in 1537 at the time of the Dissolution. Other lands included Acton Grange (SJ 337 535; PRN 120657) and Stansty Grange (SJ 331 518; PRN 35797).

Lewis and Conway Davies 1954, 71; Williams 1990, 65

Ysgubor Fawr grange, Guilsfield (Montgomeryshire) Strata Marcella

Described as a grange by Williams in the sense of a land holding, this was by him associated with Dyer's Farm at Pool Quay, overlooking the Severn Valley and the site of the abbey (SJ 253 117). Williams, however, appears to be linking only a monastic barn to Dyer's Farm, and there is no indication that the farm itself was a grange centre, even though the 'barn' name has been given to the grange.

Graham Thomas appears to make no mention of this grange in his volume on the Strata Marcella charters.

Williams 1984, 220; Williams 1990, 59

The Other Orders

Augustinians

Chirbury Priory, Shropshire

Caldemore (= Calmore), nr Montgomery, (Montgomeryshire) SO 1992 9754

Court Calmore occupies fertile ground in a bend of the River Severn upstream from Welshpool. While the 'court' name could be significant in terms of it being a manorial centre, this has yet to be examined in detail. It can be noted, however, that as *Courte Caldemore* it is recorded in 1517, that is before the Dissolution.

Morgan 2001, 68; Rees 1932

Little Weston, (Montgomeryshire) SO 2929 9843

William Rees on his 1932 map of South Wales and the March showed a small landholding around Little Weston below Corndon Hill in the eastern extremities of Montgomeryshire. The depiction may be no more than diagrammatic and the extent of the landholding is unknown.

Rees 1932

Snead (Montgomeryshire) SO 3164 9198

Also known in earlier times as *Sned* and *Sneth*, this was the original site of the priory founded at the end of the 12th century which was subsequently moved to Chirbury. After the translation, Snead was retained as a monastic landholding (Old English *snaed* means a detached parcel of land), the parish church may even have come into existence before the move to Chirbury, and the mill – presumably the site of the mill shown a short distance from the church on modern Ordnance Survey maps – was also monastic, its rent being referred to immediately after the Dissolution. But the size of the Snead landholding remains entirely unknown.

Rees 1932, Silvester et al 2012, 140

Haughmond Abbey, nr Shrewsbury, Shropshire***Hanmer (Flintshire)***

Apparently the Augustinians held the church only, and there is no evidence that this was a more extensive landholding.

Trefeglwys (Montgomeryshire)

Phillipotts states in (West and Palmer 2014, 18) that ‘...the princes of north Wales and their kinsmen were amongst the earliest benefactors of the Augustinian canons at Haughmond, and the cartulary provides some rare examples of early Welsh charters. In the 1130s and 1140s [several] princes granted the churches of Trefeglwys (in Arwystli in Powys) and Nefyn (in Gwynedd), with adjacent lands and woods, pannage and pasture rights. In the 1170s Gervase Goch, brother of Madog of Powys granted land at Aber Ceiriog near Chirk, later rented to the Abbey of Valle Crucis’.

Trefeglwys was one of the abbey’s earliest possessions according to Rees also, and not long after in the 1130s the church was granted extensive lands which thus became part of the Haughmond estate (1985, 5). In the mid-12th century Hywel of Arwystli gave permission for the monks to develop a cattle farm (*boveria*) on the land (Rees 1985, 10). Various place-names are mentioned in the charter of c.1157 (Rees 1985, 221) – Kilgrennith (Cilcierenydd) which was the name the whole manor later became known by, the wood of Penpres, Trefgomer (Maestrefgomer) etc – but none of the commentators has specified the extent of the manor or defined it on a map. Pryce appears to differ in his chronology, but the important point to note here is that there were three pieces of land.

E R Morris made the point specifically that in mapping the monastic estates in Montgomeryshire, Trefeglwys was omitted because of the difficulty in defining its extent and precise location.

Morris 1982; Pryce 1993, 41; Rees 1985; West and Palmer 2014, 18

Llanthony Priory, Monmouthshire.

Surprisingly perhaps, there is no evidence to suggest that Llanthony, in spite of its location in the Black Mountains close to where Herefordshire, Monmouthshire and Breconshire meet, held any land in the last of these.

However the Cadw *Register of Parks and Gardens* for Powys (1999) is adamant that Llangoed Hall beside the Wye between Erwood and Bronllys was the site of ‘an Episcopal [sic] grange during the medieval period when the lands were owned by Llanthony Abbey. Until at least 1888 the remains of a chapel, later used as a family burial ground, survived north-east of the site on the bank of the Wye’.

The source of this information in *The Register* is unknown and its reliability must be seriously questioned, for no direct link with Llanthomny can be established and Rees in 1932 did not draw attention to it. Yet the graveyard and chapel are genuine and were surveyed by CPAT in 2004.

Cadw 1999; Cowley 1977, 66; Procter 2007; Rees 1932; Silvester and Hankinson 2004, 8 & plan;

Wigmore Priory, Herefordshire

Banhadlog or Penheulog (Montgomeryshire) (SN 9815 8060)

Defined by William Rees as an estate centred on Banhadlog, it had according to him both a grange centre and a chapel. These correspond, but perhaps only through convenience, with the hall and a 19th-century chapel on modern maps.

The extent of the grange, as shown by Rees, was more depictive than real, a near-circular area with the supposed grange farm at its centre.

Rees 1932

Wormsley Priory, Herefordshire

No Welsh granges or manorial lands are known in Breconshire or beyond

Procter 2007

Benedictines

Cowley has commented that the landed estates of the Benedictines were small by comparison with the extensive grange lands of the Cistercians and no doubt this held true not only for south Wales, his specific region of interest, but for other regions as well (1977, 57).

Brecon Priory

Brecon was one of the Benedictine priories that achieved conventual status, having been founded by Bernard de Neufmarché soon after the conquest of this part of south Wales, around the turn of the 11th century, and it continued through to the Dissolution.

No figures on the extent of Brecon's estate seem to be available, however, and it is the mills on the Usk and the Honddu that have drawn the attention of commentators. They had a wood at Monkton, probably in the locality of the priory, and a small flock of sheep and other livestock. At the beginning of the 13th century, Brecon was increasing its demesne land by assarting land in Welsh Talgarth, and there is a record too of a grange, which according to Cowley was probably Battle Grange.

The Brecon Priory Cartulary, now residing (in transcribed form) in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, was printed in untransliterated Latin by R W Banks in successive volumes of *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (1882 and 1883). The introductory commentary is of little help in pinpointing landholdings, and a cursory examination of this potentially interesting source does not suggest that the bounds of estates feature in it. For the present the only source of information is William Rees' map of 1932.

Banks 1882; 1883; Cowley 1977,56-7, 62

Battle, Breconshire (SO 0100 3096)

Rees 1932

Cwrt-y-prior, Breconshire (SO 1502 2820)

Rees 1932

Garn-y-castell, Breconshire (SO 1604 2979)

Rees 1932

Llanywern, Breconshire (SO 1013 2859)

Rees 1932

Great Malvern Priory

The circumstances by which Great Malvern acquired lands in south Wales have not been assessed, though it is known that Llandovery was a dependent priory.

Knowles and Hadcock 1971, 67

Llanspyddid (Breccs) SO 0118 2816

No information on this landholding has been identified.

Rees 1932

Epynt: Merthyr Cynog SN 9925 4225

Land around Mynachdy, on eastern face of Mynydd Epynt (Breccs). No landholding has been defined to date.

Samuel Lewis in the 1830s noted that the name of this farm 'derived from its having been the residence of the monks of Malvern, for the purpose of superintending their possessions in the parish, and of transacting the business relating to them'. Theophilus Jones claimed much the same and it is likely that Lewis simply copied Jones' earlier publication.

Establishing that is important for both Jones and Lewis also refer to two stones, about five feet in length with incised crosses, undated, but perhaps early medieval. From the brief descriptions and the position of one of them in a porch, there can be no doubt that the same stones are being described by the two authorities. Whilst Jones, however, placed them in the church, Lewis claimed they were at Mynachdy. The latter must be an incorrect association, not least because Jones as the local antiquary must be treated as the more reliable of the two. Certainly Redknapp and Lewis appear to favour Jones, but sadly regardless of their location the stones have now been lost.

Mynachdy is now incorporated within the military training area of Mynydd Epynt known as the Sennybridge Range. It is set on the east bank of the Honddu on the valley floor. The old farm has been demolished and replaced by modern military-friendly buildings, and a site visit in 2010 revealed nothing of interest in the farm or the immediate surroundings.

Jones and Bailey 1909, 192, Lewis 1833, Redknapp 2007, 544, Rees 1932, Silvester and Hankinson 2010, 178,

Trallong: Penpont (Brecks) SN 9715 2855

No information on this landholding has been identified.

Rees 1932

Shrewsbury Abbey (Shropshire)

No Welsh lands identified

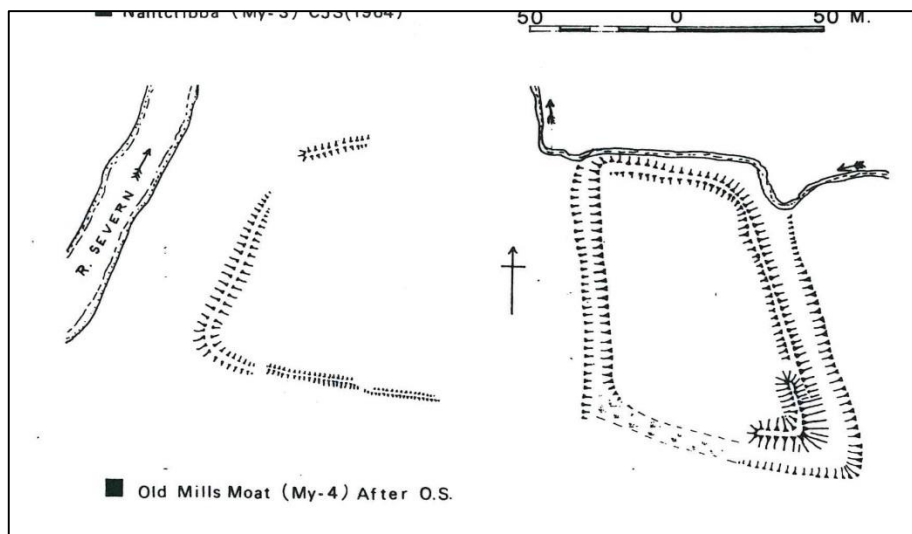
Grandmontines***Alberbury Priory, Shropshire***

An alien priory, it was confiscated in 1414, but brothers may have continued there until 1441 when it was bought by Archbishop Chicheley and granted with its lands to All Souls Oxford.

Criggion/Rhydescum. All Souls lands were mapped in detail by Thomas Langdon for the college warden Thomas Hovenden in 1593. There can be no certainty of course that the College did not pursue an active policy of land acquisition in the second half of the 15th century and throughout the 16th century, but given the fact that Shropshire was so distant from Oxford, it seems unlikely that the college was diligently attempting to build up their landholdings in the area. Thus it seems reasonable to assume that what All Souls was shown to own in 1593 was what it had been endowed with in the mid-15th century.

There is at the extreme western end of the Alberbury holding a moated site at Old Mills (SJ 2775 1287; PRN 1257). At this point the contiguous parishes of Alberbury (Criggion township) and Buttington are curiously interlocked, the putative monastic holding conforming with Alberbury parish. The main moat lies within Buttington, its western ditch, the parish boundary, but what looks to be a subsidiary enclosure is further to the west, in Criggion. The irregular course of the estate boundary points to an undocumented event that could result from its monastic status. As an incidental, the 1593 shows two buildings, one of them certainly a house (and called such, though the map is faint here). Moats are not a common feature in the landscape of Montgomeryshire, and Spurgeon in his assessment of moated sites in Wales was able to list only seven probable and four possible examples in the county.

It can be no more than a speculative suggestion that this was a manorial centre for the Grandmontines, though it is interesting that Spurgeon also raised this as a possibility. It is unusually large with an internal area in excess of 1.2 acres and an annexe that would have more than doubled that size, its location on the periphery of the putative monastic estate is significant and Alberbury Priory itself was moated as shown on an Elizabethan plan.



Old Mills Moat, Criggion (after Jack Spurgeon 1990)



Old Mills Moat, Criggion on LiDAR (courtesy of Geomatics Group)

A field visit to the moat was undertaken in March 2015. Details are to be found in the Annex to this report.

CPAT 2015; Rees 1932; Spurgeon 1981, 53, 58; VCH 1973, 47

Knights' Hospitallers

Halston Preceptory, Shropshire

Carno (Montgomeryshire) 58093

Carno sits on the south side of Afon Carno, raised above the valley floor on a gravel terrace. A stream, Afon Cerniog, flowing eastwards to join the main river, creates a wedge of land on which the village was established. In the late 12th or early 13th century the manor of Carno came into the possession of the Knights Hospitallers, and became a holding of their preceptor of Halston in Shropshire. Rees noted that the manor of Carno consisted of the two townships of Trawscoed and Derlwyn which together spanned the valley of the river of the same name. The only known attempt to map the extent of the Carno holding is that by E R Morris in 1982, and this is at too small a scale to permit any degree of accurate reproduction.

The earthwork enclosure adjacent to the church and known as *Caer Noddfa* has long been associated with them. The rectilinear enclosure (919; SAM Mg052) beside the church is generally thought to have been used as a *hospitium* (grange), and the name has some antiquity for it was referred to be Edward Lhuyd's correspondent in the 1690s. Whether the earthwork originated as a military installation of Roman date has yet to be satisfactorily resolved, but the unwarranted tendency automatically to label any rectilinear earthwork as of Roman origin, together with the absence of any Roman material in the excavations in 1964/5 (and presumably in an earlier trench cut in 1909) should perhaps be sufficient to rule this out as an origin myth, though Putnam was reasonably convinced that the Hospitallers had re-used an earlier enclosure.

The HER description of the site is not a particularly complete one. Putnam in his excavation report provides a better one. The trapezoidal enclosure is defined by a bank just over 1' high and about 15' wide, with a suggestion of a ditch on the outside. Three sides only survive, that on the south-east having gone. The complete north-west side is 270' long, the north-east side, probably complete is 420' long, and the south-west side 280' long. The two surviving corners are rounded, and the area enclosed was computed at just under 2.5 acres. The interior was featureless other than from surface irregularities near the centre of the north-west side. There is no sign of an entrance.

Excavation showed that the bank was closer to 2' high and that it was fronted by a ditch 11' wide and 6' deep. It also exposed a large stone or half-timber building measuring 40' by 36', with walls 2' 6" thick but with most of the stonework robbed away. On the basis of two post sockets Putnam favoured a timber-framed building set on a stone base wall. Two drainage sumps lay near the northern corner of the building and indeed the wall had been constructed around them. AZ larger pit about 8' across contained four sherds of medieval pottery.

HER; Putnam 1972; Rees 1947

Llanfihangel Nant Melan, Radnorshire

No information available.

Rees 1932

Llanwddyn (Montgomeryshire) Halston Knights' Hospitallers 35916

William Rees in his history of the Hospitallers in Wales specifically termed this a grange, belonging to the preceptory of Halston in Shropshire, and described its holding as 'that part of the manor contained within the township of Ysptyty and Tre'rllan but not the ancient church now submerged by Lake Vyrnwy. The lands included the portion of the parish lying immediately to the south and west of Lake

Vyrnwy, extending to the River Cownwy and to Mynydd St John (or Cefn Tre Yspytty) which rises above the lake. The manor-house, of which a small ruined building, measuring some forty feet by twenty, is all that remains, stood about one and a half miles to the west of the present church of Llanwddyn' (Rees 1947, 66).

The only known attempt to map the extent of the Llanwddyn holding is that by E R Morris in 1982, and this is at too small a scale to permit any significant degree of accurate reproduction. However, it appears likely that the Hospitallers owned a considerable tract of upland around the headwaters of the Vyrnwy. An estate map from 1810 which may have been drawn to differentiate the sheepwalks on the Berwyns labels 'part of the manor of St John of Jerusalem', here coinciding with Llanwddyn parish and running up to the ridge crest of the Berwyns. Unfortunately, it does not show the entire outline of the manor, but signals the possibility that other maps of a comparable age might do so, given that the manor evidently retained some cohesion several centuries after the Hospitallers had been disestablished, though by the early 19th century documents held in the National Library demonstrate that it was becoming known as the manor of Llanwddyn.

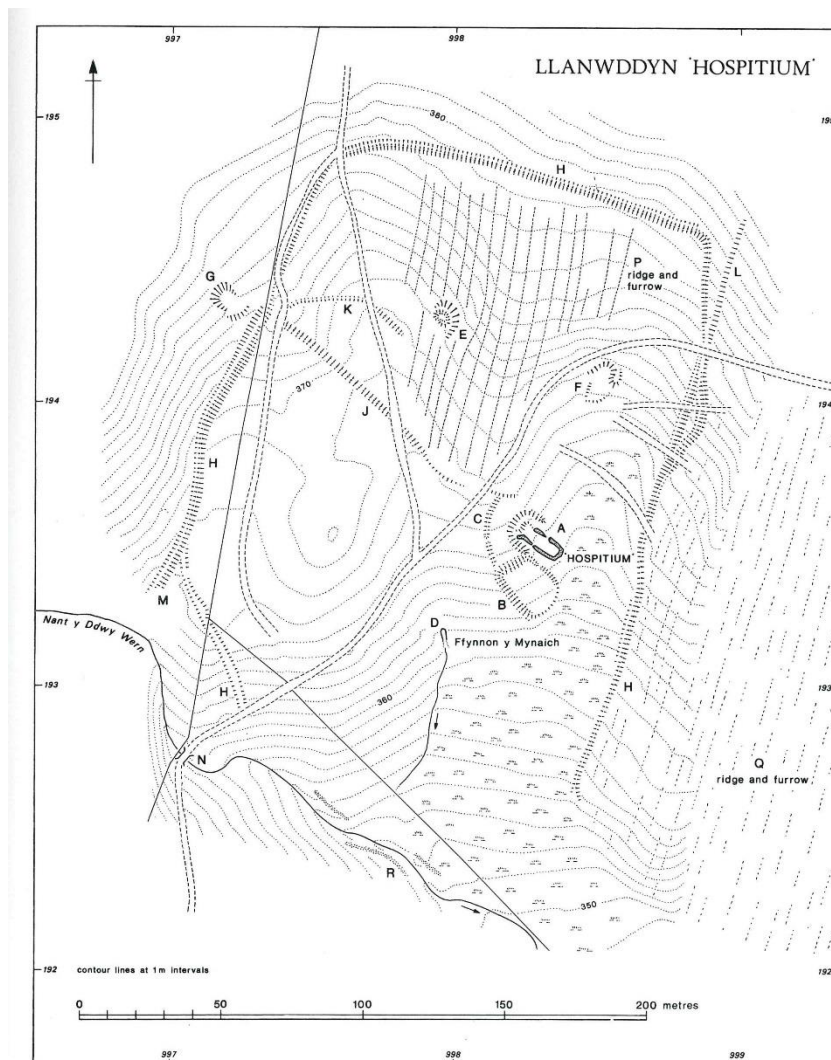


Fig. 3. Site plan of the Llanwddyn hospitium complex.

Llanwddyn Hospitium (after Silvester 1997)

The grange centre itself was studied by CPAT in the mid-1990s and published under the title of the Llanwddyn Hospitium in 1997. A map in the National Library from 1734 (Powis Castle M253) which depicts the Herbert's estate holding might provide some clues, but is not currently accessible.

The grange centre. The hospitium label is considered to be a 19th-century creation and should more correctly be termed a *camera*. It may have provided a stopping place for travellers, but is likely to have been primarily a farm. The complex contains the foundations of a single building on a platform (Rees' 'manor-house'), an adjacent enclosure with a length of enclosure bank running off it. To the south-west is a spring now known as Ffynnon y Mynaich and reputedly said to have curative powers. These together with two other platforms and some cultivation ridging are encompassed by an enclosure that is embanked on three sides and abuts the Nant y Ddwy Wern on the south, embracing about 3.4ha. Another platform lies just beyond the western enclosure bank, and further gentle ridging coats the ridge to the east of the enclosure. The stream on the south is crossed by an extremely well-constructed bridge which, it is tempting to speculate, might be of monastic age. A full description is to be found in the published site report by the present writer in 1997.

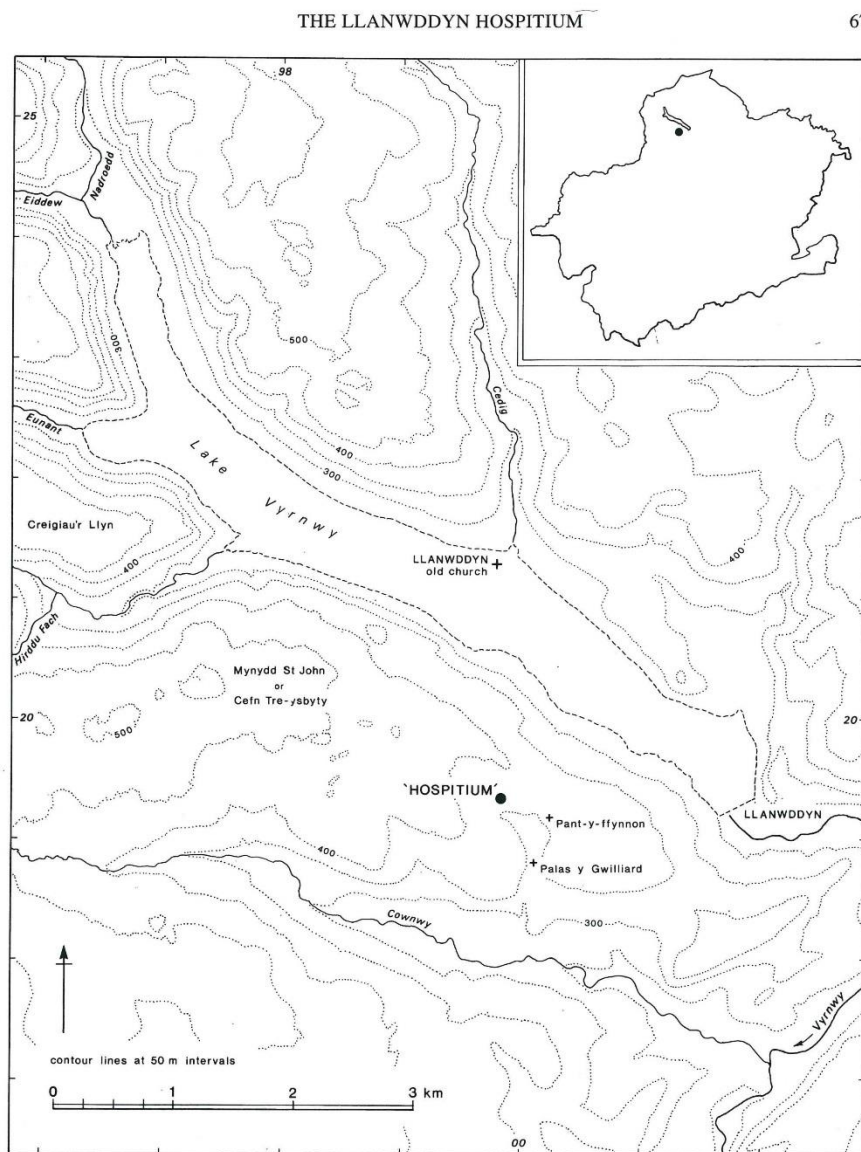


Fig. 2. Location plan: the hospitium in relation to Lake Vyrnwy.

Location of Llanwddyn Hospitium (after Silvester 1997)

It was scheduled as Mg241 in 1997.

Cule 1977; Denbighshire Record Office: DD/WY/8585; Morris 1982; Rees 1947; Silvester 1997

Premonstratensians

Talley Abbey, nr Llandeilo, Carmarthenshire

Talley's lands in Monmouthshire at Llanwenarth near Abergavenny appear to have stopped precisely on what became the county boundary between Monmouthshire and Breconshire.

Bishopric of Bangor

Glanmor Williams records that Bangor had two outlying groups of farms, in the Vale of Clwyd, one in the lordship of Ruthin, the other in that of Denbigh. It is unclear whether the Denbighshire lands at Garth Go-go (GAT 2001, section 3.2) equate with one of these two groups, for Williams does not specify them in any greater detail. To add to this lack of clarity, Glanville Jones in 1991 captioned an aerial photograph of the Mynydd Hiraethog earthwork known as Hen Ddinbych in the following terms: 'it was probably built to manage the summer pasture which was linked with the *maerdref* of the Bishops of Bangor at Llanrhaeadr' (1991, 192).

Hen Ddinbych, Llanrhaeadr (Denbs) 100623

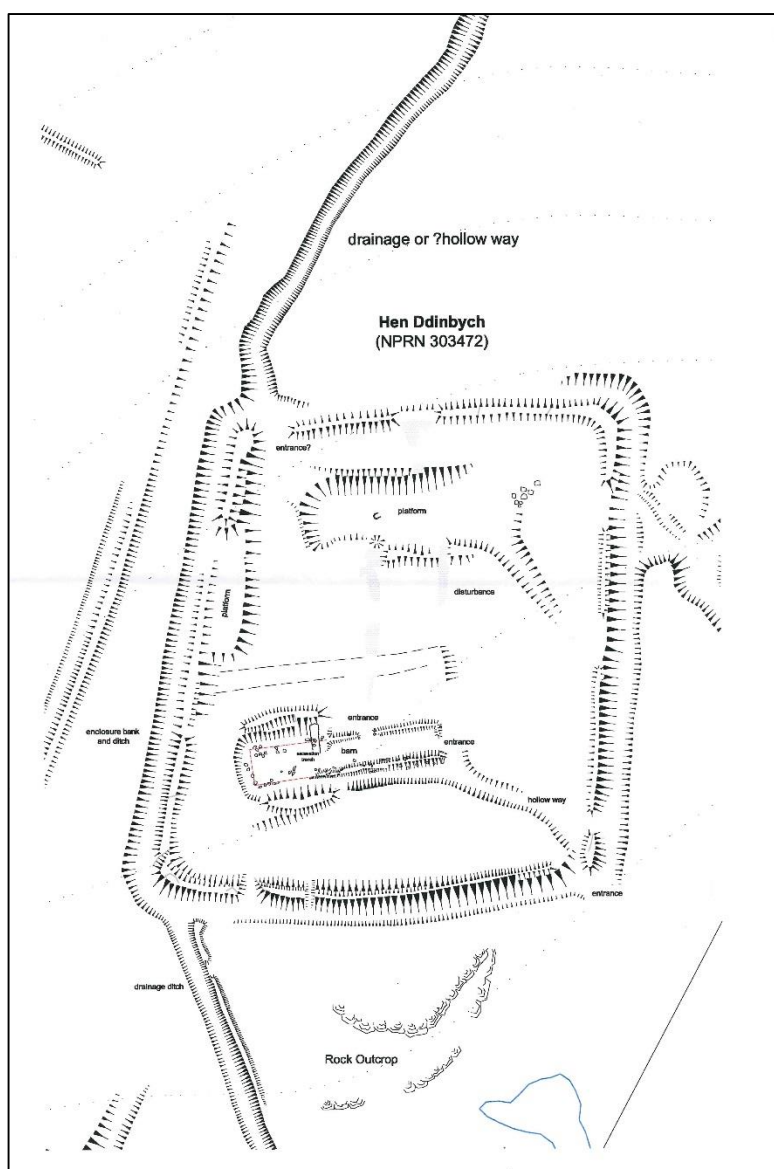
The earthwork of Hen Ddinbych (SH 9905 5636) was first described in detail by Ellis Davies (1929, 313), probably because at that date there was the contention that the earthwork might be Roman. Ellis Davies was also assiduous in collecting early references that might have a bearing on the earthwork. The *Survey of the Honour of Denbigh* in 1334 is the earliest (see below), the attempt to associate the site with remarks in John Leland's *Itinerary* have to be treated with much more caution, Edward Lhuyd's reference in *Parochialia* appears more authentic, and the name seems first to have been coined (at least in print) in J. Williams' *The Records of Denbigh* in 1860. As an archaeological site it was first illustrated and described in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* in 1959, by Gresham and Hemp using the excavations by F. H. Thompson as a springboard. Little further attention was paid to it, until the 1970s when some survey work but no excavation were integrated into the Brenig Reservoir campaign headed by Frances Lynch. Much more recently, Louise Barker of the Royal Commission and the writer have re-examined the earthworks and the former has re-surveyed both the enclosure and the surrounding earthworks. SA brief description and the enclosure plan were included in the Commission's booklet on *Mynydd Hiraethog* (Silvester 2011, 47-8).

It was the Reverend John Williams who picked up on the reference in the *Survey of the Honour of Denbigh* to 'a certain waste called *Bysshopeswall*, which contains 1127 acres, 3½ roods, with the hamlet of *Berebowe* and *Havothlum* adjoining, the pasture of which is sold annually to the community for 20s'. Ellis Davies pointed out that *Bysshopeswall* was the name of the waste but could not be the earthwork, noting that *Berebowe* and *Havothlum* were adjacent sites, the former the name of a stream, Aber Berbo, the latter a holding known as Havod-lom.

Gresham and his fellow authors were content to re-state the *Bysshopeswall* link, but noted too (though only in a footnote) that a further entry in the *Survey* of 1334 stated that *Bysshopeswall* could support eight bulls and 2092 cows in both winter and summer. It was left to Glanville Jones to make the link with the bishop of Bangor's lands (rather than the closer bishopric of St Asaph) and introduce the concept of a *maerdref* at Llanrhaeadr.

Hen Ddinbych lies immediately to the east of the Brenig Reservoir and above the little Aber Llech Daniel.

Gresham, Hemp and Thompson claimed the earthwork was a quadrilateral with sides of 210' on the north, 274' on the east, 280' on the south and 268' on the east. The first of these is misleading, probably because of the 'entrance' at the corner, and as Louise Barker's more accurate plan shows the earthwork is not far from being parallelogrammatic, a slightly skewed playing card shape. Within the enclosure is a long building which they computed as 108' by 14', which is slightly platformed into the slope. This in the southern half of the enclosure is paralleled by a linear hollow in the northern half which has been deliberately created. This shows no trace of a structure within it and given its hollowed nature, rather than being platformed, could have acted as a sump for surface water. A second platform lies along the inner face of the western enclosure bank.



Hen Ddinbych: the main enclosure (after Louise Barker, RCAHMW)

Excavation by Thompson in 1956 revealed that the bank was no more than 2' 3" high and about 14' wide. It was fronted by a ditch 4' in depth and about 12' wide.

Bishopric of St Asaph

Glanmor Williams noted that of the Welsh dioceses, St Asaph ‘enjoyed by far the least in the way of temporalities’. Amongst its few outlying possessions were the manor of Llandegla near the headwaters of the Alyn.

Williams 1962, 275

Bishopric of St Davids

The Black Book of St Davids, an ‘extent of all the lands and rents of the Lord Bishop of St Davids’ was edited by J W Willis-Bund and published 1902, but has not been examined – no copy was available - while an article by J Conway Davies in 1946 provides little more than general locational information. The estates are mentioned though in no greater detail by Glanmor Williams.

Davies 1946; Williams 1962, 273; Willis-Bund 1902

Glascwm, Radnorshire (SO 1563 5319)

Rees 1932

Llanddew, Breconshire (SO 0548 3075)

Rees 1932

St Harmon, Radnorshire (SN 9879 7281)

Rees 1932

Trallong, Breconshire (SN 9660 2963)

Rees 1932

Trecastle, Breconshire (SN 8780 2917)

Rees 1932

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Annex 1: Monastic Granges: Field Visits

Celynog Grange, Tregynon Strata Florida SO 158 944 766

The records of linear earthworks at this locality exhibit considerable confusion, to the extent that it is difficult to relate them to the various earthworks in the locality. The following is an attempt to rationalise the picture, but it is not the result of a systematic survey of the hill and so it may be incomplete.

It seems clear from the documentary record that the grange was surrounded by a ‘two-faced ditch called the Abbot’s Ditch..’. Two possible candidates were observed on the south side of the hill, both comprising a medial ditch flanked by banks, the first of these running from approximately SO 04889 97051 to SO 05048 96990 and approximately 5-6m in overall width. A single bank, up to 5m wide and 0.5m high, is then intermittently visible heading along the parish boundary to the east, as far as SO 05515 96973, although this may not be related to the ditch and two banks, and is generally in a poor state of preservation owing to its use as a trackway.

The second section of earthwork with the same form is not physically connected to the first, as it starts at about SO 05442 97654 and seems to run generally south-east as far as a public road at SO 06190 97303, and perhaps further to SO 06288 97154, giving a total length of just over 1km. The earthwork has an overall width of about 7m, with banks averaging 2m wide and 0.6m high.



CPAT Image: 3984-0013

Of the other earthworks in the vicinity, that known as the Borfa Hafod Ditch (PRN 4746) lies in an area subjected to linear quarrying and this is perhaps a more likely origin for the feature as no continuation

could be identified to either side of the copse of fir trees mentioned in that record. A similar linear quarry is visible to the north of the wood and is clearly distinguished by its 'pitted' appearance.

CPAT site visit

R Hankinson 23/03/2015

Creigiog Grange (Denbighshire) Valle Crucis SJ 1926 5536 35792

The visit was to examine a potential earthwork of interest located on a low hill some 100m or so to the north-east of the farm of Creigiog-isaf. This had been observed on the LIDAR coverage of the locality, but proved to have been created by sub-surface ridges in the underlying limestone bedrock, and perhaps also by some quarrying and stone removal. The latter was almost certainly carried out to provide stone for nearby walls which function as local field boundaries. Possibly some of the walls might have been created to define the grange's boundary but this entirely speculative

CPAT site visit

R Hankinson 04/03/2015

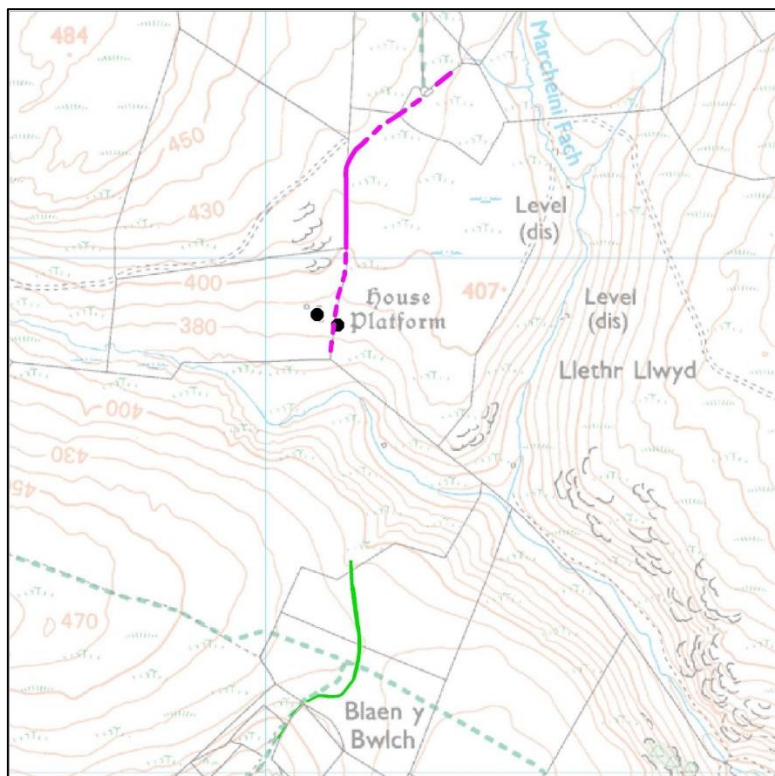
Dolhelfa Grange (Radnorshire) Cwm-hir 17950

A linear earthwork (17790) allegedly associated with the Dolhelfa Grange crosses the ridge between the River Wye and the valley Marchegni Fawr at Blaen y Bwlch. The earthwork is depicted in green on the accompanying plan. Discovered by the Royal Commission in the early 1990s, further information on its nature was generated when the site was examined in detail during the CPAT Short Dykes study between 2002 and 2006, and it has not been revisited here.

A possible continuation of the earthwork to the north, however, was observed on LIDAR on the far side of the Marchegni Fawr and it was this that was investigated in the field, to determine its authenticity and to identify whether there was a specific relationship to the known earthwork.

The northern end of the second earthwork lies at SN 95382 74375, where it appears as a bank with a ditch on its north-west side, about 4.5m in overall width, with a maximum height from ditch base to the top of the bank of 1.2m. Southwards the earthwork probably acquired its current form as a consequence of the creation of a post-medieval boundary bank on its line, although an earlier element can be identified. This section continues to the south-west as far as SN 95354 74355, beyond which the bank has been partly levelled and disturbed as far as SN 95333 74338, where it is truncated by the now abandoned Carn y Gaseg farmstead.

On the south-west side of the farmstead, the earthwork seems to be faintly visible as a broad and spread out bank as far as SN 95257 74278, where its line is continued by a relatively well-preserved section of bank and ditch some 15m long. Further to the south-west, the next section has been largely levelled, surviving only to some 0.3m in height, although its course is clear as far as SN 95185 74220, where it gains its true form. After another 40m the earthwork curves to run south as far as SN 95157 74020; this section comprises a relatively intact bank and ditch facing west, with its overall width varying between 6m and 8m and having a maximum height from the base of the ditch to the top of the bank of 1.2m. There is a probable continuation to the south, where a bank 1.5m wide and 0.5m high, with a gully on its west, extends to SN 95152 73968. A further section of bank, 1m wide and 0.4m high, runs between SN 95132 73878 and SN 95126 73820, where it ends. Careful examination revealed no further evidence of the earthwork on the north side of the Marchegni Fawr stream and the LiDAR evidence for the possible section between there and the known linear earthwork that crosses Blaen y Bwlch proved to be a former trackway that makes a descending traverse of the steep slope leading down to the stream.



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Dolhelfa Grange: possible associated boundaries



CPAT Image: 3984-0008

Although there is no direct physical relationship, it seems highly likely that the northern earthwork is in some way related to the two long platforms interpreted as sheepcotes – one scheduled – which lie

near its southern terminal. The intact section of bank has a distinctive character and pre-dates the field system associated with the post-medieval settlement of Carn y Gaseg, although it is clearly not of the same character as the southern earthwork mentioned above. It seems reasonable to ascribe it a medieval date.

CPAT site visit
R Hankinson 19/03/2015

Hafodyrabad, Llandegla (Denbighshire) Valle Crucis 101486

An attempt was made to visit the building, thought to be a chapel or grange by David Williams, but the owner refused permission.

Halton Manor (Denbighshire) Valle Crucis SJ 3161 3953 132022

The landowner was not available to grant permission for access. Observation from the adjoining public road reveals that the site, known as 'The Court' on the first edition Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map, is now within a pasture field (see below). Two slight and perhaps linear earthworks, no more than 0.4m high (but viewed from a distance), were apparent and may be associated with the two buildings depicted on the Ordnance Survey map. No remains of any standing structures were visible. The site lies on a natural terrace overlooking and sloping down towards the confluence of the Dee and the Ceiriog, around 150m to the east, and has excellent views in that direction.



CPAT site visit
R Hankinson 04/03/2015

Old Mills, Trewern Alberbury? SJ 2775 1287 PRN 1257

The site is a moated enclosure, in shape forming a rhomboid, here specifically the base of a truncated isosceles triangle. This assumes that the ditch which formed the western side of the moated enclosure

as shown by Spurgeon (see main text) is more likely to have been a later drainage ditch than an original feature, and that the moat was much longer from east to west, a view which may not find universal acceptance.

It occupies pasture land on the edge of the Severn flood plain and slightly rising ground to its east; it is overlooked on that side. A modern farm lies immediately to the south.

The east end of the enclosure is the best preserved, consisting of a substantial ditch with an irregular internal bank, overall about 13m across on the south side near the south-east corner. At that point the dimensions are substantial, the top of the bank about 3.0m above the base of the ditch. The remainder of the south side has been largely removed or modified, although a section of ditch, 10m wide and 0.5m deep continues to the west for perhaps 60m. On the north side, the bank is significantly lower and has a small stream immediately to its north in place of the ditch. The field boundary to the west bisects the enclosure and past agriculture in the more westerly field has effectively removed most traces, except for a very slight rise in the ground on the north side. The west end of the enclosure is represented by a spread bank, up to 12m wide and no more than 0.7m high, though there seems to be no evidence of an external ditch. There is a gap at the north-west corner, which is reported by the landowner to have led to a deep cut down to the river which has now been infilled, and this may be evidence of a former crossing of the river. The owner stated that stone is visible in the river bed in this approximate location in low water conditions.

There is no clear evidence of any former dwellings or other buildings within the enclosure. At the east end the ground in the interior is irregular, but this seems to have resulted from natural drainage lines causing erosion. Some past earthmoving works were reported in this location by the landowner. The plan produced by the Ordnance Survey in 1971 is still broadly accurate, apart from the loss of one field boundary and the probable levelling of a short section of bank in the central part of the southern boundary of the enclosure.



CPAT 3984-0003

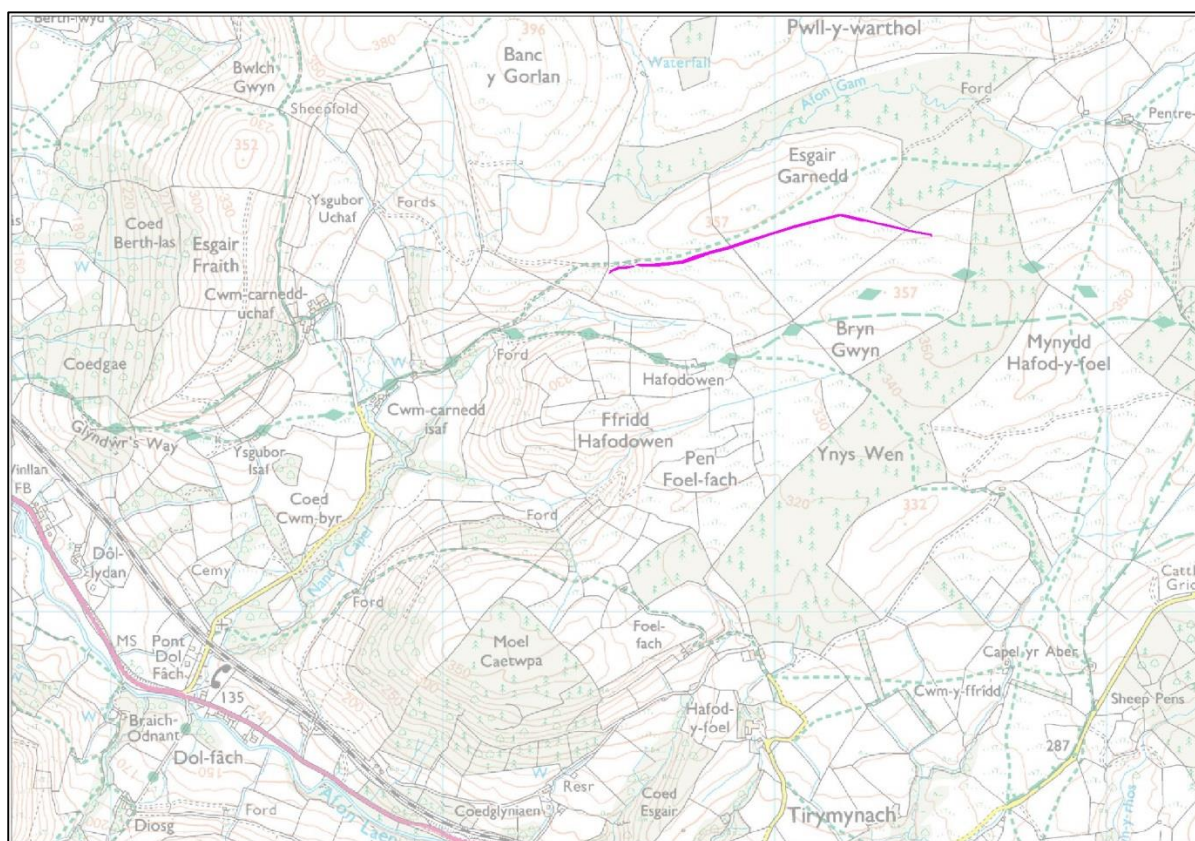
Discussions with the owner revealed that two archaeological excavations had been conducted on the bank forming the east side of the enclosure by David Hill and Margaret Worthington, probably in the period 2000-2005, as part of their search for Offa's Dyke. These excavations were approximately located at the north-east and south-east corners.

CPAT site visit
R Hankinson 04/03/2015

Tirymynach, Talerddig - the Abbot's Dyke/Black Dyke (SH 927 028)

The HER record exhibits some confusion regarding the location and nature of the earthwork, but it is still extant and can be readily defined. It crosses a slight saddle between the local summits of Esgair Garnedd and Bryn Gwyn, some 2.5km east of Llanbryn-mair village, and measures 1.0km in length with an overall east to west alignment.

Although there is a slight possibility of a faint continuation, the eastern end lies at SH 93475 03131, where there is a slight deviation to the south for a few metres. The earthwork runs from this point for 280m to the west-north-west (SH 93200 03200) before changing direction to the west-south-west and continuing for a further 720m to its terminal at SH 92500 03020. The eastern section comprises a bank and ditch which have created a north-facing scarp up to 1.2m high, the earthwork overall measuring about 7m in width.



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Abbot's Dyke, Talerddig: extent of earthwork

The overall form is retained as the earthwork turns to head west-south-west, but from SH 93000 03142 to SH 92891 03107 it survives only as a shallow ditch 2m wide and 0.3m deep. Further to the west-south-west the earthwork regains its correct form, of a bank with a broad ditch on its north side, measuring 6.5m in overall width and 1.0m high from the base of the ditch to the top of the bank. The western end has been somewhat disturbed by the creation of farm roads.

Regarding the existing descriptions, it is clear that the 2004 Tir Gofal assessment did not correctly identify the dyke, or if it did then the description is too vague to be helpful. The location ascribed lies to the west of that end of the earthwork, where it seems that a section of post-medieval boundary bank, of which there are many in this locality, was recorded in its stead. Thomas (1997, 114) also appears to have confused the issue somewhat, the relatively imprecise grid references given leading to the earthwork being mistakenly identified with a boundary recorded on the 1903 Ordnance Survey mapping. The HER suggestion that this record was a mis-sited reference to the Abbot's Ditch (PRN 766), near Tregynon, is clearly incorrect.



CPAT Image: 3984-0011

CPAT site visit
R Hankinson 23/03/2015