

**CADW: WELSH HISTORIC MONUMENTS**

**EARLY MEDIEVAL ECCLESIASTICAL SITES  
PROJECT**

**STAGE 2: ASSESSMENT AND FIELDWORK  
PEMBROKESHIRE**

**PART 1: OVERVIEW**



By: Neil Ludlow  
SMR input: Jenny Hall

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Report No: 2003/39



A R C H A E O L O G Y

**CAMBRIA**

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CAMBRIA ARCHAEOLOGY

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EARLY MEDIEVAL ECCLESIASTICAL SITES PROJECT  
STAGE 2: PEMBROKESHIRE

By

Neil Ludlow

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ARCHAEOLEG CAMBRIA  
Ymddiriedolaeth Archaeolegol Dyfed Cyf  
Neuadd y Sir, Stryd Caerfyrddin, Llandeilo, Sir Gaerfyrddin SA19 6AF  
Ffon: Ymholiadau Cyffredinol 01558 823121  
Adran Rheoli Trefladaeth 01558 823131  
Ffacs: 01558 823133  
Ebost: cambria@acadat.com Gwefan: www.acadat.com

CAMBRIA ARCHAEOLOGY  
Dyfed Archaeological Trust Limited  
The Shire Hall, Carmarthen Street, Llandeilo, Carmarthenshire SA19 6AF  
Tel: General Enquiries 01558 823121  
Heritage Management Section 01558 823131  
Fax: 01558 823133  
Email: cambria@acadat.com Website: www.acadat.com

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## **CADW: WELSH HISTORIC MONUMENTS**

### **EARLY MEDIEVAL ECCLESIASTICAL SITES PROJECT**

#### **STAGE 2: ASSESSMENT AND FIELDWORK**

##### **PEMBROKESHIRE**

#### **PART 1: OVERVIEW**

##### **Contents**

<b>1.0</b>	<b>SUMMARY</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>2.0</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>4</b>
2.1	Project background	4
2.2	List of sites	5
<b>3.0</b>	<b>RESEARCH OBJECTIVES</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>4.0</b>	<b>RESULTS</b>	
4.1	Stage 1 desktop assessment	<b>13</b>
4.1.1	Introduction	14
4.1.2	Documentary sources	15
4.1.3	Dated archaeological evidence	18
4.1.4	Undated archaeological evidence	19
4.1.5	Early Christian Monuments	26
4.1.6	Dedications and cults	28
4.1.7	Ecclesiastical place-name evidence	30
4.1.8	Topographic evidence	31
4.2	Results from Stage 2	35
4.2.1	New church/chapel sites	36
4.2.2	New circular churchyards	37
4.2.3	New outer enclosures	39
4.2.4	Evidence from ECM findspots	41
4.2.5	Other associated sites and features	44
<b>5.0</b>	<b>RECOMMENDATIONS</b>	<b>46</b>
5.1	Further evaluation	46
5.1.1	Intrusive evaluation	46
5.1.2	Non-intrusive evaluation	47
5.2	Management issues	
<b>6.0</b>	<b>ASSESSMENT CRITERIA AND GRADING</b>	<b>50</b>
6.1	Introduction	50
6.2	Criteria of high importance	51
6.3	Criteria of medium importance	53
6.4	Criteria of low importance	57
<b>7.0</b>	<b>REFERENCES</b>	<b>59</b>

## 8.0 APPENDICES

Appendix 1 - Grade A sites	63
Appendix 2 - Grade B sites	66
Appendix 3 - Grade C sites	69
Appendix 4 - Grade D sites	72
Appendix 5 - Early Christian Monuments	78

**Part 2: Gazetteer and Part 3: Management Recommendations form separate sections of this report**

## FIGURES

Fig. 1 - Location map of Grade A – C sites, Pembrokeshire	8
Fig. 2 - Location map of Grade D sites, Pembrokeshire	9
Fig. 3 - Location map of Early Christian Monuments, Pembrokeshire	10
Fig. 4 - The known pre-Conquest ecclesiastical sites of Pembrokeshire, relative to contemporary administrative divisions	14
Fig. 5 - Distribution of circular churchyards relative to defended enclosure types (modified from Williams 1988)	22
Fig. 6 - The possible enclosure at Amroth	23
Fig. 7 - The possible enclosure at Moun-ton	24
Fig. 8 - Mathry, a rectangular churchyard with a possible outer enclosure	25
Fig. 9 - The Cemaes Brynach churches, the Penfro Teilo churches and the Emlyn Llawddog churches	29
Fig. 10 - Churchyard and landscape at Llanwnda (Pebidiog)	33
Fig. 11 - Churchyard and landscape at St Edrens (Pebidiog)	34
Fig. 12 - Sketch plan of Churchfield enclosure, Upton	36
Fig. 13 - AP showing the cropmark ?chapel at Llanddinog, Llandeloy	37
Fig. 14 - AP showing the circular churchyard (and outer enclosure?) at St Non's Chapel, St Davids	38
Fig. 15 - AP showing the circular churchyard, and well, at Llanllawer parish church	39
Fig. 16 - AP showing the possible cropmark enclosure around Eglwyswen parish church	40
Fig. 17 - Interpretative plan of the geophysical anomalies at Monkton, Pembroke	41
Fig. 18 - Sketch plan of St Owen's Well, Narberth, and the associated earthwork enclosure	42
Fig. 19 - Weirglodd-y-fynwent, Llandrudion (St Nicholas) looking S towards the mound	43
Fig. 20 - AP showing the possible cropmark at 'Parc-yr-eglwys', Clyn Farm, Llanychaer	44
Fig. 21 - AP showing the possible cropmark enclosure beneath Llanddewi Velfrey parish church	45

## EARLY MEDIEVAL ECCLESIASTICAL SITES IN PEMBROKESHIRE

### 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 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 appointed to cover the counties of Carmarthenshire, Ceredigion and Pembrokeshire, in which the cut-off date of 1100 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 154 sites with probable or possible early medieval origins, in addition to a list of 116 Early Christian Monuments (ECMs).*

*Stage 2 comprised analysis of aerial photographs of all 154 sites, and selective field visits in order to assess their nature, extent, condition, archaeological potential, threats and value. As a result, the list of 154 sites was amended and refined to a list of 150 sites, comprising -*

	<u>2003</u>	<u>(2002)</u>
▪ Grade A sites (high probability)	27	(27)
▪ Grade B sites (medium probability)	29	(33)
▪ Grade C sites (low probability)	29	(43)
▪ Grade D sites (possible sites)	65	(51)

*In addition -*

- *Early Christian Monuments (ECMs) 116*

*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 assessment is a demonstration that many of the traditional indicators and suppositions do seem to hold true ie. circular churchyards, in situ 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 has been suggested at a large number of new sites. In addition, the former location of ECMs, topographic evidence and post-Conquest documentary sources were used to suggest early medieval origins for several new sites. However, it was also demonstrated that the 'native' ecclesiastical tradition was remarkably persistent, particularly in the north of the county. Here, for example, at least two cist cemeteries can be dated to the 13th century, and where the pilgrimage cult that developed around the Welsh saint Brynach reached its peak just before the Reformation.*

## **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, three of them in Pembrokeshire (Edwards and Lane 1988; Gerrard 1990, 249). 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 I | 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 Pembrokeshire, Stages 1 and 2 have resulted in a list of 150 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 27 (see Appendix 1)

PRN: 1150	Bayvil, Caer hillfort re-use
PRN: 2370	Caldey Island/Ynys Pyr, monastery
PRN: 46783 & 46784	Clydau (St Clydai), churchyard and Eglwys Trisant, <i>capel-y-bedd</i>
PRN: 12107	Clydau, Llangene Fawr 'bishop-house'
PRN: 46801	Lamphey (SS Faith & Tyfei), churchyard
PRN: 46802	Lawrenny (St Caradoc), churchyard
PRN: 46803	Llanddewi Velfrey (St David), churchyard and ? <i>clas</i>
PRN: 1275	Llandeilo Llwydarth (St Teilo), churchyard and ?enclosure, 'bishop-house'
PRN: 46810	Llandysilio (St Tysilio), churchyard and ?enclosure
PRN: 46818	Llanrhian (St Rhian/St Rheanus), churchyard
PRN: 46820	Llanstadwel (St Tudwal), churchyard
PRN: 46823	Llanwnda (St Gwyndaf), churchyard and findspot
PRN: 13002	Llanychlwydog (St David), churchyard and cist cemetery
PRN: 46827	Llawhaden (St Aidan), churchyard and 'bishop-house'
PRN: 4578	Mathry (Holy Martyrs), churchyard, cist cemetery/?enclosure and findspot
PRN: 1603	Nevern (St Brynach), churchyard and <i>clas</i>
PRN: 3442	Penally (SS Nicholas & Teilo), churchyard and ? <i>clas</i>
PRN: 46847	Penally, 'Eccleis Guiniau'/Castell Gwynne, church site
PRN: 4685	Rhoscrowdder (St Decuman), churchyard and 'bishop-house'
PRN: 13294 & 7606	St Bride's (St Bridget/St Ffraed), churchyard, ?enclosure and cist cemetery
PRN: 4348	St Davids Cathedral, monastery/'bishop-house'/ <i>clas</i>
PRN: 46863	St Davids, St Non's Chapel, churchyard and enclosure
PRN: 1222	St Dogmaels Abbey, St Dogmaels monastery/ <i>clas</i>
PRN: 14345	St Ishmaels (St Ishmael), churchyard, 'bishop-house' and cist cemetery/enclosure
PRN: 3450	Upton Churchfield, churchyard

### ▪ Grade B sites (medium probability) - total 29 (see Appendix 2)

PRN: 46767	Amroth (St Elidyr), churchyard/enclosure
PRN: 46773 & 5321	Bridell (St David), churchyard, ?standing stone re-use and cist cemetery
PRN: 4244	Caldey Island, St David's cist cemetery
PRN: 46776	Capel Colman (St Colman), churchyard and ?enclosure
PRN: 543	Castlemartin, Brownslade Barrow/Churchways cist cemetery/round barrow re-use
PRN: 46782	Cilrhedyn (St Teilo), churchyard
PRN: 46795	Jeffreyston (SS Jeffrey & Oswald), churchyard and ?enclosure
PRN: 2395	Letterston, Heneglwys ?church
PRN: 2742	Llandeloy, Llanddinog ?chapel/?cemetery
PRN: 46814	Llanfyrnach (St Brynach), churchyard
PRN: 46817	Llanllawer (St David), churchyard/enclosure
PRN: 46821	Llanstinan (St Justinian), churchyard and ?enclosure/?hillfort re-use
PRN: 2871 & 2872	Llanwnda, Llanwnwr cist cemetery and chapel
PRN: 46834	Martletwy (St Marcellus), churchyard and ?enclosure
PRN: 46835	Mathry, Tregidreg findspot, ?chapel and ?cemetery
PRN: 46836	Meline (St Dogfael), churchyard
PRN: 46811	Monkton, Monkton Priory ?ecclesiastical enclosure/?hillfort re-use
PRN: 46840	Mounton parish church, churchyard and enclosure
PRN: 46849	Pontfaen (St Brynach), churchyard
PRN: 3080	Rhoscrowdder, Kilpaison round barrow re-use
PRN: 3138	St Brides Chapel/? <i>capel-y-bedd</i>
PRN: 2677	St Davids, Caerfarchell, Cnw cist cemetery/?round barrow re-use
PRN: 1054	St Dogmaels, Caerau Gaer cist cemetery/hillfort re-use
PRN: 47486	St Edrens (St Edren), churchyard
PRN: 4326	St Elvis (St Ailyw), churchyard, cist cemetery and ?enclosure
PRN: 2513	St Nicholas, Weirglodd-y-fynwent cist cemetery/?round barrow re-use
PRN: 3016	Walwyn's Castle, Capeston ?round barrow re-use

■ **Grade C sites (low probability) - total 29 (see Appendix 3)**

PRN: 3092, 7595 & 35095	Angle, St Anthony's Chapel, churchyard and cist cemetery
PRN: 3093 & 7596	Angle, St Mary's Chapel and churchyard
PRN: 46770	Bosherston, St Govans Chapel
PRN: 2766	Brawdy, Cas Wilia findspot/?hillfort re-use
PRN: 46781	Cilgerran (St Llawddog), churchyard and cist cemetery
PRN: 46785	Coedcanlas (St Mary?), churchyard
PRN: 46787	Crinow (St Teilo), churchyard
PRN: 1428	Dinas, Bryn Henllan cist cemetery
PRN: 46789	Eglwyswen (St Michael), churchyard and enclosure
PRN: 2558	Fishguard, Henfynwent ?cemetery/?standing stone re-use
PRN: 7541	Henry's Moat, St Brynach's Well chapel
PRN: 46800	Lampeter Velfrey (St Peter), churchyard
PRN: 9915	Lampeter Velfrey, Llangwathen Chapel
PRN: 4913	Llanddewi Velfrey, Henllan/Trefendeg chapel
PRN: 46815	Llanfymach, Iet-wen/Trehywel, findspot and bronze age cemetery re-use?
PRN: 46816	Llanhywel (St Hywel), churchyard
PRN: 46819	Llanrhian, Croesgoch, Parc-y-fynwent cist cemetery
PRN: 46825	Llanychaer (St David), churchyard
PRN: 1532	Llanychaer, Parc-y-fynwent findspot and ?cemetery
PRN: 46828	Llawhaden, St Kenox findspot and ?chapel
PRN: 46842	Narberth, Stoneditch/St Owen's Well, findspot, enclosure and chapel
PRN: 46845	Pembroke St Mary, St Deiniol's Church/Llanddeiniol, churchyard
PRN: 7565	Roch (St Mary), churchyard/?hillfort re-use
PRN: 46862	St Davids, Penarthur Farm findspot
PRN: 2633	St Davids, Tygwyn cist cemetery
PRN: 1058	St Dogmaels, Penrhyn Castle cist cemetery

■ **Grade D sites (possible sites with indirect evidence) - total 65**

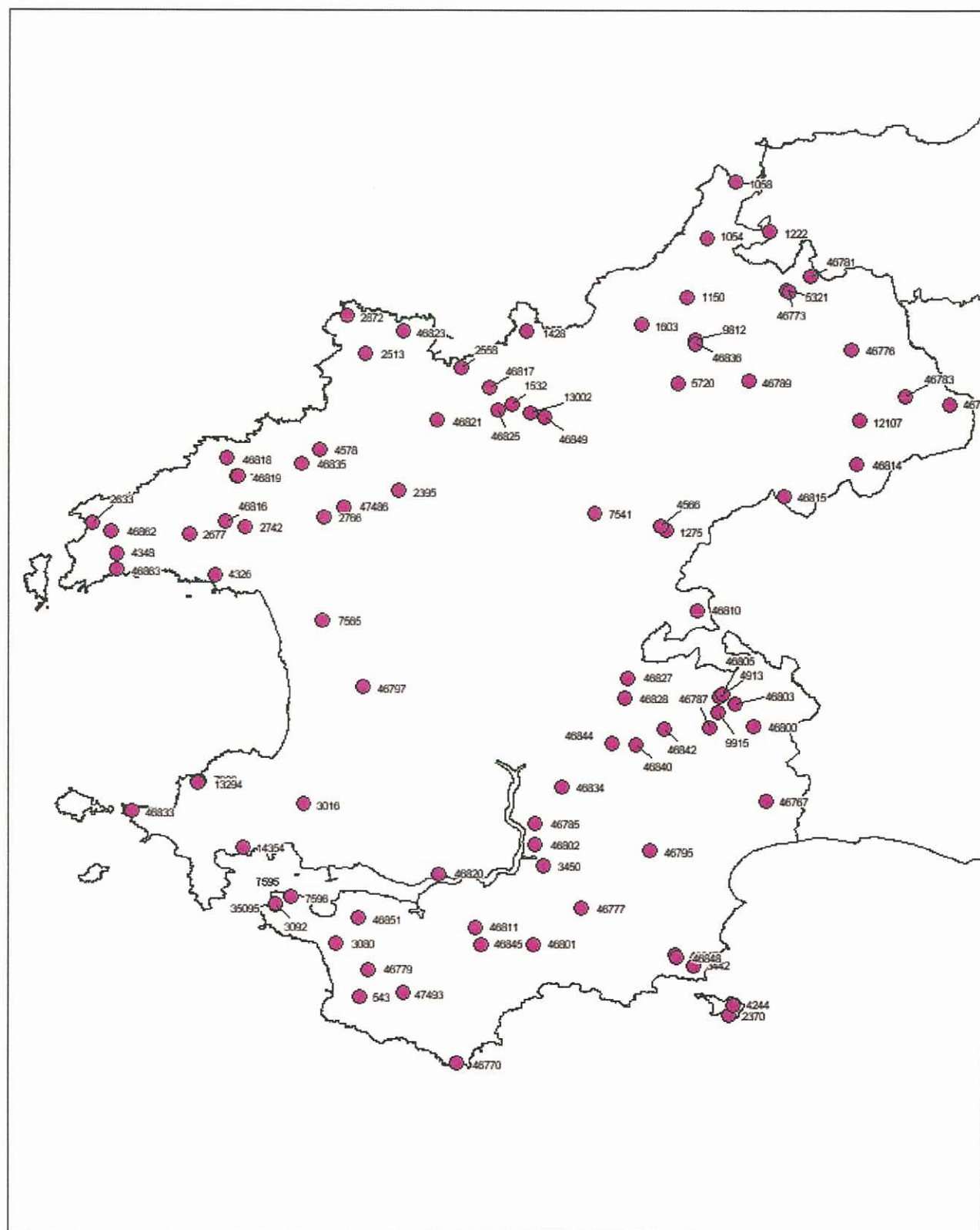
PRN: 46766	Ambleston (St Mary), churchyard
PRN: 46798	Bayvil (St Andrew), churchyard
PRN: 46769	Bosherston (St Michael), churchyard
PRN: 46771	Brawdy (St David), churchyard
PRN: 46774	Camrose (St Ismael), churchyard
PRN: 46777	Carew (St Mary/St John), churchyard
PRN: 46779	Castlemartin (St Michael), churchyard
PRN: 46786	Cosheston (St Michael), churchyard and ?enclosure
PRN: 46788	Crunwere (St Elidyr), churchyard
PRN: 32081	Dinas (St Brynach), churchyard and cist cemetery
PRN: 46790	Eglwyswrw (St Cristiolus), churchyard, cist cemetery and ?enclosure
PRN: 46791	Eglwyswrw, Henllan Owen ?church/?chapel
PRN: 2530	Fishguard, Capel Llanfihangel, chapel
PRN: 2548	Fishguard, Llanust chapel
PRN: 46793	Granston, Llangloffan, ?chapel
PRN: 2583	Jordanston, Llangwarren, findspot and ?chapel
PRN: 46797	Lambston (St Ismael), churchyard/?round barrow re-use
PRN: 44001	Lamphey, Porth Clew cist cemetery and ?chapel
PRN: 46809	Llandeloy (St Teilo), churchyard
PRN: 46813	Llanfair Nant-y-gof (St Mary), churchyard
PRN: 46822	Llantwyd (St Illtyd), churchyard
PRN: 2612	Llanwnda, Capel Degan chapel
PRN: 13345	Llanwnda, Ynys Meicel ?ecclesiastical site
PRN: 46826	Llanychaer, Clyn Farm, findspot and ?chapel
PRN: 46829	Llys-y-fran (St Meilyr), churchyard
PRN: 46830	Llys-y-fran, Velindre, findspot and ?hillfort re-use
PRN: 46831	Ludchurch (St Elidyr), churchyard
PRN: 4566	Maenclochog, Temple Druid findspot and ?henge re-use
PRN: 46832	Manorbier (St James), churchyard
PRN: 46833	Marloes, Martin's Haven/Wooltack Point, findspot
PRN: 2868	Mathry, Rhoslanog findspot and ?cemetery
PRN: 46837	Monington (St Nicholas), churchyard
PRN: 46838	Morfil (St John), churchyard
PRN: 46841	Moylegrove (SS Mynno, David & Andrew), churchyard
PRN: 30336	Narberth, Narberth Castle cemetery and ?church/?chapel
PRN: 1490	Nevern, Buarth Brynach well
PRN: 5720	Nevern, Maes-y-beddau ?cist cemetery
PRN: 46843	Newport, Cnwc-y-crogwydd, findspot/?round barrow re-use
PRN: 46844	Newton North parish church, churchyard and ?enclosure



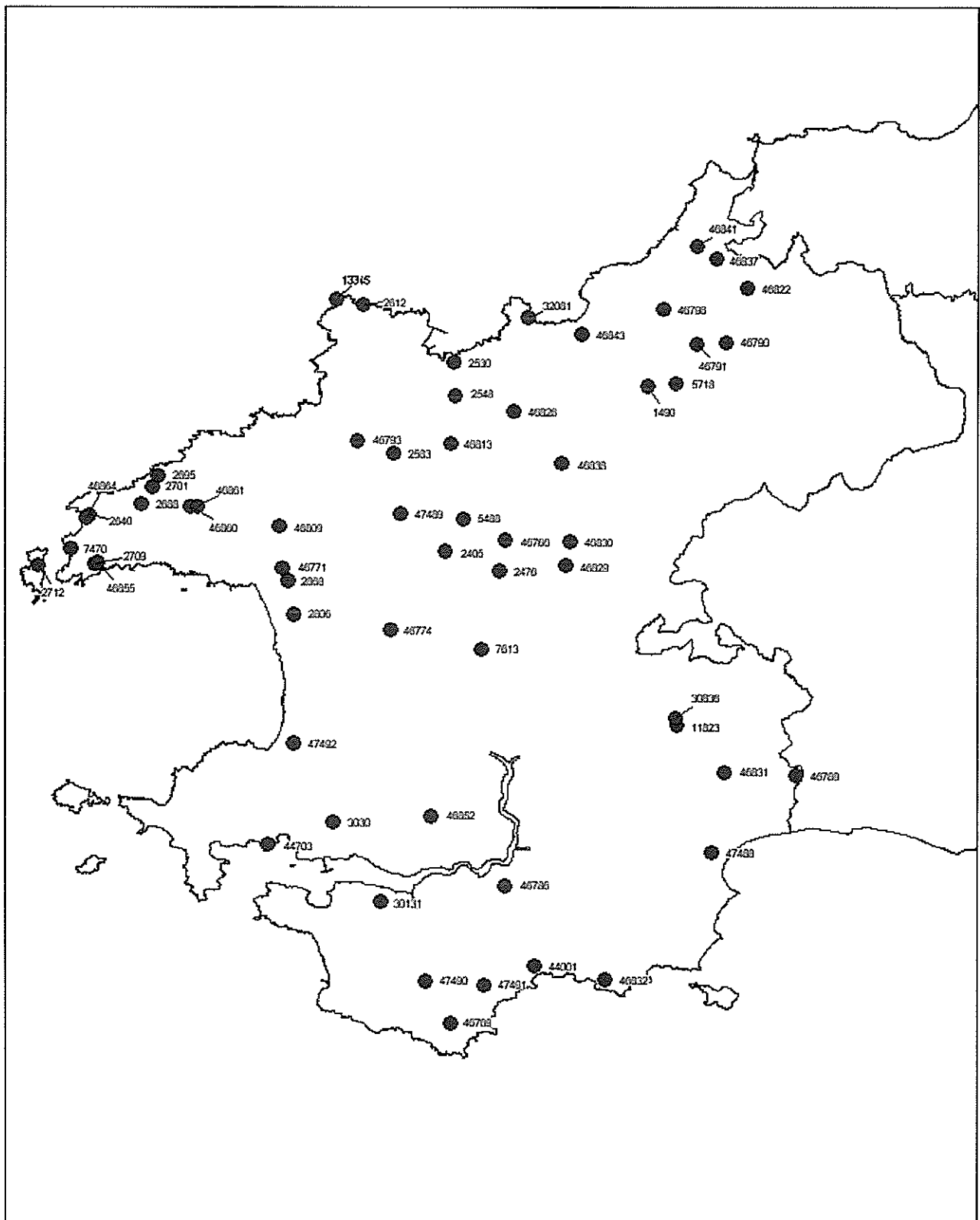
PRN: 30131	Pwllcrochan (St Mary), churchyard
PRN: 2806	Roch, Bathesland chapel and ?enclosure(s)
PRN: 46852	Rosemarket (St Ismael), churchyard
PRN: 7613	Rudbaxton, Rudbaxton Rath, ?hillfort re-use
PRN: 2688	St Davids, Capel-yr-hen-fynwent chapel and cemetery
PRN: 46860	St Davids, Carnhedryn, findspot
PRN: 46861	St Davids, Penwaun, findspot
PRN: 2709	St Davids, Porthclais, Capel-y-pistyll chapel and ?enclosure
PRN: 2712	St Davids, Ramsey Island, St Tyfanog's Chapel
PRN: 46855	St Davids, Rosina Vallis/Hoddnant, ?enclosure, ?monastery
PRN: 7470	St Davids, St Justinian's Chapel and enclosure(s)
PRN: 46864	St Davids, St Patricks Chapel, cist cemetery and findspot
PRN: 2695	St Davids, Tremynydd cist
PRN: 2640	St Davids, Tygwyn ?monastery
PRN: 2701	St Davids, Waun-y-beddau cists
PRN: 2405	St Dogwells, Little Trefgarne, findspot and ?monastery
PRN: 5488	St Dogwells, Parc-y-Pwll cist cemetery
PRN: 44703	St Ishmaels, Great Castle Head cist cemetery
PRN: 47488	St Issells (St Issell), churchyard
PRN: 47489	St Lawrence (St Lawrence), churchyard
PRN: 47490	St Twynnells (St Wynnoc), churchyard
PRN: 2476	Spittal, Chapel Park, chapel and cemetery/?round barrow re-use
PRN: 47491	Stackpole Elidor (SS James & Elidyr), churchyard
PRN: 3030	Steynton, St Budoc's cist cemetery and chapel
PRN: 47492	Walton West (All Saints), churchyard
PRN: 47493	Warren (St Mary), churchyard

#### ▪ Early Christian Monuments

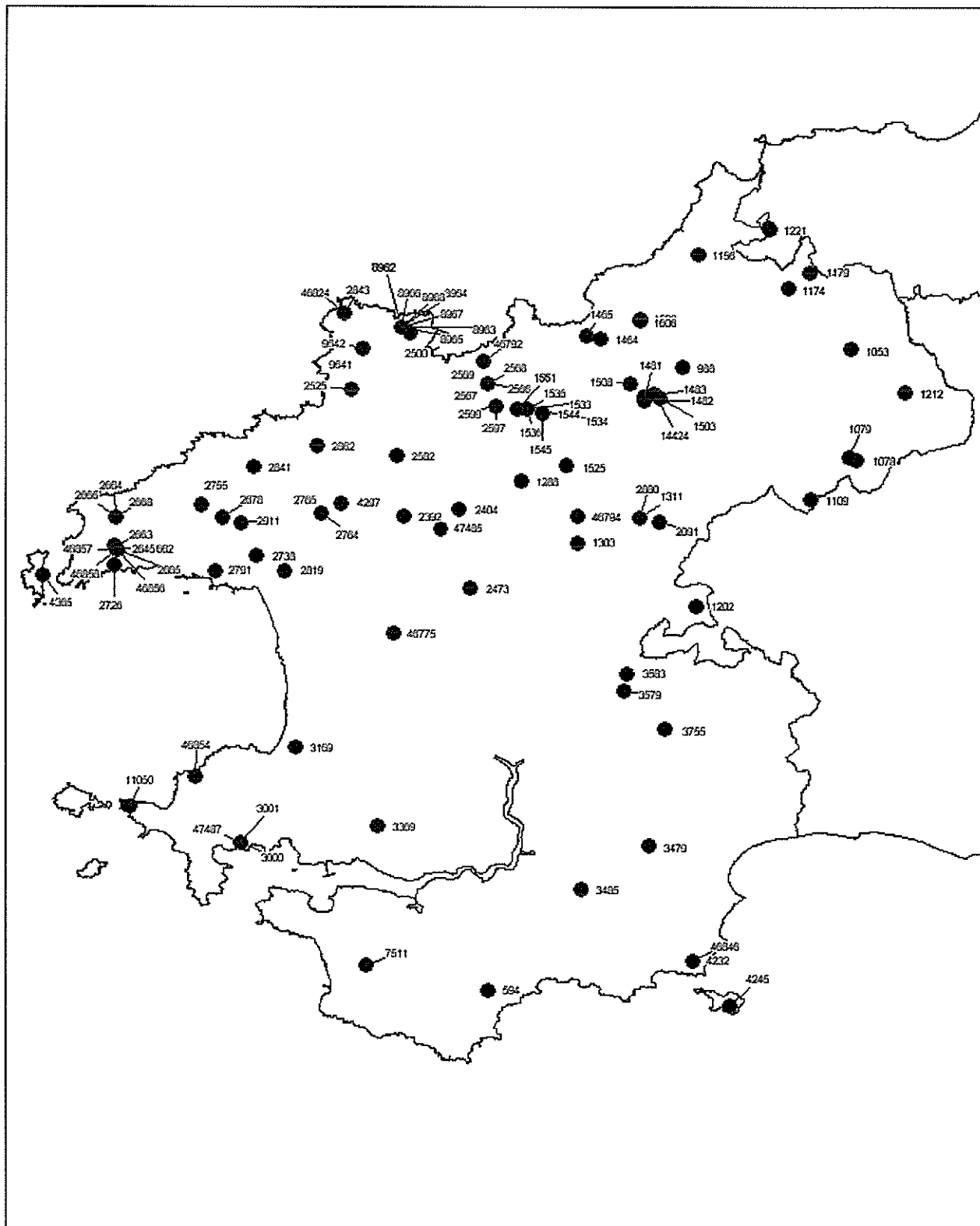
An alphabetical list of ECMs, by former parish and with PRNs, comprises Appendix 5 of this report (see Fig. 3).



*Fig. 2 – Location map of Grade D sites, Pembrokeshire*



*Fig. 3 – Location map of Early Christian Monuments, Pembrokeshire*



### **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 358 records, which broke down as -

- 1 bangor(?)
- 119 'Celtic' dedications(?)
- 2 cells(?)
- 21 chapel sites(?)
- 7 church sites(?)
- 7 cist cemeteries(?)
- 23 cemeteries(?)
- 3 *clas* sites(?)
- 26 crosses(?)
- 3 'early Christian sites'(?)
- 2 hermitages
- 1 holy well
- 1 inhumation
- 123 ECMs(?)
- 4 monastic enclosures(?)
- 11 vallum enclosures(?)
- 4 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.
- Again using these criteria, to provide recommendations for further evaluation.

Both stages of the assessment 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 'Celtic' 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.
- An assessment of the value of aerial photograph analysis in identifying early medieval ecclesiastical sites
- An assessment of the value of aerial photograph analysis in identifying early medieval ecclesiastical sites
- An assessment of the limitations of existing evidence, and the need, if any, for further evaluation of the resource

## 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 - a total of 358 records in Pembrokeshire. 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 688 records were assessed and rationalised in Pembrokeshire, 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 154 Pembrokeshire 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 list provisionally comprises -

▪ Grade A sites (high probability)	27
▪ Grade B sites (medium probability)	33
▪ Grade C sites (low probability)	43
▪ Grade D sites (possible sites)	51

Also -

▪ Early Christian Monuments	116
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In addition, 75 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.

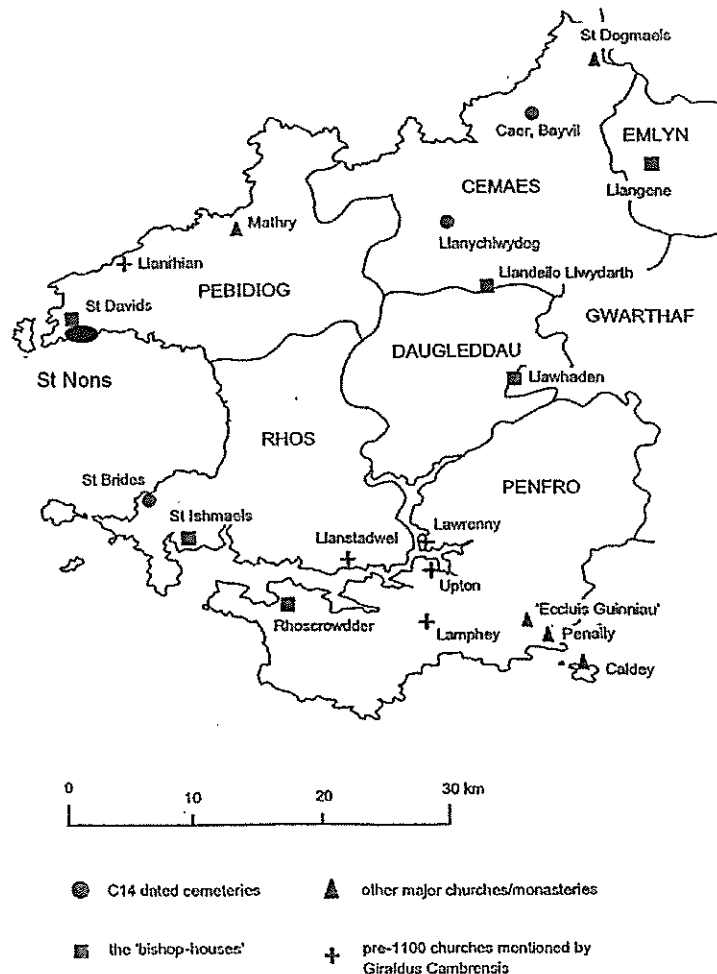
#### 4.1.1 Introduction

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/later documentation and dated deposits. In Carmarthenshire it is fair, with rather less archaeological evidence. In Ceredigion, the evidence is very poor.

Nevertheless, it has to be stressed at the outset that even in Pembrokeshire, only 20 ecclesiastical sites have demonstrable pre-Conquest origins (Fig. 4). Of these, only three have been absolutely dated - in this case by radiocarbon dating - only two of which were ever associated with church buildings (one surviving), the third being an 'undeveloped' cemetery at Caer, Bayvil. The remaining 17 are known from documentary references. Those mentioned in pre-Conquest references include the six 'bishop-houses' in Pembrokeshire, three monasteries and two important church sites. Not all of their locations can currently be proven with any finality - two are 'lost' ('Eccluis Guinniau' and Llangene) - but there is compelling evidence to suggest that at least five of them survive as existing churchyards or precincts (Llandeilo Llwydardh, Mathry, Rhoscrowdder, St Davids itself and St Ishmaels). One site, St Nons Chapel (St Davids), is strongly suggested in a contemporary source as having been established by the late 11th century. The other five are suggested by a 12th century source, Giraldus Cambrensis, who indicates that they were founded before 1100. Of these, at least two may be represented by surviving churchyards while Upton may have moved from a possible iron-age re-use site.

*Fig. 4 -The known pre-Conquest ecclesiastical sites of Pembrokeshire, relative to contemporary administrative divisions*





#### 4.1.2 Documentary sources

##### *Contemporary primary sources*

A scarcity of secure archaeological evidence is accompanied by a lack of contemporary documentary references to identifiable sites (Edwards 1996, 49). However, they do exist and in Pembrokeshire, contemporary documentation begins very early on. Mathry is mentioned in an entry in the *Llandaff Charters* which has been dated to the 6th century (Davies 1979, 96 no.127b). The entry records a gift of land 'to St Teilo', while the place-name (see Section 4.6) suggests that a church had already been established, probably at the present site. A cleric from Penally was a witness to a charter from c.675 (*ibid.*, 100 no.151b), suggesting that a monastic church stood on or near the site of the present structure. An earlier charter lists ecclesiastical holdings within the Penally area, but the reference to the as yet unlocated '*Eccluis Guinniau*' probably dates from c.1025 (Campbell and Lane 1993, 57), while the entries relating to Amroth, Cilrhedyn, ?Crinow, Crunwere and Llangwaethan appear to be 12th century interpolations.

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, a second monastery, on Caldey Island, is mentioned in the *Life of St Samson of Dôl*, a 7th century source which refers to events in the 6th century (Davies 1982, 145). The location of this monastery is, however, unknown. It may have occupied the site of the post-Conquest priory, but it is more likely to have stood on or near the site of the present St Davids Church where a cist cemetery has been excavated, possibly associated with nearby finds of 6th-7th century pottery (see below). In addition, a chapel at St Non's (St Davids) is mentioned in Rhigyfarch's *Life of St David*, which was composed at Llanbadarn Fawr, Ceredigion, between 1064 and 1082 (Davies 1982, 214), where its author held office.

A text of the 'Welsh Laws', dated to the 9th century, includes a list of 'bishop-houses' associated with St Davids (Charles-Edwards 1971, 247-62). It has been suggested that it may record an earlier, 6th century list, each bishop-house apparently being based on one of seven cantrefs of Dyfed (Fig. 2), which may represent the subkingdoms or *tuath*, established in the 5th century by the *Déisi* and *Uí Liatháin*, settlers from Ireland (*ibid.*; Thomas 1994, 105-6). The relationship between these houses - which had 'abbots' - and St Davids is uncertain, but it is thought that they did not represent independent bishoprics (Davies 1982, 160). The list includes houses at St Davids itself in Cantref Pebidiog, Llandeilo Llwydardh in Cantref Cemaes, Llawhaden in Cantref Daugleddau, Rhoscrowdder in Cantref Penfro, St Ishmaels in Cantref Rhos, and an abandoned site at Llangene, Clydau parish, in Cantref Emlyn (see Evans 1991, 249-50 for discussion). The identification of another site, at St Issells in Penfro (RCAHMW 1925, 375n.; see also Davies 1982, 159 fig.), appears to have been due to a confusion with St Ishmaels which is termed both '*Lan Ysmael*' and '*Lan Yssan in Ros*' in the texts (Owen 1897, 307n.1). The seventh house was at Llandeulyddog (Carmarthen), in Cantref Gwarthaf. Four of the Pembrokeshire sites - Llandeilo Llwydardh, Rhoscrowdder, St Davids itself and St Ishmaels - appear to survive as existing churchyards, and Llawhaden may be another. St Davids may have moved but was established on its present site prior to the Conquest (Davies 1982, 158; Thomas 1994, 106). The site at Llangene may have continued into the post-Conquest period as a chapel of Whitland Abbey whose grange of Nantweirglodd was coterminous with the hamlet of 'Tav Llangenau' (Williams 1990, 67); it is now represented by a farm-name.

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. Nevertheless, they confirm the presence of important communities at St Davids and St Dogmaels by the 9th and 10th centuries respectively (Jones 1952, 4, 10; see below).

### Later primary sources

Post-1100 sources may provide an insight into the Welsh Church on the eve of the Anglo-Norman conquests. The late 12th century Giraldus Cambrensis, in a critique of Wilfrid, the last Welsh Bishop of St Davids (1085-1115), accused him of alienating the churches of Lawrenny, Llanrhian and Upton, which had previously been episcopal possessions (Davies 1946, 237 D.28). He also is said to have alienated the 'manors' of Llanstadwel and St Ishmaels (*ibid.*, 269-70 D.153). As the last-named was the site of the bishop-house mentioned above, it is tempting to assume that, as an episcopal possession, Llanstadwel too possessed a church on or near the present building. Another early episcopal possession mentioned by Giraldus is Lamphey, where Bishop Wilfrid maintained a residence (Thorpe 1978, 148), presumably also the site of a contemporary church. Giraldus also gives an early eyewitness account of a St Brynach pilgrimage well, Buarth Brynach, as a backdrop for events that apparently occurred during Anglo-Norman colonisation early in the 12th century (*ibid.*, 170). The 'holy well' cult was already developed.

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 may include the Pembrokeshire church of Llanychâr (Anon. 1922, 193-4), and it is clear from the poem that the ritual and pilgrimage landscape of southwest Wales was already developed.

In a mandate of 1139-48, relating to events of c.1112, it is recorded that the *locator* Wizo the Fleming granted 'all my churches of Dugledi', the inland cantref and later hundred of Daugleddau, to Gloucester Priory (Darlington 1968, xxx-xxxii). No churches are mentioned by name. However, a confirmation of the grants to Slebech Commandery, of 1231, to which the Daugleddau churches had passed c.1148-76, lists all the present parish churches (Davies 1946, 362-4 D.499). So it is not clear exactly what Wizo was granting in c.1112. It appears that he was either on his way to, or had only briefly visited, his new lordship (Toorians 1990, 99-101) and was promising Gloucester all those churches which he intended to establish. Nevertheless, it is possible that at least some of them may already have been in existence. The list includes Ambleston which, morphologically, appears to be a late-medieval *assart* onto moorland (although earlier origins for the field system have been proposed by Kissock 1993, 190-197), so the possibility of an isolated, pre-existing church has to be considered. Other churches in the list include Prendergast and Uzmaeston, both of which have 'Celtic' dedications. None of them, however, meet any other significant early medieval criteria.

The 1231 confirmation records a number of further 12th century grants, some of them early (Rees 1897 & 1899, *passim*). The gift of Llanfair Nant-y-Gof has been dated to c.1125, Castellan and Redberth to c.1130, while an undated grant records the gift of St Meigans Chapel by the 'Lord of Pengelli'.

This last is of interest because, like Buarth Brynach above, it is another early reference to a well - this time with a chapel - associated with a native cult. By 1594, St Meigans was one of the 20 pilgrimage chapels listed in the hundred of Cemaes, in the north of the county, by George Owen (Owen 1897, 509). Cemaes was the centre of the St Brynach cult, based on Nevern (see Section 4.1.6), which persisted into the post-Conquest period, while retaining its native identity and many ecclesiastical traditions well into the post-medieval period. Thus few - if any - of these chapels can be proposed as pre-Conquest.

'A place in Trefgarn in Deuglethef' was recorded in the contemporary *Annales Cambriae* as the temporary site, from 1144 onwards, of the Cistercian community that established Whitland Abbey in 1151 (Williams ab Ithel 1860, 43). This site would appear to be Little Treffgarne which lay in 'Deuglethef' ie. the medieval Cantref Daugleddau. The site S. of Lampeter Velfrey, favoured by the RCAHM in 1917 (RCAHM 1917, 152-3), can be ruled out - it lay in Cantref Penfro - and also Trefgarn itself which lay in Cantref Rhos. The community's third and final move, to the present Whitland Abbey site, took place in 1151 (Janauschek 1877, 62). An analysis of later sources, and the nearby findspot of an ECM (PRN 2404), suggest that Little Treffgarne was a pre-existing site. The parish church of St Dogwells, within which parish the site lies, was named 'St Dogmael de Llan Ty Ddewi' in a grant of 1215-1229 (Conway Davies 1946, 358 D.475). This suggests that it had sometime been associated with, if not subordinate to, an unknown house called 'Llan Ty Ddewi' that was dedicated to St David and possibly associated with the Cathedral. The form suggests that it is not St

Dauids/Tyddewi itself that is being referred to; in any case the use of the name 'Tyddewi' for St Davids is not recorded until the late medieval period (Roberts 1992, 43). However, the 'Ddewi' element may have been derived from the Cathedral, ie. as a mother-house, but it may imply that this unknown house was itself a monastery. Taken together, the evidence suggests that the unknown house of 'Ty Ddewi' was indeed a monastery and one and the same as Little Treffgarne. It is also suggested that it was already in existence by 1144. Bishop Bernard may have planted the Cistercian community here, within a pre-existing, early medieval monastery, for political purposes. Bernard was the first Anglo-Norman to hold the office, and the date 1144 represents the height of the Welsh rebellion of King Stephen's reign. In addition, the 'Hogtavis' ECM, now in St Dogwells churchyard, is said to have come from within 'a few hundred yards' of Little Treffgarne farmhouse (Edwards forthcoming). It is a Group I ECM of probable late 5<sup>th</sup> – early 6<sup>th</sup> century date (*ibid.*). If it was associated with 'Ty Ddewi', it would suggest that the house was a very early foundation indeed – an early date that is supported by the name. Furthermore, Little Treffgarne formed a detached, compact portion of St Dogwells parish which – unusually – was not subject to the tithe (St Dogwells tithe map, 1846). This unit may well perpetuate the territory or landholding of the early monastery which was originally either colonised from, or acquired by St Davids. (However, being tithe free means that no field names are recorded on the tithe schedule, so an important source of information is missing.) It is clear that the Whitland community's site was re-acquired by the Bishops after 1151. This would explain why the Whitland monks do not appear to have retained any land in Daugleddau, as noted by David Williams (Williams 1984, 7). The precise location of the monastery is not known, but the present Little Treffgarne farm occupies a central location within the landholding (see Section 4.2).

*'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 *claswyr* – the brethren – are post-Conquest, the only reference in the 'Welsh Laws' being 15th century (*ibid.*, 38).

However, the St Davids clergy were described as '*clas yr arglwydd Dewi ac un eglwys Menevia*' in 1081 (Evans 1991, 38). By this time, at the very least, they were installed at the present cathedral site and had acquired enough wealth and prestige to have suffered 11 Viking attacks between 907 and 1091 (Pryce 1992, 25), seven of which were concentrated between 1070 and 1090 (Davies 1982, 120). The Latin title of 'bishop' is recorded by the 9th century (Jones 1952, 4), and metropolitan status was already being pursued, St Davids being described as an 'archbishopric' in one 9th century source (Davies 1982, 160).

The only other use of the word *clas* in Pembrokeshire is at Nevern where the glebe lands were termed *clas tir* in the mid 15th century (James 1987, 68-9; RCAHMW 1925, 263 n.782). Nevern appears to have been an important cult centre, associated with St Brynach, and the community may have been established at an early date.

However, other monasteries did exist. Penally and Caldey have been noted above. The six ECMs at St Dogmaels, or *Llandudoch*, suggest a continuous ecclesiastical presence from the 6th century onwards, though it has been suggested that the site may have moved (T. James 1992, 74 citing J. W. Evans *pers. comm.*). This community was also wealthy enough to be attacked by Vikings in 988 (Jones 1952, 10) and was refounded as a Tironian monastery, dedicated to St Mary, by the Anglo-Norman lord of Cemaes, in 1118. The foundation charter described the house as the 'old church' of St Dogmaels (Owen 1897, 362-4).

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). These are thought to represent former *clas* churches, with benefices divided between the church and powerful laymen or 'portionaries', arising from the earlier mixed lay/clerical *clas* community as damned by Giraldus (Evans 1992, 33-38).

No Pembrokeshire churches are described as portionary in the *Taxatio*, whose west Wales entries are generally somewhat terse and miss out Daugleddau entirely (Record Commission 1802, 272-7). However, George Owen's prolific output is a valuable source for the patronage and administration of Pembrokeshire churches in the late 16th century (Charles 1947-8, 265-285; Owen 1897, 287-314). In 1594, Owen described Llanddewi Velfrey as 'portionary', but in the patronage of the queen (Owen 1897, 309). Other topographical features sustain Llanddewi Velfrey's claim for pre-Conquest origins and it represents a possible *clas* church.

Owen also notes the multiple patronage by which a number of churches, almost exclusively in the northeast of the county, were held (Owen 1897, 287-314), including Cilrhedyn, Eglwyswen and Meline. This is most commonly noted as patronage 'in the hands of the freemen of the parish', with or without alternate presentation. William Rees recognised its significance on his 1932 Map of 14th century South Wales, marking these churches out specifically as 'churches in the gift of the Welsh community'. It may similarly represent a persistence of pre-Conquest tradition in this, the most 'native' of ecclesiastical regions, but all three churches possess other attributes suggesting pre-Conquest origins.

#### *'Nawdd' and 'noddfa'*

A tradition of sanctuary (or *nawdd*) is thought to be indicative of pre-Conquest origins, particularly when associated with a formal place of refuge, or *noddfa*, as at the major churches of St Davids, and Llanbadarn Fawr and Llanddewi Brefi in Ceredigion (Evans 1992, 33).

The *noddfa* is thought to represent a defined, physical space. The 15th century reference to '*clas tir*' at Nevern also records the place-name element *noddfa* (RCAHMW 1925, 263 n.782), and a late medieval grant St Dogmaels Abbey included '*a certain immunity called Nothvadegwell* (ie. '*noddfa* Dogfael') *alias refugium*' (James 1987, 69). 'Sanctuary land' is also recorded at Lamphey, a pre-1100 site, in the *Black Book of St Davids* of 1326 (Willis Bund 1902, xlii, 173), and the 1150 grant of Amroth Church to Slebech, confirmed in 1231, was accompanied by 50 acres of 'sanctuary land' (Davies 1946, 362-4 D.499). This last reference is of particular note in that a physical space or enclosure appears to be meant; map evidence suggests that the present churchyard at Amroth lies within a larger, subcircular enclosure (see below), albeit rather less than 50 acres in extent.

#### *4.1.3 Dated archaeological evidence*

Archaeological evidence dateable to the pre-Conquest period is scant indeed. As noted in the introduction, no dateable pre-Conquest church building has been recognised in Pembrokeshire, though two excavations, at St Justinians Chapel and St Patricks Chapel, both near St Davids, revealed evidence for burials beneath the present, late-medieval structures. However, there is no reason to suppose that the burials, or the earlier masonry structure beneath St Justinians (Boake 1926, 381-94), are of pre-Conquest date. In fact, one of the cists at St Patricks Chapel was covered with a re-used Group II ECM suggesting a later rather than earlier date (Hague 1970, 47).

#### *Dated cemeteries*

Of the 30 cist cemeteries that have been recorded in Pembrokeshire (out of 37 possible cemetery sites), only five have produced any form of dating evidence and two of these dates - at Cilgerran and Eglwyswrw - are post-Conquest (Ludlow forthcoming). Excavations at Eglwyswrw churchyard, in 1996, revealed forty-six medieval inhumations. The fills of two of the cist graves, and a feature cut by one of the dug graves, produced pottery dateable to the late 12th - 13th century at the earliest. A cist grave at Cilgerran churchyard, opened in the mid 19th century, contained 13th century coins (Anon. 1859, 350), whilst the re-use of a Group II ECM as a lintel-slab over an undated cist at St Patrick's Chapel, St Davids (Hague 1970, 47), suggests a later rather than earlier date. Post-conquest cist cemeteries have also been suggested in Cornwall (Preston-Jones 1984, 157-177) and Scotland (Reece 1981, 104). Moreover the presence of 'headstones' at the cemetery site on Ramsey Island (one of them a re-used 8th-9th century inscribed stone) suggests a post-medieval cist tradition that has been alluded to by, *inter alia*, Charles Thomas (Heather James, *pers. comm.*)

Nevertheless, the other three dated cemetery sites have produced pre-Conquest radiocarbon dates. These have been discussed in full in James (1987), along with a catalogue of all cemetery sites then identified in West Wales. A cist cutting the defensive bank at Caer, Bayvil, an 'undeveloped' cemetery site within an iron age enclosure, produced a date of AD 605-725 (James 1987, 72 no.17). The date is, however, uncalibrated. A date of cal AD 880-1020 was obtained from a cist at St Brides cemetery, exposed by marine erosion (James 1987, 72 no.18). This latter site may lie inside a large former enclosure containing both the parish church and a medieval chapel/*capel-y-bedd* (see below). Finally, a cist from the churchyard of Llanychlwydog parish church, in association with five Group II and Group III ECMs, produced a date of cal AD 830-950 (Murphy 1987, 77).

These three sites lie within the general north-western, coastal distribution pattern of cist-cemeteries which, as has been noted by many authors, is similar to the distribution of Group I ECMs and seen to indicate late-Roman - post-Roman settlement from Ireland. But James urges that this pattern should not be overstressed, particularly in the absence of secure dating (James 1987, 64). The three sites represent a wide range of site types and dates - the earliest from an 'undeveloped' cemetery, as might be expected, the latest in association with a graveyard chapel or *capel-y-bedd*, and the third associated with a fully developed parish church site. Moreover, the northwesterly distribution in the record is weighted by the number of '*fynwent*' (cemetery) place-names, which at least partly results from the retention of Welsh place-names in this area. It may also be noted that the post-Conquest cists cemeteries at Cilgerran and Eglwysrwrw lie within the same area.

#### *Artefacts*

A cist cemetery to the north of St David's Church, Caldey Island (see above) was partially excavated in 1918 but produced no dating evidence (Evans 1918, 43-4). However, the environs of the church have produced the only dateable, early medieval pottery in Pembrokeshire that has been in any kind of association with an ecclesiastical site - two sherds of imported pottery comprising Phoenician red slipware of 6th century date, and Thomas' Class E-ware, probably 7th century in date (Campbell 1988, 75). As Campbell noted, Caldey was the first new site in Wales to produce these imports since the 1960s. However, the association may be circumstantial and the pottery is possibly derived from a nearby secular site (Campbell and Lane 1993, 68).

An isolated rim-sherd from an imported vessel has recently been identified in an assemblage from Brownslade Burrows, Castlemartin, collected in the 1920s (Thomas 1994, 97). However, there is no evidence to link it with the lost Brownslade Chapel site.

See Section 4.1.5 for Early Christian Monuments.

#### *4.1.4 Undated archaeological evidence*

##### *Cemetery development*

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 sites, 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. 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). Funerary re-use of bronze age round barrows has been recorded in Pembrokeshire at three sites, but many more unrecorded barrows may lie beneath churchyards. The demonstrable sites include Brownslade, Castlemartin, where a 'very large number' of undated cist-graves were uncovered during the 1880s (Laws 1888, 57-9). They were not confined to the body of the barrow itself but also extended beyond it into a burial ground that may be defined by the substantial rectilinear bank to the east, which occupies a c.100m x 50m area. This burial ground appears subsequently to have been associated with a post-

Conquest chapel (*ibid.*). Consequently Brownslade may be described as a 'developed' cemetery site, where burial continued, and was formalised by the creation of a defined physical space and the erection of a building. Round barrow(s) possibly exist beneath the 'developed' churchyard at Eglwyswrw where the re-use may in fact be very late, contemporary with the earliest dateable cist-graves ie. 13th century (Ludlow, forthcoming).

Undeveloped, open cemeteries have been recorded at barrow sites at Plas Gogerddan, Ceredigion (Murphy 1992), and in north Wales. These sites do not appear to have ever been given any formal boundaries, and did not receive buildings. The origins of the open, undeveloped cemetery at Cnw, Caerfarchell in St Davids may have been similar, being associated with a possible round barrow, and possibly also with an ECM; much of the site appears unfortunately to have been lost to road-widening during the 19th century. Similarly, a possible round barrow at Chapel Park, Spittal, appears to have been the focus for a cemetery and chapel. The excavation of a single cist grave within the barrows at Capeston (Walwyn's Castle) and Kilpaison (Rhoscrowdder) may represent very early burial, of important personages who opted for burial within 'a wild, isolated place' (cf. Cornish examples in Preston-Jones 1992, 122). Further possible round barrow sites have been identified in Stage 2 of the project (see Section 4.2), while the Iet-wen/Trehywel ECM (Llanfyrnach), now moved, appears to have been derived from a bronze age cremation cemetery.

Re-use of other prehistoric funerary/ritual sites appears to have been more limited. Few ecclesiastical sites in Pembrokeshire appear to be associated with neolithic monuments, although some sites lie in close, intervisible proximity (see Section 4.1.8). However, the chambered tomb at St Elvis appears to have been incorporated within the boundary of a possible outer churchyard enclosure, while the large slabs revealed beneath Steynton Church during 19th century restoration - frequently described as 'cists' in secondary sources - may have been derived from a similar monument, being 'five feet long' and so obviously not long-cist slabs (RCAHMW 1925, 390 no. 1110). The possible henge monument at Temple Druid (Maenclochog), an intriguing site that is still not properly understood, lies in close proximity to the bishop-house site at Llandeilo Llwydarth, and itself encompasses a chambered tomb, standing stone(s) and an ECM, all of which may be in situ.

Similarly, standing stone re-use does not appear to have been widespread, although they may have been re-used as ECMs at Bridell and possibly Trebwlch III (Nevern). The large recumbent stone in the churchyard at Llanfair Nant-y-Gof may be prehistoric, while the large boulders that form the lowest courses of many a medieval church may be *in situ*. Furthermore, the possible cemetery and chapel at Henfynwent (Fishguard) appear to have occupied a standing stone site, Bathesland Chapel (Roch) was established with apparent reference to an important standing stone. However, the possibility remains that, with their normal absence of burial, standing stone sites were not generally favoured for cemeteries.

Re-use of prehistoric monuments is not limited to funerary/ritual sites. Iron Age defended enclosures represented alternative foci and the cemetery at Caer, Bayvil has been noted above. These sites are fundamentally different in that the physical space is already defined. The multivallate fort at Cas Wilia, Brawdy, near to which two 5th-7th century Group I ECMs were recovered in the early 20th century, may represent some form of ecclesiastical re-use broadly contemporary with that at Caer.

It is possible that a number of further Pembrokeshire churchyards originated within iron age enclosures (see below). Furthermore, burial appears not to have always occurred within enclosure interiors. The cist burials recorded from the circular iron age enclosure, similar to Caer, at Caerau in St Dogmaels, occupied the space between the ramparts (T. James 1992, 65). The enclosure lies in association with the field-name element *eglwys*, and so the cemetery may have been 'developed', unlike Caer, Bayvil. The medieval St Leonard's Chapel, erected just outside the enclosure (and later castle) of Rudbaxton Rath, may have been associated with a peripheral cemetery, possibly utilising the silted enclosure ditch. The position of Rosemarket Church in relation to adjacent iron age(?) enclosures suggests that the churchyard may too have originated from ditch burial. However, much of the above is, at present, highly speculative and no dated burials have been recovered from the latter two sites.

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).

The pattern of Roman settlement within west Wales dictates that there are no demonstrable examples of Roman re-use in Pembrokeshire, unlike Carmarthenshire where fort sites, roads and possibly cemeteries all lie beneath documented early church/cemetery sites. However, the main Roman road west of Carmarthen, which has now been traced within the borders of Pembrokeshire (Page et al., forthcoming), may have influenced the siting of a number of early ecclesiastical sites including the bishop-house at Llawhaden and the important site at Llandysilio. The equally important site at Clydau lies in close proximity to a putative, but unproven Roman road line. St Twynnell's parish church appears to overlies the original line of one of the 'ridgeways' across the spine of the Castlemartin peninsula, which forms the axis of the co-axial field system in this area. Both the route and the system are thought to be of prehistoric origin (Murphy 1993, 12-14). The nearby church at Warren lies just off this routeway and is intervisible with St Twynnell's - both are prominent, 'landmark' churches. It is also interesting that they are equidistant from the large, multivallate Merriion Camp hillfort. A number of reference points therefore exist in this landscape, which are likely to have originated at an early date, and to have been maintained.

The presence of undated rectilinear cropmark enclosures, which underlie the churchyards at Bayvil and Llanddewi Velfrey, is described in Section 4.2.

### *Churchyard morphology*

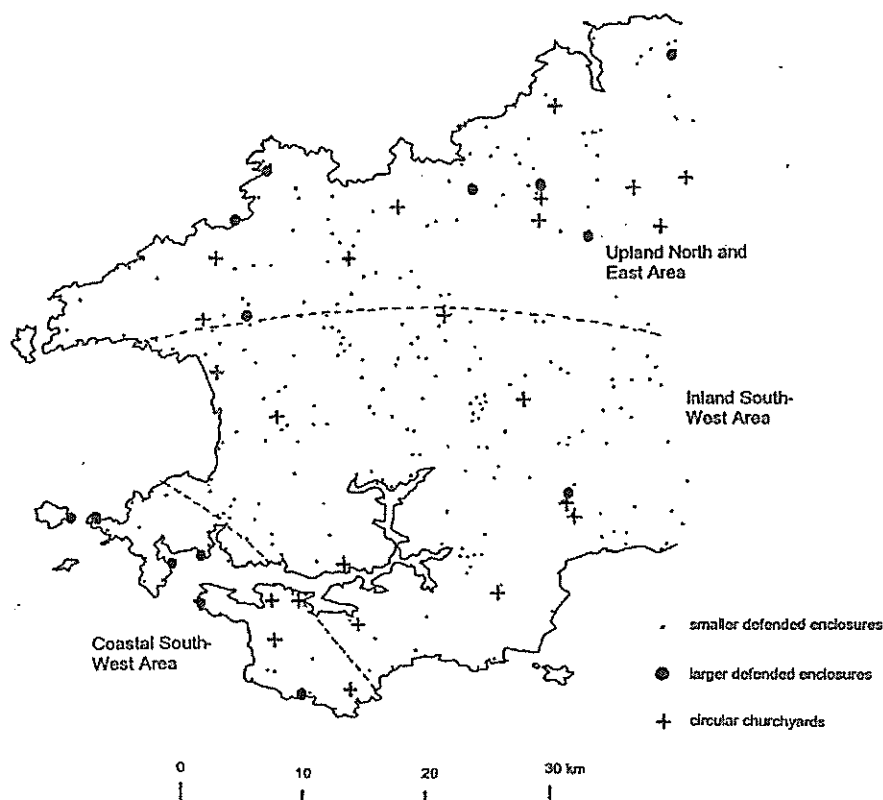
The value of churchyard morphology is still a matter of intense debate within early medieval studies. What, in particular, is the significance of the circular churchyard?

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). It is characteristic of round barrows, and it has been suggested that the churchyard at Lambston owes its shape, and its height above its surroundings, to an underlying barrow (RCAHMW 1925, 131 no.357); the same may be true of Eglwyswrw and Moylegrove (Ludlow forthcoming; cf. Mwnt, and traditionally Llanddewi Brefi and Tregaron, Ceredigion where the mounds may in fact be drumlins).

The circular enclosure is taken seriously enough for some researchers to have devised a scoring system for circularity (Brook 1992). However, as James pointed out, it is also the shape of most of the smaller, inland defended iron age enclosures within Pembrokeshire (James 1997, 7), including, for example, both Caer, Bayvil, and Caerau, St Dogmaels, the re-used sites described above. The well-known circular yard at Eglwys Gymyn, Carms., is almost certainly an iron age enclosure (James 1987, 74). Iron age origins have yet to be conclusively demonstrated for any circular yards in Pembrokeshire - of which there are proportionately few (see Fig. 5), although Stage 2 of the project has revealed cropmark and earthwork evidence for a number of new circular churchyard sites (see Section 4.2) - but some suggestions may be made. 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 - most significantly - an Inland Southwest Area of small, often circular enclosures (Williams 1988, 31-33). It is this latter area, corresponding with the medieval cantrefs Daugleddau, Gwarthaf, Penfro and Rhos, in which the enclosures most closely match circular churchyards in size and shape (Fig. 5).

It is in this latter area that circular yards are most likely to have iron age origins. The early church sites at Llandeilo Llwydarth and Llandysilio fall into this area, and in terms of shape, size and siting are possible candidates. The raised churchyard at Roch, and at Jeffreyston - which fulfils a number of other early criteria - also lie within the area and are similarly sited, as does the circular/polygonal yard at Lampeter Velfrey which appears to be embanked. It can be seen from Fig. 5 that most circular churchyards, including the 'classically' circular yards at Cilrhedyn, Llanstinan and Meline, lie *outside* Williams' Inland Southwest Area - as do Caer, Bayvil and Caerau, St Dogmaels - but the boundaries of these areas are not absolute; Fig. 5 also shows the large number of small enclosures that lie within the other two areas.

Fig. 5 - Distribution of circular churchyards relative to defended enclosure types  
(modified from Williams 1988)



When did iron age re-use stop? Preston-Jones has suggested similar origins for a number of Cornish yards (Preston-Jones 1992, 114). She argues that in Cornwall, circular yards derived from iron age re-use are early, but that *de novo* circular yards are a product of the later early medieval period (*ibid.*, 123). The continued use of the form was presumably due to persistent tradition, only later to be superseded by the concept of the rectangular enclosure (see below). However, if Eglwyswrw churchyard was established on a bronze age barrow in the 13th century, it is possible that other forms of re-use also continued into the post-Conquest period. Meanwhile, the circular/oval yards at Clydau - which may be very early - Llanfyrnach, Eglwyswen, and St Edrens also lie outside the Inland Southwest Area and the siting/topography of the latter two is wrong. These sites occupy the north of the county where native traditions persisted; St Edrens for example may well be a later, *de novo* circular yard - all four ECMs from the site are 11th-early 12th century.

Are all *de novo* circular yards in Pembrokeshire necessarily pre-Conquest - particularly within areas such as Cemaes, Cilgerran and Pebidiog in the north of the county, with their persistent native traditions? Many circular yards occur at sites with no other evidence for early medieval origins. However, it may be that, in general, circular yards are early medieval in Pembrokeshire - their occurrence within such heavily Anglicised areas as the Lordship of Pembroke, for example, Bosherton (formerly), Jeffreyston, Pembroke St Deiniol and Pwllcrochan argues for an early rather than a late date.

Aerial photography in southwest Wales 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 church sites in which the churchyards can be seen to lie within large outer enclosures, often observed in aerial photographs but, at many sites, 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. Terry James has cited the Carmarthenshire examples of Llangan and Llanwinio (T. James 1992, 69-70), and suggested another at Rhoscrowdder in Pembs. (*ibid.*, 73), while Kissonock has noted the evidence for an outer enclosure at Jeffreyston (Kissonock 1997, 133). Heather James suggests that map evidence, and the distribution of glebe- and bounty-land, indicates a very large enclosure around the early site at Llandysilio (James 1997, 22). However, the possible enclosure observed as continuous property boundaries at St Dogmaels (T. James 1992, 74) may or may not be continuous with the curving bank recently recorded through geophysics south of the post-Conquest abbey buildings (Hilling 1992, 23).

To these existing records may be added a number of new sites observed in Pembrokeshire during the course of the EME project (Figs. 6 and 7). The ruined church at St Elvis lies within an extensive, semicircular enclosure defined by tracks and boundaries, within which cist burials were noted, at some distance from the church, in the 19th century (RCAHMW 1925, 368 n.1034). Interestingly, a neolithic chambered tomb lies on the enclosure boundary (in a reflection of the use of ECMs to mark enclosure boundaries, as at Capel Colman?). At St Elvis, the present churchyard appears to be secondary, as do the yards within the irregular circles formed by the enclosures at Amroth (cf. the 'sanctuary land' mentioned above), and Moun-ton, where the enclosure is followed by the parish boundary. The churchyard at all three sites perhaps originally comprised just one large enclosure. Many new concentric outer enclosures have been recorded during Stage 2 of the project (see Section 4.2).

Fig. 6 - The possible enclosure at Amroth

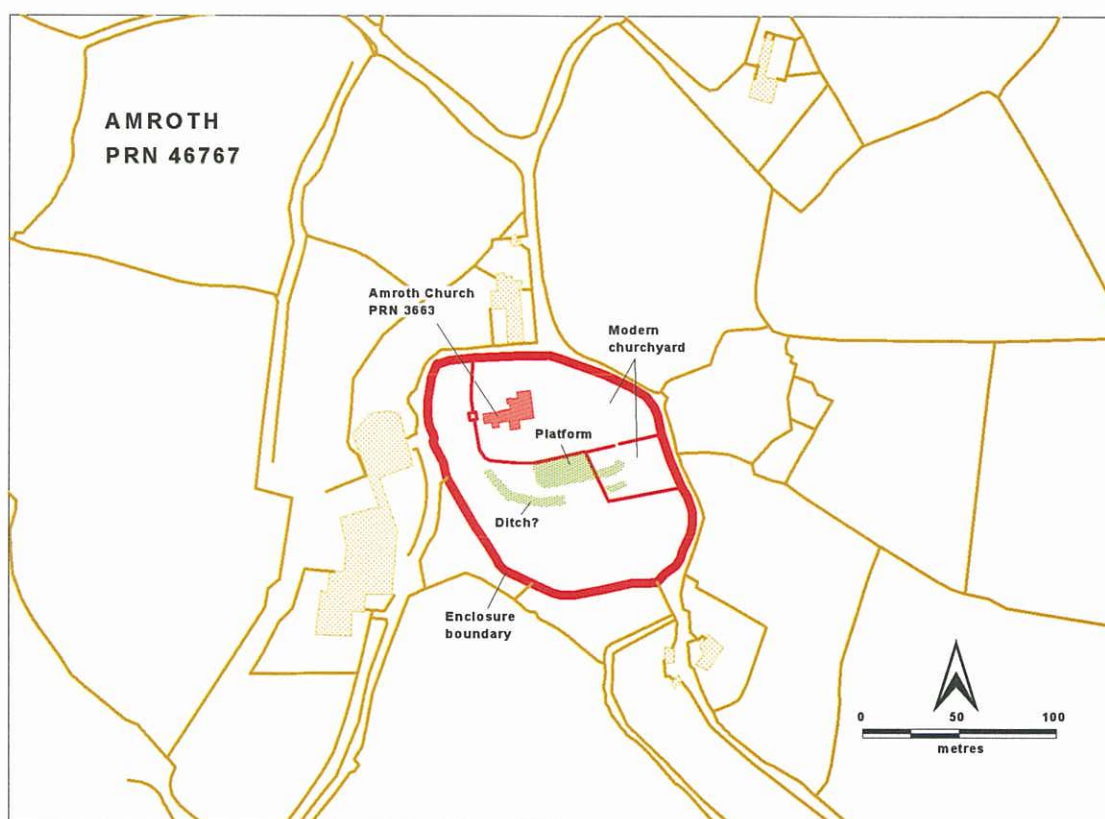
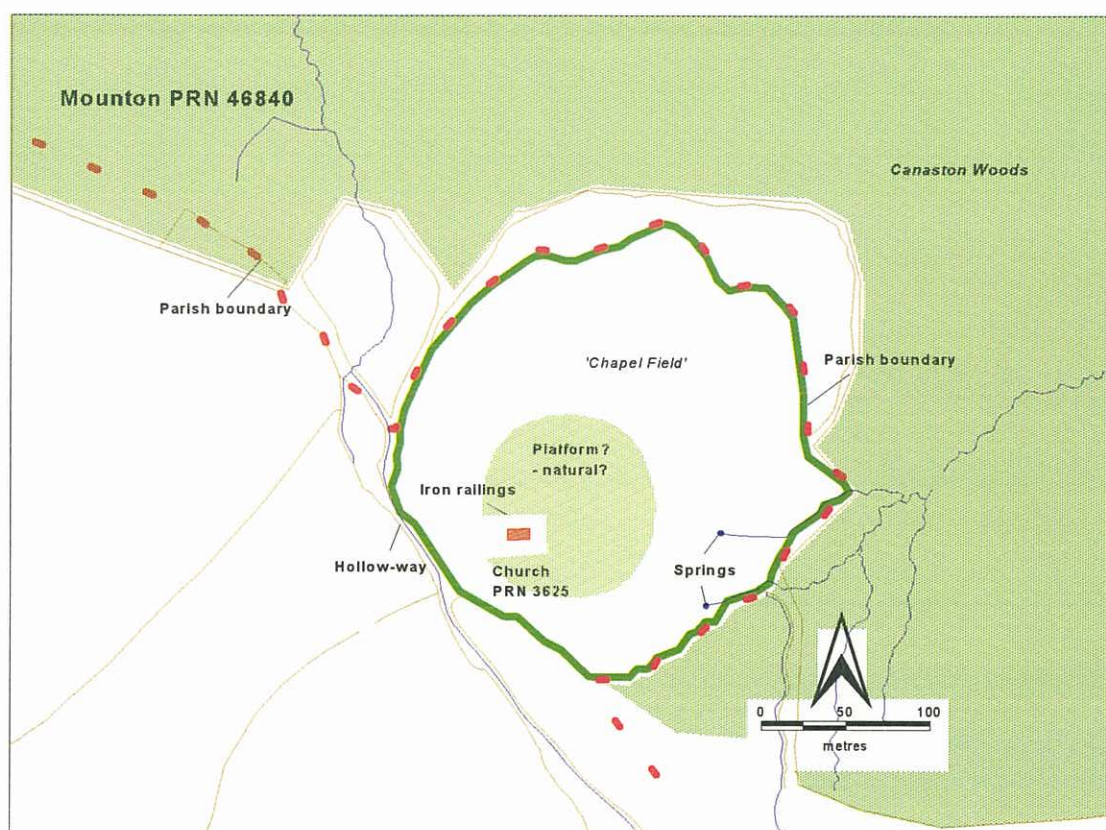


Fig. 7 - The possible enclosure at Mounton



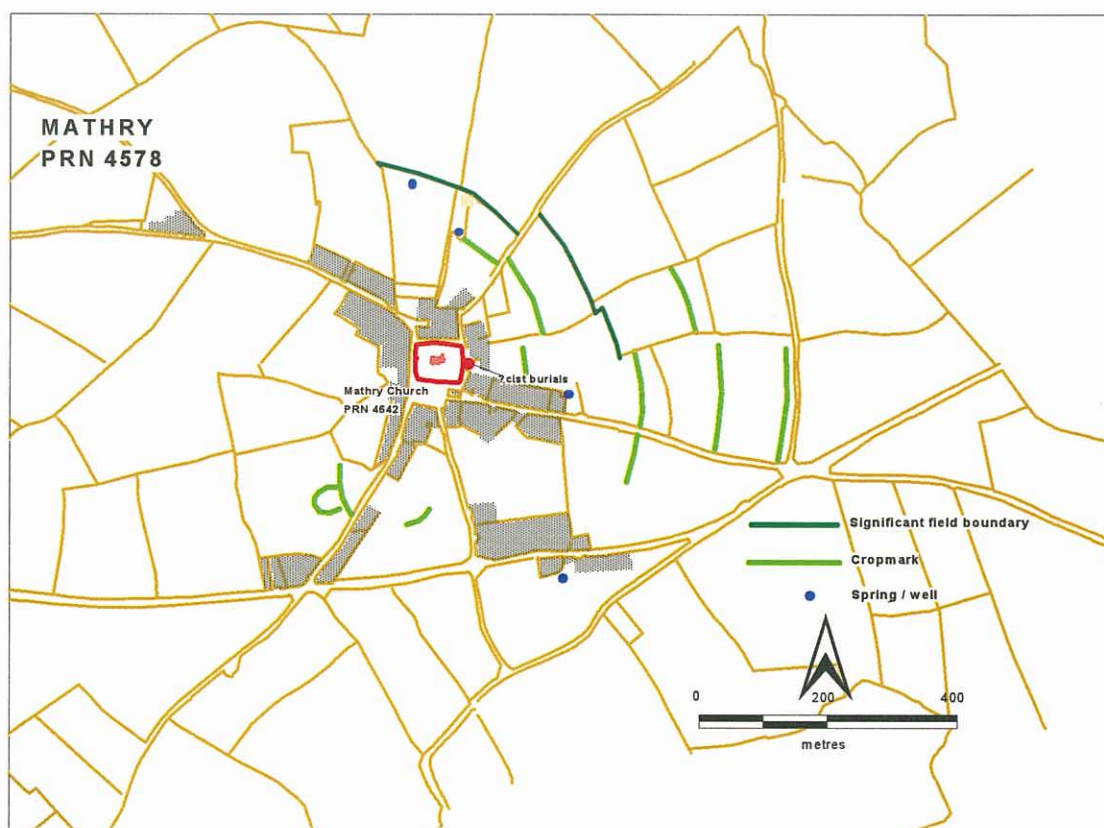
Such enclosures are not always circular, however, and it may be that prehistoric re-use provided a loose model for later, *de novo* enclosures. The outer enclosure at St Ishmaels, for example, which may be early and also contains an undated cist cemetery, is subrectangular. A similar enclosure is suspected around the cist cemetery at Bridell, which lies outside the present churchyard, but its form cannot be discerned.

James suggests that the term *bangor*, albeit later, can be applied to these outer enclosures (James 1994, 404; 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 outer enclosure 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 been identified in Cornwall, some of them very large indeed (Preston-Jones 1992, 120).

The present churchyards at the important early sites at Mathry and Penally are uncompromisingly regular rectangles, whilst other presumed early sites such as Lawrenny, Llanrhian, Llanwnda and Llawhaden are also rectangular. Their frequent occurrence at such plausible early sites suggests that they may not necessarily be post-Conquest. Preston-Jones considers that the rectangular yard is a reflection of the shape of the church *building*, which may have superseded the burial *enclosure* as the most important aspect of a Christian site (Preston-Jones 1992, 123), and regards Cornish examples as late pre-Conquest, some possibly with Saxon origins (*ibid.*, 111-113). However, Mathry and Penally may be very early foundations, and lie in an area with few templates - there are few rectangular iron age or Romano-British enclosures in Pembrokeshire, and little influence from Roman military forms (although see Section 4.2 for rectilinear cropmark enclosures beneath the churchyards at two Pembrokeshire sites). With this in mind, it is interesting to note that map evidence suggests that the square yard at Mathry may lie within a large *circular* enclosure (Fig. 8 - see T. James 1992, 74). The square yard at Newton North, another possible early site, lies within a large, rectilinear outer enclosure which still belongs to the church.



Fig. 8 –Mathry, a rectangular churchyard with a possible outer enclosure



St Davids cathedral close is a large, rectangular walled enclosure which, in its present form, dates chiefly to the 13th- and 14th centuries. However, James has suggested that at least part of its course may reflect an earlier enclosure, the names of some of its entries perhaps preserving the locations of early medieval entries (James 1993, 110). Giraldus Cambrensis' mentions Porth Gwyn, through which Henry II entered in 1171, in his contemporary description of the 12th century precinct (Thorpe 1978, 167). But he goes on to suggest that the northern area, within which this gateway lies, may have been a subsequent addition - 'the churchyard is bounded on the north side by the River Alun, a muddy and unproductive stream' (*ibid.*, 166). And in his recent comprehensive survey Rick Turner concluded that the close may not have emerged in its present form until after 1287, when an edict was issued for the enclosure of the canons' houses (Turner 2000, 87-8, 165), probably including this northern area - which became the site of the Bishop's Palace. So the form of the earlier enclosure must remain uncertain.

#### *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 Clynnog Fawr, Gwynedd, can overlies earlier structures (*ibid.*).

There is good antiquarian evidence for a *capeli-y-bedd* at Clydau churchyard where one of the Group I ECMs now in the church is said to have stood 'in an old chappel in the churchyard', known as 'Eglwys Trisant', in c.1710 (RCAHMW 1925, 75). The building attached to the south side of the nave at Rhoscrowdder - a bishop-house site - has long been known as 'St Decuman's Chapel' (Caröe 1915, 352), and occupies a similar position to the *capeli-y-bedd* at Clynnog Fawr. However, in its present form is largely post-medieval.

A chapel, associated with the 10th century cist described above, stood on the cliffs north of St Brides Church until lost to the sea, before 1800. The observation of a part of an outer cropmark enclosure to the west of the church suggest that both chapel and cemetery may also have been enclosed. However, the present church appears to lie on the periphery of (or even outside) the enclosure, in much the same position as the church at Llangan, Carmarthenshire, the local 'site-type' for prehistoric enclosure re-use. Here, it may be that the church was erected over a 'special grave' in the ditch fill - it may even have been the *capel-y-bedd* to a second church within the enclosure. Its location and morphology make the enclosure at St Brides an unlikely iron age re-use site, and therefore a ditch-burial is an unlikely origin for the church. However, there are traces of cropmarks within the enclosure that *may* represent further, ?ecclesiastical building(s). Recent geophysical survey suggests a possible similar, multiple, church site associated with Monkton Priory, Pembroke (see Section 4.2).

A cemetery chapel dedicated to 'St Erow', apparently detached, was recorded in Eglwysrw churchyard by George Owen in the late 16th century, in which 'the tomb of the saint, in hewed stone, is extant in the south side...' (Charles 1947-8, 278). However, the saint in question is unidentified. There is no other source for this 'St Erow' (or Gwrw) and it may be that the original dedication was to St Mary the Virgin (*gwrwyf* in Welsh), possibly sustained by the tradition of virginity attached to the saint's grave. It may also be noted that in west Wales, 'eglwys' normally occurs only in association with a Mary dedication or with an adjective. At present, there is no evidence that the saint's grave, or tradition, is any earlier than the 13th century cemetery (Ludlow, forthcoming).

In any case churchyard chapels can be late medieval. The mortuary(?) chapels in the churchyards at both Angle and Carew have no cult tradition, and appear to be *de novo* structures of the 15th century.

#### *'Leacht' sites*

Evidence for *leacht* sites, or altar-like features found commonly on open sites in Ireland (Davies 1982, 182; T. James 1992, 74), is not convincing in Pembrokeshire.

#### *Undeveloped cemeteries*

Finally, something must be said about the large number of undeveloped cemeteries seemingly indicated by the number of *fynwent*, *beddau* and cemetery place-names recorded in Pembrokeshire, 30 in all. These sites are normally the most difficult to identify and assess. Their distribution is interesting, most of them occupying inland, mid-upland 'plateau' sites. It will be seen in Sections 4.1.5 and 4.2 that several of these names occur in conjunction with ECM sites and are therefore probably pre-Conquest. A few of them occur in association with antiquarian records of burial, occasionally including cists. Some of them may have developed chapel buildings, hitherto unrecognised. However, the physical evidence suggests that most did not and were disused, or relocated at an early date.

A number of these sites were found to be associated with cropmarks during Stage 2 of the project - they are described in Section 4.2.

#### *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 epigraphy 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 had recorded 123 ECMs/possible ECMs in Pembrokeshire (excluding sites recorded as 'crosses' which are place-names only). Two records appeared to relate to the same stone, while 12 were not recognised as early medieval by Edwards who however identified a further seven which were not on the record.

The figure has now resolved at 116 definite ECMs. The highest proportion of these appear to be Group II ECMs, closely followed by Group I; there are comparatively few Group III ECMs.

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. Ken Murphy has demonstrated, at Llanysylltydog, that even when standing in a churchyard they are not necessarily *in situ* (Murphy 1987, 79-81). And even though the accounts of antiquarians such as Edward Lhuyd can provide information on their past movements, such accounts can be confused and contradictory (*ibid.*), while they are normally no earlier than the 18th century. An exception is the record, again made by George Owen, that the fine, Group III St Brynach's Cross already stood in Nevern churchyard in 1594 (Charles 1947-8, 270).

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.*).

In Pembrokeshire, Group I ECMs are concentrated within the coastal north and west of the county, associated with late-Roman - post-Roman settlement from Ireland (James 1987, 65). Nevertheless, 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). Sixth century cemetery sites are suggested at the bishop house at Llandeilo Llwydarth, with two Group I stones, and Llandysilio Church, where three Group I ECMs, taken with other evidence, suggest that the churchyard was established as a high-status century burial ground in the 5th-6th century (James 1997). A similar concentration of three Group I stones at Clydau occur in association with a *capel-y-bedd* site.

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. The Trehywel Stone, Llanfrynach, was discovered in association with 'cooking pots' suggestive of bronze age cremations (Edwards 2001, 21) while a possible Group I ECM from the cist cemetery site at Cnw, Caerfarchell in St Davids, established next to a round barrow, has been lost and cannot be dated.

Group II ECMs are predominantly found in southwest Wales with a particular concentration in the northern part of the area, again suggesting Irish contacts (*ibid.*, 39). While some may indicate landownership, their occurrence suggests that the majority were commemorative grave markers denoting church/cemetery sites (*ibid.*). There is, however, little overlap with Group I stones suggesting a wave of new foundations in the 7th-9th centuries, possibly including Pontfaen where the two large, Group II stones in the churchyard appear to be *in situ*. Nevertheless, the Group II stone at St Ishmaels occurs in association with a bishop-house of possible 6th century date, while the re-use of earlier stones at eg. Bridell, and the succession of ECMs of all periods at Nevern suggest persistent site status.

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 Group II-III ECM groups at Llanwnda, Llanychlwydog and Penally confirm their continuing status.

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. The results were mixed, but in combination with aerial photograph analysis, place-name evidence and fieldwork, produced 18 possible sites. These are described in Section 4.2.

#### *4.1.6 Dedications and cults*

The use of so-called 'Celtic' 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.

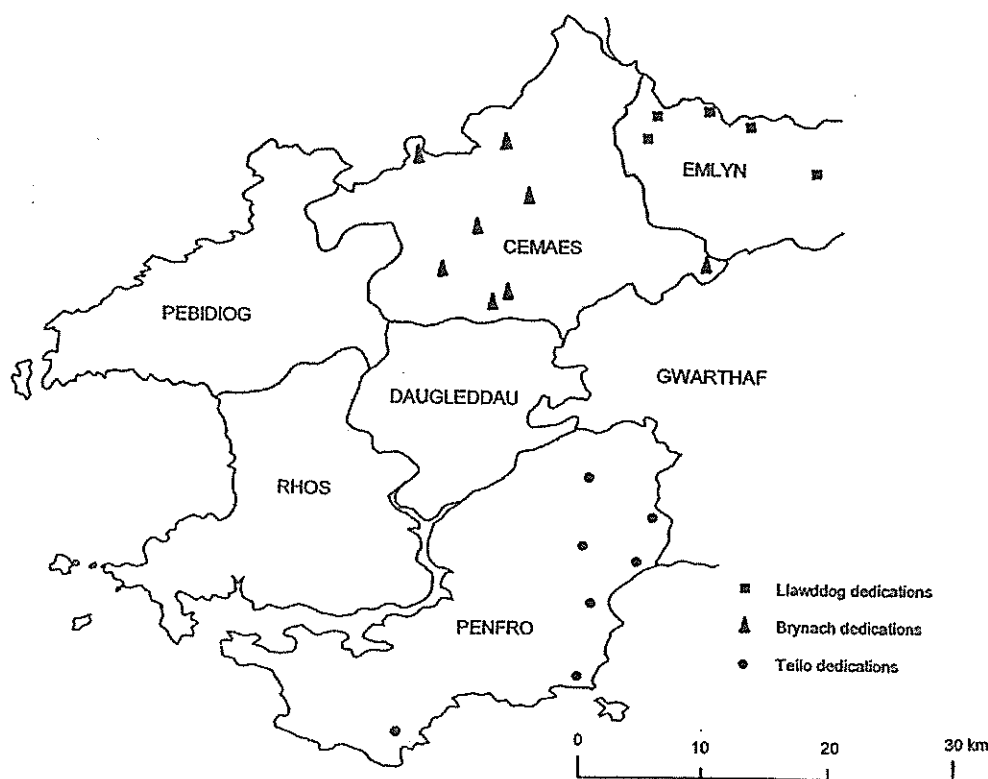
However, as Wendy Davies has pointed out, it is in many cases clear that dedications arose centuries after the supposed lifetime of a saint either because of the popularity of his cult, or through acquisition by a mother house (Davies 1982, 146). Without early evidence it is impossible to assign an early 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 'Celtic' dedications are secondary; Rosemarket Church, now dedicated to St Ismael, appears to have been dedicated to St Leonard during the medieval period (RCAHMW 1925, 313, no.908n.). It may be that the 'West Country' dedications of St Petroc (St Petroc) and St Twynnell (St Wynnoc) in Penfro originate in the well-recorded settlement of this area from Devon in the early 12th century (for Devon settlement see Rowlands 1980). And new 'Celtic' dedications have been made in more recent years - both the St Mynno dedication at Moylegrove and the St Non dedication at Llanycefn are 20th century, while Walton West has been re-dedicated at least twice and the original dedication lost.

In Cemaes in northern Pembrokeshire, the large numbers of 'Brynach' dedications are associated with the cult of St Brynach, based at Nevern (Fig. 9). Here they may be early. Some lie within the parish of Nevern, a very large parish - formerly larger, until Newport parish was carved out c.1200 - which may represent the *parochium* or *patria* of St Brynach. However, the more important dedications - Pontfaen, Llanfyrnach and Henry's Moat - are of sites which were parish churches themselves by the mid 12th century, the first two having been granted to two different post-Conquest religious houses (Davies 1946, 362-4 D.499). The connection with the mother-house at Nevern appears to have already been lost. However, the cult was not forgotten. Giraldus ascribes magic powers to St Brynachs's Well near Nevern (Thorpe 1978, 170), and by the close of the medieval period there were 20 pilgrimage chapels in Cemaes (Owen 1897, 509).

The cult of St David is well-known, and its effect on the landscape of Pebidiog (St Davids peninsula) was the subject of a recent paper by Heather James (1993) who notes that many of its churches, chapels and wells, whilst possibly having early origins, cannot be securely dated to anything other than the post-Conquest period (James 1993, 106). It may have been mirrored by a similar cult that developed around his successor, St Teilo, in Cantref Penfro in the southeast of the county. However, it is more likely that the cluster of Teilo churches in this area represent properties acquired by the mother church at Penally (Fig. 9). Amroth, Crinow, Crunwere, Ludchurch, and Stackpole churches are all dedicated to Teilo (often in the hypocoristic form 'Eliud' or 'Elidyr'), while St Issells appears to have been dedicated to St Usyllt, Teilo's father according to the 'Lives'. Like the Brynach churches they may be early, having found their way into the hands of various patrons and monastic houses during the 12th century (Davies 1946, 362-4 D.499) - possibly at the instigation, or collusion of the Bishop of St Davids in order to counter the rival claims made upon churches by the 'Teilo' centre at Llandaff. In any event, no cult was active in this area in the late medieval period, and all these churches may therefore have early medieval origins.

Fig. 9 - The Cemaes Brynach churches, the Penfro Teilo churches  
and the Emlyn Llawddog churches



A similar cluster of churches, dedicated to St Llawddog, occurs in Cantref Emlyn (Fig. 9). This area now lies mainly in Carmarthenshire but also includes the church at Cilgerran in Pembs. Here the dedications may be rather later, possibly post-Conquest - none of the church place-names contain dedication elements, while the dedication at Cenarth (Carms.) is secondary - and be the result of a persistent 'Llawddog' cult that was as active in the 15th century as ever (Ludlow 2000, 80), as witnessed by a touching *cywydd* written to the saint by the poet Lewis Glyn Cothi -

*The countryside, its woods, its seed corn,  
Llawddog is responsible for all its glory.  
May Llawddog give success  
To his parish, his men, his children,  
To every harrow and every yoke,  
To every plough,  
And every furrow and every hill,  
To every ridge and every grain of earth.*

Dedications to the favoured Latin cults of St Mary and St Michael were furthermore 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 in pre-Conquest entries in the Llandaff Charters, one of them from the 8th century (Davies 1979, 106 no.167).

#### 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). The *merthyr* element, derived from the Latin 'martyrium' and probably denoting a cemetery that developed around a martyr's grave (Roberts 1992, 42), is recorded as early as the 6th century when Mathry ('Marthru') was granted 'to Teilo' (Davies 1979, 96 no.127b). The use of the name suggests that there was already an ecclesiastical presence at the site. It has been suggested by Preston-Jones, however, that the use of the element in Cornwall is not necessarily always this early (Preston-Jones 1992, 114). *Merthyr* occurs in one other Pembrokeshire place-name, *Merthyr Cenlas* (the free chapel at Coedcanlas), which was recorded in the post-Conquest period. Although the site exhibits no other evidence for early medieval activity its location within a heavily Anglicised region of southeast Pembrokeshire may be significant. *Merthyr* has also been suggested as the origin of the nearby church name Martletwy, as *Merthyr Tyfei*, cf. the dedication of the 'Grade A' church at Lamphey (ie. *Llan Tyfei*).

Much more widespread is the *eghwys* element, derived from the Latin 'ecclesia' (church), and its frequency is at odds with Roberts' suggestion that 'there is never more than one *Eghwys*- name in a commote' - in Pembrokeshire, there can be two, three or more such names eg. in the Cwmwd Cemaes Is-Nyfer where it occurs in at least five fully-developed sites. Elsewhere, some of the widespread 'parc-yr-eglwys' names may merely denote tracts of ecclesiastical land. The element is far more widespread in the Welsh north of the county - in Cemaes, Cilgerran and Pebidiog - which suggests that it is early, and was supplanted in the Anglophone south; however, it has been seen that there is no evidence of a church or cemetery at Eglwyswrw before the 13th century and so its use may indicate a persistent tradition largely confined to the north.

Roberts suggests that *mynwent*, or cemetery (from the Latin 'monumentum'), is a post-medieval borrowing. Nevertheless, its importance should not be diminished. While many a 'Hen fynwent' - and they are plentiful in Pembrokeshire - may denote a post-Conquest cemetery, the majority of these names occur at open sites, some with cist-grave evidence, and would thus appear to relate to early medieval undeveloped cemeteries.

The loan-word *capel* (from 'capella' or chapel) occurs, as Roberts suggests, either as post-medieval or undated usage (Roberts 1992, 43), for instance Capel Colman Church which was known as Llangolman during the medieval period. However, its widespread usage by George Owen, whose 1594 list of 20 Cemaes pilgrimage chapels all had *Capel*- names (Owen 1897, 509), suggests that it was already a long-standing appellation, and there are a similar number of *Capel*- names in Pebidiog (James 1993, 105-112). Its use, in Pembrokeshire, may then largely have been confined to a particular kind of late-medieval pilgrimage chapel, established at the height of the Brynach and Dewi cults.

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 Pembrokeshire, and has been recorded at only two locations during the EME project, both of them as place-name sites only, but one in conjunction with a *fynwent* element.



### 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, its pre- and early post-Conquest usage is recorded at a number of sites in southwest Wales eg. Llandeilo (Llwydarth), Llandudoch, Llanrhian and Llanstadwel. Furthermore, its occurrence at otherwise unrecorded locations may be significant, particularly when used with the adjective *hen* (or 'old'). This significance may increase where they occur in clusters, for instance within Cwmwd Efelffre, part of Cantref Gwarthaf but now in Pembrokeshire, where Llandeilo and Llanddewi church sites occur in close proximity with the place-names Henllan and Llangwathen. While the reference to Llangwathen in the *Llandaff Charters* - as 'Llandeilo Llwyn Gwaeddan' - may be a 12th century interpolation, it may (briefly) have given its name to the surrounding region - cf. Robeston *Wathen* - and the association of these names suggests considerable religious activity in an area with little recorded post-Conquest ecclesiastical significance.

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 while, as Roberts has noted, *ty* occurs as an ecclesiastical place-name only twice - at Tyddewi (St Davids), and then in a late-medieval context (Roberts 1992, 43), and at St Dogwells Church which was referred to as 'St Dogmael de Llan Ty Dewi' in the early 13th century (Davies 1946, 358 D.475), the 'Ty Dewi' possibly referring to another, uncertain site (see Sections 4.1.2 and 4.2). The element *bod* ('home' or 'abode') is mainly restricted to north Wales and does not seem to have been used in southwest Wales.

#### 4.1.8 Topographic evidence

Although there are notable exceptions, there is generally little evidence that Pembrokeshire churches have been relocated, either during the pre- or post-Conquest periods, and their very location may be among the best evidence for early ecclesiastical activity - and continuity.

#### Topographic location

Topographic location has long been subject to discussion in relation to church dating. However, as E. G. Bowen pointed out, 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 are situated well inland, for instance four of the seven 'bishop-houses' - Llandeilo Llwydarth, Llandeulyddog, Llangene and Llawhaden - possibly from the 6th century. 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 Llawhaden and Nevern, 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 Pembrokeshire. For example, of the 27 'Grade A' sites, only three are associated with 'holy' wells, at Llandeilo Llwydarth, Rhoscrowdder and St Davids; four more -

Bridell, Clydau, Llanddewi Velfrey and Mathry - are associated with springs. Moreover, the association appears only to apply to church - or 'developed cemetery' - sites; few undeveloped cemeteries occur in association with springs or wells, and indeed most appear to occupy mid-upland 'plateau' sites.

'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, Terry James has suggested a number of Pembrokeshire sites that occur in close proximity to iron age defended enclosures (as distinct from ecclesiastical re-use), including Llanstinan, Llawhaden, Meline and Nevern (T. James 1992, 71-2). This proximity may suggest continued secular use (or re-use) of these enclosures into the early medieval period. In addition, Heather 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 has recorded many more ecclesiastical sites in close proximity to iron age enclosures, for example the portionary church at Llanddewi Velfrey which lies immediately beneath two large, multivallate hillforts, Dinas Old Church, Cilrhedyn Church and possibly Monkton Priory (see Section 4.2). However, in many cases the association may be more circumstantial, or may have arisen from some of the same factors - favourable location, or recognition of former status as appears to have been the case at Capeston round barrow - that led to the ecclesiastical re-use discussed above. James goes on to suggest that closely associated iron age enclosures may represent paired sites in which one enclosure was re-used for the church, the other for the secular settlement. Like ecclesiastical re-use itself, this is difficult to demonstrate.

Moreover such secular re-use, whilst often suggested, is difficult to prove in Pembrokeshire. The only secure early medieval date obtained from any iron age enclosure is from Drim Camp, near Llawhaden, where a post-hole deposit yielded a radiocarbon date of cal AD 640-770 (Edwards and Lane 1988, 68). Any possible occupation does not appear to have been ecclesiastical - the site may later have been used as a castle - but there is no known ecclesiastical site nearby. However, excavations at the late medieval Carew Castle in the 1990s revealed a series of ditches belonging to a multivallate promontory fort, while several sherds of imported E ware were found in residual contexts (Gerrard 1990, 249). The site can be argued as a pre-Conquest royal *llys*, which appears to have formed the dower of Nest, daughter of the last king of Dyfed Rhys ap Tewdwr, killed in 1093 (Rowlands 1980, 142-157). It lies 1km distant from Carew Church.

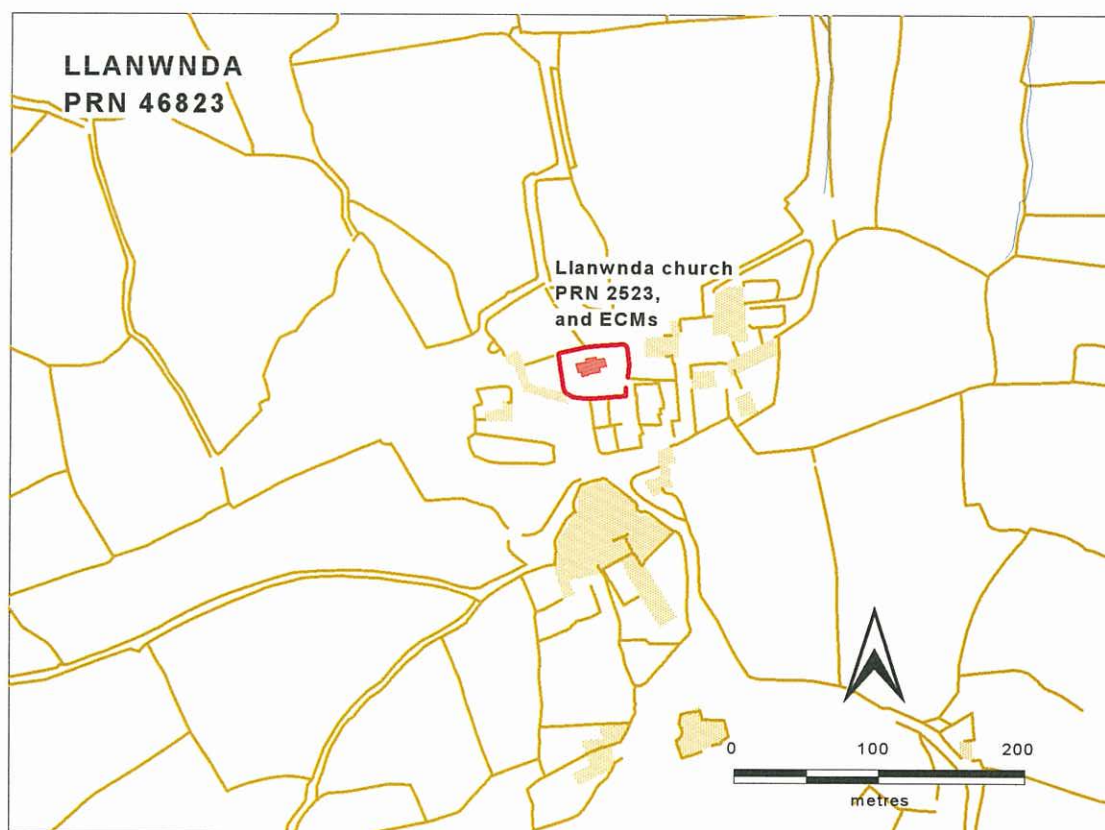
Secular/ecclesiastical proximity can be suggested at a number of other sites. Excavations at the high-status secular site at Longbury bank, also in Penfro (but not an iron age site), revealed occupation dateable to the 6th-7th centuries; it lies just 400m from the suggested site of 'Eccluis Guiniau' referred to, in an early 11th century entry in the *Llandaff Charters*, as the birthplace of St Teilo (Campbell and Lane 1993, 55-9). The association between the nearby early monastic site at Penally, and the possible 9th-19th century *llys* at Tenby, has been observed by a number of authors. However, any similar association between the putative - but unproven - *llys* site at Narberth Castle and the nearby parish church appears to be militated against by the presence of burials beneath the castle outer ward - possibly associated with an early church relocated to the present parish church site in the 13th century

(Murphy and Crane 2002).

It is interesting to note that three of the above-mentioned secular sites were developed as Anglo-Norman castles, and that the churches, though clearly associated with the post-Conquest settlements, lie some distance from them. Moreover, in the Anglo-Norman boroughs of Cardigan, Carmarthen, Kidwelly, Laugharne, Llandovery, Pembroke, St Clears and Tenby, the parish churches all stand outside the initial defended areas (see Soulsby 1983), in sharp distinction to the close church-castle association normally expected in planted settlements. This phenomenon has been commented upon by Murphy (1997, 154), and demands explanation. Were the Normans reluctant to establish military/secular settlements close to existing ecclesiastical sites, and to relocate such sites? Or were many of these castles established over pre-existing *llys* sites? Other Anglo-Norman settlements exhibit the same tendency - Manorbier Castle lies at the tip of a promontory clearly separated from the church by a steep valley; does it represent the *llys* of Cwmwd Maenor Pyr? Similarly, Pembroke Castle is named from Cantref Penfro and may represent a re-used iron age promontory fort, and a possible intermediate *llys* (Ludlow 1991, 26) suggesting early origins for Monkton priory (which receive some support from recent geophysical survey - see Section 4.2). It may at least be significant that most of these sites occur in the south of the county.

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 lie in prominent locations intervisible with, but distant from, equally prominent round barrows, for instance Moylegrove where churchyard morphology appears to support a bronze age origin for the site.

Fig. 10 - Churchyard and landscape at Llanwnda (Pebidiog)





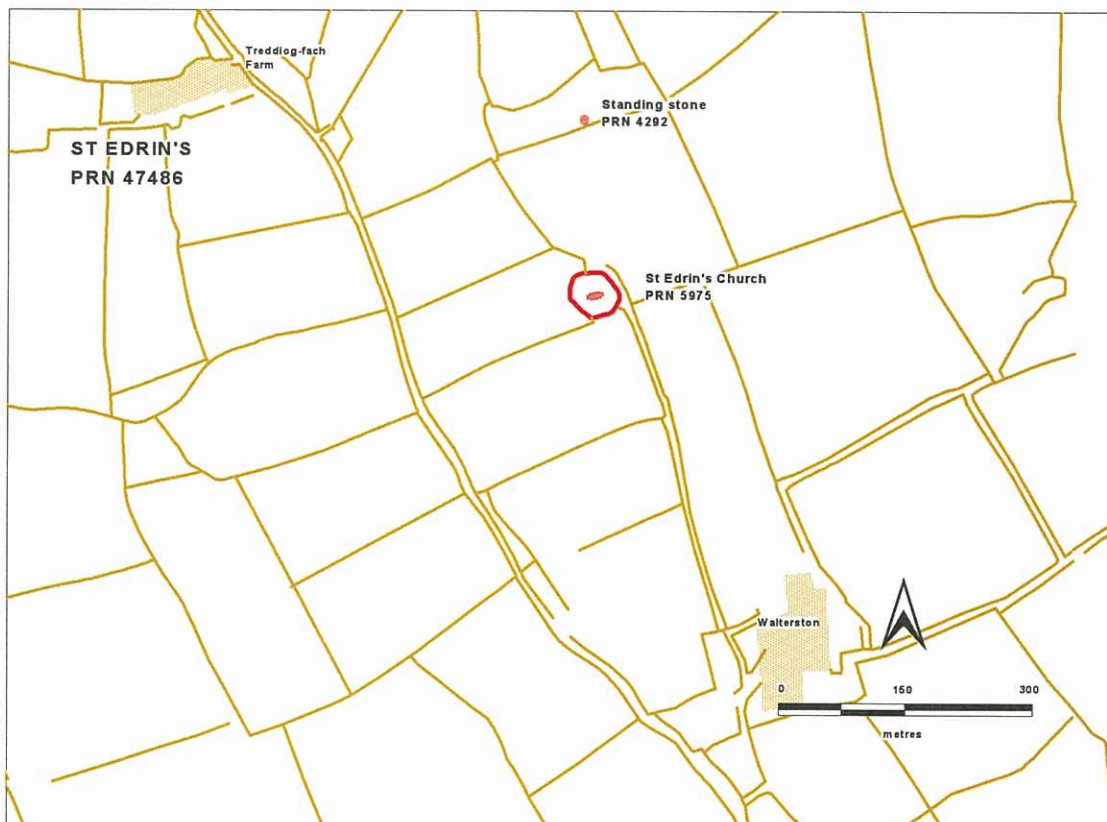
### *Landscape morphology*

The EME project included an assessment of the relationship between churchyards and the surrounding landscape. In general, Pembrokeshire churches appear to be primary physical elements of the historic landscape and if not actually axial to field boundaries and routeways, are normally respected by them. However, in many parts of the county, the present settlement and enclosure pattern is late, often post-medieval in origin. In other areas, particularly in the north, the pattern of dispersed settlement and irregular enclosure is earlier, some of it late medieval at least. James has noted that Llanwnda lies within an area of dispersed, irregular strips (T. James 1992, 74), but these appear to be derived from early enclosure of land held under Welsh tenure (Fig. 10). A number of other churches in Cemais, Cilgerran and Pebidiog are similarly nuclear to such informal boundaries, which they can be seen to pre-date. At others, for instance St Edrens, it is clear that a medieval open field landscape ran up to the churchyard and was subsequently enclosed, leaving the yard apparently out of context (Fig. 11).

Open-field systems were most developed in the Anglicised south of the county, and yet even here elements of an earlier, underlying landscape can be discerned. The possible outer enclosure at Jeffreyston can still be seen to be nuclear to a radial boundary system which may be pre-Conquest (Kissock 1997, 133). Few medieval churchyards appear to interrupt earlier field systems, but the square, ?post-Conquest churchyard at St Petrox can be seen to be superimposed on earlier boundaries (Fig. 8). However, while these boundaries appear to enclose a medieval open-field system, they may in fact be iron age in origin (Murphy 2001, 97). It must always be borne in mind, furthermore, that churchyard boundaries, far from being static, change through time and may be the remnant of the much larger enclosures noted above.

The influence of Pembrokeshire's rural churches on settlement and nucleation as it developed through the medieval period was variable, even in the Anglicised south. Most of them are not only rural, but often inaccessible and far from centres of habitation either past or present, for instance Clydau, Llanhywel, St Elvis, St Edrens and St Ishmaels none of which appear to be associated with deserted medieval settlements (DMVs). As noted above, the churchyard at Ambleston may have been isolated until a late medieval *assart* onto moorland gave rise to surrounding settlement, surviving as a strip-field system. All these factors argue for early origins.

*Fig. 11 - Churchyard and landscape at St Edrens (Pebidiog)*



## **4.2 Results from Stage 2**

Stage 2 of the project comprised analysis of aerial photographs (APs) of all 154 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 aerial photographs 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. A small number of sites in the northeast of the county lacked any AP coverage, but were overflown and photographed by the author in January 2003, on a flight that formed part of Cambria Archaeology's RCAHM(W)-funded aerial photography programme.

Field visits were made to 88 of the 154 sites arising from Stage 1. Many of the 154 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 154 sites was amended and refined to a list of 150 sites, as follows -

	<u>2003</u>	<u>(2002)</u>
▪ Grade A sites (high probability)	27	(27)
▪ Grade B sites (medium probability)	29	(33)
▪ Grade C sites (low probability)	29	(43)
▪ Grade D sites (possible sites)	65	(51)

In addition -

▪ Early Christian Monuments (ECMs)	116
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See Section 1.2 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.

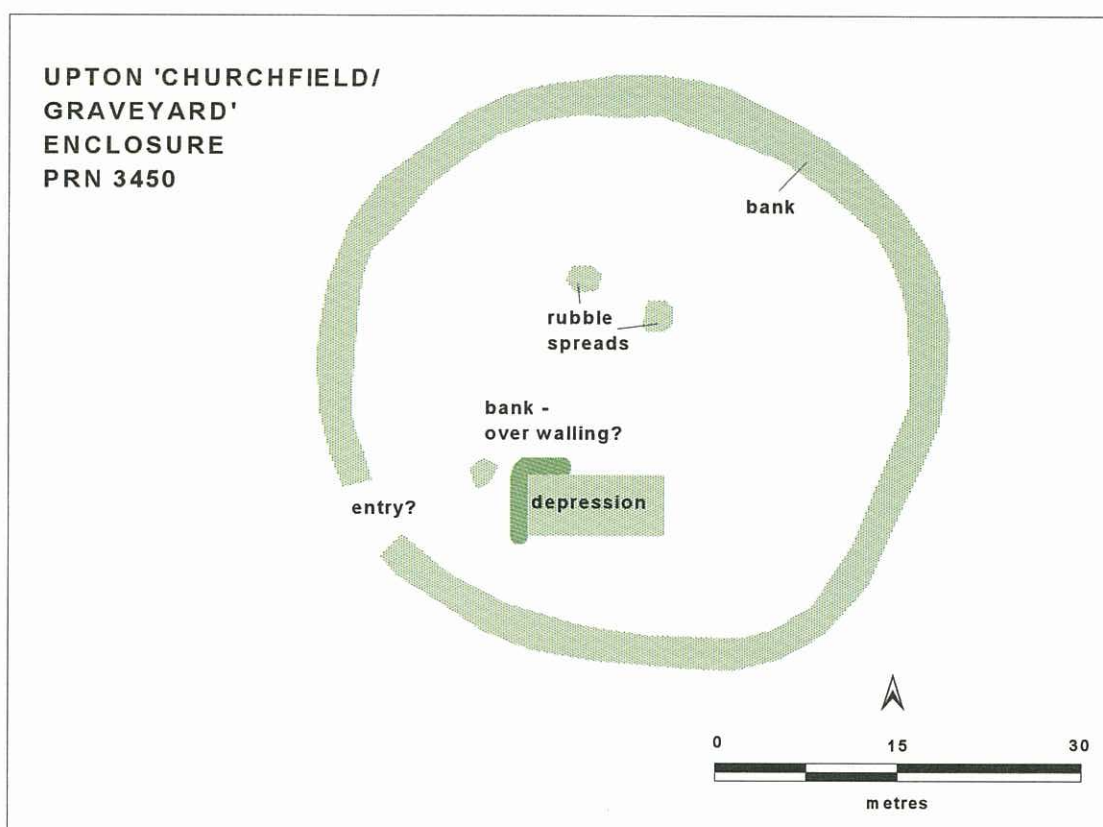
The main outcome from Stage 2 has been the enhancement and refinement of both the SMR and the schedule, with the formulation of management strategies, scheduling priorities and recommendations for future archaeological investigation.

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.

#### 4.2.1 New church/chapel sites

One of the most significant results of Stage 2 fieldwork was the identification of the probable site of the 'Upton Church' mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis as having been alienated by Bishop Wilfrid in 1085-1115 (Davies 1946, 237 D.28, see Section 4.1.2). The present parish church at Upton is a late medieval building in a very regular, subrectangular churchyard closely associated with the 14th century fortified manor house of Upton Castle. However, one kilometre to the north of the church is a field named 'Churchfield' or 'Graveyard'. The field is occupied by a circular earthwork, thought to be possibly iron age (Fig. 12). Fieldwork demonstrated that a rectangular, east to west depression approximately 12 metres by 5 metres lies in the centre of the enclosure, and is defined by slight traces of buried walling. It may represent an early chapel site, possibly representing Wilfrid's church, which was rebuilt in stone sometime before having been moved to its present location - as, primarily, a mortuary chapel of the Malefants - when they built Upton Castle in the 14th century. It may be significant that it is intervisible with Lawrenny church, another of Wilfrid's alienations.

Fig. 12 - Sketch plan of Churchfield enclosure, Upton



Re-use of the large, multivallate hillfort at Caerau in St Dogmaels, is represented by cist burials which have been recorded from the space between the ramparts (T. James 1992, 65 - see above, Section 4.1.4), and by the possible establishment of a church, suggested by the associated the field-name element *eghwys*. The site was overflowed in January 2003 when the faint indications of a rectangular depression were observed in the northern half of the enclosure - possibly representing the site of a church building? During the 19th century, a number of antiquarians thought Caerau to have been the original site of St Dogmael's community before it moved to the St Dogmaels Abbey site - a tradition that is still followed by some. However, the persistence of the field name, at least, suggests that ecclesiastical use continued for some considerable time.

Llanddinog Farm, Llandeloy, is the probable site of cemetery, represented by the 'llan' element of the farm-name and a field name *Weirglodd-y-fynwent*, ie. 'cemetery meadow' (RCAHM 1925 445 p.159). It was also the findspot of a lost Group II ECM, and a 'holy well'. However, the field name is not recorded on the tithe map and its location is unknown. Nineteenth-century oral accounts record the



presence of a presumed medieval chapel building on the farm, and though the location is now difficult to identify, it appears to have been situated close to the farm-house. The field immediately south of the house, which is now a lawn, exhibits a strong, regular rectangular cropmark on APs (Fig. 13). The cropmark is roughly orientated and c.15m long, and in form appears to represent a building - possibly representing the medieval chapel? The site is marked as 'homestead and garden' on the tithe map, perhaps explaining the omitted name *Weirglodd-y-fynwent*, and it perhaps also contains an earlier cemetery (although the present occupant recalls having disturbed no burials). Like the farmhouse, and the well, the site appears to occupy a large subrectangular enclosure which is still defined by tall field boundaries on three sides.

Fig. 13 - AP showing the cropmark ?chapel at Llanddinog, Llandeloy  
(right of centre)



(The parish church at Lamphey, which appears to have been an episcopal possession by the late 11th century, exhibits earthwork evidence for an apse at the *west* end, observed by the author during the 1995-8 Cadw Historic Churches Survey. Whilst this apse suggests comparisons with Saxon and early medieval continental examples, it is probably not a pre-Conquest feature - a similar apse was added to Capel Maelog, Powys, in the 13th century (Britnell 1990, 86) - but it may have been an immediately post-conquest addition. The rarity of these western apses is commented upon by Britnell (*ibid.*). )

#### 4.2.2 New circular churchyards

A number of further new circular churchyards were identified as cropmarks, and sometimes earthworks, on APs. They include the important, documented early medieval site at St Non's Chapel, St Davids (Fig. 14), where the present, late medieval building was seen to occupy the east half of a circular cropmark/earthwork enclosure (with a probable concentric outer enclosure preserved as a field boundary, see below). The nearby St Justinian's chapel, also a late medieval building but with suspected earlier origins, appears to straddle a very small circular enclosure which is defined by a low bank, visible in the field. The bank has been partly removed by a recent garage, and in the past was cut

away to the north of the chapel, but a semicircular arc survives. It too may lie within an outer enclosure. The former Capel-y-pistyll, Porthclais, which also lay nearby, has now gone but it was associated with a well, Ffynnon Dewi, mentioned by Gwynfardd Brycheiniog in the 12th century (Lewis 1931, 43-52 - see Section 4.1.8). One arc of a possible curvilinear cropmark is visible on APs in the approximate area suggested, in the sources, as the chapel site.

*Fig. 14 - AP showing the circular churchyard (and outer enclosure?)  
at St Non's Chapel, St Davids*



The church at Llanllawer, with an assemblage of four *in situ* Group II/III ECMs, now occupies a square, regular churchyard. However, the cropmark of a slightly larger, almost perfectly circular enclosure can be clearly seen to surround the yard on APs (Fig. 15). The well-known Llanllawer 'holy' well, with its masonry superstructure, appears today to be detached from the churchyard but can be seen to lie on the periphery of this cropmark enclosure, as if deliberately incorporated.

A number of more dubious sites have been recorded. These include Henllan, Llanddewi Velfrey, which was the site of the medieval chapel of Trefendeg (Charles 1992, 515). The location of the chapel is unknown but a field on Henllan Farm is called 'Waun henllan fychan isaf'. This field contains a number of cropmarks of apparent domestic or agricultural nature. However, in the adjoining field is a circular cropmark appearing to represent a defended enclosure with a very wide bank - possibly re-used?.

The present St Davids Cathedral site was, according to Rhigyfarch's 'Life' of the saint, composed in the late 11th century, the third location of St David's community. The intermediate location is given as 'Rosina Vallis' or 'Hoddnant', traditionally thought to occupy the valley of the Afon Alun below the cathedral precinct (Thomas 1994, 106; Davies 1982, 158). The site is at best semi-mythical and was



originally not included within the project. However, chance observation revealed the presence of a possible circular enclosure, defined by a slight earthwork, on the east flank of the valley immediately north of Porthclais. The site occupies a level platform in what is everywhere also a steep slope. It is also the recorded findspot of a later medieval floor-tile. The evidence is at best equivocal but the floor-tile, at least, suggests that the site is worthy of further investigation.

*Fig. 15 - AP showing the circular churchyard, and well, at Llanllawer parish church*



#### 4.2.3 New outer enclosures

An outer enclosure around the churchyard at the bishop-house site of Llandeilo Llwydarth, suspected from the map sources, appears to be confirmed by the presence of a substantial curving scarp/bank south of the yard. A stream now runs within the bank, but it cannot be a leat - it doesn't lead anywhere. The morphology and location of the site do not rule out the possibility that it may be a re-used iron age defended enclosure.

An outer enclosure was similarly suspected around the churchyard at Capel Colman, where an *in situ* ECM south of the church is thought to represent a boundary marker (Edwards forthcoming). AP evidence suggests a curvilinear, concentric enclosure with a double boundary, visible as parallel cropmarks southeast of the church and coinciding with the location of the ECM.

A double boundary also appears to have been present at Martletwy parish church, where the cropmarks can be followed almost fully around the church, forming a suboval enclosure which reflects the suboval shape of the churchyard. To the north, the line of the outer enclosure was followed by a hedgebank, removed in recent years. Martletwy may preserve a *Merthyr* place-name element (see Section 4.1.7 above).

An earlier, circular churchyard at Eglwyswen is visible as an earthwork north of the church, observed during the 1995-8 Cadw Historic Churches Survey, and elsewhere as a cropmark, within what is now a rectangular churchyard. It is surrounded by one of the most prominent circular/polygonal cropmark enclosures seen during the EME project, representing what appears to be a very wide ditch encircling the entire churchyard (Fig. 16).

*Fig. 16 - AP showing the possible cropmark enclosure around Eglwyswen parish church*



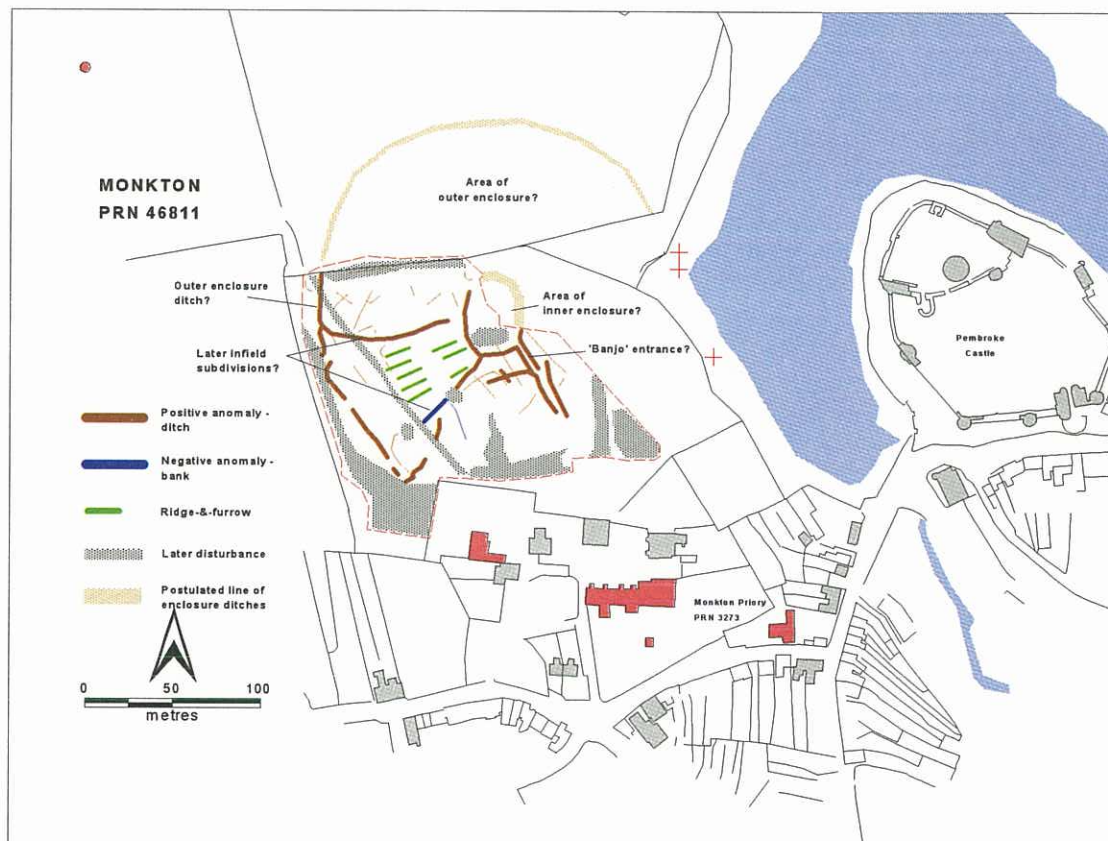
The subcircular field occupied by St Non's Chapel and former circular churchyard may represent an outer ecclesiastical enclosure, which receives some support from the peripheral location of St Non's Well, cf. Llanllawer above, and from the wide cropmark visible where the northern boundary has gone. The evidence for an outer enclosure at St Justinian's is more equivocal, represented an arc of possible bank west and southwest of the chapel.

An equally incomplete arc of enclosure boundary can be seen, both as field boundary and cropmark, to the north of Llanstinan Church. However, here the evidence is more compelling. The outer enclosure is subdivided by radial boundaries, again represented by hedgebanks and cropmarks, into a number of compartments which reflect the possible subdivision, by springs, of the circular churchyard itself. Llanstinan may be a 'paired site' with a hillfort immediately to the south (T. James 1992, 71-2 - see Section 4.1.8 above), and itself may represent an re-used iron age enclosure. If so, the subdivisions are of interest - assuming that they are not later boundaries, they may represent early medieval use of the enclosure as an infield system.

This morphology may be paralleled at Monkton, Pembrokeshire, where, as part of an entirely different project, a geophysical survey was undertaken in November 2002. A number of anomalies were revealed in the green field immediately north of the medieval Monkton Priory (Fig. 17). They appear to resolve themselves as one quadrant of a concentric enclosure, with an oval inner enclosure and a subcircular/polygonal outer enclosure (Ludlow 2003). The outer enclosure is, like Llanstinan, apparently divided into compartments by radial boundaries. There is a slight possibility that present

priory church *may* occupy the projected line of the outer enclosure boundary, which may be significant given the relative locations of church and enclosure boundary at Llangan, Carmarthenshire (see above, Section 4.1.4). Might the anomalies represent the suspected, but unconfirmed site of an early medieval precursor to the present priory, possibly re-using an iron age concentric enclosure?

*Fig. 17 - Interpretative plan of the geophysical anomalies at Monkton, Pembroke*



#### *4.2.4 Evidence from ECM findspots*

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. The results were mixed, but a combination of ECM findspots, aerial photograph analysis, place-name evidence and fieldwork produced 18 possible sites. Of these possible sites, 9 are entirely new.

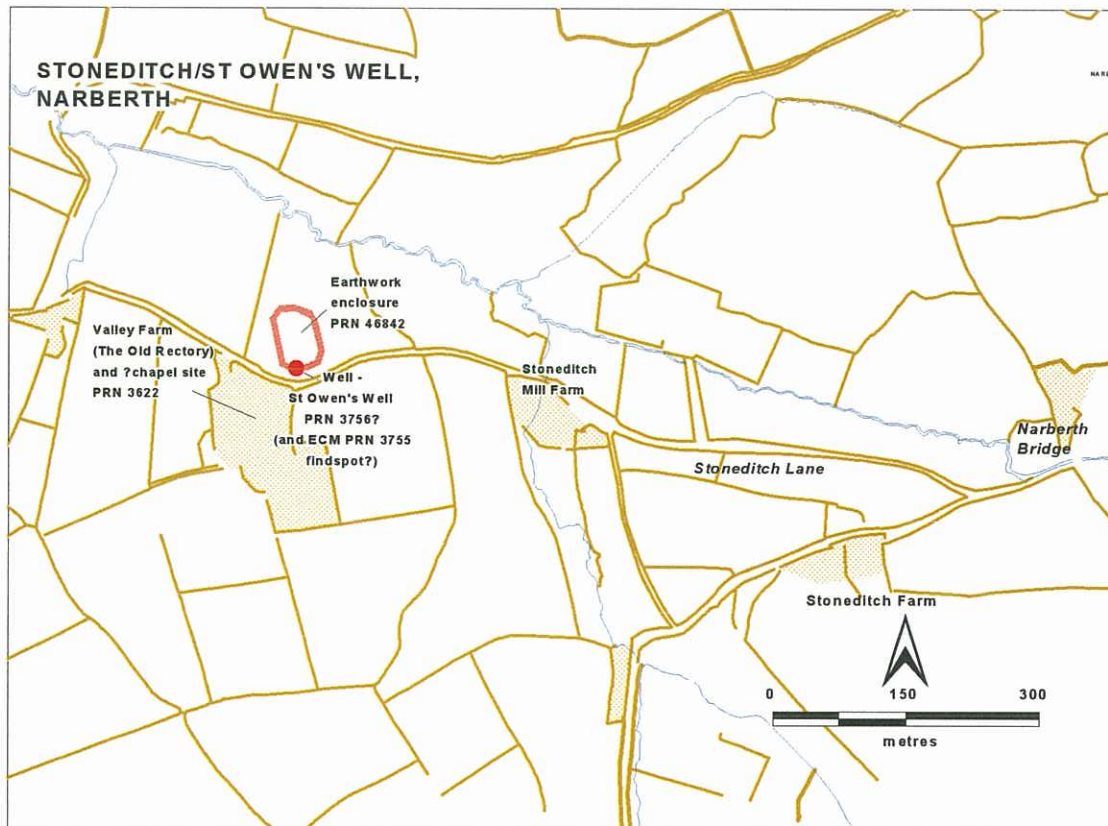
As noted in Section 4.1.5 above, Group I ECMs in Pembrokeshire (5th - 7th century), though sometimes marking single burials or possibly even land-ownership, are usually now found at non-monastic church sites, which - if they are in situ - suggests that the basic ecclesiastical infrastructure was established at a very early date (Edwards 2001, 39). However, some Group I ECMs may mark 'lost' cemetery/church sites. The important 'Hogtavis' stone, now in St Dogwells parish church, was discovered near the 12th century Cistercian monastic site at Little Trefgarne which, as noted in Section 4.1.2, was possibly the successor of an earlier monastic site which may have been dedicated to St David. The presence of the stone would appear to support this attribution and imply origins as a 5th - 7th century cemetery or church. There is little field evidence for any phase of the monastery, but a slight earthwork platform is visible in the field immediately northwest of the farmstead, beneath which the bulk of the site may have been situated.

The evidence from Narberth is rather more conclusive. There are antiquarian records of a lost, Group I ECM which was recorded in the 17th century near 'St Owen's Well' (RCAHM 1925, 249). The site of this well has hitherto not been identified, but was thought to have been situated near Stoneditch Lane, 1km ESE of the town (*ibid.*). Indeed, the substantial remains of a masonry well-head can still be seen



on Stoneditch Lane, just north of Valley Farm. APs show that the well lies on the periphery of a raised oval platform which is visible in the field as a slight earthwork. Separate accounts record the presence of ruins, thought to be of a medieval church, at the 19th century Narberth rectory (ibid.) - however, during that period, the rectory occupied Valley Farm (Fig. 18). It appears then that we may be dealing with a lost cemetery/chapel site with potential for occupation from the 5th/7th century until the later Middle Ages.

Fig. 18 – Sketch plan of St Owen's Well, Narberth, and the associated earthwork enclosure



The Group I 'Rinaci' stone, now in Llanhywel parish church, was discovered on Carnhedryn Farm, St Davids, in the 19th century when it was in use as a gatepost to the farmyard. There is no tradition of a church or cemetery in the vicinity and the stone may have been derived from the nearby site at Penwaun, where a lost ECM occurred in conjunction with a *Parc llan* (ie. 'church[yard] field') place name - which here may only mark ecclesiastical land-ownership. However, APs show that Carnhedryn Farm is surrounded by a plethora of cropmarks with a variety of different forms. There are subcircular concentric enclosures, rectilinear enclosures, linear features, and even a possible building. Some of them have a pronounced late Neolithic - bronze age funerary appearance; others cannot be characterised at all. It may be that none of them is associated with the ECM but the widespread association between Group I ECMs and the re-use of bronze age funerary monuments has been on commented above. (The adjoining church of St James is a de novo 19th century foundation.)

Round barrow re-use is also possibly suggested at Llandrudion (St Nicholas) where undated cists were recorded in the 19th century, in association with two Group I ECMs (the 'Meli' and 'Paani' stones), both now in St Nicholas parish church (RCAHM 1925, 380). The cists occupied a field called *Weirglodd-y-fynwent* (ie. 'cemetery meadow'), immediately north of the farm which itself may preserve a dedication to St Tridian in addition to the *llan*-, or churchyard, element. The field is dominated by a low mound, c.30m in diameter, at the highest point (Fig. 19). Too well-defined to be natural, and too conical to be a raised churchyard, the mound may be a round barrow.



Fig. 19 - Weirglodd-y-fynwent, Llandrudion (St Nicholas) looking S towards the mound



The occurrence of Group II ECMs (7th - 9th century) suggests that the majority were again commemorative grave markers denoting church/cemetery sites, while some may indicate land ownership (Edwards, forthcoming). The precise findspot of the Group II ECM from Tregidreg Farm, Mathry parish (now in Mathry church) was not recorded, but two fields on the farm are named *Parc-y-llan* (ie. 'church[yard] field'). No features are visible in this field but another, named *Parc-y-bed* (perhaps derived from *Parc-y-bedd* or 'grave field'?), contains a possible circular cropmark/parchmark - possibly representing a cemetery enclosure? It is possible that Tregidreg may have been the source of the Group II ECM apparently found within the walls of Rhoslanog farmhouse, 0.5km to the northwest.

A lost, Group II-III ECM from Clyn Farm, Llanychaer, is also suggested by Edwards to have marked a cemetery site. The stone may still be on site, buried beneath building debris from recent farm buildings, in its only recorded location which was within the boundary of a field that is named *Parc-yr-eglwys* (ie. 'Church Field') on the tithe map. This field contains a possible cropmark (Fig. 20), which is also marked in the field by an oriented, rectangular depression measuring approx. 70m x 30m. Too large to represent a building, the cropmark/depression may nevertheless be associated with a cemetery. The field immediately northwest is named *Parc-y-ffynnon* or 'well field', which may also be significant. However, it is possible that, like Penwaun above, the name and ECM may only mark ecclesiastical land-ownership. In contrast, the important Group II-III ECM from the nearby site at Cilrhedyn Isaf, Llanychaer, occurred in conjunction with a *fynwent* or 'cemetery' field. However, there is no record, AP evidence or field evidence for a cemetery.

A Group II-III ECM, now in Newport parish church, was brought from Cnwc-y-crogwydd Farm on the outskirts of Newport borough where, during the later Middle Ages, a gallows had been erected 'on a tump' (Miles 1995, 45) that is thought to have been a round barrow. As has been noted in Section 4.1.3 and 4.1.4, round barrow re-use may have proved remarkably persistent. However, the site is now built over and all evidence has probably been lost. Similarly, the Group II-III ECM from Velindre Farm, Llys-y-fran, was found near an iron age defended enclosure. The possible re-use of the enclosure as an early medieval cemetery may receive some support from its subsequently having become the focus for a deserted rural settlement (DRS).

Fig. 20 - AP showing the possible cropmark at 'Parc-yr-eglwys', Clyn Farm, Llanychaer  
(bottom left)



A complex of predominantly Group II ECMs, covering a  $1\text{km}^2$  area of Nevern parish, and including a well site and two standing stones, occur in open country where they may all be more-or-less *in situ*. One of them, at Trebwlch Farm, may be a re-used standing stone. The presence of at least one chapel/cemetery site in the vicinity is strongly suggested. However, both AP analysis and fieldwork failed to identify any potential locations for such a site and the stones may again have been boundary markers for ecclesiastical land.

Group III ECMs (9th - 13th century) are mainly associated with the major churches and monasteries, and are visible symbols of prestige (Edwards forthcoming), and mainly occur on established sites. However, they can occur at 'open' sites such as Penarthur Farm, St Davids, where four Group III ECMs may be boundary markers for a block of land that still belonged to the Bishops of St Davids in the 19th century. However, the farm was known as 'Maen Arthur' ('Arthur's Stone') as early as 1326, when it was recorded as episcopal land in the Black Book of St Davids (Willis Bund 1902, 55). A 'holy' well is also situated nearby, and Edwards considers that the possibility exists that there was an early medieval cemetery in the vicinity. A possible curvilinear cropmark is situated immediately south of the episcopal block as marked on the tithe map - might it be associated?

#### 4.2.5 Other associated sites and features

A number of other sites and features, largely undated, were found to exist in association - accidental or deliberate - with ecclesiastical sites during the Stage 2 work.

Standing stone re-use is possibly suggested at Henfynwent, just east of Fishguard on the south side of the A487(T). Here, a field named *Hen fynwent* (ie. 'old cemetery') is also called 'Old Church Field' on the tithe map. It lies in that quarter of Fishguard parish called Capel Llanfihangel, after a medieval



chapel that is thought to have occupied the same field. The field was also occupied by a bronze age standing stone that has recently been moved to one of the field boundaries. Its original site is marked by a very low mound, or platform, which exhibits AP evidence for amorphous cropmarks. These cannot be resolved into interpretable features, but may belong to the bronze age, or perhaps to the ecclesiastical use of the site. A similar cluster of cropmarks is present around, and alongside the standing stone at Bathesland, Roch, lying between the stone and a nearby rectangular depression which may mark the site of a suspected medieval chapelry.

The churchyards at Llanddewi Velfrey and Bayvil appear to overlies large, rectilinear cropmark enclosures. That at Llanddewi can be traced for several hundred metres and is rather irregular. It appears to show at least one entrance with a clubbed terminal. It may be prehistoric, but perhaps a Romano-British context is more appropriate. The now-redundant church at Bayvil was overflowed in January 2003, when the field to the northwest was ploughed for winter sowing. The soilmark of what appeared to be the northwest corner of a large, regular rectangular enclosure was observed, seemingly multivallate (exhibited by lighter, bank material/upcast) and with a rounded corner. Again, a Romano-British date may be indicated.

*Fig. 21 - AP showing the possible cropmark enclosure beneath Llanddewi Velfrey parish church  
(below centre)*



The recorded cist cemetery site at Tygwyn, St Davids - the putative site of St David's first community (Thomas 1994, 106; Davies 1982, 158), lies to the west of a series of cropmarks of unknown date or origin. One, at least, may represent a boundary, while the other two are circular enclosures. They are not thought to relate to the cemetery site. However, the oval cropmark enclosure that occupies the same field as possible cist graves, reported by the farmer, at Parc-y-pwll (St Dogwells), may be of greater significance.

## 5.0 RECOMMENDATIONS

### 5.1 Further evaluation

It must again be emphasised that only three Pembrokeshire sites have been absolutely dated to the early medieval period - the undeveloped cemetery at Caer, Bayvil (where the radiocarbon date is uncalibrated), a cist grave from the cemetery north of St Bride's parish church, and a cist grave from the churchyard at Llanychlwydog. The 17 further sites mentioned in the sources are only assumed to occupy known locations - even where the evidence is good, it is not entirely unarguable. The 116 ECMs included in this study can be dated by their epigraphy and artistic tradition, but similarly none 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 Pembrokeshire, 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 Pembrokeshire. Only one site - at Caer, Bayvil - has been comprehensively excavated in recent times (though there has been limited excavation in Llanychlwydog churchyard). The early 20<sup>th</sup> century excavations at St Justinian's and St Patrick's Chapels (St Davids), and at Kilpaison Barrow (Rhoscrowdder) were of variable quality.

#### 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 Pembrokeshire has identified a number of cemeteries that appear, on current evidence, to have been undeveloped. However, as AP analysis has already suggested, structures may have been present on some of these sites but are as yet undetected. Field evaluation may reveal more. A list of cist cemeteries currently regarded as undeveloped, that are eminently suitable for full evaluation, may include the green field sites at -

- Tygwyn, St Davids - possibly associated with a putative early monastic site (unthreatened)
- Parc-y-pwll, St Dogwells - possibly associated with an enclosure (unthreatened)
- Great Castle Head, St Ishmaels (threatened by coastal and footpath erosion)

The remainder have been variously damaged or built over. The cemeteries at Brownslade (Castlemartin) and Croesgoch (Llanrhian) are currently being subject to study, including radiocarbon dating, but the sample from the latter is very small and its usefulness may be limited.

Of the developed cist cemeteries, those at Dinas parish church, Porth Clew Chapel (Lamphey) and St Ishmaels parish church have been subject to limited archaeological recording, but no dates were obtained. Other sites suitable for full evaluation may include the green field sites at -

- Angle St Anthony's Chapel (threatened by coastal and footpath erosion)
- Bridell - near the parish church and possibly within an outer ecclesiastical enclosure? (unthreatened)
- Caerau Gaer, St Dogmaels - a potentially very important hillfort re-use site with a possible chapel (scheduled; threatened by agricultural activity)



- St Elvis parish church site - within a possible outer enclosure (at least partly damaged by farm development)
- Llandrudion, St Nicholas - possible associated with a round barrow (unthreatened)

A list of other important, identifiable sites, with good potential for early medieval ecclesiastical activity and suitable for full evaluation may include the redundant parish church sites at -

- Bayvil - possible underlying soilmark enclosure (threatened by development)
- Cilrhedyn (threatened by decay)
- Eglwyswen - within a circular cropmark enclosure (threatened by development)
- Llandeilo Llwydarth - a bishop-house site within a possible outer enclosure (threatened by decay)
- Llanllawer - within a circular cropmark churchyard (threatened by decay or development)
- Mounton - within a subcircular enclosure (threatened by decay)
- Newton North - within a rectilinear enclosure (threatened by decay)
- St Edrens - with a circular churchyard (threatened by development)

In addition, the following chapel sites are suitable for full evaluation -

- St Non's, St Davids - probably within concentric circular enclosures (guardianship site, unthreatened)
- St Justinian's, St Davids - possibly within concentric circular enclosures (guardianship site, unthreatened)
- Upton 'Churchfield' - a documented early medieval site with the remains of a ?chapel within a circular enclosure (threatened by decay)

#### *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. Important among these sites are -

- Llangene Fawr, Clydau - bishop-house site possibly associated with farm enclosure (unthreatened)
- Henfynwent, Fishguard - Cemetery field name and possible chapel site associated with standing stone site and cropmark (unthreatened)
- Henllan, Llanddewi Velfrey - chapel site, possibly associated with cropmark features (unthreatened)
- Llanddinog, Llandeloy - possible masonry church site within earlier cemetery enclosure (threatened by development?)
- Clyn Farm, Llanychaer - ECM findspot, church field-name and possible cropmark feature (unthreatened)
- Velindre enclosure, Lllys-y-fran - ECM findspot possibly associated with iron age enclosure (unthreatened)
- Tregidreg, Mathry - ECM findspot, church field-name and possible cropmark enclosure (threatened by ploughing?)
- St Owens/Stoneditch, Narberth - ECM findspot, well, chapel site and earthwork (unthreatened)
- Rosina Vallis/Hoddnant, St Davids - possible enclosure in area of putative early monastic site (threatened by quarrying?)
- Little Trefgarn, St Dogwells - post-Conquest (and earlier?) monastic site and possible earthwork feature (unthreatened)
- Chapel Park, Spittal - recorded burials and chapel associated with possible round barrow (threatened by ploughing)

The church of 'Eccluis Guinniau', Penally, recorded in the early 11th century and probably located in a field called Castell Gwynn, appears to have become disused soon after the Conquest would represent an ideal site. Unfortunately, it now lies beneath - or was removed by - a golf course laid out in the early 1990s.

## 5.2 Management issues

Detailed threat assessments and management recommendations for individual sites are included as a separate section of this report. 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 10 sites (from 150 sites), including 3 guardianship sites
- Church in Wales managed sites 60 sites (from 150 sites)
- The remaining 80 sites are not protected and normally in private hands, though a number lie within the Pembrokeshire Coast National Park.

In addition, there are the 116 potentially mobile ECMs, of which 52 are scheduled. Many of these, scheduled or otherwise, are not *in situ* and form part of off-site collections. However, a number are *in situ*, such as the stones at Bridell and Capel Colman, and can be regarded as 'sites' rather than 'monuments'.

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 open, undeveloped cemetery 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. A number of developed sites, too, are at risk, particularly those in which the associated church/chapel has disappeared and only survives as below-ground evidence. 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 Pembrokeshire 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.
- Domestic development of redundant church sites in private hands also poses a significant threat. Development at these sites also can include new building and alteration, excavation for services, garden activity and tree-planting. Bayvil and St Edrens parish churches have been converted into dwellings, and the same may happen at Eglwyswen and Llanllawer.
- Development, construction and alteration to farm buildings is a threat to those sites - many of which are cist cemeteries - which underlie farmyards and farm buildings.
- Piecemeal domestic development in the countryside has the potential to affect any unscheduled below-ground site. Many enclosures, associated with standing churchyards or otherwise, extend into developed areas, some of which are heavily built up eg. Jeffreyston. Elsewhere, the erection of eg. a single garage may have damaged the site as at St Justinian's Chapel (St Davids).
- Agricultural improvement, especially plough-damage, potentially affects a large number of cemetery sites, with or without below-ground chapel sites. Removal of field boundaries is also a threat where those boundaries represent former ecclesiastical enclosure boundaries, as has occurred at Newton North.
- 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, for instance Eglwyswrw where the excavation of a major cist cemetery accompanied a road-widening scheme. At least one other cist cemetery site, at Bryn Henllan (Dinas), is located beneath a public road. Some ECMs, situated on roadsides, may also be threatened.
- Coastal erosion threatens a number of sites, at least one of which - St Brides chapel - has been lost to the sea. In addition, cist cemeteries at St Brides, Great Castle Head (St Ishmaels and Angle St Anthony's) are exposed by cliff erosion, resulting in the loss of the resource and with implications of sensitivity among visitors.
- Footpaths threaten a number of sites. The Pembrokeshire Coast Path runs near or through a number of sites whose very nature means that they are predominately coastal. It may pose a threat at the above-named cist cemeteries.

- Military activity. A substantial area of the southern part of the county is occupied by the RAC Castlemartin Range. The Army Estates, which has its own archaeologist, works closely with Cadw and the archaeological curators and most sites and monuments are afforded protection. Their curatorial role is expressed by, for example, the recent commission of geophysical survey at the re-used barrow site at Brownslade.
- Natural decay. This is a significant threat at a number of redundant church sites including Cilrhedyn, Llandeilo Llwydarth and Newton North, where the enclosure boundaries are deteriorating, in addition to the standing church buildings.
- 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 may, 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 in the Appendices and Gazetteer, 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 the project.

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 Pembrokeshire. 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 church sites - 18 sites

PRN: 2370	Caldey Island, Ynys Pyr Monastery	
PRN: 12107	Clydau, Llangene Fawr 'bishop-house'	
PRN: 46801	Lamphey (SS Faith & Tyfei)	rectangular churchyard
PRN: 46802	Lawrenny (St Caradog)	rectangular churchyard
PRN: 1275	Llandeilo Llwydardh (St Teilo)	
PRN: 46818	Llanrhian (St Rhian/St Rheanus)	rectangular churchyard
PRN: 46820	Llanstadwell (St Tudwal)	
PRN: 46827	Llawhaden (St Aidan)	rectangular churchyard
PRN: 4578	Mathry (Holy Martyrs)	rectangular churchyard
PRN: 3442	Penally (SS Nicholas & Teilo)	rectangular churchyard
PRN: 46847	Penally, 'Eccluis guiniau'	rectangular churchyard
PRN: 46851	Rhoscrowdder (St Decuman); 'Llandegeman'	
PRN: 13294	St Brides (St Bridget/St Ffraed)	
PRN: 4348	St David's Monastery	
PRN: 46863	St David's, St Non's Chapel	
PRN: 1222	St Dogmael's Monastery	
PRN: 14345	St Ishmaels (St Ishmael)	
PRN: 3450	Upton (dedication?) = 'Churchfield'	

### ▪ Documented pre-Conquest 'bishop-houses' - 6 sites

PRN: 12107	Clydau, Llangene Fawr 'bishop-house'
PRN: 1275	Llandeilo Llwydardh (St Teilo)
PRN: 46827	Llawhaden (St Aidan)
PRN: 46851	Rhoscrowdder (St Decuman); 'Llandegeman'
PRN: 4348	St David's Monastery
PRN: 14345	St Ishmaels (St Ishmael)

### ▪ Clas church indicators - 5 sites

PRN: 2370	Caldey Island, Ynys Pyr Monastery
PRN: 1603	Nevern (St Brynach)
PRN: 3442	Penally (SS Nicholas & Teilo)
PRN: 4348	St David's Monastery
PRN: 1222	St Dogmaels Monastery

### ▪ Portionary church indicators (ie. clas?) - 1 site

PRN: 46803	Llanddewi Velfrey (St David)
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### ▪ Dated archaeological evidence - 4 sites

#### *Radiocarbon dates*

PRN: 1150	Bayvil, Caer	dated cist grave
PRN: 13002	Llanychlwydog (St David)	dated cist grave
PRN: 13294	St Brides (St Bridget/St Ffraed)	dated cist grave

#### *Dated artefacts*

? PRN: 2370	Caldey Island, Ynys Pyr Monastery ?
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■ *Capeli-y-bedd and multiple church indicators - 3 sites*

PRNs: 46783 & 46784	Clydau (St Clydai) and 'Eglwys Trisant'
PRN: 46851	Rhoscrowdder (St Decuman); 'Llandegeman'
PRNs: 13294 & 3138	St Brides (St Bridget/St Ffraed) and St Brides Chapel
? PRN: 46811	Monkton Priory ?
( PRNs: 46790 & 970 )	Eglwysrw (St Cristiolus) - post-Conquest tradition? )

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### 6.3 Criteria of medium importance

#### *Circular churchyards*

##### *Probable - 25 sites*

PRN: 46767	Amroth (St Elidyr)	formerly (earthwork)
PRN: 46769	Bosherston (St Michael)	formerly (earthwork)
PRN: 46782	Cilrhedyn (St Teilo)	
PRN: 46783	Clydau (St Clydai)	
PRN: 46789	Eglwyswen (St Michael)	formerly (earthwork)
PRN: 46795	Jeffreyston (SS Jeffrey & Oswald)	
PRN: 46797	Lambston (St Ismael)	
PRN: 46800	Lampeter Velfrey (St Peter)	
PRN: 1275	Llandeilo Llwydarth (St Teilo)	
PRN: 46810	Llandysilio (St Tysilio)	
PRN: 46814	Llanfyrnach (St Brynach)	
PRN: 46817	Llanllawer (St David)	formerly (cropmark)
PRN: 46821	Llanstinan (St Justinian)	
PRN: 46834	Martletwy (St Marcellus)	
PRN: 46836	Meline (St Dogmael)	
PRN: 46837	Monington (St Nicholas)	
PRN: 46838	Morfil (St John)	
PRN: 46845	Pembroke St Mary, St Deiniol's Chapel (Llandeiniol)	
PRN: 46851	Rhoscrowdder (St Decuman); 'Llandegeman'	
PRN: 7565	Roch (St Mary)	
PRN: 7470	St David's, St Justinian's Chapel	formerly (earthwork)
PRN: 46863	St David's, St Non's Chapel	formerly (cropmark)
PRN: 47486	St Edren's (St Edren)	
PRN: 47489	St Lawrence (St Lawrence)	formerly (earthwork)
PRN: 3450	Upton (dedication?) = 'Churchfield'	

##### *Possible - 13 sites*

PRN: 46779	Castlemartin (St Michael)	
PRN: 46790	Eglwyswrw (St Cristiolus)	
PRN: 4913	Llanddewi Velfrey, Henllan Chapel	cropmark?
PRN: 46825	Llanychaer (St David)	
PRN: 46835	Mathry, Tregidreg ?chapel	cropmark?
PRN: 46811	Monkton Priory	earlier site? (geophysics)
PRN: 46841	Moylegrove (SS Mynno, David & Andrew)	
PRN: 46842	Narberth, Stoneditch/St Owen's Well chapel	earthwork?
PRN: 46849	Pontfaen (St Brynach)	
PRN: 30131	Pwllcrochan (St Mary)	
PRN: 7565	Roch (St Mary)	
PRN: 2709	St Davids, Porthclais, Capel-y-pistyll	cropmark?
PRN: 47491	Stackpole Elidor (SS James & Elidyr)	
? PRN: 46855	St Davids, Rosina Vallis/Hoddnant ?	earthwork?

#### ▪ *Churchyards with curvilinear outer enclosures*

##### *Probable - 15 sites*

PRN: 46767	Amroth (St Elidyr)	earthwork
PRN: 46776	Capel Colman/Llangolman (St Colman)	cropmark
PRN: 46789	Eglwyswen (St Michael)	cropmark
PRN: 46795	Jeffreyston (SS Jeffrey & Oswald)	topographic/boundary; ECM
PRN: 1275	Llandeilo Llwydarth (St Teilo)	earthwork
PRN: 46810	Llandysilio (St Tysilio)	topographic/boundary
PRN: 46821	Llanstinan (St Justinian)	topographic/boundary; cropmark
PRN: 46834	Martletwy (St Marcellus)	topographic/boundary; cropmark
PRN: 4578	Mathry (Holy Martyrs)	topographic/boundary; external cist cemetery
PRN: 46840	Mountain (dedication?)	topographic/boundary
PRN: 4326	St Elvis (St Ailyw)	topographic/boundary; external cist cemetery
PRN: 13294	St Brides (St Bridget/St Ffraed)	cropmark; external cist cemetery
PRN: 46863	St David's, St Non's Chapel	topographic/boundary
PRN: 1222	St Dogmaels Monastery	geophysics
PRN: 14345	St Ishmaels (St Ishmael)	topographic/boundary; external cist cemetery



*Possible - 7 sites*

PRN: 7595	Angle, St Anthony's Chapel	external cist cemetery
PRN: 46773	Bridell (St David)	external cist cemetery
PRN: 46786	Cosheston (St Michael)	topographic/boundary
PRN: 46811	Monkton Priory	earlier site?; geophysics
PRN: 46844	Newton North (dedication?)	earthwork; rectilinear
PRN: 46851	Rhoscrowdder (St Decuman); 'Llandegeman'	topographic/boundary
PRN: 7470	St David's, St Justinian's Chapel	earthwork
PRN: 46790	Eglwyswrw (St Cristiolus) ?	external cist cemetery; all post-Conquest?

▪ *'Merthyr' place-names - 3 sites*

PRN: 46785	Coedcenlas (St Mary)	formerly
PRN: 46834	Martletwy (St Marcellus)	
PRN: 4578	Mathry (Holy Martyrs)	

▪ *Documented sanctuary (nawdd/noddfa?) - 5 sites*

PRN: 46767	Amroth (St Elidyr)	
PRN: 46801	Lamphey (SS Faith & Tyfei)	
PRN: 4348	St David's Monastery	
PRN: 1603	Nevern (St Brynach)	
PRN: 1222	St Dogmaels Monastery	

▪ *Roman site re-use*

None

*Iron Age enclosure re-use*

*Probable - 3 sites*

PRN: 1150	Bayvil, Caer	undeveloped cemetery
PRN: 7613	Rudbaxton Rath/St Leonard's Chapel	chapel and well; cemetery?
PRN: 1054	St Dogmaels, Caerau Gaer	?developed cemetery

*Possible - 16 sites*

PRN: 2766	Brawdy, Cas Wilia enclosure	
PRN: 46782	Cilrhedyn (St Teilo)	
PRN: 46795	Jeffreyston (SS Jeffrey & Oswald)	
PRN: 46800	Lampeter Velfrey (St Peter)	
PRN: 4913	Llanddewi Velfrey, Henllan Chapel	
PRN: 1275	Llandeilo Llwydarth (St Teilo)	
PRN: 46810	Llandysilio (St Tysilio)	
PRN: 46821	Llanstinan (St Justinian)	
PRN: 46830	Llys-y-fran, Velindre enclosure	
PRN: 46833	Marloes, Martin's Haven/Wooltack Point	
PRN: 46836	Meline (St Dogmael)	
PRN: 46811	Monkton Priory	earlier site?
PRN: 46845	Pembroke St Mary, St Deiniol's Chapel (Llanddeiniol)	
PRN: 2804	Roch (St Mary)	
PRN: 46852	Rosemarket (St Ismael)	
PRN: 3450	Upton 'Churchfield'	

▪ *Sites overlying other undated enclosures - 2 sites*

PRN: 46978	Bayvil (St Andrew)	rectilinear enclosure
PRN: 46803	Llanddewi Velfrey (St David)	rectilinear enclosure

▪ *Bronze Age site re-use*

*Probable - 3 sites*

PRN: 543	Castlemartin, Brownslade/'Churchways'	round barrow
PRN: 3080	Rhoscrowdder, Kilpaison Burrows	round barrow
PRN: 3016	Walwyn's Castle, Capeston	round barrow

*Possible - 15 sites*

PRN: 46773	Bridell (St David)	standing stone
PRN: 2558	Fishguard, Henfynwent ?cemetery	standing stone
PRN: 46797	Lambston (St Ismael)	round barrow
PRN: 46813	Llanfair Nant-y-gof (St Mary)	standing stone
PRN: 46815	Llanfyrnach, Iet-wen/Trehywel ECM findspot	cremation cemetery
PRN: 46841	Moylegrove (SS Mynno, David & Andrew)	round barrow
PRN: 1483	Nevern, Trebwlch III ECM findspot	standing stone
PRN: 46843	Newport, Cnwc-y-crogwydd ECM findspot	round barrow
PRN: 2806	Roch, Bathesland Chapel	standing stone
PRN: 2476	Spittal, Chapel Park ?chapel and ?cemetery ?	round barrow
PRN: 2677	St Davids, Caerfarchell, Cnwc cemetery	round barrow
PRN: 2513	St Nicholas, Llandrudion cemetery	round barrow
? PRN: 2548	Fishguard, Llanust Chapel ?	barrow cemetery?
? PRN: 46970	Eglwyswrw (St Cristiolus) ?	round barrow; post-Conquest re-use?

▪ *Neolithic site re-use - 2 sites*

PRN: 4566	Maenclochog, Temple Druid	henge?
PRN: 4326	St Elvis (St Ailyw)	chambered tomb

▪ *Undated cist cemeteries*

*Recorded sites - 3028 sites*

PRN: 3092	Angle, St Anthony's Chapel	
PRN: 5321	Bridell (St David)	
PRN: 4244	Caldey Island, St David's cemetery	
PRN: 543	Castlemartin, Brownslade/Churchways round barrow re-use	
PRN: 32081	Dinas (St Brynach)	
PRN: 1428	Dinas, Bryn Henllan	
PRN: 44001	Lamphey, Porth Clew Chapel	
PRN: 46819	Llanrhian, Croesgoch, Parc-y-fynwent chapel and cist cemetery	
PRN: 2871	Llanwnda, Llanwawr Chapel (St Gynyr)	
PRN: 4578	Mathry (Holy Martyrs)	
PRN: 2868	Mathry, Rhoslanog	
PRN: 3080	Rhoscrowdder, Kilpaison Burrows round barrow re-use	
PRN: 2677	St Davids, Caerfarchell, Cnwc cist cemetery	
PRN: 7470	St Davids, St Justinians's Chapel and cemetery	
PRN: 46864	St Davids, St Patrick's Chapel and cemetery	
PRN: 2695	St David's, Tremynydd cist cemetery	
PRN: 2633	St David's, Tygwyn cist cemetery	
PRN: 1058	St Dogmaels, Penrhyn Castle cemetery	
PRN: 1054	St Dogmaels, Caerau Gaer cist cemetery	
PRN: 5488	St Dogwells, Parc-y-pwll cemetery	
PRN: 4326	St Elvis (St Ailyw)	
PRN: 14345	St Ishmaels (St Ishmael)	
PRN: 44703	St Ishmaels, Great Castle Head cemetery	
PRN: 2513	St Nicholas, Llandrudion cist cemetery	
PRN: 3030	Steynton, St Budoc's Chapel and cemetery	
PRN: 3016	Walwyn's Castle, Capeston round barrow re-use	
PRN: 46970	Eglwyswrw (St Cristiolus)	all post-Conquest?
PRN: 46781	Cilgerran (St Llawddog)	all post-Conquest?
PRN: 2712	St Davids, Ramsey Island cemetery	post-medieval?
PRN: 2701	St Davids, Waun-y-beddau cist cemetery	bronze age?

▪ *Early Christian Monuments - 136*

### *Churchyards with ECMs +/- in situ*

#### *Probable - 16 sites*

PRN: 46773	Bridell (St David)
PRN: 46776	Capel Colman (St Colman)
PRN: 46783	Clydau (St Clydai)
PRN: 1275	Llandeilo Llwydardh (St Teilo)
PRN: 46810	Llandysilio (St Tysilio)
PRN: 46823	Llanwnda (St Gwyndaf)
PRN: 13002	Llanychlwydog (St David)
PRN: 46827	Llawhaden (St Aidan)
PRN: 4578	Mathry (Holy Martyrs)
PRN: 1603	Nevern (St Brynach)
PRN: 3442	Penally (SS Nicholas & Teilo)
PRN: 13294	St Brides (St Bridget/St Ffraed)
PRN: 4348	St David's Monastery
PRN: 46863	St David's, St Non's Chapel
PRN: 1222	St Dogmael's Monastery
PRN: 47486	St Edren's (St Edren)
PRN: 14345	St Ishmaels (St Ishmael)

#### *Possible - 15 sites*

PRN: 7541	Henry's Moat, St Brynach's Chapel
PRN: 46795	Jeffreyston (SS Jeffrey & Oswald)
PRN: 46814	Llanfyrnach (St Brynach)
PRN: 46817	Llanllawer (St David)
PRN: 46825	Llanychaer (St David)
PRN: 46849	Pontfaen (St Brynach)
PRN: 4326	St Elvis (St Ailyw)
? PRN: 46774	Camrose (St Ismael) ?
? PRN: 46781	Cilgerran (St Llawddog) ?
? PRN: 46838	Morfil (St John) ?
? PRN: 2712	St Davids, Ramsey Island, St Tyfanog's Chapel ?
? PRN: 46864	St Davids, St Patrick's Chapel
? PRN: 47489	St Lawrence (St Lawrence) ?
? PRN: 47491	Stackpole Elidor (SS James & Elidyr) ?
? PRN: 47492	Walton West (All Saints/St David) ?

#### *Cemeteries possibly suggested by ECM findspots - 18 sites*

PRN: 2853	Jordanston, Llangwarren ?Chapel	
PRN: 2742	Llandeloy, Llanddinog	also cropmark and place-name
PRN: 46815	Llanfyrnach, Iet-wen/Trehywel	also bronze age cemetery
PRN: 46826	Llanychaer, Clyn Farm	also cropmark and place-name
PRN: 1532	Llanychaer, Cilrhedyn Isaf, Parc-y-fynwent	also place-name
PRN: 46828	Llawhaden St Kenox	also place-name
PRN: 46830	Llys-y-fran, Velindre enclosure	?hillfort re-use
PRN: 46833	Marloes, Martin's Haven/Wooltack Point	?hillfort re-use
PRN: 2868	Mathry, Rhoslanog	also possible cropmark
PRN: 46835	Mathry, Tregidreg	also cropmark and place-name
PRN: 46842	Narberth, Stoneditch/St Owen's Well chapel	also well, ?chapel and ?earthwork
PRNs 1481-1483, 1503 & 14424	Nevern, Trebwlch ECM complex	
PRN: 46843	Newport, Cnwc-y-crogwydd	also ?round barrow
PRN: 46860	St Davids, Carnhedryn ECM findspot	also cropmark sites/enclosures
PRN: 2677	St Davids, Caerfarchell, Cnwc cemetery	also ?round barrow
PRN: 46862	St David's, Penarthur Farm	also cropmark and place-name
PRN: 46861	St David's, Penwaun	also cropmark and place-name
PRN: 2405	St Dogwells, Little Trefgarne monastery	also documentary suggestion

## 6.4 Criteria of low importance

### ▪ *Sites possibly associated with earlier undated sites - 6 sites*

PRN: 2806	Roch, Bathesland Chapel	cropmark enclosures
PRN: 2633	St Davids, Tygwyn cist cemetery	cropmark enclosures
PRN: 46860	St Davids, Carnhedryn ECM findspot	cropmark sites/enclosures
PRN: 5488	St Dogwells, Parc-y-Pwll cist cemetery	cropmark enclosure
PRN: 47490	St Twynells (St Wynnoc)	overlies prehistoric routeway?
PRN: 47493	Warren ( St Mary)	near prehistoric routeway?

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### ▪ *Cemeteries suggested by place-name evidence - 3 sites*

PRN: 2558	Fishguard, Henfynwent
PRN: 5720	Nevern, Maes-y-beddau
PRN: 2688	St Davids, Capel-yr-hen-fynwent

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### ▪ *'Holy' wells within 200m - 21 sites*

PRN: 3093	Angle, St Mary's Chapel
PRN: 46770	Bosherston, St Govans Chapel
PRN: 2558	Fishguard, Henfynwent ?cemetery
PRN: 7541	Henry's Moat, St Brynach's Well chapel
PRN: 9919	Lampeter Velfrey, Llangwathen
PRN: 1275	Llandeilo Llwydarth (St Teilo)
PRN: 2742	Llandeloy, Llanddinog chapel
PRN: 46817	Llanllawer (St David)
PRN: 46836	Meline (St Dogfael)
PRN: 46842	Narberth, Stoneditch/St Owen's Well
PRN: 1490	Nevern, Buarth Brynach
PRNs 1481-1483, 1503 & 14424	Nevern, ECM complex
PRN: 46851	Rhoscrowdder (St Decuman), 'Llandegeman'
PRN: 46852	Rosemarket (St Ismael)
PRN: 3310	Rudbaxton, Rudbaxton Rath
PRN: 46862	St David's, Penarthur Farm
PRN: 2709	St Davids, Porthclais, Capel y Pistyll
PRN: 7470	St Davids, St Justinian's Chapel
PRN: 46863	St Davids, St Non's Chapel
PRN: 4348	St David's Monastery
PRN: 47486	St Edrens (St Edren)

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### ▪ *Other wells/springs within 200m - 12 sites*

PRN: 46773	Bridell (St David)
PRN: 46783	Clydau (St Clydai)
PRN: 46788	Crunwere (St Elidyr)
PRN: 46797	Lambston (St Ismael)
PRN: 46803	Llanddewi Velfrey (St David)
PRN: 46821	Llanstinan (St Justinian)
PRN: 46822	Llantwyd (St Illtyd)
PRN: 2871	Llanwnda, Llanwnwr cist cemetery and chapel
PRN: 46825	Llanychaer (St David)
PRN: 46829	Llys-y-fran (St Meilyr)
PRN: 4578	Mathry (Holy Martyrs)
PRN: 46844	Newton North parish church

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### ▪ *'Llan' place-names*

This criterion has not been adopted - see Section 4.1.7.

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- *'Celtic' dedications*

This criterion has not been adopted - see Section 4.1.6.

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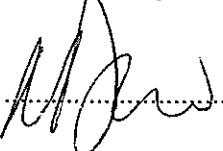
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STAGE 2: PEMBROKESHIRE**

**REPORT NUMBER 2003/39**

**MARCH 2003**

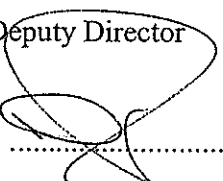
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Position Deputy Director

Signature  Date 30/3/03  
PP. KEN MURPHY.

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