



First century cemetery, Dewsall Court,
Herefordshire: interim report

Huw Sherlock and PJ Pikes
2002



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Cover Photograph: Dewsall Court



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Summary

In June 2001 a team from Archenfield Archaeology and the University of Birmingham excavated human remains at Dewsall, Herefordshire. These bones represented at least 11 individuals of both sexes from children to adults. Carbon 14 dating indicated a likely date from the 7th to 9th centuries for two of the burials. Charcoal from the base of another grave suggested a date between the 2nd and 4th centuries.

The burials were towards the southern edge of a large oval enclosure measuring approximately 270 metres east to west and 150 metres from north to south. A stream bisected this enclosure.

Also within this enclosure, against its northern boundary, is the parish church of St Michael. The northern boundary of the graveyard forms part of the larger enclosure.

Dewsall was within the Welsh kingdom of Ergyng in the late 6th and earlier 7th century. This had passed into the control of the kings of Glywysing in the mid 7th century. Some time in the 9th century the area became part of the English kingdom of Mercia. The cemetery, or at least part of it, may have survived all these changes, to continue in use up to the present time.

2.0 Geological, historical and archaeological background

2.1 Geological background and land use

Immediately before the commencement of the field project the site was in use as an area of hard standing associated with a series of outbuildings.

It appeared to lie within an oval enclosure of some 3.50 hectares, which also contained Dewsall Court (the old manor house) and Dewsall parish church. This enclosure was bisected by a stream, which ran in a shallow valley. The parish church and graveyard lie on the opposite side of this small valley and are also within the apparent enclosure.

Apart from the modern graveyard, the whole area forms the gardens, stables and outbuildings of Dewsall Court.

The underlying geology is the Raglan Mudstone formation of the Old Red Sandstone. A fault line, a branch of the Neath Disturbance, bisects the site, running south-south-west to north-north-east. Elsewhere (in the Kilpeck area) this fault forms the boundary between the Raglan Mudstone formation and the later St Maugham's formation, but in the immediate area of Dewsall the latter formation is absent (British Geological Survey, 1:50000 Solid and Drift Geology plan, 2000).

The eastern end of the enclosure lies on one of the beds of sandstone within the Raglan formation. A wedge of alluvium, presumably derived from the stream, extends about a quarter of the way into the enclosure from the west. As the stream currently turns suddenly to leave the enclosure on the northern side, this probably signifies a deliberate diversion at some unknown period before the tithe survey in 1840;

The soil on the site itself was heavy clay.

2.2 Historical background

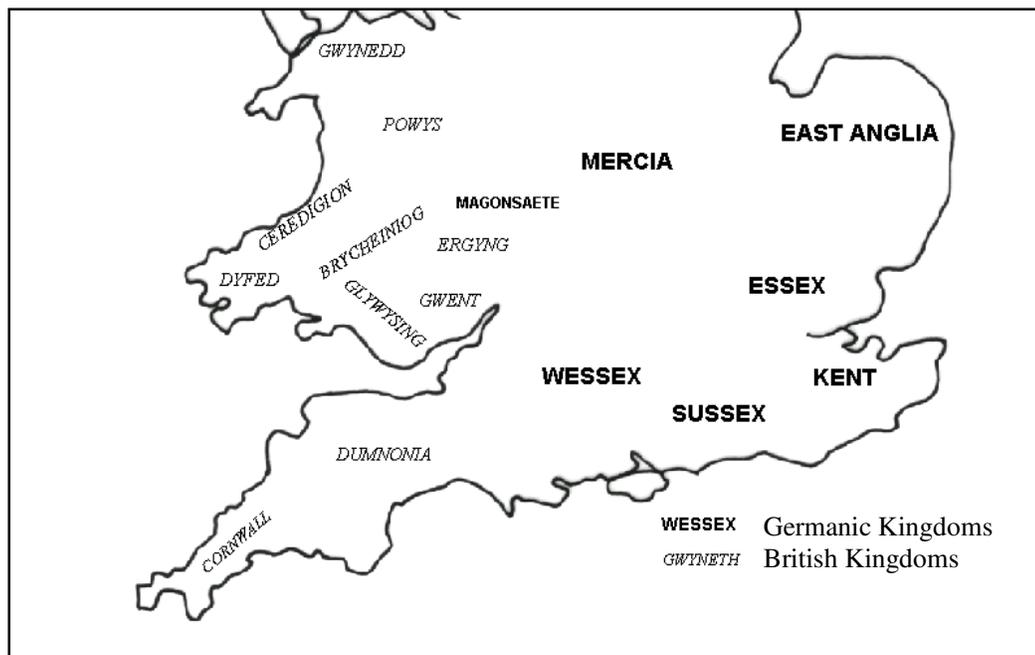


Figure 2: Early medieval Southern Britain

Dewsall, a small parish of 280 hectares (693 acres), 7.25 km (4.50 miles) to the south-south-west of Hereford, is in on the edge of the area known as Archenfield.

Archenfield is the anglicised form of Ergyng, the British kingdom which occupied southern Herefordshire from the 6th or 7th century. Dewsall does not appear by name before the 12th century and cannot be identified before Domesday. The name means 'St David's Spring' and appears as *Dewiswell(e)* in 1160-70, *Deuswelle* in c1174 *Doweswelle* in 1230 (Coplestone-Crow, 1989, p68).

Ergyng (or Ercic, or a variety of spellings in The Liber Landavensis¹) seems to be etymologically related to the place-name Ariconium, the Roman industrial town at Weston-under-Penyard, to the east of Ross-on-Wye (Coplestone-Crow, 1989, p2). Ergyng was once much more extensive than modern Archenfield.

Like the other provinces of the empire, later Roman Britannia possessed a Christian Church. Five British clerics had attended the Council of Arles in 314. They included three bishops (one from York and two others – possibly from London and Leicester), a priest and a deacon (Todd, 1973, p40). Many of the British had maintained their Christian faith, even exporting it to Ireland, through the period when the pagan Germanic peoples had gradually taken control of the eastern part of the island.

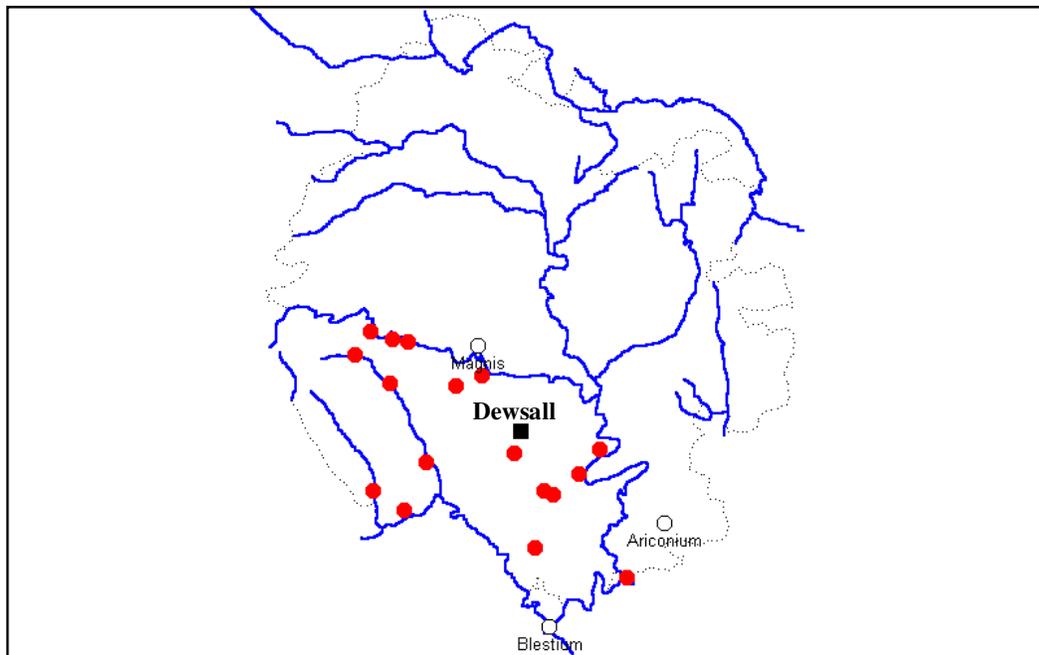


Figure 3: Churches (red circles) in the Ergyng area in 6th, 7th and early 8th century charters in the Book of Llandaff (LL). Dates after Davies, W, 1979; Locations after Coplestone-Crow, 1989. The locations of the Roman towns of Ariconium, Blestium and Magnis are also shown.

Ergyng was the cradle of one of the several British bishoprics which ultimately formed the diocese of Llandaff.² The recorded origins of the bishopric of Ergyng lie with the activities of St Dyfrig, or Dubricius, in what is now southern Herefordshire. Dyfrig seems to have emerged from the local Romano-British population and may have been active in the 5th century.³ A bishopric seems to

¹ Liber Landavensis – the Book of Llandaff – see below

² Several bishoprics became consolidated at Llandaff by the 9th or 10th century (Davies, W, 1978, p150).

³ The dates of Dyfrig and the Kings of Ergyng are approximate. The earliest mention of Dyfrig is in the early 7th century Vita Samsonis - Life of St Samson which recounts that he ordained Samson (Doble, 1971, p54). His birth may be in around 440-450 AD (Fenn, 1968, p334).

have been based at St Constantine's Church at *Garthbenni* by 500 AD.¹ With English pressure growing on its original centre in south Herefordshire, the focus of this bishopric appears to have migrated westwards, finally settling at Llandaff in the late 10th or early 11th centuries (Davies, W, 1979, p91). The Book of Llandaff (compiled in the 12th century from earlier sources and referred to as *LL* from here on) claims that Dyfrig was the first in a direct line of Bishops leading to the then Bishop of Llandaff, Urban, consecrated in 1107. In the Llandaff version, Dyfrig was followed sequentially by first St Teilo, then St Oudoceus as territorial bishops presiding over a diocese in the standard contemporary Roman fashion. Such territorial diocese may have not only continued, but expanded, in the immediate post-Roman period (Edwards, N, 1996, p51).

Ergyng had its own dynasty of kings in the 6th and 7th centuries. King Erb of Gwent and Ergyng granted land to the church in about 555 AD (*LL*, p76).² His son Peibio was 'King of Ergyng'. Peibio was followed by Cinuin and Gwyddgi, who were followed in turn by Gwrgan. Gwrgan is the last person recorded as King of Ergyng, and probably died in about 645 (Davies, W, 1982, p75). Gwrgan's daughter, Onbraust, married Meurig of Glywysing/Gwent, and Athrwy's was their son, unifying both kingdoms.

This process, by which smaller kingdoms and territories became part of larger ones, reversing a presumed post-Roman fragmentation, must have taken place in all parts of Britain, although the records are sparse. Alliances were formed, often between Germanic and British kingdoms. Larger groupings would in themselves have encouraged smaller kingdoms to seek alliances with larger neighbours. Ultimately, even the larger kingdoms merged – by the early 9th century, Powys, weakened by its struggle with Mercia, was absorbed by Gwynedd (Davies, W, 1990, p35).

Ergyng, as a distinct entity, seems to have retained some sort of separate political existence after it lost its own kings. Recognisably separate groups of leading men of Ergyng, Gwent and Glywysing continued to be present, in their respective areas, at the granting of charters into the 8th or 9th centuries (Davies, W, 1978, p 109).

The process by which Ergyng came to be dominated by the English-speaking Mercians remains obscure, but certainly happened in stages over a long period of time.

In the north of what is now Herefordshire, a certain *Merewalh* is recorded as being converted to Christianity and founding a monastery at Leominster in about 660.³ He is referred to as *rex Westehanorum* or *Westan-Hecanorum rex* by the (much later) biographer of his daughter *St Mildburg* (Pretty, 1989, p175) and he apparently endowed the Leominster monastery, and subsequently another at Wenlock, at which Mildburg later became abbess, with extensive properties.

The people that Merewalh ruled are often equated with the *Magonsaetan*. There are however no contemporary references to this name and it is only known from four later sources. A now lost charter of about 823-5 records *Nottheard*, the king's companion and ealdorman (*prefuctus*) of the *Magansetum* granting land in

¹ Wendy Davies suggest the probability of this date (1978, p158), her identification of Garthbenni, with Welsh Bicknor follows Evans in *LL*, but is disputed by Bruce Coplestone-Crow (1989) who suggests that it is more likely to be Hentland in Goodrich parish. See also Watkins, M, P, 1966.

² *Cil Hal* - Pencoyd in South Herefordshire.

³ The founding of the monastery of Leominster by Merewalh may not reflect the true circumstances. It is possible that a British church, associated with St David's, pre-existed at the site. Leominster may be Llanllieni alleged to have been founded by St David himself (Hillaby, 1995, p9).

*Briencandafelde*¹ to St Peter's Abbey in Gloucester (Finberg, 1961, p140). The Magonsaetan are an identifiable group of people as late as 1016 when, led by the treacherous Eardorman of Mercia, Eadric Streona, they were the first to run away from the Danes at the battle of Ashingdon (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (C), p25).²

Merewalh's sons, Merchelm and Mildfrith were also rulers of this people, and Mildfrith is recorded as being re-buried in a *tumba* built by a bishop of the *Magonsaetan* in the early to mid 8th century (see below, page 41). Several of Merewalh's daughters (including Mildburg) became abbesses. Merewalh and his sons are the only known rulers of this dynasty.

There are many questions about Merewalh and the people he ruled. His name means '*illustrious Welshman*' and according to some sources he was a son of Penda, king of Mercia which was the kingdom occupying what is now the midlands of England. Penda, a pagan king, allied with the British king of Gwynneth, Cadwallon, against the Northumbrians and slew their king, Edwin in 633 (ASC). Kate Pretty (1989, p176) suggests that he was in reality a Briton and related to Penda through marriage.

With the exception of one site near Ludlow, there are no pagan Anglo-Saxon burials in Shropshire or Herefordshire. The implication must be that either the local people were British and Christian or that any Anglo-Saxon immigrants were converted before they arrived. The kingdom ruled by Merewalh '*may have been wholly British in origin or made up of converted Anglo-Saxon settlers*' (Pretty, 1989, p175). There may of course have been elements of both groups.

The Northumbrian monk Etrid reportedly converted Merewalh to Christianity in 660. The Northumbrian church at that time would have had similar, though possibly not identical practices to the other British churches. Easter would have been celebrated at the same time in Leominster and Lann Deui. This changed after the Synod of Whitby in 663,³ when the Northumbrian church adopted the Roman Easter. From this time, what is now northern Herefordshire held to a different Easter from that in what is now southern Herefordshire, and would continue to do so until the church in the West (that of Wales) changed to the Roman calendar a century later (768 AD).

To the east of the Magonsaete (if we can call them that), the *Hwicce* inhabited the area which is now Worcestershire and northern Gloucestershire. The boundary between the Hwicce and The Magonsaetan ran along the line of the river Leadon and the Malvern Hills. The origins of the Hwicce, like those of the Magonsaetan, are far from clear.

Immediately to the west of the Hwicce, the area of south Herefordshire between the River Wye and the River Leadon/Malvern Hills boundary contains Ariconium and was presumably an original part of Ergyng. This may have been *Cantref – Coch* the Red Cantref (Coplestone-Crow, 1989) and was lost to Ergyng at some unknown date, but which is unlikely to be before the battle of Dyrham in 577, which led to the British losing Cirencester, Bath and Gloucester.

1 The Gloucester *Historium* has the place-names *Erenkandeffeld* and *Brankamffeld*. The former may well be Archenfield.

2 They are also believed by some to be the *Westerna* recorded in the Tribal Hidage of about 670 AD (Hooke, 1986, p7).

3 The Synod was at *Streoneshalh*, which is normally identified as Whitby. Bede gives the date as 664, but here he is not following his own precedent of starting years at Christmas, but rather earlier methods of reckoning years from September (Cheney, 1955, p4). The synod took place in late September or early October 663 (Stenton, p129).

A British¹ victory in the lower Wye valley in around 620 or 630 AD² stopped their advance along the north coast of the Bristol Channel (Davies, J, 1994, p60).

In 722 the British won a victory over the English at *Pencon* in Eryng³. The victor would have been Ithel ap Morgan, and the temporary result would have been the continuation of the rule of Glywysing in Eryng. The existence of a separate Eryng polity of at least some sort in this period is suggested by a grant of land to the church by one Rhiadaf in about this time. Rhiadaf purchased the land for this purpose and granted in the presence of Ithel and the elders of Eryng - *presentia iuthaili regis et nobilium seniosum ercyng*. The price may have included booty for it consisted of 24 items (possibly cattle), and 'a Saxon woman, a precious sword and valuable horse' (*saxonica muliere et gladio pretioso et equo ualente*) (LL, p185).

However, the initiative passed to the Mercians by 743 (ASC) when Cuthred of Wessex joined the Mercian king, Æthelbald, in laying waste the border lands.

Ithel had regained control of at least the greater part of Eryng in 745, and returned 11 churches there to Bishop Berthwyn after the Saxon devastation (Davies, W, 1979, p113). These churches are shown in figure 4, and listed in Appendix C (p52). The grant returning these churches is recorded in the Book of Llandaff (LL, p185). It records the destruction of the border towards Hereford by the 'most treacherous Saxon race' (*saxonica gente infidelissima*).

In 745 Eryng still occupied a larger area than that which was to become Norman, and indeed modern, Archenfield. Churches in the Golden Valley (Dorstone, Peterchurch) and the area known as Mawfield (Eaton Bishop, Bredwardine, Madley, Moccas and Preston-on-Wye) were returned to Welsh possession (See appendix C). None of these places were listed as those which had churches which were still within the jurisdiction of Llandaff in the 11th century (See appendix D).

In 757 Offa became king of Mercia, and after a battle at Hereford in 760, seems to have established a truce with Glywysing/Gwent. Ithel had died some time shortly after 745 and the British (or by now perhaps Welsh) would have been led by one or more of his sons – Ffernael, Rhodri, Rhys and Meurig. Increasingly under pressure from Mercia and the Mercian sub-kingdom (that of the *'Magonsaetan'*) based in northern Herefordshire, Eryng seems to have been forced into direct political subservience to its powerful neighbour possibly from this time, and by the end of the 9th century at the latest (Davies, W, 1982, p102). Although it remained part of the Welsh ecclesiastical establishment, and maintained its own British laws and customs for centuries⁴, it became increasingly an established, if unusual, part of the Mercian and finally Saxo-Danish kingdoms.

Offa marked the border between Mercia and the British kingdoms by the great earthwork now known as Offa's Dyke (Fox, 1955, p279). There is no dyke

¹ British/Welsh/Saxon/Sais/English/Anglian – To the English speakers the Celtic speakers of the west of Britain were *Weallus* – *foreigners* – a word related to Walloon and Vlach, and implying those people occupying what had previously been Roman Imperial Territories. The western Celts referred to themselves as Britons – they came to use also *Combrogii* – *fellow-countrymen*, later the term *Cymru* – *companions* was used, the English speakers were *Sais*. The incomers facing the Welsh were mainly two groups – Angles, moving westward from East Anglia and into Mercia (the march or border), and Saxons, specifically the West Saxons from Gloucestershire. After the destruction of English power in 1066, the Welsh faced a new and terrible enemy - *y Freinc* – the French, as the Normans were referred to in Wales.

² The Battle of Pont y Saeson – the victor was recorded as Tewdrig, who had come out of retirement. Howell (1986, p40) dates this event to around 630 while Wendy Davies (1979, p97) dates a charter referring to it at around 620.

³ Pencoyd in Archenfield, southern Herefordshire.

⁴ A form of the old Welsh system of inheritance, gavelkind, continued in a simplified form in Archenfield (as it was later known) until 1925 (Taylor, 1997, p29).

between Bridge Sollers in Herefordshire and Redbrook in Gloucestershire, where Ergyng may have formed a buffer area. However, whatever peace agreement Offa came to with the Welsh, sporadic warfare continued throughout his reign and perhaps the border here was never sufficiently established to be permanently marked.¹

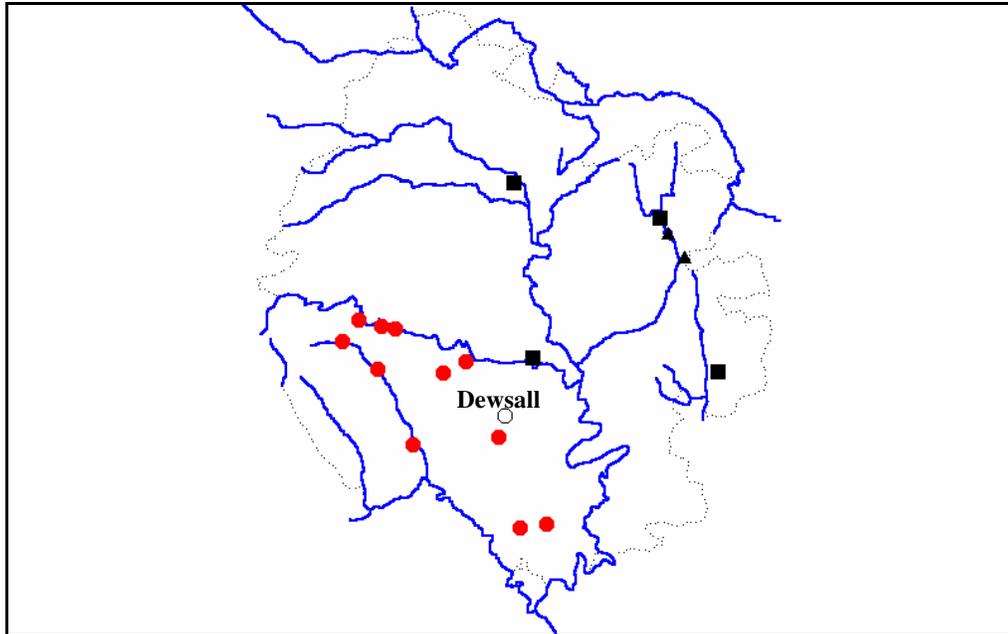


Figure 4: The probable location of the churches (red circles) returned to Bishop Berthwyn in about 745. Early minsters of the English Church are shown as black squares - Hereford, Bromyard, Leominster and Ledbury - and triangles - Acton Beachamp and Avenbury.

No English churches however have dates as early as the Welsh ones.

From the Welsh point of view, northern Ergyng drops out of sight in the mid 9th century. Writing in the 12th century the author of the *'Life'* of St Oudoceus (Euddogwy) says that the area was lost to the English *'from Moccas to the Dore to the Worm to the Tarader'* (Davies, W, p26). Dewsall is on the southern edge of the area so defined, lying north of the Worm.²

Kings in Wales recognised English overlordship in the time of Alfred the Great of Wessex. These are listed by Asser (p296) and include the kings of Dyfed, Glywysing and Gwent, who sought protection from Ealdorman Æthelred of Mercia, Alfred's son-in-law. Ironically, the Mercians too sought his protection against their own enemies, the Danes. Brycheiniog sought protection against the

¹ Sir Cyril Fox presents a cogent argument for the dyke as a negotiated frontier. However, David Hill, who has excavated extensively on the dyke, has argued in an article in *British Archaeology* that the dyke proper ran for only 64 miles – between Rushock Hill near Kington, Herefordshire, and Llanfynydd near Wrexham, other earthworks having become confused with Offa's work. The dyke as so defined was a defensive structure between Mercia and Powys only, and should be viewed as a Mercian response to a serious military threat from Powys (Hill, 2000). This article drew a critical response from Margaret Worthington, who had co-directed several projects, which accused Hill of some factual errors but did not refute the main thesis (letter in *British Archaeology* 57, February 2001).

² The River Dore runs south along the Golden Valley to join the Monnow at Pontrilas. The Worm Brook discharges into the Dore just upstream of this point, having its source on Aconbury Hill. The Tarader (Taratyr) is probably the stream which runs east-north-east from Aconbury to flow into the Wye at SO 550 362. The name Taratyr is now unused, but Tar's Mill Farm at SO 526 351 may reflect the name.

northern sons of Rhodri, and finally those same sons of Rhodri sought protection too.

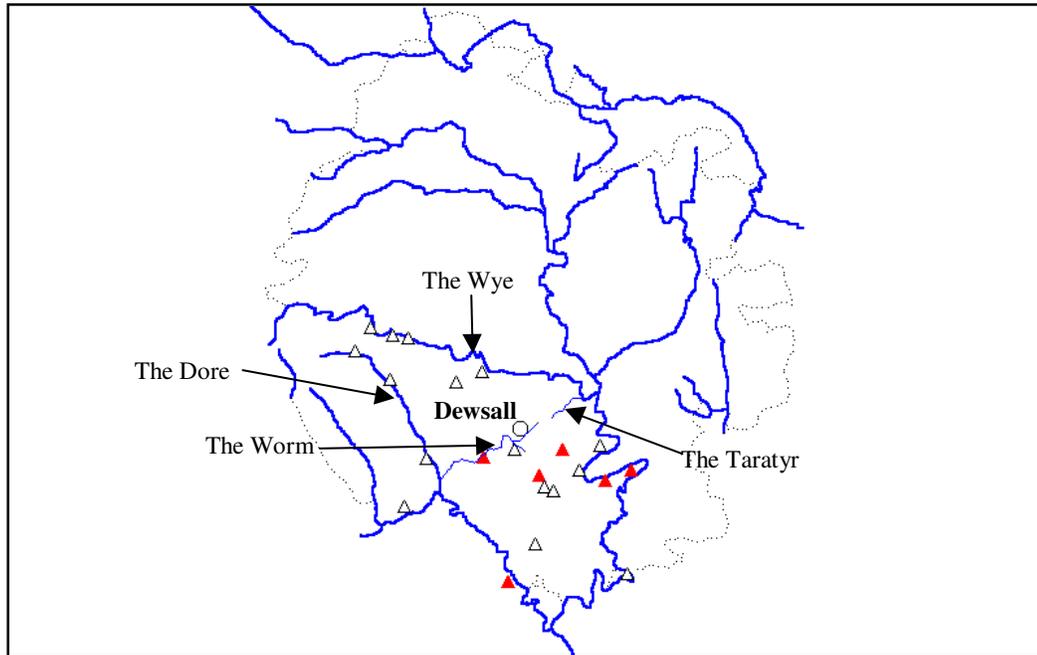


Figure 5: Later charters (red triangles) recorded in the Book of Llandaff (after the mid 8th century.) At this time the boundary of the Llandaff diocese ran down the Dore, up the Worm then down the Taratyr to the Wye and down the Wye to the Severn.

In 914 a Danish force from Brittany under earls *Ohter* and *Hroald* ravaged the south Welsh coast. They captured Cyffeilliog, bishop of Archenfield whom the West Saxon king Edward ransomed for forty pounds (ASC p212). They were finally defeated by the militia of Herefordshire and Gloucestershire and from the nearby boroughs.

In 919 a unified English state became implicit when Edward the Elder took control of Mercia (Zalyckj, S, p250) and explicit in 924 when Æthelstan was recognised as King of Wessex and, independently, as King of Mercia. At Hereford in 939 Æthelstan negotiated a yearly tribute which included 20 pounds of gold, 300 pounds of silver and 25,000 oxen from the Welsh princes, before marching south against the Britons of Cornwall.

In 1104, Herewald, the last pre-Norman bishop of Llandaff died at the alleged age of one hundred years (Richter, 1972, p32). Three years later his archdeacon, Urban, was consecrated as his successor. Urban attempted to regain for the see of Llandaff all those territories which he believed had been unjustly taken by the bishops of St Davids and Hereford. To this end the *Liber Landavensis* (*LL* - the Book of Llandaff – *Llan Dâv*) was compiled – a collection of charters and lives of saints designed to support Llandaff's argument. Like any forensic documentation, the book tends to present the interpretation of the evidence which is most supportive of the plaintiff's case – Dyfrig, the first bishop, is referred to as '*Archbishop*'. It is likely that the reworking and compilation of these charters in the early 11th century is primarily the work of a small group of people. Indeed, Brook (1986, pp16-49) argues for a single forger '*of consummate skill*'. However, Wendy Davies (1979) suggested that there are sufficient inconsistencies and archaic

forms preserved these charters to demonstrate that they are, for the most part, basically genuine.

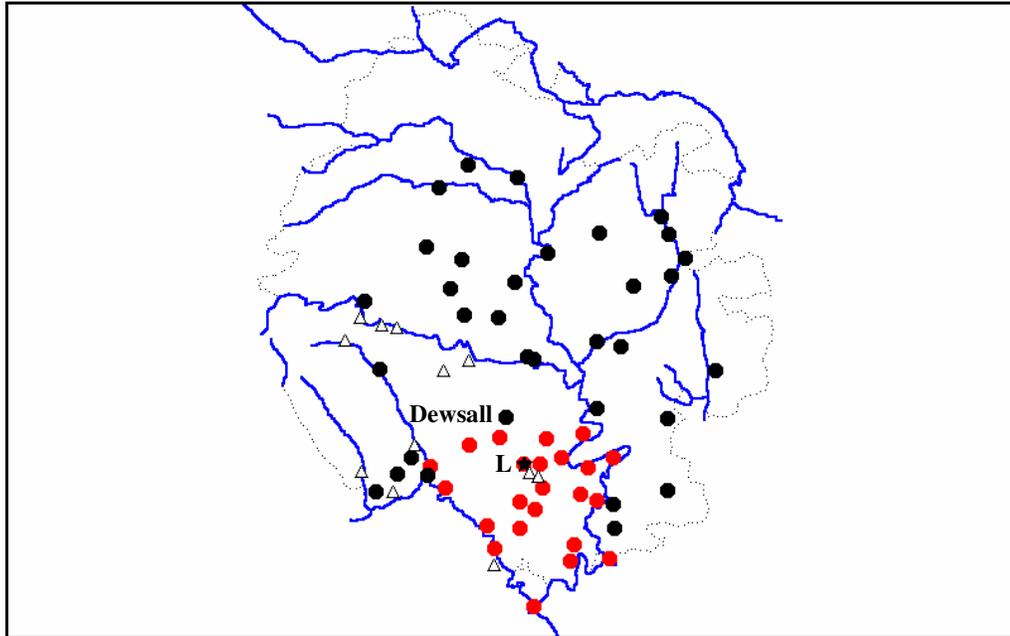


Figure 6: Herefordshire churches in the reign of William I. Places with churches or priests in Domesday are black; churches with priests in the Book of Llandaff are red. White triangles represent places previously recorded in LL which appear in neither document.

The Llandaff list and the Domesday list are mutually exclusive with the exception of Llanwarne (Lann Guern Teliau ha Dubric) – marked L on the map (Figure 6). Today this church is a possession of the manor of Hamme (Holme Lacy) which is held by the Church of Hereford, but pays no taxes. In the list of ordinations in Ergyng by Bishop Herewald recorded in the Book of Llandaff, this church is unique in being mentioned twice, the second time with much detail.

In particular, the lists of witnesses for the charters may be compared with each other to suggest a temporal sequence. Sufficient of the charters reference other known events to attempt to construct a chronology from them and it is primarily this chronology, devised by Wendy Davies (*The Llandaff Charters*, 1979) which has been used in this document. The place-name evidence, that is which particular modern place corresponds with which early Welsh place in LL, is generally drawn from Bruce Coplestone-Crow's – *The Place-Names of Herefordshire* (1989) where he presents cogent arguments for changing previously held identifications.

Unfortunately, no place-name in LL has been positively associated with Dewsall. Joe Hillaby (1987, p602) considered that the local 'Dewi' names derived from Much Dewchurch being a mother church to Little Dewchurch, Dewsall and Kilpeck and that the dedication may originally 'refer to another David'. It has been suggested by Rev Michael Mountney (1976), that the three Dewi named places in the locality – Much Dewchurch, Little Dewchurch and Dewsall itself – are named, not from St David of Wales, but from another Dewi in LL – *Deui summus sacerdos filius Circan* and that this personage is of a much earlier time. Subsequently Wendy Davies has demonstrated the likelihood that the charters in which *Deui*

*summus sacerdos*¹ appears as a witness (*Bolgros* – Byecross, Preston-on-Wye and *Lann Guorboe* – Eaton Bishop) date from around 610/615 (Davies, 1979).

In Domesday Roger de Lacy held *Mainure* of the king – *Roger de Laci ten Mainaure* (Thorn and Thorn, 1.58). Coplestone-Crow (1989, p35) considers that this (identified in the Hereford Domesday as *Birch*) was a remnant of what had originally been a much larger land-unit which comprised Dewsall, Aconbury, Ballingham, Little Birch, Much Birch, Bolstone, Little Dewchurch, eastern Much Dewchurch, Callow and Hoarwithy. This may have been a *maenor wrthir* (an upland *maenor*) of Ergyng centred on the hill-fort at Aconbury – the Welsh *Caer Rein* (Jones G R J, 1972). *Meiner Reau* in Herefordshire Domesday would appear to be a corresponding lowland manor (*maenor fro*) originally identified as Ballingham². Such large land units appear to have been common, and probably had their origins in the Iron Age. Another such unit has been identified at Marden, 14 km to the north, where the focus would have been the large hill-fort at Sutton Walls (Sheppard, 1979).

Two kilometres south of Dewsall is the village of Much Dewchurch. The earliest reference to what is believed to be Much Dewchurch is in around 620 when the abbot of Dewchurch (*Guordoce abbas Lann Deui*) appears in a witness list.³

In about 728 *Morheb* was abbot at Much Dewchurch (*Lann Deui*) and in about 745 *Lann Deui* was one of the churches returned to Bishop Berthwyn. As *Lann Deui ros cerion*, Much Dewchurch was still clearly within the Ergyng diocese in the time of William I when Bishop Herewald ordained Cinan son of Gritiau to the church there (Rees, p276).

In Domesday, Ralph de Tony, of Clifford Castle, held Dewsall of the King, and William and Ilbert, in turn, held it of Ralph. Wulfheah had held it in 1066 (Thorn and Thorn, 1983). The name Dewsall does not appear in Domesday where the entry is '*Radulf de Tode ni ten Westuode*' – Westuode being the 'west' wood or possibly 'waste' wood (*ibid.*). The identification of this manor with Dewsall is possible because of a marginal entry '*Dewiswell*' in the Domesday Book (Herefordshire).⁴

It is noticeable that the places with churches and/or priests recorded in Domesday, and the list of churches and priests listed in the *LL* as being in Ergyng, are, with the curious exception of Llanwarne (see Figure 6), mutually exclusive.

In Domesday there was one hide in lordship with two ploughs and a slave. It was also entered that St Mary of Lyre⁵ held the church of this manor, together with a priest and land for one plough (Thorn and Thorn, 1983). The parish is named in the *taxatio* of Pope Nicholas IV of about 1291 as being attached to the Priory of Lire in Normandy with the presentations to the living being made by the Knights of St John of Jerusalem (Matthews, 1912, p116).

¹ *Presbiter* always means priest in *LL*, while *sacerdos* refers to 'the priestly office' and may refer to a priest or a bishop in this period. *Summus sacerdos* would always mean a bishop (Davies, 1979, p126).

² See G R J Jones, 1972 p306 but Coplestone-Crow (p98) suggests that Jones' identification of *Meiner Reau* with Ballingham is a misreading and that the correct identification is another, nameless, estate, held by *Waerstan* in Domesday. This may be Hentland.

³ For Lann Loudea (Llancloudy) see *LL*, p164. He also appears as a witness at Lann Budgaulan (Carey in Ballingham) again in about 620 (*ibid.* p164)

⁴ The Herefordshire Domesday Book is a 12th century copy of the Herefordshire section of Domesday. It has marginal additions in several hands, which among other things, more closely identify some of the places in the original (Galbraith and Tait, 1950).

⁵ Lyre Priory in Normandy had been under the patronage of William fitz Osbern who became Earl of Hereford after the Conquest (Dewsall and Callow PCC, 1988).

The Clifford connection was still extant in the 13th century, when Dewsall was held by John Thurville as half a fee of Walter de Dunre of the honour of Clifford, by knight service. Walter himself held of Sir Walter de Clifford (Matthews, 1912, p116). Dewsall, 'although in Archenfield',¹ was held on a different tenure from the rest of the hundred (Robinson, 1872).

In the late 13th century Joan la Seculere owned land at Dewsall² and in 1322 John lwayn ('slain by John de Moubray and his adherents in the late rebellion') left a message and 30 acres of land and 3 of pasture³.

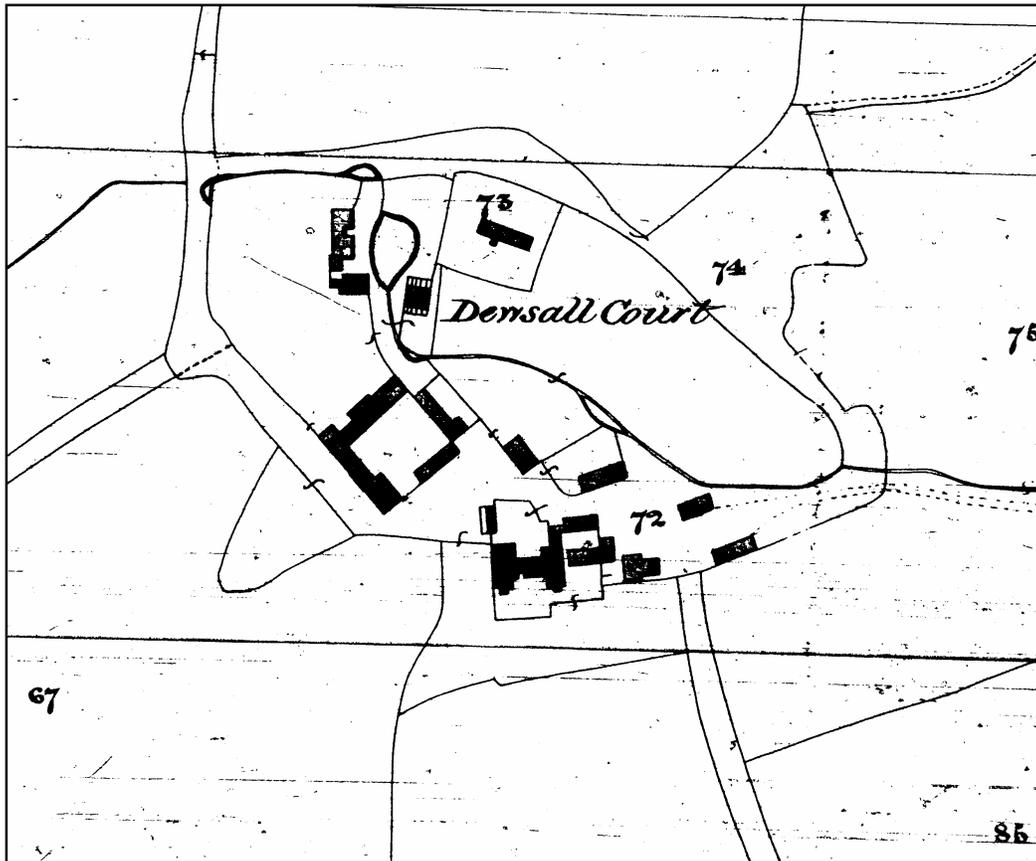


Figure 7: Extract from the 1840 tithe map

Although Dewsall now has only one access road, the current OS maps show it as the focus of footpaths radiating in several directions. A map of 1754 by Isaac Taylor, shows a road branching from the main Hereford to Ross-on-Wye road north of Callow, to run through Dewsall on its way to Much Dewchurch. The through road to Much Dewchurch on Taylor's map is now represented by a footpath, leaving the road to the north, to Callow and Hereford as the only metalled access to Dewsall. A footpath to the north-west leads, via Monkhall Farm and Allensmore, to the village of Madley, alleged to have been the Birthplace of St Dyfrig. Another footpath leads to the south-east, and the modern settlements of

1 *Although in Archenfield* - Robinson is eccentric here. Dewsall is not normally considered to be in Archenfield as it is to the north of the Worm brook.
2 Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem of the reign of Edward I, inquisition 15th September 1293.
3 Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem of the reign of Edward II, inquisition 27th February 1322.

Much and Little Birch. From this footpath a branch around the north side of nearby Aconbury Hill to Kings Pitts and then to Holme Lacy and Dinedor.

For many years the church at Dewsall¹, dedicated to St Michael, was dated to around 1340. A wooden south porch has been ascribed to the 14th century, as has the font. The Royal Commission on Historic Monuments (1931)² dated the round-arched south doorways to the 13th or 14th century date and again in 1931, a Mr J Charles Wall, FSA, a guest of the then rector, suggested that some of the masonry was Norman.³ Commenting on the RCHM dating of the doorways, Pevsner (1963) queried – ‘Why can they not be earlier?’ More recently the Department of the Environment (1986) inspectors, who considered that there were possibly 12th century elements in the structure, have reinforced the tendency towards the earlier dating. The earliest monuments in the church record Anne Rogers and Grace Clement who died in 1629. The church was heavily restored in the 19th century.

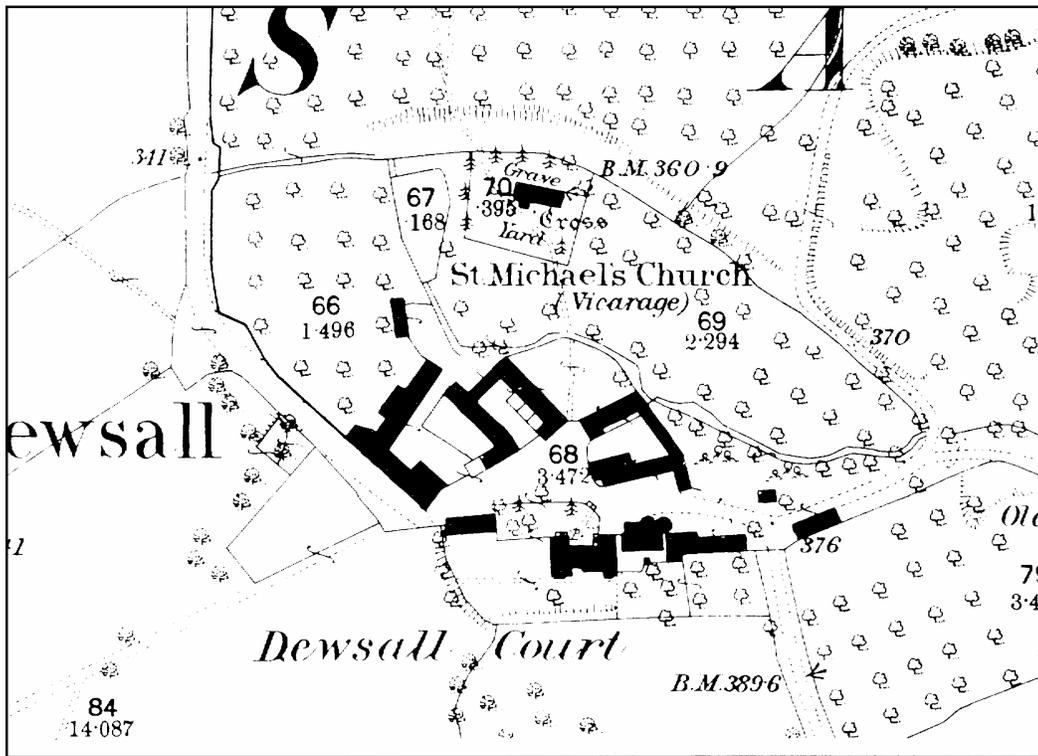


Figure 8: Extract from OS 1st Edition 1:2500 plan

In the churchyard, to the south of the church, is a 14th century stone cross.⁴ Churchyard crosses are relatively common in Herefordshire, there being some 116 recorded in the county. Only Somerset, with 175, has more (Marples, 1972). In this cross is a rounded top niche, a feature which is predominately confined to Herefordshire, where there are at least 37 of them. With the exception of one in Berkshire, all the other recorded niches occur in counties contiguous to

1 Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record 6846.
2 Royal Commission on Historic Monuments, England, 1931 - *Monuments in Herefordshire, Vol I, South-West*.
3 Report of the 2nd Field Meeting of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club in 1931 (*Trans. Woolhope Nat. Field Soc.*, Vol XXVII part II, p LIII).
4 Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record 6816; Scheduled Ancient Monument number 29852

Herefordshire with 5 in Worcestershire, 3 in Shropshire, 2 in Monmouthshire and one in Gloucestershire (*ibid.* p323).

The relationship of the church at Dewsall with the monastery at Lyre occasionally led to the presentment being in the king's hands, such as happened in 1407 when Richard Parpaynt replaced the late Thomas Mulward. The vicarage being '*in the king's gift by reason of the temporalities of the alien priory of Lyre being in his hands on account of the war with France*'.¹ Another presentation to Dewsall, a few weeks later, uses the same formula,² as does one of 1414.³

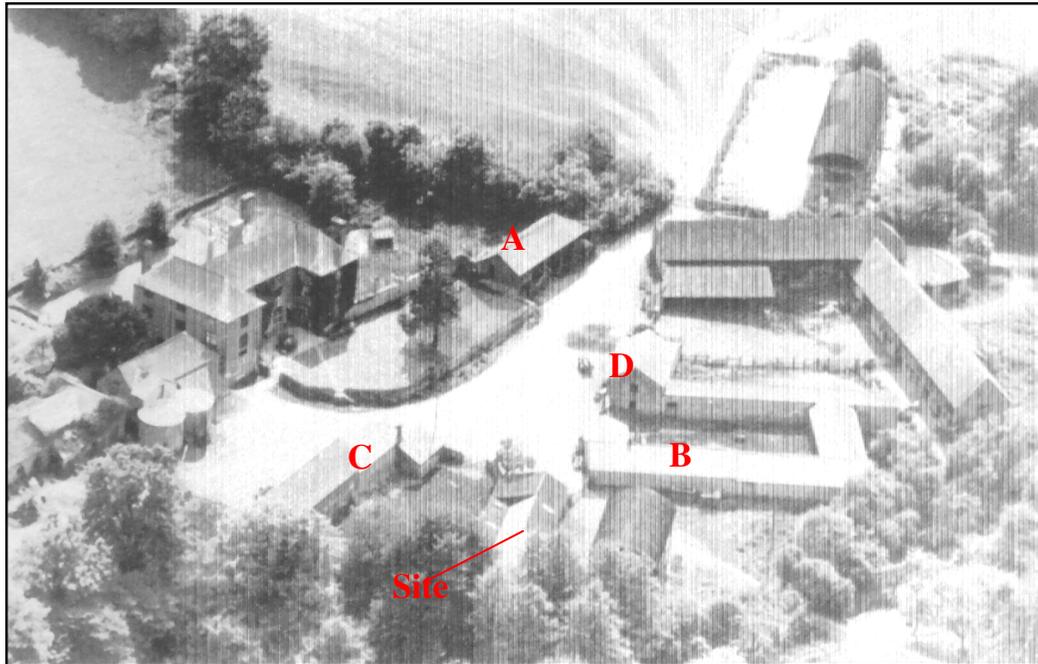


Plate 1: Aerial Photograph of Dewsall Court taken in the 1950s. A building then occupied the site. Other outbuildings, marked A to D, are described on page 34.

The present Dewsall Court is an H-plan, Grade II listed building, which externally appears to be of the 18th century.⁴ However the RCHM recorded early 17th century internal features. Pevsner recorded a 17th century oil painting of the Judgement of Paris '*in the style of Lely*' on an internal overmantel. This painting was recorded as reportedly being in the boardroom of Guy's Hospital in 1986 (Department of the Environment listing).

The house was probably built by Richard Pearle who was buried at Dewsall in 1644 (Robinson, 1872). His wife, Dorothy, and eldest son, John, had pre-deceased him and had been buried at Dewsall in 1636 and 1643 respectively (Matthews, 1912, p117). It was the birthplace of James, first Duke of Chandos (1674-1744), who was baptised in the church. James became a patron of Handel and his lavish lifestyle led him in turn to becoming known as '*The Princely Chandos*' and then into bankruptcy. This event led to the sale of his Herefordshire estates and so Dewsall Court passed into the hands of the governors of Guys Hospital, who purchased the entire portfolio for £60,800 at Michaelmas 1731 (Tonkin, M, 1980, p96).

1 Calendar of Patent Rolls for the reign of King Henry IV, 16th February 1407
2 This time to John Lewys. Calendar of Patent Rolls for the reign of King Henry IV, 26th March 1407
3 To David ap Llewellyn. Calendar of Patent Rolls for the reign of King Henry V, 15th January 1414
4 Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record 4689

Dewsall Court remained with the estate as a farmhouse, occupied by tenant farmers. It gradually fell into disrepair and in 1976 a proposal to demolish the house was made by the then owner, Sir Charles Clore.¹ This led to confrontation with the local authority planners and ultimately the house was saved. More controversy followed with Sir Charles' proposal to remove oak panelling from the house.² In 1983 the house was sold, together with its extensive outbuildings and about 7 acres of land. At this stage the house had been neglected to the point of being uninhabitable. Renovation was partial when the house was put on the market again in 1988.³ The stables, also Grade II listed, date from the late 17th or early 18th century (DOE, 1986).



Plate 2: Dewsall Court in 2001; from the north-west

As far as the documentary evidence shows, Dewsall was never a populous parish. The Domesday inhabitants, apart from the priest, are four bordars and a slave. Dewsall appears in the Lay Subsidy Rolls of 1334 (Hickling, 1970) and in 1377 the number of people aged 14 years of age and over was 27.⁴ Eight houses are recorded in the hearth tax returns for Lady Day 1664 of which three were exempt (Faraday, 1972). The Hearth Tax Assessment for Michaelmas 1665 records that Edward Hickman had 7 hearths at Dewsall⁵ - this must be for Dewsall Court. In 1676 the Compton Census recorded 24 conformists at Dewsall, there were no papists or non-conformists (Whiteman, 1986). The census of 1801 recorded 6 inhabited houses and 47 people. The population of Dewsall in 1881 was 45, and in 1891 this had risen to 54. In 1901 there were 6 inhabited dwellings in Dewsall and 47 inhabitants, and in both 1911 and 1921 the population was 39. In 1981 the

¹ Hereford Times 24th December 1976

² Hereford Times 11th March 1977

³ Sales Details in Hereford City Library – Hamptons of Cheltenham were the agents.

⁴ Poll tax figures in Fenwick, 1998

⁵ Hearth Tax returns for Michaelmas 1665. Transcript, in Herefordshire Record Office, by J Harnden (1984)

population had dropped to 20 but the number of inhabited houses remained at 6. The recorded population in 1991 was only 10, a drop of 50%.¹

The tenant who farmed at Dewsall in 1851 rejoiced in the name of Peregrine Prince.² In 1879 Kelly's Directory for Herefordshire names only two people in Dewsall, the Vicar, the Reverend Alfred William Horton and farmer Walter Morris. The lords of the manor and chief landowners were the governors of Guy's Hospital.

In 1879 Walter Morris was the tenant of Dewsall Court. Arthur Morris who was tenant in 1891 and 1895 (listed in Kelly's directory as farmer and hop-grower) replaced him. John Edwards farmed there in 1905 and 1917. In 1929 Mr E Jones was the tenant and the listing for 1937 gives Messrs Jones, farmers.

Dewsall parish now forms one ministry with Callow, an arrangement that already existed in the 17th century when John Clarke became the parish priest in 1663 (Bannister, 1923, p34).

2.3 Archaeological background

The group of buildings at Dewsall Court, with just a manor house with its outbuildings and a church, is typical of a shrunken settlement. The building group is the focus of several tracks and footpaths which radiate to the north, north-east, south, south-west and north-west – also a characteristic of shrunken or deserted settlements.

In 1970 the Deserted Medieval Village Sectional Recorder of the Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club noted the sunken way leading up the hill east of the church and that the field between the barn and the churchyard had been bulldozed level (Hickling, 1970). The settlement is recorded in the Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record – number 11161.

In 1994 an archaeological watching brief of trial trenches in advance of renovation work on Dewsall church failed to discover anything earlier than evidence of the major 19th century rebuilding (Cook, 1994).

¹ The 1991 Census Preliminary Report prepared by the Planning Department of the then Hereford and Worcester County Council.
² From Lascelle's directory for that year.

3.0 Project aims and objectives

The aims of the project were: -

- To archaeologically clean and record the previously opened trench.
- To make a record of the extent and depth of the trench.
- To make a record of any archaeological features or deposits exposed.
- To record the presence of sensitive archaeological material within the trenches and in the spoil removed during excavation, and to retrieve any potential dating evidence.
- To recover samples of human bone and other suitable material from securely stratified contexts for radiocarbon dating. A sample of the spoil removed from the trench was to be screened for recovery of diagnostic samples of human bone and artefacts.
- To make a record of all finds and any environmental material recovered.
- To ensure that if any environmental evidence was preserved, that a sufficient sample was retained to allow for further analysis.
- To ensure that the location and of the area excavated was accurately recorded on a suitably scaled plan.
- To record negative evidence and to consider its implications.
- To identify, and then archaeologically excavate, any significant remains encountered during construction work.

4.0 Methodology

4.1 Field methodology

Given the somewhat unusual nature of the project – the investigation of a large hole in the ground and a spoil-heap containing human remains – standard techniques were not entirely applicable.

The following methodology was therefore employed: -

- The exposed edges of the existing cutting were cleaned in order to identify stratigraphy and embedded bone and artefacts.
- Areas of loose spoil, mainly derived from some disintegration of the sections, on the edges of the cutting were individually numbered and any bone present hand-recovered.
- Dr Megan Brickley of Birmingham University, a recognised authority, identified and recorded exposed human bone.
- In several places human bone was further exposed by small sondages cut back from the cutting face, in order to ascertain orientation, gender and articulation.
- Human bone, together with other bone and the stratigraphy was recorded photographically and on scaled section drawings and plans.
- Samples human of bone and charcoal were taken for radiocarbon dating.
- After recording, the exposed surfaces were sealed by a geotextile membrane, which was then covered by a 50mm layer of pea gravel.

- The spoil-heap was used to back-fill the trench. This was done using the back-actor of a JCB, and dumper trucks.
- The moving of the soil was done under archaeological supervision – machining was halted when bone was observed, and all observed bone was retrieved for subsequent identification.
- The nature of the soil – sticky clay – made large scale on-site sieving impracticable. However, a sample was retained for post-excavation analysis.
- All descriptions of structures and deposits, photographic records and drawing numbers were recorded on the relevant data capture documents in accordance with Archenfield Archaeology's standard site recording procedures.
- Significant features were, where possible, photographed next to an appropriate scale rule, and a board displaying a unique context number. Each photographic exposure was recorded in the photographic log.
- Staff carrying out the evaluation excavation followed the guidelines laid down in the Archenfield Archaeology Health and Safety Policy.
- Archenfield Archaeology conforms to the Institute of Field Archaeologists' Code of Conduct and code of Approved Practice for the Regulation of Contractual arrangements in Field Archaeology. All projects are, where applicable, carried out in accordance with IFA Standards and Guidance or Draft Standards and Guidance.

4.2 Processing methodology

All retained artefacts and ecofacts were subjected to further analysis.

Dr Megan Brickley of the University of Birmingham, examined the human bone recovered from the site, and produced a full report (see section 5.2).

Samples of human bone and charcoal from securely stratified contexts were subjected to radiocarbon 14 dating by Beta Analytic (see Appendix A).

Ian Baxter, a recognised authority, examined the animal bones recovered from the site, and produced a full report (see section 5.4).

Soil samples were recovered from several of the deposits and processed by means of a Siraf-type flotation system.

All data were entered into a Microsoft Access relational database.

5.0 The results

5.1 The stratigraphy

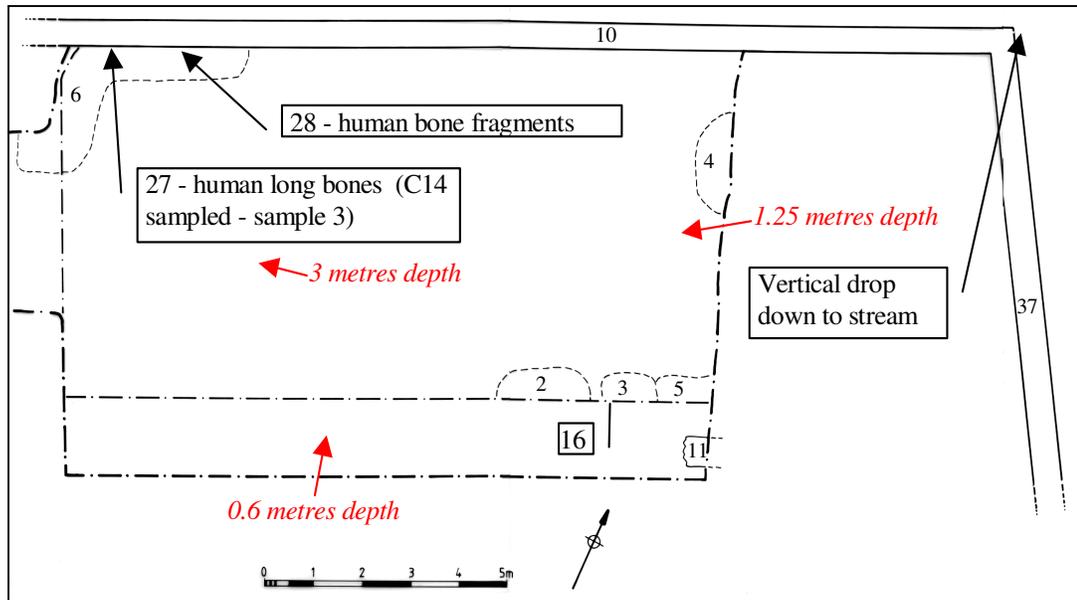


Figure 9: Site Plan: Contexts 2, 3, 6, 27 and 28 produced disarticulated human bone

The site, when first archaeologically examined, consisted of a machine-dug trench measuring 13 metres by 8 metres. In the centre of the south-western end of the trench was a hole some 3 metres deep, excavated for the insertion of the drainage system of the proposed swimming pool. Most of the rest of the area had been excavated to a depth of 1.25 metres below the contemporary ground surface. Along the south-eastern edge of the trench, a strip 1.50 metres wide had only been excavated to a depth of 0.60 metres.

Approximately 120 metres to the east of the site was the spoil-heap containing the material excavated from the trench. This heap, of between 160 and 180 cubic metres, contained visible human bones and was allocated the context number 1.

Immediately prior to the cutting for the proposed swimming pool being excavated, the area of the site had been a yard with comparatively recent hard standing. The north-western boundary of the trench was formed by a mortared stone wall foundations (10) apparently dating to the 19th century, and the south-eastern one by matching wall foundations (11).

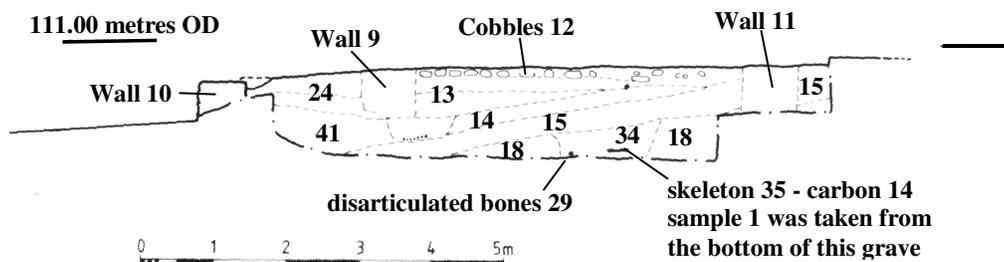


Figure 10: North-east section

Both these walls were approximately 0.50 metres wide, and both had been laid directly in foundation trenches (44 and 45 respectively). The north-western wall ran from a join with another wall (37) towards the south-west. The top of the external corner formed by walls 10 and 37 was at 110.65 OD, approximately at the height of the adjacent yard, which varied between 110.79 and 111.24 OD.

This northern corner dropped down to the adjacent stream, having a height above the stream bank of 2.40 metres.

These walls correspond with a farm building (36) shown on the 1888 OS 1st Edition 1:2500 plan (Figure 8, page 13) and also on an aerial photograph taken in the 1950s (Plate 1, page 14). This building does not appear on the 1840 tithe map (Figure 7, page 12) and it had been demolished at some period between the 1950s and 2000.



Plate 3: The trench from the west. The stream is just beyond the flat area to the rear of the cutting.



Plate 4: Skeleton 2 (context 17) *in situ*

The floor of this building was composed of medium sized cobbling (12), which was interrupted by a trench (51) containing a rough stone wall foundation (9) parallel to walls 10 and 11. Cobbles 12 were laid on a gravel bedding (23). Beneath gravel bedding 23, a series of layers sloped down to the north-east and the stream. The original slope represented by these layers had been terraced at some period before the construction of building 36.

The topmost of these, layer 13, was a dark red-brown clay soil sloping down to the north-east where it had been cut by foundation trench 51 of wall 9. Below 13, another layer, 14, composed of mid red brown clay followed the same contours, and below 14 a red-brown clay layer (15) did the same.

Layer 15 sealed a red brown clay layer with large amounts of small gravel and large patches of grey clay (18). This was interpreted as a soil formed over the natural marl, which lay immediately beneath. Presumably because of later terracing, layer 18 was truncated in the south-west corner of the trench and disappeared below the bottom of the trench in the north-eastern corner.

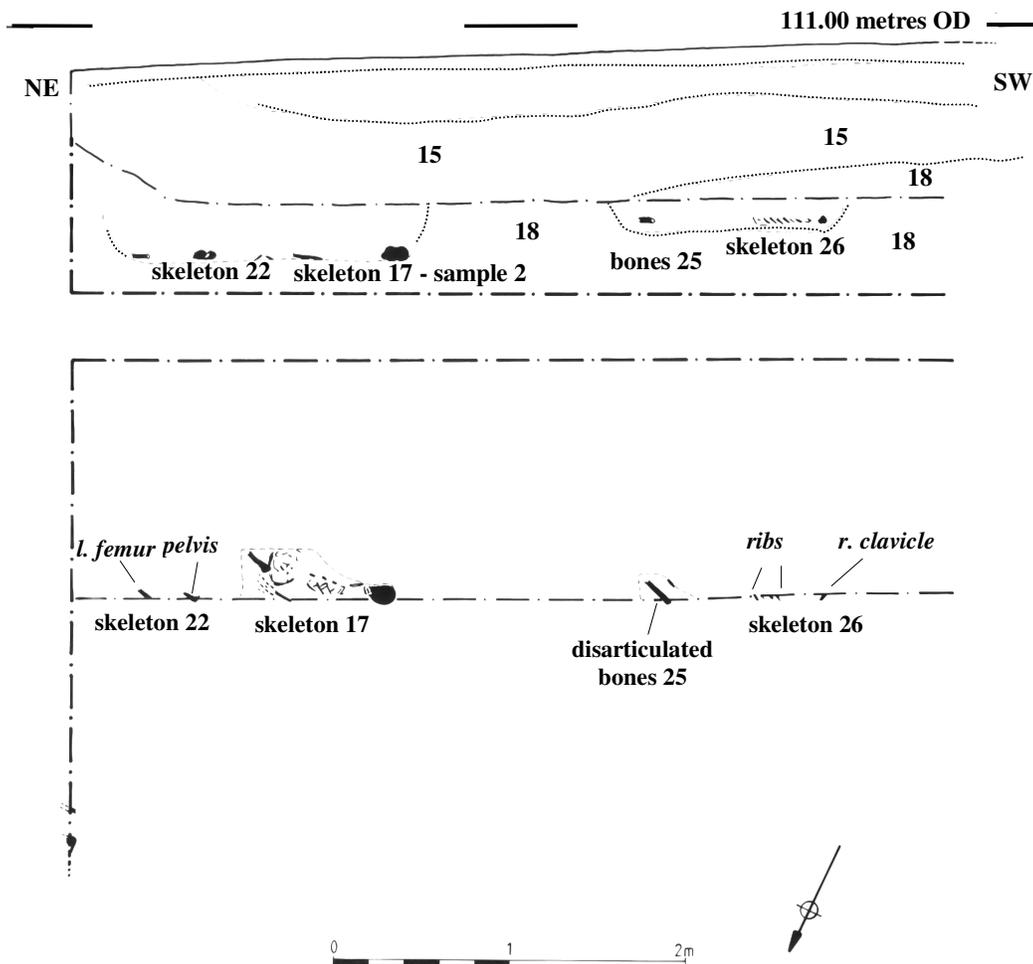


Figure 11: Plan and section of articulated skeletons

Cut into layer 18 was a series of graves. These followed what must have been the original contour, as represented by layer 18, and were not related to the present ground surface, nor that of the demolished farm building 36.

Graves containing demonstrably articulated human skeletons were 7 (skeleton 1, context 22), 16 (skeleton 2, context 17) and 21 (skeleton 3, context 26). In addition grave 33 appeared to contain one articulated individual (skeleton 5, context 35) but only the pelvis of this individual was observed.

Two other features were interpreted as graves - 30 (disarticulated bones 29 and 32 – identified as skeleton 4) and 52 (disarticulated bones 25). In addition, a group of disarticulated bones (27) in the western corner of the cutting appeared to have been in a feature of some sort, but this was very disturbed, first by the 19th century footings of wall 10 and then by the 2001 machine-dug trench.

Other human bones were recovered both from the spoil-heap (context 1) and from piles and spreads of loose soil around the edge of the cutting.

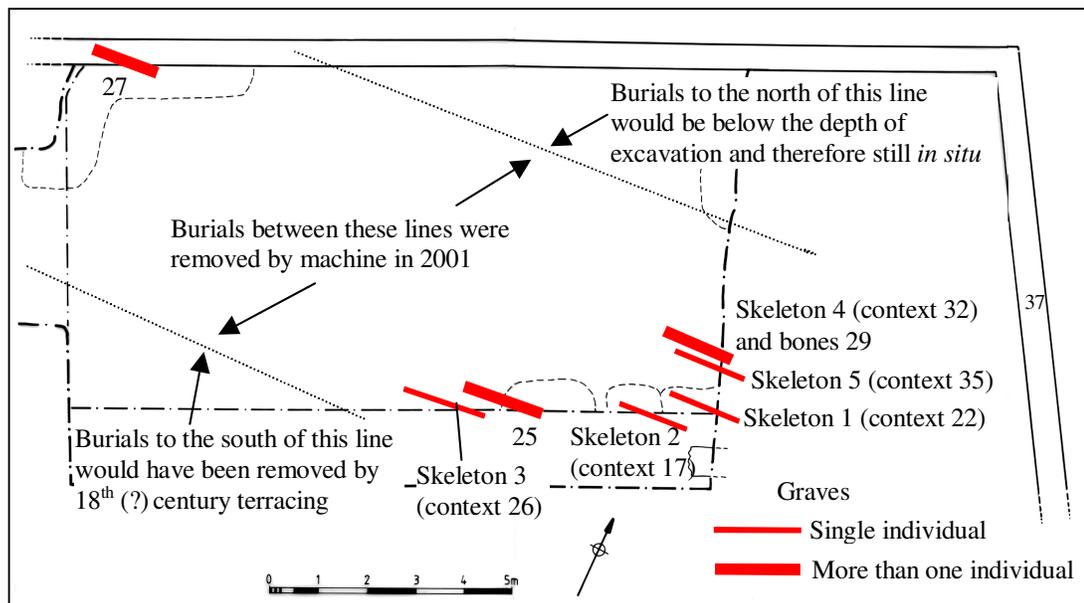


Figure 12: The position of the burials

In the eastern corner of the cutting was grave 7 containing skeleton 1 (context 22). This appeared to be an adult extended supine inhumation aligned east to west. The upper part of this skeleton (the western end) had been removed by machining which had cut diagonally across it, leaving part of the pelvis and the truncated left femur exposed in the section. The rest of the left leg and the entire right leg may be supposed to lie outside the cutting and were neither exposed nor excavated and presumably still remain *in situ*. Loose material (context 5) at the bottom of the trench below this skeleton was examined for traces of human bone but none was found. Bones from the upper part of this skeleton are likely to form part of the human material recovered from context 1 – the spoil-heap. No bones from this individual can, however, be positively assigned to those removed from site for examination.

From observation of the greater sciatic notch and associated features, and the overall robusticity of other observable bones, Dr Brickley concluded that this individual was probably male (see Human Bone report, below).

Along the section to the north-west, but by alignment immediately to the south, of grave 7, Grave 16 contained a single articulated burial – skeleton 2 (context 17), which was the skeleton most fully archaeologically exposed during the project. The skull of this individual was visible in the section at the commencement of the archaeological project, the rest of the skeleton extending to the east and away

from the trench. This individual was then exposed to below the pelvis but the features examined (greater sciatic notch and remaining areas of pubic bone) were indeterminate. All the bones examined were gracile, but it was not possible to determine the sex of this individual.

The body was supine, aligned east to west, with its arms placed at the sides. Most of the bones were left *in situ* but the left humerus, skull and mandible were removed. The humerus (sample 2) was radiocarbon 14 dated and returned a calibrated date of AD 680 to 890 (Cal BP 1270 to 1060).

Moving further along the section towards the south-west was grave 52. Bones removed from the section here represented at least two individuals (bones 25), one adult and one child of approximately 2 – 4 years of age. Part (upper two-thirds) of the left femur of the child was found in context 6 at the western extremity of the trench. As context 6 was loose soil, it is likely that this piece of bone was disturbed during machining but disturbance in antiquity cannot be entirely excluded. Both sets of bones observed *in situ* were aligned east-west.

Further to the south-west, the last, and highest, grave observed in this direction, 21, contained skeleton 3 (context 26) which had had its skull and left shoulder removed by machine. It was also aligned east-west. Various small fragments of bone were removed from this grave but were not identified. It is possible that some of the fragments of skull retrieved from the spoil (context 1) belong to this individual.

Grave 33 was observed in the north-eastern section of the trench and therefore lay approximately 1 metre north of skeleton 1 (context 22). Machining had removed the upper torso of the skeleton (5 – context 35) exposing the pelvis. The bone was in extremely poor condition and disintegrated when an attempt was made to remove it for analysis. The orientation of the body had certainly been east-west with the head at the west.

Beneath skeleton 5, and apparently within the grave (33), which contained it, was a thick layer of charcoal. This charcoal (sample 1) was radiocarbon 14 dated and returned a calibrated date of AD 70 to 450 (Cal BP 1880 to 1500). There was no indication that this charcoal had been burnt *in situ*.

Grave 33 was cut from the north by grave 30, which visibly contained the bones of more than one individual – bones 29 and 32. Long bones 29 were probable leg bones (if they had been arm bones parts of the torso may have been expected to be present) and the two pieces of bone from 32 removed from the section were parts of a tibia and fibula. These latter bones were in a very poor condition.

Assuming that these burials (or at least the latter of them) were articulated and conformed to the rest of the group, bones from the rest of these individuals are likely to be represented in context 1.

Grave 53 was a badly damaged feature in the western corner of the cutting. Context 27 was a group of disarticulated bones associated with this feature (see above). They were protruding from the edge of the cutting immediately below the base of wall 10, which may have destroyed other traces of the grave. (Machining destroyed the eastern end of the grave, but the western end may well remain *in situ*). More than one individual appeared to be present here, but whether these represent one grave cutting another or subsequent disturbance to more than one grave was impossible to ascertain. A piece of femur from these bones (sample 3) was radiocarbon 14 dated and returned a calibrated date of AD 650 to 890 (Cal BP 1300 to 1060).

Context 1 was the soil from the spoil-heap, which was raked over as it was returned to in-fill the trench. This material consisted of deposits from all periods including the natural sub-soil. Human and animal bone was retrieved by hand from this material as it was replaced in the trench from which it had originally been removed.

Context 2 was loose soil collapsed into the trench adjacent to skeleton 3 and disarticulated bones 25. Adult and child human bones were recovered from this context, some of which may represent the same individuals as 25/26. A piece of adult femur here joined with a piece from context 3.

Context 3 was more loose soil, slightly further to the north east of context 2 and adjacent to skeleton 2. Human bone was recovered from this context which cannot have been from skeleton 2.

Context 6 – loose soil in western corner of the site - contained at least one bone which must have derived from a child buried in grave 52 on the opposite side of the site (see above). One bone however, a juvenile innominate, could not have derived from either the child nor adult buried in the grave and probable represents a burial in a grave destroyed by machining.

Contexts 4 and 5 (see Figure 9) were also examined for human bones but none were present.

Grave	Skeleton number	Bone/skeleton context	Description	Minimum number of individuals
		1	Fragments of bones from several individuals	
		2	Adult and child bones. Piece of adult femur joins with piece in context 3	2
		3	Adult bones. Piece of femur joins with piece in context 2	
		6	At least three individuals but one was part of the femur of the child in grave 52	3
		28	Fragments of bones	
7	1	22	Single articulated adult burial	1
16	2	17	Single articulated burial	
21	3	26	Single articulated burial	1
30		29	Disturbed bones apparently in the same grave as skeleton 4	1
	4	32	Tibia and fibula of one individual - this bone represents an articulated burial	1
33	5	35	Single articulated burial	1
52		25	Bones of one adult and one child	2
53		27	Bones from more than one individual	1+

Table 1: Provenance of human remains from Dewsall Court

5.2 The Human Bone by Megan Brickley



Plate 5: Skull of skeleton 2

The human bones analysed from Dewsall Court came from two different situations, the first were articulated inhumations visible in the side of the cut made during development of the site. The second group of bone was recovered from the spoil removed from the area during development work. In both instances, circumstances of recording and excavation mean that only limited information is available.

Articulated Burials

In accordance with the remit for the archaeological work to be undertaken, the articulated skeletal remains were not fully excavated but analysed on site and left *in situ*. A small amount of cleaning was undertaken around the burials in order to clarify the orientation of the individual and facilitate recording. However, information obtained from on site analysis of the bone was very limited as in each case less than 20% of the skeleton was observable.

Four articulated burials were identified,¹ three in the south-eastern section – skeletons 1 (context 22), 2 (context 17), and 3 (context 26) (shown in Figure 11, p22) and one, skeleton 5 (context 35)² in the north-eastern section of the cutting.

¹ A fifth articulated burial (4) was inferred from a tibia and fibula in grave 30.
² Charcoal from the fill (34) of the grave (33) containing this skeleton was C14 dated (Sample 1).

All four individuals were supine and orientated east-west in dug graves (as opposed to cist graves). The position of the arms was only partially visible in one case, skeleton 2 (context 17), and in this instance the arms appear to have been placed by the side of the body.¹ No grave goods were recorded from the site, but this is normal for burials of this period.

Much of the bone surface was well preserved Stage 0-2 (Behrensmayer 1978) and so if present pathological conditions would have been recorded. However, no evidence of pathological conditions or trauma was observed.

Biological Information

All observable bones in each individual were fully fused and no vestiges of fusion lines were visible. Therefore all four individuals were classified as adults (over 20 years of age).

In the case of skeleton 1 (context 22) the pelvis was visible and examination of the greater sciatic notch and associated features indicated that this individual was probably male. The overall robusticity of other observable bones also suggested that the individual was probably male.

The pelvis was also observable in skeleton 2, but the features examined (greater sciatic notch and remaining areas of pubic bone) were indeterminate. All the bones examined were very gracile, but it was not possible to determine the sex of this individual.

Disarticulated Human Bone

As the soil was returned to the excavated area it was raked through and any bone was removed. Approximately 2.80 kilograms of human bone was recovered in this way. The disarticulated bone was recorded using the criteria set out in Buikstra and Ubelaker (1994). Where appropriate additional information such as metric data and dental recording were also undertaken. A full set of recording sheets compiled is available in the site archive which will be deposited with Hereford City Museum.

Minimum Number of Individuals

The most frequently represented bone was the tibia and examination of all bones available produced a minimum number of seven individuals. Analysis of all bone material available demonstrated that larger and more robust bones were represented far more frequently than smaller bones and this indicates that recovery of bone from the spoil was far from complete.

Biological information

Obtaining biological information from disarticulated skeletal remains is difficult and any data recorded will be far from complete. However, a small amount of additional information was recorded during analysis of the material available. An estimation of age at death was possible in a number of instances due to features such as unfused epiphyses (Scheuer and Black, 2000). At least one of the seven individuals was a child (2-4 years) and one was an adolescent (12-20 years). A number of pieces of pelvis and skull were examined and these showed a range of

¹ The left humerus of skeleton 17 was C14 dated (sample 2).

both male and female characteristics, suggesting that both sexes were represented at the site.

Dentition

A total of 25 teeth were recovered, representing at least 4 individuals. In many cases slight dental calculus was present (Brothwell 1994). Calculus is mineralised plaque and is relatively common, especially where oral hygiene is poor. If deposits of calculus build up they can lead to infection of the gums. Two mandibular third molars were present and both exhibited severe linear enamel hypoplasia. Hypoplasia is defined as being '*a deficiency of enamel thickness, disrupting the contour of the crown surface, initiated during enamel matrix secretion*' (Hillson 1996). Hypoplastic defects often appear as rings around the crown of the tooth. However, although it is known that they represent a disruption of the enamel formation process, exactly what type of event is required to cause a disruption is not known. Possible causes are numerous and include events such as malnutrition, anaemia, and fever. As they are formed during the development of enamel, hypoplastic defects will only relate to conditions of childhood. No dental caries was recorded.

Conclusions

The data recorded suggests that the cemetery was typical of that associated with a settlement. Both men and women were present, as well as individuals of a range of ages the sex of could not be determined. Although the minimum number of 11 individuals is quite small it is likely that the cemetery contained significantly more individuals as only an area of 104 square metres was excavated.¹

Very little data has been gathered on burials from this period (Edwards 1996) making comparisons, particularly of biological data difficult. However, for the reasons given above, the data gathered from the excavation at Dewsall Court are of great importance.

¹

Because the original slope of ground had been terraced (see above, p22), the sample can only represent burials in about 70% of the 104 square metres excavated.

5.3 The Radiocarbon Analysis

Three samples were retrieved from securely stratified contexts for radiocarbon 14 dating purposes. The analysis was carried out by Beta Analytic of Miami, Florida, USA. Each sample provided plenty of carbon for accurate measurements and all the analyses proceeded normally. Details of the method used, any pre-treatments applied and, where applicable, the two sigma calibration range adopted to calculate the resultant dates are reproduced in Appendix A, p48. All results (excluding some inappropriate material types) which are less than about 20,000 years BP and more than about ~250 BP include this calendar calibration page. The calibrations are calculated using the newest (1998) calibration database with references quoted on the bottom of each page. Multiple probability ranges may appear in some cases, due to short term variations in the atmospheric Carbon 14 contents at certain time periods.

Sample 1 – Fill 34 of presumed grave 33 – gave a calibrated date of AD 70 to 450 (Cal BP 1880 to 1500)

Sample 2 – Skeleton 2 (context 17) – This gave a calibrated date of AD 680 to 890 (Cal BP 1270 to 1060)

Sample 3 – Human bones 27 – This gave a calibrated date of AD 650 to 890 (Cal BP 1300 to 1060)

For the C14 data see Appendix A

The Animal Bone – Ian L Baxter

Introduction

A total of 3 kg of animal bones amounting to 194 fragments were recovered from the site. Of this total, it has been possible to identify 80 fragments to species or a higher taxonomic category (Table 1). The bones largely derive from unstratified spoil from an early medieval Christian cemetery. While many of the animal bones may date from this period it is also possible that much later post-medieval/recent remains are also represented. The animal bones are well preserved. (There is some variability in coloration and it may be assumed, for want of more conclusive stratigraphic placement, that the darker coloured bones are earlier than those of lighter colour). This is a tiny assemblage and no useful information can be obtained regarding the kill-off patterns for any of the domestic species or the husbandry regime practised at the site.

Methods

All identifiable bone fragments, including vertebrae and ribs that could only be identified as large, medium and small/medium mammal, have been recorded on an Microsoft ©Access database. The number of unidentifiable fragments has also been recorded for each context.

The separation of sheep and goat was attempted on the following elements: dP₄, distal humerus, proximal radius and distal tibia using the criteria described in Boessneck (1969), Kratochvil (1969) and Payne (1985).

The few measurements taken are based on von den Driesch (1976) and recorded in the Access database. In general these have been taken to establish the size and conformation of the dogs following the methods of Harcourt (1974) and Clark (1995).

Taxon	Period
	Early medieval to Recent
Cattle (<i>Bos f. domestic</i>)	5
Sheep/Goat (<i>Ovis/Capra f. domestic</i>)	12
Sheep (<i>Ovis f. domestic</i>)	(3)
Pig (<i>Sus f. domestic</i>)	10
Large Mammal	11
Small/Medium Mammal	4
Dog (<i>Canis familiaris</i>)	2 ¹
cf. Teal (<i>Anas crecca</i>)	1
Total identified	45
Unidentified	114
Total	159

Table 2: Number of hand-collected mammal and bird bones (NISP).

Sheep/goat also includes specimens identified to species. Numbers in parentheses are not included in the total of the period.

¹ twenty-six bones from a partial skeleton; eleven bones from a partial skeleton

Discussion

The remains of sheep/goat are the most frequent taxon at the site, comprising slightly less than 45% of the main domestic mammals. Three out of twelve fragments (25%) were identifiable as sheep and no goat remains were seen. Most of the ovicaprid remains are of a size consistent with the age of the cemetery but some are quite large, including an unstratified male (ram or wether) pelvic fragment.

Pig remains were also frequent comprising 37% of the major domesticates. They include particularly large unfused distal femur and tibia fragments, possibly belonging to the same individual, that are light in colour and most probably post-date the early medieval cemetery. A measurable unstratified pig astragalus came from an animal approximately 730mm high at the shoulder based on the multiplication factors of Teichert (1990). This bone is dark in colour but cannot conclusively be ascribed to the early medieval period. Cattle remains are relatively scarce, accounting for 18.50% of fragments identified to species. They include a distal humerus diaphysis belonging to a perinatal calf found in context (5) and an unstratified distal humerus shaft with diagonal chop marks on the medial surface. Cattle sized vertebra and rib fragments were frequent and include four unstratified caudal vertebrae probably originating from the same individual.

Two partial dog skeletons were included amongst the unstratified material. Twenty-six bones belong to a medium sized robust animal approximately 430mm high at the shoulder based on Harcourt (1974) and Clark's (1995) multiplication factors (mean of four bones). This dog had a conformation similar to a modern Staffordshire Bull Terrier. The bones are light in colour and the remains could post-date the cemetery. The second dog is represented by a mandible, a femur, fore and hind foot elements. Some of these elements were unstratified and others were found in context (6). The mandible has well-spaced premolar teeth like the modern Greyhound. The estimated shoulder height of this dog, approximately 67mm (mean of five measurements) and the midshaft diameter index (msd.100/tl) of the femur are also similar to the Greyhound. These bones are dark in colour and may be contemporary with the early medieval cemetery. Both dogs are within the range of the Anglo-Saxon sample published by Harcourt (1974).

The only bird bone recovered is a small *Anatid* carpometacarpus found in context (25) which probably belongs to teal (*Anas crecca*).

Summary and conclusion

The interpretation of this assemblage is somewhat hampered by its tiny size and the circumstances of its recovery. As the cemetery was Christian most of the contemporary faunal remains probably represent accidental inclusions of butchery waste from a nearby settlement. It is possible, however, that the dogs may have been buried with their owners. It is equally possible on the available evidence that the dog burials represent a separate and possibly more recent event.

5.5 The environmental evidence

A total of 4 x 20 litre soil samples were retained for further analysis. These were processed by flotation using a *Siraf* type flotation tank. The samples were placed on a 1mm mesh and water was passed through the samples. The flots were collected in a 250 micron mesh.

The residues were then sorted by hand in order to collect any small bone and other material. No significant amounts of seeds, molluscs or plant material was seen amongst the flots, and few significant bones or other material was found amongst the sorted residues. Sub-samples of the original samples have been retained for possible future analysis.

A sample of the charcoal from grave 33 was also retained. All samples form part of the archive.

5.6 The agricultural Buildings

Barn A

This building is situated near the entrance gate on the right on the approach to the house. It does not appear on the tithe map of 1840 but is shown on the first edition of the OS map 1886 and therefore must have been constructed between these dates.

However, although there has been much chopping and changing of timbers (there are numerous empty peg holes and disused mortices) they have a style and framing dating from the 17th – 18th century. The feet of the principals have been cut at the joints where they meet the tie beam, therefore making the roof pitch lower. The northern framing consists of inserted posts (literally tree stumps). There is evidence of original windbraces and the angled struts are missing due to the lowering. The thickness of timbers, and the windbraces, is a good indication that this frame is of the 17th – 18th century date.

All in all the basics of an early frame remain and it can therefore be presumed that this barn was erected in the mid to late 19th century and that the timbers derived from one of the other dismantled barns on the property.

Stables B

This is situated to north of the house and is rectangular in shape and is aligned north-south.

The tithe map of 1840 shows a rectangular building and by 1886 it has new additions to the northern end.

The stone walling is hard to date but the king post trusses are fairly modern.



Plate 6: Building C (on the right) from the yard.

This area has been terraced by cutting into the original slope. The range in the background is probably late 19th or early 20th century.

Building C

This building, originally stables, was situated to the north-east of Dewsall Court. Its northern wall formed the southern edge of the terracing which had removed the ancient contours in which any burials would have been situated. This wall, the north elevation, has a deep sandstone plinth and two battered buttresses. As a

consequence of the terracing, the base of this wall, at 111.24 OD, is 2.10 metres below the floor of the building.

The west gable has a central blocked doorway. The south elevation has five boarded openings and four ledged and strutted doors. Interior has racks and two trusses with triple angle struts. Other trusses have plain collars and ties (DOE, 1986).

The northern building (see Plate 8) attached to this barn is of a much later date, probably late 19th early 20th century.



Plate 7: Building C from the south. There is a drop of 2.1 metres from the floor of this building to the yard to the north.

Barn D

This building has a stone wall attached to the north end which is the remains of a building that is seen on both the tithe map and 1st addition OS map. This wall shows holes in the west internal face, showing joist holes for a floor or other associated features.

6.0 Discussion

The Dewsall Cemetery

The minimum number of eleven individual humans recovered from the site as given by Dr. Brickley (p28, above) is, as she says, likely to represent a small sample of the total number present. This is not only because of the relatively small area of the trench (104 square metres) but also because the original slope of ground was terraced at some date after the disuse of the cemetery - or at least this part of it. Within the area of the trench, therefore, burials to the south of a diagonal line through the trench would have been removed by this terracing (see Figure 12, p23). Any burials to the north would have been lower than the bottom of the trench. The area, therefore, that could have produced burials measured no more than about 73 square metres.

In addition, some of the bone was in particularly poor condition (e.g. skeleton 35). This, together with the extremely sticky nature of the spoil-heap from which most of the bones were recovered, makes it probable that many of the bones machined out of the original trench were subsequently neither retrieved nor recorded.

The evidence as it stands suggests that the position of the trench is entirely within a cemetery of unknown size. This cemetery, or rather the part of it identified, originally occupied a slope of ground running down to a stream. The stream itself bisects what appears to be an oval enclosure. This enclosure is of unknown date but is shown on the 1840 tithe map.

The present parish church of Dewsall, St Michael's, stands within the northern part of this enclosure (see Figure 1, p3). A stone wall partitions the rectangular graveyard around the church from an open paddock which occupies the rest of that part of the original enclosure which lies to north of the stream.

Sample	Context	95%	68%	Intercept(s)
1	34 (fill of grave 33)	70-450	140-400	250
2	Skeleton 2 (context 17)	680-890	710-810 & 840-860	780
3	Human Bones 27	650-850	680-790	720, 740 & 760

Table 3: Carbon 14 dates from the Dewsall cemetery

At Dewsall, the two human bone samples which were radiocarbon 14 dated suggest a date in the 8th century. The other date, from charcoal at the bottom of grave 33, may well be from the 3rd century (see Appendix A, p48).

The early date for grave 33 is somewhat problematical. It was not recovered from the skeleton (5) in the grave and the possibility must exist that the charcoal predates the burial. The charcoal was however confined to a layer in the bottom of the grave. This being the case, standard archaeological practice, and common sense, tend to suggest that the grave should be dated to the period suggested by the evidence.

Although charcoal sometimes found within graves has been interpreted as a preservative, other possibilities exist.¹ Near Caerleon, ashy soil containing cremated animal bone was found within a coffined burial. This was interpreted by

¹ Late Saxon and early Norman 'charcoal' burials have been found at several places including London, York, Winchester and Worcester. The practice is assumed to have become ritualistic, having had an original purpose of absorbing the smell of decay (Shoesmith, 1980, p49).

the excavator, Dave Zienkiewicz, as the remains of a 'funeral feast' (Davies, J L, 2000, p137).

Stratigraphically, grave 33 was the earliest feature visible in the north-eastern edge of the trench. The fill of this grave was cut by grave 30 which contained the bones of more than one individual – bones 29 and 32. Grave 30 had therefore presumably been re-cut at least once.

The bones suggested that the cemetery was probably that of a lay community – both sexes and several ages being represented. Evidence from teeth indicated that at least some of the individuals had suffered some sort of ill-health during childhood (see Human Bone section above, p26).

Members of this community may well have inhabited the settlement represented by the deserted medieval village immediately to the east of the site (see page 17).

First Millennium Cemeteries

In 1977 Philip Rahtz (p53) referred to a class of burials that were mainly of the late or immediately post-Roman period and which were characterised by east-west positioning and a lack, or paucity, of grave goods. He went on to extend this time period, suggesting that such cemeteries may have their origins in the early Roman or pre-historic periods. The evidence now suggests that some of these cemeteries continued in use into the High Medieval period and beyond. Known burials of this period are extremely rare in Herefordshire.

At a cemetery at Ash Grove (SO 5377 4954) in Marden parish about 'a score' of burials have been observed in the face of a quarry which went out of use in 1943. One of these was successfully radiocarbon 14 dated in November 2001 and returned a date of AD 340 – 540 (unpublished – Herefordshire Sites and Monuments number 6544).

In Hereford, one of the relatively large number of burials (S85) associated with the original site of St. Guthlac's monastery, on what is now the Castle Green, gave a radiocarbon 14 date of AD 520 – 800 (95%) (Shoesmith, 1980, p52). Given that this individual was unlikely to have been the first inhumation on the site, the author's suggestion that this cemetery was probably established at least by the later 8th century seems totally reasonable.

Site	Number	Type of sample	Date
Dewsall	34	Charcoal	70 to 450
Ash Grove		Bone	340 to 540
St Guthlac's	85	Bone	663 ± 70
Dewsall	27	Bone	680 to 890
Dewsall	17	Bone	650 to 850
St Guthlac's	74	Charcoal	890 ± 80
St Guthlac's	83	Bone	900 ± 70
St Guthlac's	80	Charcoal	960 ± 70
St Guthlac's	46	Bone	1033 ± 80
St Guthlac's	10	Bone	1106 ± 70

Table 4: Radiocarbon 14 dates of pre-Norman burials in Herefordshire

Other sites in Herefordshire may be 'Dark Age' cemeteries but have not as yet been dated. Quarrying in 1795 discovered a cemetery at Frankland's Gate, in

Sutton parish, not far from Ash Grove.¹ Also nearby, in Moreton-on-Lugg parish (SO), road widening in 2001 discovered human remains which may derive from another cemetery.² Yet another cemetery was found within the pre-historic Ivington Camp (SO 4850 5470).³

Two cemeteries were recorded in Mordiford parish (SO 5693 3729⁴ and SO 5702 3690⁵) in the early 19th century, while 25 graves were recorded in a cemetery (SO 5780 1990) apparently pre-dating the castle at Goodrich.⁶

Some of the burials at the Castle Green site of the old monastery of St Guthlac's in Hereford were underlain with a layer of charcoal. As was the case with the Dewsall example these skeletons were in particularly poor condition (Bayley, 1982, p39); the dates are however very different (see table 4). This charcoal was almost exclusively oak from fairly large timbers (Keepax, 1980, P39).

A grave outside the Roman town of Magnis, containing the body of a middle aged man, was aligned east-west and contained no grave-goods (Wilmott and Rahtz, 1985). This has been ceramically dated to a period from the late 2nd century to 300 AD (Tomber, 1985, p124).

Most of the above burials are likely to be Christian. The Ash Grove date may however be too early and the earliest Dewsall date is almost certainly so. The Kenchester burial is also presumably pre-Christian.

As Rahtz pointed out (above), east-west burials without grave goods are not necessarily indicative of Christian practice. Cemeteries may have belonged to communities in which a range of religious beliefs were practised contemporaneously and therefore contain individuals inhumed using several rites which are indistinguishable by the remaining physical evidence. The burial of Christians among 'pagan' ancestors was certainly practised in Ireland (O'Brien, 1996, p161)

In around 460 AD the Gaulish aristocrat Sidonius Apollinaris was passing a cemetery when he witnessed some gravediggers who were about to inadvertently disturb his grandfather's grave in order to bury another person. The grandfather, the first member of the family to have been baptised a Christian, was Praetorian Prefect of Gaul in 408, and had been buried in an unmarked grave, the mound itself being considered to be a sufficient indication of the grave's presence. In the forty years since his death the mound above the grave had disappeared (Reece, 1977b, p44).

The Gaulish cemetery was apparently full, (which presumably led to the gravediggers working in already used areas) and contained not only inhumations but also cremations. In this case, the cremations may have been a fairly recently imported Germanic practice of the sort that was also common in eastern Britain at the time.

Britain west of the Severn in the 6th century had not experienced large-scale Germanic incursions and may well have possessed a culture which was in many respects that of the pre-Roman Iron Age. It is considered likely that burials

1 Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record number 31109
2 Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record number 31652
3 Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record number 31546
4 Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record number 8951
5 Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record number 8952
6 Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record number 5715

followed practices and locations, which may have been inherited rather than initiated by the British Christian church.¹

The problem is that relatively few field projects have been undertaken, and these have generally complicated rather than simplified the picture. They *'have generally failed to produce the sequences that are assumed to exist'* (Arnold, 2000, p180). It is possible that some of these assumptions derive from a Celtic Church model which in many respects was erroneous. No uniformity of belief or practice can be assumed among the early Christian Churches of the British Isles, a theme which has usefully been rehearsed by Wendy Davies (1992).

At Caerwent burials from two cemeteries have been radiocarbon 14 dated. A cemetery outside the east gate produced dates ranging from the 5th to the 8th century while two graves from a large group around St Tatheus' church in the town were dated to the 6th and 7th centuries (Brook, 1988, p71).

At Barry, Glamorgan, a small cemetery seems to have been in use between the 2nd and the 10th centuries with little or no variation in burial practice (James, 1992, pp96-97).

At Llandough, Glamorgan, a total of 858 burials were recorded in a cemetery which may have originated in the Iron Age, was in use through the later Roman period, and continued to be used through to the 10th or 11th centuries (Thomas and Holbrook, 1994).

Possible dates for the use of the Dewsall cemetery span from the 2nd to the present day. This may be far from unique - most rural graveyards now in use have not been excavated.

Large graveyards have been taken to be one of the indicators of early important churches (Brook, D, 1992, p79). Large enclosures are not necessarily of any particular shape but there has been a tendency to consider that curvilinear enclosures are particularly significant.²

Edwards and Lane (1992b, p4) points out that it was Charles Thomas, in his pioneering works, who first drew attention to the likely antiquity of curvilinear churchyards. In qualification of this, it seems likely that curvilinear enclosures should largely be dated to the 7th to the 9th centuries and that they are far less likely to date to the 5th or 6th centuries (Brook, D, 1992, p84).

Dewsall appears to be a curvilinear enclosure³ of 3.5 hectares; the fact that there is a stream running through the apparent enclosure makes it extremely unusual. In Herefordshire there is however another possible religious enclosure with a stream running through it. This is north of the Wye at Canon Pyon, some 400 metres south-west of the present churchyard (Ray, 2001, p117).

The insertion of a later church into an older curvilinear graveyard may be paralleled at St Nicholas Church, at Barry, Glamorgan, where a small manorial church was erected in the 12th or early 13th century (Thomas, H, 2000, p133-135).

¹ 'Specifically Christian burial practices could not have succeeded so totally in the thinly populated cultural conservative and politically fragmented region of dispersed settlement that was early medieval Wales, without developing from - indeed within - Iron Age/Romano-British traditions' (James, 1992, p102).

² Joe Hillaby (2001, p48) has used the size of an original large rectangular enclosure at Leominster to suggest an early date and to connect it with the Columban church. It is also possible that St Guthlac's at Hereford was within a rectangular enclosure, but if it did, the bank and/or ditch of this is now buried beneath the castle ramparts, which may in fact reflect an earlier enclosure.

³ There are some dangers in making assumptions from current shapes of churchyard enclosures. Moccas is a site which is obviously of importance. It clearly has a sub-oval enclosure on the 1st edition OS plan. This, however, is the result of landscaping by Capability Brown in the late 18th century (Brook, 1992).

The sites of few recorded British churches have provided evidence of early structures. A small excavation at St Oudoceus's church at Llandogo,¹ Monmouthshire, (*LL* charter on p156 - *Lannoudocui*) failed to find any early evidence (Taylor, F, 1999, p115). A watching brief at another possible early site, St Beuno's church at Llanfaenor, Monmouthshire (Clarke et al, 1999, p116) was similarly negative as was a small project at Llandeilo Tal-y-bont, equated with *Lan Teliau Talypon* and one of only four sites in Glamorgan named after St Teilo (Redknapp and Brassil, 1999).²

In Herefordshire the site of another old church, Llanwarne (*LL* charter on page 200, *Lann Guern Teliau ha Dubric*), was partially excavated in 1980. This project found some evidence of a church which preceded a 13th century rebuild but nothing to indicate that this was the church of Bishop Herewald in the 11th century (Shoesmith, 1981). In 1986 an excavation at Llanrothal church (*Lann Ridol* in *LL*, p275) in Herefordshire found part of a stone cross but no pre-conquest material (Shoesmith, 1986).

What evidence there is suggests that at least some of the churches of Archenfield were built in stone before they became part of the Hereford diocese in the early 12th century. Llancillo (*Lann Sulbio*), Michaelchurch (*Lann Mihacgel cilluch*), and Peterstow (*Lannpetyr*) have traces of 11th century fabric (Parsons, 1995, p66). It may also be significant that in the list of churches claimed back from Hereford in *LL* (see Appendix D. p54), only one (Llangarron - *Lan garan*) is specified as being a wooden church.

The loss of Eryng

It seems extremely likely that in the earlier 9th century there was a settlement at Dewsall. At this time it may have been already old. The inhabitants would have been Welsh; owing their political allegiance to King Hywel ap Rhys and being in the pastoral care of priests ordained by the bishop of Eryng. Just 7.25 km to the north, the recently founded Mercian burgh at Hereford with its cathedral would have been an ever-present reminder that Dewsall was at that time a border settlement, exposed to raids by the English. In the previous century the English had indeed overrun the area that included Dewsall although it had subsequently been returned to Welsh control.

The monastery of St Guthlac, originally sited on what is now the Castle Green at Hereford, is considered to be a probable foundation of King Æthelbald of Mercia who became king in 716. Æthelbald had founded, or had been associated with the founding of, several churches in Mercia - the minsters at Bredon and Daylesford, the abbeys at Gloucester and Evesham, and St Peter's, Worcester. The inference drawn from these known foundations is that he is therefore a likely figure to have founded St Guthlac's. David Whitehead (1980, p3) argues that St Guthlac's is likely to pre-date Æthelbald. He cites (p4) the reference in the *Iolo MSS* to Geraint, son of Erbain who founded the church of *Caerfawydd* (Hereford) in the mid 6th century. A bishop from Caerfawydd is listed in the manuscript as

¹ This was the site of a synod in the 10th century (Davies, 1979, p121).

² King Meurig and Queen Onbraust returned Lan Teliau Talypon to Bishop Euddogwy (*LL*, p140).

one of the leaders of the British Church who disputed with St Augustine in 601¹, but this may be a later invention (Shoesmith, 1980, p20).²

It may therefore be that an original British church on the site of what subsequently became St Guthlac's priory, although north of the Wye, was within Eryng at the time of its foundation. The site lies beside a ford which became known as the Castle Ford, and would have been easily crossed at most times of the year. To the north and east of Hereford at the time were marshlands, where the Eign Brook meandered through an old pre-glacial course of the Wye (Brandon, 1989, p39). These marshlands may have presented a greater obstacle to communications than the river itself when the latter was not in spate.

It is also possible that originally the name 'Hereford' - Army Ford - only applied to the ford 400 metres upstream from the Castle Ford. It was at this second ford, later known as the Palace Ford from its proximity to the house of the Bishop of Hereford, that the English burgh of Hereford was built.³ The *Hereford* name is not uncommon, and Ekwall (1960) interprets it as a 'ford where a marching column could pass in close order'. Hereford in Devon was also *Hereford* in Domesday as was Harvington, near Evesham in Worcestershire, the TUN suffix being a later addition. Little Hereford in the northern part of the county has the same meaning, as does Herford in Germany.

After *lēah*, *ford* is the most common topographic element in English place-names. Names with *ford* would usually have been used for places, which at the time the names were first used, would probably have had only local significance (Gelling, 1984, p67).

The siting of a cathedral at Hereford may have happened in the late 7th century, but no persuasive evidence for the existence of this church, nor indeed for the name Hereford at this site, exists before about 801 AD (see below). An English cathedral does not, at this time, necessarily imply a pre-existing town. Lichfield, the premier cathedral of Mercia and briefly the archiepiscopal seat of the Mercian province, was placed at a site that was itself '*neither a Roman town nor an Anglo-Saxon one*' (Brooks, 1989, p162).

In 731 Bede listed all the bishops of England. In Mercia Ealdwine was bishop, and Walhstod was bishop of those people who live beyond the Severn '*provinciae Merciorum Alduini episcopus et eis populis qui ultra Sabrinam ad occidentam habitant Ualchstod episcopus*' (p559). Apart from Winchester, the list has no place-names, but every bishop apart from Walhstod has a named people to whom he administers - the Hwicce, the West Saxons, Kent, Lindsey etc. If there was one identifiable people in the area of south Shropshire and north Herefordshire, Bede does not know their name.

Hereford at some stage developed into a Mercian frontier town surrounded by a bank and ditch (Shoesmith, R, 1982). These defences may have been on both

¹ Bede (p136) says merely that seven British bishops and many learned men '*vii Brettonum episcopi at plures uiri doctissimi*' met with St Augustine on the boundary between the territory of the Hwicce and the West Saxons.

² The Iolo manuscripts of Iolo Morganwg are almost certainly forgeries by the poet and antiquary Edward Williams ('*Iolo Morganwg*', 1747-1826 - see Williams, E, 1848). The modern Welsh name for Hereford is *Henfordd* - 'the old way' - and this name was certainly in use in the later middle ages, but the story that the earliest name for the place was *Caerfawydd* or *Trefawydd* - 'fort' or 'town' of the birch trees - is also medieval and cannot be ignored.

³ The present shallows on the supposed site of the original ford are due to their location just downstream of the old Wye Bridge at Hereford and are due to the presence of the bridge itself. There is no evidence that these shallows pre-date the Wye Bridge (Frank Barton - pers comm).

sides of the river¹ as they were at Edward the Elder's burghs at Hertford and Buckingham (Durham, 1990, p31). The earliest date from Hereford, apart from the cemetery, is that of a feature interpreted as a grain drying oven, 725 ± 85 AD. This was earlier than a post-built timber building, the post-holes of which, were in turn, buried beneath the earliest, gravel, defensive rampart on the west side of the town (Shoemith 1982, p30).

In a 12th century transcript of an 8th century document, Cuthbert (Bishop of the Magonsaetan 736-40 and later Archbishop of Canterbury) is recorded as building a *tumba* in which he placed the bodies of his predecessors, King Mildfrith and Mildfrith's wife Cuenberg (Hillaby, 2001, p52). This *tumba* or *porticus* is assumed to have been at Hereford. Although the first explicit evidence of a bishop of Hereford only dates from 801 (Blair, 2001, p10) it is virtually certain that a cathedral existed there in Offa's reign (757-796).

It seems at least likely that in the immediate post-Roman period the Wye did not form a boundary between two political entities. It has been pointed out (Wilmott, A. 1980, p127) that the natural hinterland of the town of Magnis, on the north of the Wye, lay over the river on the south bank. As long as the Roman bridge over the river stood, there seems to be little reason why this would have changed. Even at a much later date the river did not always divide parishes. Sugwas, on the left bank was in the parish of Eaton Bishop on the right bank until 1884 (Marshall, 1922, p116). There were, and indeed are, numerous places where the river was fordable. Two fords crossed the Wye between Eaton and Sugwas (Lamont, 1921, p81) and it was at the latter site that the Bishop of Hereford had one of his palaces, which remained in use until the 16th century (Tonkin, 1976, p58). There are numerous other fords along the Wye in Herefordshire - Clifford, several at Bredwardine, Byford, Bridge Sollers and Lower Breinton are all above Hereford; more fords provide crossing places downstream (Lamont, 1921). Regulations to deal with cattle rustling across the Wye downstream of Hereford was one of the issues with which the 10th century Ordinance Concerning the Dunsæte was concerned.²

Margaret Gelling (1992, p16) demonstrates that while place names with *lēah* are comparatively rare in Herefordshire, the densest cluster is immediately north of the river in the west of the county. This group of seven - Almely, Eardisley, Kinnersley, Willersley, Ailey, Kinley and Hurstley - are immediately opposite Bredwardine. Bredwardine was probably the *podum Janubai* of a charter dated to around 585 AD (LL, p73; Davies, W, 1979, p93) and which was the *Lann lunabui* returned to Bishop Berthwyn after being seized by the English in 745 (LL, p192).

The *lēah* element, while common at a later date, is comparatively rare before 730. This might suggest that this area, in close proximity to important British cultural centres, was settled by English speakers after that date.

Early charter evidence for non-Ergyng Herefordshire is rare. A grant of land in *Lingen* was made in 704/709 and in 716/718 King Æthelbald of Mercia granted land at Acton Beachamp for a monastery (*ibid*, p139). Neither of these places is in the valley of the Wye. The earliest extant charter is a grant of lands at *Magana* and *Lydas* to the nun Mildberg (St Mildberg, the daughter of Merewalh) between 675 and 690 which may refer to properties at Maund and Lyde (Finberg, 1961, p138).

¹ A suggestion made by Dr Keith Ray, Hereford County Archaeologist, at a conference, the Archaeology of Hereford: New Discoveries and New Insights, 12th May, 2001. It is intended that this conference will be the subject of a forthcoming publication.

² The Ordinance Concerning the Dunsæte - see below, page 43

The district of Maund is on the left bank of the River Lugg with its southern boundary approximately on the Roman road which runs east to west just north of Hereford. Coplestone-Crow suggests that Lydas is Lyde, opposite Maund on the right bank of the Lugg. He suggests that this district included the whole peninsula here between the Lugg and the Wye, extending west from their confluence and containing the land on which Hereford now stands.

This may be correct, and if so the English Church would have had access to Hereford in the late 7th century. But the Lyde place-names in the area - Lyde Arundel, Lower Lyde Court, Lower Lyde Farm, Lyde Cross, Lyde Hill and Upper Lyde - are all north of the Roman road here. (They probably relate to the nearby stream which runs east to join the Lugg - Hlyde is a common stream name, and settlements are often named from their being sited on streams - there is a Lyddington in Rutland.) It seems at least possible that the Roman road formed the southern boundary of both Maund and Lyde. If this was the case, then the road may have formed a boundary over a much longer distance - much as at a later time Watling Street formed the boundary between the English and the Danes in the southern midlands and the Roman road running north from Magnis to Bravonium (Leintwardine) forms present parish boundaries. Both banks of the Wye may have belonged to Eryng in the 6th and 7th centuries.

The Book of Llandaff is concerned, in what is now Herefordshire, with the diocesan claims to churches in Eryng. It may be that the compilers had access to charters pertaining to places north and east of the Wye. If they did (and we have no way of knowing whether or not this was the case) they would have been unlikely to have included them as evidence in their case. These areas had been for many years clearly within the diocese of Hereford, and obviously included Hereford itself. No case so overstated would have been likely to succeed.

Some evidence does however suggest that the area of the church in Eryng had originally been larger than the area containing the places named in the charters in *LL*. A chapel of St Dubricius (Dyfrg) existed on the southern edge of Woolhope parish, west of the Wye, and was in need of repair in 1514 (Martin, 1952, p229).

Domesday (Thorn and Thorn, A, 179b) records that the king has three churches in Archenfield. Matthews (1912, p11) wrote that 'The King's three churches in Erchinfield are not more precisely named but they were probably Hentland, Llangaran and St Weonard's. Charters from the reign of John¹ onward record grants of the vicarage of Lugwardine with the churches or chapels in Erchinfield'. Henry III granted to John Maunsell junior the churches of Lugwardin and Urchinfield in 1246 (ibid, p13).

Queen Elizabeth I granted 'our right to the presentation of *lugwardyn* in the same county of Hereford and all our chapels of *langarren*, *henthlann* and *sci winards* annexed to the same church or dependent upon it' (Morgan, F C, 1955). Kelly's directory of 1870 notes that the living of Hentland was a vicarage '*separated from the vicarage of Lugwardine*' while St Weonard's was a chapelry to Llangarron. This raises the suspicion that Lugwardine was in Eryng at some stage - it may also be significant that Domesday records that its value in 1066 was unknown as it had not been put into the revenue at that time (Thorn and Thorn, 1.2).

Kings Cuple provides another example of the Wye not being the original boundary of Eryng. This village, in a loop on the left bank of the Wye, was still clearly in Archenfield in Domesday and is listed as so being. The listed inhabitants are one

¹ In 1204 John granted the vicarage of *Lugwardin* to *Alard* together with the chapel of *Urchenefeld*. Also in John's reign, *Joscelin de Welles* was appointed to the churches of *Urchenefeld* and *Lugwardin* on the resignation of Master Stephen (Matthews, 1912, p12).

Frenchman and five Welshmen (Thorn and Thorn, 1.6). Six local men paid the dues which had been owed at this time, and before, for centuries. Payment was still being made by one of these 'King's Men of Archenfield in the 1960s (Taylor, 1997, p26).

The Ordinance concerning the *Dunsaete*, which was probably drawn up in the 10th century, relates to the Wye downstream of Hereford, and above Monmouth. This seems to be concerned with a people who inhabited both banks of the Wye in this area and again suggests that the Wye was not originally a boundary (Coplestone-Crow, 1989, p5).¹

There is therefore evidence of cross-Wye ecclesiastical and political organisation which may be of some antiquity and may reflect a political unit covering a similar area. It seems possible that in the 7th century, and the beginning of the 8th century, both banks of the river were in British hands. It may have been during a period of warfare in the early 8th century that the Mercians moved into the Wye valley in the region of Hereford. The known conflict between Ithel ap Morgan of Glywysing and Æthelbald of Mercia may reflect this movement. It may be that the churches returned to Glywysing in 745 represent only part of the territory lost by Ithel at this time, the rest being retained by Mercia.

The territory regained in 745 included the district later known as Mawfield, which lay on the right bank of the Wye upstream of Hereford. This area, *Campo Malocho*, the Latin form of the Welsh *Mais Mail Lochou* (Coplestone-Crow, 1989), includes Eaton Bishop, Madley, Moccas and Kingstone. *Mais Mail Lochou* seems to have the meaning *field of the servant of Lochou*. *Lochou* may be identified with *Llacheu*, who although in legend is the son of Arthur, may originally have been a deity (Rhys, 1895, p24). Mawfield also has the name *Insulam Ebrdil* in early sources (Coplestone-Crow) and is identified as the patrimony of St Dyfrig.

Mawfield appears to have been lost to the Welsh in the 9th century. After serious warfare between Mercia and Wessex culminating in Mercia's defeat at Ellendun in 825, the English spent the greater part of this century having problems with the Danes. Wessex, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle was engaged in warfare with the Danes in 836, 838, 840, 841, 842, 843, and 851. In 851 the Danes put to flight Beorhtwulf and the Mercian army. In 855 the Danes were in the Wrekin and over-wintered on Sheppey. However, there was one major campaign against the Welsh. In 853 King Burgred of Mercia and his council asked Æthelwulf of the West Saxons for help to subjugate the Welsh - '*He then did so, and went with his army across Mercia against the Welsh*' (ASC, p188). It is possible that this was the occasion when Mawfield passed from Welsh to English control. The English problems were about to worsen. By 873 King Burgred of Mercia was forced into exile in Rome and the Danes appointed a Mercian thegn, Ceolwulf, as puppet king, and Mercia was partitioned. Alfred was to spend Easter 878 on the Isle of Athelney and on the point of the utter defeat of the English (Stenton, 1971, 259).

From this time the boundary of the Welsh diocese in what is now Herefordshire ran down the Dore to its confluence with the Worm, thence up the Worm to *Caer Rein* (Aconbury Hill), down the Taratyr to the Wye and down the Wye to the Severn.²

By the middle of the 11th century Mawfield had become totally assimilated into the English manorial and hundred structure. Unlike Archenfield, in Domesday the

¹ The ordinance does assume an English and a Welsh side of the river. The agreement was between the English Witan and the *counsellors of the Welsh people* (Appendix on pp 104-109 of Noble, 1983).
² In Welsh on page 135 of *LL* - an English translation is on page 367.

manors of Mawfield have the characteristics of the parishes of the rest of the county. An oddity about Mawfield in the 11th century however, is that although we know that well-established and high status churches existed there in the 8th century, none at all are recorded in Domesday. While it is true that (with the exception of the special case of Llanwarne¹) Domesday records no churches in Archenfield, these churches were under the aegis of Llandaff at the time and *LL* records contemporary ordinations to them (see Appendix E, p55). The Mawfield churches appear in neither document. It may or may not be significant that in Domesday almost all the manors of Mawfield are held by the church, mostly by the cathedral church of Hereford but with Moccas being held by the minster of St Guthlac's in Hereford. The association of the site of the ancient monastery of Dyfrig with the town of Hereford's oldest religious house is interesting but inconclusive.

The parishes of Mawfield were mostly within the Deanery of Hereford. This deanery's border with the Archenfield deanery preserved the old boundary of the Llandaff diocese as recorded in *LL*. Dewsall and Dinedor are in the Hereford deanery: Much Dewchurch and Holme Lacy in the Archenfield deanery. The westernmost parish of Mawfield, Moccas, together with Bredwardine and the parishes of the Golden Valley were grouped in the Weobley deanery.

Atkin (1971, p87) suggests that by Domesday there was a continuous belt of forest on the northern border of Archenfield. Between Mawfield and the rest of Ergyng was the forest of Treville. Extending east from this was the forest of Haywood, which formed the boundary between Ergyng and the Mercian area just south of Hereford. Woods can generate very quickly in uncultivated land. Atkin (1971, p84) cites the eleven manors on the Herefordshire border with Radnorshire which were laid waste in the 1050s as being woods used for hunting in 1086. Domesday, in the lands of Osbern fitz Richard (Thorne and Thorne, 24.5) says '*on these waste lands have grown woods in which this Osbern goes hunting*'. He also quotes (from T Rowlandson in the 1853 *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society*) a saying that '*oaks are the weeds of Herefordshire*'. An inference may be drawn here that a disputed border area, devoid of settlement and farming, developed into Haywood forest after the 9th century.

The pressures upon the legal identity of Archenfield/Ergyng continued after the Norman Conquest. Domesday had specified its anomalous tax position, although services were expected - the men were to lead the army on campaigns into Wales and form the rear-guard on its return (Thorn and Thorn, A9, 179b).

Archenfield seems to have suffered in the events of 1055, when Earl Aelric and Gryffyd ap Llewellyn raided Hereford. Domesday says of Archenfield that King Gruffydd and Bleddyn laid this land waste before 1066 (Thorn and Thorn, 1.49).

The military service was the single service owed to the Crown. In 1242 the Testa de Nevill stated that 'Urchenfield in Wales is held to answer to our lord the king, by summons, for fifty Welshmen in time of war; nor does it owe other service, except only the suit of the Hundred, according to the custom of Urchenfield' (Matthews, 1912, p13). However in 1250 it was recorded that the Earl of Hereford's² taxors

¹ Llanwarne, the only Archenfield church recorded in Domesday, was a possession of the manor of *Homme*, Holme Lacy, which was not in Archenfield. It is also in the list of churches that Llandaff attempts to reclaim in the 12th century. Llanwarne is the only church in both documents.

² This was Humphrey de Bohun, styled 'The Good'. His father, also Humphrey, had died in pilgrimage in 1220 (Duncumb, p129). Himself a staunch supporter of Henry III, his son, another Humphrey was very much of Simon de Montfort's party and died of his wounds after the battle of Evesham (Powicke, 1962, p202).

had attempted to tax the tenants of Archenfield although 'they were never wont to be taxed'.

Again in 1326 the custom of Archenfield is defined - 'The Frenchmen and Welshmen of Urchenesfeld hold their tenements in chief of our lord the King by socage, rendering 19l 7s 6d. And they ought to find 49 foot-soldiers for our lord the King in Wales for 15 days at their own cost' (Matthews, 1912, p15).

The present political and ecclesiastical boundaries in south Herefordshire are very recent. In the reign of Henry VIII the commote of Ewyas was partitioned along Hatterall Ridge forming the present boundary between England and Wales (Sherlock and Pikes, 2002, p2). Even then parts of Herefordshire lay in the Welsh side of this border, a situation that would continue into the 19th century. In 1844 the parishes of Monmouth (now a cathedral of the Church of Wales) and Dixton were transferred from the diocese of Hereford to that of Llandaff. Only in 1852 were the parishes in the English part of Ewyas transferred from St David's to Hereford (Havergal, 1869, p3).

Dewsall and its early medieval religious context

A footpath running to the north-west from Dewsall heads towards Madley, 8 km away. Moccas is 8 km again to the north-west of Madley. To the south-west, over the side of Aconbury Hill, is Llanfrother, a distance of 7 km. Llanfrother is the presumed site of St Dyfrig's original monastery - *Henn Lann Dyfrig*; Moccas - *Mochros* - is the site of his second monastery and Madley - *Matle* or *Lann Ebrdil* - his alleged birthplace. Dewsall thus lies on a direct route connecting three of the sites most prominently associated with St Dyfrig (see Figure 13, p45).

LL relates that Dyfrig was the illegitimate son of Ebrdil, who was herself the daughter of King Peibio of Eryng. This relationship to Peibio is almost certainly a spurious hagiographic device. It may be that the tale reflects an earlier story in which Ebrdil is an earlier (male) saint whose spiritual inheritance passed to Dyfrig (Coplestone-Crow, 1989). The church at Madley, where Dyfrig is recorded as having been born, seems to have had an early dedication to St Ebrdil - *Lann Ebrdil* - (Coplestone-Crow). Madley may have been a prehistoric religious site which needed to be associated with the premier local saint.

Whatever Madley's original sacred nature may have been, the association with Dyfrig's mother probably led to its subsequent strong cult of the Virgin Mary. The rebuilding of what had been a 12th century aisleless church was carried out in the 13th century in response to a pilgrim interest in a figure of the Virgin there (Brown, S, 1985, p122). Any pilgrim activity at Madley is likely to have been developed as a spin-off from the cult of St Ethelbert at Hereford. A now missing north chancel window was described by Thomas Blount in about 1675 - '*In the North Window we see a Picture of St Ethelbert holding a Church in his Hand, and a Queen standing by Him, with the Arms of England - in another window a crosse and by it the effigies of a Woman under whom it is written 'Sta. Mildburga pray for the (blank) and for the souls of all Christians'*'. The figure might have been St Mildburg, and the statue that of the Virgin Mary, but the likelihood is that an earlier cult was being remembered here - that of Ebrdil and her son Dyfrig, in the premier church of the land once named after her, Ynis Ebrdil.

Llanfrother was the site of Dyfrig's original monastery. In the entry for Hentland in Casseys Herefordshire directory for 1858 the site is mentioned - '*in certain pastures belonging to a farm in this parish, there is a place which to this day is called Llanfrawter The Church of the Convent of the Brethren'*. The entry continues with an early cropmark description '*At particular seasons, the foundations of extensive buildings may still be traced on the summit of the*

eminence rising from the Western bank of the Wye; all the materials, however that were above ground, have been used for the construction of walls etc'.

Dyfrig is said to have spent seven years at Llanfrother. It was alleged to have been a large community, with a thousand monks - *et cum his mille clericos per septem annos continuos in podo hennlann super Gui* (LL p80). While this figure may be an exaggeration, British, like Irish, monasteries could house many monks. At the battle of Chester (616) 1,200 monks were said to have been slain by Æthelfrith of Northumbria. Most of these were apparently from one monastery, Bangor (Bede, p141).

Dewsall is near to sites of local religious significance. This may have had an effect on the development of the site, but if so, the present evidence is not adequate to illuminate this.

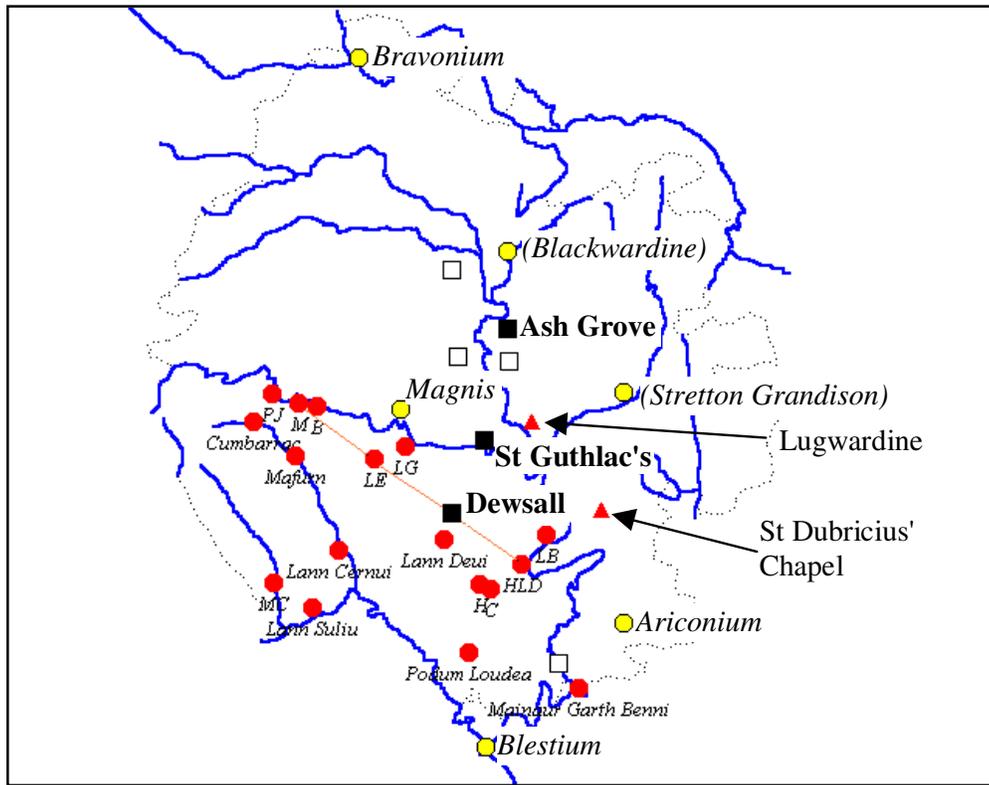


Figure 13: The context of the early Christian cemeteries in Herefordshire. Black squares mark the cemeteries with early dates. White squares are suspected *Dark Age* cemeteries. Yellow are Roman Towns. The red line connects Llanfrother, via Dewsall and Madley, with Moccas.

The early churches, taken from the Llandaff charters are marked by red circles. The identifications are from Coplestone-Crow, 1989.

PJ -	podum Janubai	Bredwardine
M -	Mochros	Moccas
B -	Bolgros	Preston-on-Wye
LE -	Lann Ebrdil	Madley
LG -	Lann Guorboe	Eaton Bishop
LB -	Lann Badgual	Carey in Ballingham
H -	Henn Lennic	Lenastone
C -	Cil Hal	Pencoyd
HLD -	Henn Lann Dubric	Llanfrother in Hentland parish
MC	Merthir Clitauc	Clodock
Cumbarrac	Dorstone	
Mafor	Peterchurch	
Lann Ciernui	Abbey Dore	
Lann Sului	Llancillo	
Lann Deui	Much Dewchurch	
Podum Loudea	Llancloudy	
Mainaur Garth Benni	Hentland in Goodrich Parish	

7.0 Conclusions

The medieval elements at Dewsall are inadequately understood. They consist of a (possibly) 12th century church within a rectangular graveyard, which still serves the parish. This graveyard appears to be within a large curvilinear enclosure of unknown date. Also within this enclosure, but on the opposite side of the stream, are the newly discovered burials dating from between the 2nd and 9th centuries. Parallels indicate the likelihood that the large enclosure is likely to post-date the earliest burial on the site.

Adjacent to this enclosure are features which have been interpreted as a deserted medieval village, although given the presence of both church and manor house, the site is more accurately a shrunken, rather than a deserted, settlement.

The temporal range of burials within the enclosure is clearly long and obviously the earlier burials would be unlikely to be Christian.

Because the original slope of ground had been terraced (see above, p22), the sample of human remains discovered at Dewsall (11 individuals) can only represent burials in about 70% of the 104 square metres excavated. This density would theoretically mean the possibility of upwards of 5000 burials within the curvilinear enclosure of some 3.5 hectares. All this is highly speculative, but if the pre-conquest population of Dewsall were higher than the historically known one, 5000 would not be an improbable figure. A population of 250 could be expected to result in this number of burials over an 800-year period.¹

Loss or dislocation of population at Dewsall might have resulted from the wars of the 8th or 9th centuries or from Gruffydd ap Llewellyn's wasting of Archenfield in the mid 11th century. These events span a period which saw Dewsall's transference from Welsh to English political (and presumably ecclesiastical) authority.

No more than suspicion of higher antiquity can be attached to the position of the site straddling the stream. Dewsall as a place-name almost certainly refers to this stream, and the association of early Christian sites with water may well indicate that they are of pagan origin.

While it is true that we cannot identify Dewsall in ancient records, it should be remembered that several of the places named in the Book of Llandaff have still only suggested identifications. Some of the places named have not been confidently (or even tentatively) identified at all. Lann Colcuch, the subject of a grant in about 625, is not a known site. As it was one of the churches regained by Ithel ap Morgan in 745 it was presumably in Ergyng. It does not appear in later charters, which suggests that it might have been in the area lost to Mercia in the 9th century. This is not to attempt the identification of Dewsall as Lann Colcuch, but it is a possibility - if no more than that.

If the cemetery extends over a wider area, and the stream bisects it, there is a possibility that water erosion has, from time to time, exposed and displaced human remains. However, no records relating to any such exposure have been discovered during this project.

Such erosion may possibly continue to pose some limited threat to the archaeology at Dewsall, but generally the site may be considered relatively stable. In the longer term gradual deterioration of the bones and other evidence at the site will continue. Few archaeological deposits can be considered to be truly secure in the long term.

¹ Calculations based on Jones, R, 1977

8.0 Archive deposition and the human remains

The primary project archive, consisting of the excavated material (apart from the human remains) and any original paper records, will be prepared and stored in accordance with the guidelines laid down in the Institute of Field Archaeologists' guidelines for the preparation and storage of archives. The primary archive will be stored with Hereford City Museum.

A copy of the digital archive, stored on CD and consisting of context, artefact and ecofact data, together with the site plan and selected photographs, will accompany the primary archive.

The client, in consultation with the project manager, will make provision for the deposition of all finds from the excavation with Hereford City Museum. On completion of the fieldwork and the processing, collation, recording and analysis of the finds from the excavation all finds will be handed over to the museum staff, along with the project archive. Arrangements will be made with the museum for the transfer of title.

The human remains will be re-interred in Dewsall Churchyard. Appropriate arrangements will be made by the client with the Vicar of Dewsall and Callow.

9.0 Publication and dissemination proposals

Paper copies of this report will be lodged with the Archaeological Adviser to Herefordshire Council, Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record and Hereford City Library. It is intended that a short note on the project will be prepared for publication in *Medieval Archaeology* and in the *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club*.

Copies of this report, together with the supporting archival material, will be available from Archenfield Archaeology in CD ROM format or as hard copy.

The complete photographic record, including the negatives, will be retained by Archenfield Archaeology.

Appendices

Appendix A - Carbon 14 dates

Sample Data	Measured Radiocarbon Age(*)	¹³ C/ ¹² C Ratio	Conventional Radiocarbon Age
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Sample 1 - Fill 34 of presumed grave 33

Beta - 157736 1760 +/- 90 BP +/- 90* BP -25.0* o/oo 1760

SAMPLE : AA/01/30/34/1

ANALYSIS : Radiometric-Standard delivery (with extended counting)

MATERIAL/PRETREATMENT : (charred material): acid/alkali/acid

2 SIGMA CALIBRATION : Cal AD 70 to 450 (Cal BP 1880 to 1500)

Sample 2 - Skeleton 2 (context 17)

Beta - 157734 1250 +/- 40 BP +/- 40 BP -25.7 o/oo 1240

SAMPLE : AA/01/30/17/2

ANALYSIS : AMS-Standard delivery

MATERIAL/PRETREATMENT : (bone collagen): collagen extraction: with alkali

2 SIGMA CALIBRATION : Cal AD 680 to 890 (Cal BP 1270 to 1060)

Sample 3 - Disarticulated Human Bones 27

Beta - 157735 1170 +/- 60 BP BP -19.0* o/oo 1270 +/- 60*

SAMPLE: AA/01/30/27/3

ANALYSIS: Radiometric-Standard delivery (collagen analysis)

MATERIAL/PRETREATMENT: (bone collagen): collagen extraction with alkali

2 SIGMA CALIBRATION: Cal AD 650 to 890 (Cal BP 1300 to 1060)

Sample 1 - Charcoal from fill 34 of grave 33

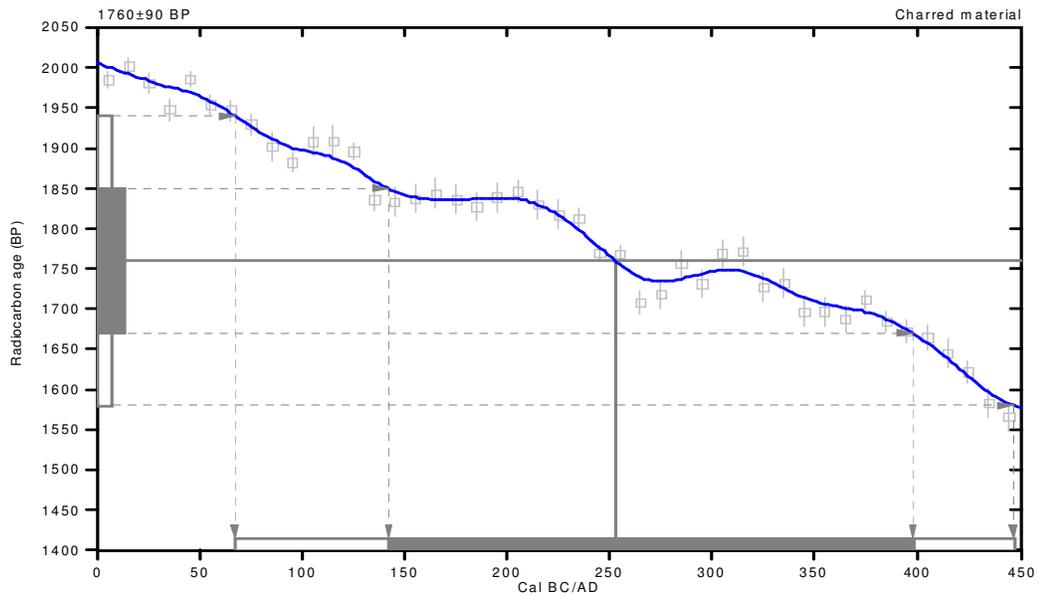
CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

(Variables: est. C13/C12=-25;lab. mult=1)

Laboratory number: **Beta-157736**
Conventional radiocarbon age¹: **1760±90 BP**
2 Sigma calibrated result: **Cal AD 70 to 450 (Cal BP 1880 to 1500)**
(95% probability)
¹ C13/C12 ratio estimated

Intercept data

Intercept of radiocarbon age
with calibration curve: **Cal AD 250 (Cal BP 1700)**
1 Sigma calibrated result: **Cal AD 140 to 400 (Cal BP 1810 to 1550)**
(68% probability)



References:

Database used

Calibration Database

Editorial Comment

Stuiver, M., van der Plicht, H., 1998, Radiocarbon 40(3), pxii-xiii

INTCAL98 Radiocarbon Age Calibration

Stuiver, M., et. al., 1998, Radiocarbon 40(3), p1041-1083

Mathematics

A Simplified Approach to Calibrating C14 Dates

Talma, A. S., Vogel, J. C., 1993, Radiocarbon 35(2), p317-322

Beta Analytic Inc.

4985 SW 74 Court, Miami, Florida 33155 USA • Tel: (305) 667 5167 • Fax: (305) 663 0964 • E-Mail: beta@radiocarbon.com

Sample 2 - Skeleton 2 (context 17)

CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

(Variables: C13/C12=-25.7:lab. mult=1)

Laboratory number: **Beta-157734**

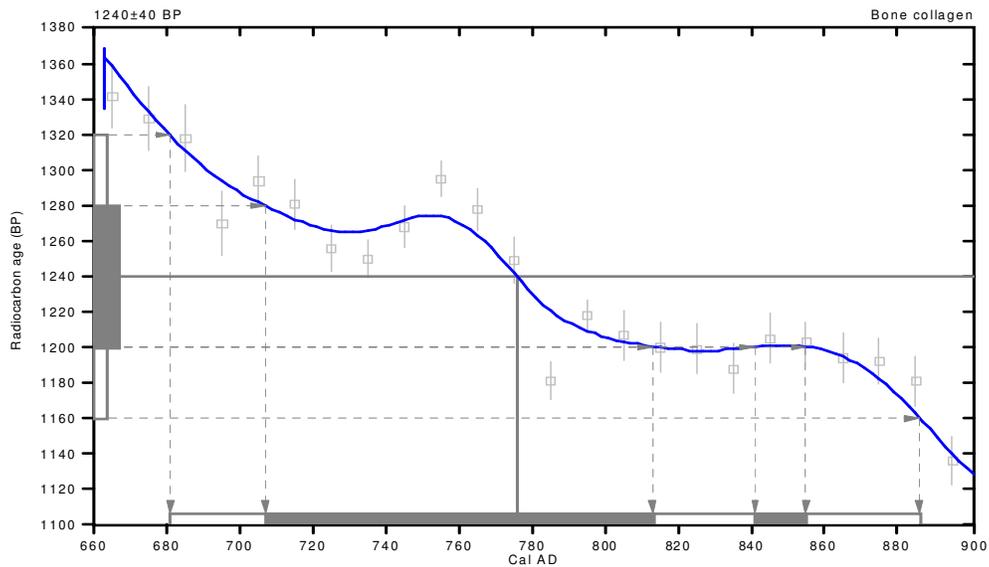
Conventional radiocarbon age: **1240±40 BP**

2 Sigma calibrated result: Cal AD 680 to 890 (Cal BP 1270 to 1060)
(95% probability)

Intercept data

Intercept of radiocarbon age
with calibration curve: Cal AD 780 (Cal BP 1170)

1 Sigma calibrated results: Cal AD 710 to 810 (Cal BP 1240 to 1140) and
Cal AD 840 to 860 (Cal BP 1110 to 1100)



References:

Database used

Calibration Database Editorial Comment

Stuiver, M., van der Plicht, H., 1998, *Radiocarbon* 40(3), pxi-xiii

INTCAL98 Radiocarbon Age Calibration

Stuiver, M., et al., 1998, *Radiocarbon* 40(3), p1041-1083

Mathematics

A Simplified Approach to Calibrating C14 Dates

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Sample 3 - Human Bones 27

CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

(Variables: est. C13/C12=-19;lab. mult=1)

Laboratory number: **Beta-157735**

Conventional radiocarbon age¹: **1270±60 BP**

2 Sigma calibrated result: Cal AD 650 to 890 (Cal BP 1300 to 1060)
(95% probability)

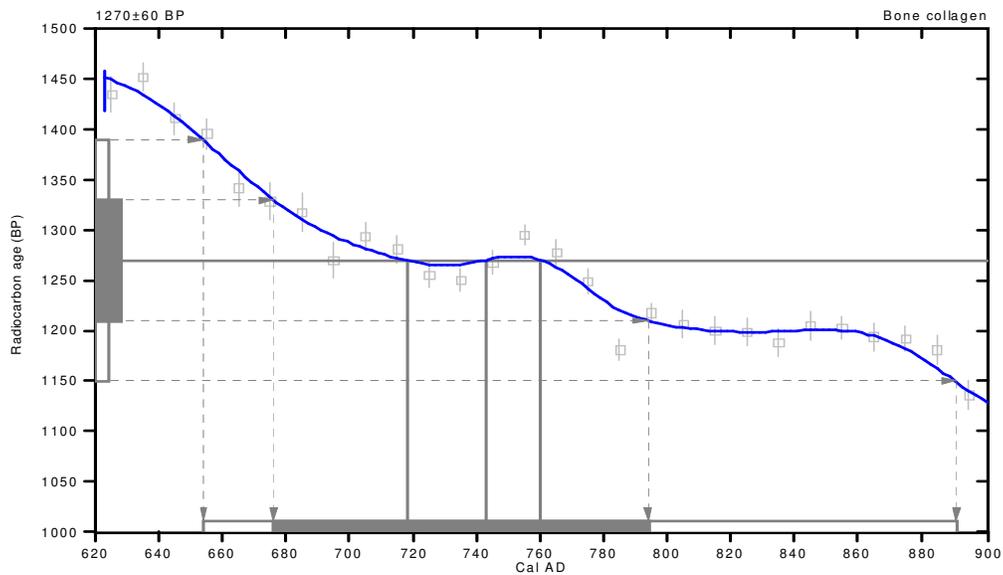
¹ C13/C12 ratio estimated

Intercept data

Intercepts of radiocarbon age
with calibration curve:

Cal AD 720 (Cal BP 1230) and
Cal AD 740 (Cal BP 1210) and
Cal AD 760 (Cal BP 1190)

1 Sigma calibrated result: Cal AD 680 to 790 (Cal BP 1270 to 1160)
(68% probability)



References:

Database used

Calibration Database

Editorial Comment

Stuiver, M., van der Plicht, H., 1998, *Radiocarbon* 40(3), pxi-xiii

INT CAL98 Radiocarbon Age Calibration

Stuiver, M., et. al., 1998, *Radiocarbon* 40(3), p1041-1083

Mathematics

A Simplified Approach to Calibrating C14 Dates

Talma, A. S., Vogel, J. C., 1993, *Radiocarbon* 35(2), p317-322

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Appendix B - Places in Ergyng mentioned in the Book of Llandaff

(Dates from Davies 1979; locations from Coplestone-Crow 1989)

Name in <i>LL</i>	page	date ¹	Modern name	Grid reference
Henn Lann Dibric ²	80	6 th C	Llanfrother in Hentland	SO 542287
Mochros	80	6 th C	Moccas	SO 357433
Cil Hal	75	555	Pencoyd?	SO 517266
Mainaur Garth Benni ³	72a	575	Hentland in Goodrich parish	SO567163
Conloc ⁴	76a	575	Preston-on-Wye	SO 383424
Lann Cerniu	72b	580	Abbey Dore?	SO 387304
podum Junabui	73a	585	Bredwardine	SO 335445
Cumbarruc	73b	595	Dorstone?	SO 315418
Mafurn	162b	605	Peterchurch ?	SO345385
Bolgros ⁵	161	610	Byecross, Preston-on-Wye?	SO 374425
Lann Guorboe ⁶	162b	615	Eaton Bishop?	SO 442391
podum Loudea	163b	620	Llancloudy	SO 497208
Lann Budgualan	164	620	Carey in Ballingham?	SO 565310
Lann Suluiu	160	620	Llancillo	SO 366256
Lann Deui ⁷	165	625	Much Dewchurch	SO 482311
Lann Colcuch ⁸	165	625	?	
Lann Ebrdil ⁹	159a	685	Madley	SO 420387
Lann Tydiuc ¹⁰		735	Dixton (Monmouthshire)?	SO 520156
Lann Guern Teliau ha Dubric ⁶	200	758	Llanwarne	SO 505282
Henn Lennic ¹¹	200	758	Lenastone, Pencoyd	SO 508272
Lann Degui cil pedec	169	850	Kilpeck	SO 445305
Cum Mouric ¹²	170	850	Morraston, Little Dewchurch	SO 532314
Lann Mocha	74	860	St Maughan's, Mons.	SO 461171
Merthir Cynfall	171	860	Llangunville, Llanrothal	SO 494166
Lann Timoi ¹³	231	866	Foy	SO 598283
Lann Suluc ¹⁴	231	910	Sellack	SO 566277

¹ Date first mentioned

² St Dyfrig taught at the monastery here for seven years - Life of St Dubricius in *LL* - before relocating to Mochros.

³ The title of this charter is *Lann Custenhinngarthbenni in ercicg* (in Ergyng). It is described as a house of prayer and seat of the bishop - *domus orationis et penitentię atque episcopalis locus*.

⁴ Four uncias of land on the Wye and possibly bordering Dorstone in the Golden Valley - *Conloc super ripam gui infra insulam ebrdil usque Cumarra ynys stratour*.

⁵ King Gwrfaddw gave an ager of three uncias to Bishop Ufelfyw in thanks for his victory over the English. It was on the Wye at some distance from Mochos - *super ripam guy eminus mochros*. The bishop immediately began to build a church on it.

⁶ Bishop Ufelfyw built a church here.

⁷ Charter of doubtful authenticity (see Davies, W, 1979, p105) but abbot Guordoce of Lann Dewi appears as a witness in c. 620.

⁸ Charter of doubtful authenticity.

⁹ Charter of doubtful authenticity. This has been taken to refer to Llanerthill in Monmouthshire. If so it is a different church from that on page 192 of *LL* (BCC).

¹⁰ The title of this charter is *Ecclesia Tytiac super ripam guy*.

¹¹ These two churches appear to have later been merged. The copy of the charter, originally dating to about 758 is corrupt, perhaps reflecting confusion on the part of the 11th century collator.

¹² The church existed before this charter - Guuicum freed *ecclesia cum mouric* with King Meurig's guarantee.

¹³ Not a charter for this place - This was later Llan Tiuoi - see appendix D - Maiferu of Lann Timoi is among the clerical witnesses on p231 *LL*.

¹⁴ Not a charter for this place - Concum of Lann Suluc is among the clerical witnesses on p231 *LL*.

Appendix C - Churches returned to Bishop Berthwyn in 745

Name in <i>LL</i>	page	date	Modern name	Grid reference
Cumbarrac	73b	595	Dorstone?	SO 315418
Lann Colcuch	165	625	?	
Lann Cerniu	72b	580	Abbey Dore?	SO 387304
Mafurn	162b	605	Peterchurch?	SO 345385
Lann Guorboe	162b	615	Eaton Bishop?	SO 442391
Lann Iunabui	73a	585	Bredwardine	SO 335445
Lann Deui	165	625	Much Dewchurch	SO 482311
Mochros	163	620	Moccas	SO 357433
Lann Ebrdil	159a	685	Madley	SO 420387
Bolgros	161	610	Byecross, Preston-on-Wye?	SO 374425
Lann Loudeu	163b	620	Llancloudy	SO 497208
Lann Garren		this	Llangarron	SO 531213

Appendix D - Churches in Ergyng in the mid 11th century

(List of churches wrongfully held by the Bishop of Hereford - *LL* p275)

Name in <i>LL</i>	date	Modern name	Grid reference
Lann Tydiuc	735	Dixton (Monmouthshire)?	SO 520156
Lann Meir Castell Mingui	this	Monmouth	SO 507129
Lann Tiinauc	this	Whitchurch	SO 556175
Lann Martin ¹	this	Marstow	SO 553192
Lann Custenhin ²	575	Welsh Bicknor	SO 592177
Lann Sanfreit	this	Bridstow	SO 585248
Lann Tiui ³	866	Foy	SO 598283
Lann Budgual	620	Carey in Ballingham	SO 565310
Lann Suluc ⁴	910	Sellack	SO 566277
Henn Lann Dibric ⁵	6 th C	Llanfrother in Hentland	SO 542287
Lann Mihacgel cil luch	this	Michaelchurch	SO 522255
Lann Petyr	this	Peterstow	SO 563249
Lann Hunapui	this	Llandinabo	SO 518284
Lann Guern Teliau ha Dubric	758	Llanwarne	SO 505282
Lann Deui ros cerion ⁶	620	Much Dewchurch	SO 482311
Lann Degui cil pedec	850	Kilpeck	SO 445305
Lann Cruc	this	Kenderchurch	SO 402284
Lann Cein	this	Kentchurch	SO 419257
Cum Mouric	850	Morraston, Little Dewchurch	SO 532314
Lann Santguainerth	this	St Weonard's	SO 496244
Lann Cinauc	this	Llangunnock, Llangarron	SO 510233
Lann Mihacgel supra Mingui	this	Nr Garway, in Skenfrith parish ⁷	SO 462207
Lann Ridol	this	Llanrothal	SO 471186
Lann Cinvil	860	Llangunville, Llanrothal	SO 494166
Lann Loudeu	620	Llancloudy	SO 497208
Lann Celinni ⁸	this	?	
Lann Tisauuc ⁸	this	?	

¹ This may be Gurmach, bought for the church for a price which included a Saxon woman (see p8)

² Lann Custeningarthbenni – Mainaur Garth Benni. Originally Hentland in Goodrich parish (SO 567263). It had apparently become combined the church at Welsh Bicknor, Lann Idoudecsent (the church of the twelve saints) by 1066 (in tempore etc)

³ Formerly Llan Timoi when Mailferu of Lann Timoi is among the clerical witnesses

⁴ Concum of Lann Suluc is among the clerical witnesses on p231 *LL*

⁵ Henn Lann Dibric and Llan Teliau in uno cimiterio

⁶ Guordoce, abbot of Lann Deui, was among the clerical witnesses on p164 *LL*

⁷ In Monmouthshire – one mile south of Garway

⁸ Ganarew (SO 529163) – possible location of Lanndougath and possibly also Lann Celinni or Lann Tisauuc the locations of which are otherwise unknown - BCC

Appendix E - Ordinations in Eryng by Bishop Herewald

(Ordinations by Bishop Herewald 1059-1104 - LL pp 275-278)

name	modern name	reign	date	Priest(s) ordained
Hennlann dubric & lannteliau inuno cimiterio	Llanfrother in Hentland	Edward and Gryffydd ¹	1056-1066	Enniaun filium cincenn *Joseph
Lanntiuoi	Foy	Edward ²	-1066	Joseph filium brein *Iouan
Lansanbregit	Bridstow?	Harold ³	1066	Guollguinn
Lannpetir	Peterstow	Harold	1066	Same Guollguinn
Lanntidiuc		William <i>et al</i> ⁴	1067-1072	Ris (Rhys) *Guriul and Duinerth
Lansantguainerth	St Weonard's	William ⁵		Cinon filium Gucaun after him Guassauc and Ris (Rhys)
Lannguern	Llanwarne	William		Gulcet filium Asser Simeon
Cilpedec	Kilpeck	William		Morcenoui *Enniaun ⁶
Ingarthbenni lanncusthennin	Welsh Bicknor	William		Arguistil filium Sigrít *Cinon Merchiaun
Lann idoudecsent	Church of the 12 saints	Harold ⁷	1066	No named priest
Lann deugui ros cerion	Much Dewchurch	William ⁸		Cinan filium Gritiau
Lannmihacgel cil luch	Michaelchurch	William ⁹		Selis then Hodliu
Lannguern	Llanwarne	William		Audi filium Acheff et Gulcet filium Asser Simion
Lanncinitir, Lann icruc	Kenderchurch	William		Aircol *Enniaun
Cum mouruc	Morraston, Little Dewchurch	William		Pater turch Cinmin
Lan garan	Llangarron ¹⁰	Several ¹¹		Telguare filium Guer

¹ Tempore etguardi regis anglie et grifudi regis gualie

² Tempore etguardi regis

³ Tempore haraldi regis

⁴ In the time of King William and Earl William and Walter de Lacy and Raul de Bernai viscount of Hereford, before the castle at Monmouth was built - *Tempore uuillemi regis et uuillemi comitis at uualteri delaci et raul debernai uicomitis herfordie antequam castellum demingui.*

⁵ Tempore uuillemi

⁶ Enniaun was ordained in the time of Catgendu (Catwendru) and Ris filium Moridic (Rhys son of Meredith).

⁷ *Lann idoudecsent* - the church of the twelve saints. These twelve were the followers of St Paulinus of Wales who followed him on his mission to Brittany (Doble, 1971, p152). The church appears to have been re-located to Welsh Bicknor and reconsecrated 'in the same cemetery' in 1066 - *antea consecrauit lann idoudecsent in eodem cimiterio tempore haraldi regis.*

⁸ Tempore uuillemi regis.

⁹ Tempore uuillemi.

¹⁰ NB not in first list - appendix D.

¹¹ Before this Bishop Joseph (therefore before 1059) had ordained Idmab - this church is specified as being wooden.

				*Cynhi
Lannsuluc	Sellack			Jacob filium Amhyr
Lann marthin	Marstow	William?		Morbiu *Gunna
Lann guenn	?	William		Jacob then Elgar
Ecclesium decastello mingui	The church in Monmouth Castel (St Mary's)	William <i>et al</i>		?
				*sons succeeding fathers

Appendix F - Royal dynasties of South Wales and the Marches

Ergyng		Glywysing		Western Hecani/ Magonsaetan		Mercia	
Erb	525-555						
Peibio	555-585						
Cunuin Gwyddgi	585-615	Tewdrig					
Gwrgan	615-645	Meurig	-625	Merewalh	653-674	Penda	632-655
		Athrwy s	625-655			Paeda	655-657
		Morgan	665-710	Merchelm Mildfrith	674-? 674-706	Wulfhere	657-675
						Æthelred	675-704
						Coenred	704-709
		lthel	710-745			Ceolred	709-716
		Ffernfael Rhodri Rhys	745-775			Æthelbald	716-757
						Offa	757-796
		Athrwy s	770-805			Ecgrith	796
						Cenwulf	796-821
						Ceolwulf	821-823
						Beornwulf	823-825
						Ludeca	825-827

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