

CADW: WELSH HISTORIC MONUMENTS

EARLY MEDIEVAL ECCLESIASTICAL SITES PROJECT

STAGE 2: ASSESSMENT AND FIELDWORK CEREDIGION

PART 1: OVERVIEW



By: Neil Ludlow
SMR input: Jenny Hall

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ARCHAEOLEG CAMBRIA ARCHAEOLOGY

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EARLY MEDIEVAL ECCLESIASTICAL SITES PROJECT STAGE 2: ASSESSMENT AND FIELDWORK CEREDIGION

Gan / By

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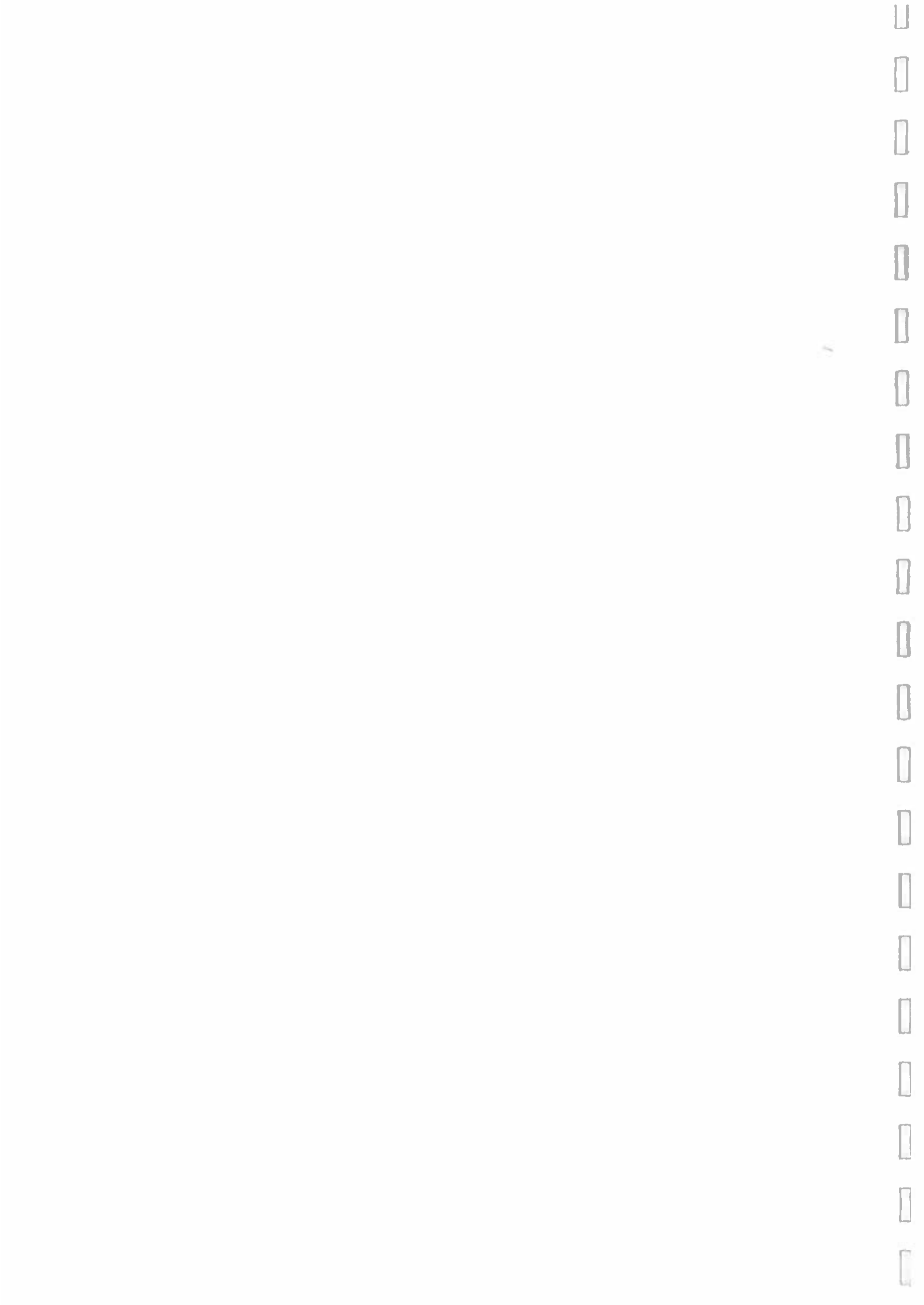


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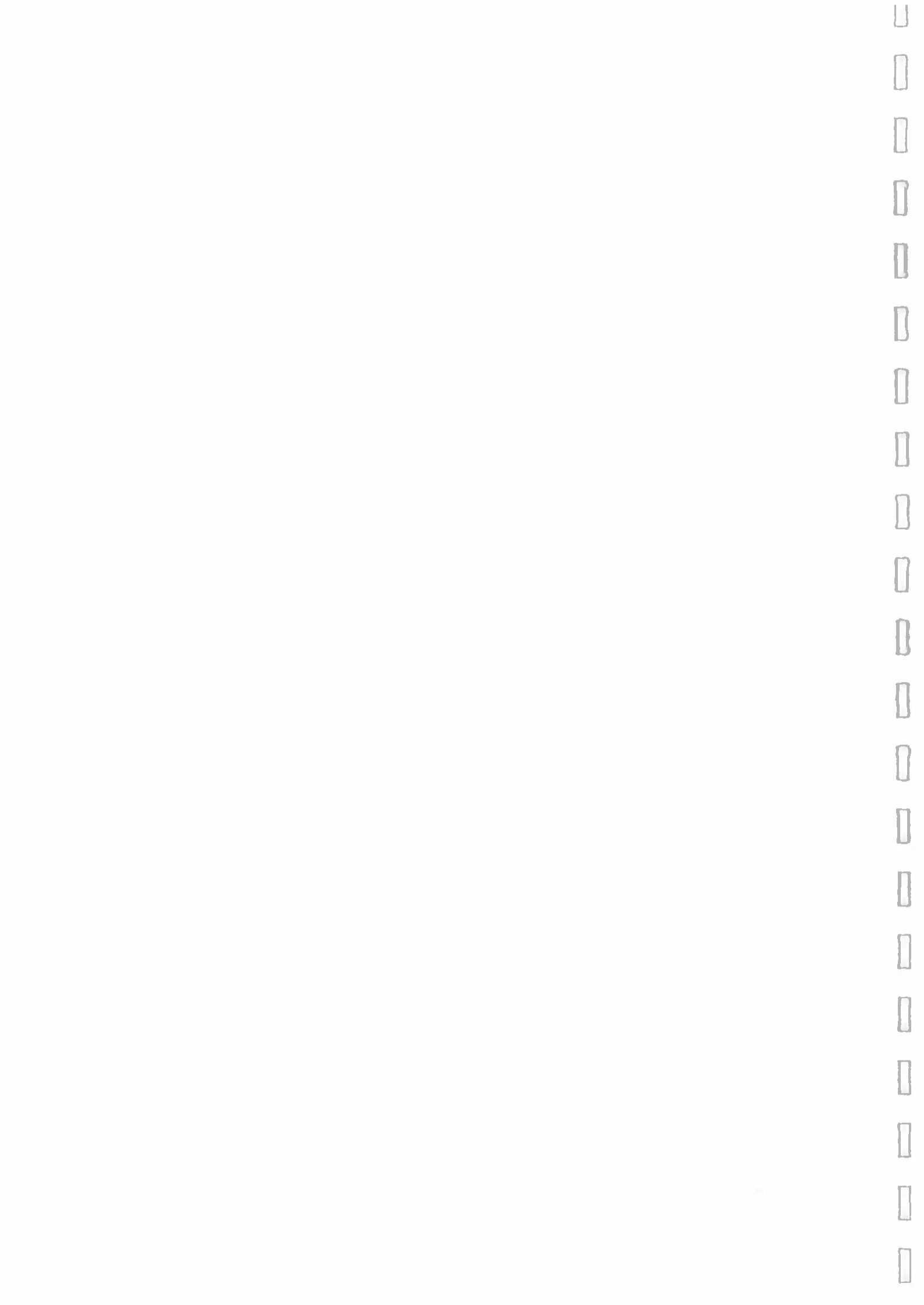
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EARLY MEDIEVAL ECCLESIASTICAL SITES IN CEREDIGION

STAGE 2: ASSESSMENT AND FIELDWORK

1.0 SUMMARY

The early medieval ecclesiastical sites project (EME) was initiated by Cadw, through the four Welsh Trusts, in 2001. The aim of the project was to identify ecclesiastical sites in Wales with pre Anglo-Norman Conquest origins, in order to formulate management strategies and scheduling priorities. Cambria Archaeology (Dyfed Archaeological Trust) was appointed to cover the counties of Carmarthenshire, Ceredigion and Pembrokeshire. A cut-off date of 1100 AD was selected.

Early medieval ecclesiastical sites fall into two main categories -

- *Church/chapel sites, ie. 'developed' cemetery sites*
- *Open cemetery sites, ie. 'undeveloped', never having received a building. These include a number of bronze age round barrows and iron age enclosure re-use sites. These open sites are usually more difficult to identify and assess.*

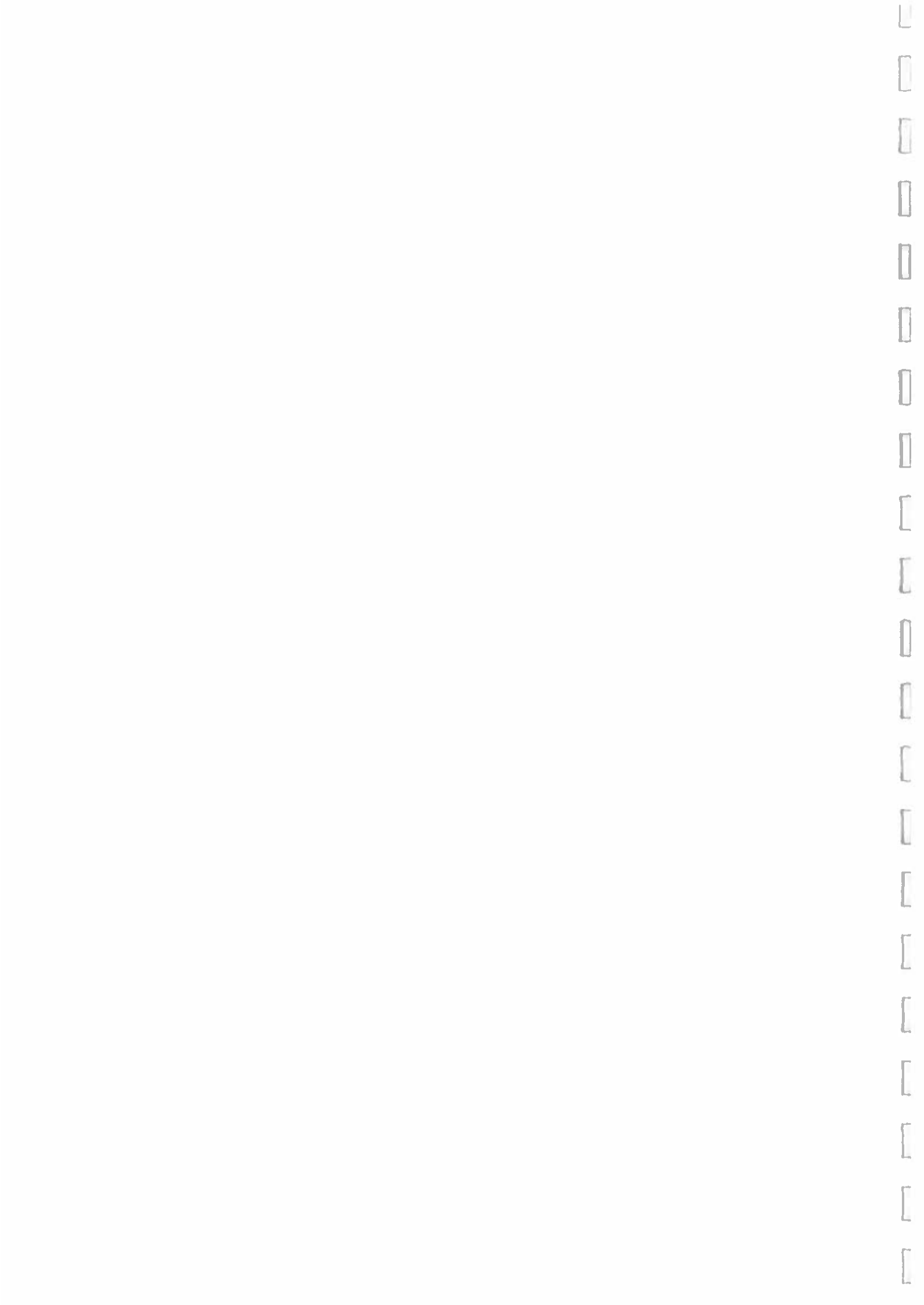
Stage 1 of the project consisted of a desk-based assessment of the three counties, using the Sites and Monuments Record (SMR) as the baseline data. From this assessment emerged a graded list of 61 Ceredigion sites with probable or possible early medieval pre-Conquest origins, in addition to a list of 39 Early Christian Monuments (ECMs).

Stage 2 comprised analysis of aerial photographs of these sites, where available, and selective field visits in order to assess their nature, extent, condition, archaeological potential, threats and value. As a result, the list of 61 sites was amended and refined to a list of 54 sites, comprising -

	<u>2004</u>	<u>(2002)</u>
▪ Grade A sites (high probability)	6	(9)
▪ Grade B sites (medium probability)	11	(13)
▪ Grade C sites (low probability)	11	(12)
▪ Grade D sites (possible sites)	26	(27)
<i>In addition -</i>		
▪ Early Christian Monuments (ECMs)	35	(39)

The main outcome from Stage 2 has been the enhancement and refinement of both the SMR and the schedule of Ancient Monuments, with the formulation of management strategies, scheduling priorities and recommendations for future archaeological investigation.

One of the outcomes of this Stage 1 assessment is a demonstration that many of the traditional indicators and suppositions do seem to hold true ie. circular churchyards, in situ Early Christian Monuments (ECMs) and 'Celtic' dedications are often accompanied by other evidence for early medieval origins. Re-use of iron age sites, and the former presence of large, curvilinear outer ecclesiastical enclosures were suggested at a number of new churchyard sites. In addition, the former location of ECMs, topographic evidence and post Anglo-Norman Conquest documentary sources were used to suggest earlier origins for several new sites. However, it was also demonstrated that the 'native' ecclesiastical tradition was remarkably persistent, particularly in the north and east of the county, which was not brought under direct Anglo-Norman rule until the late 13th century.



2.0 INTRODUCTION

2.1 Project background

The early medieval period is of crucial importance to our understanding of the development of Wales and its culture. It saw the emergence of many liturgical and devotional practices that persisted until the reformation and beyond and early Christian sites, more than almost any other sites in Wales, are 'cherished' and regarded as inherently important. The ecclesiastical culture was behind the emergence of a vigorous artistic culture as expressed through its sculpted stone ECMs. The native ecclesiastical tradition has also profoundly influenced landscape and settlement, both physically - through its carved stones, wells and chapel sites - and socially, through the establishment of the present pattern of dispersed settlement, administrative boundaries and churches.

Early medieval ecclesiastical sites fall into two main categories -

- Church/chapel sites, ie. 'developed' cemetery sites
- Open cemetery sites, ie. 'undeveloped', never having received a building. These include a number of bronze age round barrows and iron age enclosure re-use sites. These open sites are usually more difficult to identify and assess.

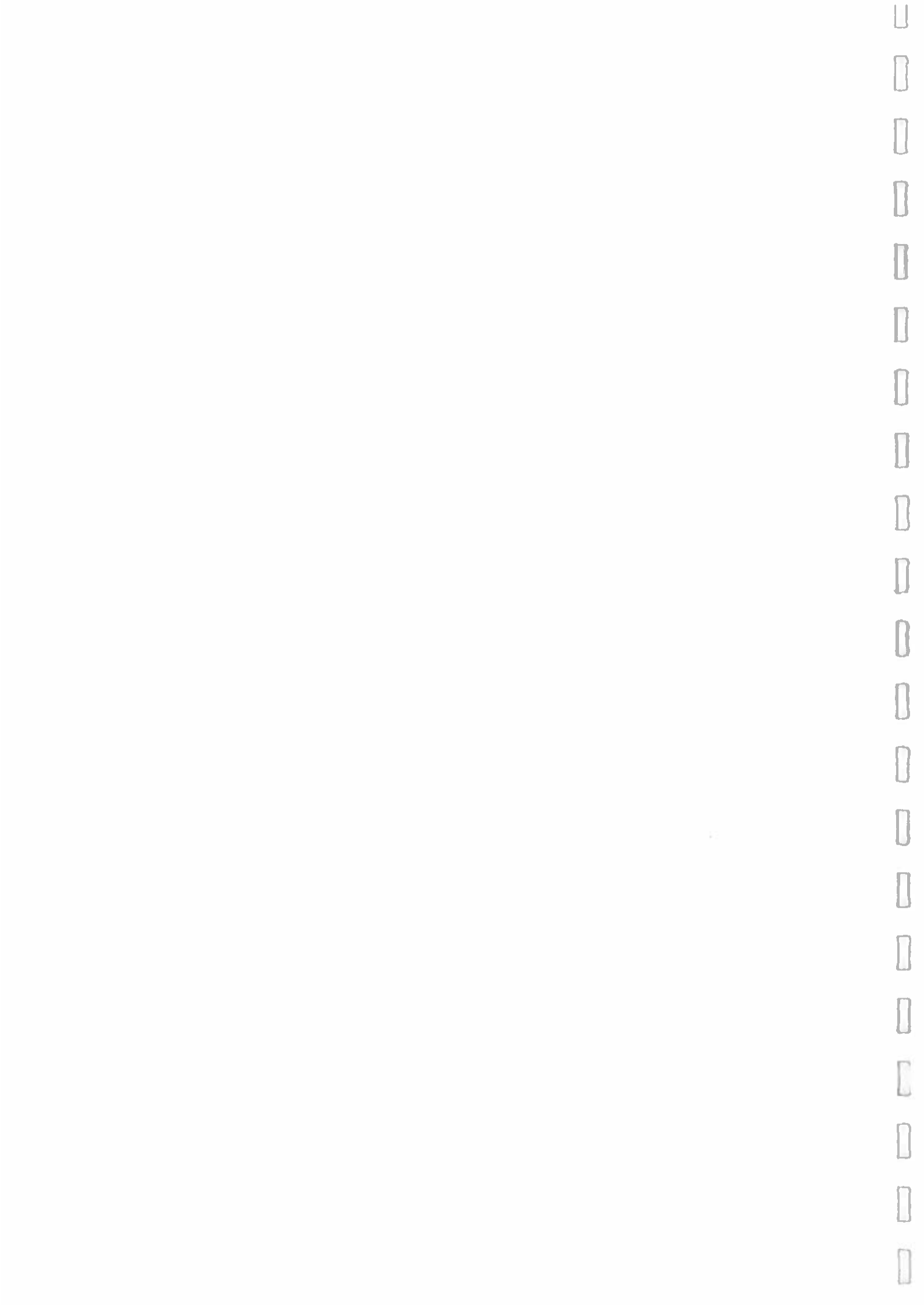
Early ecclesiastical sites in Wales are, nevertheless, still little-understood, as highlighted in the Musson/Martin survey (Musson 1998). There is - with one exception, a possible Anglo-Saxon church site at Presteigne, Powys - a complete lack of any pre-Conquest structural evidence. Only one excavated chapel site has been properly dated, at Burry Holms, Glamorgan (RCAHMW 1976, 14-15). This lack of evidence also applies to pre-Conquest secular sites, of which only seventeen have certainly been identified in Wales, with a possible settlement site in Ceredigion (Edwards and Lane 1988). The early medieval period was, accordingly, afforded Priority 1 and Category A status by Cadw who, in their Future Threat Related Assessments Project Paper, acknowledged the findings within the Musson/Martin survey and recommended a broad theme of early historic period sites including cemeteries and settlements.

The early medieval ecclesiastical sites project (EME) was initiated by Cadw, through the four Welsh Trusts, in 2001. It follows the similar pan-Wales Cadw Historic Churches Project (1995-8) in which standing, pre-1800 churches under the ownership of the Church in Wales were assessed. At Cadw's request, Gwynedd Archaeological Trust (GAT) undertook an EME pilot assessment, concentrating on cemeteries, in 1998/9 - 'Early Christian Burial Grounds at Risk' (Longley and Richards 1999). From this emerged the proposal for the current project which is more wide-ranging in scope, taking in all types of early medieval ecclesiastical sites.

The aim of the project is to identify ecclesiastical sites in Wales with pre Anglo-Norman Conquest origins, in order to formulate management strategies and scheduling priorities. Cambria Archaeology (Dyfed Archaeological Trust) was grant-aided to cover the counties of Carmarthenshire, Ceredigion and Pembrokeshire. A cut-off date of 1100 was selected, which represents a compromise date midway between the death in 1093 of Rhys ap Tewdwr, the last Welsh king of Dyfed, and the appointment of the first Anglo-Norman Bishop of St Davids, Bishop Bernard, in 1115. Only one Anglo-Norman foundation can be dated to before 1100, at Monkton in Pembroke (and then possibly on an earlier site).

The project comprises two stages, spread over three years -

- | | | |
|-----------|---|--------|
| ▪ Stage 1 | Overall desk-based assessment of the three counties | 2001-2 |
| ▪ Stage 2 | Selective fieldwork and aerial photograph (AP) analysis | 2002-4 |



2.2 List of sites

In Ceredigion, Stages 1 and 2 resulted in a list of 54 sites with possible pre-Conquest origins (see Figs. 1 and 2). The sites were graded according to their potential for pre-Conquest origins, using criteria defined by the EME working group (comprising the Project Officers from the four Trusts in consultation with Dr Nancy Edwards and Rick Turner of Cadw). The list, in alphabetical order by former parish, comprises -

▪ Grade A sites (high probability) - total 6

PRN: 49326	Henynyw (St David), churchyard
PRN: 816	Llanbadarn Fawr (St Padarn), churchyard
PRN: 13005	Llanbadarn Fawr (Trefeirig), Gogerddan cemetery
PRN: 5138	Llanddewi Brefi (St David), churchyard
PRN: 50145	Llangranog (St Caranog), churchyard
PRN: 50158	Penbryn, Dyffryn Bern ECM findspot/?round barrow re-use

▪ Grade B sites (medium probability) - total 11

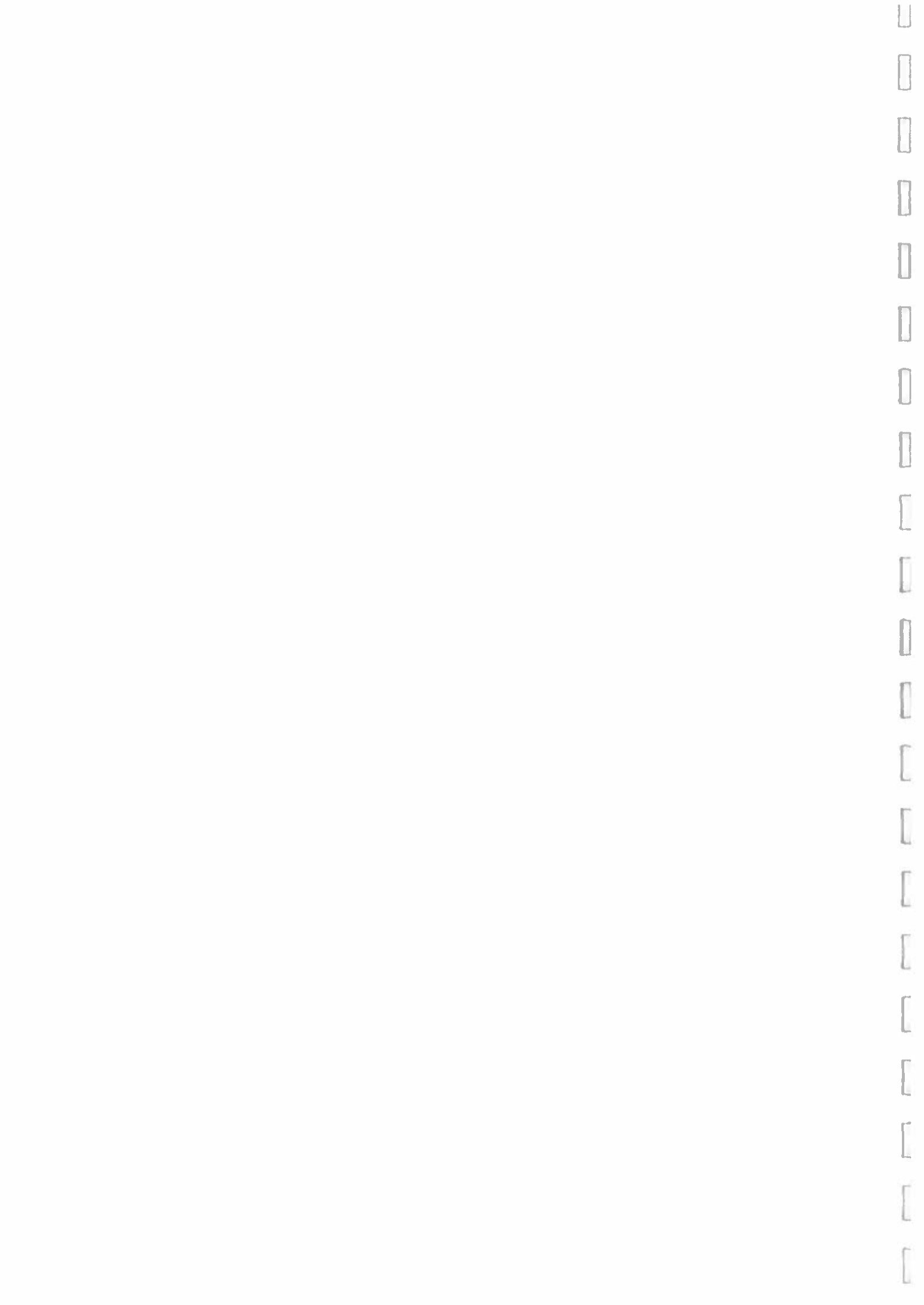
PRN: 49321	Aberporth, Llanannerch Chapel
PRN: 49327	Henllan (St David), churchyard
PRN: 50137	Llandysul (St Tysul), churchyard
PRN: 50136	Llandysiliogogo (St Tysilio), churchyard
PRN: 49331	Llanbadarn Odwyn (St Padarn), churchyard
PRN: 50143	Llangoedmor (St Cynllo), churchyard
PRN: 50144	Llangorwen Chapel
PRN: 50153	Llanwenog (St Gwenog), churchyard
PRN: 50154	Llanwenog, Capel Whyl
PRN: 50155	Llanwnws (St Gwnws), churchyard
PRN: 50161	Tregaron (St Caron), churchyard

▪ Grade C sites (low probability) - total 11

PRN: 49324	Cellan (All Saints), churchyard
PRN: 49328	Lampeter (St Peter), churchyard
PRN: 49330	Llanarth (St David/St Meilig), churchyard
PRN: 8105	Llanbadarn Trefeglwys (St Padarn), churchyard
PRN: 50141	Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn, Llantrisant churchyard
PRN: 50166	Llangoedmor, Ffynnon cropmark
PRN: 50146	Llangybi (St Cybi), churchyard
PRN: 50149	Llanilar (St Hilary), churchyard
PRN: 31488	Mwnt (Holy Cross), churchyard
PRN: 50157	Penbryn (St Michael), churchyard
PRN: 50159	Silian (St Sulien), churchyard

▪ Grade D sites (possible sites) - total 26

PRN: 49322	Bangor Teifi (St David), churchyard
PRN: 49323	Blaenporth (St David), churchyard
PRN: 49325	Dihewyd (St Vitalis), churchyard
PRN: 49329	Llanafan-y-Trawscoed (St Afan), churchyard
PRN: 6167	Llanbadarn Fawr (Melindwr), Capel Bangor, Maes Bangor
PRN: 33255	Llanbadarn Fawr (Cwmrheidol), Llaneithyr
PRN: 14215	Llanbadarn Odwyn (St Padarn), churchyard, enclosure
PRN: 50133	Llanddeiniol (St Ddeiniol), churchyard
PRN: 50134	Llanddewi Aberarth (St David), churchyard
PRN: 50135	Llandyfriog (St Tyfriog), churchyard
PRN: 11918	Llandyfriog, Ffynnon Oer cemetery
PRN: 12693	Llandysul, St Winifred's Chapel
PRN: 50139	Llanfair Clydogau (St Mary), churchyard
PRN: 50140	Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn (St Michael), churchyard
PRN: 33257	Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn, Mynwent-fach
PRN: 6030	Llanfihangel Ystrad, Capel St Silin
PRN: 50142	Llanfihangel Ystrad, Llanllyr Abbey
PRN: 49236	Llangwryfon, Maes-llyn ?cemetery
PRN: 50147	Llangynfelyn (St Cynfelyn), churchyard
PRN: 50148	Llangynllo (St Cynllo), churchyard



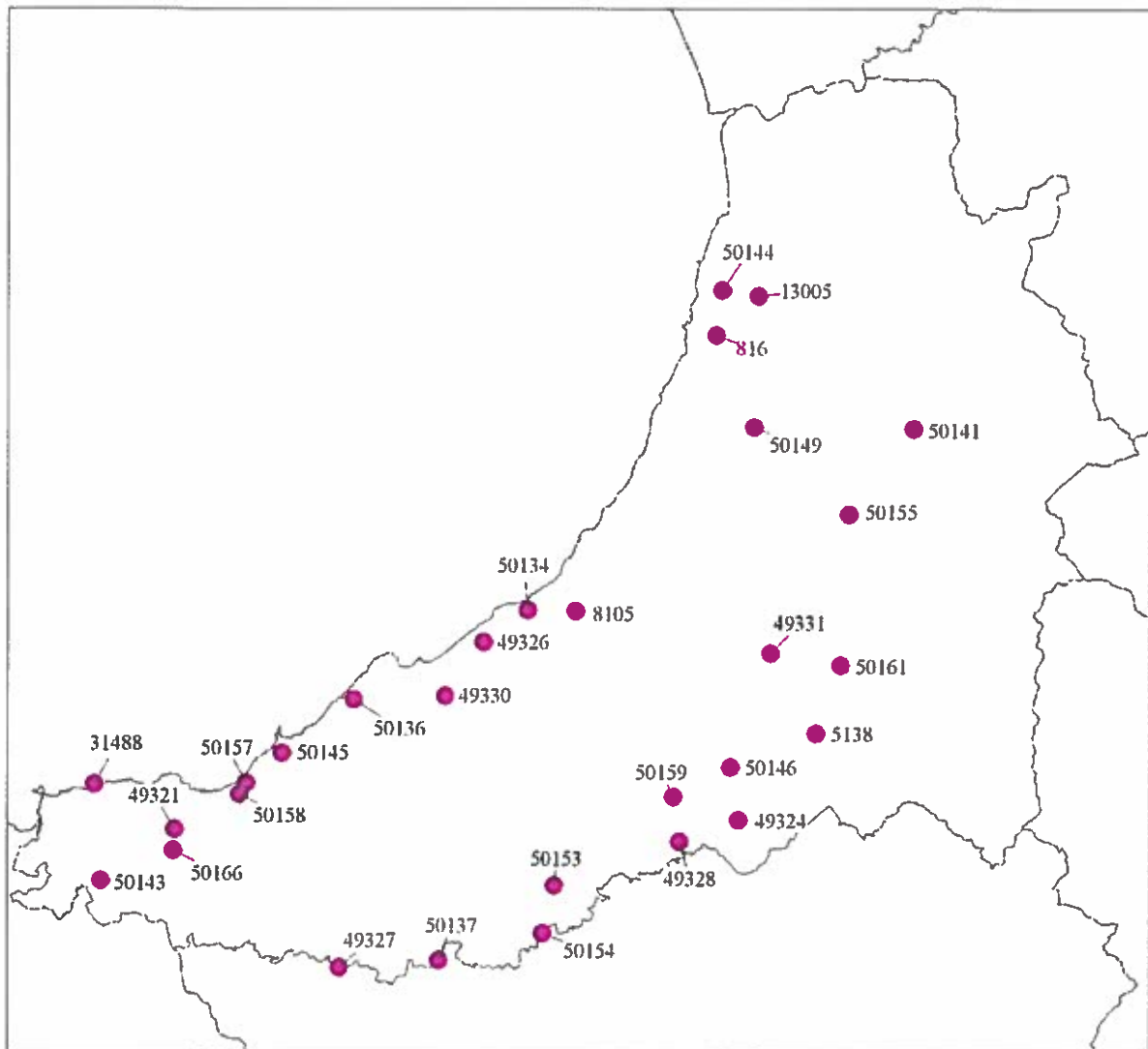
PRN: 50150	Llanina (St Ina), churchyard
PRN: 50152	Llansantffraid (St Bridget), churchyard
PRN: 8529	Llansantffraid, Bryn beddau
PRN: 50156	Nantcwnlle (St Cynllo), churchyard
PRN: 50162	Tregaron (Caron Uwch Clawdd), Strata Florida Abbey
PRN: 50163	Ysbyty Cynfyn (St John Baptist), churchyard

▪ **Early Christian Monuments (see Fig. 3).**

PRN: 1105	Cardigan, Bryngwyn Fawr ECM; Plasnewydd Wheel Cross
PRN: 35362	Cardigan, Bryngwyn Fawr ECM
PRN: 1866	Henfynyw parish church, 'Tigernacrus Stone'
PRN: 752	Lampeter, Pont Faen Stone
PRN: 1843	Llanarth parish church, 'Gurhert's Cross'
PRN: 3994	Llanbadarn Fawr parish church, cross
PRN: 3995	Llanbadarn Fawr parish church, cross
PRN: 8969	Llanddewi Aberarth parish church, ECM
PRN: 8970	Llanddewi Aberarth parish church, cross
PRN: 9933	Llanddewi Brefi parish church, 'Dallus Stone'
PRN: 9934	Llanddewi Brefi parish church, 'Idnert Stone'
PRN: 9935	Llanddewi Brefi parish church, ECM
PRN: 9936	Llanddewi Brefi parish church, ECM
PRN: 9937	Llanddewi Brefi parish church, ECM
PRN: 9938	Llanddewi Brefi parish church, 'Cenlisini Stone'
PRN: 1826	Llandysul parish church, 'Velvoria Stone'
PRN: 50138	Llandysul parish church, ECM
PRN: 9730	Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn, Llantrisant church, ECM
PRN: 9731	Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn, Llantrisant church, ECM
PRN: 9732	Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn, Llantrisant church, ECM
PRN: 4781	Llanfihangel Ystrad, Llanllyr, 'Tesquitus Stone'
PRN: 4793	Llanfihangel Ystrad, Maes-mynach ECM
PRN: 773	Llangwryfon, old parish church, ECM
PRN: 774	Llangwryfon, Maes-llyn, 'Dominicus Stone'
PRN: 50151	Llanllwchaearn parish church, ECM
PRN: 750	Llanwenog, Capel Whyl, 'Trenacatus Stone'
PRN: 1974	Llanwnws (Gwnnws Issa), Llanwnws parish church, 'Hiroidil Stone'
PRN: 2096	Penbryn, Dyffryn Bern ECM
PRN: 6307	Silian parish church, ECM
PRN: 7647	Silian parish church, 'Silbandus Stone'
PRN: 50160	?Silian, ECM
PRN: 2036	Tregaron (Caron Uwch Clawdd), Strata Florida ECM
PRN: 8110	Tregaron parish church, 'Potentina Stone'
PRN: 8111	Tregaron parish church, 'Eneveri Stone'
PRN: 8112	Tregaron parish church, ECM



Fig. 1 – Location map of Grade A – C sites, Ceredigion



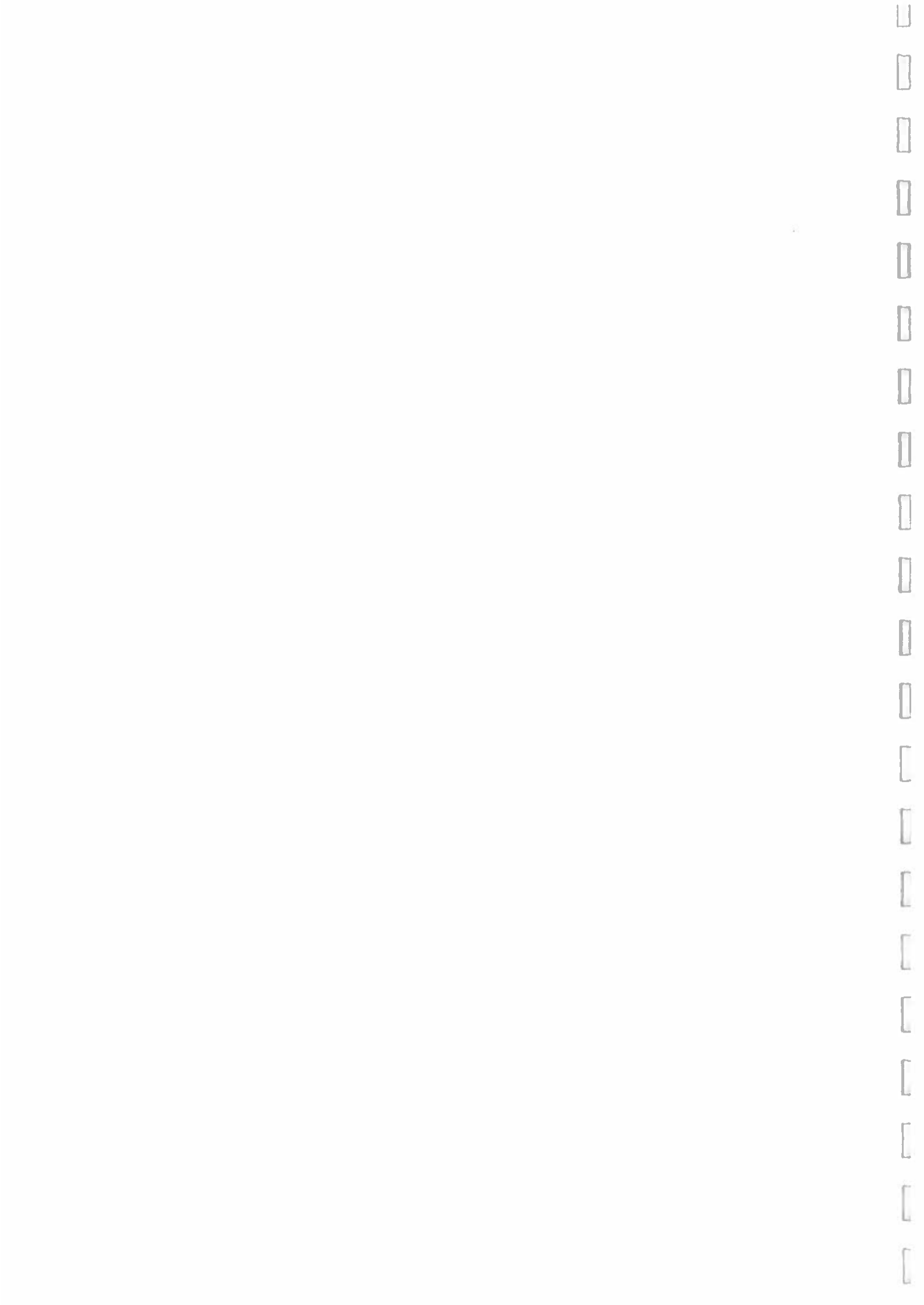
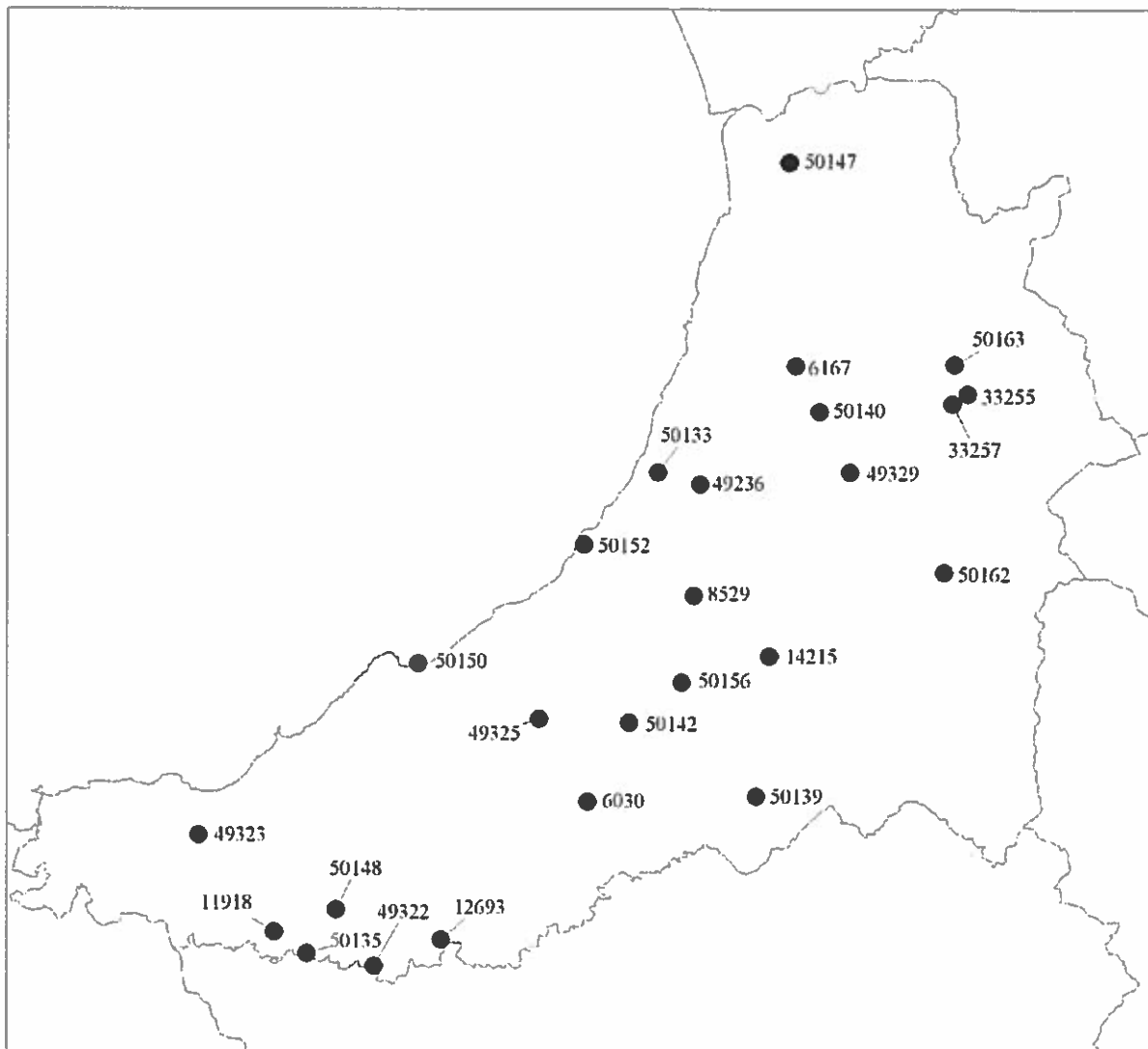


Fig. 2 – Location map of Grade D sites, Ceredigion



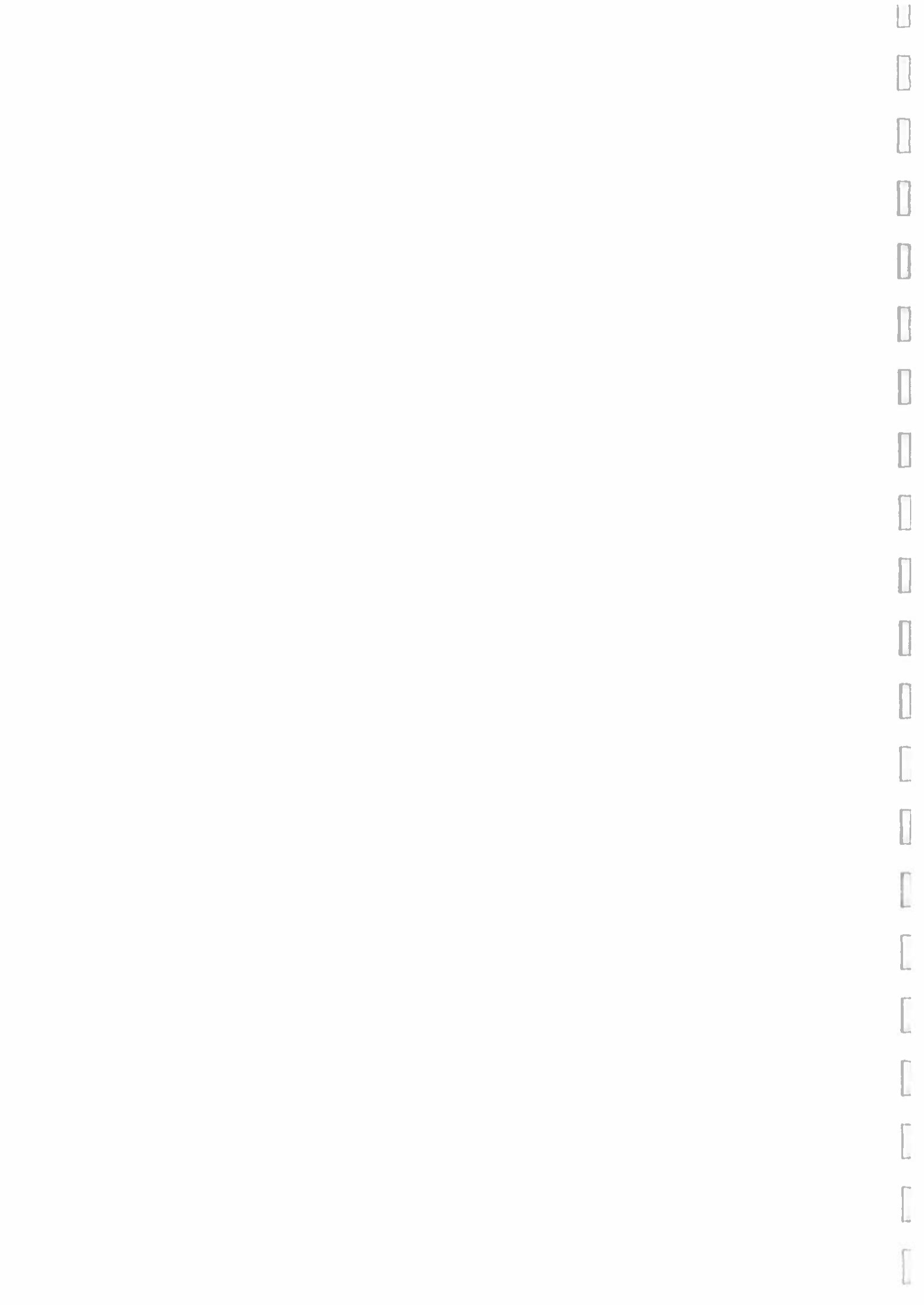
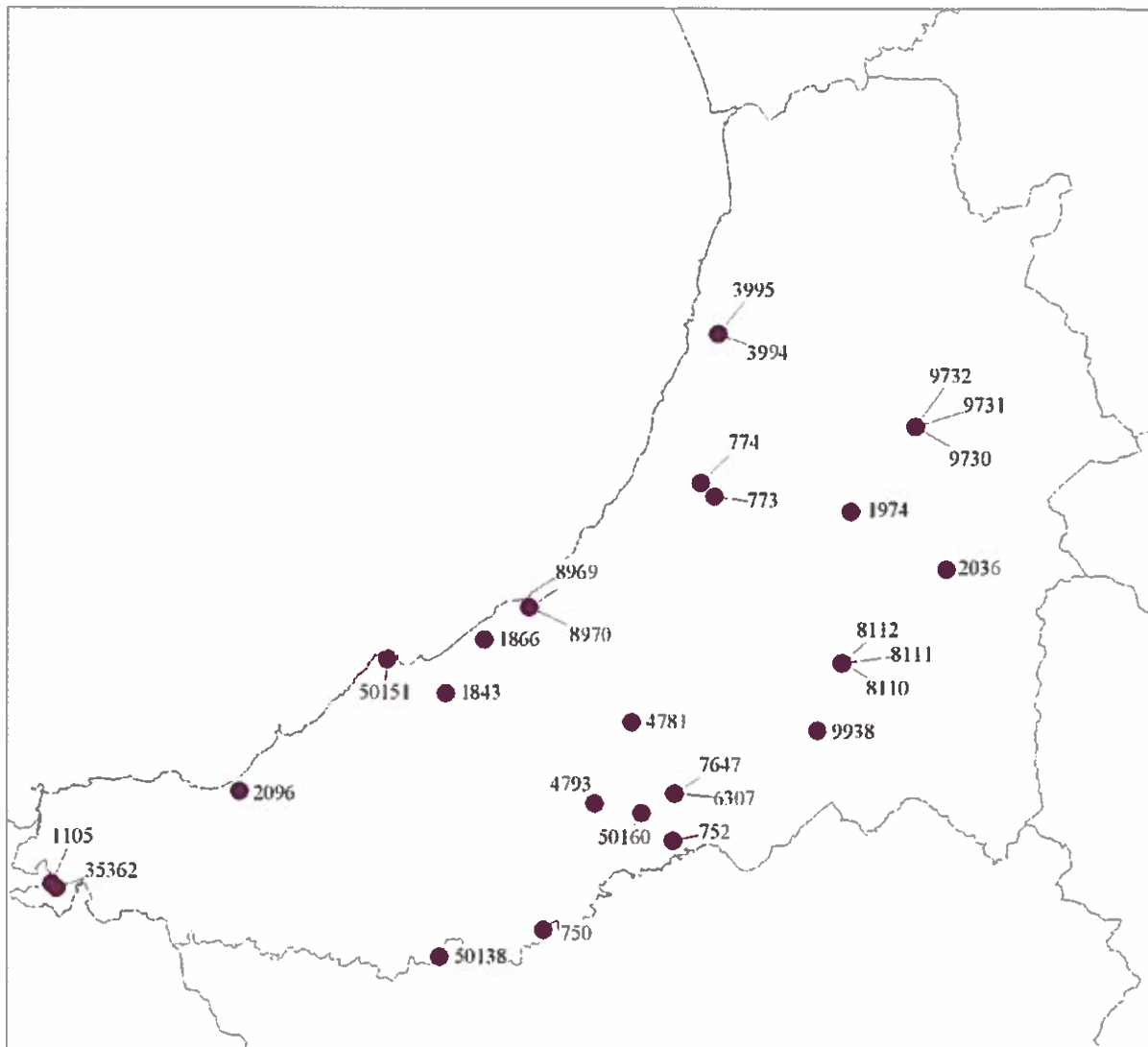
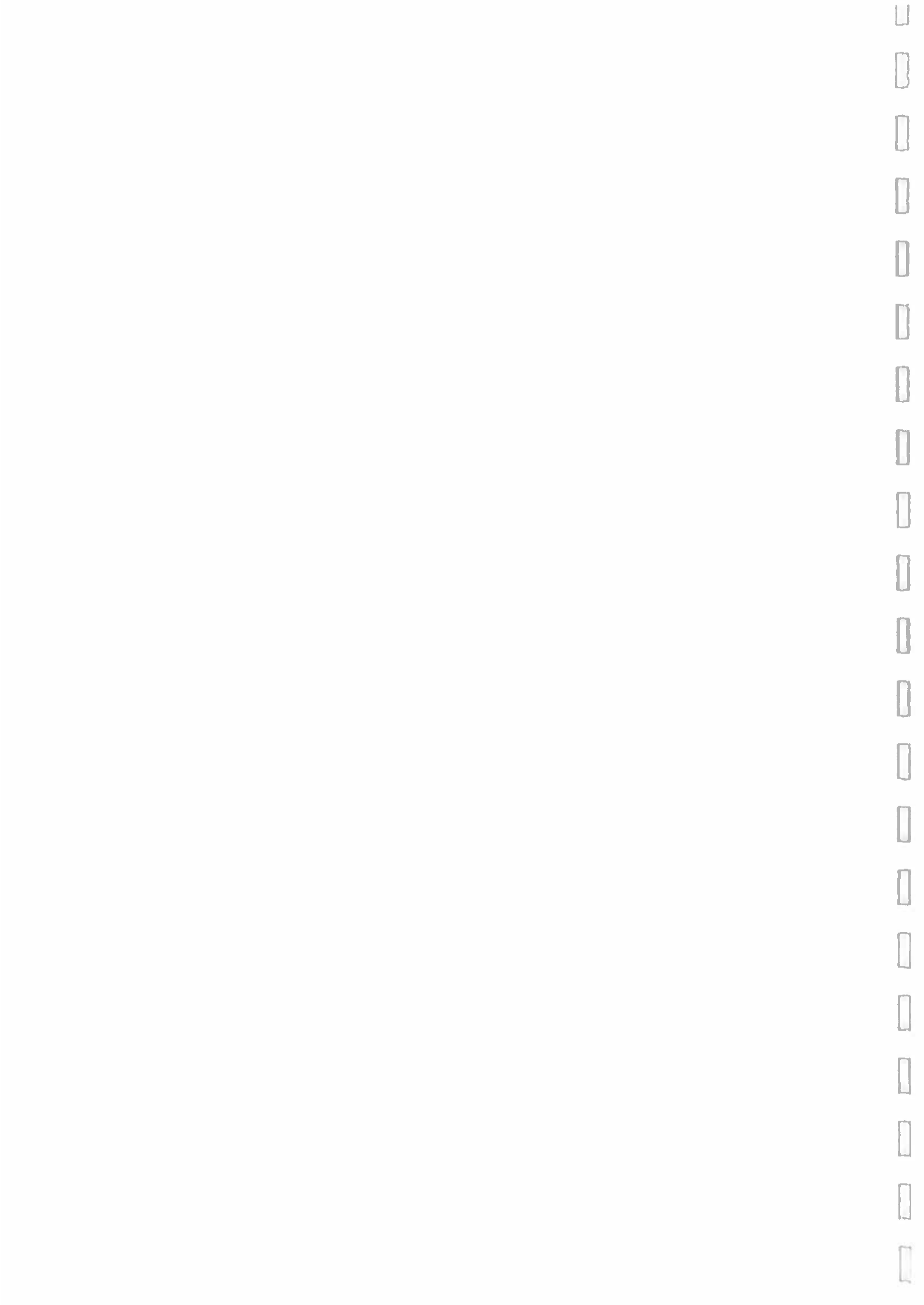


Fig. 3 – Location map of Early Christian Monuments, Ceredigion





3.0 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The objective of Stage 1 - and to a certain extent, Stage 2 - was to provide a mechanism by which the early medieval ecclesiastical sites of west Wales could be identified and an assessment made of their relative importance.

Unstructured approaches to the early medieval ecclesiastical resource have led to an imbalance in the archaeological record reflected in the regional SMRs and in the Schedule. Primarily, early medieval ecclesiastical sites may not be getting the right kind of protection and management. In addition, these sites form a significant component within a number of projects both, Cadw-funded and otherwise. Both the Cadw Historic Landscape Characterisation Project, and the CCW Landmap programme rely on a significant early medieval input. Early medieval ecclesiastical sites impact upon the ongoing Cadw Prehistoric Ritual and Funerary Sites Project where prehistoric re-use has occurred, and will play a significant role in any future Monastic Landscapes project. Decisions undertaken in the Tir Gofal agri-environmental scheme, as well as routine planning applications, are currently dependent on sometimes unreliable data.

The early medieval ecclesiastical resource, as it previously existed within the SMR, comprised 134 Ceredigion records, which broke down as -

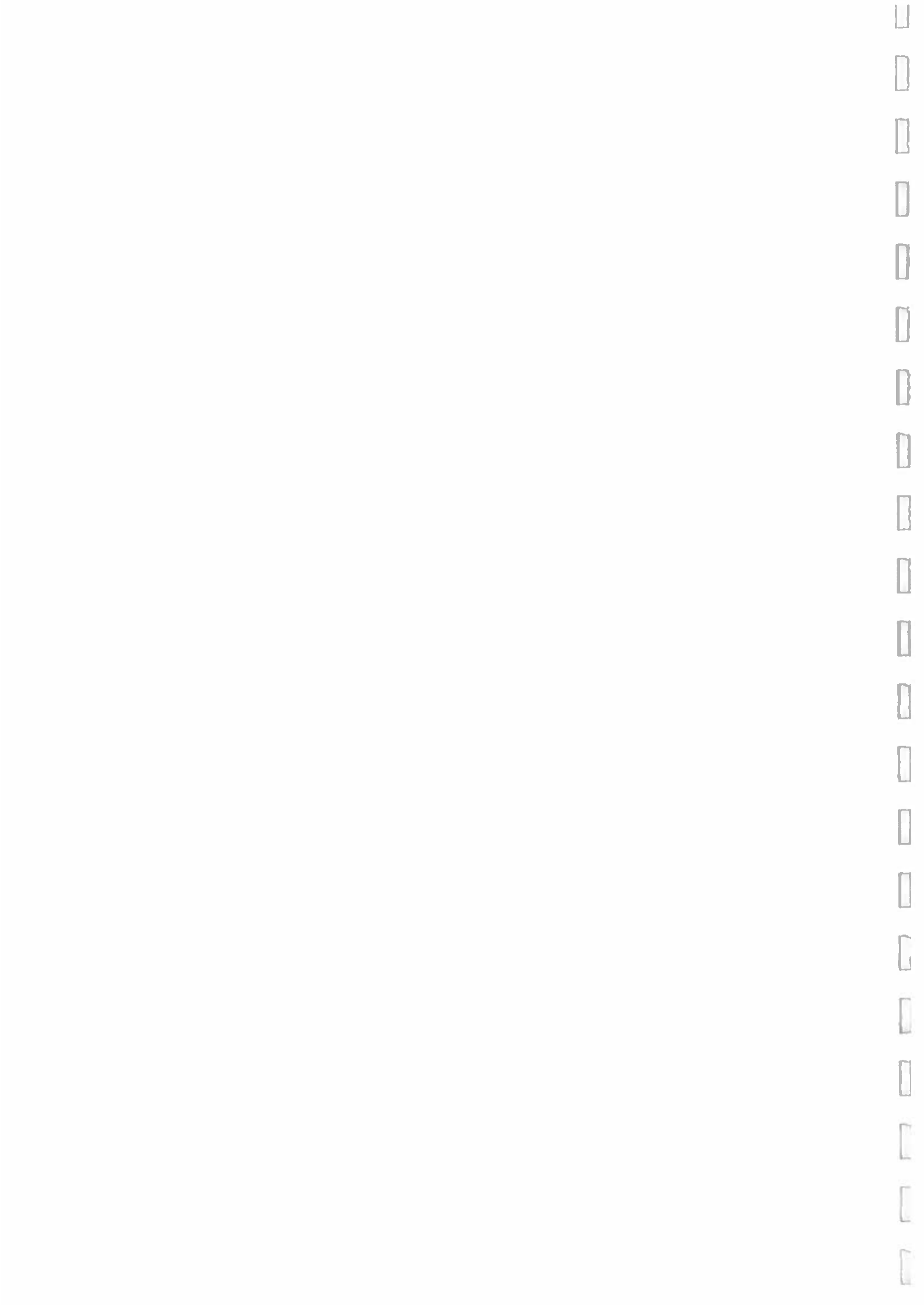
- 4 *bangor* sites(?)
- 65 British dedications(?)
- 1 cell?
- 1 chapel site
- 2 church sites(?)
- 2 cist cemeteries(?)
- 5 cemeteries(?)
- 2 *clas* sites(?)
- 1 cross
- 1 'early Christian site'
- 1 enclosed cemetery
- 1 grange?
- 1 holy well?
- 1 inhumation
- 38 ECMs(?)
- 3 monastic enclosures(?)
- 3 vallum enclosures(?)
- 2 round barrow re-use sites(?)

The key objectives were -

- To assess the validity of the existing record.
- To rationalise the existing record.
- To assess the validity of the evidence (physical and documentary)
- To develop criteria for the assessment of ecclesiastical sites, in order to produce a graded list of sites with potential for early medieval origins.
- Using these criteria, to provide a model for future scoping for further, unrecorded sites.

The enquiry included -

- An assessment of the presence of documented pre-Conquest ecclesiastical sites through the examination of relevant primary sources.
- An assessment of the validity of 'traditional' indicators such as British dedications, circular churchyards, place-name evidence, presence/absence of ECMs, cult centres etc..
- An assessment of the significance of the association between sites and ECMs, where the latter are of known provenance or *in situ*.
- An assessment of the significance of the role of siting, proximity to other site-types, intervisibility with other sites etc.
- An assessment of the development of early medieval ecclesiastical sites from pagan funerary/ritual sites, or other earlier sites such as iron age defended enclosures and Roman sites.
- An assessment of the model for site development from open, 'undeveloped' cemeteries into 'developed', churchyard/chapel sites.



- An assessment of the persistence of early medieval funerary/ecclesiastical practice into the post-Conquest period.
- An assessment of the place of the early medieval church within the wider, secular landscape.

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4.0 RESULTS

4.1 Stage 1 desk-top assessment

Stage I, the desk-based assessment, used the Sites and Monuments Record (SMR) as the baseline data. All ecclesiastical sites listed as early medieval ('Dark Age' in the current SMR glossary) were assessed. The scope of the project was widened to include an assessment of all medieval (ie. pre-Reformation) ecclesiastical sites, any of which might have potential for pre-Conquest origins. The assessment involved a thorough rationalisation of the records for these sites. The only exclusions at this stage of the project have been a small number of monastic sites with known, *de novo* post-Conquest origins.

In all 302 records were assessed and rationalised in Ceredigion, but in many cases two or more records applied the same site eg. one for the church, one for the dedication, one for the cemetery etc.. Assessment of these records resulted in a list of 61 Ceredigion sites with possible pre-Conquest origins. The sites were graded according to their potential for pre-Conquest origins, using criteria defined by the EME working group (comprising the Project Officers from the four Trusts in consultation with Dr Nancy Edwards and Rick Turner of Cadw). The Stage 1 list provisionally comprised -

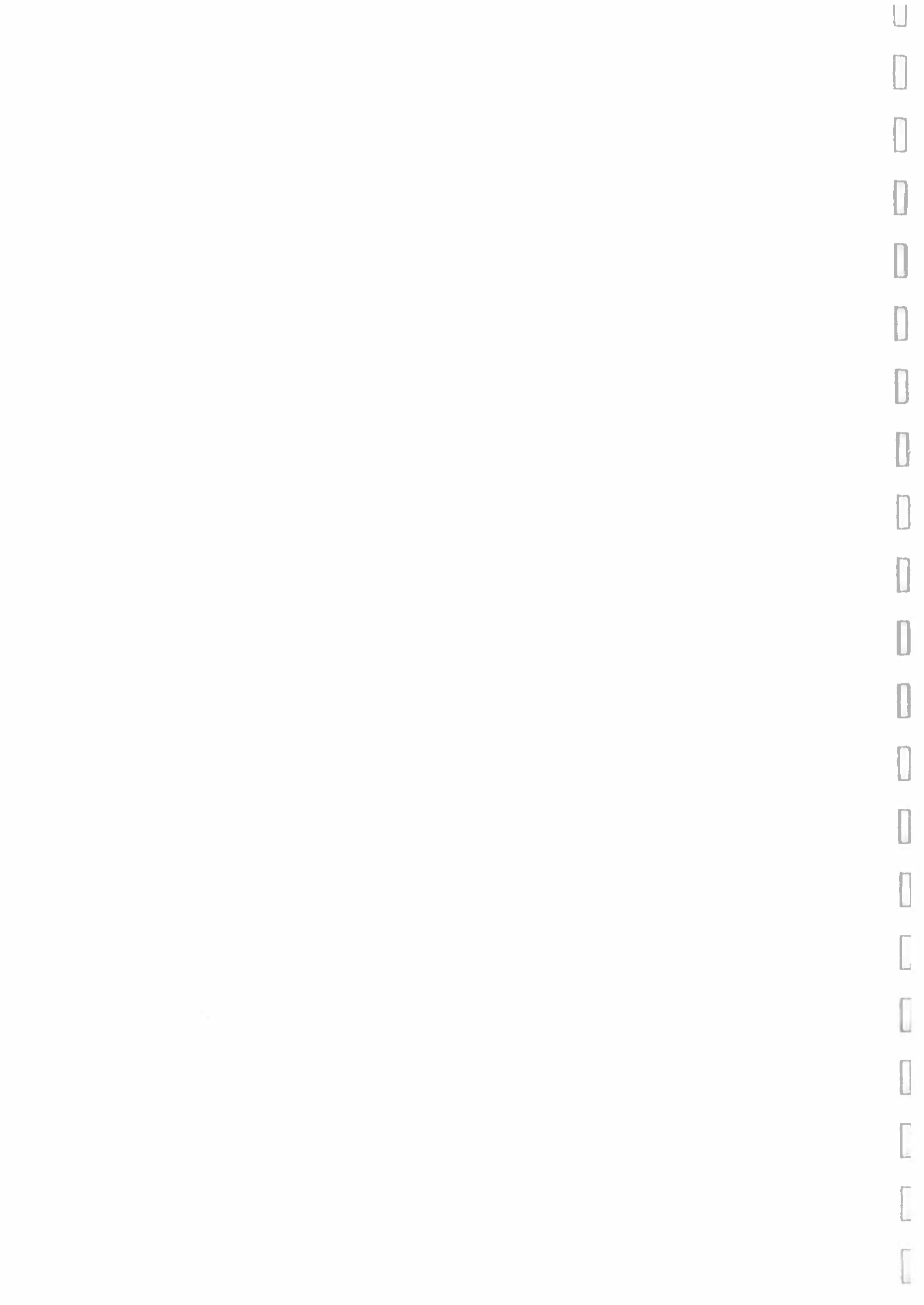
▪ Grade A sites (high probability)	9
▪ Grade B sites (medium probability)	13
▪ Grade C sites (low probability)	12
▪ Grade D sites (possible sites)	27

Also -

▪ Early Christian Monuments	39
-----------------------------	----

In addition, 49 possible new sites or features were identified. Many of these represented subdivisions of existing records, so not all were given new Primary Record Numbers (PRNs). Allocation of new PRNs was be in accordance with the standards currently being developed by the Welsh Archaeological Trusts in conjunction with the RCAHM(W).

Early Christian Monuments (ECMs) represent a fundamentally different form of resource and are not individually graded in this report. Not all are ecclesiastical. They exist as mobile entities, often not *in situ* (see Section 4.4), and are only included where an association with a fixed ecclesiastical site can be demonstrated. The ECMs of Wales have been subject to a recent re-assessment by Dr Nancy Edwards, John Lewis and Dr Mark Redknap, in which threats and management implications are considered. It is not intended here to replicate this work, but immediate management concerns are discussed in Section 5.0 of this report.



4.1.1 Introduction

This section reproduces the overview from the Stage 1 assessment, with amendments and alterations arising from the Stage 2 assessment.

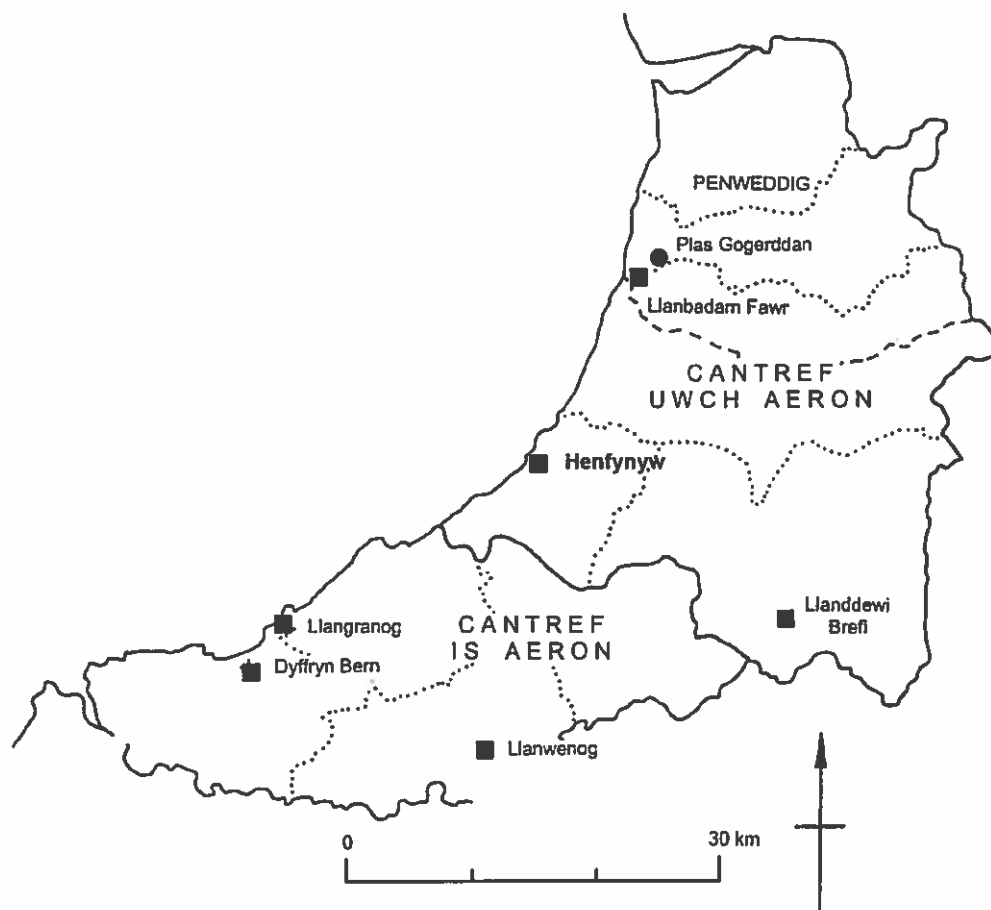
The variable quality of the evidence within the three counties is reason alone for treating them separately within any discussion. In Pembrokeshire, the evidence is comparatively good, both from contemporary/late documentation and dated deposits. In Carmarthenshire it is fair, with little archaeological evidence, while the evidence from documentary sources is often inferential.

In Ceredigion, the evidence is very poor. Only three ecclesiastical sites have demonstrable pre-Conquest origins (Fig. 2). Of these, only one, the cemetery at Gogerddan (Llanbadarn Fawr/Trefeirig) has been absolutely dated, by radiocarbon dating, to the late Roman-early medieval period. The other two, now occupied by the parish churches of Llanbadarn Fawr and Llanddewi Brefi, are known from documentary references. A fourth site, the church at Llanwenog, is possibly referred to in a 10th century account.

To these sites may be added a further three for which, although direct evidence is lacking, a combination of attributes strongly suggests pre-Conquest origins. These are discussed below. The majority of Grade A-D sites are those that survived as churches into the post-Conquest period. This may merely reflect the quality of the recorded evidence but, as in Carmarthenshire, it suggests that there are rather fewer undeveloped cemetery sites than in Pembrokeshire.

This paucity of evidence also characterises pre-Conquest secular settlement in Ceredigion, where the only early medieval date so far obtained was from a burnt mound at Morfa Mawr (Llansantffraed), with a radiocarbon date of cal AD 685-695 (Edwards and Lane 1988, 96).

Fig. 4 - The well-evidenced pre-Conquest ecclesiastical sites in Ceredigion, relative to contemporary administrative divisions





4.1.2 Documentary sources

Contemporary primary sources

There are very few pre-Conquest documentary references to identifiable sites in Ceredigion (Edwards 1996, 49). No sites in the county are suggested in either the pre-Conquest Llandaff Charters in the *Book of Llandaff* (Davies 1979), or the 'Welsh Laws' (Charles-Edwards 1971, 247-62), in contrast with Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire. Much of the evidence from the contemporary documentation is highly inferential.

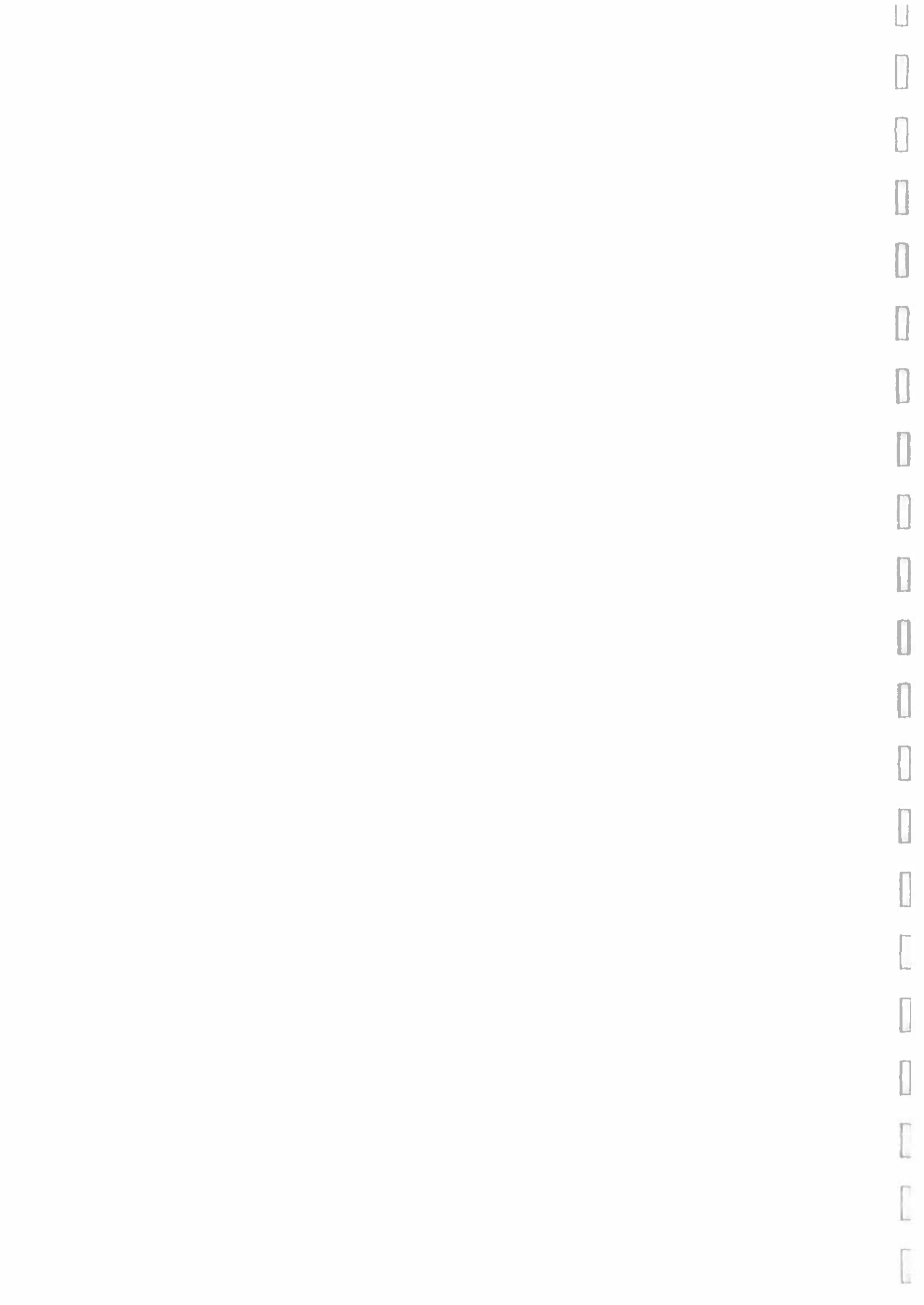
The hagiographic 'Lives of the Welsh Saints' are largely from the post-1100 period and are of limited topographic validity (Davies 1982, 207; cf. Baring-Gould and Fisher 1908 & 1909). However, they indicate early origins for some Ceredigion sites where other evidence is lacking. For instance, the only direct early reference to the church at Llanddewi Brefi is in Rhigyfarch's *Life of St David*, written in the late 11th century (Kirby 1994, 374). The 'Vetus Rubus' in the same source, and in the late 11th century *Life of St Padarn*, has been identified as Henfynyw Church (Thomas 2003) – see Section 4.2.4. The *Life of St Carannog* from early 12th century, and the *Life of St Cybi* from early-mid 12th century (Davies 1982, 208), suggest that Llangranog and Llangybi already existed as cult centres (Ó Riain 1994, 384). Llanwnnws Church, also the site of a 9th century Early Christian Monument, appears to represent the 'local church', under the 'leader' St Gwnnws in the *Life of St Padarn*, from the late 11th century, when it was already associated with Llanbadarn Fawr (Ó Riain 1994, 391).

The *Life of St David* was composed at Llanbadarn Fawr - perhaps the principal seat of learning in Wales during the latter part of the 11th century (Conway 1997, 9) - between 1064 and 1082 (Davies 1982, 214), where its author Rhigyfarch held office. The status of the 11th century church is not altogether clear; it was undoubtedly monastic, but it may also have been the head of a bishopric (Kirby 1994, 370-371), though probably subordinate to St Davids. Rhigyfarch appears then to have been a 'monastic bishop', ie. a bishop who was a monk, and his younger brother Ieuan served as archpriest in the early 12th century (Conway 1997, 10). Elsewhere, such monastic bishoprics are suggested by 9th century sources in which the episcopal household is referred to as a 'monastery', as in contemporary Anglo-Saxon England (Davies 1992, 15). Llanbadarn Fawr lost any episcopal status when Ceredigion was invaded by the Anglo-Normans in 1110-1115, and was granted to Gloucester Abbey (Evans 1992, 33, *et al.*).

The major Chronicles, the *Annales Cambriae* (Williams ab Ithel, 1860) and the *Brut y Tywysogyon* (Jones 1952) provide an outline history from the 5th century onwards and 7th century onwards respectively. In themselves, they are proof of a flourishing ecclesiastical culture, having been compiled by clerics, but provide very skeletal information - mainly comprising obituaries - until the Conquest when the entries become fuller. Most of the entries relating to ecclesiastical sites are terse one-liners recording Viking raids, for instance on St Davids and St Dogmaels in Pembrokeshire. Llanbadarn Fawr, too, was regarded as a sufficiently wealthy house for the Vikings to attack in 988 (Jones 1952, 10). It is possible, though unproven, that the 'Llangweithenau' that was ravaged, along with St Davids, by the Saxons in 982, may be represented by the church at Llanwenog (Jones 1952, 9 and *n.*), a site at which other attributes indicate considerable pre-Conquest status.

Later primary sources

Just as a number of the *Lives*, although written after 1100, can provide an insight into the earlier church in Ceredigion, so can a number of other 12th century sources. The 12th century poet Gwynfardd Brycheiniog, in his '*Canu y Dewi*' ('Song to David'), praises the virtues of the saint and upholds the defence of the Bishopric against the rival claims of Llandaff (Lewis 1931, 43-52). Gwynfardd's list of churches include the Ceredigion 'Dewi' churches of Llanddewi Brefi, Henfynyw and Henllan (as noted by Evans 1993, 14). It is clear from the poem that the ritual and pilgrimage landscape of southwest Wales was already developed.



However, in Ceredigion the 'watershed' date of 1100 is not as significant as in the remainder of southwest Wales. Though an Anglo-Norman, Bernard, may have been appointed Bishop of St Davids in 1115, Ceredigion - although nominally an Anglo-Norman 'Marcher' lordship from 1115 to 1137, and intermittently subjugated during the 12th century - was not finally brought under Anglo-Norman control until the mid 13th century. This is both a help and a hindrance in assessing its pre-Conquest ecclesiastical resource, for while 12th century sources doubtless describe an unbroken tradition from the early medieval period, the same continuing tradition means that any new churches founded during the 12th and early centuries may have possessed all the attributes of early medieval sites. Their benefactors would have been Welsh, the patronage and impropriation would have been in the Welsh tradition as would their relationship to the secular infrastructure, dedications will have respected local cults, while native burial practice may have continued, as in north Pembrokeshire where burial in stone-lined cists continued into the 13th century (Ludlow forthcoming).

A direct reference to early 12th century Welsh patronage is the charter to the church at Lampeter, granted to Totnes Priory in c.1100-1135, by Cadell, grandson of Rhys ap Tewdwr, the king of Dyfed assassinated in 1093 (Crouch 1989, 125-131). It appears to indicate that the church, which originally lay within a circular churchyard shown on the OS 1" map of 1819 (Sheet 308), was a pre-existing site. However, the situation may not be this straightforward. A motte was established at Lampeter by Stephen, constable of Cardigan Castle, during the brief Anglo-Norman occupation of Ceredigion in 1115-37, and was possibly followed by the foundation of the church (Jones 1952, 52). The grant to a Devon house is moreover suggestive of an Anglo-Norman foundation. And Lampeter was referred to as *Pons Stephani* by Giraldus Cambrensis, in the late 12th century (Thorpe 1978, 176-7), suggesting that the castle may have taken precedence over the church in the contemporary consciousness.

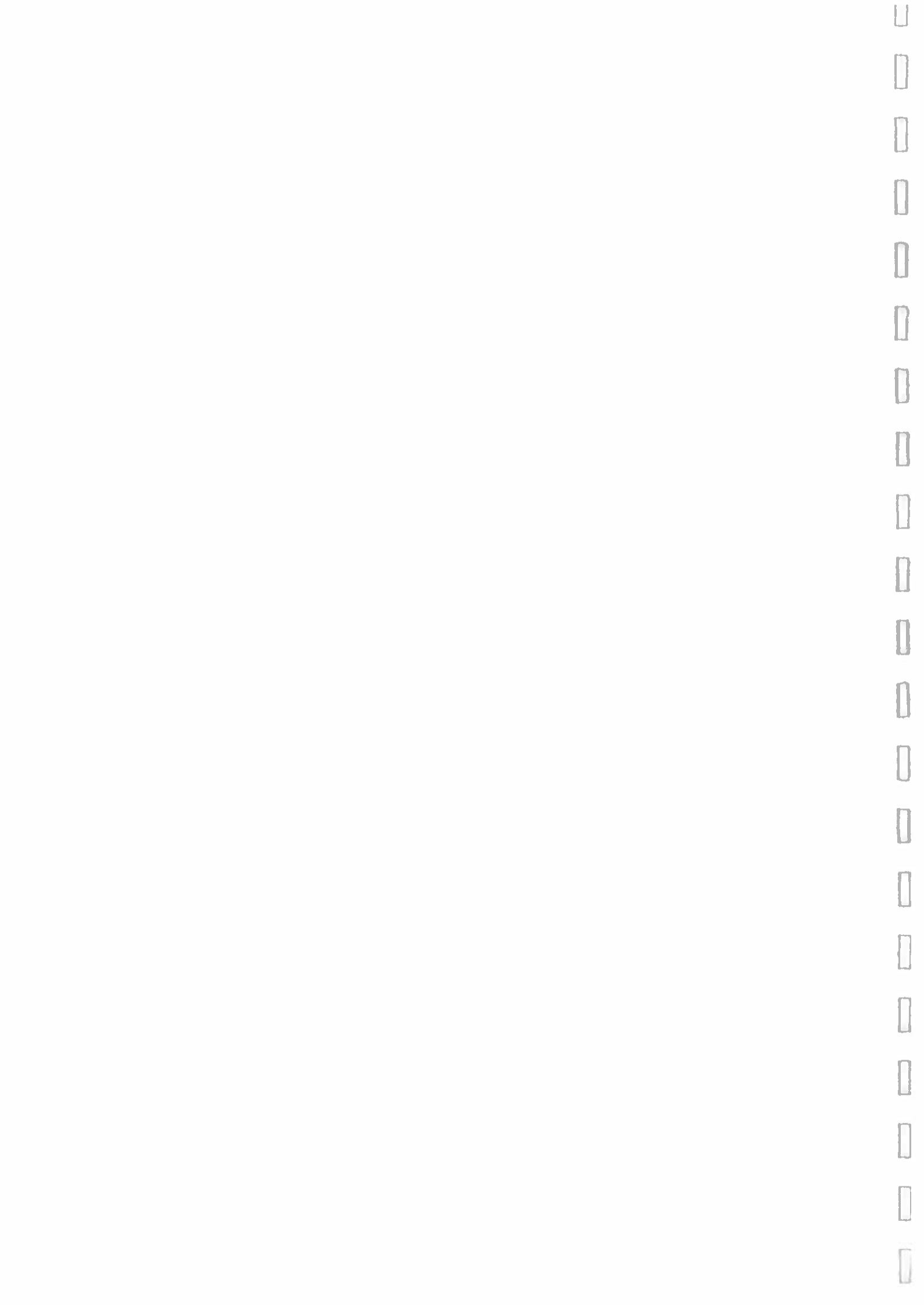
The confirmation charter to Talley Abbey (Carmarthenshire), issued in 1324, lists a number of Ceredigion grants made by the 'Lord' Rhys ap Gruffydd, Prince of Dyfed, in the late 12th century (Price 1879, 167-179; Owen 1893, 39-46). Among these grants are the churches of Y Fervig, Llangoedmor and Penbryn, and possibly Brongwyn which may be the 'chapel of the sons of Ithael' of the grant, 'Betws Ithel' being an old name for the parish. All these churches were clearly under Welsh patronage, some apparently held under the native system of multiple patronage, and possibly portionary (see below), but all could be 12th century foundations.

The churches at Blaenporth, Llanrhystud and Trefilan similarly appear to be Welsh foundations, but possibly of the later 12th- or 13th centuries being closely associated with earthwork castles that either have Welsh origins or were under Welsh control for considerable periods (King 1988). The church/castle relationship at Llanfihangel Genau'r-glyn may have similar late origins. In 1222, the churches at Bangor Deifi, Gartheli, Llanerch Aeron and Llansulfed (Llandysul parish) were 'restored to St Davids' (Davies 1946, 353 D.455) but again, their origins may be late. The confirmation charter to Slebech Commandery, of 1231 (*ibid.*, 362-4, D.499) lists four Ceredigion churches. Llansantffraed and Llanrhystud were granted by Rhys ap Gruffydd c.1176 and are Welsh foundations; the churches at Troed-yr-aur and Ystrad Meurig (the latter closely associated with an earthwork castle) were, on the other hand, granted by Roger de Clare c.1158, during one of the brief Anglo-Norman incursions, and may have been new foundations.

'Clasau', portionary churches and multiple patronage

The *clas* was an ecclesiastical or quasi-ecclesiastical community of the kind referred to in Welsh Laws, perhaps of monastic origin, associated with pre-Conquest mother churches (Evans 1992, 33). However most references to *clasau* and *clasvyr* - the brethren - are post-Conquest, the only reference in the 'Welsh Laws' being 15th century (*ibid.*, 38).

There are no contemporary references to *clasau* in Ceredigion, although one 'Cadwgan son of Griffin Glassour', who witnessed a late 13th century charter to Strata Florida, has been cautiously suggested by Wyn Evans to have been the son of a member of the native community of Llanddewi Brefi (Evans 1992, 38-9). However, as Evans confirms, Llanbadarn Fawr was clearly a *clas* church (*ibid.*, 33-40). It was under the control of a lay abbot (even after Gloucester Abbey regained control in 1158-65, much to the dismay of Giraldus Cambrensis), it had an archpriest (Rhigyfarch's brother Ieuan was recorded in the *Bruts* in an obituary of 1137), it possessed an important relic (the 'Staff of Padarn', recorded in the late 11th century) and a tradition of scholarship. A tradition of sanctuary (or *nawdda*) is thought to be indicative of *clasau*, particularly when associated with a formal place of refuge, or *noddfa* (Evans 1992,



33). Such areas of sanctuary appear to be recorded at both Llanbadarn Fawr (*ibid.*) and at Llanddewi Brefi in 1109 (Jones 1952, 30).

Moreover, Llanbadarn Fawr was a 'portionary' church (Davies 1946, 373-4 D.544 & D.545), i.e. a benefice divided between the church and powerful laymen or 'portionaries', a form of patronage arising from the earlier mixed lay/clerical *clas* community (Evans 1992, 33-38).

Pope Nicholas IV's *Taxatio* of 1291 is one of the key documents in any understanding of the medieval church, with its list of appropriations (Record Commission 1802). In it, a number of north Wales churches are listed as portionary churches (Palmer 1886, 175-209). Few churches in southwest Wales are listed as portionary in the *Taxatio*, but in Ceredigion the 'portions' belonging to the canons of Talley Abbey were recorded at Llangoedmor parish church and the now-vanished Llanannerch Chapel, Aberporth parish (Record Commission 1802, 272). Does this mean that the two were also former *clas* sites? Or that they were held under continuing, 12th century native systems of mixed lay/clerical patronage? The 'third part' of the church of Llanwenog, that had been acquired by Whitland Abbey by the early 13th century (Richard 1935, 356), may also represent a 'portion', and here we may well be dealing with a former *clas* site, possibly ravaged by the Saxons in 982 (see above).

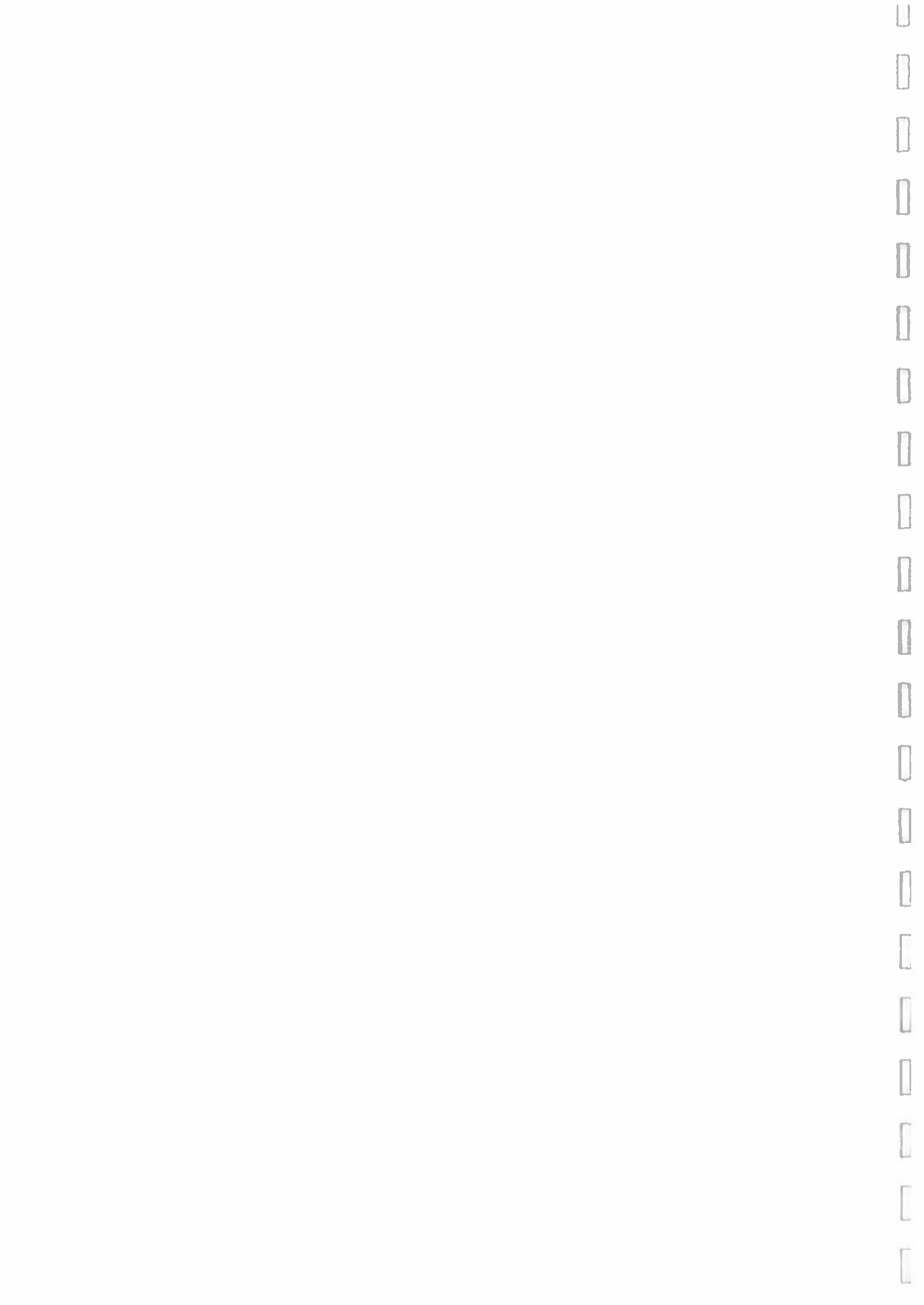
In 1833 Samuel Lewis recorded the patronage of Llangynllo Church as being 'in the hands of the freeholders of the parish' (Lewis 1833). William Rees recognised the significance of this form of patronage on his 1932 Map of 14th century South Wales, marking these churches out specifically as 'churches in the gift of the Welsh community'. The tradition may be a survival from an earlier period, and may also lie behind the joint patronage under which Llanybi and Nantcwnlle churches were held - both sites with other early medieval attributes.

Cwmwdau and mother-churches

Nevertheless, the vast majority of Ceredigion churches were held under the patronage, or were direct possessions of the Bishop of St Davids. This may suggest that they were granted to the bishopric by their (presumably Welsh) lay benefactors. It is more likely, however, that many of them were established as daughter churches in the very large *parochiae* of episcopal houses, such as Llanbadarn Fawr and Llanddewi Brefi.

The medieval parish of Llanbadarn Fawr occupied an immense area, and at 62550ha was once the largest in Wales. It may well have represented the *patria* of St Padarn, coterminous with the original, early medieval land-grant by King Maelgwn (Bowen 1979, 48). It is significant that much of this area came to lie in the hands of the Cistercians of Strata Florida Abbey, a Welsh foundation of Rhys ap Gruffydd that seems to have inherited many of Llanbadarn Fawr's traditions (Evans 1991, 249).

Wyn Evans has noted that the medieval rural deaneries recorded in the *Taxatio* are largely coterminous with cantref or cwmwd boundaries (Evans 1991, 241), and the two deaneries of Ceredigion, Ultra Aeron and Is Aeron, are exactly coterminous with its two cantrefi, Uwch Aeron and Is Aeron (Fig. 4). The secular divisions may well have been based on earlier, ecclesiastical boundaries. It may be that the *patria* of Llanbadarn Fawr originally comprised the whole of Cantref Uwch Aeron. At a later date, that part of the cantref north of the Rheidol appears to have split off, to form Cantref Penweddig (divisions from Richards 1969, 252). This may have resulted from an ecclesiastical division when Llanddewi Brefi was established, the southern half of Uwch Aeron possibly becoming its *patria*. Llangoedmor, Llandysilio, Llandysul and Penbryn are all potential mother-church candidates for Cantref Is Aeron, lying at the head of a comparatively large parishes which may have been the rumps of earlier *parochiae*. However, as Wendy Davies has pointed out, the role of a mother church, and the relationships between the churches in a given area, may not have been clearly defined (Davies 1992, 15).



4.1.3 Dated archaeological evidence

The only Ceredigion ecclesiastical site with archaeological evidence dateable to the pre-Conquest period is the cemetery site at Gogerddan (Llanbadarn Fawr/Trefeirig parish). This site was excavated by Cambria Archaeology in 1986, in advance of gas pipeline laying work, and is described by Murphy (1992). Evidence was discovered for human presence from the middle of the fourth millennium BC onwards. The central feature of the site was a late neolithic-bronze age standing stone, around which numerous pits and post-holes had been excavated. Three late bronze age round barrow ring-ditches, to the west of the standing stone, were re-used during the iron age for three crouched burials. Around the standing stone were 22 oriented burials, all dug graves without cists, the coffin stain from one grave producing a 3rd-7th century radiocarbon date.

Three of the graves were marked out as 'special graves', having had small timber structures erected around them, as noted in some iron age cemeteries and well-known around martyrial tombs in late and post-Roman continental Christian contexts (James 1994, 401). Apart from these structures, the cemetery appeared to have been 'undeveloped'. However, Jansen's map of Ceredigion, from the late 16th century, marks a chapel at 'Gogirthan' (Evans 1903, 1). The confirmation - and identification - of the site of this chapel are of crucial importance; it may indicate that the site was eventually developed.

See Section 4.1.5 for Early Christian Monuments.

4.1.4 Undated archaeological evidence

Undated cemeteries

The remainder of Ceredigion's possible cemetery sites - of which there are few, relative to Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire - have not been dated. Indeed, only four stone-lined 'cist' cemeteries have been suggested in the county, none of which may be early medieval. The site at Ffynnon Oer (Llandyfriog parish) comprised three 'stone-sided and paved' graves, with possible headstones, which were uncovered during road construction in 1865. The graves were aligned north-south, and contained 'ash, charcoal and burnt human bone' (James 1994, 399). If this record is reliable, they appear to represent non-oriented cremations and therefore not Christian. Similarly, the Five Beds cists in Llangoedmor parish may not be Christian. We are reliant on Edward Lhuyd's record, in 1695, of five 'cistvaens' apparently associated with the Llech-yr-ast chambered tomb (Meyrick 1810, 119) - one of only four chambered tombs recognised in Ceredigion (Houlder 1994) - and which probably represent prehistoric age cists.

Christian cemeteries appear to be represented by the 'grave slabs' observed by the owner at Mynwent Fach, near Llaneithyr, in Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn parish (*ex inf.* Paul Sambrook, Cambria Archaeology), and by the re-used, 5th-6th century Early Christian Monument at Maesllyn (Llangwryfon) which appeared to possibly form the side-slab of a cist grave (Fox 1943).

In general, there is little evidence for the open, undeveloped cemetery in Ceredigion, in contrast with Pembrokeshire where they may be described as a defining site-type. The small number of *beddau* ('grave') place-names recorded in the county may well relate to prehistoric burials, while the equally few *fynwent* ('cemetery') place-names mainly relate to developed sites.

Re-use of earlier sites

Potential models for the establishment of cemeteries and their development, or otherwise, into church/chapel sites have been proposed by Heather James (1987 and 1992), and Edwards and Lane (1992). It is suggested that all ecclesiastical sites were primarily burial site, but what were the factors that led to the commencement of burial at a given site?

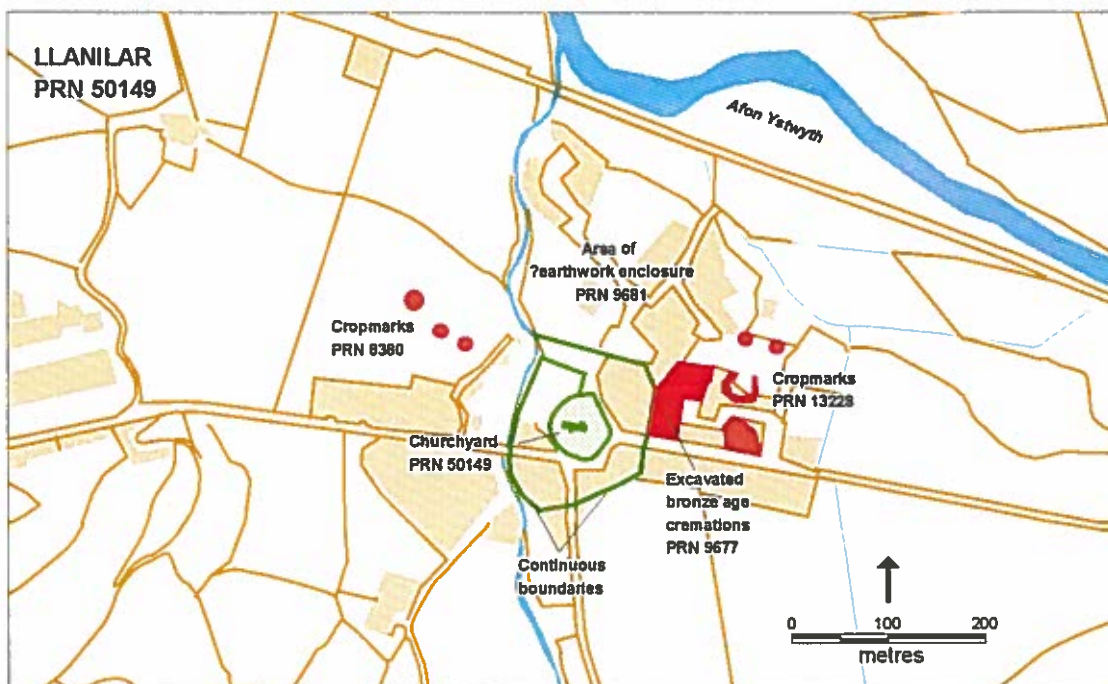


In a number of cases, it is possible to demonstrate that pre-existing funerary/ritual sites presented themselves as burial foci, as illustrated by the long sequence of funerary use at Gogerddan. Place-name evidence alone would suggest that prehistoric monuments were recognised as ritual sites; they were often considered to be the graves of heroes (James 1994, 398) while being, in the words of Heather James, 'prominent enough to effectively invite re-use' (H. James 1992, 93). However, it appears to represent a continuing tradition from the Iron Age/Romano-British period, recorded at a number of sites in Wales (Murphy and Williams 1992, 30-35).

Early medieval re-use of bronze age round barrows has been recorded in Ceredigion at two certain sites, at Gogerddan and at Dyffryn Bern, Penbryn parish, although the records are somewhat confused. Here, a 5th-6th century Early Christian Monument was recorded by Lhuyd, in 1695, as having recently stood on the summit of a 'cairn of stones' (Edwards forthcoming). The cairn was levelled in c.1806 and a cremation urn uncovered, which found its way to the National Museum and Galley of Wales where it was dated to the Roman period, the urn being of 1st-2nd century form. The Roman coins apparently found alongside the cremation are now missing, but included an *aureus* of Titus, c.AD 74 (*ibid.*). It appears that a bronze age cairn was re-used for the Roman burial, and re-used again for the ECM although no accompanying burial was recognised in c.1806.

Many more unrecorded barrows may lie beneath churchyards and chapel sites. Capel Whyl, in Llanwenog parish, was a chapel granted to Talley Abbey by Rhys ap Gruffydd in the late 12th century, and later acquired by Whitland Abbey (Williams 1990, 67). When demolished in 1796, the fabric was found to contain a 5th-6th century Early Christian Monument (Edwards forthcoming). The chapel appears to have occupied a 'cairn' on the summit of a low mound, called 'Crug-y-chwil' (Meyrick 1810, 187; Cooper 2001). This must surely be a round barrow, which was re-used as an early cemetery that was developed with the addition of a chapel, and whose continuing high status is suggested by its donation, by a powerful Welsh prince, to his personal monastic foundation.

Fig. 5 - Llanilar churchyard relative to the neolithic and early bronze age burial complex





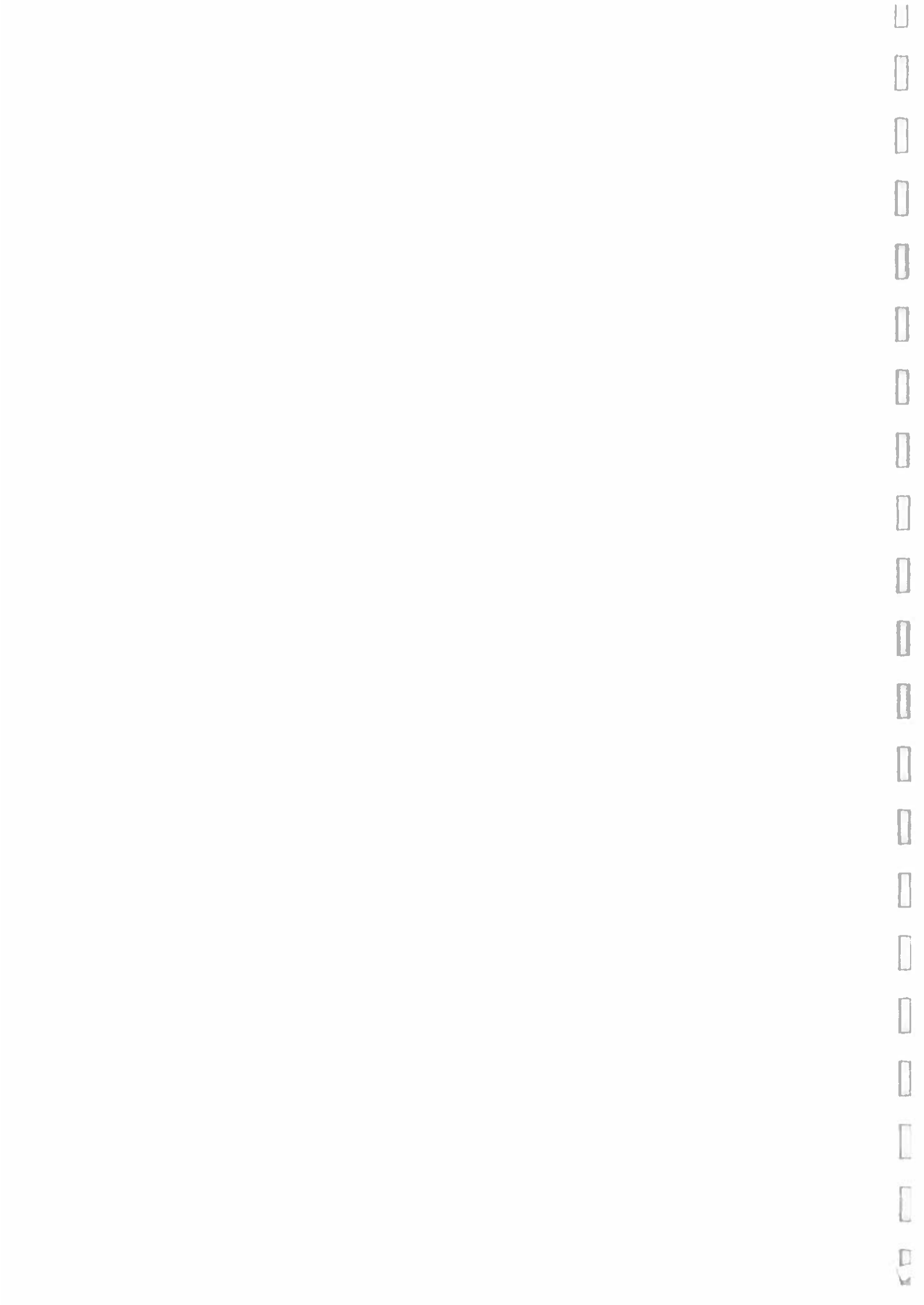
The churchyard at Mwnt may overlies at least one round barrow, and lie close to a second. Their presence is suggested in the accounts of 19th century antiquarians, including both Samuels Lewis and Meyrick, in which 'burials', apparently revealed by shifting sand, were regarded as the victims of a medieval battle (Lewis 1833). It is more likely that the burials are bronze age and indeed the churchyard path appears to cut through a raised mound. Llanilar Church lies in close association with a neolithic and early bronze age settlement and burial complex, partially excavated during the 1970s-1990s (Benson *et al.* 1982, 281-292; Briggs 1997, 13-59), and may itself overlies a burial site (Fig. 3). The medieval chapel at Llangorven had disappeared by 1800 but was rebuilt, 50m further south, in the late 19th century. During construction of the 19th century church an urn containing human bone was apparently encountered (Briggs 1994, 198 no. 245). More urns were found during grave-digging, in an area 'blackened by fire'. The mounds beneath Llanddewi Brefi and Tregaron churches are traditionally regarded as barrows, but here the geology suggests that they may in fact be drumlins. Other possible barrow sites include the churchyards at Cellan, Llanarth and Penbryn.

Re-use of other prehistoric funerary/ritual sites appears to have been more limited. As noted above, only four neolithic chambered tombs are recognised in Ceredigion, all in the southern part of the county (Houlder 1994), and none has been recorded at an ecclesiastical site. However, the orthostats that are embedded within the churchyard wall at Ysbyty Cynfyn have been regarded as a neolithic stone circle. The view has been rejected by Stephen Briggs (1979), who regards them as an 18th-19th century folly, although they were regarded as prehistoric as early as 1810 (Meyrick 1810, 373). One stone, at least, may however be a standing stone. The standing stone that formed the focus for burial at Gogerddan has been noted above. The large boulders that form the lowest courses of many a medieval church may be *in situ*, and have similar origins. However, the possibility remains that, with their normal absence of burial, standing stone sites were not generally favoured for cemeteries, although their re-use as Early Christian Monuments - suggested by the 7th century author of *Life of St Samson of Dôl* - can occasionally be demonstrated.

Prehistoric re-use is not limited to funerary/ritual sites. Iron age defended enclosures represented alternative foci. A 'lost' chapel site is still represented by the place-name Capel St Silin, in Llanfihangel Ystrad parish. The hamlet lies at the foot of Cribyn Gaer, a large hillfort. An 8th-9th century Early Christian Monument was first recorded in c.1808 at a nearby location, and was later considered to have been brought from Cribyn Gaer (see, *inter alia*, Edwards forthcoming). It is far from impossible that the stone, and the chapel, both occupied the summit of Cribyn Gaer.

Burial with defended enclosures is suggested in early Irish literary sources, but appears to be limited to chieftains ie. single burials, and be in a domestic context rather than ecclesiastical re-use. For instance, the 'Book of Armagh' records that King Loeguire wished to be buried in armour, 'facing his enemies', in the ramparts of his fort (James 1994, 403).

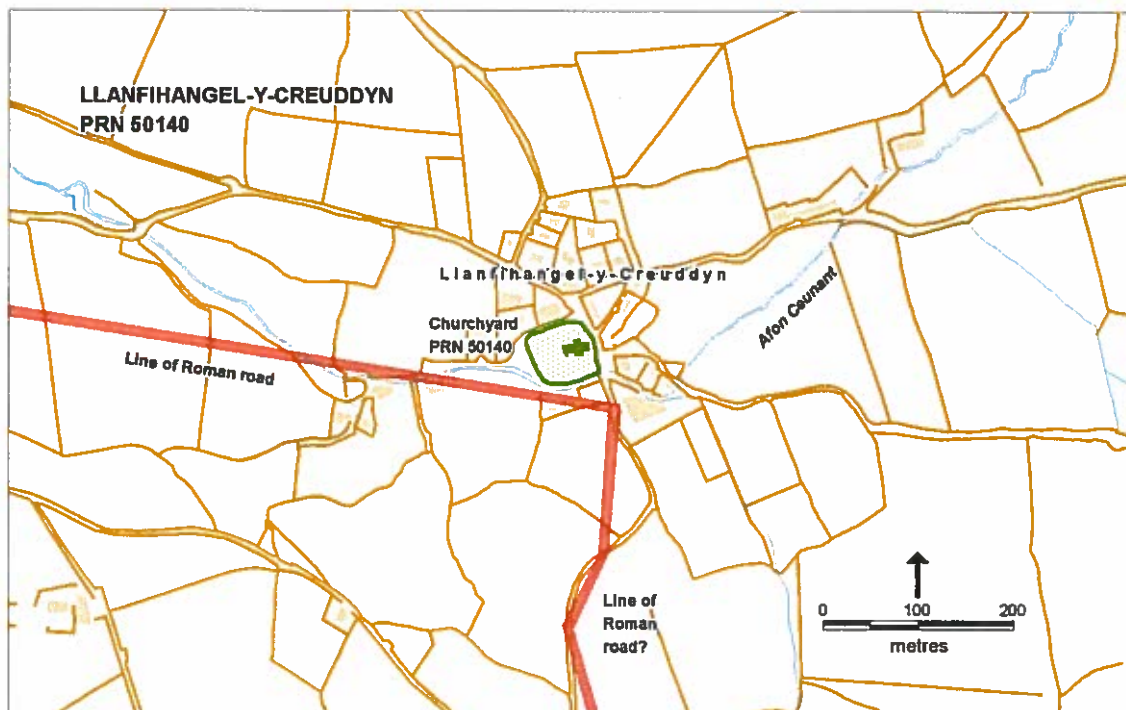
Mwnt Church lies at the foot of a coastal hillock, the summit of which was occupied by another hillfort. Local tradition has it that a 'mortuary chapel' (*capel-y-bedd?*, see below), belonging to the church, once stood within the hillfort interior, but this is highly doubtful. Llanddewi Aberarth churchyard is morphologically similar to an iron age promontory fort with which its coastal location, and topography, are consistent. Ecclesiastical re-use of promontory forts is however rare and only paralleled at Meidrum, Carmarthenshire (an inland promontory fort site), and a couple of highly speculative sites in Pembrokeshire. It is the large, circular churchyards of Ceredigion that are more likely to have iron age origins and these are discussed below.



Reference to, and re-use of Roman sites

The re-use of the Roman burial site at Dyffryn Bern has been described above. In contrast, there are no demonstrable examples of Roman fort re-use in Ceredigion, unlike Carmarthenshire where fort sites, roads and possibly cemeteries all lie beneath documented early church/cemetery sites. However, Llanddewi Brefi derived its toponome from the Roman fort at *Bremia*, 2.5km to the west, suggesting very early origins. The church at Llanafan-y-Trawscoed similarly lies just 1.2 km from the Roman fort at Trawscoed, but here the relationship is less demonstrable. Only a small number of churches are located within the corridor of the main Roman road from Pumsaint (*Louentium*), Carms., to north Wales, via *Bremia* and Trawscoed, but in the main the route does cross upland territory. However it influenced the siting of the churches Llanfair Clydogau and Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn (Fig. 6), while Llanbadarn Odwyn Church lies just 700m from the route.

Fig. 6: Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn: sketch plan of churchyard relative to the Roman road line



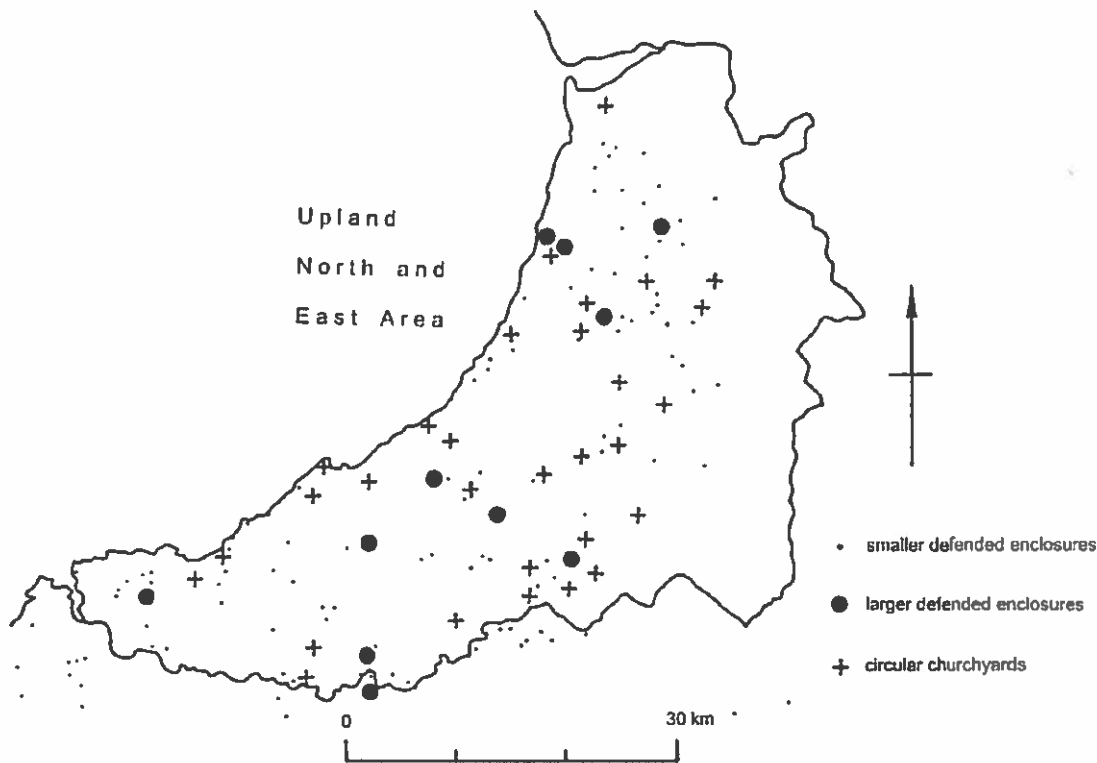
Churchyard morphology

The value of churchyard morphology is still a matter of intense debate within early medieval studies. What, in particular, is the significance of the circular churchyard?

As Thomas has observed, a circular plan has been favoured for funerary/ritual monuments since earliest prehistory, noting that 'the sacred circle separates the holy from the profane, the dead from the living' (Thomas 1971, 52). The circular enclosure is taken seriously enough for some researchers to have devised a scoring system for circularity (Brook 1992). However, it is also characteristic of round barrows, see the possible re-use sites noted above. And, as James pointed out, it is also the shape of most of the smaller, inland defended iron age enclosures within southwest Wales (James 1997, 7). The formerly circular yard at Llandysiliogogo is probably an iron age enclosure, as may be those at Llanbadarn Trefeglwys (James 1994, 405), Nantcwnlle (*ibid.*, 403) and Penbryn. There may be more. Iron age enclosures in west Wales fall into three main regional groups, an Upland Northeast Area of mainly large enclosures, a Coastal Southwest Area of mainly large enclosures, often on coastal promontories, and an Inland Southwest Area of small, often circular enclosures (Williams 1988, 31-33). Ceredigion lies beyond this main concentration of small enclosures, but Fig. 7 demonstrates that there are nevertheless a large number in the county.



Fig. 7 - distribution of circular churchyards relative to defended enclosure types
(modified from Williams 1988)



However, the siting of many of Ceredigion's 'best' circular and oval churchyards suggests that they may *de novo* ecclesiastical sites. The yards at Henllan, Llanfair Clydogau, Llanfihangel Ystrad, Llangybi, Llangynfelyn, Llanilar, and Llansantffraed churchyards, all occupy floodplains or coastal marshland. Are these *de novo* circular yards all necessarily pre-Conquest - in a county within which native ecclesiastical traditions may have persisted into the mid 13th century? A number of them occur at sites with no other evidence for early medieval origins.

An equally large number of Ceredigion churchyards were remodelled during the post-medieval period, often during 18th-19th century estate gentrification. This suggests that at least some of them may previously not have been formally defined, as at Llangranog where the churchyard boundary is still partly notional.

Aerial photography in Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire has revealed cropmark evidence for a number of iron age enclosures of a concentric form, consisting of a small, circular inner enclosure within a larger, circular outer enclosure (James 1990, 295-8; T. James 1992, 69), for which the term 'concentric antenna enclosures' has been adopted. The form is paralleled at an increasing number of ecclesiastical sites in the two counties, in which churchyards can be seen to lie within large outer enclosures which are often observed in aerial photographs but, at many sites, are preserved as surviving field boundaries.

While some of these sites may represent re-use of iron age sites, it cannot be proved at all of them. Furthermore, although concentric antenna enclosure has yet to be recorded in Ceredigion, a number of its churchyards appear to lie within possible outer enclosures; it may be that prehistoric re-use provided a loose model for later, *de novo* enclosures. Ceredigion sites include Cellan, where the enclosure is very well-defined (see Section 4.2), Llanbadarn Odwyn, where the possible enclosure boundary survives, as a hedgebank declared an SSSI because of the 17 hedgerow species that it contains (James 1994, 404-5). A possible outer boundary delimiting and encircling fields, centring on the church, appears to be indicated at Llanddewi Brefi (Fig. 8) but, as James notes, not all the boundaries are of the same, or even early, date (*ibid.*, 407).

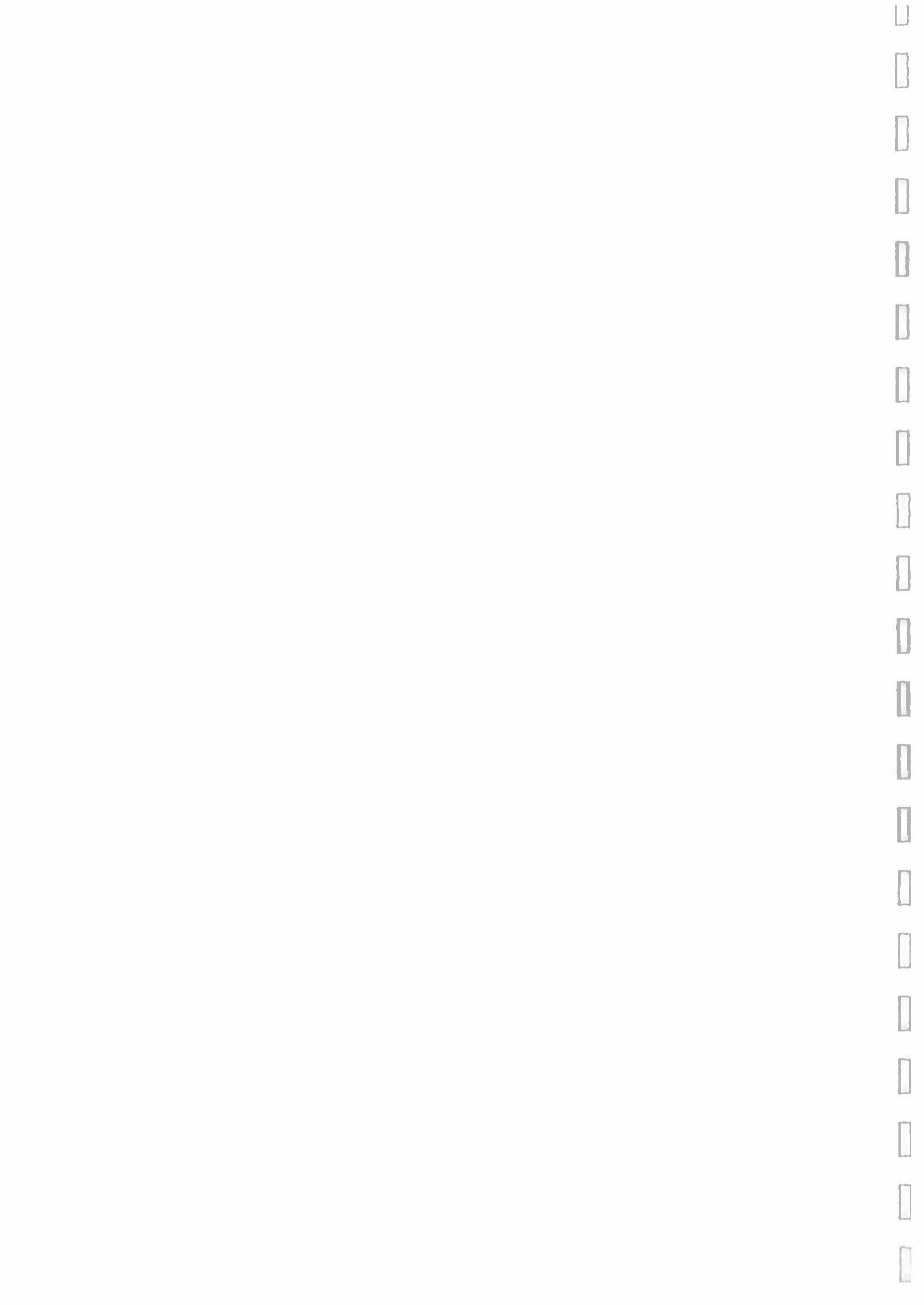
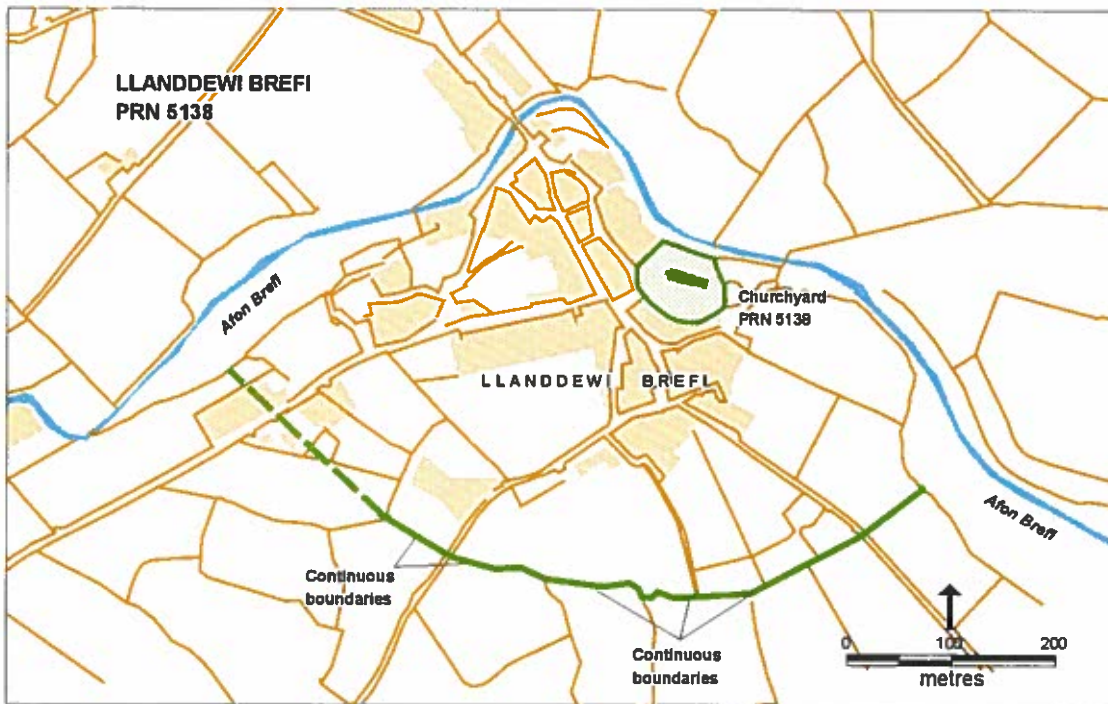


Fig. 8 - the possible outer enclosure at Llanddewi Brefi



James suggests that the term *bangor*, albeit later, can be applied to these outer enclosures (James 1994, 404; 1997 1997, 7). They may represent a 'weak' boundary around the more substantial, inner enclosure - which may then be termed a *llan* - that developed into the churchyard. It is suggested above that the *bangor* may have had a variety of functions - as cemetery, as sanctuary/*noddfa*, or as space for an additional chapel, whilst Kissock has suggested that the Jeffreyston enclosure contained agricultural plots (Kissock 1997, 133). They may sometimes merely have marked the extent of ecclesiastical ownership. Similar enclosures have again be identified in Cornwall, some of them very large indeed (Preston-Jones 1992, 120). A number of sites that exist in the record under the Site Type 'vallum enclosure' appear to be *bangorau*, so this somewhat unsatisfactory and out-dated term may perhaps be discontinued.

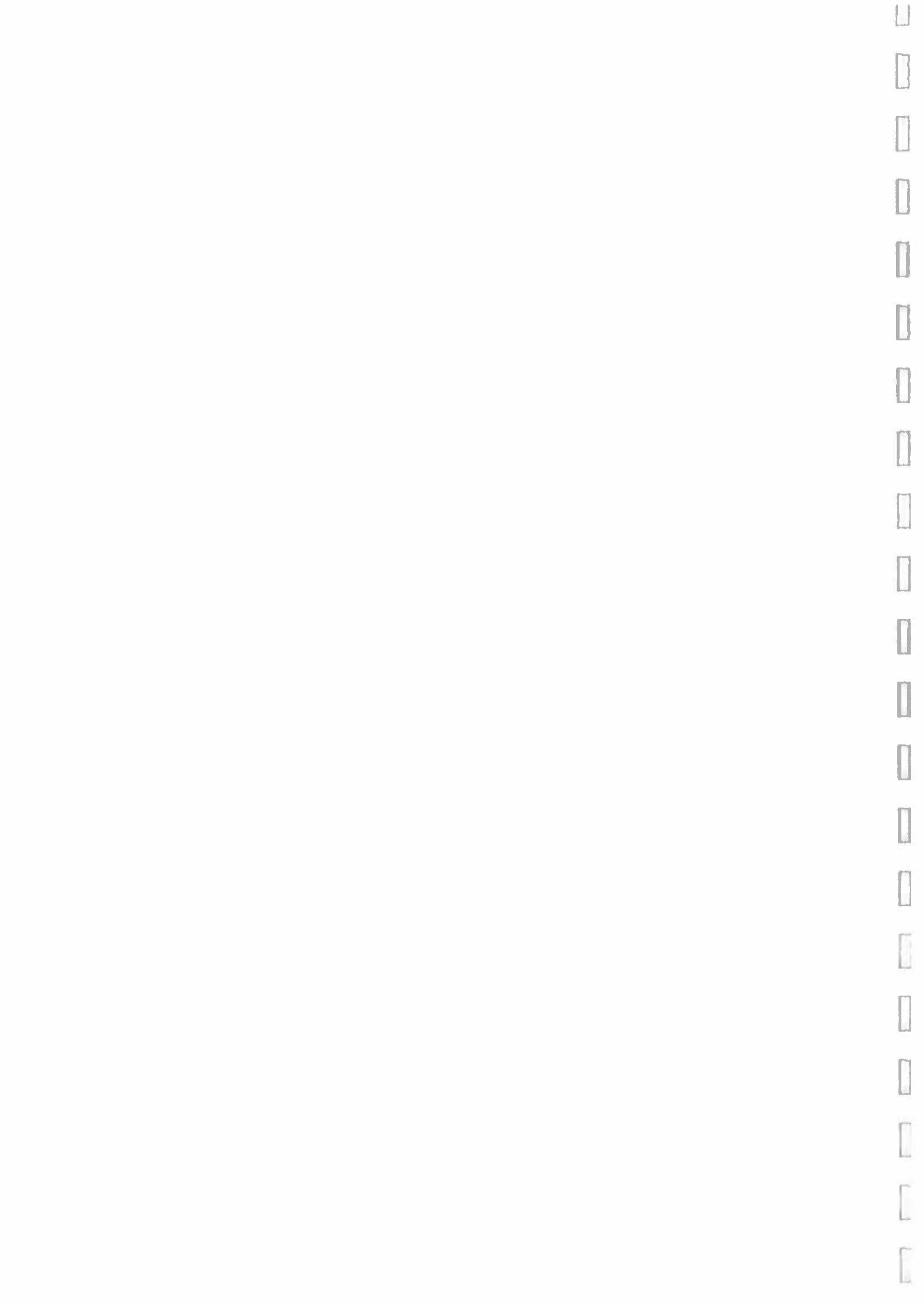
Multiple church sites and 'capeli-y-bedd'

Multiple church sites in Wales, which may be comparable to the early medieval multiple church sites in Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England, appear to have fulfilled a number of functions. The second church - which might be smaller - may have been reserved for the ecclesiastical community, it may have housed relics or, as in a number of Welsh sites, was constructed over the grave of the founding saint himself (Edwards 1992, 7). These *capeli-y-bedd*, where they survive, are late medieval buildings but, as at Clynog Fawr, Gwynedd, can overlie earlier structures (*ibid.*).

There are few such sites in Ceredigion. According to local tradition, a 'mortuary chapel' is said to have formerly occupied the hillfort at Mwnt, as noted above, but the topography of the site makes this highly unlikely. However Llangranog churchyard may represent a second multiple church site (see Section 4.2.2).

'Leacht' sites

A masonry structure with stone foundations at Llansadwrnen, Carms., has been interpreted as a *leacht*, an altar-like feature found commonly on open sites in Ireland (Davies 1982, 182; T. James 1992, 74). The feature has been reinterpreted by Nancy Edwards in a post-medieval context (Edwards forthcoming). However, the site forms part of the boundary between Llansadwrnen and Laugharne parishes, and is mentioned as *Parc-y-sanctaid* in early post-medieval *Extents* of the Lordship of



Laugharne (*ex inf.* Ken Murphy, Cambria Archaeology). *Leacht* sites may, moreover, exist elsewhere. The boulder at Llanwenog, known as the 'prayer stations', has been noted above. To these might be added the large stone that was apparently revealed beneath the pulpit during 19th century restoration at Llandysiliogogo Church, regarded at the time as having been imported from a nearby neolithic site (Bowen 1971, 213-15). Might such stones represent a ritual focus in pre-development early cemetery sites?

4.1.5 Early Christian Monuments

Early Christian Monuments (ECMs) are a complex, and problematical resource. Neither dating nor interpretation is straightforward, while by no means all are ecclesiastical. Many are not firmly provenanced; ECMs are also notoriously mobile, often having been re-used as gate-posts and cattle-rubbing stones throughout the historic period, or secondarily imported into churchyards. Nevertheless, as Nash-Williams noted in his corpus, *The Early Christian Monuments of Wales*, such stones remain 'the principal material remains of the centuries that elapsed between the end of Roman occupation and the coming of the Normans' (Nash-Williams 1950, 1).

A new corpus is currently being prepared by Dr Nancy Edwards, who is responsible for Southwest Wales, with John Lewis and Dr Mark Redknap, under the aegis of the Board of Celtic Studies and the National Museums & Galleries of Wales, in which the problems are addressed (Edwards 2001). It is intended, in this report, only to provide a brief resumé of their conclusions, and no discussion of epigraphics etc. is included. The main aim of EME Stage I is to identify new cemetery/chapel sites from ECM evidence, using Edwards' assessments of their provenance.

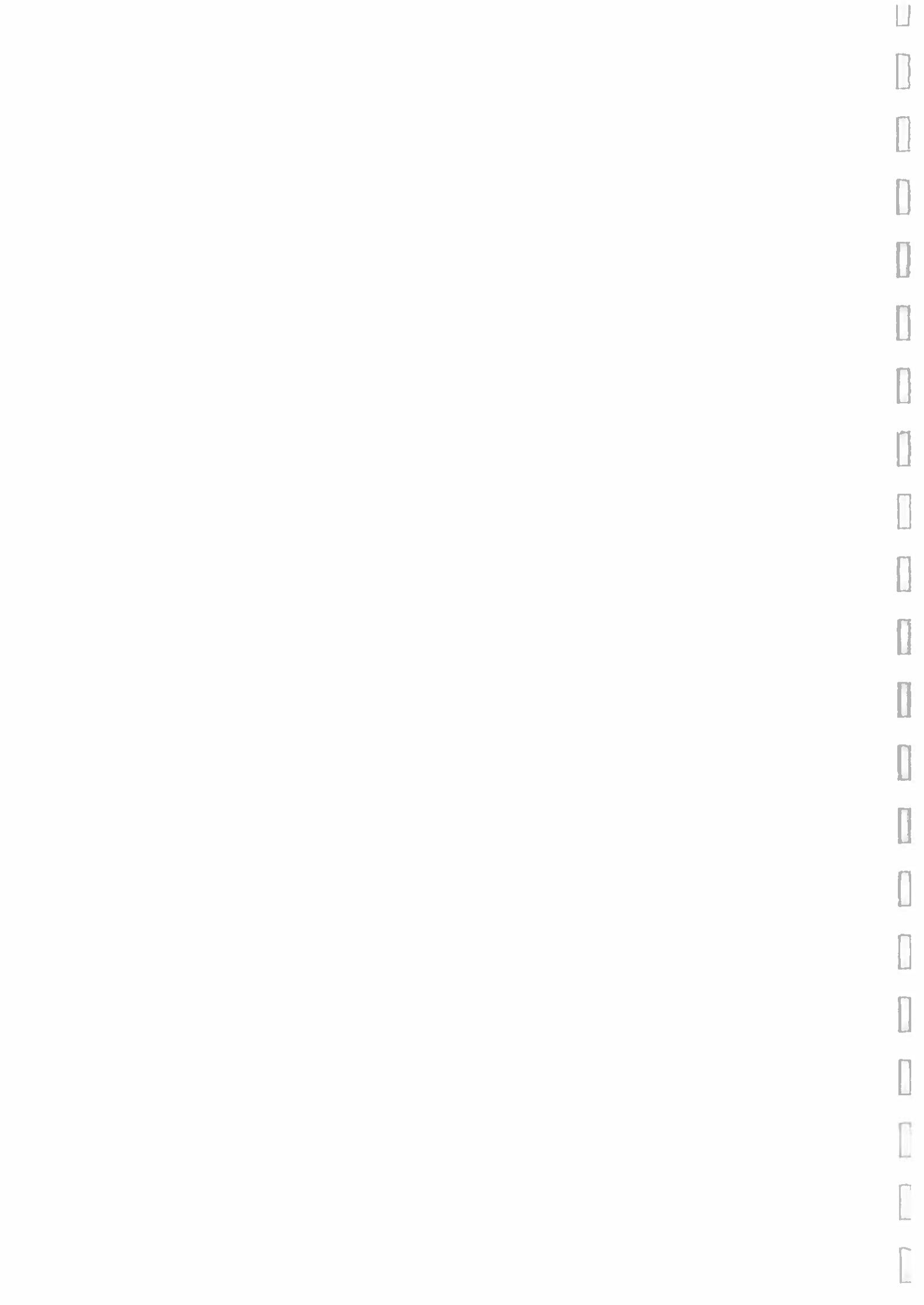
An issue that has been highlighted is the complexity of dating, and the rather arbitrary nature of Nash-Williams' classification and chronology. Nevertheless, as an interim statement this report, and the catalogues in the appendices, follow Nash-Williams' classification -

Group I	Inscribed stones	5th - 7th century
Group II	Cross-incised stones	7th - 9th century
Group III	Cross-slabs and high crosses	9th - 13th century

The SMR currently records 39 ECMs/possible ECMs in Ceredigion. Six of these are not recognised as early medieval by Edwards who has however identified three further stones which are not yet on the record, giving a revised total of 36. Nash-Williams' three groups appear to occur in more-or-less equal proportion in Ceredigion.

The greatest problem facing the EME project is the mobility of the stones. It is not possible to state categorically that *any* of them are *in situ*. Many stones were secondarily imported onto church sites during the historic period, but it is not always possible to say when. Some assistance is provided by antiquarian statements such as those of Edward Lhuyd, but these normally are late 17th century at the earliest.

Nancy Edwards notes furthermore that a significant number were discovered in the fabric of medieval churches during Victorian church restoration (Edwards 2001, 16). Nevertheless, in southwest Wales this fabric is primarily late-medieval, from the 14th-15th century, which may represent the date of the import. Even if they are *in situ*, or early imports, how many of them indicate a 'formal' ecclesiastical site, be it church or cemetery? Edwards considers that whilst significant number of monuments of all types functioned as symbols of landownership, either secular or by the church, most Group I and II ECMs were primarily commemorative (*ibid.*, 17). In the words of Edwards 'identifying the original locations of the monuments can help to identify many early cemetery and ecclesiastical sites' (*ibid.*). Most of Ceredigion's ECMs came to lie in association with developed ecclesiastical sites. Only three - at Llanllŷr Abbey, Strata Florida Abbey and Capel St Silin/Cribyn Gaer (Llanfihangel Ystrad) appear to have been associated with as yet unidentified cemeteries. The former two possibly lie beneath the respective post-Conquest monasteries. Recent geophysical survey at Llanllŷr revealed no conclusively archaeological features (Murphy 1999; Anon. 2000), see Section 4.2.2, but some supporting evidence for pre-Conquest origins at Strata Florida may be provided by a yew tree in the precinct (now St Mary's churchyard) which appears to have been already mature in 1370 when the poet Dafydd ap Gwilym is said to have been buried beneath it (Chater 1994, 63).



In Ceredigion, Group I ECMs are distributed across the county. The westerly bias seen in Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire, which has been associated with late-Roman/post-Roman settlement from Ireland (James 1987, 65), is not readily apparent. However, Edwards concludes that 70% of Group I ECMs in southwest Wales were associated with non-monastic church sites, suggesting that the ecclesiastical infrastructure, based on numerous churches serving small areas, was established at a very early date (Edwards 2001, 39). A 6th century developed cemetery is suggested at Llanddewi Brefi Church, and possibly at the churches of Henfynyw, Silian and Tregaron. The re-use of an early monument at the possible undeveloped cemetery at Maesllyn (Llangwryfon) suggests that the putative cist burial may well be pre-Conquest.

A number of Group I ECMs in north Wales are associated with round barrow re-use (see above), but demonstrable associations in southwest Wales are fewer. However, the probable burial sites at Dyffryn Bern (Penbryn) and Capel Whyl (Llanwenog), noted above, appear to represent round barrow re-use marked by Group I ECMs. Capel Whyl was a developed site that persisted into the post-Conquest period, suggesting a long history of burial.

Group II ECMs are predominantly found in southwest Wales, with a particular concentration in Ceredigion which does suggest Irish contacts (*ibid.*, 39). While some may indicate landownership, their occurrence suggests that the majority were commemorative grave markers denoting church/cemetery sites (*ibid.*), with a concentration at Llanddewi Brefi including one with an inscription that mentions St David by name, in the context of a sacred site. Two Group II ECMs also lay in association with the Group I stone at Tregaron. In the main, however, there is little overlap with Group I stones suggesting a wave of new foundations in the 7th-9th centuries, possibly including Llanllŷr Abbey where an inscription appears to record a grant of land, possibly for a cemetery. The three Group II-III stones at Llantrisant Church (Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn) may also suggest a *de novo* foundation.

Group III ECMs are mainly associated with the major churches and monasteries, and are visible symbols of prestige (*ibid.*). They occur on established sites and the important pair of Group III ECMs at Llanbadarn Fawr confirms the continued high status of the site into the early 12th century. The pair of Group III ECMs now in Llanddewi Aberarth Church may suggest monastic origins for this otherwise indeterminate site. One of the stones is a 'hogback' - the only one recorded in Wales - which may represent a burial in the 'Viking' tradition (and therefore Norse settlement within the area?). No Group III monuments appear to have been derived from 'open' sites - the provenance of the Maes Mynach stone is unknown, but it may have been derived from Capel St Silin/Cribyn Gaer.

4.1.6 Dedications and cults

The use of dedications in early medieval studies has been the subject of some controversy, largely arising from the rather uncritical work of E. G. Bowen (Bowen 1969; see Edwards and Lane 1992, 2). Nevertheless it is generally accepted that they can play a role in determining early church sites.

However, as Wendy Davies has pointed out, it is in many cases clear that dedications arose centuries after the supposed lifetime of a saint either because of the popularity of his cult, or through acquisition by a mother house (Davies 1982, 146). Without early evidence it is impossible to assign an early medieval date to a dedication. It has been noted above that in most cases, the documentation is post-Conquest at the earliest, but most medieval documents - such as the *Taxatio* of 1291 - list churches by place-name only, and contain very few dedications. The Welsh *Llan* - and *Eglwys* - place-names of course normally record their dedications, but it is not known for sure just how old these were even when recorded in the medieval period.

In certain cases it can be demonstrated that British dedications are secondary. For instance, the place-name Trefilan has given rise to a spurious 'St Ilan', but is probably derived from 'Tref-llan', and the cult venerated in the parish may in fact have been that of St Cyngar (Ó Riain 1994, 392).

The dedications of Cardiganshire have been subject to two recent thorough analyses, which it is not intended to repeat here (Ó Riain 1994; Cartwright 2001). However, attention must be drawn to the two dominant cults of Ceredigion, to St Padarn and St David. As noted above (Section 4.1), the church of Llanbadarn Fawr, with origins that may very well lie within the 6th century lifetime of St Padarn himself, lay at the head of an immense *patria* that may have embraced all of Cantref Uwch Aeron. The



three Padarn church dedications, Llanbadarn Fawr, Llanbadarn Odwyn and Llanbadarn Trefeglwys, all lie within the cantref, as does St Padarn's Well (Llanbadarn Fawr; Tirymynach). Nevertheless, the cult appears always to have been overshadowed by St David. The early centre of the *Dewi* cult, at least in Ceredigion, may have been at Henfynyw but was overshadowed by Llanddewi Brefi which as noted in Section 4.1, may have become the head of an equally large *patria*, occupying the southern half of Cantref Uwch Aeron, at the expense of Llanbadarn Fawr. It is probable that many of the Ceredigion *Dewi* churches were founded as daughters of both houses, and possibly Llanbadarn Fawr which appears to have recognised the archdiocesan status of St Davids. However, the concentration of *Dewi* churches along the lower Teifi valley, in Cantref Is Aeron, may have been due to the direct influence of St Davids itself. Similarly, the David dedication at Blaenpennal may be contemporary with its ?post-Conquest establishment as a grange chapel to the bishops.

Dedications to the favoured Latin cults of St Mary and St Michael were also made on both sides of the conquest. St Michael was always held in particular affection within Wales, particularly in southwest Wales where his dedications are more widespread than those to St Mary. A number of 'Llanfihangels' are noted elsewhere in Wales in pre-Conquest entries in the Llandaff Charters, one of them from the 8th century (Davies 1979, 106 no.167). The Michael dedication at Penbryn is quite possibly early medieval (Ó Riain 1994, 393), as they may be at Llanfihangel Rhostie and Llanfihangel Ystrad. The remaining six are probably later (but nb. see Ó Riain, *loc. cit.*, for an opposing view). Llanfair Clydogau parish church may occupy an early medieval site, but the remaining Mary dedications, as 'Llanfair' or otherwise, lack supporting evidence for pre-Conquest origins. The three dedications to St John the Baptist, at Ysbyty Cynfyn, Ysbyty Ystwyth and (Ysbyty) Ystrad Meurig are demonstrably post-Conquest (but possibly applied to an earlier site in at least one case). Ó Riain has suggested that the 'St John' venerated at Betws Ifan was St John the Apostle (*ibid.*, 392), and that the dedication could therefore be early; however, it occurs in conjunction with a post-Conquest, 'Betws' place-name element (see Section 4.6 below).

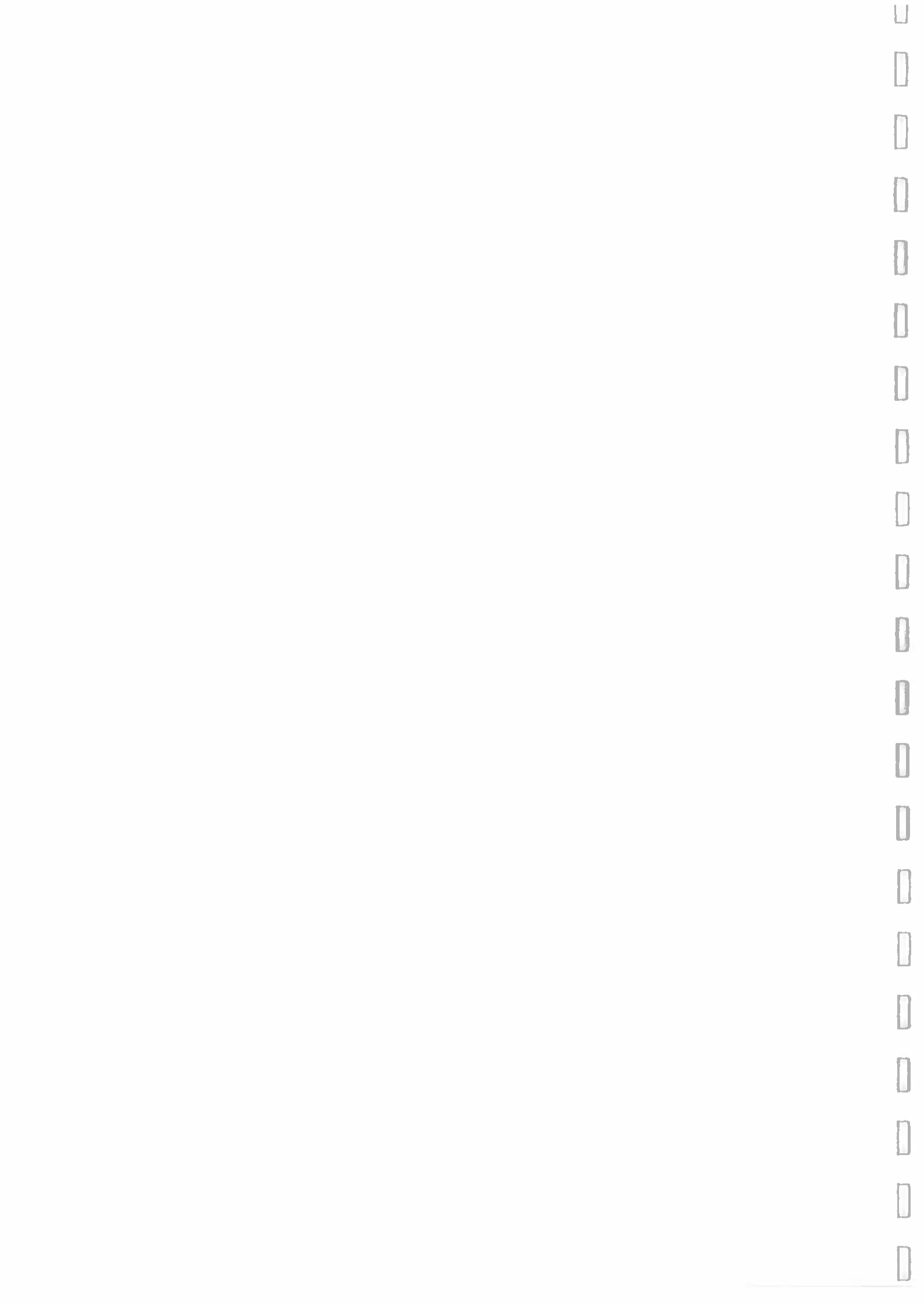
4.1.7 Ecclesiastical place-name evidence

The evidence from place-name elements is similarly problematical when applied to the pre-Conquest period. It has been seen above just how few locations are recorded in contemporary sources prior to the 12th century, so that in most cases the original form of a name is not known. Furthermore, the use of such 'defining' elements as *llan* could continue until the 20th century. This report largely follows the criteria suggested by Tomos Roberts (Roberts 1992, 41-44).

Latin loan-word elements

The use of Latin loan-word elements is fairly widespread in southwest Wales and appears to confirm the suggestion that, despite its primary, westerly influences, the Christianisation of the region resulted from missionary activity emerging from the east (Thomas 1994, 89-93). However, their usage in Ceredigion is restricted. For example the *merthyr* element, derived from the Latin 'martyrium' and probably denoting a cemetery that developed around a martyr's grave (Roberts 1992, 42), has not been recorded in Ceredigion.

The *eglwys* element, derived from the Latin 'ecclesia' (church), is generally widespread in southwest Wales. However, it is similarly near-absent in Ceredigion. It is only used twice in a medieval context, at Llanbadarn Trefeglwys Church, recorded as 'Treneglwys' in 1291 (Record Commission 1802, 272) and at the 'lost' Capel Bryneglwys, Llanwenog parish, where it appears to be a late suffix. The remainder of *Eglwys*- names apply to post-medieval sites. *Mynwent* or cemetery, a post-medieval borrowing from the Latin 'monumentum', is again uncommon in Ceredigion but at one site, Mynwent Fach in Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn, may record a ?pre-existing cist cemetery. The loan-word *capel* (from 'capella' or chapel) is more widespread in Ceredigion and occurs, as Roberts suggests, either as post-medieval or undated usage (Roberts 1992, 43), but may well have been applied to earlier sites such as Capel St Silin, Llanfihangel Ystrad parish. The element *myfyr* (from the Latin 'memoria') does not seem to have been borrowed in southwest Wales.



English loan-word elements

It has been suggested that *betws* is a later post-Conquest borrowing from the Saxon 'bed-hus', but Roberts has noted that it does not appear to occur in England (Roberts 1992, 44), whilst it is uncertain precisely what institution 'bed-hus' relates to ('bede-house' - oratory?, field-chapel?). It has restricted occurrence in Ceredigion, but occurs at three parish churches, Betws Bledrws, Betws Ifan and Betws Leucu, all of which may have late- or post-medieval origins.

Welsh elements

The most common Welsh place-name element is *llan* which, from its origins denoting any kind of land, became restricted to enclosed land (Roberts 1992, 43). Its ecclesiastical usage is widespread, but it is normally applied to an enclosed, developed cemetery ie. a churchyard. Roberts suggests that at some sites it may have supplanted other ecclesiastical elements such as *merthyr* and *betws*, but this appears to be at odds with the late usage of the latter element suggested by Roberts (*ibid.*, 44).

Although *llan-* has been applied to new sites throughout the historic period (eg. Llangorwen, see Section 4.5), its pre- and early post-Conquest usage is recorded at a number of sites in southwest Wales including Llanbadarn Fawr, Llanddewi Brefi and possibly Llanwenog in Ceredigion. Most of the county's more convincing early sites have *Llan-* names.

The element *bedd* or *beddau* ('graves') is widespread, and like *fynwent* appears often to relate to possible early medieval undeveloped cemeteries. However, it is applied to inhumations of all periods and is also encountered at bronze age burial sites, and post-medieval cemeteries. The use of *noddfa* and *clas* is more precise, as described above, but they are both uncommon elements. However, they can (like the more general *sanctaid*, 'holy') be encountered as field-name elements. *Ty-gwyn* and *maes-gwyn* ('white house', 'white field') are, from time-to-time, suggested as denoting lost ecclesiastical sites but there is very little evidence to substantiate this interpretation.

4.1.8 Topographic evidence

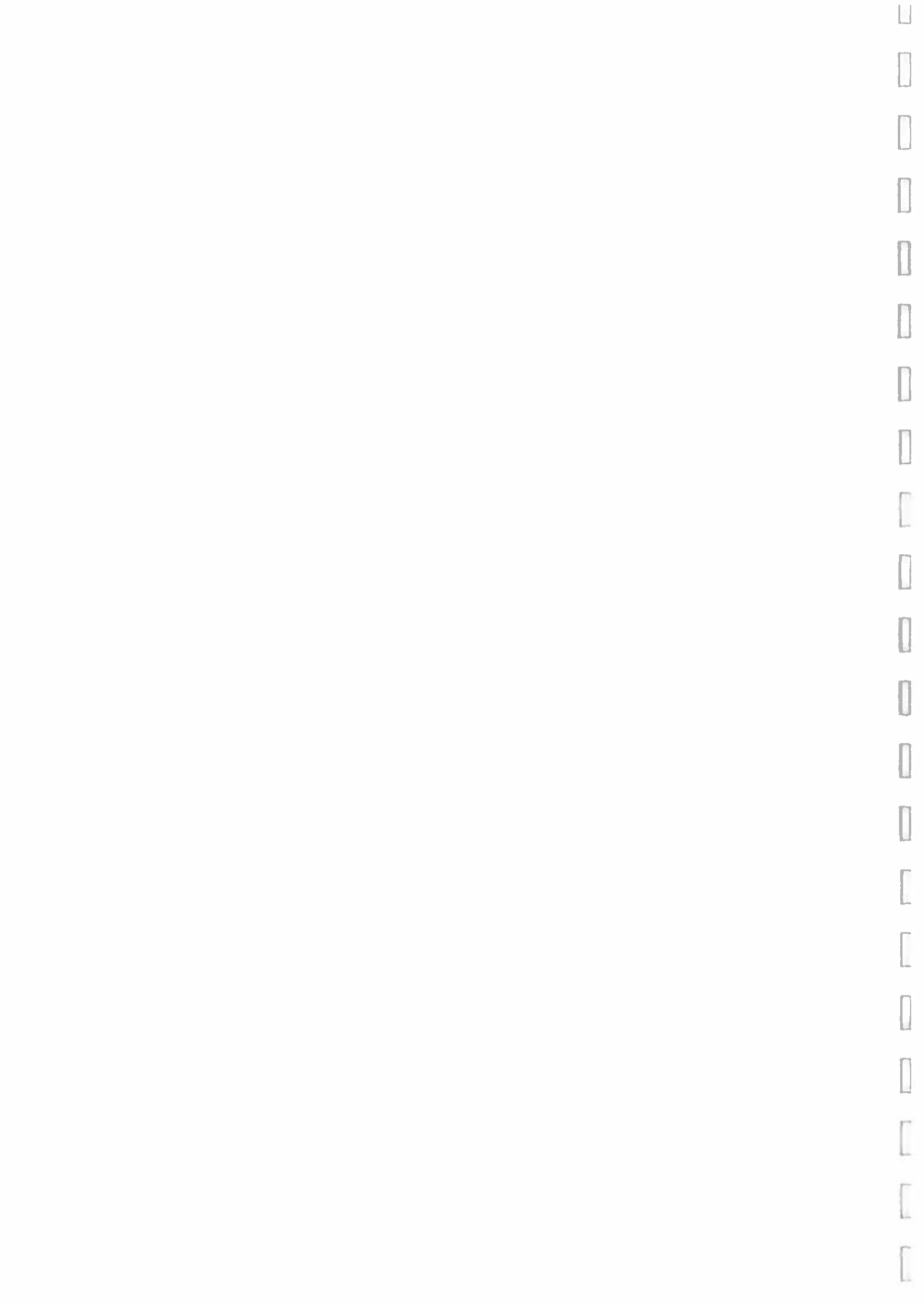
There is generally little evidence that Ceredigion's churches have been relocated, either during the pre- or post-Conquest periods. There are exceptions; for instance most of Llandysul's chapels-of-ease were refounded on virgin sites in the 19th century. However, in general the very location of its churches may be among the best evidence for early ecclesiastical activity - and continuity - in Ceredigion.

Topographic location

Topographic location has long been subject to discussion in relation to church dating. However, as has been pointed out by E. G. Bowen, well-evidenced early church sites can occupy a number of site-categories (Bowen 1969, 225).

As a criterion topography may then have limited value. While a number of well-evidenced early sites in southwest Wales, and most cist-cemeteries and Group I ECMs, have a coastal (or even island) location, a number of documented early sites in southwest Wales are situated well inland, for instance Llanddewi Brefi in Ceredigion. Elevation and relief may have had a role - a large number of sites are situated on hill-slopes or spurs - but then the relief of Wales, as in other western regions, would tend naturally to dictate this, while Llanbadarn Fawr and Llanddewi Brefi, which appear not to have been relocated, occupy valley floors.

For various reasons, not all now tenable, Bowen did favour valley-head sites (*ibid.*). It may be incidental that such sites tend to occur on spring-lines. The association between some early church sites and springs/wells, still regarded as significant (Edwards 1996, 58-9), can be clearly demonstrated only at a limited number of sites in Ceredigion. For example, of the Grade A-B sites, only two are associated with 'holy' wells, at Llangranog and Llanwenog. 'Holy' wells have been amply discussed by Francis Jones who regarded the majority as a Christianisation of pagan sites (Jones 1954, 26-7) - with the implication that early church distribution was at least partly dictated by the distribution of such wells and springs. But the holy-well cult, once established, took hold and developed. It was already flourishing by the 12th century when the poet Gwynfardd Brycheiniog, in his '*Canu y Dewi*' ('Song to



David'), singled out the 'Dewi' wells - few of which can now be identified with certainty - for their cures (Lewis 1931, 43-52). However in southwest Wales it appears to have reached its peak on the eve of the Reformation, to judge from the evidence of George Owen (Owen 1897, 509). Many springs/wells may have received their dedications during the intervening centuries. Nevertheless, the EME project has included all wells within 200m of ecclesiastical sites as significant.

Paired sites, proximity and intervisibility

Church location may have been partly dictated by - or has given rise to - secular settlement patterns. Following the observations of John Lewis, Heather James has identified a number of Ceredigion sites that occur in close proximity to iron age defended enclosures (James 1994, 403-5), perhaps suggesting continued secular use (or re-use) of these enclosures into the early medieval period. They include Llanbadarn Trefeglwys where the large, circular churchyard lies near a larger cropmark enclosure of similar form, and Nantcwnlle, where the oval churchyard lies on the opposite side of a narrow valley from, and facing, the hillfort of Pen-y-gaer (*ibid.*) In addition, James has argued that such proximity may also indicate iron age origins for some of these churchyards, reflecting close associations observed at a number of enclosure sites within west Wales, for instance at Dan-y-coed and Woodside Camps near Llawhaden (James 1994, 405). Such 'paired sites' may be a product of native systems of partible inheritance and James suggests that the cemetery sites may have become kin burial grounds through gift or the presence of a founder's grave (*ibid.*). The EME project in Ceredigion has recorded few more ecclesiastical sites in close proximity to iron age enclosures, in contrast to Pembrokeshire where they are frequently associated. Many Ceredigion churches are associated with medieval castles, of either Welsh or Anglo-Norman construction. None of these, however, can be identified as re-used iron age enclosures, or early medieval *llys* sites.

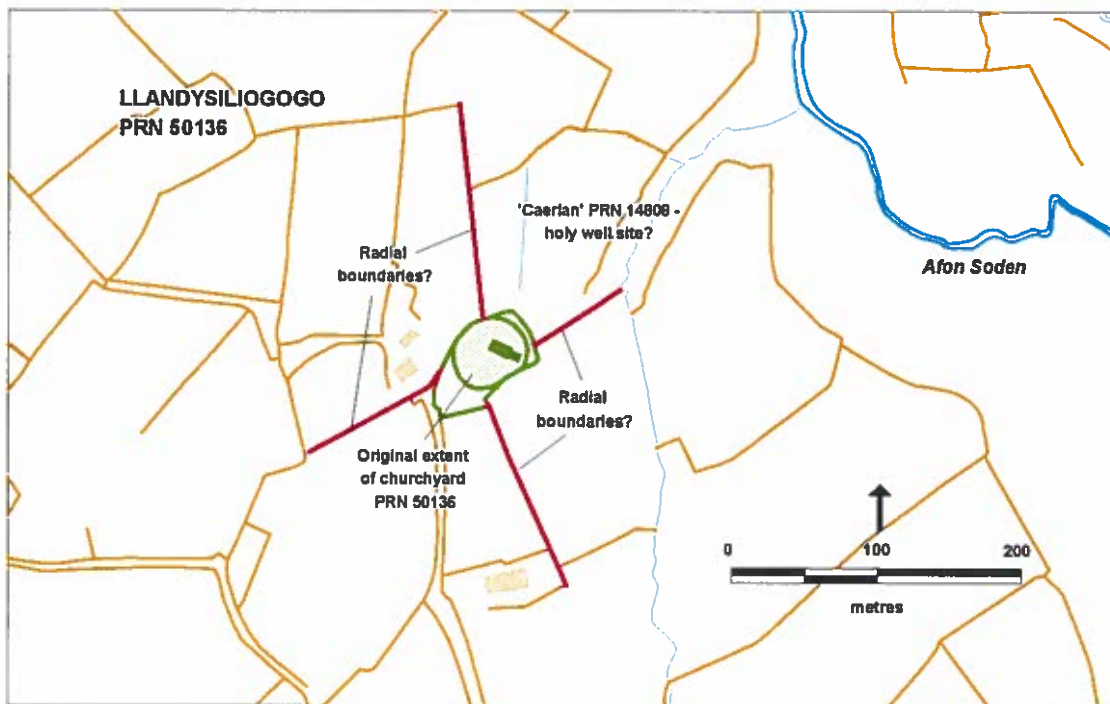
The proximity of a number of sites to the Roman fort and road network was noted above in Section 4.1.4. Proximity and intervisibility may have a role in prospecting for other re-use sites. They are an important consideration in the interpretation of prehistoric ritual/funerary sites, which were often deliberately sited to exploit intervisibility (see the Cadw Prehistoric Ritual and Funerary Sites Project). A number of churches in Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire lie in prominent locations intervisible with, but distant from, equally prominent round barrows, which may argue for their origins as re-used bronze age sites. The phenomenon has so far not been convincingly noted in Ceredigion.

Landscape morphology

The EME project included an assessment of the relationship between churchyards and the surrounding landscape. Ceredigion's rural churches normally appear to be the primary physical element of the landscape and if not actually axial to field boundaries and routeways, are normally respected by them. However, few of them are integrated with their landscapes in the overt manner that is seen in Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire. An exception is Llandysiliogogo, which is axial to a possible radial boundary system which may be early, possibly even contemporary with the early churchyard (Fig. 9). Moreover, in many parts of the county, the present settlement and enclosure pattern is late, often post-medieval in origin. In other areas, the pattern of dispersed settlement and irregular enclosure is earlier, some of it possibly late medieval; a small number of churchyards lie within informal enclosure systems derived from Welsh tenure, which they can be seen to pre-date. It must always be borne in mind, however, that churchyard boundaries, far from being static, change through time and may be the remnant of much larger enclosures or, in Ceredigion, may be very late.



Fig. 9 - churchyard and landscape at Llandysiliogogo



The influence of Ceredigion's rural churches on settlement and nucleation as it developed through the medieval period has been slight, even in the Anglicised areas. Most churches are not only rural, but often inaccessible and far from centres of habitation either past or present. Few appear to be associated with medieval deserted settlements, although bond settlements have been suggested at Bangor Teifi, Llanbadarn Odwyn, Llanfair Orllwyn, Llanfihangel Rhostie and Llangynllo (Dodgshon 1994, 354). All these factors argue for early origins at many sites.



4.2 Results from Stage 2

Stage 2 of the project comprised analysis of aerial photographs (APs) of all sites with potential early medieval ecclesiastical origins that emerged from Stage 1, selective tithe map consultation for field names, and selective field visits in order to assess their nature, extent, condition, archaeological potential, threats and value.

Budgetary realism meant that only the 1955 Meridian Airmaps, held by Cambria Archaeology, were analysed, supplemented with DAT oblique aerial photographs and the website www.old-maps.co.uk where coverage was missing, and that tithe maps were only consulted for field names where a site could be pinned down to a specific area. However, a substantial number of sites in the county lacked adequate AP coverage.

Field visits were made to 24 of the 61 sites arising from Stage 1. Many of the 61 sites were represented by practising churchyards and, with a few exceptions, sites that were visited during the pan-Wales Cadw Historic Churches Survey (1995-98) were not re-visited.

As a result of this Stage 2 work, the list of 61 sites was amended and refined to a list of 54 sites, as follows -

	<u>2004</u>	<u>(2002)</u>
▪ Grade A sites (high probability)	6	(9)
▪ Grade B sites (medium probability)	11	(13)
▪ Grade C sites (low probability)	11	(12)
▪ Grade D sites (possible sites)	26	(27)

In addition -

▪ Early Christian Monuments (ECMs)	35	(39)
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See Section 2.2 for a full list of these sites and monuments.

The Stage 2 assessment involved a thorough rationalisation of these records. In many cases, new Primary Record Numbers (PRNs) were given to the potential early medieval phases of eg. church and chapel sites, while further PRNs were given to sites newly identified during the course of the project. In other cases, records were deleted when found to be invalid for any reason. For instance, 'Celtic dedication' was considered invalid as a site type and the record of the dedication was merged with the site PRN.

ECMs were not visited having been subject to a recent re-assessment by Dr Nancy Edwards, John Lewis and Dr Mark Redknap (Edwards forthcoming), from which separate management recommendations will arise. However, baseline information from this re-assessment was added to both the database and report, and basic recommendations have been made.

The main outcome from Stage 2 has been the enhancement and refinement of both the SMR and the schedule, with the formulation of management strategies, scheduling priorities and recommendations for future archaeological investigation.

In addition, a large number of new sites and features were identified. Full descriptions of all sites and features are included in the gazetteer which forms Part 2 of this report. A number of these sites are illustrated by plans which are sketch only, and not to be scaled from. The main new findings are summarised below.



4.2.2 Church/chapel/cemetery sites possibly located in 2003

Stage 2 identified physical evidence possibly relating to recorded, but hitherto unidentified sites.

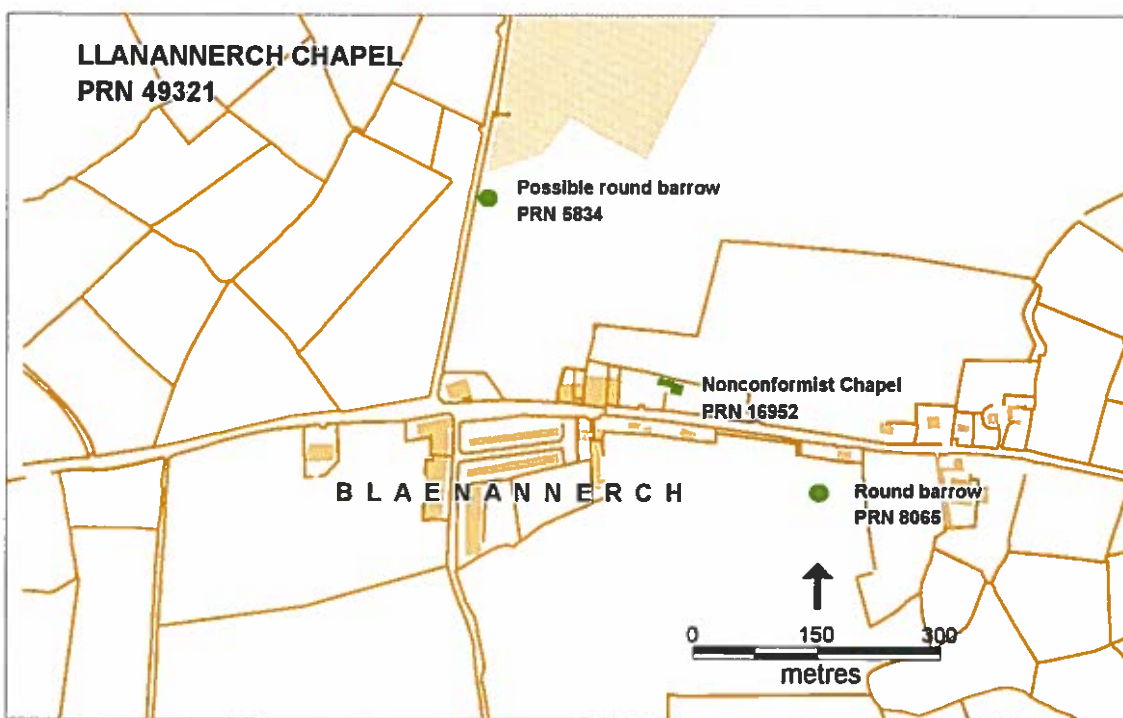
Among the more important of these sites is the former chapel site at Llangorwen. This was a chapelry to Llanbadarn Fawr, which had gone by 1800; a new church, dedicated to All Saints and the head of a new parish of Llangorwen, was established on a de novo site, c.75m to the south, in 1841. The medieval chapel may have early origins. The 'Life of St Padarn' ('Vita Sancti Paterni'), compiled in the late 11th century, locates Padarn's 'cell' within an area that was subject to a 7th century land-grant to Padarn, by King Maelgwn. This area lay 'north of the Afon Rheidol and south of the Afon Clarach' (Thomas 2003, 97-99). The author calls the cell 'ecclesia media Crucis Agiae', or '(middle) church of the holy cross' (*ibid.*). There are several candidates for this site, of which Llangorwen may be one (*ibid.*). It has been suggested that the 'Gorwen' element may be derived from the name of Padarn's holy staff – 'Cyrwen' (Wmffre 1998). *Llangorwen* is directly on the limit of Padarn's land-grant and 'one can envisage the placing of an emblem (such as an image of a holy relic) of a particular church on the boundary of its lands' (*ibid.*). In addition, during construction of the 19th century church, an urn containing human bone was encountered, and more urns were found during grave-digging, in an area 'blackened by fire' (Briggs 1994, 198). This cremation cemetery may have extended over a wider area, suggesting that the medieval chapel represents a re-used bronze age funerary site. The site lies on the floor of Dyffryn Clarach, on the edge of the Afon Clarach floodplain. There is possible earthwork evidence for both the chapel and the associated medieval settlement, called 'Cronwern(ew)' in the sources. A subrectangular hollow lies in the field immediately north of the present church, measuring approx. 20m E-W and 10m N-S, and very pronounced on the north and west sides, the north side possibly also represented by a low bank (Fig. 11). It may at least represent the post-Conquest chapel site. Further, amorphous earthworks to the north may be associated with the medieval settlement. Unfortunately no good-quality aerial photographs were available for this site.

Fig. 11 - Llangorwen PRN 50144: earthwork bank and hollow from the WSW



The medieval chapelry of Llanannerch, which occupied Penbryn parish (now in Aberporth) was listed as a 'portionary' church in the 'Taxatio' of 1291. Earlier, in c.1200, a 'portion' of the church had been granted - possibly as 'the chapel of the sons of Ithael' - to Talley Abbey (Owen 1894, 42). In 1291, one portion belonged to Talley Abbey (the other(s) still being in the hands of the kinsmen of Ithael?). It appears to have been regarded as an important site and it gave its name to the surrounding 'gwestfa', recorded in 1303 (Dodgshon 1994, 347). It had gone by 1833 when no physical evidence was apparent (Lewis 1833). The location of this important site is not known, but it presumably lay within the present hamlet of Blaenannerch where it is shown on William Rees' map (Rees 1932). It does not appear on Saxton's map of 1578. The hamlet features two possible potential sites. One of these is the non-Conformist Blaenannerch Chapel, which was first built in 1794 (according to the datestone); it was by far from unknown for dissenters to build within pre-existing ecclesiastical sites. It may be significant that it occupies the highest point locally within the general coastal plateau. The present chapel-yard is entirely 19th century and forms a regular rectangle, partly defined by low, modern hedgebanks, but is slightly raised above its surroundings suggesting a long history of burial (Fig. 13). However, a bronze age round barrow lies 300m ESE of the chapel, in a greenfield location on the eastern edge of the hamlet and it, or its immediate environs, may represent a potential site for the chapel and the early medieval re-use of a prehistoric funerary site.

Fig. 13 - Aberporth, Llanannerch Chapel PRN 49321: sketch plan of area showing sites mentioned in the text

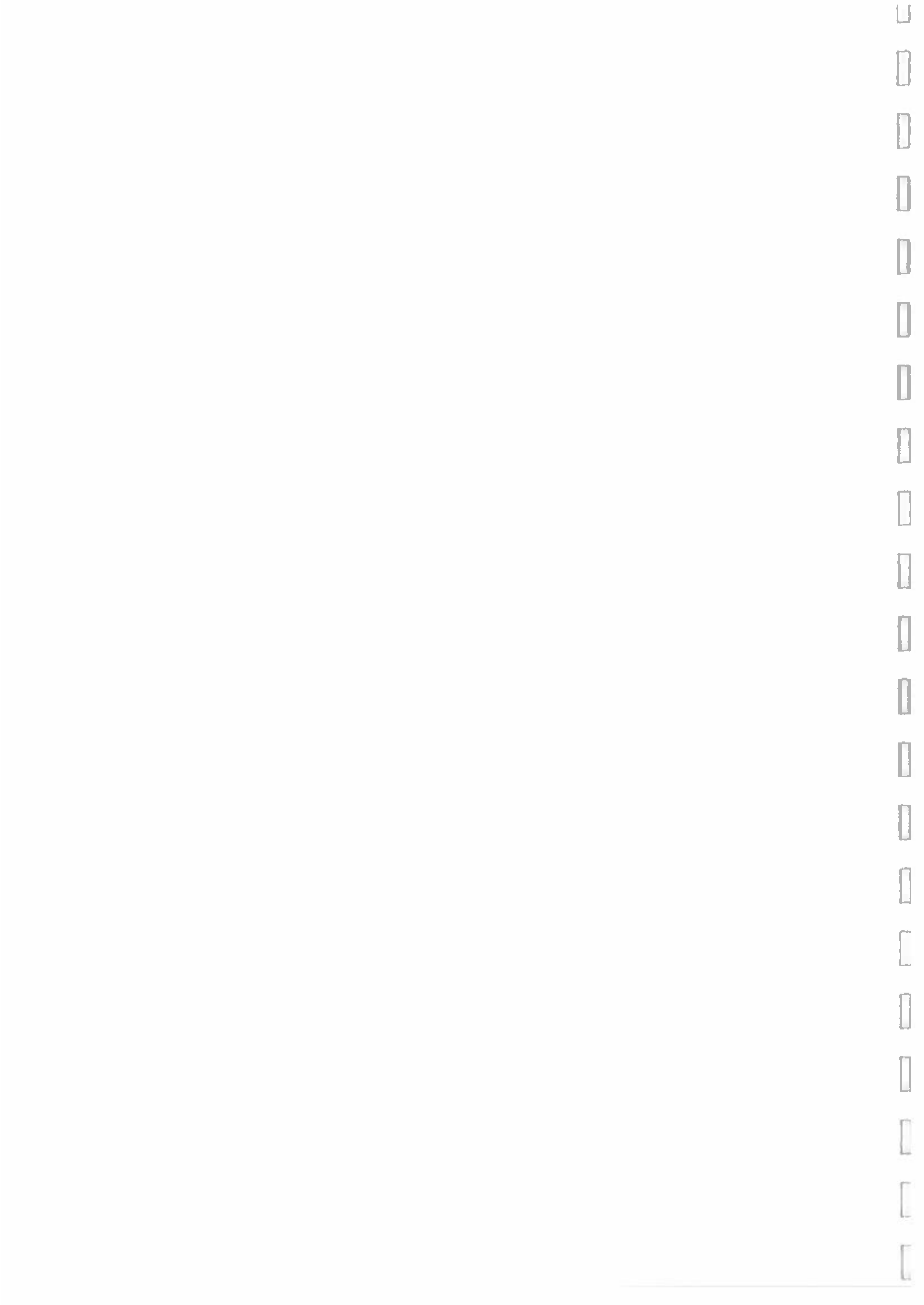


There were formerly six medieval chapels-of-ease to Llandysul parish. One of these was dedicated to St Winifred – possibly a corruption of St Gwenfrewi (Ó Riain 1994, 383). It was in ruins by the early 19th century (Lewis 1833); there is now no physical evidence for the building and its precise location is unknown. However, it was also known as 'Capel Faerdre' and is associated with a 'Maerdref' place-name – preserved at the present farms of Faerdre Fawr and Faerdre Fach (Fig. 14) – which was presumably associated with the maerdref of Cwmwd Gwynionydd, the caput of which may have been located within the (re-used?) iron age hillfort of Castell Gwynionydd lying between the two farms. Early medieval secular re-use has also been suggested at this hillfort. William Rees (1932) marks the chapel – which was also a grange chapel to Talley Abbey, belonging to Faerdre Grange (Owen 1893, 41) – as occupying the site of Faerdre Fawr, presumably on the grounds of the 'fawr' place-name element. However, its precise location is unknown. The tithe schedule of Llandysul parish, from 1841, omits individual fields and their names, and no evidence for a chapel is visible in the vicinity of this farm on aerial photographs. It may have occupied the site of the farm itself, which was presumably the

grange nucleus. However, at least two other possible locations for the chapel present themselves. One is the Cae'r Garreg standing stone, which may have provided the focus for an early medieval cemetery which then developed into a chapel site. The other is Castell Gwynionydd itself, which may not have been re-used as a castle, but may have been a cemetery/chapel site. A third possibility is suggested by aerial photographs, which appear to show a rectangular cropmark enclosure just south of Faerdre Fach Farm (Meridian Airmaps 1955, 240-240, 34855-34858). However, it is very large – at 100m E-W by 50m N-S it is rather too large to be churchyard, particularly one associated with a chapel, while the surrounding cropmark ?ditch (with a possible entrance on its south side) appears to be very wide. Nevertheless, it could be a re-use site (ie. a possible Romano-British enclosure). Early medieval associations may be further indicated by the cross-carved stone, of possible 7th – 11th century date but of uncertain function, now in Llandysul parish church. The stone was said by George Eyre Evans to have been recovered from the parish churchyard. However, Hughes and Jenkins (1967, 428) – significantly - suggested that it had been found 'on the slopes below Coed Foel', a wooded area that lies between Faerdre Fawr and Faerdre Fach. This provenance has been dismissed by Dr Nancy Edwards, who opts for Evans' account (Edwards forthcoming). However, the possibility exists that it may have come from the St Winifred's Chapel site.

Fig. 14 - Llandysul, St Winifred's Chapel PRN 12693: aerial photograph showing cropmark (left of centre), etc.





4.2.3 New outer enclosures

Possible curvilinear outer enclosures have been noted, on aerial photographs and maps, at a small number of new sites.

The most convincing of these is at Cellan, where the parish church of All Saints was listed as 'Lankenlan', in the 'Taxatio' of 1291, probably reflecting an original 'Celtic' dedication to St Callwen, ie. as 'Llancallwen' (O Riain 1994). The small, subcircular churchyard, which occupies a slight terrace projecting into the Teifi floodplain, is markedly raised and may overlie a re-used bronze age round barrow. It is now nuclear to an informal system of boundaries. However, aerial photographs (Meridian Airmaps 1955, 260-240, 12793-4) appear to clearly show a large, circular enclosure, concentric about the churchyard, marked by field boundaries, slight earthworks and cropmarks (Fig. 15). This possible outer enclosure has a diameter of approx. 170m, but cannot be traced immediately north of the churchyard.

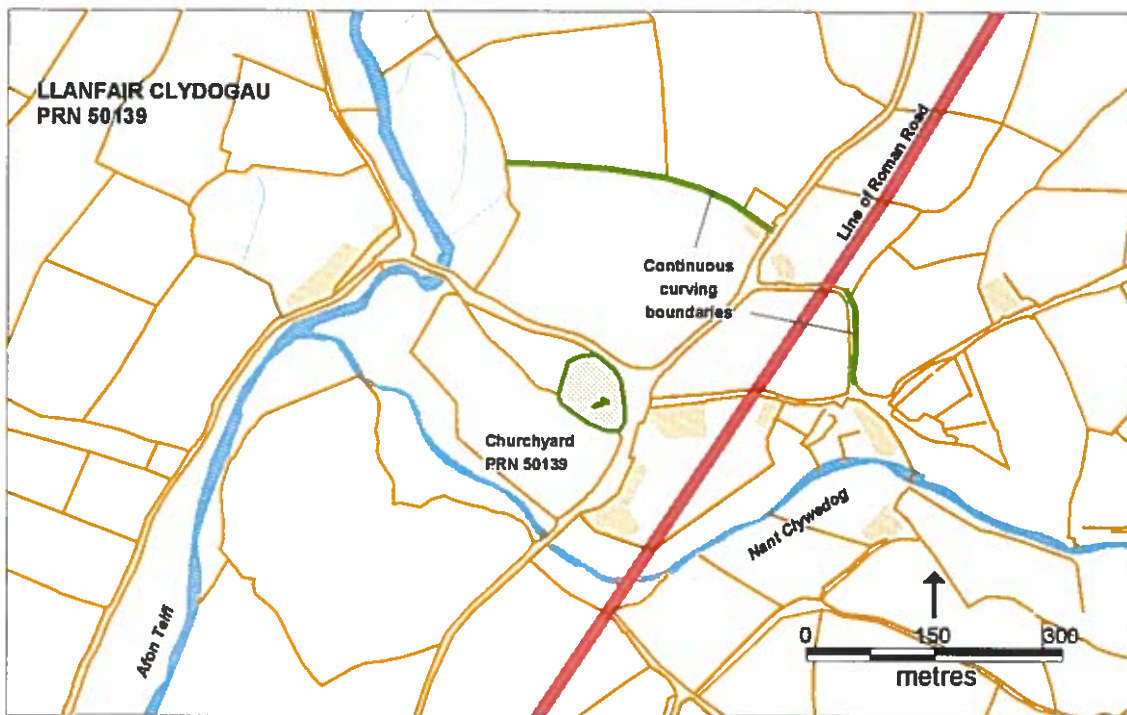
Fig. 15 - Cellan PRN 49234: aerial photograph of churchyard (centre) showing cropmarks to the south (bottom), and continuous boundaries to the northeast and west



Less convincing are the possible enclosures at Llanfair Clydogau and Llanilar, the latter being very doubtful. The church at Llanfair Clydogau was largely rebuilt in 1886-8. The large, oval churchyard occupies the Afon Teifi floodplain near its confluence with Nant Clywedog, a tributary. It measures 95m N-S x 75m E-W and is significantly raised above its environs. The line of the Teifi Valley Roman road runs just 100m beyond its eastern boundary. A large outer enclosure, measuring 450m in diameter, may be suggested by a curving boundary, a trackway and the line of the Nant Clywedog (Fig. 16), but is rather doubtful; its boundary lies close to three cropmark features but these may represent former loops of the Teifi. The Latin 'Mary' dedication can occur in pre-Conquest contexts.



Fig. 16 - Llanfair Clydogau PRN 50139: sketch plan of churchyard and doubtful outer enclosure



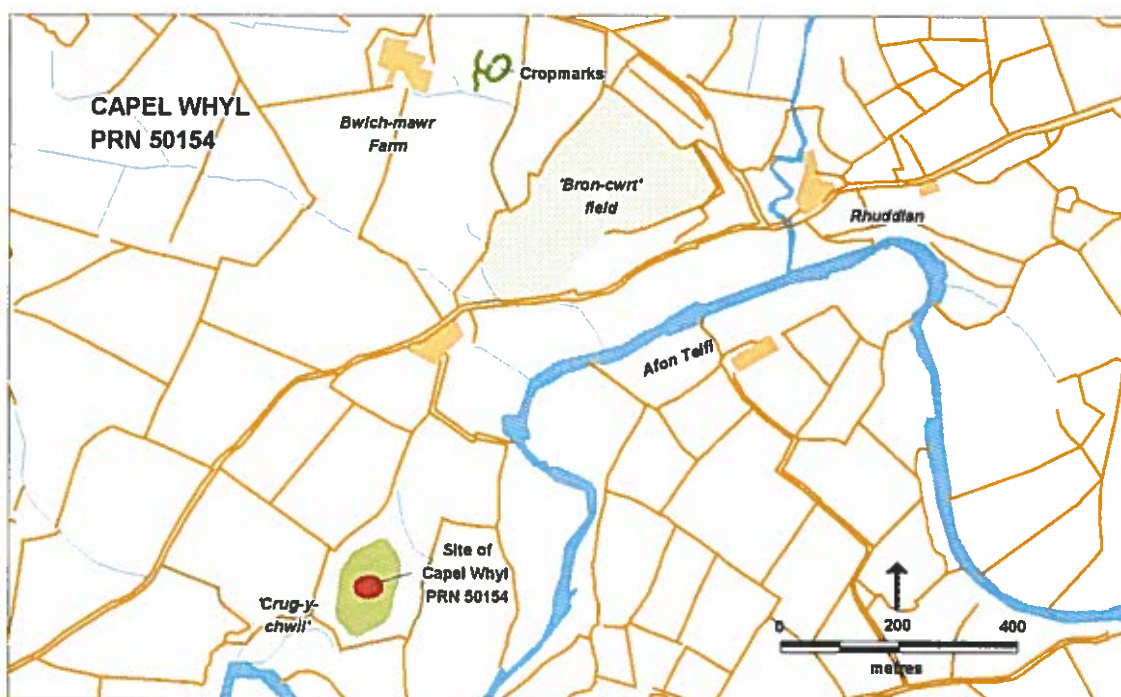


4.2.4 Other evidence

Recent work has also supported evidence from previously known sites.

Capel Whyl, one of the four chapels-of-ease to Llanwenog parish, was still standing in 1796, when it was 'destroyed' (Meyrick 1810, 187-192), and now lacks any above-ground evidence. The site occupies the summit of a pronounced, natural mound or knoll in the Teifi floodplain (Fig. 17), probably glacial, called 'Crug-y-chwil' (Meyrick 1810, 187; Cooper 2001). During the post-Conquest period, Capel Whyl was the grange chapel of Rhuddlan Deifi Grange. The grange formed part of the foundation grant of the Premonstratensian Talley Abbey by the 'Lord' Rhys ap Gruffudd in the 1180s. Rhuddlan is mentioned in the 'Mabinogion', as the 'Court of Pryderi' (Jones and Jones 1949, 48), and appears to represent a pre-Conquest, high-status secular estate, belonging to the Princes of Deheubarth, by whom it was later granted to the favourite monastic house. The grange was acquired by the Cistercian Whitland Abbey in c.1200, at Talley's expense (Owen 1893). When demolished in 1796, the fabric of the chapel, which was built on a 'cairn', was found to contain a 5th-6th century Group I ECM (Edwards forthcoming). This 'cairn' may have been a bronze age round barrow, which the ECM suggests was re-used as an early cemetery that was later developed, with the addition of a chapel, and persisted into the post-Conquest period suggesting a long history of burial. Its continuing high status is suggested by its donation, by a powerful Welsh prince, to his personal monastic foundation. The grange nucleus was probably c.600m to the north, where recent geophysical survey by Lampeter University students – in a field named 'Bron-cwrt' – has identified possible buried features (nb. also possible cropmarks immediately to the west. Does the site represent the early medieval estate core or 'llys', represented as the 'Court of Pryderi' in the Mabinogion?

Fig. 17 - Llanwenog, Capel Whyl PRN 50154: sketch plan of area showing sites mentioned in the text



Henfynyw parish church has long been claimed to represent the original site of St David's monastery. This has recently been validated by Charles Thomas (Thomas 2003, 89-92). Henfynyw (cf. Giraldus' 'Hen-meneu') can be translated into *Vetus Rubus* in Latin, and the site has been convincingly argued as the 'Vetus Rubus' which was claimed, in Rhigyfarch's late 11th century 'Life of St David' (O Riain 1994, 374), to be the original site of the monastery of St David, suggesting that the Group I-II ECM from the church is +/- *in situ* (Edwards forthcoming). The site occupies a coastal plateau location, 900m from the sea and just over 1km south of the natural harbour at Aberaeron. After St David's community moved to Pembrokeshire, taking the 'Mynyw' name-element with them for the new site,



Henfynyw was overshadowed as a 'Dewi' cult centre by Llanddewi Brefi. The large, regular rectangular churchyard is post-medieval in its present form and was remodelled in the 19th century, being integrated with the contemporary enclosure pattern. However, it may lie within a (very doubtful) former large, irregular outer enclosure, containing 'Ty'n-y-porth' and 'Maes-llan' place-names. Charles Thomas also argues that Henllan parish church was the 'Linhenlann' mentioned in Rhigyfarch's late 11th century 'Life of St David' (Thomas 2003, 89), when the 'Hen Llan' element suggests that it was already an 'old' church site. The large, circular churchyard, 45m in diameter, was extended too the north in the 19th century. It occupies the Teifi floodplain and is therefore not likely to have origins as an iron age defended enclosure. It lies 300m W of a large iron age hillfort PRN 2341 but the relationship between the two, if any, is unknown.

A church at Llanganog is suggested in an entry in the *Life of St Carannog*, which has been dated to the early 12th century (Davies 1982, 208), therefore pre-dating the main spread of Anglo-Norman influence in the area. It has been suggested that the entry signifies that Llangranog already existed as a cult centre (Ó Riain 1994, 384), not necessarily monastic but presumably - but by no means certainly - on the site of the present church. There is a considerable body of circumstantial evidence to support an early origin for the present church site, including its coastal harbourside location. The tradition that a stone - the 'Judgement stone' - apparently stood near the church, but was moved away in the 19th century (Evans 1903, 77), may refer to the presence of a boundary stone (defining ecclesiastical ownership, or consecrated ground +/- or sanctuary), if not an Early Christian Monument. The use of such boundary stones normally suggests an early context and, in turn, it may have been a re-used bronze age standing stone. Another tradition had it that a 'religious house' called *Llety Carannog*, once stood at the northwest corner of Llangranog churchyard (Evans 1903, 77). The name is suggestive and may imply the presence of a second ecclesiastical structure within the churchyard. In Wales, this is seen as suggestive of early origins, possibly suggesting the presence of a *capel-y-bedd* or *cell-y-bedd*. The church stands within 50m of the former 'holy' well (properly a spring) called *Ffynnon Fair*, ie. 'St Mary's Well'; however there appears to be no recorded association between this well and the cult of St Carannog, and no traditions of curative powers or miraculous properties appear to have surrounded it.

Llandysul parish church lies at the head of a large parish with at least six late medieval chapels-of-ease. These may be argued to represent chapelries associated with six *trefi*, and therefore possibly corresponding to Jones' model of a 'multiple estate' (Jones 1972, 281-382). However, until the later medieval period the parish was larger still, and may represent the rump of a much larger *parochium*. This cluster of chapels - paralleled at St Davids and Nevers (Pemb.) - may then suggest that it was a pilgrimage centre. Perhaps significantly in this connection, it is central to the small town of Llandysul, which appears to have been a planned, medieval settlement, but was never a borough.

Stage 2 of the project attempted to identify new cemetery/church sites from the distribution of ECMs of known provenance, but from sites with no surviving above-ground evidence. This process was highly productive in Pembrokeshire (Ludlow 2002-3) where a combination of ECM findspots, aerial photograph analysis, place-name evidence and fieldwork produced 18 possible sites, 9 of which were entirely new.

In contrast, no entirely new sites were identified from ECM findspots in Ceredigion. However, attention must again be drawn to the presence of a Group I-III ECM at Strata Florida Abbey, which may indicate early medieval origins for this site (see Sections 4.1.4 and 4.1.5 for this and the following sites). In addition, the inscription on the Llanllŷr Abbey Group II ECM also suggests early medieval origins. The Dyffryn Bern Stone (Penbryn) marks a multi-period funerary site. The Maesllyn Stone (Llangwryfon) was thought to be re-used as the lintel stone of an undated cists, while the Group II ECM from the Cribyn Gaer area (Llanfihangel Ystrad) indicates the presence of a funerary site nearby.



5.0 RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Scheduling

Detailed threat assessments, scheduling recommendations and management recommendations for individual sites are included as a separate section of this report (Part 3, 'Management Recommendations'). A brief overview of some of the issues is provided here.

The 'fixed' early medieval ecclesiastical resource exists, from the point of view of curation, in three main forms -

- Scheduled sites 2 sites (from 54 sites), including 1 guardianship site
- Church in Wales managed sites 37 sites (from 54 sites)
- The remaining 15 sites are not protected and normally in private hands.

In addition, there are the 35 potentially mobile ECMs, 13 of which are scheduled. Many of these, scheduled or otherwise, are not *in situ* and form part of off-site collections. However, the Dyffryn Bern Stone (Penbryn), and the stones at Llantrisant churchyard (Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn), are *in situ* and can be regarded as 'sites' rather than 'monuments'.

5.1.1 Existing SAMs

The two scheduled Grade A-D sites are -

PRN: 50158 Penbryn, Dyffryn Bern ECM findspot/?round barrow re-use **CD049**
In part - scheduled area around ECM 2096

PRN: 50162 Tregaron (Caron Uwch Clawdd), Strata Florida Abbey **CD001**
In part. Also a guardianship site, in part, and a CinW owned site, in part

There are 13 scheduled ECMs, some of them scheduled in groups, so that there are a total of 7 SAMs. They are -

PRN: 9933	Llanddewi Brefi parish church, 'Dallus Stone'	CD047
PRN: 9934	Llanddewi Brefi parish church, 'Idnert Stone'	CD047
PRN: 9935	Llanddewi Brefi parish church, ECM	CD047
PRN: 9936	Llanddewi Brefi parish church, ECM	CD047
PRN: 9937	Llanddewi Brefi parish church, ECM	CD047
PRN: 9938	Llanddewi Brefi parish church, 'Cenlisini Stone'	CD047
PRN: 4781	Llanfihangel Ystrad, Llanillyr, 'Tesquitus Stone'	CD112
PRN: 4793	Llanfihangel Ystrad, Maes-mynach ECM	CD113
PRN: 1974	Llanwnws parish church (Gwnnws Issa), 'Hiroidil' Stone	CD111
PRN: 2096	Penbryn, Dyffryn Bern ECM	CD049
PRN: 6307	Silian parish church, ECM	CD064
PRN: 7647	Silian parish church, 'Silbandus Stone'	CD064
PRN: 2036	Tregaron (Caron Uwch Clawdd), Strata Florida ECM	CD060
(PRN: 750	Llanwenog, Capel Whyl, 'Trenacatus Stone'	Descheduled)



5.1.2 Scheduling recommendations

It is recommended that the following 10 sites are considered for scheduling. In most cases, further evaluation – desktop, survey, geophysics and/or intrusive evaluation are also recommended for these sites, in order to firmly establish their exact nature, location, date, significance etc. (see Section 5.2). It would normally be recommended that this work be undertaken prior to scheduling. However, it is recognised that the best way to ensure their immediate security from development etc. is that they be scheduled. It is hoped that opportunities for further investigation may be arise in the future.

PRN: 49324	Cellan (All Saints), churchyard	Grade C
Consider scheduling area of outer enclosure?		
PRN: 13005	Llanbadarn Fawr (Trefeirig), Gogerddan cemetery	Grade A
Schedule that area of the site that will not be subject to any future excavation		
PRN: 14215	Llanbadarn Odwyn (St Padarn) churchyard, ?outer enclosure	Grade B/D
Consider scheduling area of enclosure, dependent on results of fieldwork?		
PRN: 33257	Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn, Mynwent-fach	Grade D
Consider scheduling site?		
PRN: 50142	Llanfihangel Ystrad, Llanllyr Abbey	Grade D
Consider scheduling the two possible greenfield sites for the abbey?		
PRN: 50166	Llangoedmor, Ffynnon cropmark	Grade C
Possibly schedule site?		
PRN: 50144	Llangorwen Chapel	Grade B
Consider scheduling the earthwork site?		
PRN: 50154	Llanwenog, Capel Whyll	Grade B
Consider scheduling site?		
PRN: 31488	Mwnt (Holy Cross), churchyard	Grade C
The churchyard is owned by the Church in Wales but managed by the National Trust. As such both it and the ?barrows can be scheduled		
PRN: 50158	Penbryn, Dyffryn Bern ECM findspot/?round barrow re-use	Grade A
Extend scheduled area around ECM 2096 to take in area of cairn and any surviving below-ground archaeology, and prohibit ploughing within 10m of stone		

It is also recommended that the following 12 ECMs are considered for scheduling. All lie within active churches or churchyards, and PRN 1866 is built into the fabric of a standing church.

PRN: 1866	Henfynyw parish church, 'Tigernacus Stone'
PRN: 1843	Llanarth parish church, 'Gurhirt's Cross'
PRN: 3994	Llanbadarn Fawr parish church, cross
PRN: 3995	Llanbadarn Fawr parish church, cross
PRN: 8969	Llanddewi Aberarth parish church, ECM
PRN: 8970	Llanddewi Aberarth parish church, cross
PRN: 1826	Llandysul parish church, 'Velvoria Stone'
PRN: 50138	Llandysul parish church, ECM



PRN: 9730 Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn, Llantrisant church, ECM
PRN: 9731 Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn, Llantrisant church, ECM
PRN: 9732 Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn, Llantrisant church, ECM

PRN: 50151 Llanllwchaiarn parish church, ECM



5.2 Further evaluation

It must again be emphasised that only one Ceredigion site has been absolutely dated to the early medieval period - the cemetery at Gogerddan, Llanbadarn Fawr (Trefeirig), where a 3rd-7th century radiocarbon date was obtained from one of the graves. The 4 sites mentioned in the sources are only assumed to occupy known locations - even where the evidence is good, it is not entirely unarguable. Meanwhile the Dyffryn Bern ECM and funerary site (Penbryn) has all the indicators of being an early medieval site but this has yet to be absolutely proven. The 35 ECMs included in this study can be dated by their epigraphy and artistic tradition, but similarly few of them can be absolutely attributed to a given site. So whilst it is possible to speculate on the morphology, function and development of early medieval ecclesiastical sites in Ceredigion, it is being done without a firm chronological framework against which to assess the evidence.

Obtaining more dates is therefore the crucial next step in evaluating the resource. The culture of southwest Wales during the period was almost entirely aceramic (apart from imports), with few other known artefacts, so the only reliable method of dating is through radiocarbon. Fortunately, ecclesiastical sites generally possess one resource from which these dates can be readily obtained - burials. So the first priority has to be obtaining dates from cemeteries - both from undeveloped cemeteries, cist cemeteries or otherwise, and from churchyard sites. Comparison between the two datasets may tell us more about when and why burial practice ceased, changed or continued at given sites.

There has been a marked lack of intrusive archaeological work on early medieval ecclesiastical sites in Ceredigion. Only the Gogerddan cemetery has been comprehensively excavated in recent times, and then only in part (Murphy 1992). Cyril Fox attended the opening of a possible cist grave and its covering ECM at Maes-llyn, Llangwryfon, in the 1940s (Fox 1943, 205-9), but this site is nonetheless little-understood and its exact location is unknown. Strata Florida Abbey was excavated by Stephen Williams during the 1880s (but there has been no similar excavation at Llanllŷr Abbey). Antiquarian observations were also made at Dyffryn Bern (Penbryn) and Capel Whyl (Llanwenog), by Samuel Meyrick, in c.1800 (Meyrick, 1810).

In addition to the targeted evaluation outlined below, all sites must be subject to rigorous development control conditions, and proper management plans. These are contained, in full, in Part 3 of this report, 'Management Recommendations'.

5.1.1 Intrusive evaluation

Obtaining dates must come about as a result of proper, targeted archaeological evaluation. Individual dates from *ad hoc* findspots lack the contextual information from which the data can be properly assessed. A sufficient sample of material must be obtained from each site so that the date range can be as accurate as possible a reflection of the lifetime of the cemetery, and that the age, sex, gender and pathology of individuals can be established. The evaluation also should seek to identify evidence for built features, boundaries and structures, or the lack of them. It should seek to identify, through environmental evidence if necessary, the full range of activities on each site.

The EME project in Ceredigion has identified 7 green-field sites that are eminently suitable for full evaluation -

PRN: 13005	Llanbadarn Fawr/Trefeirig, Gogerddan -	Grade A cemetery (part excavated, threatened by agriculture)
PRN: 50158	Penbryn, Dyffryn Bern -	Grade A ?cemetery (part scheduled, possibly threatened by agriculture)
PRN: 50144	Llangorwen Chapel -	Grade B ?chapel site (unthreatened?)
PRN: 50154	Llanwenog, Capel Whyl -	Grade B ?chapel site (unthreatened)
PRN: 50166	Llangoedmor, Ffynnon cropmark -	Grade C ?square barrows (possibly threatened by agriculture)



PRN: 11918	Llandyfriog, Ffynnon Oer cemetery -	Grade D ?cemetery (unthreatened?)
PRN: 33257	Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn, Mynwent-fach -	Grade D ?cemetery (unthreatened?)
PRN: 50142	Llanfihangel Ystrad, Llanllyr Abbey -	Grade D ?monastic site (threatened by development?)
PRN: 49236	Llangwryfon, Maes-llyn ?cemetery -	Grade D ?cemetery (possibly threatened by agriculture)

There are no threatened, redundant church sites with early medieval origins in Ceredigion, but the post-Conquest Llanfihangel Rhostie is under threat - the church, which along with the churchyard is still in CinW ownership, is now disused and ruinous. Mwnt parish churchyard PRN 31488 is now managed by the National Trust and may be deconsecrated, and so available for field evaluation.

5.1.2 Non-intrusive evaluation

Other potential sites require further non-intrusive evaluation, including topographic and geophysical survey, to identify their nature and/or location before further evaluation. Once identified, they may be suitable for full field evaluation.

Sites which may be subject to partial evaluation, followed by full evaluation where required, include –

PRN: 49321	Aberporth, Llanannerch Chapel -	Grade B
PRN: 6167	Llanbadarn Fawr (Melindwr), Capel Bangor, Maes Bangor -	Grade D
PRN: 33255	Llanbadarn Fawr (Cwmrheidol), Llancethyr -	Grade D
PRN: 12693	Llandysul, St Winifred's Chapel -	Grade D
PRN: 6030	Llanfihangel Ystrad, Capel St Silin -	Grade D
PRN: 8529	Llansantffraid, Bryn beddau -	Grade D

The following churchyards are associated with outer enclosures of varying degrees of probability. Few of them are central to nucleations, and so are not immediately threatened by development, but all are potentially threatened by road-widening. They are therefore suitable for partial evaluation, followed by full evaluation where required –

PRN: 5138	Llanddewi Brefi (St David)	Grade A
PRN: 14215	Llanbadarn Odwyn (St Padarn), inc. PRN 49331	Grade B/D
PRN: 50153	Llanwenog (St Gwenog)	Grade B
PRN: 49324	Cellan (All Saints) -	Grade C
PRN: 50149	Llanilar (St Hilary) -	Grade C
PRN: 50139	Llanfair Clydogau (St Mary)	Grade D

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5.3 Other management issues

Many early medieval sites are clearly at risk. Those that are associated with existing churches in the care of the Church in Wales (CinW) were assessed in the pan-Wales Cadw Historic Churches Project, and their management is formalised under the Diocesan Advisory Committees which work closely with Cadw and the archaeological curators, and include an archaeologist. Many of the remainder have no such provision. Few of them are scheduled. The green-field sites are clearly at risk, particularly those which are not associated with a standing monument ie. are not re-used hillforts or round barrows, where standing earthworks (normally in any case scheduled) afford some protection. However, modern development, in whatever form, still represents the greatest threat.

There are a variety of threats, including -

- Development remains the most significant threat to Ceredigion early medieval sites, many of which are now occupied by CinW managed churches. Development can include new church building and alteration, excavation for services, grave excavation and tree-planting.
- Development, construction and alteration to farm buildings is a threat to those sites which underlie farmyards and farm buildings.
- Piecemeal domestic development in the countryside has the potential to affect any unscheduled below-ground site. Some possible enclosures associated with standing churchyards extend into developed areas.
- Agricultural improvement, especially plough-damage, potentially affects a large number of cemetery sites, with or without below-ground chapel sites, eg. Gogerddan (Llanbadarn Fawr/Trefeirig) and Dyffryn Bern (Penbryn). Removal of field boundaries is also a threat where those boundaries may represent former ecclesiastical enclosure boundaries.
- Farm access, farm traffic and vehicular erosion can also be a threat, damage from which has been observed at a number of sites, some of them scheduled sites. Livestock erosion appears to represent a lesser threat but also has the potential to damage sites containing upstanding features.
- Road-widening potentially affects any churchyard associated with a public road, CinW managed or otherwise.
- Forestry, particularly clear-felling and access tracks, may affect sites in the north of the county, eg. Llaneithyr (Llanbadarn Fawr/Cwmrheidol), and possibly Bryn-beddau (Llansantffraid). Farm traffic also has the potential to affect cemetery sites.
- Natural decay, in some cases exacerbated by woodland regeneration.
- ECMs, which are not individually graded in this report, are subject to their own individual threats. Although many are scheduled, there is a continuing loss of ECMs, whilst others have been moved. In addition, the location of many, and their exposure to the elements, mean that erosion is constant. These concerns have been expressed in the recent studies by Edwards and Redknap, and form the main theme of the Ancient Monuments Board for Wales Annual Report, 2000-01, *Protecting Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture*, in which the management issues, and a number of proposals, are discussed.



6.0 ASSESSMENT CRITERIA AND GRADING

6.1 Introduction

The assessment criteria outlined below, and the three grades A - C, were suggested by the EME working group (comprising the Project Officers from the four Trusts in consultation with Dr Nancy Edwards and Rick Turner of Cadw), after extensive discussion. Close consultation with all parties was maintained throughout Stage 1 of the project. However the grades are interim only, provisional upon Stage 2.

The criteria were agreed at an early stage of the project, but during the assessment of individual sites it became clear that the value of their application varied from site to site, and not all could be rigidly applied. There could be compelling evidence to suggest - through morphology, patronage etc. for example - that a site meeting only Grade C criteria could belong to Grade B, and *vice versa*. In addition, a number of chapelries with 'Celtic' dedications, particularly in the north of the county, are almost certainly late-medieval foundations, while a number of *de novo* 19th century churches elsewhere in west Wales have 'Celtic' dedications. For this reason, the criteria as used in this section of the report are now graded from 'high importance' to 'low importance'.

A fourth grade, D, was introduced in Ceredigion. This includes those sites where the evidence for early medieval origins is indirect, where there is uncertainty about the reliability of the evidence, or where there may be doubts over the precise nature of the site, the original churchyard morphology, the precise location of the site, while proximity and intervisibility, patronage etc. may be significant. This grade contains, for example, a number of the possible cemetery sites suggested by ECM evidence but which cannot yet be proved or whose precise location is still uncertain. Dedications and place-names have, in Pembrokeshire, been taken out of the criteria (see Sections 4.1.6 and 4.1.7).

Individual site grading is based on an assessment of the evidence and all attempts have been made to avoid arbitrary grading. It must also be emphasised that it is a combination of two or more attributes that is significant. Furthermore, many sites entered as Grade C (and Grade D) possess one or more attributes from Grades A and B - the reliability of the evidence is the main guideline to grading. It is likely that some regrading may follow on from field evaluation.

Grade A-C attributes have been entered as Site Types on the SMR database - as *capel-y-bedd* etc. - according to SMR glossaries currently being developed, in order that they can be searched for.



6.2 Criteria of high importance

▪ Documented pre-conquest sites - 2 sites (and 4 possible sites)

PRN: 816	Llanbadarn Fawr (St Padarn), churchyard
PRN: 5138	Llanddewi Brefi (St David), churchyard
PRN: 49326	Henynyw (St David), churchyard ?
PRN: 49327	Henllan (St David), churchyard ?
PRN: 50145	Llangranog (St Caranog), churchyard ?
PRN: 50153	Llanwenog (St Gwenog), churchyard ?

▪ Clas church indicators - 1 site (and 1 possible site)

PRN: 816	Llanbadarn Fawr (St Padarn), churchyard
PRN: 5138	Llanddewi Brefi (St David), churchyard ?

▪ Dated archaeological evidence - 1 site

PRN: 13005	Llanbadarn Fawr (Trefeirig), Gogerddan cemetery
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▪ Capeli-y-bedd and multiple churches - 1 site

PRN: 50145	Llangranog (St Caranog), churchyard ?
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6.3 Criteria of medium importance

▪ Circular/oval churchyards - 22 sites

PRN: 49322	Bangor Teifi (St David), churchyard
PRN: 49323	Blaenporth (St David), churchyard
PRN: 49324	Cellan (All Saints), churchyard
PRN: 49325	Dihewyd (St Vitalis), churchyard
PRN: 49327	Henllan (St David), churchyard
PRN: 49330	Llanarth (St David/St Meilig), churchyard
PRN: 49331	Llanbadarn Odwyn (St Padarn), churchyard
PRN: 8105	Llanbadarn Trefeglwys (St Padarn), churchyard
PRN: 50133	Llanddeiniol (St Ddeiniol), churchyard
PRN: 5138	Llanddewi Brefi (St David), churchyard
PRN: 50136	Llandysiliogogo (St Tysilio), churchyard
PRN: 50139	Llanfair Clydogau (St Mary), churchyard
PRN: 50147	Llangynfelyn (St Cynfelyn), churchyard
PRN: 50148	Llangynllo (St Cynllo), churchyard
PRN: 50149	Llanilar (St Hilary), churchyard
PRN: 50153	Llanwenog (St Gwenog), churchyard
PRN: 50155	Llanwnws (St Gwnws), churchyard
PRN: 50156	Nantewlle (St Cynllo), churchyard
PRN: 50157	Penbryn (St Michael), churchyard
PRN: 50159	Silian (St Sulien), churchyard
PRN: 50161	Tregaron (St Caron), churchyard
PRN: 50163	Ysbyty Cynfyn (St John Baptist), churchyard

▪ Churchyards with curvilinear outer enclosures – 1 site (and 5 possible sites)

PRN: 49324	Cellan (All Saints), churchyard
PRN: 14215	Llanbadarn Odwyn (St Padarn), churchyard, enclosure ?
PRN: 5138	Llanddewi Brefi (St David), churchyard ?
PRN: 50139	Llanfair Clydogau (St Mary), churchyard ?
PRN: 50149	Llanilar (St Hilary), churchyard ?
PRN: 50153	Llanwenog (St Gwenog), churchyard ?

▪ Documented sanctuary (nawdd/noddfa) - 2 sites

PRN: 816	Llanbadarn Fawr (St Padarn), churchyard
PRN: 5138	Llanddewi Brefi (St David), churchyard

▪ Merthyr- place-names - 0 sites

▪ Roman site re-use - 1 site

PRN: 50158	Penbryn, Dyffryn Bern ECM findspot/?round barrow re-use
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▪ Iron Age site re-use - 1 site (and 4 possible sites)

PRN: 13005	Llanbadarn Fawr (Trefeirig), Gogerddan cemetery
PRN: 8105	Llanbadarn Trefeglwys (St Padarn), churchyard ?
PRN: 50134	Llanddewi Aberarth (St David), churchyard ?
PRN: 50136	Llandysiliogogo (St Tysilio), churchyard ?
PRN: 6030	Llanfihangel Ystrad, Capel St Silin ?



▪ *Bronze site Age re-use – 3 sites (and 11 possible sites)*

PRN: 13005	Llanbadarn Fawr (Trefeirig), Gogerddan cemetery
PRN: 50158	Penbryn, Dyffryn Bern ECM findspot/?round barrow re-use
PRN: 50163	Ysbyty Cynfyn (St John Baptist), churchyard
PRN: 49324	Cellan (All Saints), churchyard ?
PRN: 49330	Llanarth (St David/St Meilig), churchyard ?
PRN: 5138	Llanddewi Brefi (St David), churchyard ?
PRN: 50136	Llandysiliogogo (St Tysilio), churchyard ?
PRN: 50144	Llangorwen Chapel ?
PRN: 50145	Llangranog (St Caranog), churchyard ?
PRN: 50149	Llanilar (St Hilary), churchyard ?
PRN: 50153	Llanwenog (St Gwenog), churchyard ?
PRN: 50154	Llanwenog, Capel Whyl ?
PRN: 31488	Mwnt (Holy Cross), churchyard ?
PRN: 50161	Tregaron (St Caron), churchyard ?

▪ *Neolithic site re-use - 2 sites*

PRN: 13005	Llanbadarn Fawr (Trefeirig), Gogerddan cemetery
PRN: 50163	Ysbyty Cynfyn (St John Baptist), churchyard

▪ *Undated cemeteries – 4 possible sites*

PRN: 33257	Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn, Mynwent-fach
PRN: 50166	Llangoedmor, Ffynnon cropmark
PRN: 49236	Llangwryfon, Maes-llyn ?cemetery
(PRN: 11918)	Llandyfriog, Ffynnon Oer cemetery - prehistoric ?)

▪ *ECMs – 35*

ECMs +/- in situ

Definitely in situ – 1 site

PRN: 2096	Penbryn, Dyffryn Bern ECM
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Probably in situ - 8 sites

PRN: 1866	Henfynyw parish church, 'Tigernacus Stone'
PRN: 3994	Llanbadarn Fawr parish church, cross
PRN: 3995	Llanbadarn Fawr parish church, cross
PRN: 9933	Llanddewi Brefi parish church, 'Dallus Stone'
PRN: 9934	Llanddewi Brefi parish church, 'Idnert Stone'
PRN: 9935	Llanddewi Brefi parish church, ECM
PRN: 9936	Llanddewi Brefi parish church, ECM
PRN: 9937	Llanddewi Brefi parish church, ECM
PRN: 9938	Llanddewi Brefi parish church, 'Cenlisini Stone'
PRN: 9730	Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn, Llantrisant church, ECM
PRN: 9731	Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn, Llantrisant church, ECM
PRN: 9732	Llanfihangel-y-Creuddyn, Llantrisant church, ECM
PRN: 4781	Llanfihangel Ystrad, Llanllyr, 'Tesquitus Stone'
PRN: 750	Llanwenog, Capel Whyl, 'Trenacatus Stone'
PRN: 1974	Llanwnws (Gwnnws Issa), Llanwnws parish church, 'Hiroidil Stone'



PRN: 8110 Tregaron parish church, 'Potentina Stone'
PRN: 8111 Tregaron parish church, 'Eneveri Stone'
PRN: 8112 Tregaron parish church, ECM

Possibly in situ – 7 sites

PRN: 1105 Cardigan, Bryngwyn Fawr ECM; Plasnewydd Wheel Cross
PRN: 35362 Cardigan, Bryngwyn Fawr ECM

PRN: 1843 Llanarth parish church, 'Gurhirt's Cross'

PRN: 8969 Llanddewi Aberarth parish church, ECM
PRN: 8970 Llanddewi Aberarth parish church, cross

PRN: 1826 Llandysul parish church, 'Velvoria Stone'
PRN: 50138 Llandysul parish church, ECM

PRN: 774 Llangwryfon, Maes-Ilyn, 'Domnicus Stone'

PRN: 6307 Silian parish church, ECM
PRN: 7647 Silian parish church, 'Silbandus Stone'

PRN: 2036 Tregaron (Caron Uwch Clawdd), Strata Florida ECM

Cemeteries/chapel sites suggested by ECMs – 2 sites (and 4 possible sites)

PRN: 50154 Llanwenog, Capel Whyl
PRN: 50158 Penbryn, Dyffryn Bern ECM findspot/?round barrow re-use

PRN: 6030 Llanfihangel Ystrad, Capel St Silin ?
PRN: 50142 Llanfihangel Ystrad, Llanllyr Abbey ?
PRN: 49236 Llangwryfon, Maes-Ilyn ?cemetery ?
PRN: 50162 Tregaron (Caron Uwch Clawdd), Strata Florida Abbey ?

▪ *Artefacts - No sites*



6.4 Criteria of low importance

- *Cemeteries only suggested by place-name evidence - 1 site*

PRN: 8529 Llansantffraid, Bryn beddau

- *'Holy' wells within 200m - 9 sites*

PRN: 49330 Llanarth (St David/St Meilig), churchyard
PRN: 33255 Llanbadarn Fawr (Cwmrheidol), Llancethyr
PRN: 50136 Llandysiliogogo (St Tysilio), churchyard
PRN: 50145 Llangranog (St Caranog), churchyard
PRN: 50153 Llanwenog (St Gwenog), churchyard

- *Llan- place-names*

This criterion has not been adopted - see Section 4.1.7.

- *'Celtic' dedications*

This criterion has not been adopted - see Section 4.1.6.



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**EARLY MEDIEVAL ECCLESIASTICAL SITES PROJECT
STAGE 2: ASSESSMENT AND FIELDWORK,
CEREDIGION**

RHIF YR ADRODDIAD / REPORT NUMBER 2004/31

**March 2004
Mawrth 2004**

Paratowyd yr adroddiad hwn gan / This report has been prepared by Neil Ludlow

Swydd / Position: Project Manager

Llofnod / Signature Dyddiad / Date 06/04/2004

Mae'r adroddiad hwn wedi ei gael yn gywir a derbyn sêl bendith
This report has been checked and approved by

Ken Murphy

ar ran Archaeoleg Cambria, Ymddiriedolaeth Archaeolegol Dyfed Cyf.
on behalf of Cambria Archaeology, Dyfed Archaeological Trust Ltd.

Swydd / Position: Director

Llofnod / Signature Dyddiad / Date 06/04/2004

Yn unol â'n nôd i rod-di gwasanaeth o ansawdd uchel, croesawn unrhyw sylwadau sydd gennych ar
gynnwys neu strwythur yr adroddiad hwn

As part of our desire to provide a quality service we would welcome any comments you may have
on the content or presentation of this report

