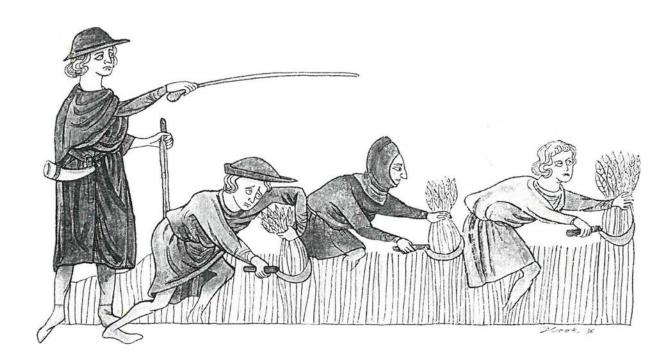


### Medieval Settlement on Anglesey An assessment of the potential for fieldwork



Ymddiriedolaeth Archaeolegol Gwynedd Gwynedd Archaeological Trust

EVENT PRN-40405.

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REPORT NO. 308

A Report Prepared for Cadw:Welsh Historic Monuments by David Longley

Ymddiriedolaeth Archaeolegol Gwynedd Gwynedd Archaeological Trust

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#### Introduction

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In his 1951 study Jones Pierce attempted to move away from discussions of the operation of social institutions in abstraction and took as his starting point the mapped distribution of settlements, taking into account the tenural distinctions and the pattern of kin-group relationships. In particular Jones Pierce was concerned with the institution of the *gwely* and the way in which, as he perceived it, free settlements expanded from an original nucleus. Jones Pierce regarded the *gwely* to be a late development and saw the expansion of free *gwelyau* to have been at the expense of what he believed to be the hitherto more numerous bond population. He also regarded the *tref*, in the sense of an administrative township with fixed and static boundaries, to have been a device of the 1 ih and 13th centuries.

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Other detailed studies of townships, hamlets and areas on Anglesey have been undertaken and include: 'Penrhos in Twrcelyn in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries', (E.N. Baynes, 1921, *TAAS*, 21-33); Hafoty, Llansadwrn (M. Richards, 1973, *TAAS*, 39-54); Bodbenwyn (R.B.White, 1977-8, *TAAS*, 19-33) and 'Land Tenure and Landscape in Llanynghenedl, Anglesey' (F.A. Barnes, 1988, *TAAS*, 31-113). Barnes' extensive study, which well illustrates the value of material contained in unpublished sources for topographic reconstruction and locational analysis is, nevertheless, concerned with the shifting pattern of tenure and land use over centuries rather than the location of individual medieval holdings. On the other hand, White's detailed discussion of the documentation concerning the hamlet of Bodbenwyn was supplemented with fieldwork that, for example, identified the earthwork remains of *Tyddyn Bleddyn* adjacent to a defunct and grassed-over track leading from Rhos Engan to Llangristiolus Church.

In 1971-2 A. D. Carr published an English translation of one of the fundamental sources for the economy and society of Anglesey in that period of transition from the late 13th to the 14th century -the Anglesey section of an extent of the royal lands in Caernarvonshire and Anglesey undertaken in 1352 by John de Delves (A. D. Carr, 1971-2, The Extent of Anglesey, 1352, *TAAS*, 150-272). In 1982 Carr published his comprehensive discussion of the history, governance, society, settlement and economy of the island during the Middle Ages, drawing on a considerable number of original sources (A. D. Carr, 1982, Medieval Anglesey).

Between 1991 and 1995 the Gwynedd Archaeological Trust, with the support of grant aid from Cadw, undertook an assessment of the potential for locating the 1/ysoedd of Gwynedd at the commotal centres. Fieldwork on Anglesey and excavation at Llys Rhosyr at the maerdref of the commote of Menai, undertaken with additional support from Ynys Mon County Council followed between 1992 and 1996. 'An investigation into the location of the Royal Courts of 13th century Gwynedd' was published by N. Johnstone in 1987 (in N. Edwards (ed), 'Landscape and Settlement in Medieval Wales', Oxbow Monograph 81, 55-69).

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#### The structure of medieval settlement: glossary of terms

#### 1. Settlement and administrative units

The pattern of medieval settlement on Anglesey, as elsewhere in Gwynedd, existed within, and was molded by, the administrative framework and tenurial constraints of an original landscape of some complexity.

The Welsh lawbooks (D. Jenkins, 1986, The Law of Hywel Dda, Llandysul) provide us with a theoretical model and conveniently introduce the basis of the relationship between settlement units (Jenkins, 1986, page 121). In practice, however, the mathematical precision and symmetry of the jurists' texts should be sought on the ground with caution. This is particularly so as the lawbooks incorporate both archaic concepts and contemporary practice on the one hand, while the tenurial and administrative organisation of settlement in the landscape was, on the other hand, an evolving process. Nevertheless, a general correspondence may be observed.

#### Cantref (pi. cantrefi)

-an ancient territorial unit, literally 'one hundred settlements'.

The *cantrefwas*, by the 13<sup>1</sup>h century an archaic unit of land division. Translated, the term means 'one hundred settlements or rural townships' and the lawbooks provide an elaborate formula to explain how the designation was arrived at. It is possible that the *cantref* reflects a memory of an earlier significance when Wales was divided into smaller political units or sub-kingdoms -each perhaps corresponding to the area of the later *cantref*. By the 1ih and 13th centuries any administrative significance which might have attached to the *cantref* had passed to its sub-division, the commote and, the Anglesey *cantrefi* have an air of artificiality about them.

On Anglesey there were three *cantrefi:* Cemais across the north of the island, Rhosyr across the southern flank, bordering the Menai Straits and Aberffraw occupying the tract from the centre of the island to the west coast. The paradigm, applicable only to a theoretical world, would expect 100 townships in each commote and there are, in fact, 84 recorded in cantref Cemais 44 in cantref Rhosyr and 41 in cantref Aberffraw.

#### Commote (Cwmwd, pi. cymydau)

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Within each commote there should, according to the lawbooks, be found two 'trefl' set aside for the king's need. The first and pre-eminent was the *maerdref* or lordship-centre; the second was the king's *ffridd*- his summer pasture or 'waste'. To a large extent the commote represented a self-contained unit of regional administration with the *maerdref* acting as the siphon for the collection of dues and renders owed to the King from within the commote in which it lay. Tenants paid their dues and fulfilled their obligations at the commotal lordship centre; they were obliged to attend the commotal court and in respect of suit of mill, the mill would invariable by one of the king's mills within the commote.

The six commotes of Anglesey were: Talybolion and Twrcelyn in cantref Cemais; Malltraeth and Llifon in cantref Aberffraw; Menai and Dindaethwy in cantref Rhosyr.

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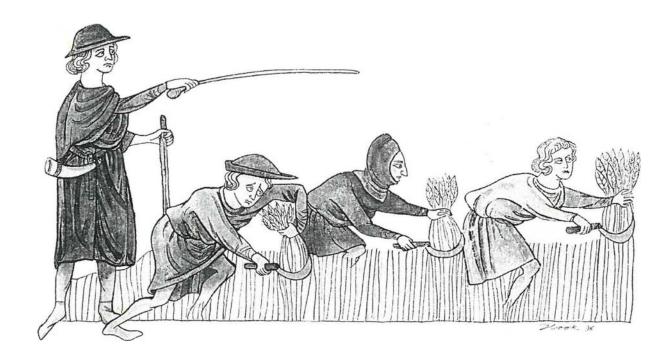
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The overly schematic insistence of the lawbooks that each commote should contain 50 *trefi*, each of 256 acres, is matched in practice by the following statistics.

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REPor<.T NO 3oa

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#### Maerdref

(the Prince's administrative centre and focus of demesne lands in the commote)

The lawbooks require that there should be 'two *trefi* in each commote for the king's need, one of them as *maerdrefand* the other as King's waste and shieling-land for him' (Jenkins, 1986, 121). The King's waste (*diffaith*) and shieling-land (*hafotir*) was the King's *ffridd* or summer pasture in the commote. On the adjacent mainland of cantref Arfon, for example, the township associated with the royal *ffridd* was at Dolbadarn with extensive cow pastures on the slopes of Snowdon. In Nant Conwy the *ffridd* was at Dolwyddelan. In both these locations stone castles were built by the princes during the early  $13^{l_h}$  century. No comparable royal *ffridd* has been identified on Anglesey. The names of the *maerdrefi*, on the other hand, and their general locations are well known. The *maerdrefwas* the focus of royal administration within each commote; the commote, in turn was the regional unit of administration within the kingdom. The *maerdref* comprised land held in demesne by the prince and the hamlet or hamlets of the king's bond tenants who worked the demesne in support of the *1/ys* or royal palace at the nucleus of the *maerdref*. A particularly restrictive form of bond tenure, *tir cyfrif*, is frequently associated with *maerdref* tenants (Ellis 1838, *passim*; Carr 1972, *passim*) and is thought to have been conducive to the nucleation of bond tenements which may have taken the form of a village or villages (Carr 1982, 30-33).

The 1/ys was a complex of buildings, which could include a hall or halls, chamber, food-house, stables, and which may or may not have been enclosed. The 1/ys provided a regional base for the peripatetic circuit of the prince and his entourage and a siphon for the organization and collection of the works, renders and dues owed to the prince throughout the commote.

The Anglesey maerdrefi are:

Aberffraw in the commote of Malltraeth and which also administered the commote of Llifon; Cemais in the commote of Talybolion; Penrhos in the commote of Twrcelyn; Llanfaes in the commote of Dindaethwy and Rhosyr in the commote of Menai.

#### Hamlet

- a settlement location, sometimes nucleated.

The term hamlet appears to have been used in respect of two basic concepts. The first is to describe the nucleus of settlement in a specific location –a village, much as the term might be used in the present day. In this case the intention might be to identify the settlement nucleus of a *tref.* The second is to describe an offshoot from an original nucleus of settlement within a *tref.* In this latter usage the hamlet may not necessarily represent a nucleated settlement. In both instances the term hamlet could describe both the settlement and its associated arable shareland (Jones Pierce, 1972, 332).

#### To give two examples:

In the case of the *maerdref* of Aberffraw the settlements of the bond tenants holding land under *tir* cyfriftenure are described as hamlets. The particularly restrictive nature of *tir* cyfriftenure has been regarded as conducive to the nucleation of settlement and it is likely that in these instances the hamlets are villages.

A short distance to the north of Aberffraw, the township of Rhosmor was described as comprising one *gwely* and two hamlets, Treruffydd and Trefiddon. Both hamlets incorporate *tref* elements in their names, the significance of which, in this case, may be a reference to the primary meaning of *trefas* in specific settlement location (Jones Pierce, 324). The hamlets are 3km apart and

between 2-5 km and 3.5km from the present location of the name of the parent township. However, the hamlet of Treruffydd comprises two *gwelyau* and it cannot necessarily be assumed that these components constituted a nucleated rather than a dispersed settlement.

#### Gwely (pi. gwelyau)

-a kin group/descent group and the territorial expression of that group.

The *gwe/y* was a unit of settlement comprising homesteads and land identified by the common descent of the heirs to that land (Jones, 1996). The term is translated as bed, which may reflect the crucial linking factor in the institution of descent from the conjugal bed of a distant male ancestor (Jones, 1996, 167). In fact Charles-Edwards (1993, 255) would deduce the stages in the evolution of the concept of lineage from bed, through marriage bed to married couple, nuclear family, lineage and finally the land held by that lineage. The final stage in the process is of most particular concern to the study of settlement archaeology. Although inalienable and held in trust by the living members to be passed to the next generation through partible inheritance, there was, nevertheless, a strong sense of possession of the land by the heirs to a *gwely*. The division of the inheritance among the male heirs to the *gwely* inevitably caused fragmentation of the *gwely* land and multiplication of holdings. Sometimes new settlements were carved out of the *gwely* lands at some distance from the original nucleus.

The size of a *gwely* could vary considerably from place to place and with differences in tenure. So, for example, two *gwe/yau* in the *tref* of Porthamel – Gwely lorwerth ap Llywarch and Gwely Cadwgan ap Llywarch-appear to have extended over 576 acres and 40 acres respectively. There might be a number of heirs sharing the *gwely* lands however, so that in the township of Bodafon, three *gwel/yau* are recorded: Gwely Sandde, Gwely Iddon and Gwely Arthen. Across these three *gwel/yau* 91 holdings of land *(tir)* are recorded, most of which may have been individual freeholds (Jones Pierce, 1941). Across the Bishop of Bangor's lands the size and density of occupation on *gwel/yau* ranged from seven members occupying one *gwel/y* of 96 acres at Bodwylog in Dindaethwy reflecting an average size of holding of nearly fourteen acres to the more restricted conditions of Nanhwrfa where 14 heirs shared 16 acres, representing an average holding of just over one acre (Carr 1982, 166-7). The latter case must represent exceptional circumstances, however, and the average holding would seem to have been in the region of five acres.

This may be compared to the estimate of the lawbooks that there should be four acres to the 'tyddyn', four tyddynod in every shareland and 16 sharelands in every tref.

#### Gafael (pi. gafaelion)

#### -a unit of land-holding

Gafael translates into English as 'holding'. In some areas it is clear that the term was used to describe the combined holding of a single kin group in much the same way that *gwely* was used (Jones Pierce, 1972, 'the Gafael in Bangor Manuscript 1939', 195-228). Nevertheless, there is considerable geographical differentiation in the relative occurrence of *gwely* and *gafael* throughout Gwynedd even though the two units of landholding could occur as components of the same landscape. *Gwely* is used far more frequently in Anglesey, for example, while *gafae/* is the predominant unit in Arllechwedd Uchaf (Jones Pierce, 1972, 220). On Anglesey it would seem that *gafae/* retained its generic meaning of 'holding' without the implied kin-group associations and implications that *gwely* carried (Carr, 1971-2, 168; *cf* Charles-Edwards, 1993, 249-50).

The 1352 extent identifies 95 instances of *gafae/ion* or *part-gafaelion* on Anglesey of which all but four are associated with the *maerdrefi* of Aberffraw, Cemais, Penrhos and Rhosyr. The

exceptions are two free *gafaelion* in the hamlet of Grugor in the township of Dindryfwl; half a *gafael* in the hamlet of Trewalchmai also in the township of Dindryfwl and half a *gafael* in the township of Porthaethwy. Of the remaining 91 instances, with the exception of Gafael Saer in Aberffraw, which was free, all are bond *gafaelion* held under maerdreftenures. No other *gafael* is mentioned at Aberffraw although it is possible that the absence of detailed specification for the bond hamlets there conceals the presence of *gafaelion*. The half *gafael* in Porthaethwy was similarly held under *fir cyfrif* tenure, a particularly restrictive tenure characteristic of demesne exploitation. There may, however, have been other instances of *gafaelion*, concealed by the particular interests of the Extent. A valuation of Penmon lands carried out in 1374, for example, describes a number of *gafaelion* (Ellis, 1838, 249-51)

Gardd (pi. garddau)

-a small parcel of arable land.

Gardd (garden or quillet) occurs at two locations, the *maerdrefi* of Aberffraw and Rhosyr. 'These gardens were small parcels of arable land held by *fir cyfrif* tenure but owing fewer services than other tenants of this nature' (Carr 1971-2, 175n). Fourteen *garddau* are identified at Rhosyr where the tenants of these plots are called 'garden men' and where the plots bear names such as 'Werke' (?work) and Bondes (?bonds). At Aberffraw fourteen gardens are located in the hamlet called Garddau.

Tyddyn (pi. tyddynod)

- small holding.

The tyddyn was a homestead or smallholding, comprising a house and, in the ideal world of the jurist, four acres of land. Four acres was the standard measure of land in medieval Gwynedd (Jones Pierce, 216-7) and the basic unit of individual proprietorship within the *gwe/y*.

#### 2 Land measurement

Once again the law codes provide us with the starting point and theoretical base for understanding how the landscape of Anglesey was partitioned during the middle ages. Units of linear measurement are identified and the method of laying out units of square measure are described. The difficulties of relating the model to the real world become apparent, however, when it is realised that the base unit of linear measure is the barley corn at three per 'inch' and that there are nine such inches in a foot. Measures of area were identified in theory as multiples of a rod (gwialen) corresponding to the long or rearmost yoke of an 8-ox plough team, with (in Llyfr lorwerth) the additional contribution of the reach of the caller of the team holding the rod outstretched. The length of this rod, as described in the lorwerth redaction (Jenkins ,1986, 99) is 16 Welsh feet (144"), the equivalent of 12 statute feet, on the assumption that the 3-barleycorn inch equals one statute inch (Palmer, 1896, 1-2). It does not correspond to any multiple or division of the standard linear measurements. A similar rod is identified in the Blegywryd redaction but, Llyfr Cyfnerth, which presents one of the earliest expressions of the law, recognises a different rod or gwialen, of 18 Welsh feet (13.5 statute feet). Evidence that the 13.5 ft rod was, at times, in practical use for land measurement in different regions of Wales can be adduced.

The unit of area measurement described in the codes is the *erw*. Its significance is that it represented the basic unit or multiple of co-aration or joint-ploughing agreements and the basic unit or multiple in assigning land holding within the *gwely* 'thus it is right for brothers to share land

amongst them: four *erwau* to each toft' (Jenkins, 1986, 98). A further difficulty arises in that much of the evidence surviving from the 13th and 14th centuries which relates areas of land to named units derives from surveys undertaken by English assessors or by agents acting on behalf of English assessors. In consequence the terms used, such as virgate, bovate, carucate and acre, derive from English usage and were applied in ways which were not always consistent with the application of those terms in England.

A final difficulty stems from clearly regional differences throughout Wales and from modifications to established principles through time to meet the requirements of changing circumstance. For example, as George Owen noted in 1603: 'In Pembrokeshire the pole [i.e. the rod or gwialen] differeth allmost in every hundred of the sheere from other, ... and this seemeth to be first so devised according to the goodnes of the ground, for in the best soyle is used the least measure ... in somming of the acre (Owen's Description of Pembrokeshire, (1833 ed.) 133).

The importance of understanding what was meant by the respective terms is in the potential for identifying the scale of holding associated with individual settlement units. Beyond this, an understanding of the way in which agricultural fields were laid out may assist in the identification and reconstruction of components of the medieval landscape which have survived into that of the present day.

#### The legal erw (pi. erwau)

-a basic unit of land measurement, considerably smaller than the English statute acre.

The basic unit of land measurement as defined in the law codes. The total area and dimensions vary with each redaction and some details suggest numerical schematisation. Nevertheless, enough circumstantial evidence survives to confirm that the record of the codes reflects aspects of actual practice.

The *erwau* of the 13th century were long narrow areas of fields in the proportion of about 1:10. Areas varied regionally throughout Wales. By the 13th century it would appear that particularly large *erwau* of 1440 square yards might be anticipated. The erwwas a core unit in the striking of bargains for co-aration or joint ploughing of the open fields and in the sharing of land between members of a *gwely*. With time there came a need for the creation of smaller units than the legal *erw*. These smaller units, 1/athenni, corresponded to the existing subdivisions of the *erw* and from them new co-aration *erwau* were created of 2430 square yards (four 1/athenm) and 4320 square yards (five 1/athenm).

#### Llathen (pi. llathenni)

=yard or virgate 607.5 square yards.

The 1/athen was a unit of land measure smaller than the legal erw but more convenient for joint ploughing arrangements and division of land than the legal erw in north Wales. Larger units, such as the small customary erw of 2430 square yards, were compiled from multiples of the 1/athen and, where the term bovate was used in the 13th and 14th century surveys, this was held to comprise twenty 1/athenni.

The //lathen probably originated as a subdivision of the legal erw. In the specification of the lorwerth redaction this would mean an area 30 rods (30 x 12 feet) long by 1 rod wide or 480 square yards. Later the evidence suggests, however, that the //lathen had, at one time, been assessed at 607.5 square yards (Commissioners of Weights and Measures, 1820). This area could be achieved by applying the 13.5ft 'rod of Hywel Dda' or Llyfr Cyfnerth rod to the proportions of the lorwerth redaction. A 1/athen laid out in this way would be 30 rods (480ft or 135yds) long by one rod wide (13.5ft or 4.5yd). There would be 3 such 1/athenni in the

hypothetical acre so created. Nevertheless, local conditions must have constrained the length of fields. Two Criccieth fields described by Gresham and a field at Llawr y Glyn, Montgomeryshire, described by Palmer are all 20 Cyfnerth rods (90 yards) long (A. N. Palmer 1896, Ancient Welsh Measures of Land, *Arch Camb* 13, 1-19; C. Gresham 1951, Ancient Welsh Measurements of Land, *Arch Camb* 101, 118-122). A /lathen, 607.5 square yards in area, in such a field would be fods wide (20.25 feet or 6.75 yards). This is exactly the width of a land (see below). Therefore, two possible permutations of the 1/athen might give a long strip 30 rods by 1 rod or a more compact area of 20 rods by 1 land; both of 607.5 square yards.

The Welsh 1/athen was translated by English surveyors as virgate. The virgate was normally used to describe an area of c.30 acres in England but could also, confusingly, designate acre. The latter usage is meant in the Welsh context although, to add to the potential confusion, the small Welsh customary *erw* of 2430 square yards rather than the English statute acre of 4840 square yards is implied.

#### Carucate

- ploughland = 30-60 acres.

This was the area of land which could be worked by an eight-ox plough team (caruca =team of eight oxen) during the course of an agricultural year in support of the individual holdings which contributed the oxen, manpower and hardware to the team. As a measure of productivity, the absolute acreage could vary considerably. In England the *carucate* was an alternative term for the hide (normally 120 acres). On Anglesey the *carucate* is thought to have designated an area of 60 acres (Carr 1971-2, 158) although at 8 bovates to the *carucate* (the standard subdivision of the *carucate*), the 4 acre *bovate* in use on Anglesey might imply a *carucate* of 32 acres or, later, where 20 1/athenni is the measure of the bovate, 40 small customary *erwau*. Bovates and *carucates* are the common land measures of official surveys such as the 1352 extent.

#### **Boyate**

Four customary Welsh *erwau* each comprising 4 *1/athenni* (4 x 4 x 607.5 square yards = 9720 square yards, or 20 *1/atheni* = 12150 sq. yards).

The English *bovate* described an area representing 1/8 of a *carucate*. That is, the area ploughed in an agricultural year commensurate with the contribution of one ox to the eight-ox plough team or, to put it another way, the ploughland of a single holding in a joint ploughing or co-aration agreement.

In Wales the legal (schematic) allotment was 4 *erwau* to each *tyddyn* or smallholding. The use of bovate on Anglesey, therefore, represents, in very general terms, the area appropriate to the holding of an individual tenant. This may be taken to represent, by the 14th century, a holding of 4 customary *erwau* of c.2430 square yards each comprising 4 *1/athenni* (total 9720 square yards) rather than the smaller *erw* of the law codes. Later, by the 16th century, the customary *erw* representing a fourth part of a *bovate* can be taken to be an area of 3240 square yards and the bovate is assessed at 20 *1/athenni* (12150 sq.yds).

#### Acre

An English term representing 4840 square yards.

The Welsh designation *erw* is often translated as acre and means exactly that in modern Welsh. When acre occurs in early records, however, the meaning can be ambiguous. The legal *erw* as represented in the law codes is presented variously as 1440 square yards (Liyfr lorwerth); 729

square yards (Liyfr Cyfnerth); 512 square yards. (Liyfr Blegywryd). When acres are referred to in English extents and accounts of the 13th and 14th century the customary *erw* of 2430 square yards is perhaps meant. By the 16th century the customary *erw* of 3240 square yards is intended.

#### The layout of the legal erw (Fig. 1)

In the 13th century, three principal methods are given for the use of such rods in laying out the legal acre. In summary they involve:

1. Llyfr lorwerth

Measuring rod Long yoke of 16 Welsh ft (12 statute ft. = 4 yards) Length of area 30 times the long yoke (360 statute ft. = 120 yards)

Width of area 2 times the long yoke plus the reach of the caller either side of the middle

peg of the yoke. That is probably 3 times the long yoke (3 x 12 statute ft. =

36ft= 12 yards)

Ratio 1:10

Total area 1440 square yards

2. Llyfr Blegywryd

Measuring rod Long yoke of 16 Welsh ft (12 statute ft. = 4 yards) Length of area 16 times the long yoke (192 ft. = 64 yards)

Width of area 2 times the long yoke (24ft= 8 yards)

Ratio 1:8

Total area 512 square yards

3. Llyfr Cyfnerth

Measuring rod Rod of Hywel Dda 18 Welsh ft (13.5 square ft. = 4.5 yards)

Length of area 18 times the rod (243 square ft. = 81 yards)

Width of area 2 times the rod (27ft. = 9 yards)

Ratio 1:9

Total area 729 square yards

There are clearly differences in the size and composition of the respective *erwau* described in the codes. it is not clear whether these represent regional or economic variations, a chronological distinction reflecting the date of compilation or contemporanety of material within the different redactions, or simply a schematisation of a principle reduced to basic multiples. For example there are 18 rods of 18 Welsh ft in the length of the *erw* of Llyfr Cyfnerth; 16 lengths of 16 Welsh feet in the *erw* of Llyfr Blegywryd. Nevertheless, all describe *erwau* which are made up of units considerably longer than they are broad.

Certain general principles may be deduced from the legal codes and from the record of later survival. The use of a rod of fixed length -12 or 13.5 statute feet- is referred to in the legal codes. That such rods were used in practice is confirmed by Palmer's record of the survival of a rod exactly 4.5 yards (13.5 ft) long in use at Llawr y Glyn Montgomershire, in the late 18th century (Palmer, 1896, 3-4) and by contemporary descriptions such as Owen's early 1?'h century reference (Owen, 133). Palmer's informant was shown how a 'stang' or customary acre was laid out using the rod, describing an area twenty times the length of the rod in one direction and eight times its length in the other.

The Montgomeryshire stang does not have the proportions or area of the legal erw of the 13th century. it does, however, correspond to the 3240 square yard acre described in the report of the Commissioners of Weights and Measures (1820). The importance of this record is not the total area or shape so much as the way in which the 'rod of Hywel Dda' (Palmer, 1896, 3) was used to lay out an area which, over time, had come to represent a standard customary acre. Both Jones Pierce (1943, A note of Ancient Welsh Measurements of Land, *Arch Camb* 97, 195-204) and

Gresham have pursued the relationship of this large customary acre to its subdivision, the 1/athen, which came to replace the legal erw of the codes as the most convenient small unit of land division. The only direct evidence for the size of the 1/athen is the Commissioners of Weights and Measures statement that there are five such in an acre of 3240 square yards: that is a 1/athen equals 607.5 square yards. Gresham's analysis of two fields in Eifionydd, near Criccieth, is particularly instructive in this respect. The fields are called Y Llathen and Y Ddwy Lathen. The first at 90 yards by 27 yards is the area of what has been widely perceived to represent a small customary acre of 2430 square yards. (Palmer, 1896, 3). The second at 90 yards by 36 yards is of the size (3240 square yard.) and proportions of Richard Rees' 'stang' at Llawr y Glyn, representing the larger customary acre. Both Criccieth fields could have been laid out with 13.5 foot gwialen in the following ratios: Y Llathen 20 x 6; Y Ddwy Lathen 20 x 8. Gresham's concern was to show that a small rod of 40inches, for which circumstantial evidence has been adduced on Anglesey (Palmer, 1896, 16-17) may have been used to sub-divide such acres into their component 1/athenni. For our present purpose, however, it is more pertinent simply to record the use of the 13.5 ft. gwialen in north Wales.

It has been remarked above that neither the lorwerth redaction nor the Blegywryd redaction describe rods which equate to the basic linear measures of the codes. The 'gwialen of Hywel Dda'. on the other hand, at 162 inches is exactly 2 leaps in length. A leap is 81 inches and there were 3 leaps in a land. This raises the intriguing possibility that the land and its subdivision the leap may be a unit of land measure capable of throwing light on the internal composition of the erw. The possibilities which suggest themselves are that the land at 243 inches (20.25 statute feet) or the leap at 81 inches (6.75 statute feet) represent the width of linear strips or ridges in an open arable field. If this were so there would be 4 leaps in an erw of the type described in Llyfr Cyfnerth but the juxtaposition of erwau would be required to allow the creation of lands. Alternatively, if the 'gwialen of Hywel Dda' was applied in Gwynedd, as it seems on occasion to have been, in the proportions described in the lorwerth redaction, then an erw containing two lands lying parallel, each containing 3 leaps would be created. It is of interest that on Anglesey, a stone boundary feature called 'the three leaps' survives at Pentraeth.

#### Summary of land measurement terms

Carucate

Boyate

Acre An English unit of 4840 square yards. Between the 14th and

16th century Welsh customary acres of 2430 square yards or

3240 square yards are intended

A basic early measure of joint ploughing agreements -Erw

considerably smaller than the statute acre

Legalerw 1440 square yd (lorwerth)

729 square yards (Cyfnerth) 512 square yards (Biegywryd) 2430 square yards (4 1/athenm)

Customary erw Large customary erw 3240 square yards

L/athen A sub-division – probably a quarter- of an erw; at times

607.5 square yards

8 boyates: between 30 and 60 statute acres approximately

4 customary Welsh erwau the standard arable unit of a small

holding.

The equivalent of a Welsh 1/athen Virgate

Land 20.25 statute feet

Long yoke 12' (lorwerth)

12' (Biegywryd)

Rod (gwialen) 13.5' (Cyfnerth)

#### 3 Tenure

#### Tir Cyfrif

-'reckoned or accounted land'

Tir cyfrif is regarded to be the most restrictive of bond tenures. The settlements occupied under this tenure were called *tref gyfrif* 'reckoned land'. The principal characteristic and differentiation from other tenures is that the total burden of dues and services was distributed equally among the total population of adult male tenants and that land held did not pass from generation to generation on death through the process of inheritance as it did under *fir gwelyog* but was redistributed periodically among the male tenants with changes in population. These features are thought to be conducive to nucleation of settlement (Carr, 1982, 30-33).

#### Tir gwelyog

Tir gwelyog was a bond tenure. Tenants could not enter trade or a profession or marry without the consent of the lord and owed dues and renders in respect of their land. Nevertheless, the assessment of dues was made on the *gwely* or kin group lands within a township or hamlet rather than equally across the community as a whole. Further, in contrast to *tir cyfrif* tenure, a tenant's share in the *gwely* passed through inheritance to his male heirs in a similar fashion to that of a freeholder. The term 'frefwelyog' refers to a bond township under tir gwelyog tenure. In general it would seem that tref welyog townships were smaller than free townships and that the names of tref welyog townships are represented in the names of farms in the present landscape whereas in the case of free townships it is the name of an associated hamlet that survives as a major farm (Jones Pierce, 1972, 274).

#### Gwyr Gwaith, Gwyr tir bwrdd, Gwyr mal, Gardynemen liberi nativi

-workmen, demesne-land men, cash-paying men, gardenmen, free bondmen -advantageous tenures as an inducement to settle on the *maerdref*.

At the *maerdrefi* it seems that economic pressures led to the introduction of new tenures as an inducement to tenants to settle on *maerdref* lands (Carr, 1982, 134). Of these, *gwyr gwaith*, recorded at Cemais and Penrhos, approximate closely to the bondmen of the *fir cyfrif* hamlets of Aberffraw and the *'maerdref* men' of Rhosyr. The presence of escheat land at Cemais, however, would seem to indicate that the significant difference was that the land was held on the basis of individual tenancy, at least by 1352 if not before the conquest.

Gwyr fir bwrdd, table land men, may, as the name implies, have worked the lord's demesne land. Again escheat gafae/ion of tir bwrdd tenure at Cemais in 1352 suggests that the ancient maerdref tenurial restrictions were not being applied.

Gardens are recorded at Aberffraw and Rhosyr. Carr maintains that these small parcels of arable were held by *fir cyfrif* tenure, the usual restrictive tenure at the *maerdref*. By 1352, however, 7 of the 14 parcels in the hamlet of Garddau were uncultivated through lack of tenants which suggests that the process of redistribution among the remaining tenants was no longer being applied. At Rhosyr the 'gardens' were held by, 'garden men' whose dues were calculated almost entirely as cash payments with little reference to the work and carrying services that were applicable to the 'maerdref men'. Cash was the basis of assessment of the 'free bondmen' at Rhosyr also. This apparently anachronistic tenure may equate to the 'gwyr mal' of Cemais and Penrhos where, it is suggested, these 'cash-paying men' enjoyed a greater degree of freedom and less onerous rents,

paid in cash, than traditional maerdreftenants (Jones Pierce, 1972, 278-9). This might be seen as another example of inducement to tenants to settle on the Prince's *maerdref* lands.

#### **Discussion**

## The pattern of medieval settlement on Anglesey Background

An early reference to the density, if not the pattern of medieval settlement on Anglesey is contained within a comment by Bede on the pre-eminence of the Northumbrian king, Edwin (B Colgrave and R. A B. Mynors, 1969, Bede, Ecclesiastial History of the English People 11, 9). Bede wrote in the early eighth century but the context of his remark is Edwin's achievement in bringing territories of the Britons under his control during the early incentury. Bede tells us that of the two Menavian Isles, Anglesey and Man, Anglesey is the larger and more productive, containing 'land for 960 families' by English reckoning, while Man contains slightly more than 300. it is not immediately obvious what Bede meant by 'terra unius familiae' but it may be suggested that his source was an assessment of tribute due, of the kind which features more extensively in the broadly contemporary Tribal Hidage (D Hill, 1984, An Atlas of Anglo Saxon England, 76-7). In this document the unit of assessment is the 'hide', which some would equate with the basic holding of a peasant family, the 'terra unus familiae' of Bede, and which represents a measure of productivity rather than absolute area. Some districts so recorded in the Anglo-Saxon document are huge-Mercia, for example, with 30,000 hides or the territory of the West Saxons with 100,000 hides. However, by way of comparison with Anglesey at 960 units, the slightly smaller island of Wight comprised 600 hides. Man with a potentially less productive upland interior can now be seen in context at 300 units.

In the contemporary landscape of north Britain the Scots of Dalraida held the west coast from the Clyde to the Hebrides. The *tech* or house was the unit of fiscal assessment (J. Bannerman, Studies in the History of Dalriada, 1974, 111, 132ft, 141). In the *Senchus fern A/ban* a document survives which Bannerman has seen to represent a close parallel to the Tribal Hidage, both in function and date of compilation. Here, for example, the Island of Islay, again comparable in area to Anglesey and Man is assessed at 350 houses. Islay, furthermore is described as comprising *cet treb* a designation clearly cognate with *cantref* (Bannerman, 56, 142) and to be the resting place of a whole kindred, the Cenel n'Oengusa.

The significance of these parallels for our present purpose is that they demonstrate, not only the potential but the actual practical application of, a process of assessing and taxing the woductive capacity of land throughout the principal regional kingdoms of Britain as early as the 6 h, i hand 8th centuries. More particularly, with regard to Anglesey, we are provided with a measure of the density of settlement which may be compared with other regions - not simply because there appears to be comparability in the basis of assessment but because we are told that this was 'iuxta aestimationem Anglorum'. This realisation is at once both helpful and potentially misleading. Bede's Anglo-Saxon translator clearly understood 'terra unius familiae' to mean hide (T. Miller (ed.) 1890-98, The Old English version of Bede's Eccesiastical History, 1 c.25). However, the hide was a measure which was not only flexible in area, as it reflected local conditions of agricultural productivity, but in usage through time too. it is not until the 11th century that sufficient documentation is available to assess the scale, in absolute terms, of a hide. In many areas the hide was equivalent to the alternative designations of carucate and ploughland although regional differences occurred. On the north Wales border, for example, the carucate and the ploughland both signified a similar subdivision of the hide in the ratio of 3 ploughlands or 3 carucates to the hide. it has been suggested, therefore, that, in Domesday Cheshire, the hide

extended over an area of 24 bovates (3 carucates) or 192 acres (P. H. Sawyer and A.T. Thacker, 1987, 'The Cheshire Domesday ' in B.E. Harris and A.T. Thacker (eds) A History of the County of Chester, Vol. 1, Institute of Historical Research, Oxford 297-302. The significant point is that on the northern marches, in the 11th century, the hide clearly represented an area much larger than the holding of an individual peasant (one bovate). Here the hide is larger than, and elsewhere closely related to, the scale of a co-aration unit. In Cheshire the recorded ploughteams correspond in number to the recorded ploughlands.

A resolution to the problem of equating the hide with the *terra unius familiae'* of Bede and the *tech* of Dalriada might be sought in an appreciation of the developing complexity through time of the relationship between landholding components in the medieval landscape. The term *gwely*, for example, appears to have designated a nuclear family and its holding before the meaning was extended to a lineage and the land held by that lineage and before the partition of the nuclear holding by partible inheritance (Charles-Edwards, 255). Similarly the *tref* is thought to have designated an individual farmstead before the development of the term to encompass the many components of an administrative rural township. Partible inheritance might then be expressed as the division of the *tref tad* or patrimony (Charles-Edwards 431). The 'land of a single family' of Bede, a paraphrase of the Anglo-Saxon hide and apparently broadly equivalent to the Dalriadic *tech* might then, on Anglesey, represent the concept of *gwe/y* at whatever stage the partition of *tref tad* had achieved by the 7th century. The *gwely*, with its component holdings, might well have been the original basis for joint-ploughing arrangements. The corollary is that there might well have been more than one house or holding *(tyddyn)* on the 'land of a single family'.

By 1188 Gerald of Wales could recount an estimation of 363 *townships* on Anglesey. This figure is twice the number of documented 12'h-14th century *trefi* but closer to the total of both *trefi* and hamlets – the more so when it is recognised that many hamlets escaped documentation in the great surveys (see below). By this time the townships must surely have approached the complexity of components and settlement subdivisions of the later extents, comprising *gwelyau* which themselves were made up of a number of individual though related, holdings. It is not until the 13th and 14th centuries, however, that we get a clear picture of the pattern of medieval settlement on the island.

#### Anglesey in the 13th and 14th centuries: units of settlement

By the 13th century the commote, rather than the *cantref*, had become the regional unit of royal administration throughout Gwynedd. There were six commotes on Anglesey, of broadly equal area, each with access to long stretches of coastline and with boundaries that converged towards the centre of the island. The boundaries of the *cantrefi* which embrace the commotes even more clearly radiate from a central point (close to Llangwyllog). It is uncertain whether this framework had evolved organically or whether a pattern was imposed on the landscape.

Within each commote the *trefwas* the unit of fiscal assessment and, to some extent, of community sentiment. The sense of attachment to a particular trefwould be stronger, however, for bond tenants than for freemen. The principal distinctions between the *trefi* arose from the nature of the tenure by which the land was held. Within each commote there was a *tref* held by the King (or, from the 13th century, Prince) on which lands lay the royal demesne. At the nucleus of the demesne stood the *1/ys*- the palace or mansion house with its appurtenances-managed, at one time, on behalf of the prince by an estate manager, the *maer* -who regulated the working of the desmesne and the collection of rents, food renders and labour services owed to the prince and payable at the *1/ys*. However, by the thirteenth century the offices of the *rhag/aw* and the *rhingy/1* represented the Prince's interests in the commote. In addition to dues and services owed from both free and bond tenants throughout the commote, there were settlements of the Prince's

bondmen within each *maerdref*. These bondmen, in general, held land under the particularly restrictive and characteristic tenure of the *maerdref-tir cyfrif-* or reckoned land, regulated by periodic re-division of the land equally among all the adult male tenants and not by partible inheritance. This absence of a family stake in a block of land over generations tended towards the nucleation rather than dispersal of a *tir cyfrif* settlement. The pattern of settlement at the *maerdref*, therefore, might have comprised the following elements: the buildings particular to the //ys itself, including the royal hall or halls, within an enclosure wall, a royal chapel close by, the nucleated village of the Prince's bond tenants near to the //ys and the open arable fields of the Prince's desmesne together with closes of pasture. There might also be further hamlets of bond tenants within the township. Although all these tenants of the Prince may originally have held their land under *tir cyfrif* tenure, and there remained *tref gyfrif* communities at the former *maerdrefi* and detached within the commote generally after the Conquest, it seems clear that more favourable tenancies were on offer towards the end of the 13th century to attract tenants on to the royal lands.

Elsewhere within each commote there were *trefi* within which the basis of taxation and land holding was the *gwely* or kin group. The transfer of land from generation to generation was by partible inheritance which could result in the partition of holdings among members of the same family but enhanced the notion of a stake in a particular piece of the soil. A nucleation of settlement could still occur as the division or sharing of the patrimony was a sharing of strips within the large arable fields of the *tref* as a whole. Nevertheless, any tendency towards nucleation need not be as pronounced as it was with land held under *tir cyfryf*. The *gwely* was the basis of land holding for both free and bond tenants; the term used to describe this tenure when applied to bond tenants was *tir gwelyog*.

Within each *gwely* there might be several individual heirs and as many holdings *(tyddyn,* pi. *tyddynod)*. The available records for the 13th and 14th century are not necessarily comprehensive, having been compiled for particular purposes. The 'Extent of Anglesey' compiled in 1354, for example, is concerned only with those dues owed to the Crown and records only the *gwe/yau* and the principal, but not all, tenants. Nevertheless, some indication of the distribution, density and size of holdings can be compiled from these statistics and from a survey of the Bishop of Bangor's lands on Anglesey undertaken in 1306 (Tables 1 and 2).

The data in the tables presents only that information where both the number of tenants and the area held by those tenants is recorded. This information is most complete for the Bishop of Bangor's lands, where messuages or *tyddynod* are also recorded, but may be supplemented and compared with those instances in the 1352 extent where an assessment of the scale of free and bond secular *trefi* and *gwelyau* is possible.

Across 37 sample *trefi*, 607 tenants are recorded, holding or working 737 bovates (2948 Welsh customary acres (see glossary). The total is slightly enhanced as this includes 2 carucates or 16 bovates of demesne land on the Bishop of Bangor's estate at Treffos. Nevertheless the figures, admittedly for principally episcopal land, show, on average, 16.4 tenants holding almost 20 bovates of land in each *tref.* The average holding on this analysis would be 1.2 bovates (4.8 Welsh customary acres). In reality, as might be expected, considerable variation existed from *tref* to *tref.* 

At one extreme, 49 tenants in Conysiog Llan held 32 bovates- that is, two-thirds of a bovate (2.6 Welsh customary acres) each, while at Llanddwyn 7 tenants held 8 messuages but no land at all. At Bodwylog, on the other hand, 7 tenants held 24 bovates (3.4 bovates or 13.7 acres each) and at Llwydiarth in Twrcelyn 11 tenants held 39 bovates (3.5 bovates, 14 acres each).

A slightly different perspective on the size and density of holdings may be gained from an analysis of individual *gwelyau*. Taken from a sample of 86 *gwelyau* a total of 351 tenants can be seen to hold 631 bovates of land. Again the figures relate predominantly to the Bishop of

Bangor's holdings. The average *gwely* comprises 7.34 bovates held by 6.29 tenants with each tenant holding slightly more than one *bovate* individually.

If the analysis is confined to bond gwelyau, the average drops slightly to 6.67 bovates held by 5.75 tenants with each tenant holding 1.16 bovates. When the same calculation is performed over all bond holdings for which data is available in these two 14th century extents the ratio falls to 1.14 boyates per tenant or slightly over 4.5 customary acres for each individual holding. This is a remarkable parallel to the prescription of the law codes that, in theory, would allow 4 legal acres to each tyddyn. In fact, by the 14th century, the customary Welsh acre measured at least 2430 square yards rather than the smaller legal erw of the lorwerth redaction at 1440 square yards. In absolute terms the bovate can be taken to represent four of the larger units -that is, four customary acres- although in practice, according to both Welsh and English usage it meant the portion of land appropriate to the smallholding of a bond tenant. In this respect, the statistics of tables 1 and 2 probably reflect the pattern of bond tenancy throughout Anglesey during the late 13th and early 14th century. The deficiency of the evidences, however, and the complexity of the settlement pattern may be glimpsed in those rare instances where detail is available for secular free holdings (Carr 1982, 167-169). An important observation made by Jones Pierce (1972, 274) is that 'in superficial area the [bond tref welvog trewas almost invariably smaller than the free township and was rarely characterised by subordinate hamlets ... the acreage of the average bond vill being rather closer to that of a free hamlet than a free township, the names of these bond townships being also recognisable as a rule in one of the principal farms of a parish, a feature which in the case of free settlements applies to the hamlet and not the township'.

In contrast to the relatively consistent small scale of bond holdings the free gwelyau of Porthamel township in the commote of Menai might be cited. There were seven free gwe/yau in the township. Here the major landowners, leuan Wyddel and Gruffydd ap Goronwy held 6 bovates of escheat land in the gwe/y of lorwerth ap Llywarch. The same leuan Wyddel and Gruffydd ap Goronwy were, together with at least three others, heirs of the gwely of which the escheat was reckoned to be a twenty-fourth part. The entire gwely therefore, extended over 144 bovates (576 customary acres). Ieuan Wyddel, furthermore had a share in the gwely Meredydd ap Iorwerth in Ysgeifiog in the same commote. The eponyms of these two gwelyau were father and son; leuan was great-great grandson of lorwerth. This example simpiX illustrates one strand of the dynastic and landholding connexions of the great free tenants of 13 hand 14th century Anglesey. Other family associations included gwelyau in Porthamel named after the brothers of lorwerth, Cadwgan and Madog, and another son of lorwerth, Rhys, in Ysgeifiog. The original nucleus of this family may have been at Trelywarch in Talybolion where further gwelyau of lorwerth ap Llywarch, Madog apllywarch and Cadwgan ap Llywarch are encountered. The ancestral eponym is Llywarch ap Bran, a powerful figure in the society and politics of 1ih century Gwynedd.

Within this pattern of *tref* and *gwely* are settlements described as hamlets (see glossary). Hamlets are, wherever the documentation survives, almost invariably associated with, and lie within the territorial preserve of, townships. They are often seen to be offshoots from original core settlements within townships, sometimes at a distance from the surviving place name associated with those townships and occasionally outside the commote within which the township lies (Jones 1955, 47-48). Such an example would seem to be Garddwr, a hamlet of Llysdulas in the commote of Twrcelyn but located by Melville Richards east of the *maerdref* of Cemais and within the commote of Talybolion.

A hamlet could comprise *gwelyau* as in the township of Dindryfwl where 3 *gwelyau* and one *gafael* together with a mill, are described as constituting the secular hamlet of Trewalchmai (A D Carr, 1971-2, Extent of Anglesey Dindryfwl, 171). However, the Bishop of Bangor also held land in Trewalchmai where in 1306, 24 tenants are recorded to have held one carucate freely with three additional carucates of cleared land. Clearly, although described in 1352 as a hamlet, Trewalchmai was as large and complex in its component parts as some *trefi*. The distinction is further blurred when a settlement such as Tregornor, also known as Bodeon, is listed in the

extent as though it were a township and is then described as a hamlet in the detail of the survey. Here, furthermore, the entire hamlet appears to have comprised one *gwely* (Carr, 1982, 168) 'Tregornor: In this hamlet of Tregornor, called Bodeon in the account roll, there is one *gwely* called Gwely Conws'. (AD Carr, 1971-2, Extent of Anglesey: Tegornor, 167). There were, however, 3 bond and 1 free *gwelyau* held of the Bishop of Bangor in Bodeon which did not trouble the surveyors of the royal lands. Such complexity of tenure may, on the other hand, explain the status of the *gwely* Conws as a hamlet (Ellis, 1838, 104 and see case study: Maerdref Aberffraw, below).

A high proportion of hamlets include 'tref or 'bad' elements in their names (25% and 20% of the total, respectively) compared to the frequency of the same elements (18% and 15% of the total respectively) in trefi names. This suggests a focus of settlement at the hamlets, with the application of the original meaning of trefto denote a specific settlement rather than an administrative concept. To what extent this observation can be translated into the identification of nucleated settlements at the hamlets is uncertain. Nevertheless, it may be possible, in the association of multiple hamlets with townships or the lines of major families, to glimpse a pattern of large estates which has become obscured by the superimposition of a later administrative framework. The exemplar is maerdref Aberffraw with its seven hamlets held by tir cyfrif tenure. In this case the hamlets are the nucleated settlements of bondmen directly related to the estate centre at Aberffraw. Less clear, but suggestive of an originally comparable basis of organisation, is the record of settlement at Conysiog, in the commote of Llifon. Here five gwe/yau, all bearing the names of sons of Hwfa ap Cynddelw, are recorded and their obligations listed. The gwelyau are freely held but there is reference to the bondmen of the free tenants. There is also a notice made, with little more than a passing reference to no less that nine dependent hamlets. This is the largest number of hamlets associated with any single township in the 1352 extent. Carr has suggested that this pattern of settlement might indicate the original existence of a maenol (see glossary) in Llifon, based on Conysiog, and that the affiliations recorded in the 1352 extent are the outcome of a grant of the 'whole maenol of Conysiog with its bondmen' to Hwfa ap Cynddelw in the 1ih century (Carr, 1982, 144-5). Similarly, but less clearly demonstrable, Rowlands records the tradition that Porthamel was once known as a maeno/, with dependent hamlets at Llanedwen, Bodlew, Bodowyr, Myfyrian, Berw Uchaf, Cefn Poeth and Trescawen. Porthamel was held by the dynasty of Llywarch ap Bran.

Comparable large estates with dependent hamlets might include Llysdulas with hamlets recorded in 1352 at Garddwr, Glasgraig, Rhydwygyr, Bodsartho, Glastre, Amlwch, Llechog and Ysgellog. Further hamlets of Llysdulas, not recorded in 1352, are detectable in later documents, comprising, perhaps, 25 in all (Jones Pierce, 1972, 87-101; Jones Pierce, 1972, 253-6). In similar fashion, Bodafon, un-associated in 14<sup>1</sup>h century records with subordinate hamlets was shown by Jones Pierce to have been co-extensive with two entire parishes and a large part of a third, and, in addition to the three free *gwelyau* of the grandchildren of Sandde, Iddon and Arthen, comprised an unbroken line of hamlets from Bodafon to the boundary of Amlwch (Jones Pierce, 1972, 90).

It may be that some hamlets were created in the appropriation of arable land from the commons through economic necessity as the original nucleus of settlement became fragmented through partible inheritance (Jones Pierce, 1972, 253-4). The pattern in the landscape created by such a process has been described by Jones Pierce: 'The homesteads or *tyddynod* of the clansmen or *priodorion* were arranged in widely dispersed clusters round small quillited fields on sites [in Llysdulas] well elevated above the surrounding moor and marsh; such settlements were known in the vernacular as *rhandiroedd* [sharelands], being recognised as hamlets by English officials (Jones Pierce, 1972, 253). Glanville Jones presents a similar picture: 'The wide dispersal of homesteads, implied in some sections of the Laws, was characteristic of the initial stages of the evolution of *tir gwe/yawg* tenure. With the increase of population and the operation of *cyfran* (gavelkind) [partible inheritance] single-dwelling *trefi* developed into multi-dwelling *trefi* or *amlwdau* with the houses sited on the edges of the arable sharelands and thus having a semi-dispersed arrangement best described as a girdle pattern (Gianville Jones, 1955, 33).

Nevertheless, the heirs of the free *gwelyau* had their own bondmen. Where land, and the bondmen on the land, was acquired by royal grant, as, perhaps, in the case of Conysiog for example, the bond tenancies may have been *tir cyfrif* and the hamlets may have been nucleated. In the *commote* of Twrcelyn, Gruffydd ap Madog Gloddaith was the free tenant of four carucates (32 bovates) of land in Nantbychan. However, he himself had bondmen 'who are of the nature of *tref gyfrif* (A D Carr, 1971-2, Extent of Anglesey: Nantbychan, 226).

#### **Fields**

The smallholdings themselves -the messuages or tyddynod of both free and bond tenants, whether nucleated or dispersed, had access to the open fields of arable shareland. Amongst the arable were closes and meadows and beyond them the common pasture of each community. Each tenant's strips or quillets or 1/einiau would be dispersed among the open fields and tilled in accordance with joint ploughing agreements. Members of such agreements would contribute oxen, the plough, their labour and so on (Jenkins, 1986, 198-202). An 8-ox team is envisaged (Carr, 1982, 94) although it is perhaps unlikely that the full complement was ever achieved. Nevertheless, the ox-drawn plough needs room to turn at the end of each furrow and it is highly probable that the ridges and furrows created in the course of ploughing took on the sinuous curvilinear, often reversed S-shape, so characteristic of relict medieval field patterns over much of England. Where topography permits a long furrow is easier and more economical to plough than a series of short ones. The Law Codes provide specifications for standard erwau (see glossary) which were the basis for joint ploughing agreements and the proportions of these erawau are long and thin, in the ratio of 10:1. The legal erw was a measure of area, however, and not necessarily the size of a field. Individual strips would be subdivisions of an erw. Nevertheless, the length of the erw is a probable indicator of the standard length of a furrow or strip. The lorwerth redaction, then, would suggest a strip 120 yards long. A clue to the width of strips might be sought in two other legal units of land measure which bear no immediately obvious relationship to the layout of the erw as prescribed in the lorwerth redaction. The units are the leap and the land: 'three lengths of the barley corn in the inch; three inches in the palmbreadth; three palmbreadths in the foot; three feet in the step; three steps in the leap; three leaps in the land', (Jenkins, 1986, 120).

The *leap* is therefore 81 inches long and the *land* 243 inches, 20.25 feet or 6.75 yards. The *leap* of 81 inches is exactly half the measure of the 162 inch, 13.5 foot rod of Hywel Dda specified in the Cyfnerth redaction and twice the measure of a short rod of 40.5 inches for which evidence of use on Anglesey has been adduced (Palmer, 1896, 16; Gresham, 1951, 120). The *land* of 20.25 feet made up of three *leaps*, each of 81 inches, would seem to be an appropriate measure for the width of a strip or quillet and corresponds reasonably well with the average size of comparable strips in England. If the 13.5 foot rod, or its subdivision the 40.5 inch rod, <u>was</u> used to measure *erwau* and lay out strips in medieval Anglesey then two such strips lying side by side would be contained within the width of the long *erw*. However, with time and to facilitate joint ploughing agreements, a unit of area smaller than the legal *erw* came to be employed. This unit was the 1/athen and is likely to have been a convenient sub-division of the *erw*. it is possible to go further and suggest that the 1/athen corresponded to the quillet.

The only direct statement of the area of a *1/athen* is a late one, by which time the *1/athen* was considered to have comprised 607.5 square yards. If, hypothetically, an *erw* was laid out to the lorwerth proportions of 30 rods by 3 rods but using a 13.5 foot rod, then 3 strips of 607.5 square yards would be created, each 2 leaps or 1 rod in width, lying side by side for a length of 135 yards. On the other hand, if it is accepted that the width of a *1/athen* corresponded to an individual strip, a land's width (20.25 feet) across, then the strip would extend for a distance of 270ft (90 yards) in length. This is exactly the length of the field measured for Palmer's informant at Llawr y Glyn, Montgomeryshire, using a 13.5 ft rod and exactly the length of the fields, still bearing the name element, Llathen, recorded by Gresham in Criccieth (Gresham, 1951).

From this somewhat tortuous analysis it may be suggested that the arable fields of medieval Anglesey were characterised by accumulations of long sinuous quillets, between 90 yards and

135 yards long and between 4.5 yards (13.5 feet) and 6.75 yards (20.25 feet) wide. The average bond tenant held 20 or so such strips. The combined holdings of <u>free</u> tenants could be considerably more extensive and there are hints that their individual holdings might also be significantly larger as at Porthamel where at least 5 heirs of the *gwely* lorwerth ap Llywarch, leuan Wyddel among them, held 144 bovates of land; or at Nantbychan where Gruffydd ap Madog Gloddaith held 4 carucates (32 bovates) (Carr, 1971-2, Extent of Anglesey: Porthamel, 254-5; Nantbychan, 226). Nevertheless, the available statistics appear to indicate that the average holding of a free tenant, at least on those holdings where the Bishop of Bangor was the chief lord, barely exceeded those of bond tenants.

#### Nucleation and density

Behind the administrative framework of commote and township a pattern can be perceived in the landscape. There were certain major nucleations of settlement principally at the demesne centres of Rhosyr, Aberffraw, Cemais, Penrhos and Llanfaes and on the Bishop of Bangor's land at Treffos. In addition to the complex of buildings associated with manorial organisation, the tir cyfrif bondmen of the secular and ecclesiastical lords lived in what could fairly be described as villages. The records of the mid 14th century reflect depopulation brought on by a variety of causes including plague. Nevertheless, an indication of the density of settlement is possible.

At Aberffraw each of the 7 hamlets might have supported communities of between 9 and 15 households (A D Carr, 1971-2, Extent of Anglesey Aberffraw, 172: Jones Pierce, 1972, 277). At Cemais, in 1352, 10 gafaelion of gwyr mal, 15% gyfaelion of gwyr gwaith and 9 gafaelion of gwyr tir bwrdd would once have supported an equivalent number of households (see glossary). At Penrhos 40 tenants occupied 6 gafaelion of gwyr mal, 15 gyfaelion of gwyr gwaith and 7% gafaelion of tir bwrdd (AD Carr, 1971-2, Extent of Anglesey: Penrhos). At Rhosyr, 26 tenants held 8 gafaelion and 12 gardens while a further 12% gafaelion were held by 'pure bondmen called maerdref. At Treffos 26 bondmen of the Bishop of Bangor occupied 26 bovates of land and farmed 2 carucates of demesne land in addition to meadows and pastures centred on the Bishop's 'substantial house' which, however, by 1302 was 'all ruined and in need of great repair' (Ellis, 1838, 100).

Llanfaes had undergone considerable transformation and development during the 13th century before its demise and depopulation after 1295 to make way for the growth of Beaumaris. This was the one community on Anglesey that could be described as a town, with all the characteristic features of a town. There was a settlement of 120 households, presumably nucleated and extending over 90 acres; there was a friary, a ferry, a port where trading goods were imported, fisheries, fairs, markets and tradesmen.

The great landholding families of Anglesey had bondmen too and it is clear that some of these bondmen held their land as tir cyfrif as in the case of the bondsmen of Gruffydd ap Madog Gloddaith in Nantbychan. It is possible that a number of hamlets, organised along manorial lines have escaped the attention of the extents and surveys because their dues and obligations were payable otherwise than to the crown. Away from the great estate centres other sizeable nucleations could be found at Bodhunod (60 households), Rhosmynach (27 households) Hirdrefaig (30 households) and Dinam (14 households) (Jones Pierce (1972), 276). Carr reminds us that while there were dispersed settlements in the Anglesey landscape and, for the main part, these were to be found among the gwely lands of the free tenants, 'the important point to remember about ... bond townships is that they were generally nucleated communities or, in other words, hamlets' (Carr, 1982, 31). While the examples of tir cyfrif communities, noticed above, are inherently likely to have been nucleated villages, certain bond tref welyog lands may also have given rise to nucleations of settlements. Examples include Llanfair yn y Cwmwd, an episcopal township of the Bishop of Bangor which supported 11 households in the early 14th century in an area coterminous with what became the smallest parish on Anglesey (Carr, 1982, 31); Conysiog Llan where 49 tenants farmed, cheek by jowl, a holding of 4 carucates (between 128 and 240 acres). At Llanfflewin, 13 tenants held one half of a carucate (Carr, 1982, 32). Similarly Carr has suggested, following Jones, that tir corddlan tenure (nucleal land) may have

pertained in the immediate vicinity of the *etas* churches such as Llangadwaladr, Caergybi, Llaneilian and Llanfechell where hamlets developed and where the members of the community were described as tenants of the saint (Carr, 1982, 32; Jones, 1972, 'Post Roman Wales' in Finberg, HPR (ed), 'The Agrarian History of England and Wales 1, ii AD43-1042', 340-9).

#### Industry

Although there were fairs at the *maerdrefi* and other centres before the conquest and Llanfaes developed a significant trading interest that Beaumaris inherited, most industrial and manufacturing activity stemmed from the agricultural life of the island.

One of the most significant adjuncts of the agricultural life was the provision of mills. Nearly seventy mills are recorded in the 1352 extent and there would have been others such as the Bishop of Bangor's mill at Treffos and the mill at Bancenyn on lands held of Penmen Priory. All mills of any scale (hand mills seem to be recorded in use at Eglwys Ail in Malltraeth) were water mills until the first windmill was built on Anglesey at Newborough in 1303. Because of the absence of strongly flowing rivers on Anglesey, provision was invariably required for ponds, dams, sluices and water-courses. In times of drought, serious problems could arise and, in addition to an increase in the number of windmills, by the 15th century, the power of the tide was being harnessed in the Menai Straits at Porthaethwy and on the inland-sea between Holyhead and the mainland of the island.

Mills were an extremely important resource. The royal mills were a source of revenue for the Prince. Bond tenants and others who had no access to a mill of their own owed *suit of mill-* the obligation to mill their corn at a particular royal mill. Freeholders with their own mills escaped this obligation. Bond tenants of the Prince owed labour services in respect of the royal mills - in repair and maintenance of the buildings, in fetching and carrying millstones and in maintaining watercourses- presumably the same obligations fell on the bond tenants of the freemen.

While the location of mills is inevitably dictated by the availability of a good supply of water, the mills can point to the location of settlement – both through the obligation of a community to *suit of mill* and in the naming of the mill. An example might be Melin Geraint in the township of Pentraeth in Dindaethwy. Betws Geraint in the *gwe/y* Geraint ap Tegwared was the location of the taking of evidence in compiling the 1352 extent for the adjacent *commote* of Twrcelyn (Carr, 1971-2, Extent of Anglesey: Twrcelyn, 217). Neither Betws Geraint, Melin Geraint nor the location of the *gwe/y* Geraint ap Tegwared has been established precisely.

#### The hidden landscape- the bondmen of the free tenants

An aspect of the settlement pattern of Anglesey not generally discussed when considering the distribution and density of settlement is the nature of the bond settlements of free tenants. The existence of such bondmen is acknowledged (Jones Pierce, 1972, 270-2; Carr, 1982, 129-31) and the social and administrative implications have been discussed but their impact on the settlement geography of the island is unknown. The distribution of the bond *gwelyau*, *gafae/ion* and *tir cyfrif* hamlets of the Prince are recorded because of the need of the English Crown for detailed information on the dues, renders and prerogatives formerly applicable to the Welsh Prince and, after 1282, attaching to the new administration. Similarly, a survey was made of the lands of the Bishop of Bangor in 1306. The nature of the Bishop's estate which emerges from this document has been described as a *maenol* (Carr, 1982, 269) with a manorial court at Treffos in the *commote* of Dindaethwy where tenants held their land as *tir cyfrif* in a very closely comparable fashion to those on the Prince's *maerdrefi*. Bond and free tenants of the priory of Penmen including lands in the townships of Bancenyn and Crymlyn are known from a valuation of 1374 (Carr, 1982, 272; Ellis, 1838, 249-51). The secular free township of Crymlyn is recorded in the 1352 extent but Bancenyn, with its mill, is not. Other important church lands were held by the

Abbey of Aberconwy, the Augustinian priory of Beddgelert and Clynnog Fawr and the *clas* communities. Some *c/as* churches held lands whose tenants were described as the tenants of the saint (Carr (1982), 266-276). Their inclusion in the secular royal surveys is a hit-and-miss affair.

There were, in addition, other great secular land-holding families and they too had tenants. Their existence, however, barely registers on the extents and accounts of royal interests. Nevertheless there are enough passing references to postulate a substantial infrastructure of bond holdings underpinning the free townships and hamlets. So that in the commote of Talybolion there are references to the bondmen of the freemen at Botan, Eirianell, Carneddor, Dronwy and Aberalaw. In Twrcelyn the 'bondmen' of the free tenant of the township of Nantbychan, Gruffydd ap Madog Gloddaith, 'are of the nature of tref gyfrif and owe suit not to the Prince's mill but to Gruffydd's mill, Melin Cadnant, in the next commote of Dindaethwy. Also in Twrcelyn the freemen of Ynys Gnud and Gwredog have bondmen. In Dindaethwy there are references to the bondmen of the free tenants at Dinsylwy Rys, Trecastell, Twrgarw, Penmynydd, Erddreiniog, Porthaethwy and Crymlyn. it is not possible to estimate the extent and density of these settlements of freeholder's bond tenants. Many must surely have escaped the record entirely because no dues were payable directly to the Prince. Nevertheless, some of these free families controlled large estates and their bond holdings may have been considerable. Neither is it possible to be certain of the nature of these bond tenancies except for the occasional glimpse that some could be of the nature of tref avfrif. In such circumstances we might expect the settlement of the bond community to be nucleated as has been postulated at the royal and episcopal manorial centres. If the suggestion that townships such as Conysiog and Porthamel were the nuclei of maenolau, then it might be possible to envisage an organisational framework comparable to these better known multiple estates (for the concept of the multiple estate see G.R.J Jones, 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement' in P.H. Sawyer, 'Medieval Settlement', 15-40).

#### The threat to the archaeological resource.

'The map of rural settlement in modern Anglesey is a complex palimpsest whereon older lines may be discerned beneath the new... There appears [also] to be a significant relationship between medieval and modern land tenure, although this relationship is far less direct than appears at first sight.' (Jones, 1955, 27, 29).

During the 13<sup>1</sup>h century the population of Anglesey had attained a level it was not to regain for centuries. The framework of settlement, organised in townships, hamlets and *gwelyau* so characteristic of the latter period of the 'Age of the Princes' was, over the succeeding centuries, dismembered and eroded by new patterns of landholding and agricultural methods. The process of transformation is so complete that new developments in the agricultural landscape and In, and on the fringes of, village and urban communities continue, oblivious to the destruction of the evidence for one of the key phases of the development of society in north-west Wales. Attention has been successfully drawn to the scale of the problem of identification and threat at the specific location of the 1/ysoedd at the heart of the royal estates on Anglesey. The threat is no less real and the archaeological resource no less significant in respect of the settlements of the freemen and bond tenants who lived and worked in, and created the landscape of the middle ages.

Attention has been drawn above to the component parts of the resource. The research value lies in the potential for throwing light on aspects of the social organisation and settlements of a crucial transitional period for which almost no information is at present available. Questions concern the degree to which such settlements were nucleated; the structural and organisational distinction between homesteads in a nucleated village and those more appropriately described as dispersed farms and the structural form, internal arrangements and building history of the structures themselves. Beresford, for example, has drawn attention to the potential of Llanfaes for elucidating the arrangement and organisation of the streets and burgages of a medieval town in

pre-conquest north Wales and the transition from *maerdref* hamlet to urban nucleus. Carr laments the lack of evidence that would allow us to examine the probable manorial organisation of the estates of great freeholding families. The townships of Penmynydd and Trecastell, held by the descendents of Ednyfed Fychan, are cited (Carr, 1982, 36-7); Porthamel, Conysiog, Bodafon and Llysdulas would be other examples. Similarly Carr makes the strong case that 'while it was once customary to deny the existence of (nucleated) communities in Wales because of the lack of them today, ... in fact ... the landscape is scattered with deserted and abandoned villages. Investigation in Wales is bedevilled by the lack of excavation' (Carr, 1982, 31 and 60).

The identification of threat to the resource is more readily made where villages have grown, more recently or as a process of continuous development, on the site of former settlement nucleations. Examples include Aberffraw and Porthaethwy (Fig. 2; Fig 8b). It is, however, precisely because the majority of early settlement nucleations were deserted and their names are now represented by a single consolidated farm or a small cluster of houses, out of proportion to the scale of the original settlement, that these sites are at once unlocated in the landscape and at risk from landscape change.

#### Depopulation, desertion, consolidation and landscape change.

During the later part of the 13th century, notwithstanding the English wars, the population of north Wales, in common with England, was reaching a peak (K. Williams Jones, The Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll 1292-3, 1976, xlii-xliii). The 14th century is a story of decline. Climatic change, crop failure in the years 1315-17, famine, livestock epidemics and the Black Death from 1348, proved a relentless and debilitating combination which bred social unrest and rebellion during the latter part of the century; a process which culminated in the Glyndwr uprising in 1400. The war exacerbated a bad economic situation and the agricultural economy never really recovered. Mills lay derelict and bond hamlets deserted. Disease had been partly responsible for depopulation but some bond tenants used the cover of the plague and unrest to flee their tenancies. Land values were depressed and the 'deserted bond vills became a battleground for rival gentry families hungry for land' (K. Williams-Jones, 1976, Ivii).

The scale of depopulation can be gauged from commote officers' accounts of the mid 14th century and from the tally of escheat lands recorded in the 1352 extent (Carr, 1982, 304-5). If a tenant died without heirs or in rebellion against his lord or if he was convicted of a felony then the land he held would revert to his lord. In 1352 there were many holdings or portions of holding which are described as escheat. Some have clearly been let out again as at Carnan in the commote of Menai where the *gwe/y* Griffri Chwith is described as 'escheat to the lord, and Philip ap Dafydd and Einion ap Dafydd and others hold it at the lord's will' (Carr, 1971-2, Extent of Anglesey: Carnan, 253). The majority however are described as 'in the lord's hand for lack of heirs or 'ffridd in the lord's hand for lack of tenants'. The escheat lands recorded in 1352 are listed in table 3, below.

Free land could not, in theory, be legally alienated-hereditary land was held by a tenant in trust for the next and future generations. Nevertheless, eager estate-builders could exploit legal loopholes to acquire holdings at a premium (L. Beverly-Smith, 'The gage and the land market in late Medieval Wales', *Economic History Review 29*, 1976, 537-41). By the 1ihcentury, crown lands, including the former lands of the Welsh Prince, were sold *off.* The process was described by Rowlands, in the early 18th century, 'All villein and native tenements were claimed and seized by the Kings of England as of their own right in fee simple; and were let our under that name by the King's collectors whoever they might be for a term of life or years, a price being payed down according to ancient custom. Now through necessity or neglect of some monarchs almost all lands of this kind which are legally styled royal (King's lands) have been commonly granted and ultimately sold to the chief men of our county, especially to those who by their wealth had any influence at court; so that it is hardly possible, at the present day, to distinguish amidst the

common mass, what might be a villeinage from a freehold. Indeed in the present state of conducting matters they have all become freeholds indiscriminately '(H Rowlands, 1847, Antiquitates Parochiales, *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 9). In some cases, it would seem that the original basis of letting crown lands had become obscured, deliberately or otherwise, before the sell-off had begun. A survey of Crown lands on Anglesey undertaken in 1608 contains the following bemused account of what, it was anticipated, would represent the King's interest in the former *maerdref* of Cemais:

'We find the township of Cemmais to have been sometimes the kings maiesties manor, and part of ye principality of North Wales: As by a certain reccorde called the Extent book of North Wales, it dooth and may appear. And also we find that there was a patent granted of the said manor of Kemmais, by the late Kinge Henry the eighth of famous memory to one Nicholas Hurlton, Clerk. And that nowe one Sir Willm Thomas, Knight dooth holld and enjoy the said manor as his free holld; and hath so doon by himself and his Ancestors, for the space of forty years and upwards.. but by what right or title, we know not. (PRO,LR2/205, 128).

Transactions in the property market including the purchase of the now-available crown lands led to the creation of a number of lare estates and consolidated farms. The process of consolidation had, by the late 19t century, resulted in the concentration of 66% of the farmed area of Anglesey in the hands of 171andowners (Jones, 1955, 64). Jones was further able to show that the location of 75% of all township and hamlet names recorded in medieval sources were, by the mid 20th century, represented by the names of one, or sometimes two, consolidated large farms of over 40 acres (Jones, 1955, 63).

By the 16th century the enclosure and subdivision of the open fields with banks had begun (L. Toulmin Smith (ed), 1906, Leland's Itinerary in Wales, 52-3). Initially these small enclosed fields would have followed the major boundaries and, in some cases, the strips of the open fields; the irregular patchwork of fields so formed is a characteristic feature of late 18th century estate surveys. By the early 19th century large ruler-straight fields were laid out in many parts of the island, obscuring and all but obliterating the pattern of the medieval landscape. It is ironic that consolidated farms on sites of early settlement names were among the first to develop new intensive farming methods, thereby exacerbating the pace of destruction. By the middle of the 19th century there were large farms on Anglesey 'with excellent modern built homesteads and offices, on which the course of cropping is superior to that seen in general throughout north Wales, even on the best farms' (Jones.1955, 64 quoting Rowlandson, T., 'The Agriculture of North Wales', Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England 7, 1847, 553-589).

Table 5 presents the present status of the locations represented by medieval township and hamlet names:

#### The potential for identifying the locations of Medieval settlement in the field

The character of medieval settlement on Anglesey (and elsewhere in north-west Wales) has often been perceived as a dispersed distribution of individual holdings. Where later landscape change has eradicated much of the surface evidence for the earlier pattern the difficulties of identifying such settlements on the ground might appear to be insurmountable. Notwithstanding the undisputed presence of individual smallholdings in the early landscape, attention has been drawn, above, to the potential for the existence of significant numbers of nucleated settlements on Anglesey during the 1ih 13th and 14th centuries. At these locations the sites must be considered to be comparable to the better studied 'deserted medieval villages' of England (Carr, 1982, 31). The problem of identification, however, remains. Three approaches to the problem are proposed.

#### 1. Documentary search

Considerable use has been made of both published and unpublished documentary sources in the compilation of the attached maps and gazetteer; and of the results of previous researchers' more extensive studies of these and related sources. In particular, in respect of the precise identification of settlement locations on the ground, certain classes of record are extremely valuable and should constitute the next stage of inquiry in informing fieldwork. For example, an unpublished survey of crown lands on Anglesey, undertaken in 1608 by the auditors of Land Revenue, contains very detailed information on houses, their appurtenances, their tenants and associated parcels within the holding and their agricultural potential together with an estimation of the acreage of individual parcels in acres and their fractions.

In 'the manor or vill of Cleifiog and Llanllibio' which included lands in Geirn and Cilgwyn, 43 dwelling houses are described, with their lands, tenants and, sometimes, the names of their fields. For example in Cleifiog:

- John Bulkely was in the occupation of a dwelling house, garden, stable, other buildings, another garden and two crofts. He also held a parcel of pasture of 85 acres, another parcel of pasture of 36 acres, a parcel of meadow of 5 acres and a parcel of marsh of 82 acres.
- Edward ap John occupied another dwelling house called *Tyddyn y Castel*/, one stable, a cowshed, garden and one croft, a parcel of arable and pasture and a parcel of meadow.
- The same Edward ap John held another dwelling house called *Tyddyn y Gorslwyd* and a garden, a parcel of arable and pasture and a parcel of meadow.
- Katherine daughter of Llywelyn and Rowland Lewis were in the occupancy of another dwelling house and other buildings comprising 1 barn, 1 cowshed, one garden and 3 crofts, a parcel of arable and pasture, and a parcel of marsh.
- Another dwelling house in the occupancy of Richard Humphrey called Y Kilgwyn with one room attached, one toft, a parcel of arable and pasture (110 acres); a parcel of meadow (3 acres) (PRO LR2/205 136, 137, 140).

In the hamlet of 'Gardder et Mayerdreff in the manor of Aberffraw are recorded:

- 2 gardens held by Owen Wood, Esquire where that aforementioned chief residence of the manor used to be, now entirely ruinous for as long as anyone can remember (2 roods, 10 parcels i.e. 0.5 acre).
- Another dwelling house in the occupancy of Hugh ap Richard ap Robert (2 perches)
- and a parcel of arable land lying on the eastern side of the church of Aberffraw (0.75 acre)
- and arable land near Maes y Maerdref (2.5 acres).
- A dwelling house in the occupancy of Agnes ferch John and another building with one toft of arable, a parcel of arable land bordering on the ditch of the aforementioned Hugh Owen's mill, on the eastern side of Seler (1 acre, 3 rood, 10 perches). (PRO LR2/205,51-53).

Another particularly good example of the wealth of locational detail contained in these documents but of relevance to an earlier period of social organization is a rare crown rental of 1549 detailing holdings in the two townships of Llysdulas and Bodafon and two *gweylau* in Bodeuryd, Llechog and Rhosmynach (Jones Pierce, 1972, 87-101; UCNW Baron Hill1436). The 1352 extent identifies seven free *gwelyau* of the sons of Carwed and Griffri and one bond *gwely*, *Gwely Twr/lachied*, in the township of Llysdulas. It also identified seven hamlets. In Bodafon, the extent names 3 free *gwelyau* of the grandsons of Sandde, Iddon and Arthen. The 16th century rental provides considerably more detail of the associations of the township and the internal organization of the *gwely*. In the 16thcentury rental the same seven *gwelyau* are named in Llysdulas but their distribution can now be seen to extend across at least 25 hamlets (Jones Pierce, 1972, 88). Similarly, in Bodafon, the *gwely* names are retained intact but can be seen to have spread across hamlets previously unsuspected from the 14th century accounts. Of particular interest, however, is the detailed information on the individual holdings of the *gwelyau*. In Llysdulas 125 holdings are incorporated within the seven *gwelyau* of the sons of Griffri and

Carwed, most of which would appear at one time to have constituted individual or family freeholds' (Jones Pierce (1972), 91). In other words, they constitute individual *tyddynod*. In Bodafon 91 holdings are accounted for.

As an example of the significance for targeting fieldwork the following extracts are selected from the total. The Latin text is from a parallel rental made during the first decade of the 1ylh century (PRO SC 12/21/12).

Bodafon: Gwely Sandde

- Wyllim ap John ap Hoell ap Jerwerth dros gwbl o'r dir hun lie may yn trigo o'r vynu reglwys Lannor (exparte australi ecclesie de Llannor in Bodafon)
   [... for all his own land where he lives from above Llannor church (on the south side of
  - Llannor Church in Bodafon)]
    Hugh ap Jevan ap Llywelyn dros dir Angharat verch Weirvil yn emyl bethus y Koyd ane
    (... for the land of Angharad daughter of Gwerful close by Bettws Coedana)
- Hugh ap Jevan ap Llywelyn dros dir Hoell Goch ap Hova sef yw hynny y tay hirion yn y koyd ane
  - [... for the land of Hywel Goch ap Hwfa, that is the long houses in Coedana]
- Idern Thomas dros dir i teddin o'r tu yn deu i eglwys vihangel yn *tref* barth [... for the land of his homestead to the south of St Michael's church in Trefbarth].
- Llywelyn ap Tudur ap Hoell ap Ken' dros dir i hun lie may yn trigo yn llanvehanelyntrefbarth (vocata y Ty yn coed)
  - (... for his own land where he lives in St Michael's church in Trefbarth (Lianfihangel yn Trefbarth) called 'y Ty yn coed' -the house in the wood]

#### Gwely Iddon

- John Gruffudd obaris dros dir leuan ap Gwilim Sayr (ex parte orientali molendini de Dulas).
   (John Gruffydd of Paris for the land of leuan ap Gwilim Carpenter on the south side of Dulas Mill].
- John Gruffudd obaris dros dir Gwenllian verch Jevan ap Eingion ytai yty vyny i eglws llannor (John Gruffydd of Parys for the land of Gwenllian daughter of leuan ap Einion, the houses up from Llannor church].

A number of the place names which are presented in these records can be traced, with additional locational and social detail through deeds, conveyances and legal proceedings during the 15th, 16th and 1ylh centuries so that, for example, *Castel/* and *Tyddyn Griffith* in Cleifiog are the subject of a lease by Sir Richard Bulkely 2nd to Llywelyn ap Meredydd ap David Vychan in 1563 (UCNW Baron Hill 1555) and *Tyddyn y Castel/* in the township of Cleifiog re-appears in 1661 (UCNW Baron Hill 1572-5). The 1608 survey of crown lands provides us with the precise details of Tyddyn y Castell at that date. Similarly, *Yr Arw*, one of the 9 hamlets of Conysiog in 1352 is recorded as *Ir rare /ssa* (Yr Arw Isaf) in the *commote* of Llifon in connexion with the grant of lands and tenements there by William Griffith to Griffith ap David Vychan ap David ap Kenrick ap Grono in 1473 and again as *Yr Arw* in 1608.

This selection of examples has been presented to indicate the very great potential contained in these records for topographic reconstruction (see also Carr, 1982, 35-6). By the late 18th century the mapping of the consolidated estates which have come into being in the intervening period allows the names of fields and holdings to be fixed on the ground. In many cases the houses, cottages and smallholdings have disappeared but the place-names survive. On Anglesey, estate surveys are considerably more useful in their record of field names and boundaries than the Tithe Apportionments. In respect of Cleifiog and Llanllibio, Barnes (1988, Land Tenure and Landscape in Llanynghenedl, Anglesey, *Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society*, 31-113) has demonstrated how successful this technique can be in charting the process of tenurial and land

use transformation from the 14th century to the late 18th century. A case study which attempts a topographic reconstruction and locational analysis using such documents is appended to the present report.

#### 2. Aerial photography

Good vertical coverage at approximately 1:10000 scale exists from 1947. The 1947 photographs are particularly important in that they record aspects of the Anglesey landscape before many of the agricultural improvements and developments of the last 50 years. Of particular interest is the photography of Newborough Warren, site of the episcopal township of Llanddwyn and the secular maerdref of Rhosyr, before the extensive Forestry Commission planting of the 1950s; and the views of maerdref Aberffraw before the expansion of the village to the south west which almost certainly eclipsed the site of the 1/ys. Nevertheless, the scale is too small for very useful random sampling. Some potential target sites for fieldwork – platforms and boundaries between Porthaethwy and Pwllgwyngyll, for example, and in the area of the former hamlet of Treberfedd, Aberffraw, have been identified. Nevertheless, searches of vertical photography will be most effective after the selection of target sites has been achieved through documentary search and analysis. For the same reasons new aerial survey could prove highly effective if targeted.

#### 3. Surface fieldwork

Sites do survive in the Anglesey landscape. They are, in general, significantly more denuded and apparently less numerous that on the adjacent mainland. Nevertheless previously recorded 'long huts' are identified in the accompanying gazetteer. In addition entirely random sampling has identified previously unrecorded possible house platforms and rectangular house foundations, for example, near Plas Llugwy, Carreglefn and Penmynydd.

It is proposed that in addition to extending the Deserted Rural Settlement survey to these known Anglesey examples, new survey should be targeted on the basis of documentary and aerial search as described above. In doing so it is considered that priority should be given to those areas where medieval settlement nuclei are indicated, on the basis of the propositions in the present report and summarized in table 5.

In addition the following locations suggest themselves for further detailed investigation:

#### Settlement unit name

# Llannol Llanllibio Porthaethwy Nant Bychan Llangadwaladr Llanfechell Llaneilian Llanfaes

Tal y Llyn Llanbeulan

Cape! Llugwy

Cape! Halen/Penrhos

Rhosyr Cemais Treffos

Llanfair yn y Cwmwd Conysiog Lan

Conysing La

#### Status

tir cyfrif community tir cyfrif community tir cyfrif community tir cyfrif community

c/as church c/as church c/as church maerdref

isolated chapel and episcopal tref

isolated chapel ?maerdref maerdref maerdref

episcopal maerdref small episcopal tref episcopal tref episcopal tref

(cfCarr (1982), 31-39)

#### Recommendations

- 1. It is recommended that the nucleated settlements of medieval Anglesey be the subject of detailed field survey to identify the precise location of these settlements so that:
- an adequate record might be made of a monument class grossly under-represented in the archaeological record in proportion to their significance in shaping the character of the medieval landscape,
- ii) recommendations might be put forward for scheduling, particularly where representative examples of *gwelyau* and hamlets can be identified,
- iii) the information might be made available to the planning process, through the Regional Sites and Monuments Record so that it might inform the consideration of planning applications (where the nature of any proposed development involves the planning process) or contribute to the formulation of countryside management strategies, including farm plans arising from ESA status or the new AWAES as appropriate.
- The pattern of the medieval agricultural landscape has been so thoroughly altered that any
  instances of relict fields which might reflect medieval land management should be recorded
  as an important component of the archaeological character of the area and considered in
  any conservation strategy.

#### 3. Mills

Corn mills were a fundamental component of the medieval agricultural regime. Sixty-eight mills are recorded in the 1352 extent and others are known to have belonged to the Bishop of Bangor (at Treffos, Moelfre and Llandyfrydog); Penman Priory (at Bancenyn and Bodiordderch) and Aberconwy Abbey (at Penmynydd, Cornwy and Rhuddgaer) (Carr, 1982, 121). The large majority were water mills with all the necessary installations such as watercourses, mill ponds and dams. A number were recorded as derelict by the 14 h century.

The identification of the location of mills (a number of sites are known or suspected) with an assessment of their condition and survival or early structural and associated components is considered a priority.

#### Case Study

#### Settlements at three maerdrefi

Johnstone has drawn attention to the potential for locating the 1/ysoedd of the Welsh princes of Gwynedd, at the core of their royal estates, through the use of documentary evidence and targeted fieldwork. He has, furthermore, drawn attention to the potential for inadvertent destruction of these sites through ignorance of their precise location. However, little attention has been paid to the settlements of the bond tenants of the Prince, which it has been argued, are likely to have been concentrated in nucleated villages, or to the ancillary components of the estates which constitute the immediate landscape. Far less, if anything at all, is now known or appreciated of these less high profile elements and it may be argued that the threat from piecemeal erosion or, in some cases, more dramatic large scale development, is even greater,

This case study will examine the bond settlements and wider landscape of three Anglesey *maerdrefi* in order to demonstrate the potential of the documentary evidence for landscape and locational analysis

1. Hendre Rhosfair and Maerdref, a maerdref hamlet in Rhosyr (Figs 3, 4, 5)

By 1352 the tenants of the English Crown, reflecting the arrangements in place in respect of the bond tenants of the Prince before the conquest, could be described as comprising three elements. There were 'pure bondmen' called *maerdrefwho* receive no further detailed attention in the extent; *liberi nativi*- free bondmen, 17 tenants holding between them nine *gafaelion* (see above) and five and one half 'lands'; and *gardynemen*- garden-men, nine tenants holding twelve gardens with two additional gardens described as covered by sand.

In 1303 Edward I's surveyors laid out a 'New Borough' on 90 acres of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd's former lands at Rhosyr to house the resettled tenants of the *maerdref* and town of Llanfaes which had been depopulated to accommodate the commercial development of Beaumaris. In 1352, fifty-four tenants account for one hundred and forty-five properties in the new borough separately from those mentioned above which corresponded to the old *maerdref* tenancies.

During the 1ihcentury the Crown lands in Rhosyr were sold into private ownership and the process of consolidation of holdings which ensued was to transform the earlier tenurial pattern. In fact this process had already begun. In 1352 the same tenants can be seen to hold more than one tenancy, as, for example, Gruffydd ap lorwerth Foel did when he held the tenement of Adda Wen in the town of Newborough and the *gafael* Phillip Mon and a share in the *gafael* Porthorion in Rhosyr. This process had become further advanced by the early 1ihcentury, before the sale of Crown lands, as evidenced by the statistic that over fifty percent of the tenancies of Crown lands in Rhosfair and Maerdref were held by only five of a total of 45 tenants (PRO/LR2/205, 25-31).

Nevertheless, the composition and distribution of the component parts of holdings recognisable in the 1ih century permits further analysis which may lead to a clearer understanding of the preconquest *maerdref* tenancies. The survival of property and field names into the 18th and 19th centuries allows an attempt at topographic reconstruction. The key document for the period predating the sale of Crown lands is an unpublished survey of Crown leases carried out in 1608 (PRO LR2/205/25-31; Carr 1982, 35-6).

The Crown rental for 1608 accounts for the value of tenancies in 'Hendre Rhosefaire et Mardreff' separately from the larger area identified as the 'manor of Rhosyr'. it would seem reasonably

clear that Hendre Rhosyr and Maerdref represents the nucleus of former bond tenancies on the old maerdreflands. Forty-five tenants are recorded, holding 481.5 acres. The land is not evenly distributed, however, and as noted above, the majority of the land is in the hands of a smaller number of major tenants- particularly the Owen family, with William Owen holding 87 acres. Nevertheless, 18 houses are identified and four cottages. Some of the houses are substantial, with appurtenances. William Owen's house, Y Fron Deg, was just such a residence comprising a dwelling of four rooms and a kitchen of two rooms with a garden next to it. Others were less well endowed but still bore names reflecting an older established pattern of tenancy such as 'a certain house called Tyddyn Gronow Bach, lying next to Llyn Rhos Ddu'.

Despite the clear evidence for the amalgamation of parcels into larger tenancies, the detail of the record permits an appreciation of how this has been achieved in the case of the larger holdings. To give an example, Jane Owen, widow, held two closes of arable, six blocks of arable parcels, two blocks of arable *crofts* and a parcel of pasture and heath totalling 28.75 acres. Each of these units, individually, was relatively small, averaging 2.6 acres but even at the level of the components some amalgamation seem already to have occurred as one of the blocks *of* arable, totalling three acres, is described as comprising five *parcels* spread in *Gal/t Bedr* and another block of arable also totalling three acres is described as comprising three crofts lying severally next to Gors y Llyn. So Jane Owen's 28.75 acres can be seen to have originally comprised two arable closes, four dispersed crofts and ten arable parcels in addition *to* ten acres of pasture and heath. The average size of the arable closes, parcels and crofts is 1.17 acres, each parcel and croft, perhaps, representing the arable holding of original individual tenancies or a component of those holdings.

Even so, many of the holdings accounted for in 1608 had not yet achieved this level of amalgamation and a number of tenants held no more than a house or cottage and a small plot of land.

The primary land use in Hendre Rhosyr and Maerdref was arable. One hundred and forty-seven acres (31%) are described in general or non-specific terms such as arable <u>and</u> pasture and include the land on which houses and their appurtenances stand. Nevertheless, where differentiation is possible 242 acres (50% of the total) can be seen to have been arable and only 48 acres (10%) could be described as pasture, including ten acres of pasture and heath and 17 acres of sterile pasture. A further 44 acres of land (9%) was meadow.

The arable land is described in terms of parcels, closes or crofts. The parcels so identified are generally very small, with an average size of an arable parcel of 0.7 acres, and would themselves comprise the even smaller units of individual un-enclosed strips. Closes, presumably created by the enclosure of consolidated strips tended to be larger, averaging 4.2 acres for an arable close.

The identification of crofts is a particularly interesting feature of the record. Fifteen specific and 'various' other crofts are described. Where measurable they occupy an average area of around 1.45 acres

If we were to consider the general statistics of these holdings it becomes clear that while a considerable amount of land had become amalgamated into the single tenancies of a small number of individuals, the components of these holdings were still relatively small. There are large units, including one twelve-acre close of arable in the hands of William Owen. Nevertheless, the blocks of arable land, accounted for as units or identified as separate parcels or closes, average 1.4 acres. This may be compared with the average size of crofts at 1.45 acres. Furthermore, as indicated above, a high proportion (50%) of the tenants of Hendre Rhosyr and Maerdref in 1608 still held small plots of land that had not yet been incorporated into the holdings of major tenants.

Twenty-five tenants held four acres, or less, of land of any category and did so in blocks or parcels averaging 1.5 acres each. it is certainly worth considering the possibility that the croft and the parcel are the key to understanding the tenurial dispositions of *maerdref* bondmen.

The medieval arable holdings comprised strips distributed amongst the open fields of the arable sharelands. By 1602 much arable had been consolidated and enclosed in 'closes'. Over 100 acres were so enclosed with an average acreage of 4.17 acres although the largest close extended to 12 acres. Nevertheless, an echo of the dispersal of arable strips in the open fields is found in an analysis of the distribution of holdings. So: ten tenants held 20 parcels of arable 'in the open field called Carreg y Gwydd' (in quodam campo vocat Karreg y Gwydd); four tenants held arable, pasture and meadow in parcels and closes in Cae yn yr Hendre; 16 tenants held 68 parcels of arable and one close lying in Gallt Bedr totalling 29.75 acres. This latter example is particularly informative as the parcels are, on more than one occasion, described as lying spread in Gallt Bedr. The individual parcels, with one exception, where the holding constituted a close of three acres, are uniformly small, averaging within their groupings, between 1/6 and 2/3 acre. The average personal stake is represented by a holding of 4.3 parcels totalling 1.86 acres.

Gallt Bedr would seem to represent one of the clearest survivals, within Hendre Rhosyr and Maerdref, of an earlier pattern of arable distribution. Evidence for the former existence of such a pattern survived into the early 19th century at least. Thirty or more un-enclosed quillets or 1/einiau, each held as individual components of tenancies are recorded across the central portion of Newborough parish on the 1845 Tithe Survey. A number of these 1/einiau lie side by side or singly but un-enclosed within larger enclosed fields as, for example, where six 1/einiau lying together, each in different tenancies, lie between the larger enclosed fields of Tyn yr Allt and Carreg yr Eithin (Fig. 5). The 1/einiau across Newborough in general, are long and narrow varying in their individual dimensions but reflecting, in their sinuousness, their origin in ox-drawn plough teams. The average dimensions of surviving 1/einiau are 183 yards (167 metres) by 14 yards (13 metres), representing an area of 2562 square yards, close to half a statutory acre but perhaps more appropriately representing the Welsh customary acre comprising four 1/athenni, each of 607.5 square yards (total 2430 square yards) (see above). The average width of each /lain is approximately that of two lands (6.75 yards x 2) (see glossary and discussion above). Finally it is of interest to note the correspondence between the average size of relict open 1/einiau discussed above and the assessment of the distribution of arable parcels in Gallt Bedr contained within the 1608 survey. In this document, 68 parcels of arable average 0.4 acres each. it is possible, therefore, that the relict 1/einiau represent parcels comprising individual strips or 1/athenni of one land's width.

By the 19th century these evidences of the open field landscape were fast disappearing. Other quillets or 1/einiau are recognisable in the pattern of enclosed fields and the curving boundaries of larger fields, and the survival of a number of 'llain' property names, are a reminder, at a further stage removed, of the extent of this former landscape.

#### Location

The Crown survey of 1608 (PRO LR2/205 25-31), in addition to providing valuable detail on the composition of holdings, records a certain number of field and property names and some elements of topographic detail. So we are told, for example, that Margaret daughter of leuan, in addition to other land, held one parcel of arable of one rood in Carreg y Gwydd next to the road leading to Caernarfon; and that Humphrey Rowland occupied a house of two rooms situated next to the church of St. Peter in Rhosfair, with one close of arable land, of one acre extent, called Cae yn yr Hendre. These properties were Crown lands in 1608 and, accounted for together, under the heading Hendre Rhosfair and Maerdref, must constitute the nucleus of the *maerdref* lands acquired by the English Crown in 1382. The names of certain properties would appear to reflect their origin in 14th and 15th century *maerdref* tenancies. A parcel of arable land called Gardd y Toppan, another called Gardd Shoned and 'a certain house called Cae Garden' may be associated with the holdings of the 'gardynemen' in 1352, although these three names do not correspond to any of the gardens in the extent.

Other property names are recognisable in later documents and some have survived to be mapped in the 18th and 19th centuries. Some locational names such as Llyn Rhos Ddu and St. Peter's Church are clearly locatable from modern maps. Caution is necessary, however, with regard to property names as dwelling houses can sometimes be rebuilt, bearing the same name, but on a new site within the same property boundaries. It is important to recognise the shift in location for two reasons. Firstly, the move can involve a transfer of location over some distance; secondly, the earlier, abandoned, site may not have been developed subsequently and may therefore have greater archaeological potential. For these reasons the earliest available mapping is more useful for topographic reconstruction than the most recent Ordnance Survey map.

Johnstone has drawn attention to the possibility that tenancies recorded in a series of rentals of the late 18th and early 19th centuries and described as King's or Chief Rents issuing out of Rhosfair and Hendre might represent the residue of properties acquired by William Owen of Brondeg, and subsequently the Bodowen estate, from the sale of former Crown lands in 1629 (Johnstone 1997 and Fig. 5.3; Caernarfon Record Office, x/Poole 1490). There is some overlap between the properties identified in the 1608 survey and those listed in the Bodowen rentals. Twenty-four properties can now be identified with some confidence across both documents; six occur only in the 1608 survey, ten occur only in the Bodowen rental and eight are common to both. The map (Fig. 4) plots the properties of the 1608 survey supplemented by the evidence of the Bodowen rentals. The boundaries and the location of dwellings are those of the 1845 Tithe Survey (Liangefni Record Office) which differ in some instances with current locations. These former Crown lands can be seen to extend in a great arc from the south of Newborough, swinging around the west and north of the town to the boundary with Llangaffo in the north-east.

A number of un-enclosed and enclosed 1/einiau or quillets still retained sufficient integrity of form into the 19th century to suggest that they may once have constituted part of the open arable fields. Three main concentrations are apparent which correspond to the areas suggestive of former open field organisation in Gait Bedr, Carreg y Gwydd and Cefn Bychan. These residual quillets and the putative Crown tenancies encompass all of the areas that may be identified as open field from the 1608 rental. These are Carreg y Gwydd, Cae yn yr Hendre and Cerrig Mawr- all described as *Campus*, or open field, in the 1608 document, and Cefn Bychan, Cefn Mawr and Gallt Bedr, all with extensive areas of arable parcels. Y Fron Deg may also fall within this category but by 1608 the relatively extensive holding of William Owen there, had been consolidated in eight closes or arable and pasture, totalling 22 acres and two meadows, totalling 11acres.

The arable fields of the *maerdref*, therefore, might be seen to have been extensive. There remains, however, a final reason for focussing attention once again on Gallt Bedr. Here the residual dispersed quillets of the former open field, still recognisable in 1845, are more numerous, smaller and consequently more distinctive, than elsewhere in the parish (Fig. 5). The parcels of arable lying spread in Gallt Bedr recorded in 1608 were similarly more numerous and smaller than the average accounted for in that document. These lands, if the identification of Gallt Bedr with the ridge on which St. Peter's church sits, adjacent to the 1/ys, is correct, lie at the nucleus of the *maerdref*. Tyn yr Allt, perhaps taking its name from Gallt Bedr, incorporated in 1845 the site of the 1/ys itself (for the location of the 1/ys see Johnstone, 1997, 65-7). Hendre lay adjacent: Humphrey Rowland held a house of two bays situated next to the church of St. Peter in Rhosfair with one close of arable called Cae yn yr Hendre. Tracks converged on the llys and the church from the south, the west and the east and a north-south crossroad met the eastern approach 200m east of the church. This route is no longer in use and has long been superseded by the main route through the crossroads at Newborough itself. Nevertheless, it is tempting to see this old crossroads as the nucleus of the *maerdref* community.

# The seven hamlets of Maerdref Aberffraw (Figs 6, 7, 8, 8b)

By 1352 the township could be seen to include four free *gwelyau*-Porthorion, Simond, Bodfeirig and Trefwaspadrig and one free *gafae*/-Gafael Saer. Aberffraw had, however, been at the nucleus of one of the principal royal estates of the kingdom of Gwynedd and the components of the royal bond tenancies included the seven hamlets of Treberfedd, Cefntreffraw, Trecastell, Dinllwydan, Trefriw, Maerdref and Garddau. Trebedfedd, Cefntreffraw, Maerdref and by implication, at least originally, Trefriw, were held under *tir cyfriftenure*; Trecastell was described as part of the lord's demesne and presumably also *tref gyfrifwhile* Dinllwydan, with the same obligations and services as Treberfedd was described as 'lord's bond land'. Garddau may also have been *tircyfrif(Carr* 1971-2, 175 n.26). Fourteen or 15 gardens are recorded of which most appear to have been lying *fridd* through lack of tenants.

In 1608 the Crown Land Survey referred to above (PRO LR2/205, 51-60) accounted for the hamlets of 'Garther and Mayerdref, Trefcastell, Treberfeth, Keventreffro and the villae (sic) of Trefry and Tinlloydan separately from the rest of the manor in a similar way to that of Hendre Rhosyr and Maerdref at Rhosyr.

During the 18th century, land tax assessments for Aberffraw identified properties under local headings which correspond to more ancient units of land as, for example: Llawr y Dref (perhaps for Maerdref), Bodveirig, Penrhyn, Cefn Treffro, Bodgedwydd, Henllys, Grugor, Tin Dryfol and Tinllwydan (Liangefni Record Office WQT/1/1(1746)). Johnstone has drawn attention to this document and its potential for reconstructing the boundaries of hamlets within the township of Aberffraw (1997, 63 and Fig. 5.2). Care must be taken, however, in recognising that the document encompasses the parish of Aberffraw beyond the limits of the medieval township, and that some amalgamation may have taken place, as in the case of Tinllwydan where Trefryw, Tinllwydan and Tre Corner are all assessed under the one heading. Nevertheless, properties referred to in the 1608 survey, the 1746 Land Tax Survey and in legal disputes of the 16th century are recognisable on mapped surveys of the later 18th and 19th centuries and aid topographic reconstruction (UWB Llys Dulas MS 53 (estate survey); Llangefni Record Office, Aberffraw Tithe Apportionment, 1845) (Fig. 6).

Taking each hamlet in turn, the Crown land survey of 1608 allows an assessment of the extent to which consolidation of holdings had progressed across the royal lands of Aberffraw before the sale of Crown lands later in the 1ihcentury.

In Garddau and Maerdref (actually two hamlets in 1352, but presumably contiguous) 37 tenants are recorded, holding a total of 679 acres. Twenty-nine dwelling houses, five cottages, five tofts, five 'rooms' *(cubicula)* three barns and outbuildings and 14 other buildings are recorded, although only 30 of the 37 tenants are householders. Fifty percent of the land is in the hands of four major landholders whereas 14 tenants hold considerably less than one acre. Twelve of these tenants hold a dwelling house or room and a garden, gardens, or part garden only, one holds a garden with no house and one holds a dwelling house and yard. Gardens are referred to as part of the holdings of five other tenants. There are 18.5 gardens in total, all except the above-mentioned single example in association with a dwelling house. The average size of these dwelling house-and-garden units is approximately 1/8 of an acre and must represent the tenements of the village community of Aberffraw. The remaining 51% of the tenants held, on average, 17 acres.

With the exception of the gardens the majority of land was held, in 1608, in parcels and closes, mostly as arable. The parcels show a greater degree of consolidation and amalgamation than at Rhosyr with the average size of an arable parcel at around 10 acres with only three parcels under two acres. Closes were large, averaging 15 acres with some arable closes exceeding 30 acres. Across Maerdref and Garddau 424 acres were under arable: five parcels and 15 closes incorporate both arable and pasture totalling a further 230 acres with 11 acres of meadow and a few parcels of moor and marsh.

Despite the apparent advanced stage of consolidation witnessed in 1608, some indication is discernible of the origin of the arable parcels accounted for, as dispersed units in the open field. Only a limited number of field or place names are identified. Nevertheless, Maes y Maerdref recurs five times, where three tenants are seen to hold 70 acres near Maes v Maerdref. One tenant, Tristram Bulkeley is described as holding various parcels totalling 32 acres near fields and lands whose individual names have survived. For example: Maes y Pumhigain, Tir y pulle, Tir mayn yr yar, Gwaen y Naid, Cae Cloragh and Tir namen pedair deugen. The 'Tir' designations, in particular, are suggestive of original individual holdings. Similarly, other properties incorporate, within amalgamated parcels, the residue of component holdings as in the case of an un-named tenant where a dwelling house, two gardens, one barn and three cottages are assessed as one unit. Again Agnes ferch John held a dwelling house and another building as one unit together with one toft of arable and a parcel of arable, the whole totalling just under two acres. Dafydd ap Thomas held a dwelling house and two tofts with various parcels of arable and pasture totalling thirty acres and Richard ap John ap Richard occupied a dwelling house as one unit with a garden, another building and two tofts, in all totalling no more than 20 perches or 1/8 acre. In addition to the 29 dwelling houses accounted for, each in the hands of individual tenants, and the cubiculum or room occupied by Owen ap Robert ap John, four other cubicula, five cottages, five tofts and 14 'other buildings' are held by the aforementioned tenants in addition to their dwelling houses. This would suggest the amalgamation of smaller holdings. Some aspects of the preceding analysis have been considered by Jones (Jones 1955, 81-84).

As late as the early 19th century, individual enclosed and unenclosed strips could still be recorded in Fron and Penrhyn, south of the town. The original status of Fron, is ambiguous. Here 11 acres of land were recorded in the Tithe Apportionment Survey in 1845, seven acres of which lay in 16, mostly unenclosed, quillets. The average size of each quillet was just under 0.5 acres. This pattern is clearer still in the slightly earlier estate survey (UWB, Llysdulas, 53, 5).

Across the remaining hamlets of the former maerdrefthis process of amalgamation would seem to have progressed even further by 1608 than in Maerdref and Garddau. Three of the four tenants of Trecastell each held between 15 and 41 acres of land in arable closes averaging nine acres apiece. The fourth tenant occupied a dwelling house and held one garden and a parcel of arable and pastureland totalling, in all, no more than 1.25 acres. Comparably small tenancies are recorded at Trefriw where two of the three tenants occupy houses and hold no more than 1.5 acres of arable each. The third tenant of Trefriw, however, holds 11 acres of arable land. In the adjacent hamlet of Dinllwydan three tenants occupy two holdings of 122 acres and 28 acres respectively with little indication of the internal composition of the large arable parcels involved. If these hamlets were originally held under tir cyfrif tenure, with liability for rents and obligations divided equally among the tenants, then little trace of these arrangements survived into the 1th century. A similar pattern can be discerned at Cefn Treffraw where five tenants held 208 acres in 1608 and Treberfedd where thirteen tenants held 410 acres of predominantly arable land. There are holdings that comprise small parcels of arable of around two acres in Treberfedd, and indications of the former dispersal of strips in the field name Cae Cyd Uoint-field) in Cefntreffraw. Nevertheless, by 1608, parcels of between 45 and 100 acres of arable had been amalgamated in Treberfedd and Cefntreffraw and Cae Cyd could be described as a 10 acre close.

Despite these apparent changes in the organisation of the landscape between the 14th and 1th centuries, the seven hamlets of Aberffraw remained Crown land and the tenurial pattern provides important information on the scale and organisation of the former royal estate of the Princes. The evidence is best presented in tabular and diagrammatic form (Figs 6 and 7).

Hamlet	Annu cash rend 1352	ers	Annual cash renders as percentage of the seven hamlets	Tenants 1608	Tenants as percentage of the total	total assessed acreage, 1608	acreage as percentage of the total
	S.	d.	%	number	%	acres	%
Maerdref	180		42				
Garddau	63		15				
Maerdref and Garddau	243		57	37	57	680	44
Cefntreffraw	13	8	3	5	8	208	13
Trecaste/1	60		14	4	6	94	6
Treberfedd	60	9	14	13	20	410	26
Trefriw	15	6	4	3	5	14	1
Dinllwydan	40	4	9	3	5	150	10
total	433	3		65		1556	

## Location

The names of certain of the hamlets of Aberffraw recorded in 1352 are represented by modern farm names. This is the case with Trecastell, Treberffedd, Trefri and Tyn Llwydan. Aberffraw, itself is the location of a village on the estuary of the river Ffraw as the name would suggest. The seven hamlets are accounted for in the Crown Land Survey of 1608 and although few names are represented there, certain field names and other geographical indicators may be matched with the earliest mapped evidence of the late 18th century and early 19th century. Land tax assessments of the 18th century (see above) present property assessments in groupings within the parish which appear to correspond to earlier units of assessment. The parish of Aberffraw was not coterminous with the medieval township but does incorporate Penrhyn, the monastic township of Bodgedwydd and the secular township of Dindryfwl and some of its hamlets.

## Trecastell

The hamlet of Trecastell appears to take its name from the, now barely perceptible, remains of an earthwork on a promontory overlooking Porth Trecastell on its south side. This was evidently a more significant landmark in antiquity and is identified as 'castle' on an estate survey of the late 18th century.

In 1352 the hamlet was described as 'lord's demesne land' and the tenants made annual payments of 60s, representing 14% of the total of such payments from the seven bond hamlets of Aberffraw. In 1608 four sub-tenants were recorded on Trecastell lands, holding a total of ninety-four acres. On the basis of the 1608 survey these figures represent 6% of the total tenants from the seven hamlets and 6% of the total land held. In c.1800 Trecastell was assessed at one hundred and sixteen acres. The present farm of Trecastell stands on and very close to its 18th century precursor. The only other house within Trecastell boundaries in the 18th century is still represented by a house bearing the same name -Gatehouse. Immediately to the north-east and

contiguous, the 24 acre small holding of Tyddyn y Pant with its buildings and 1/einiau has disappeared.

The 94 acres cited for Trecastell in 1608, before the sale of Crown lands and the 116 acres recorded in c.1800 are close enough to inspire confidence in the association. The discrepancy of 22 acres might be accounted for by the assimilation of the twenty-four acres of Gatehouse buildings and fields recorded as part of Trecastell by the 19th century (UWB, Llysdulas map, 22). This being so, a bond hamlet which accounted for 14% of the annual payments from the bond hamlets of the royal estate at Aberffraw in 1352, and which still supported four tenants, four dwelling houses and two other buildings in 1608, was represented by one single farm by the end of the 18th century.

## Cefntreffraw

The name, Cefntreffraw (the ridge of, or the back of, the settlement on the Ffraw) ought to be a topographic or locational indicator. The precise location has been disputed, however. Jones plotted the hamlet to the west of the present village. Johnstone has argued, on the basis of the property groupings used in listing Land Tax assessments in the parish in the 18th century, that Cefntreffraw lay to the north-east of the village (1997, Fig. 5.2).

In 1352 the hamlet of Cefntreffraw was described as held under *Tir cyfrif* tenure. The annual payments from the hamlet totalled 13s 8d, only 3% of the total annual payments from the seven hamlets, although there were carrying and labour duties which were not present at Trecastell. In 1608 five tenants were recorded on 208 acres of Cefn Treffraw land, representing 8% of the total tenants within the hamlets and 13% of the land.

By the 18th century Cefn Treffraw could still be recognised locally as a locational entity in the grouping of properties for Land Tax Assessments. The properties in question were: Bwlan and Pandy, Tir Iddon, Ty Mawr, Cefn Du Bach, Glan y Llyn and Creig. These places and their lands can be identified on, for example, the Tithe Apportionment of 1845 and Johnstone has used this information to plot the boundaries of the former hamlet. A difficulty arises, however, in that Tir Iddon (for Tre- Iddon) was, originally a hamlet of the *tref welyog* township of Rhosmor rather than a part of Cefntreffraw (T. I. Jeffreys Jones, Exchequer Proceedings, James I, 1955, 144/57/5 Jac I; 144/76/10 Jac I) albeit that one of the tenants of Tre Iddon held 0.5 acres of bond land in the hamlet of Cefntreffraw.

This tendency towards accretion under locality names can be seen in the lists of other groupings in the Land Tax assessments. Under Grugor, for example, formerly a free hamlet of the township of Dindryfwl, occur not only Grugor Bach and Grugor Fawr farms but also Cerrig Gafael, another former hamlet of Dindryfwl. Dindryfwl, itself, occurs separately as a distinct locality name. Again, under the heading Tinllwydan, are recorded Tinllwydan itself and Trefri, both royal bond hamlets of Aberffraw; and Trecornor, a secular hamlet possibly within the episcopal township of Bodeon. Clearly, the units of Land Tax assessment of the 18th century cannot be taken at face value as coterminous with the boundaries of pre-conquest hamlets. More immediately, at Cefntreffraw, the total acreage of the holdings grouped together under that appellation in the 18th century exceeds the assessed acreage of the hamlet in 1608 by a considerable amount. The total extrapolated from the Tithe Apportionment figures for 1845 is 791 acres; the total in 1608 was 208 acres. Nevertheless, the 18th century listings do appear to represent a continuity of identity of generalised locations. On this basis Cefntreffraw can be postulated as extending from Pant Ganol on the Ffraw in the south-west, to the shores of Llvn Coron in the south-east, with the river as its southern boundary; bordered on the west by the monastic lands of Bodgedwydd, on the east by the hamlet of Tre Iddon and the north by Dindryfwl. The nucleus of the hamlet may have been on Bwlan lands close to the Ffraw.

In 1608 the five tenants of Cefntreffraw occupied four dwelling houses and various agricultural and other buildings across their 208 acres. The landscape was transformed in the 19th century and is now represented by a network of large rectilinear fields.

# Treberfedd, Trefriw and Dinllwydan

The names of these three hamlets survive as those of farms on the rocky indented promontory between the estuaries of the Ffraw and the Cefni.

In 1352 Treberfedd was specifically described as of the nature of *tref gyfrif*. Trefriw, as the name –a corruption of *Tref gyfrif*- implies, was probably also of this tenure. Dinllwydan was described as lord's bond land and may also have been *tref gyfrif*. Trefriw, at 15s 6d, Dinllwydan at 40s 4d and Treberfedd at 60s 9d accounted for 4%, 9% and 14% respectively of the total annual money payments from the seven hamlets. In 1608 Trefriw and Dinllwydan each carried three tenants on 14 acres and 150 acres respectively. Together these two hamlets accounted for 10% of the tenants and 11% of the total Crown lands in the hamlets. Treberfedd, on the other hand, supported thirteen tenants in 1608, across 410 acres representing 20% of the population of the hamlets and 26% of the total Crown land.

Dinllwydan (as Tinllwydan) survived as a locational entity in the 18th century Land Tax assessment for Aberffraw. Under this heading are listed Trefriw (as Trefryw (1746), Trefry (1753) and variants), Tinllwydan itself, Pen y Cnwc, Tire Corner (Trecornor, 1753) and Chwintan. Tire Corner represents the survival of the name Tregornor, a royal bond hamlet of the episcopal township of Bodeon. The Tithe Apportionment survey does not identify Chwintan which, in any case, must have been a small property judging by the low assessment for land tax. Otherwise the boundaries of Trefri (for Trefriw), Tinllwydan, Trecorn (for Tregornor) and Pen y Cnwc are recorded occupying most of the available area within a detached portion of the parish of Aberffraw lying east of the dunes. Treberfedd now falls within the parish of Llangadwaladr although its eastern boundary marches with that of Trefri.

In 1608 Dinllwydan was assessed at 150 acres, Trefriw at 14 acres and Treberfedd at 410 acres. In 1845 the respective figures were 175 acres, 118 acres and 325 acres. The loss of 85 acres at Treberfedd may, in some way, be related to the truncation of this property on its western side, at the apparently arbitrary line of the parish boundary. Beyond this lie unproductive dunes. On the other hand, Trefri would seem to have gained 104 acres and some of this may have been at the expense of Treberfedd. The three hamlets together accounted for 27% of the money payments from the seven bond hamlets in 1352 and in 1608 supported 30% of the tenants. Trefriw and Dinllwydan always seem to have been relatively small communities. In 1608 there were three houses on Trefriw lands, two of which were supported by only 1.5 acres each. At Dinllwydan there were two houses, a barn and nine other buildings across two tenancies. At Treberfedd, on the other hand, the 410 acres supported 12 dwelling houses, three barns, two cowsheds and 14 other buildings.

Today the rocky landscape has been encroached upon by dunes. Large areas are described as *Cwningar*-warrens. The only houses are the consolidated farms of Trefri and Tin Llwydan and a small establishment that still carries the name of Treberfedd. The former boundaries of closes and possible houses are visible on aerial photographs (106G UK 655, 13 August 1945).

# Maerdref and Garddau

No survivinfeatures of the present landscape retain the names of these two hamlets which, by the early 17 h century, seem, consistently, to be accounted for together. 'Maerdref describes the settlement nucleus of the royal estate in the commote at which the 1/ys might be found and it would be reasonable to look for this hamlet close to the estuary of the Ffraw and, perhaps, in the vicinity of the present town of Aberffraw.

In 1352, the tenants of maerdref paid 180s a year to the court, 42% of the total money payments from the seven hamlets. The tenants of Garddau, on the other hand, paid less-63s or 15% of the total. Nevertheless, together, Maerdref and Garddau accounted for well over half of the total money payments.

In 1608 37 tenants are recorded across 680 acres of land in the two hamlets. This relatively high density of occupation, at 18 acres per tenant, must reflect the impact of the growth of Aberffraw as a town. As discussed above, fourteen tenants held considerably less then one acre with the average size of dwelling house-and-garden unit at approximately 1/8th acre. It is instructive to note, in this respect, that the hamlet of Garddau comprised 14 gardens in 1352. In 1612 the hamlet was described as extending over 14 acres which might suggest that the tenants of Garddau held one acre each within a compact nucleation (T. I. Jeffreys Jones 1955, Exchequer Proceedings, James I, 144/73/9 Jac 1). The relatively high cash-per-acre rents assessed in 1355 might reflect the less onerous work services required from these tenants (Carr 1871-2, 175n. 26).

Johnstone has again drawn on the 18th century land tax assessment list for the parish of Aberffraw to aid a reconstruction of the boundaries of maerdref (1997, Fig. 5.2). Under the heading Llawr y Dref, the list identifies properties within the town itself and the adjacent lands of Cellar, Tyddyn yr Hwrdd, the Mill and Bryn Llywelyn. As with Cefntreffraw, however, the 18th century designation – 'Liawr y Dref-cannot correspond exactly with the limits of the medieval hamlet. The total area represented by Llawr y Dref is approximately 330 acres whereas in 1608 Maerdref and Garddau together were assessed at 680 acres.

During the reign of Elizabeth I and James I various proceedings were initiated concerning disputes between those who considered themselves to be 'ancient tenants' of the Crown lands and new leaseholders of these lands. These proceedings are catalogued in E. Gwynne Jones 1939, Exchequer Proceedings Henry VIII-Eiizabeth, and T. I. Jeffreys Jones 1955, Exchequer Proceedings, James I. In 1614, lands described astir y pumhigain, tire y pylle, tire y llan yn pedair deugain, tire Gwaune y Nant and Dryll Maine yr Yare were the subject of a dispute between Tristram Bulkley and Rowland Owen on the one hand and William Owen on the other (Jeffreys Jones 1955, 144/81/11 Jac 1). In 1593 Henllys could be described as a parcel of the manor of Aberffraw and in 1599 a certain close was described as 'in Henllys, a parcel in the hamlet of Maerdref (Jones 1939, 58/34 (I) 41 Eliz). In the same proceedings Perorsyne (Pen yr Orsedd) was similarly described as a parcel in the hamlet of Maerdref.

In 1608 certain fields and other locations were identified among or adjacent to lands of tenants as follows:

- A dwelling house in the occupation of Agnes ferch John and another building with one toft of arable, and a parcel or arable land bordering on the ditch of the mill of Seler from the east side.
- Various references to a dwelling house, buildings and parcels of arable land in or near Maes y Maerdref.
- A parcel of arable land lying on the eastern side of the church of Aberffraw.
- Various parcels of arable land in the occupation of Tristram Bulkley near Maes y Pumhigain, tir y pulle (tir y pyllau), tir mayn(r) yar (tir main yr iar), Gwaen y naid, Cae Clorach and tir nam(n) pedair deigen (?tir namen pedair deugain).
- A close of arable called Cae Saith Ugain, another close of arable land called Y Kladd-duy (Ciadd-dy) and another close called Ynys y Main, all in the occupation of William Owen.
- Two gardens (totalling two roods and ten perches-just over half an acre) in the occupation
  of Owen Wood where that chief mansion of the manor used to be but which has been entirely
  ruinous as far back in time as anyone can remember.

With reference to estate surveys of the late 18th and early 19th centuries and to the Tithe Apportionment of 1845, some of these locations can be mapped. In other instances the general

location can be suggested, for example, the precise location of Agnes ferch John's holdings which border the ditch of Seler Mill are not specified but the watercourses of Seler Mill are mapped and are of limited length. Similarly Hugh ap Richard ap Robert's holding next to the church of Aberffraw locates at least part of Maerdref and Garddau near St. Beuno's church. Again, 18th century sources considered the site of the 1/vs to have been at the south-western extremity of the town (R.B. White and D. Longley 1995, Excavations at Aberffraw, Trans Anglesey Antiq. Soc. 13-22). Owen Wood's two gardens stood on the site of its ruins. The result of an analysis of these associations is mapped in Fig. 7. In mapping these names certain assumptions have been made. In the survey of Crown lands of 1608, six parcels of arable land are recorded in the occupation of Tristram Bulkley. Five of these were the subject of litigation in 1614. The names are slightly different but sufficiently close to inspire confidence in the association. For example, Tire pulle in 1608 is Tire y Pylle in 1614. This parcel is identified as Pyllau Budron (Dirty Pools). Pyllau Budron, Cae Clorach and Cae Saith Ygain can be identified as fields in Tyddyn yr Hwrdd and Seler. Gwaen y Naid (the Snake Moor) in 1608 becomes Gwaune y Nant in 1614 (the moor of the Stream). Gwaen Y Naid is identifiable as a field in Tyddyn yr Hwrdd in c.1800 and it is assumed that Gwaun y Nant is a corruption of this name. Similarly Tir name(n) pedair deigen (the land less -160) in 1608 becomes tire y llan yn pedair deugain (the church land in 160) in 1614. The second variant, though locationally more attractive, cannot conclusively be shown to be the correct one. The figures in these field names, pumhugain (100), saith ugain (140) and pedair deugain (160), presumably refer to land measures such as 1/athenni or roods, both of which may have been generally equivalent. One hundred roods would equal 25 acres. The equivalent number of 1/athenni would equal 25 Welsh acres or 12.6 statute acres.

'Perorsyne' is likely to be Pen yr Orsedd, a small property on the boundary of Penhenllys and Henllys Fawr, where the field name Cae'r Orsedd is recorded in c.1800 (UWB, Llysdulas, Map 11' 3).

The locality of Henllys was considered in the 18th century (Liangefni WQT/1/1 for the year 1746) to comprise Rhosbadrig, Henllys Groes, Penhenllys, Tyn yn yr Allt, Henllys Wen, Tyddyn Bach, Henllys Fawr and Llwyn Ysgaw. In 1793 Clafdy was included within the designation (Liangefni WQT/1/1 for the year 1793). The original core of Henllys in the Middle ages, however, is likely to have centred on Henllys Fawr.

Y Kladd-duy- correctly y cladd-dy (burial house)- is a corruption of Clafdy meaning leper house. There were leper houses at other *maerdrefi* in Gwynedd – at Llanfaes, for example, where the same transformation of the place name has occurred (see below). The name survives in that of an existing farm although almost certainly not on the same site as the original leper house. Field names such as Cae Clafdy, Cae drws y Clafdy and Cae Cefn y Clafdy suggest the original location (UWB, Llysdulas map 7, 36).

Hugh ap Richard ap Roberts' 0.5 acre parcel of arable lYring on the east side of the church would seem to fall within the area described in the 18th and 19 h centuries as Fron. Here, between 10 and 12 acres of land were recorded, mostly lying in unenclosed quillets of, on average, 0.5 acres (UWB, Llys Dulas 53, map 5; Llangefni record Office, Tithe Apportionment 1845, Aberffraw parish). The apparent separate identify of Fron, its total area and subdivision into small parcels of land suggest the possibility that this area might represent the location of the hamlet of Garddau.

On the basis of the above identification, the lands of the two hamlets of Maerdref and Garddau might be seen to extend from the west bank of the Ffraw, south east of the church, northwards in a series of arcs to the northern boundary of Henllys. The eastern boundary of this tract of land is defined along its entire length by the stream that enters the Ffraw at Pant Ganol near Seler Mill. If all the Henllys properties are included as potentially part of the two hamlets, together with Clafdy, Tyddyn yr Hwrdd, Seler, the town of Aberffraw and Fron, then the total area, at 674 acres (based on early 19th century boundaries), is remarkably close to the 677 acres assessed for

Maerdref and Garddau in 1608. The 10 acres of Fron may be compared with the 14 acres said to represent the hamlet of Garddau in 1612 (PRO 144/73/9 Jac 1).

In 1608, 30 of the 37 tenants were householders occupying 29 dwelling houses, five cottages, five tofts, five 'cubicula' or rooms and fourteen other buildings as well as various barns and outbuildings. As described above, consolidation and amalgamation had progressed considerably by that date, however, and almost one half of the householders must have been town dwellers in Aberffraw itself. Even during the Age of the Princes there must have been a sizeable nucleated community at the ford on the Ffraw now represented by the Old Bridge and in the restricted area of the hamlet of Garddau with its 14 'gardens' which probably represented individual holdings, each no more than an acre in extent. Here, too, would be found the 1/ys and St. Beuno's church.

By 1815 there were eight dwellings, mostly large consolidated farms, on the lands suggested above to correspond to Maerdref and Garddau. The present landscape displays very little change in the density of settlement except for the localised expansion of Aberffraw itself, ironically on the site now considered to be that of the llys. The pattern of fields, however, has been transformed north and west of Aberffraw, with large rectilinear enclosures with straight boundaries the norm. Only on the lands occupying the promontory of Penrhyn do the field boundaries retain any semblance of the small closes and relict sinuous strips of the medieval and post-medieval centuries. The location of individual nuclei of settlement has shifted too, in some cases, with the consolidated farms at the centres of holdings retaining the original names on new sites. The important consideration, in this respect, is that settlements abandoned by the early 19th century and bearing the names of medieval holdings are more likely to represent the location centres of medieval settlement.

Examples of important components of the postulated hamlet of Maerdref and Garddau include the site of the llys itself which was described in 1608 as completely ruinous and had been so as long as anyone could remember (unfortunately it is probable that this location was developed for private housing during the 1950s and 1960s); and the site of the Clafdy or leper house. The present farm stands to the north of the road leading north-west from Aberffraw towards Llanfaelog, one kilometre from the centre of the town. In 1815 a compact block offive fields extending across Bodfeirig and Clafdy lands, bearing the names Cae'r Clafdy (2), Cae drws y Clafdy (2) and Cae Cefn y Clafdy enclosed a property on the roadside two hundred metres to the north west. The site is now an open field. Within the boundaries of the same property the field name Cae' Murddyn Pridd occurs. Murddyn (correctly murddun) usually denotes a ruin, in this case of earth. In the immediately adjacent locality of Bodfeirig a number of deserted tenancies can be identified. By 1845 the large consolidated farm of Bodfeirig had been established in its present location. An estate survey of 1815, however, shows a number of properties which have long since been abandoned (UWB Llys Dulas map 6). These include the earlier site of Bodfeirig itself, Cefn Trefersi, cottages and ruins identified by 'murddun' names such as Merddin y Bit (formerly Tyddyn y Bid) and Murddyn Owen (see Fig. 8).

## Llanfaes- a *maerdrefand* town (Figs 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14)

Llanfaes undoubtedly owed its origin and development to the presence there of a royal estate, organised on traditional lines. This can be seen in the survival of agricultural works as elements of the tenants' obligations (Jones-Pierce, 1972, 280; Carr 1982, 233). During the 13th century, however, the *maerdref* of Llanfaes was transformed. Commutation of labour services for cash payments and an encouragement of commerce created, at Llanfaes, an important trading town. It has been calculated that the revenues from trade passing through the port of Llanfaes amounted to seventy per cent of the total for the whole of Gwynedd (Carr 1982, 232). Burgage rents were assessed at Llanfaes and later documents refer to a new kind of tenancy – 'gwyr y farchnad' – market men. In addition to the port, various crafts and trades were plied in the community, the existence of which is reflected in tolls or duty levied on shoemakers, butchers, clothiers, bakers, brewing, the carriage of goods form the port and the landing of fish. The

Llanfaes ferry was one of the important points of communication with the mainland. An early indication of the growing urbanisation of Llanfaes is the establishment there of a friary. This was founded in 1237 by Llywelyn ap lorwerth in memory of his wife Joan and was one of the earliest Franciscan houses in England and Wales. Friaries, depending on alms for their maintenance, are invariably associated with nucleated communities, and the presence of a flourishing town must have influenced the choice of location. St. Catherine's church at Llanfaes was the richest church on Anglesey in 1254.

Within little more than a decade of the English conquest all this was to change.

In 1294 the demesne lands of Llanfaes were said to extend over 13 carucates (780 acres at 60 acres to the carrucate) in addition to the holdings of the burgesses which produced a rent of £8. Ss. 5%d. There were also meadows: three and a half acres of meadow are described in 1305 as being 'under the Court of Llanfaes'; a garden and the significant resource of Coed Cadw or the 'Wood of Llanfaes'. The open fields were worked in common (there is a reference to the 'common fields', in 1325, between the town of Beaumaris and the Friary) and during the age of the Princes the demesne land of the maerdref of Llanfaes was among the most productive on Anglesey. As a basis of comparison, in 1847, the parish of Llanfaes was reckoned to have five hundred and twenty acres under arable, six hundred and seventy acres as meadow and pasture and fifty acres of wood and waste. The extent of burgage holdings can be gauged from the number and area of tenements created at Rhosyr to house the displaced tenants of Llanfaes *circa* 1300. On this basis 120 tenants and their families would have occupied a further 90 acres of land. By 1352 the only Crown interest in Llanfaes which remained was the watermill which 'used to be leased for 100s and is now leased for 26s. Sd.'

Occasional references occur in respect of Llanfaes that only emphasise its depopulation. So that in 1301 the sheriff of Anglesey accounted for decayed rents formerly due from Llanfaes including a waste plot in the market place, several burgages and two crofts next to the court (Carr 1982, 235; PRO SC6/1227/3). The Prince's prison is mentioned in 1304-5, but only because someone was taken there in error (Carr, 1982, 236; PRO E101/120/1). In 1305, 3.5 acres of meadow 'under the court of Llanfaes' are referred to, as are lands in Llanfaes and Bodgylched, now let to burgesses of Beaumaris (Lewis, 1912, 50-51). Land formerly within Llanfaes now became part of the castle demesne. The church and Friary continued to exist. The church was demolished and entirely rebuilt on the same site in the 19th century. The Friary was suppressed in 1538 and systematically demolished, to be replaced by a succession of secular houses. The entire site was redeveloped as an extensive engineering works during the 20th century.

During the 15th and 16th centuries the Hampton and Bulkeley families began to emerge as the major landholders in the area. By the 1630s the extent of Hampton lands in the parish of Llanfaes becomes clear (Fig. 9; UWB, Henllys papers, 11,12). They ran from Tyddyn y Gwynt to Bodgylched and include tenements near the King's Wood, Henllys Mill and the demesne lands of Henllys itself. it would seem that the Hamptons had acquired a significant portion of the former township of Llanfaes and its hamlet of Bodgylched. The other major landowner in Llanfaes was the Bulkeley family of Baron Hill who held all the land between Beaumaris and Henllys and the coastal strip including Friars. During the 18th and 19th centuries exchanges of land saw some movement in the boundaries of Henllys demesne, mostly, but not entirely, to the benefit of the Baron Hill estate. The patterning of fields in the present landscape is a creation of the early years of the nineteenth century. Fields are large and the boundaries are generally straight, a product of the amalgamation and straightening of earlier, smaller and irregular plots. As an example, in the area between Llanfaes Church and Beaumaris, bounded in the west by Henllys and Henllys Lane, on the east by the Straits, there are now thirteen fields, plots and allotment gardens. At the end of the eighteenth century there were fifty-two fields in an area of 100 ha. These small enclosed fields of the eighteenth century could still reflect, on occasion, the curvature of open fields, subdivided into strips. This is particularly evident east and north-east of Llanfaes and south and east of Henllys. Twentieth century development has been sporadic and dispersed comprising the large engineering works mentioned above, close to the Menai Straits shore, a

country house hotel at Henllys and clusters of residential housing with no clear focus. An earlier nucleus is now represented by St. Catherine's church and the group of cottages in its immediate vicinity (Fig 10).

Nothing now survives above the surface of the ground to suggest the very considerable importance of Llanfaes in the Age of the Princes.

#### Location

Certain elements of the maerdref can be located with some confidence

# The Ferry

The Llanfaes ferry, described as the Ferry of the port of Llanfaes, is first recorded in a Sheriffs Account of 1292 and the Extent of Anglesey undertaken in 1294. Five ferrymen are accounted for who are obliged to work the King's boat at their own expense. These ferrymen held burgages and, in addition, one carucate and two bovates of land. This may mean that they held two bovates or eight acres each although the use of the terms is open to different interpretation and the total area may have been as much as sixty-eight acres. Davies has argued that there is evidence to suggest that the ferry was some distance from the town. As the crossing from Aber and the mainland across the Lavan Sands could only be made during the three or four hours of low tide, then the ferryman's job must have been a part-time employment supplemented by agricultural activities on the land. He concluded that the arrangement, before the conquest, required the ferrymen to work the ferry on this basis as an obligation of their tenancy of the associated land (H. R. Davies, 1966, The Conway and Menai Ferries, 21). By Michaelmas 1302 the Llanfaes ferry, with the demise of Llanfaes itself, had passed into the hands of the Constable of Beaumaris Castle. By 1303, at the latest, the land of the ferrymen had been transferred to the account of the burgesses of Beaumaris (Davies, 1966, 21-22). However, there is no suggestion that the Llanfaes ferry, in passing under the control of Beaumaris, changed location in the process. In 1302, while still operating as the Llanfaes Ferry, the ferry can be seen to have been working 'before the walls of the castle and in close proximity to the now town of Beaumaris' (Davies, 23). The location of the Beaumaris ferry, the 'ferryman warth' can be identified as the 'Green' -the flat land on the Straits in front of the castle. The significant feature of this identification is that the 'Green' or 'ferryman warth' lies within the boundary of Llanfaes parish at its southernmost extent and probably, therefore, within the limits of the former township of Llanfaes rather than within the hamlet of Cerrigygwyddel on which land Beaumaris was founded, despite its immediate proximity to Beaumaris. Davies has suggested that the land to the north of 'ferryman warth' was the ferry land referred to in the Sheriffs Accounts and the 1294 Extent and that, in all probability, the rising ground of the Mount was the location of the ferrymen's burgages (Davies, 1966, 22).

Examination of early surveys (UWB, Baron Hill Estate Survey 1776, Henllys Demesne 1830) and the line of the parish boundary suggests that a precursor of the direct route from Beaumaris to Llanfaes village originated at the Green, that is, the ferry, and continued, via Henllys Lane, directly to Henllys (Fig. 14)

## The Friary

In February 1237, Joan, wife of Llywelyn ap lorwerth died at Aber. She was buried in a consecrated enclosure on the Anglesey shore (Brut y Tywysogion, Peniarth 20, s.a. 1237). 'There, after that, bishop Hywel consecrated a monastery for the Barefooted Friars to the honour of the Blessed Mary. And the Prince built it all at his cost for the soul of his Lady' (Peniarth 20, s.a. 1237). The Red Book of Hergest version of the Brut identifies the location as Llanfaes ym Mh6n. The date for the foundation of the Friary must lie between the death of Joan in 1237 and

the death of Llywelyn in April 1240. It was one of the earliest Franciscan houses in England and Wales. The Friary was damaged in the wake of the Madoc revolt in 1295. Nevertheless, land was acquired for enlargement in 1316 with further acquisitions by the middle of the century. The Friary suffered again, in the early 15th century, the Friars having taken Glyndwr's side, and was temporarily abandoned. However, by 1414 Henry V had made provision for its restoration and support and so it continued until the suppression of the Friary in 1538. The following year a lease of the Friary lands was granted to Thomas Bulkeley of Beaumaris and work on the demolition of its buildings began. Boat loads of good stone were removed. On expiry of the lease the land came into the hands of the White family. In 1623 Rowland Whyte built the first secular house on the site. In the 1860s this was taken down and replaced by the present house, by which time the land was back in Bulkeley hands. During the 20th century the entire site was redeveloped as an extensive engineering works.

The general location of the Friary is clear. It is assumed that the foundation took place close to the resting place of Joan, wife of Llywelyn ap lorwerth, on the shoreline at Llanfaes. Speed, in 1610, produced a schematised map of Beaumaris in which the Friary is shown in perspective within an enclosure on the shoreline in the distance (J. Speed, 1611, Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine: Anglesey).

Around 1800 Moses Griffiths illustrated Friars House with the remains of what may have been the Friary church still standing, in use as a barn, in the foreground. This building could be discussed and planned in 1855; by 1866 it had been totally demolished (*Archaeo/ogia Cambrensis* 1855, 76-8). More precisely detailed locational information may be derived from documents concerning the suppression in 1538 and the transfer of the Friary into secular ownership and estate surveys relating to the use of the land in the 18th and 19th centuries.

An inventory undertaken at the time of the suppression identifies, among various goods, the following buildings and land associated with the Friary: the church, choir and vestry; a brewhouse with a furnace and brewing vat; a yard with carts; various other outbuildings including one with racks for cheese; another 'vestry' with beds, pillows, bolsters and sheets; a kitchen; a hall with table and trestles; a store house; four closes and the produce of agriculture including cattle, sheep and corn (C. R. Hand, Llanfaes Friary and its Mystery Monuments, *Arch Camb* 1924, 125-88).

In 1563 the former Friary precinct and its buildings were granted to Ellis Wynne. In addition, the grant included various enclosures that appear to have fallen outside the limits of the precinct itself, as follows:

The Newe Close under the Wood: half acre.

The Sling: one and one half acres.

Pasture called le Fryers Wood: four acres.

Two pastures called le Wood Closes and one of arable called le Close subtus le Brook, *iuxta finem bosci* (the close under the brook next to the edge of the wood): two and one half acres.

Le Spittel Closes: arable

Small parcel called lez Garden Plots (adjacent to the holding of Robert Longton)

Le Fryers Close: (arable)

The same lyeth neare the Towne of Bewmarries in a good soyle adjoyoninge to the sea on the Sowthe parts. [UWB Baron Hill MS.773.777]

In 1776 the lands of Baron Hill estate in Llanfaes were surveyed. Property boundaries and field names were identified before the realignment or removal of many boundaries during the early 19th century.

Between 1860 and 1868 the area mapped in 1776 was resurveyed. Fields were amalgamated in the interval and boundaries transformed. Of particular significance, however, was the realignment of the road from the shoreline to the village and St. Catherine's church. Comparison of the two maps shows the complex of buildings on Friars' land adjacent to the road in 1776. By

1860 the easternmost stretch of this road had been diverted some sixty metres south and the intervening area planted to provide a screen between Friars House and the road. By 1868 the old buildings had been taken down and replaced.

it is possible to suggest an identification for some of the properties transferred in 1536 by reference to the field names recorded in 1776. For example Y Sling, carrying the meaning of a long narrow piece of land often lying adjacent to a road, occurs in both documents. The Spittell Closes (the Hospital closes) are probably Cae Cladd-dy. Cladd-dy means mortuary field but is almost certainly a corruption of Clafdy (hospice or leper house) The same corruption of Clafdy into Cladd-dy occurs at Aberffraw in 1608 (PRO LR2/205). Fryers Wood Pasture may be Cae Coed; the wood closes and close below (or beyond) the brook at the edge of the wood suggests a location west of Friars Bach or, perhaps, north of Cae Coed. Further, the property – Pen y Wal –(end of the wall) mapped in 1776 may suggest the former presence of a boundary in this location. Another Pen Y Wal Field name, to the north of Friars and not part of the land of Pen y Wal may carry the same significance.

Assessment excavation by the Gwynedd Archaeological Trust in 1991, in advance of a proposed sewage treatment works on land now owned by Laird's engineering works in this location, identified evidence which related to the Friary and its buildings. In particular a succession of burials was recorded in the area immediately south of Friars House, partially truncated, but otherwise sealed by wartime operations concerned with the fitting-out of Catalina flying boats which used the Straits; and foundations contemporary with the latest burial evidence. Towards the south of the assessment area the early road leading from the shore to Llanfaes village was identified. This road had been resurfaced on a number of occasions and was flanked on its northern side by a succession of stone-lined culverts. On the south side an earthen bank and ditch appeared to mark the boundary of agricultural fields to the south. Immediately to the north of the road and its drainage culvert, a stone wall, clay-bonded was recognised running on a west-east alignment. This feature, contemporary with the earliest graves, was considered to represent one of the earliest recognised phases within the excavated area and is interpreted as the perimeter wall of the Friary.

On the basis of the evidence of those properties which can be shown to fall outside the Friary precinct (1536 transfer), the excavations in 1991 and the evidence of mapped surveys in 1776 and 1860, it is now possible to suggest a delineation of the Friary precinct (Fig. 11).

As described previously, all surface remains have been removed, the last in the 1860s. Wartime landscaping has truncated the original profile of the ground and an engineering works now extends over many acres of the former Friary lands. A sewage treatment works stands adjacent on the south side. Nevertheless, the core area of the conventual buildings and part of the graveyard, though levelled and truncated, appear not to have been built on and significant evidence for the Friary is still recoverable in this area.

## The Church

St Catherine's is a nineteenth century rebuild of the medieval church on the same site. it is one of two Catherine dedications in Gwynedd, the other being Criccieth which also has an association with Llywelyn ap Gruffydd.

# The Llys

The 1/ys was the nucleus of the township of Llanfaes. Unfortunately the suppression of the township and the transference of the community to Newborough c.1302-3 has meant that Llanfaes lacks the detail applied to the other Anglesey *maerdrefi* in the second great extent of 1352. There are no references to the building works required at the *maerdref* and the only acknowledgement of its former importance is a reference to the labour services owed by the

tenants of Dinsilwy Rys in making the ditch and watercourse of the mill. The earlier extent of 1294 contains useful information on the agricultural and commercial life of Llanfaes but is silent on the buildings of the 1/ys.

The place name Henllys- 'the old, or former 1/ys'- is very suggestive but may not be accepted uncritically. The name, however, does not appear to be an antiquarian back-formation. While Hamptons were holding land in the area as early as 1414, the first recorded occurrence of 'Henllys' can be found in a release of 20<sup>1</sup>h January 1584 by William Hampton of 'Henllys' concerning a messuage in Rotten Row.

The llys of Llanfaes might be expected to be on a more or less direct line of communication with other commotal centres on the island. In addition to administrative circuits the obligations of tenants are often expressed in terms of carriage of materials. This was the case for the tenants of Dinsilwy Rys who 'carry for the lord from Llanfaes as far as Caernarfon or Penrhos or Conwy or anywhere the lord may require with a man and a horse hired at 2d. daily'. There are two immediately obvious approaches to Henllys. One along Henllys Lane from Beaumaris, past West Lodge to approach Henllys at its south-east corner. The other is the old established track through the fields from East Lodge. Closer examination of the earliest detailed plan of the complex (1830), however, suggests other possibilities. Firstly, the paddocks and gardens of early nineteenth century Henllys seem to be constrained within a subrectangular curtilage on the same axial alignment as the house. Secondly, a track leads south-west from this presumed curtilage from the mid point of its south side. That is, approximately opposite the track to East Lodge. This track no longer exists but could be traced in 1830 into Cae Glas Uchaf, where it is identified as 'the old road'. Examination of eighteenth century surveys in the properties to the south and west of Henllys reveal a relict portion of this 'old road' in a field two hundred metres to the south. This line may be traced in field boundaries on the early maps to a sharp angled junction with the Llansadwrn/Beaumaris road at Coed Du near Bodgylched. The road may then be traced almost continuously across southern Anglesey to Rhosyr. Could this 'ghost' road be corroboration of the former significance of Henllys? Any such significance was brought to an end by the demise of the llys and the eclipse of Llanfaes by Beaumaris. In support of this hypothesis, an argument can be made, in the alignment and re-alignment of Henllys Lane, for seeing an original route from the ferry swing, via relict stretches of track and continuous field boundaries, to converge on the same southern approach to Henllys.

#### The Town

Llanfaes never recovered from the Madog revolt of 1294. Beaumaris castle was begun in 1295 and the town of Beaumaris inherited the role of Llanfaes as a major commercial centre. Llanfaes itself was depopulated. A few burgesses moved to Beaumaris but most were re-settled in the commote of Menai on the former maerdref of Rhosyr- at Edward's 'New Borough'.

By 1302 the bake house had been demolished although, remarkably the Prince's prison was still at Llanfaes in 1304-5 -although it is not clear to what extent is was in regular use. The Leper house (Ciafdy) was unoccupied in 1408-9 but again it is unclear how temporary this circumstance was. The Church remained, although its wealth and its parishioners, had gone. The Friary remained until its suppression in 1538. The mill was still leased in 1254, but at a significantly reduced rent. The new tenants of Newborough were compensated for the land they had lost at Llanfaes and it is this indicator which allows us to calculate that the tenements at Llanfaes numbered one hundred and twenty, extending over ninety acres. This, by any estimation is a sizeable town. There are references to a 'waste plot in the market place' in 1301 and to 'several burgages and two crofts next to the court'.

Geophysical survey was undertaken in three areas between 1993 and 1997, part-funded by Cadw, totalling 2ha in extent, between Henllys and the church. The principal archaeological feature was a track, or rather succession of tracks, which cut a sinuous path across the area from

west to east. The most recent of these tracks is identifiable on the ground as the turf covered metalled surface which forms the direct route from Henllys to the East Lodge still in use and identified on current large scale maps. This is a replacement of, or continuous development from, a route of some antiquity which may have been in use for centuries and may have been the principal route-way linking the putative llys and town of Llanfaes. In the western area a service pipe-trench cuts a straight line across the area from south-west to north-east. Other linear features appear to represent the delineation of boundaries. There are no clear indications of house plots. In the eastern part of the western area a strong curvilinear anomaly running generally north-south can be identified with the boundary between Cae'r Front and Waen on the south side of the Henllys – East Lodge track. This boundary is mapped in 1830 but may be older. Field boundaries with a curve tending towards a reversed S, as this one does, often reflect the pattern of the ox-ploughed ridges of former open fields. The eastern survey area presents more complex information. The track marked on the OS 1:2500 map of 1911 is clearly seen cutting across the eastern corner of the survey area. This track continues from a point near East Lodge to a point sixty metres east of West Lodge.

The western part of the eastern area is crossed by a series of intersecting and conjoining boundary features. One, at least, may be associated with the boundary between the two 'fields near Henllys' which abut the Henllys – East Lodge track on its south side. Others appear to have curvilinearity on a general north-west-south-east alignment and may represent agricultural features pre-dating the establishment of the track. Other components have a rectilinearity suggestive of house plots. Stronger, isolated anomalies have been interpreted as hearths or pits, strengthening this interpretation. In 1992 two trenches were excavated in this area to assess the nature of the anomalies, again grant-aided by Cadw. One trench, 9m by 1m, identified two shallow ditches or slots 0.8m wide and 6m apart. One of the ditches was 0.3m deep. A second excavation trench identified a small pit 1.1m wide and 0.6m deep from which four medieval pot sherds were recovered.

The antiquity of the road running inland from the Friary has been shown by excavation to be at least contemporary with the Friary in origin. it runs towards St. Catherine's church and joins the road from Henllys. Four roads converge at this point without forming a regular crossroads. Rather the impression is one of organic growth around pre-existing obstacles. The road junction close to the church at Llanfaes must be considered a potential candidate for the identification of maerdref tenements.

The maerdref of Llanfaes is an invaluable archaeological resource comprising many of the components of a commotal centre of the Welsh Princes in a landscape extending over many hundred acres. These components include: the llys, the church, a friary, a ferry, fisheries, a leper house, a mill and an extensive community of bond tenants that developed a commercial function unparalleled in Gwynedd before the Edwardian conquest. While the location of some of these components have been identified and while some damage has taken place through the process of time and change, the town itself was depopulated at the end of the thirteenth century and has not suffered the destructive processes which accompany continuous urban development. The town, therefore, remains a time capsule. If located it would provide a unique opportunity to study the process of transition from traditional maerdref to proto-town in a Welsh context. The indications, on the basis of current evidence suggest that the cross-roads near St. Catherine's church represent one possible focus for the proto-urban community. This interpretation is based on:

- 1. The possibility that Henllys represents the site of the llys.
- 2. The convergence of routes of some antiquity at St. Catherine's church.
- 3. The wealth of artefactual material, pottery and metalwork from fields immediately to the south of the church
- 4. The geophysical evidence for possible house plots towards the eastern end of the track from Henllys to East Lodge.

table 1. episcopal holdings: tenants and area

statistics only for those settlements where both numbers of tenants and	d area are known
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	statistics only for those settlements where both numbers of tenants and area are known								
index	commote	township	settlement te	enants	area	settlement status	tenure		
988	Dindaethwy	Bodfyddion	Bodfyddion gwely b	3	5 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)		
987	Dindaethwy	Bodfyddion	Bodfyddion gwely a	5	3 bovates	episcopal gwely	free (Bishop of Bangor)		
909	Dindaethwy	Bodwylog	Bodwylog	7	24 bovates	episcopal tref	free (Bishop of Bangor)		
317	Dindaethwy	Bodynwy	lorwerth Fychan		1 carucate	gwely	free but formerly tir cyfrif, in exc hange		
318	Dindaethwy	Bodynwy	Bodynwy (land b)	1	1 bovate	land	free but formerly tir cyfrif, in exc hange		
488	Dindaethwy	Bodynwy	Bodynwy (land a)	3	1.5 carucates	land	free		
995	Dindaethwy	Brynberfi	Brynberfi gwely b	2	1 bovates	episcopal gwely	free (Bishop of Bangor)		
994	Dindaethwy	Brynberfi	Brynberfi gwely a	5	6 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)		
324	Dindaethwy	Cerrig Gwyddel	Cerrig Gwyddel		0.5 acre	land	free		
325	Dindaethwy	Cerrig Gwyddel	Cerrig Gwyddel	1	2 bovates	land	free		
758	Dindaethwy	Crymlyn	Cefn Coch	2	1 carucate	hamlet	free		
983	Dindaethwy	Llamel	Llamel	3	5 bovates	episcopal tref	free (Bishop of Bangor)		
969	Dindaethwy	Llangoed	Llangoed gwely h	7	6 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)		
972	Dindaethwy	Llangoed	Llangoed gwely k	1	6 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)		
970	Dindaethwy	Llangoed	Llangoed gwely I	7	6 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)		
962	Dindaethwy	Llangoed	Llangoed gwely a	5	6 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)		
967	Dindaethwy	Llangoed	Llangoed gwely f	4	4 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)		
966	Dindaethwy	Llangoed	Llangoed gwely e	1	4 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)		
965	Dindaethwy	Llangoed	Llangoed gwely d	1	6 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)		
963	Dindaethwy	Llangoed	Llangoed gwely b	7	12 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)		
964	Dindaethwy	Llangoed	Llangoed gwely c	6	12 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)		
968	Dindaethwy	Llangoed	Llangoed gwely g	7	6 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)		
971	Dindaethwy	Llangoed	Llangoed gwely j	1	5 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)		
997	Dindaethwy	Llansadwrn	Llansadwrn gwely	5	6 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)		
996	Dindaethwy	Llansadwrn	Llansadwrn gwely	1	2 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)		
897	Dindaethwy	Llwydiarth	Llwydiarth	15	18 bovates	episcopal tref	free		
982	Dindaethwy	Llwydiarth	Llwydiarth gwely b	10	10 bovates	episcopal gwely	free (Bishop of Bangor)		
981	Dindaethwy	Llwydiarth	Llwydiarth gwely a	5	8 bovates	episcopal gwely	free (Bishop of Bangor)		

index	commote	township	settlement	tenants	area	settlement status	tenure
991	Dindaethwy	Penhesgyn	Penhesgyn gwely a	9	6 bovates	episcopal gwely	free (Bishop of Bangor)
992	Dindaethwy	Penhesgyn	Penhesgyn gwely b	6	12 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
993	Dindaethwy	Penhesgyn	Penhesgyn gwely c	2	8 bovates	episcopal gwely	free (Bishop of Bangor)
990	Dindaethwy	Pwllgwyngyll	Pwllgwyngyll gwely	8	6 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
989	Dindaethwy	Pwllgwyngyll	Pwllgwyngyll gwely	1	3 bovates	episcopal gwely	free (Bishop of Bangor)
985	Dindaethwy	Trefelias	Trefelias gwely b	10	6 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
984	Dindaethwy	Trefelias	Trefelias gwely a	3	5 bovates	episcopal gwely	free (Bishop of Bangor)
908	Dindaethwy	Treffos	Treffos	26	26 bovates	episcopal maerdref	tir cyfrif? (Bishop of Bangor)
977	Dindaethwy	Trefgoed or Crafgoed	Trefgoed or	2	6 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
973	Dindaethwy	Trefgoed or Crafgoed	Trefgoed or	5	5 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
974	Dindaethwy	Trefgoed or Crafgoed	Trefgoed or	10	6 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
976	Dindaethwy	Trefgoed or Crafgoed	Trefgoed or	6	6 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
978	Dindaethwy	Trefgoed or Crafgoed	Trefgoed or	6	6 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
979	Dindaethwy	Trefgoed or Crafgoed	Trefgoed or		6 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
975	Dindaethwy	Trefgoed or Crafgoed	Trefgoed or	6	6 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
920	Dindaethwy	Treforwen	Treforwen	19	24 bovates	episcopal tref	free (Bishop of Bangor)
116	Llifon	Bodynolwyn	Bodynolwyn (land)		19 virgates	land	, ,
115	Llifon	Bodynolwyn	Bodynolwyn (land)		4 bovates	land	free
1057	Llifon	Bodynolwyn	Bodynolwyn (land)		14 virgates	land	free?
1017	Llifon	Conysiog Llan	Conysiog Llan	49	4 carucates	episcopal tref	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1018	Llifon	Gwredog	Gwredog	20	2 carucates	episcopal tref	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1019	Llifon	Maesyllan	Maesyllan	7	2 bovates	episcopal tref	free (Bishop of Bangor)
1009	Malltraeth	Bodeon	Bodeon gwely d	6	1 carucate	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1006	Malltraeth	Bodeon	Bodeon gwely a	4	1 carucate	episcopal gwely	free (Bishop of Bangor)
1008	Malltraeth	Bodeon	Bodeon gwely c	4	0.5 carucate	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1007	Malltraeth	Bodeon	Bodeon gwely b		0.5 caruacte	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1026	Malltraeth	Bodffordd	Bodffordd gwely d		4 bovates	episcopal gwely	free (Bishop of Bangor)
1023	Malltraeth	Bodffordd	Bodffordd gwely a		5 bovates	episcopal gwely	free (Bishop of Bangor)
1025	Malltraeth	Bodffordd	Bodffordd gwely c		4 bovates	episcopal gwely	free (Bishop of Bangor)
1024	Malltraeth	Bodffordd	Bodffordd gwely b		5 bovates	episcopal gwely	free (Bishop of Bangor)

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511	Malltraeth	Bodffordd	Bodffordd (land)		1.5 carucates	land	free
1015	Malltraeth	Bodhenllis	Bodhenllis	20	0.5 carucate	episcopal tref	free (Bishop of Bangor)
1022	Malltraeth	Llanbeulan	Llanbeulan	15	1 carucate	episcopal tref	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1011	Malltraeth	Llanfeirion	Llanfeirion gwely b	6	1 carucate	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1012	Malltraeth	Llanfeirion	Llanfeirion gwely c	6	1 carucate	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1016	Malltraeth	Sthelesseith	Sthelesseith	10	1 carucate	episcopal tref	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1014	Malltraeth	Tal y Llyn	Tal y Llyn gwely b	19	1.5 carucate	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1013	Malltraeth	Tal y Llyn	Tal y Llyn gwely a	3	1 carucate	episcopal gwely	free (Bishop of Bangor)
1020	Malltraeth	Trefwalchmai	Trefwalchmai	24	4 carucates	episcopal tref	free (Bishop of Bangor)
1003	Menai	Dwyran Esgob	Dwyran Esgob	3	3 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1004	Menai	Dwyran Esgob	Dwyran Esgob	6	8 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1000	Menai	Llanddwyn	Llanddwyn	7	noland	episcopal tref	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
999	Menai	Nanhwrfa	Nanhwrfa	14	4 bovates	episcopal tref	free (Bishop of Bangor)
838	Talybolion	Bodegri Gaeth	Bodegri Gaeth	17	2 carucates	episcopal tref (0.5)	bond (Bishop of Bangor)
837	Talybolion	Bodegri Rhydd	Bodegri Rhydd	11	2 carucates	episcopal tref (0.5)	free (Bishop of Bangor)
186	Talybolion	Bodfardden	Bodfardden (land)	1	1 carucates	land	free
222	Talybolion	Cemais	GwrHir		28 virgates total	gafael	gwyr tir bwrdd (maerdref)
1027	Talybolion	Cornwylan	Cornwylan	34	1.5 carucates	episcopal tref	free (Bishop of Bangor)
1030	Talybolion	Llanfflewin	Llanfflewin	13	0.5 carucate	episcopal tref	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
277	Twrcelyn	Bodednyfed	Bodednyfed a	1	1 carucates	tref	demesne (maerdref)
1036	Twrcelyn	Llandyfrydog	Llandyfrydog gwely	1	8 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1035	Twrcelyn	Llandyfrydog	Llandyfrydog gwely	6	8 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1034	Twrcelyn	Llandyfrydog	Llandyfrydog gwely	12	8 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1032	Twrcelyn	Llandyfrydog	Llandyfrydog gwely	5	8 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1031	Twrcelyn	Llandyfrydog	Llandyfrydog gwely	1	8 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1033	Twrcelyn	Llandyfrydog	Llandyfrydog gwely	2	8 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1037 1038	Twrcelyn Twrcelyn	Llwydiarth Llwydiarth	Llwydiarth gwely a Llwydiarth gwely b	4 4	12 bovates 12 bovates	episcopal gwely episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor) tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1039	Twrcelyn	Llwydiarth	Llwydiarth gwely c	3	15 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
237	Twrcelyn	Llysdulas	Twrllachied b		2 acres	gwely	tir gwelyog

index	commote	township	settlement	tenants	area	settlement status	tenure
246	Twrcelyn	Llysdulas	Llechog b	1	2 bovates	hamlet	free
1050	Twrcelyn	Moelfre	Moelfre gwely c	5	5 2 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1053	Twrcelyn	Moelfre	Moelfre gwely f	2	2.5 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1051	Twrcelyn	Moelfre	Moelfre gwely d	9	2.5 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1049	Twrcelyn	Moelfre	Moelfre gwely b	3	3 2.5 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1048	Twrcelyn	Moelfre	Moelfre gwely a	3	3 2.5 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1052	Twrcelyn	Moelfre	Moelfre gwely e		3.5 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
266	Twrcelyn	Nantbychan	Nantbychan a		4 carucates	tref	free
1066	Twrcelyn	Tal y Llyn	Tal y Llyn gwely b	2	4 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1065	Twrcelyn	Tal y Llyn	Tal y Llyn gwely a	4	5 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1047	Twrcelyn	Y Dafarn	Y Dafarn gwely f	2	4 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1043	Twrcelyn	Y Dafarn	Y Dafarn gwely b		3 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1046	Twrcelyn	Y Dafarn	Y Dafarn gwely e	2	2 4 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1042	Twrcelyn	Y Dafarn	Y Dafarn gwely a	1	3 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1044	Twrcelyn	Y Dafarn	Y Dafarn gwely c	2	2 4 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1045	Twrcelyn	Y Dafarn	Y Dafarn gwely d	2	4 bovates	episcopal gwely	tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)

table 2. all tenants and areas

index	commote	township	settlement	tenants	area	settlement status and tenure
988	Dindaethwy	Bodfyddion	Bodfyddion gwely b	3	5 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
987	Dindaethwy	Bodfyddion	Bodfyddion gwely a	5	3 bovates	episcopal gwely free (Bishop of Bangor)
909	Dindaethwy	Bodwylog	Bodwylog	7	24 bovates	episcopal tref free (Bishop of Bangor)
317	Dindaethwy	Bodynwy	lorwerth Fychan		1 carucate	gwely free but formerly tir cyfrif, in exchange for land at Beaumaris
318	Dindaethwy	Bodynwy	Bodynwy (land b)		1 bovate	land free but formerly tir cyfrif, in exchange for land at Beaumaris
488	Dindaethwy	Bodynwy	Bodynwy (land a)	3	1.5 carucates	land free
995	Dindaethwy	Brynberfi	Brynberfi gwely b	2	1 bovates	episcopal gwely free (Bishop of Bangor)
994	Dindaethwy	Brynberfi	Brynberfi gwely a	5	6 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
324	Dindaethwy	Cerrig Gwyddel	Cerrig Gwyddel (land b)		0.5 acre	land free
325	Dindaethwy	Cerrig Gwyddel	Cerrig Gwyddel (land a)		2 bovates	land free
758	Dindaethwy	Crymlyn	Cefn Coch	2	1 carucate	hamlet free
983	Dindaethwy	Llamel	Llamel	3	5 bovates	episcopal tref free (Bishop of Bangor)
969	Dindaethwy	Llangoed	Llangoed gwely h	7	6 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)

inde	x commote	township	settlement	tenants	area	settlement status and tenure
972	Dindaethwy	Llangoed	Llangoed gwely k		6 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
970	Dindaethwy	Llangoed	Llangoed gwely I	7	6 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
962	Dindaethwy	Llangoed	Llangoed gwely a	5	6 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
967	Dindaethwy	Llangoed	Llangoed gwely f	4	4 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
966	Dindaethwy	Llangoed	Llangoed gwely e		4 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
965	Dindaethwy	Llangoed	Llangoed gwely d		6 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
963	Dindaethwy	Llangoed	Llangoed gwely b	7	12 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
964	Dindaethwy	Llangoed	Llangoed gwely c	6	12 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
968	Dindaethwy	Llangoed	Llangoed gwely g	7	6 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
971	Dindaethwy	Llangoed	Llangoed gwely j		5 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
997	Dindaethwy	Llansadwrn	Llansadwrn gwely b	5	6 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
996	Dindaethwy	Llansadwrn	Llansadwrn gwely a		2 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
897	Dindaethwy	Llwydiarth	Llwydiarth	15	18 bovates	episcopal tref free
982	Dindaethwy	Llwydiarth	Llwydiarth gwely b	10	10 bovates	episcopal gwely free (Bishop of Bangor)

index	commote	township	settlement	tenants	area	settlement status and tenure
981	Dindaethwy	Llwydiarth	Llwydiarth gwely a	5	8 bovates	episcopal gwely free (Bishop of Bangor)
991	Dindaethwy	Penhesgyn	Penhesgyn gwely a	9	6 bovates	episcopal gwely free (Bishop of Bangor)
992	Dindaethwy	Penhesgyn	Penhesgyn gwely b	6	12 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
993	Dindaethwy	Penhesgyn	Penhesgyn gwely c	2	8 bovates	episcopal gwely free (Bishop of Bangor)
990	Dindaethwy	Pwllgwyngyll	Pwllgwyngyll gwely b	8	6 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
989	Dindaethwy	Pwllgwyngyll	Pwllgwyngyll gwely a		3 bovates	episcopal gwely free (Bishop of Bangor)
985	Dindaethwy	Trefelias	Trefelias gwely b	10	6 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
984	Dindaethwy	Trefelias	Trefelias gwely a	3	5 bovates	episcopal gwely free (Bishop of Bangor)
908	Dindaethwy	Treffos	Treffos	26	26 bovates plus 2 carucates demesne plus meadows	episcopal maerdref tir cyfrif? (Bishop of Bangor)
977	Dindaethwy	Trefgoed or Crafgoed	Trefgoed or Crafgoed gwely e	2	6 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
973	Dindaethwy	Trefgoed or Crafgoed	Trefgoed or Crafgoed gwely a	5	5 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
974	Dindaethwy	Trefgoed or Crafgoed	Trefgoed or Crafgoed	10	6 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
976	Dindaethwy	Trefgoed or Crafgoed	Trefgoed or Crafgoed gwely d	6	6 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
978	Dindaethwy	Trefgoed or Crafgoed	Trefgoed or Crafgoed gwely f	6	6 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)

index	commote	township	settlement	tenants	area	settlement status and tenure
979	Dindaethwy	Trefgoed or Crafgoed	Trefgoed or Crafgoed gwely g		6 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
975	Dindaethwy	Trefgoed or Crafgoed	Trefgoed or Crafgoed gwely c	6	6 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
920	Dindaethwy	Treforwen	Treforwen	19	24 bovates	episcopal tref free (Bishop of Bangor)
116	Llifon	Bodynolwyn	Bodynolwyn (land)		19 virgates	land
115	Llifon	Bodynolwyn	Bodynolwyn (land)		4 bovates	land free
1057	Llifon	Bodynolwyn	Bodynolwyn (land)		14 virgates	land free?
1017	Llifon	Conysiog Llan	Conysiog Llan	49	4 carucates	episcopal tref tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1018	Llifon	Gwredog	Gwredog	20	2 carucates	episcopal tref tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1019	Llifon	Maesyllan	Maesyllan	7	2 bovates	episcopal tref free (Bishop of Bangor)
1009	Malltraeth	Bodeon	Bodeon gwely d	6	1 carucate	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1006	Malltraeth	Bodeon	Bodeon gwely a	4	1 carucate	episcopal gwely free (Bishop of Bangor)
1008	Malltraeth	Bodeon	Bodeon gwely c	4	0.5 carucate	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1007	Malltraeth	Bodeon	Bodeon gwely b		0.5 caruacte	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1026	Malltraeth	Bodffordd	Bodffordd gwely d		4 bovates	episcopal gwely free (Bishop of Bangor)

index	commote	township	settlement	tenants	area	settlement status and tenure
1023	Malltraeth	Bodffordd	Bodffordd gwely a		5 bovates	episcopal gwely free (Bishop of Bangor)
1025	Malltraeth	Bodffordd	Bodffordd gwely c		4 bovates	episcopal gwely free (Bishop of Bangor)
1024	Malltraeth	Bodffordd	Bodffordd gwely b		5 bovates	episcopal gwely free (Bishop of Bangor)
511	Malltraeth	Bodffordd	Bodffordd (land)		1.5 carucates	land free
1015	Malltraeth	Bodhenllis	Bodhenllis	20	0.5 carucate	episcopal tref free (Bishop of Bangor)
1022	Malltraeth	Llanbeulan	Llanbeulan	15	1 carucate	episcopal tref tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1011	Malltraeth	Llanfeirion	Llanfeirion gwely b	6	1 carucate	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1012	Malltraeth	Llanfeirion	Llanfeirion gwely c	6	1 carucate	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1016	Malltraeth	Sthelesseith	Sthelesseith	10	1 carucate	episcopal tref tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1014	Malltraeth	Tal y Llyn	Tal y Llyn gwely b	19	1.5 carucate	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1013	Malltraeth	Tal y Llyn	Tal y Llyn gwely a	3	1 carucate	episcopal gwely free (Bishop of Bangor)
1020	Malltraeth	Trefwalchmai	Trefwalchmai	24	including 3 carucates of	episcopal tref free (Bishop of Bangor)
1003	Menai	Dwyran Esgob	Dwyran Esgob gwely a	3	cleared land 3 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1004	Menai	Dwyran Esgob	Dwyran Esgob gwely b	6	8 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)

index	commote	township	settlement	tenants	area	settlement status and tenure
1000	Menai	Llanddwyn	Llanddwyn	7	no land	episcopal tref tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
999	Menai	Nanhwrfa	Nanhwrfa	14	4 bovates	episcopal tref free (Bishop of Bangor)
838	Talybolion	Bodegri Gaeth	Bodegri Gaeth	17	2 carucates	episcopal tref (0.5) bond (Bishop of Bangor)
837	Talybolion	Bodegri Rhydd	Bodegri Rhydd	11	2 carucates	episcopal tref (0.5) free (Bishop of Bangor)
186	Talybolion	Bodfardden	Bodfardden (land)		1 carucates	land free
222	Talybolion	Cemais	Gwr Hir		28 virgates total	gafael gwyr tir bwrdd (maerdref)
1027	Talybolion	Cornwylan	Cornwylan	34	1.5 carucates	episcopal tref free (Bishop of Bangor)
1030	Talybolion	Llanfflewin	Llanfflewin	13	0.5 carucate	episcopal tref tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
277	Twrcelyn	Bodednyfed	Bodednyfed a		1 carucates	tref demesne (maerdref)
1036	Twrcelyn	Llandyfrydog	Llandyfrydog gwely f		8 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1035	Twrcelyn	Llandyfrydog	Llandyfrydog gwely e	6	8 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1034	Twrcelyn	Llandyfrydog	Llandyfrydog gwely d	12	8 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1032	Twrcelyn	Llandyfrydog	Llandyfrydog gwely b	5	8 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1031	Twrcelyn	Llandyfrydog	Llandyfrydog gwely a		8 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)

index	commote	township	settlement	tenants	area	settlement status and tenure
1033	Twrcelyn	Llandyfrydog	Llandyfrydog gwely c	2	8 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1037	Twrcelyn	Llwydiarth	Llwydiarth gwely a	4	12 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1038	Twrcelyn	Llwydiarth	Llwydiarth gwely b	4	12 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1039	Twrcelyn	Llwydiarth	Llwydiarth gwely c	3	15 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
237	Twrcelyn	Llysdulas	Twrllachied b		2 acres	gwely tir gwelyog
246	Twrcelyn	Llysdulas	Llechog b		2 bovates	hamlet free
1050	Twrcelyn	Moelfre	Moelfre gwely c	5	2 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1053	Twrcelyn	Moelfre	Moelfre gwely f	2	2.5 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1051	Twrcelyn	Moelfre	Moelfre gwely d	9	2.5 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1049	Twrcelyn	Moelfre	Moelfre gwely b	3	2.5 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1048	Twrcelyn	Moelfre	Moelfre gwely a	3	2.5 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1052	Twrcelyn	Moelfre	Moelfre gwely e		3.5 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
266	Twrcelyn	Nantbychan	Nantbychan a		4 carucates	tref free
1066	Twrcelyn	Tal y Llyn	Tal y Llyn gwely b	2	4 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)

index commote	township	settlement	tenants	area	settlement status and tenure
1065 Twrcelyn	Tal y Llyn	Tal y Llyn gwely a	4	5 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1047 Twrcelyn	Y Dafarn	Y Dafarn gwely f	2	4 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1043 Twrcelyn	Y Dafarn	Y Dafarn gwely b		3 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1046 Twrcelyn	Y Dafarn	Y Dafarn gwely e	2	4 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1042 Twrcelyn	Y Dafarn	Y Dafarn gwely a		3 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1044 Twrcelyn	Y Dafarn	Y Dafarn gwely c	2	4 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)
1045 Twrcelyn	Y Dafarn	Y Dafarn gwely d	2	4 bovates	episcopal gwely tir gwelyog (Bishop of Bangor)

Table 3: Escheat land in 1352

Commote, township and settlement status area fridd or escheat without tenants

**Dindaethwy** 

Bodynwy

Bodynwy tref 3 bovate total

Crymlyn

Cefn Coch hamlet 1 bovate in the lord's hand total

Mathafarn Eithaf

Mathafarn Eithaf tref 1 bovate total

Mathafarn Wion

Mathafarn Wion tref 1 bovate total

Pentraeth

Pentraeth tref 14 bovates, 2 acres total

Llifon

Bodynolwyn

Bodynolwyn tref 4 gwelyau, 33 virgates total

Chwaen

Chwaen tref 8 bovates total

Clefiog

Cleifiog tref 1 carucate, 2 bovates total

Conysiog

Conysiog tref 4 bovates total

Tre Feibion Meurig

Moel Faenol gwely 6 bovates total

Malltraeth

Aberffraw

Aberffraw tref 4 bovates, 7 gardens total

Dindryfwl

Cerrigcafael (Gwas Deiniol ap Goronwy) hamlet 4 bovates in the lord's hand total

Dindryfwl tref 1 gwely, 2 bovates total

Trewalchmai hamlet 1 bovate in the lord's hand total

Lledwigan Llys

Bodpenwyn hamlet 3 bovates total

Trefddisteiniaid

Bryndewin hamlet 2 bovates total

Trefwastrodion

Trefwastrodion tref 0.5 bovate total

Menai

Gwydryn

Gwydryn tref 1 gwely total

Porthamel

Porthamel tref 6.5 bovates total

Rhoscolyn

Rhoscolyn tref .05 gwely total

Rhosyr

Rhosyr maerdref 2 gardens (covered by sand) total

Treferwydd

Treferwydd tref 1 gwely, 2 bovates total

Tregarwed

Tregarwed tref gwely total

**Talybolion** 

Bodewryd

Bodewryd tref 1 carucate, 6 bovates, 3 messuages total

Botan

Botan tref .33 Melin Botan total

Caerdegog

Caerdegog tref 9 bovates total

Cemais

Cemais tref 14.25 gafaelion total

Clegyrog

Tre'r Gof hamlet 4 bovates total

Dronwy

Dronwy tref 10 bovates total

Llanfigel

Llanfigel tref .33 of 2 carucates, 1 bovate, .17 of Melin Llanfigel

Trefadog

Trefadog tref 4 bovates total

Trelywarch

Trelywarch tref 2 bovates total

**Twrcelyn** 

Bodafon

Bodafon tref 7.5 bovates, 25 virgates total

Bodgadfedd

Bodgadfedd hamlet 3 carucates total

Llaneilian

Bodgynddelw hamlet 2 bovates total

Llysdulas

Amlwch hamlet 1 carucate total
Bodsartho hamlet 1 carucate total
Glasgraig hamlet 50 acres total
Llechog a hamlet 2 carucates total

Llysdulas tref 2 carucates in Twrllachied a, 1mill total

Rhosmynach

Rhosmynach tref 4.5 bovates, 2 messuages total

Table 4: current status of settlement name locations

index	settlement name	settlement status	tenure code	present name	present status	NGRSH
819	Aberalaw	tref	free, tir gwelyog	Aberalaw	single holding	30908272
520	Aberffraw	tref	maerdref	Aberffraw	nucleated village	35456895
825	Alaw'r Beirdd	tref	free	Glanalaw	single holding	36358534
743	Amlwch	hamlet		Amlwch	town	44209295
944	Berw	monastic tref		Plas Berw	15th century and later house	46567176
871	Betws Coedana	hamlet	free	Bettws	small cluster	43108244
834	Bad Ddeiniol	clas hamlet		Bad Deiniol	single holding	37228574
848	Bodafon	tref	free	Plas Bodafon	single holding	47948536
74	Bodedern	hamlet		Bodedern	single holding	33308040
860	Bodednyfed	tref	tir cyfrif	Bodednyfed	single holding	45209272
1028	Bodegri	episcopal tref	free	Bodegri	small cluster	34148900
838	Bodegri Gaeth	episcopal tref (0.5)	bond (?tir gwelyog)	Bodegri	small cluster	34148900
837	Bodegri Rhydd	episcopal tref (0.5)	free	Bodegri	small cluster	34148900
1055	Bodeon	episcopal tref	free, tir gwelyog	Bodowen	single holding	38006675
491	Bodewran	tref	free	Bodewran	single holding	41357715
843	Bodewryd	tref	free, tir gwelyog	Bodewryd	village	39809076
824	Bodfardden	tref	free	Bodfardden wen	single holding	31708536
745	Bodfeddan	hamlet		Bodfeddan	single holding	36447506
42	Bodfeurig	gwely	free	Bodfeirig	single holding	34266895
1054	Bodffordd	tref (lay and episcopal)	free	Bodffordd	village	42707686
245	Bodgadfedd	hamlet		Bodgadfa	single holding	43349178
494	Bodgedwydd	monastic tref		Bodgedwydd	single holding	36267147
906	Bodgylched	hamlet	tir cyfrif	Bodgylched	single holding	58087690
1015	Bodhenllis	episcopal tref	free	Bodhenlli	cluster of 2 farms	42087399
256	Bodhunod	hamlet	tir cyfrif	Bodhunod	single holding	41249370

index	settlement name	settlement status	tenure code	present name	present status	NGRSH
851	Bodhunod	tref	tir cyfrif, free	Bodhunod	single holding	41249370
358	Bodiordderch	hamlet		Hafotty (Fotti Rhydderch)	single holding	56267820
525	Bodlew	tref	free	Tregwehelydd	single holding	34458274
948	Bodlew	tref		Bodlew	single holding	48146906
865	Bodneithior	hamlet		Bodneithior	single holding	44588604
497	Bodorgan	episcopal tref	free	Bodorgan	house and estate	38616736
502	Bodowyr	tref		Bodowyr	single holding	32157941
957	Bodowyr	tref		Bodowyr	single holding	46146854
928	Bodrida	tref	tir gwelyog	Bodrida	single holding	46406756
823	Bodronyn	tref	tir gwelyog	Bod-Rhonyn	ruin	33469110
126	Bodwigan	hamlet		Bodwigan	single holding	33108503
5	Bodwina	hamlet	free	Bodwina Bellaf	single holding	40907673
531	Bodwrog	tref	free	Bodwrog	single holding	39667715
909	Bodwylog	episcopal tref	free	Bodwylog	single holding	58447468
509	Bodychen	episcopal tref	tir gwelyog	Bodychen	ruined 15th century house	38897900
529	Bodynolwyn	tref	tir gwelyog	Bodnolwyn Groes	single holding	36308456
881	Bodynwy	tref	free, tir cyfrif	Carwad	single holding	58547900
914	Bodynys	tref		Bodynys	single holding	50747384
844	Botan	tref	free	Bottan Fawr	single holding	32008467
917	Bryn y Gof	tref		Bryn Gof	single holding	51807190
904	Brynberfi	episcopal tref	tir gwelyog	Cichle	single holding, estate	60017840
499	Bryngwallan	hamlet	free	Bryn Gollen Isaf	small cluster	40968383
820	Caerdegog	tref	free, tir gwelyog	Caerdegog Isaf	single holding	34749245
125	Caergybi	hamlet		Caergybi	town	24808260
163	Cafnan (Gwrgenau ap Dafydd)	hamlet	tir gwelyog	Cafnan	small nucleation	34369302
916	Carnan Isaf	episcopal tref	tir gwelyog	Garnedd Fawr	single holding	50227212
817	Carneddor	tref	free, tir gwelyog	Cae Nether	single holding	30828656

index	settlement name	settlement status	tenure code	present name	present status	NGRSH
883	Castell Bwlchgwyn	tref	free	Castell	single holding	50008078
176	Castell Cefnhelyg	hamlet		Cefn Helyg	single holding	36509275
887	Castellior	tref	free	Castellior	single holding	54407424
758	Cefn Coch	hamlet		Cefn Coch	single holding	56567624
949	Cefn y Fyrwen	tref		Cefn Dderwen	single holding	47286608
47	Cefntreffraw	hamlet	tir cyfrif	Bwlan?, Pandy?	agricultural fields	36306970
828	Cemais	tref	maerdref	Cemais	town	37209340
822	Cemlyn	tref	free, tir gwelyog	Plas Cemlyn	single holding	33109280
839	Cerrig Carnog	hamlet	free	Cerrig Camog	single holding	33228778
882	Cerrig Gwyddyl	tref	free	Beaumaris	town, castle	60707620
29	Cerrigcafael (Gwas Deiniol ap Goronwy)	hamlet	free	Cerrig Cafael	single holding	37357398
893	Cerrigtegfan	tref		Llandegfan	village	56707390
526	Chwaen	tref	free	Chwaen Hen	single holding	36318348
869	Cilgwyn	hamlet	tir gwelyog	Cilgwyn	single holding	41608306
821	Clegyrog	tref	free, tir gwelyog	Clegyrog Bias	single holding	38239034
524	Cleifiog	tref	free, tir gwelyog	Cleifiog Fawr	single holding	29608010
857	Clorach	tref	free	Clorach fawr	single holding	44908412
149	Clwchdyrnog	hamlet		Clwch Dernog	small cluster	33918630
490	Cnwc	hamlet		Cnwc	single holding	33707101
764	Coeden	hamlet		Coeden	single holding	37008982
522	Conysiog	tref	free	Pencarnisiog	nucleated village	35257361
1017	Conysiog Llan	episcopal tref	tir gwelyog	Llanfaelog	church, nucleate d cluster	33707299
841	Cornwy Lys	monastic tref		Llanfairynghornwy	village	32149090
1027	Cornwylan	episcopal tref	free	Llanfairynghornwy	church	32709086
356	Crymlyn	tref	free	Cremlyn	single holding	57247712
192	Cynwrig ap Caradog	gafael (2)	maerdref	Tregynrig Fawr	single holding	40549324
34	Ddrudwy	hamlet		Ddrydwy	single holding	36467445

index	settlement name	settlement status	tenure code	present name	present status	NGRSH
858	Deri	tref	tir cyfrif	Deri Mawr	single holding	45128746
766	Deubwll	hamlet		Llanfair yn Neubwll	cluster of buildings	30387675
384	Dinam	tref	tir cyfrif	Dinam	single holding	45286904
519	Dindryfwl	tref	free, tir gwelyog	Tyn Dryfol	single holding	39997310
767	Dinllwydan	hamlet	maerdref	Tyn Llwydan	single holding	36896629
876	Dinsylwy Rys	tref	free, tir cyfrif	Llanfihangel Din Sylwy	church	58808120
818	Dronwy	tref	free	Dronwy	single holding	31308385
952	Dwyran Esgob	episcopal tref		Dwyran	large village	44726576
953	Dwyran Feuno (Aber Brain!)	clas tref		Dwyran	large village	44726576
518	EglwysAil	clas tref	free	Llangadwaladr	village, nucleated cluster	38396928
527	Eirianell	tref	free	Eirianallt Goch	single holding	38838174
374	Eneas ap Idris	gwely	free	Llwyn Idris	single holding	49526801
353	Erddreiniog	tref	free	Erddreiniog	single holding	46108034
768	Gaerwen	hamlet	free	Gaerwen Isaf	single holding	48447150
942	Gafrogwy	tref		Frogwy fawr	single holding	42887744
52	Garthau	hamlet	maerdref	Fron?	nucleated cluster	35426870
771	Geirn	hamlet	tir gwelyog	Geirn	single holding	38268189
954	Gelleiniog	monastic tref		Gelliniog Wen	single holding	45926576
241	Glasgraig	hamlet		Glasgraig Fawr	single holding	41408812
862	Glastre	hamlet		Lastra	single holding	43169220
773	Grugor	hamlet	free	Grugor Mawr	single holding	38657386
761	Gwas Deiniol ap Goronwy	gwely	free	Cerrig Cafael	single holding	37357398
835	Gwaunydog	monastic hamlet		Gwaun-y-dog	single holding cluster of 2 farms	36668836
	Gwredog	episcopal tref	tir gwelyog	Gwredog Isaf	single holding	40358625
	Gwredog	tref	free	Gwredog	single holding	41709010 49466812
	Gwydryn	tref	free	Gwydryn Hir		49466812
	Heneglwys	tref	free	Heneglwys	village, Hudicated Gustel	42201004
312			1100	i iciicgiwys		

index	settlement name	settlement status	tenure code	present name	present status	NGRSH
495	Henllys	tref		Henllys Fawr	single holding	35447088
921	Hirdrefaig	tref	free, tir cyfrif	Hirdrefaig	single holding	48067472
361	Hirdrefaig	hamlet	tir cyfrif	Hirdrefaig	single holding	48067472
910	Llamel	tref		Bryn Me!	single holding	57747414
1000	Llanddwyn	episcopal tref	tir gwelyog	Ynys Llanddwyn	island, church	38696276
884	Llanddyfnan	tref	free	Plas Llanddyfnan	single holding, 16th century	48607820
162	Llanddygfael (Gwion ap Dafydd)	hamlet	tir gwelyog	Llanddygfael Hir	single holding	35209038
866	Llandyfrydog	episcopal tref	tir gwelyog	Llandyfrydog	nucleated cluster	44368536
849	Llaneilian	clas tref	church	Llaneilian	nucleated cluster	46969288
360	Llanfaes	maerdref	maerdref	Llanfaes	small nucleated village	60407786
1064	Llanfair yn y Cwmwd	episcopal tref	tir gwelyog	Llanfair	church, nucleated cluster	44706675
830	Llanfawr	hamlet		Llanfawr	town	25708180
826	Llanfechell	tref		Llanfechell	nucleated village	36909126
489	Llanfeirion	episcopal tref	tir gwelyog	Llanfeirian	church	39886863
1030	Llanfflewin	episcopal tref	tir gwelyog	Llanfflewyn	church and single holding	34958905
816	Llanfigel	tref	free	Llanfigael	church	82823279
959	Llangefni	clas tref		Llangefni	town	45947568
956	Llangeinwen (Ciynnog Fechan)	clas tref		Llangeinwen	nucleated cluster	43966580
901	Llangoed	episcopal tref	tir gwelyog	Llangoed	village	62308020
530	Llanllibio	tref	tir cyfrif	Llanllibio Fawr	single holding	32288219
191	Llannol	tref	tir cyfrif	Llannol	single holding	37608844
907	Llansadwrn	episcopal tref	tir gwelyog	Llansadwrn church	nucleated cluster	55387588
776	Llechgynfarwy	hamlet		Llechcynfarwy	church, cluster	38128110
853	Llechog	tref	free	Porth Llechog	village	42669424
777	Llechog a	hamlet	tir gwelyog	Porth Llechog	village	42669424
246	Llechog b	hamlet	free	Porth Llechog	village	42669424
779	Llechylched	hamlet		Plas Llechylched	single holding	34267674

index	settlement name	settlement status	tenure code	present name	present status	NGRSH
514	Lledwigan Llan	tref	free	Llanfawr	single holding	44787342
513	Lledwigan Llys	tref	free	Lledwigan	single holding	45507404
897	Llwydiarth	episcopal tref	free	Mynydd Llwydiarth	forest	54507880
867	Llwydiarth	episcopal tref	tir gwelyog	Llwydiarth Fawr	single holding, estate	42508500
946	Llwynogen	tref		Ynys Acen	single holding	48647040
947	Llys Llew	tref		Llys Lew	single holding	47306874
847	Llysdulas	tref	free, tir gwelyog	Llys Dulas	single holding, 16th century	48308990
780	Maerdref	hamlet	tir cyfrif	Aberffraw	nucleated village	35456895
1019	Maesyllan	episcopal tref	free	Maes y Llan	nucleated cluster	41357828
885	Mathafarn Eithaf	tref	free	Llanfairmathafarneithaf	church	50668288
1058	Mathafarn Wion	tref		Llanfairmathafarneithaf	church	50668288
895	Mathafarn Wion	tref	free	Croes Wion	small cluster	52128164
11	Meilir ap Gwalchmai	gwely	free	Trefeilir	single holding	40107120
228	Meiriogen	hamlet	maerdref	Meiriogen	single holding	35948590
874	Moelfre	episcopal tref	tir gwelyog	Moelfre	town	51258660
958	Myfyrian	tref		Myfyrian Isaf	single holding	47947038
932	Mysoglen	tref	tir gwelyog	Maesoglan	single holding	45006726
943	Nanhwrfa	episcopal tref	free	Rhostrehwfa	village	43807454
854	Nant Mawr	tref	free, tir gwelyog	Nant Isaf	single holding	47748272
855	Nantbychan	tref	free	Nant Bychan	single holding	51308558
266	Nantbychan a	tref		Nant Bychan	single holding	51308558
267	Nantbychan b	tref	tir cyfrif	Nant Bychan	single holding	51308558
939	Newborough	borough	borough	Newborough	town	42406566
97	Owain	gwely	free	Prys Owain Fawr?	single holding	39648258
782	Owain ap Cadrodd	gwely		Prys Owain Bach	single holding	39808295
864	Penbol	tref		Penbol	single holding	40808805
913	Penhesgyn	episcopal tref	free, tir gwelyog	Penhesgyn Isaf	single holding	53847424

index	settlement name	settlement status	tenure code	present name	present status	NGRSH
877	Penhwnllys	tref	free	Penhwnllys Plas	single holding	59708070
900	Penman	monastic tref		Penman Priory	nucleated cluster	63048072
889	Penmynydd	monastic tref	free, ehurch	Penmynydd	scattered cluster	50907450
870	Penmynydd Mwyn	episcopal hamlet	tir gwelyog	Mynydd Mwyn Mawr	single holding	24848230
861	Penrhos	tref	maerdref	Penrhos Llugwy	parish (church)	48068592
496	Penrhyn	tref		Penrhyn Isaf	single holding	34176802
899	Pentir	monastic hamlet		Pentir	single holding	62548104
880	Pentraeth	tref		Pentraeth	village	52367844
891	Porthaethwy	tref	free, tir cyfrif	Porthaethwy	town	55667160
933	Porthamel	tref	free	Porthamel	hotel, farm	50646796
919	Pwllgwyngyll	episcopal tref	free, tir gwelyog	Llanfaipwllgwyngyll	town	53307180
925	Rhandirgadog	tref	free	Hendre Gadog	small cluster	24066998
784	Rhodogeidio	hamlet		Ceidio	single holding	40958565
145	Rhosbeirio	hamlet	church	Rhosbeirio	single holding	39209130
937	Rhoscolyn	tref	free	Rhoscolyn	nucleated cluster	26807558
832	Rhoscolyn	tref	free, tir cyfrif	Rhoscolyn	small cluster	26807570
800	Rhosmor	tref	tir gwelyog	Rhosmor	single holding	33827118
852	Rhosmynach	tref	tir cyfrif	Rhosmynach Fawr	single holding	48109114
938	Rhosyr	maerdref	maerdref	Cae Llys	field, site of Llys Rhosyr	41926538
242	Rhydwygyr	hamlet		Rhyd y Gwyr	single holding	41509130
493	Tal y Llyn	episcopal tref	free, tir gwelyog	Tal Y Lyn	single holding	36667339
528	Tre Feibion Meurig	tref	tir gwelyog	Treban Meurig	single holding	36727708
99	Tre'r Ddol	gwely	avowry	Tre'r Ddol	single holding	39128114
951	Tre'r Dryw	clas tref		Tre Dryw	single holding	46886734
789	Tre'r Gof	hamlet	tir gwelyog	Tre'r Gof	single holding	36259318
790	Treberfedd	hamlet	tir cyfrif	Treberfedd	single holding	36606739
791	Trecastell	hamlet	maerdref	Trecastell	single holding	33457065

index	settlement name	settlement status	tenure code	present name	present status	NGRSH
312	Trecastell	tref	free	Trecastell	single holding, estate	61007500
506	Treddolphin	hamlet	tir gwelyog	Treddolphin	single holding	36947588
1020	tref	episcopal tref	free	Gwalchmai Isaf	nucleated village	38657635
510	Tref leuan ap Iddon	tref		Tre !fan	housing estate	30687860
815	Trefadog	tref	free	Trefadog	single holding	29308610
793	Trefangharad	hamlet		Tre-Angharad	small cluster	33657940
934	Trefarthen	tref	free	Plas Trefarthen	single holding	48266610
516	Trefddisteiniaid	tref	free	Trefdraeth	nucleated cluster	40657028
812	Trefednyfed	tref	free	Pant Ednyfed	single holding	30758600
936	Trefeibion Pyll	tref	tir gwelyog	Ty'n Pwll	small cluster	43926842
924	Treferwydd	tref	tir gwelyog	Treferwydd	single holding	46167010
908	Treffos	episcopal maerdref	maerdref	Treffos	single holding	54607542
794	Trefiddon	hamlet		Treiddon	single holding	37357068
926	Trefioseth	tref	free	Treaserth	small cluster	44366876
504	Treflesg	episcopal tref	tir gwelyog	Treflesg	single holding	30507722
945	Trefnant	tref		Trefnant Wen	single holding	49607126
929	Trefollwyn	tref	free	Trefollwyn	single holding	45067784
886	Trefor Bwll	tref		Hendrefor	single holding	54907698
920	Treforwen	episcopal tref	free	TreforWen	single holding	54307760
523	Trefowen	tref		Prys Owain Bach	single holding	39808295
888	Trefraint	tref	free	Brain!	small cluster	12957328
795	Trefriw	hamlet	tir cyfrif	Trefri	single holding	36726686
515	Trefwastrodion	tref	free	Trefdraeth	nucleated cluster	40657028
941	Tregaean	hamlet	free	Tregaian	small nucleation	45167972
370	Tregarnedd	tref	free	Tregarnedd Fawr	single holding	47367518
22	Tregornor (called Bodeon), Conws	hamlet		Trecornor	deserted	37206720
501	Treiorwerth	tref		Treiorwerth	single holding	35458010

index	settlement name	settlement status	tenure code	present name	present status	NGRSH
813	Trelywarch	tref		Trelywarch	single holding	30358470
833	Tremoelgoch	monastic hamlet		Tremoelgoch Bach	single holding	33728350
798	Treriffri	hamlet		Treriffri	single holding	38108150
811	Treruffydd	hamlet	tir gwelyog	Treruffydd	single holding	35347274
940	Tresgawen	hamlet	free	Tre-ysgawen	single holding, estate	45018110
35	Trewalchmai	hamlet		Gwalchmai Isaf	nucleated village	38657635
872	Trewyn	episcopal tref		Tre-wyn	single holding	45448506
863	Trogog	hamlet		Trogog Isaf	single holding	42249240
850	Trysglwyn	tref	free	Trysglwyn Fawr	single holding	43968960
879	Twrgarw	tref	free	Twr Garw	small cluster	60267980
236	Twrllachied a	gwely	tir gwelyog	Twrllachiad	single holding	47069030
237	Twrllachied b	gwely	tir gwelyog	Twrllachiad	single holding	47069030
836	Ucheldre	monastic hamlet		Ucheldref Goed	single holding	34848794
905	Ucheldref	tref		Ucheldref	single holding	55547720
875	Y Dafarn	episcopal tref	tir gwelyog	Bwlch y Dafarn	single holding	49188558
856	Ynys Gnud	tref	free	Ynys Fawr	single holding	44468296
808	Yr Arw	hamlet		Erw Fawr	single holding	31348196
503	Ysbylldir	hamlet	free	Ysbylldir	small cluster	31287929
922	Ysceifiog	tref	free, tir gwelyog	Llanfihangel church	ruin	47867340
810	Ysgellog	hamlet		Ysgellog	single holding	41169150

## table 6. mills and settlement associations

commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy township Iorwerth Fychan Cefn Coch	Bodynwy	hamlet status	gwely	index	317
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy township Bodynwy (land b) Cefn Coch	Bodynwy	hamlet status	land	index	318
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy township Bodynwy Cefn Coch	Bodynwy	hamlet status	tref	index	881
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy township Bodynwy (land a) Cefn Coch	Bodynwy	hamlet status	land	index	488
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy township Adda ap lorwerth Benllech, Cefn Coch	Castell Bwlchgwyn	hamlet status	gwely	index	329
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy township Dafydd ap Gwion Castell Bwlchgwyn	Castell Bwlchgwyn	hamlet status	gwely	index	326
eommote settlement mill	Dindaethwy township Heilin ap Gwion Castell Bwlchgwyn	Castell Bwlchgwyn	hamlet status	gwely	index	327
eommote settlement mill	Dindaethwy township Castell Bwlchgwyn Castell Bwlchgwyn, Benllech	Castell Bwlchgwyn	hamlet status	tref	index	883
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy township Dafydd Prydydd Cefn Coch	Castellior	hamlet status	gwely	index	344
eommote settlement mill	Dindaethwy township lorwerth Fychan and Einion Cefn Coch	Castellior Mon	hamlet status	gwely	index	347
eommote settlement mill	Dindaethwy township Dafydd ap Tegwared Cefn Coch	Castellior	hamlet status	gwely	index	345
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy township Goronwy ap lago and Llywe Cefn Coch	Castellior llyn Llwyd	hamlet status	gwely	index	343
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy township Mab Cadwgan Cefn Coch	Castellior	hamlet status	gwely	index	346

commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Einion ap Gwale Einion	township chmai	Castellior	hamlet status	gwely	index	342
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Castellior Einion, Cefn Co	township	Castellior	hamlet status	tref	index	887
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Cerrig Gwyddel Cefn Coch	township (land a)	Cerrig Gwyddel	hamlet status	land	index	325
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Cerrig Gwyddel Einion	township (land b)	Cerrig Gwyddel	hamlet status	land	index	324
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Cerrig Gwyddyl Melin Einion, Ce	township	Cerrig Gwyddyl rever he wishes	hamlet status	tref	index	882
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Cerrigtegfan Melin Bach	township	Cerrigtegfan	hamlet status	tref	index	893
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Dafydd ap Mabo Melin Bach (own		Cerrigtegfan	hamlet status	gwely	index	359
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Cefn Coch Cefn Coch	township	Crymlyn	hamlet status	hamlet	index	758
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Crymlyn Cefn Coch	township	Crymlyn	hamlet status	tref	index	356
eommote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Dinsylwy Rys b Llanfaes	township	Dinsylwy Rys	hamlet status	tref (0.5)	index	310
eommote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Dinsylwy Rys a Trecastell	township	Dinsylwy Rys	hamlet status	tref (0.5)	index	309
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Dinsylwy Rys Trecastell, Llanfa	township	Dinsylwy Rys	hamlet status	tref	index	876
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy larddur Rolwa	township	Llanddyfnan	hamlet status	gwely	index	332
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Goridyr Rolwa, Menyt	township	Llanddyfnan	hamlet status	gwely	index	331

commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Llanddyfnan Rolwa, Menyt,	township	Llanddyfr	nan	hamlet status	tref	index	884
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Llanfaes Llanfaes	township	Llanfaes		hamlet status	maerdref	index	360
eommote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Dogfael Benllech	township	Mathafarn	Eithaf	hamlet status	gwely	index	334
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Cadewer Benllech	township	Mathafarn	Eithaf	hamlet status	gwely	index	340
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Adda Goch Benllech	township	Mathafarn	Eithaf	hamlet status	gwely	index	339
eommote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Elenew Benllech	township	Mathafarn	Eithaf	hamlet status	gwely	index	338
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Tegeryn Benllech	township	Mathafarn	Eithaf	hamlet status	gwely	index	337
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Mathafarn Eitha Benllech	township	Mathafarn	Eithaf	hamlet status	tref	index	885
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Hoedliw Benllech	township	Mathafarn	Eithaf	hamlet status	gwely	index	335
eommote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Ardderch Benllech	township	Mathafarn	Eithaf	hamlet status	gwely	index	333
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Gillabride Benllech	township	Mathafarn	Eithaf	hamlet status	gwely	index	336
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Gwion Fychan Einion	township	Mathafarn	Wion	hamlet status	gwely	index	1061
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Madog ap Gwior Glew	township n	Mathafarn	Wion	hamlet status	gwely	index	1062
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Ednywain Glew	township	Mathafarn	Wion	hamlet status	gwely	index	1063

commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy township Goronwy ap Gwion Glew	Mathafarn Wion	hamlet status	gwely	index	1059
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy township Einion ap Gwion Glew, Einion ap Gwion	Mathafarn Wion	hamlet status	gwely	index	1060
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy township Mathafarn Wion Glew, Einion ap ( wion, Ein	Mathafarn Wion	hamlet status	tref	index	1058
eommote settlement mill	Dindaethwy township Tudur ap Madog Tudur	Penhwnllys	hamlet status	gwely	index	311
eommote settlement mill	Dindaethwy township Penhwnllys Tudur	Penhwnllys	hamlet status	tref	index	877
eommote settlement mill	Dindaethwy township Penmynydd a Braint	Penmynydd	hamlet status	tref (half)	index	351
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy township Penmynydd Trefraint	Penmynydd	hamlet status	monastic tref	index	889
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy ownship  Mor ap Bayre  free to mill wherever they w	Pentraeth	hamlet status	gwely	index	316
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy ownship Geraint ap Tegwared Geraint	Pentraeth	hamlet status	gwely	index	314
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy township Pentraeth Geraint, Urien Madog, free to	Pentraeth  o mill wherever they wish	hamlet status	tref	index	880
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy township Madog ap Meilir Urien Madog	Pentraeth	hamlet status	gwely	index	315
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy township Porthaethwy (land) Cefn Coch	Porthaethwy	hamlet status	gafael (0.5)	index	355
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy township Dafydd ap Mabon Melin Bach (own mill)	Porthaethwy	hamlet status	gwely	index	354
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy township Porthaethwy Melin Bach, Cefn Coch	Porthaethwy	hamlet status	tref	index	891

commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Wyrion ap Cyr Braint	township nddelw	Tre Fraint	hamlet status	gwely	index	
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Wyrion Iarddu Braint	township	Tre Fraint	hamlet status	gwely	index	
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Trefor Bwll Braint	township	Trefor Bwll	hamlet status	tref	index	
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Iorwerth ap Cy Braint	township ynddelw	Trefor Bwll	hamlet status	gwely	index	
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Trefraint Braint	township	Trefraint	hamlet status	tref	index	
commote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Twrgarw Tudur	township	Twrgarw	hamlet status	tref	index	
eommote settlement mill	Dindaethwy Tudur ap Mado Tudur	township og	Twrgarw	hamlet status	gwely	index	
commote settlement mill	Llifon Gwely Bodorfa Tre Feibion Ma			hamlet status	Bodorfach gwely	index	
commote settlement mill	Llifon Bodorfach Tre Feibion Ma	township		hamlet status	hamlet	index	
commote settlement mill	Llifon Madog ap Owa Clefiog	township ain	Bodlew	hamlet status	gwely	index	
commote settlement mill	Llifon Philip ap Owaii Cleifiog	township n	Bodlew	hamlet status	gwely	index	
commote settlement mill	Llifon Llywelyn ap Ov Cleifiog	township wain	Bodlew	hamlet status	gwely	index	
commote settlement mill	Llifon Bodlew Cleifiog	township	Bodlew	hamlet status	tref	index	
commote settlement mill	Llifon Bodynolwyn (la Cymunod (own		Bodynolwyn	hamlet status	land	index	

commote settlement mill	Llifon Bodynolwyn (lan Cymunod (share		Bodynolwyn	hamlet status	land	index	1057
commote settlement mill	Llifon Bodynolwyn (lan Cymunod (share		Bodynolwyn	hamlet status	land	index	116
commote settlement mill	Llifon Meurig ap Dafyd Din Dryfwl	township Id	Bodynolwyn	hamlet status	gwely	index	110
commote settlement mill	Llifon Dafydd ap leuan Din Dryfwl	township Felyn	Bodynolwyn	hamlet status	gwely	index	114
commote settlement mill	Llifon Madog ap Barth Din Dryfwl	township	Bodynolwyn	hamlet status	gwely	index	108
commote settlement mill	Llifon Madog ap Gwr M Din Dryfwl	township loel	Bodynolwyn	hamlet status	gwely	index	111
eommote settlement mill	Llifon Adda Ddu Din Dryfwl	township	Bodynolwyn	hamlet status	gwely	index	112
commote settlement mill	Llifon Adda Eurych Din Dryfwl	township	Bodynolwyn	hamlet status	gwely	index	107
commote settlement mill	Llifon Madog ap leuan Din Dryfwl	township	Bodynolwyn	hamlet status	gwely	index	113
commote settlement mill	Llifon Cennyn ap Saer Din Dryfwl	township	Bodynolwyn	hamlet status	gwely	index	109
commote settlement mill	Llifon Bodynolwyn Din Dryfwl, Cym	township	Bodynolwyn	hamlet status	tref	index	529
commote settlement mill	Llifon Wyrion lago Einion (own mill	township	Chwaen	hamlet status	gwely	index	93
commote settlement mill	Llifon Chwaen Einion, Hywel ap	township Rhys	Chwaen	hamlet status	tref	index	526
commote settlement mill	Llifon Gwas Deiniol Hywel ap Rhys (d	township	Chwaen	hamlet status	gwely	index	94

eommote settlement mill	Llifon Waiter Cleifiog	township	Clefiog	hamlet status	gwely	index	87
eommote settlement mill	Llifon Einion ap Rhod Cleifiog	township Iri	Clefiog	hamlet status	gwely	index	83
eommote settlement mill	Llifon Gougy Cleifiog	township	Clefiog	hamlet status	gwely	index	86
eommote settlement mill	Llifon Efream Cleifiog	township	Clefiog	hamlet status	gwely	index	85
eommote settlement mill	Llifon Cleifiog Cleifiog	township	Clefiog	hamlet status	tref	index	524
eommote settlement mill	Llifon leuan ap Hwfa Caergybi, Owair	township n, Tundir	Conysiog	hamlet status	gwely	index	69
commote settlement mill	Llifon Methusalem ap Clegyr Gwynior		Conysiog	hamlet status	gwely	index	67
commote settlement mill	Llifon Conysiog Clegyr Gwynior	township n, Herghlith, C	Conysiog Caergybi, Owain, Tundir, Ddrudwy, Dindr	hamlet status yfwl	tref	index	522
eommote settlement mill	Llifon Cyfnerth ap Hw Conysiog (0.5)	township fa	Conysiog	hamlet status	gwely	index	68
commote settlement mill	Llifon Iorwerth ap Hwf Cymunod (own		Conysiog status yy (1/14)	hamlet gwely		index	70
commote settlement mill	Llifon Bledrws ap Hwf Tundir	township fa	Conysiog	hamlet status	gwely	index	71
commote settlement mill	Llifon Owain Gaffrogwy	township	Eirianell	hamlet status	gwely	index	97
commote settlement mill	Llifon lorwerth ap leua lorwerth	township an	Eirianell	hamlet status	gwely	index	96
commote settlement mill	Llifon Eirianell Iorwerth, Gaffro	township ogwy, Owain	Eirianell	hamlet status	tref	index	527

commote settlement mill	Llifon Iorch Owain	township	Eirianell	hamlet status	gwely	index	98
commote settlement mill	Llifon Llanllibio Llanllibio	township	Llanllibio	hamlet status	tref	index	530
commote settlement mill	Llifon unknown (Tre Tre Feibion M		Tre Feibion Meurig	hamlet status	hamlet	index	106
eommote settlement mill	Llifon Elidir ap Bledo Tre Feibion M	-	Tre Feibion Meurig	hamlet status	gwely	index	105
commote settlement mill	Llifon Moel Faenol Tre Feibion Me	township	Tre Feibion Meurig	hamlet status	gwely	index	104
commote settlement mill	Llifon Mab Gwrfyw Tre Feibion Me	township	Tre Feibion Meurig	hamlet status	gwely	index	103
eommote settlement mill	Llifon Pederannuel Tre Feibion Me	township	Tre Feibion Meurig	hamlet status	gwely	index	102
commote settlement mill	Llifon Tre Feibion Me Treban	township eurig	Tre Feibion Meurig	hamlet status	tref	index	528
commote settlement mill	Llifon Owain ap Cadr Rhodogeidio	township odd	Trefowen	hamlet status	gwely	index	782
eommote settlement mill	Llifon Trefowen Rhodogeidio	township	Trefowen	hamlet status	tref	index	523
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth Goronwy ap G Aberffraw	township rufydd and G	Aberffraw ledwyn	hamlet status	Garthau garden	index	61
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth Garthnyfel Aberffraw	township	Aberffraw	hamlet status	Garthau garden	index	56
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth Treberfedd Aberffraw	township	Aberffraw	hamlet status	hamlet	index	790
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth Cefntreffraw Aberffraw	township	Aberffraw	hamlet status	hamlet	index	47

commote	Malltraeth	township	Aberffraw	hamlet		index	44
settlement	Saer			status	gafael		
mill	Aberffraw				3		
eommote	Malltraeth	township	Aberffraw	hamlet		index	43
settlement	Trefwaspadrig			status	gwely		
mill	Aberffraw						
	<b>8.6</b> Hz - zi		A1 . "		0 11		50
commote	Malltraeth	township	Aberffraw	hamlet	Garthau	index	53
settlement	Madog ap Einior	n		status	garden		
mill	Aberffraw						
commote	Malltraeth	township	Aberffraw	hamlet		index	42
settlement	Bodfeurig	·		status	gwely		
mill	Aberffraw				3 - 7		
	, iboliliaw						
eommote	Malltraeth	township	Aberffraw	hamlet		index	41
settlement	Simond			status	gwely		
mill	Aberffraw						
commote	Malltraeth	township	Aberffraw	hamlet		index	40
		township	Abelliaw		gwoly	IIIU <del>C</del> X	40
settlement	Porthorion			status	gwely		
mill	Aberffraw						
commote	Malltraeth	township	Aberffraw	hamlet		index	795
settlement	Trefriw			status	hamlet		
mill	Aberffraw						
	NA - Uto th	Carronalida	All auffrage	la a salat	O a retta a co	Section	
eommote	Malltraeth	township	Aberffraw	hamlet	Garthau	index	55
ettlement	leuan Ddu Bach			status	garden (1.5)		
mill	Aberffraw						
eommote	Malltraeth	township	Aberffraw	hamlet	Garthau	index	54
settlement	Dafydd ap Madyr	•		status	garden (1.5)		
mill	Aberffraw				- ' '		
	NA-III		Aboutton	h = 1 :	O antha a	to do	
eommote		township	Aberffraw	hamlet	Garthau	index	57
settlement	Madog ap lorwer	rth Ddu		status	garden		
mill	Aberffraw						
commote	Malltraeth	township	Aberffraw	hamlet	Garthau	index	58
settlement	Tegwared Goch	•		status	garden		
nill	Aberffraw				S		
	NA-Hon- O		Aboutton	h a set of	O = #th =	Seedow.	50
commote		township	Aberffraw	hamlet	Garthau	index	59
ettlement	Iorwerth Ddu ap	iviadog		status	garden		
mill	Aberffraw						
ommote	Malltraeth	township	Aberffraw	hamlet	Garthau	index	60
ettlement	Bollagh	•		status	garden		
nill	Aberffraw				-		
	NA-III d	tarra 12	Aboutfores	har Li		to do	707
commote		township	Aberffraw	hamlet	la contact	index	767
ettlement	Dinllwydan			status	hamlet		
nill	Aberffraw						

commote settlement mill	Malltraeth Gardd Palmer Aberffraw	township	Aberffraw	hamlet status	Garthau garden	index	62
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth Madog ap leuan Aberffraw	township Fychan	Aberffraw	hamlet status	Garthau garden (2)	index	770
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth Garthau Aberffraw	township	Aberffraw	hamlet status	hamlet	index	52
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth Aberffraw Aberffraw, y Bon	township it, y Traeth	Aberffraw	hamlet status	tref	index	520
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth Trecastell Y Bont	township	Aberffraw	hamlet status	hamlet	index	791
eommote settlement mill	Malltraeth Maerdref Y Bont, Y Traeth	township	Aberffraw	hamlet status	hamlet	index	780
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth Conws Y Traeth	township	Bodeon	hamlet status	Tregornor gwely	index	797
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth Tregornor Y Traeth	township	Bodeon	hamlet status	hamlet	index	22
eommote settlement mill	Malltraeth Bodffordd (land) Bodffordd	township	Bodffordd	hamlet status	land	index	511
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth Bodffordd Bodffordd	township	Bodffordd	hamlet status	tref (lay and episco	index opal)	1054
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth Ddrudwy Ddrudwy	township	Dindryfwl	hamlet status	hamlet	index	34
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth Dindryfwl Din Dryfwl, Ddrud	township dwy, Trewald	Dindryfwl	hamlet status	tref	index	519
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth Cerrigcafael (Gwa Dindryfwl	township as Deiniolap	Dindryfwl Goronwy)	hamlet status	hamlet	index	29
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth Ithel ap Duran Dindryfwl	township	Dindryfwl	hamlet status	gwely	ndex	25

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commote settlement mill	Malltraeth township Tegwared ap Madog Dindryfwl	Dindryfwl	hamlet Q status 9 ael index
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth township Gwas Deiniol ap Goronwy Dindryfwl	Dindryfwl	hamlet status errigcafael index Wely
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth township Gwion ap William Dindryfwl	Dindryfwl	hamlet index gwely
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth township Ednywain ap Cynwrig Dindryfwl	Dindryfwl	hamlet index 9Wely
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth township Pyll ap Duran Dindryfwl	Dindryfwl	hamlet index 9Wely
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth township Cynwrig ap Duran Dindryfwl	Dindryfwl	hamlet index gwely
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth township Cyndelw ap Duran Dindryfwl	Dindryfwl	hamlet index gwely
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth township Grugor Dindryfwl, own mill outside	Dindryfwl commote	hamlet index status hamlet
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth township Gwenllian daughter of Edn own mill outside commote	Dindryfwl yfed	hamlet Grugor index status gafael
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth township Gwenllian daughter of Edny own mill outside commote	Dindryfwl yfed	hamlet Grugor index status gafael
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth township Llywelyn Gam Trewalchmai	Dindryfwl	hamlet Trewalchmai index status gafael (0.5)
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth township Meilir ap Gwalchmai Trewalchmai	Dindryfwl	hamlet <sub>Trewalchmai index</sub> 80 status <sub>gwely</sub>
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth township Trewalchmai Trewalchmai	Dindryfwl	hamlet index 3 status hamlet
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth township Dafydd ap Gwalchmai Trewalchmai	Dindryfwl	harnlet Trewalchmai index 3 status gwely

commote settlement mill	Malltraeth township Elidir ap Gwalchmai Trewalchmai	Dindryfwl	hamlet Tres'''Valchmai index
eommote settlement mill	Malltraeth township Eglwys Ail free to mill in own houses	EglwysAil	hamlet index status cls tref
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth township Ithel ap Tanharn own houses	Eglwys Ail	hamlet index status onastic gwely
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth township Heneglwys Dindryfwl	Heneglwys	hamlet index status 't::r-ef
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth township Iddon ap Itgwon Dindryfwl	Heneglwys	hamlet index status 9Wely
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth township Ufelfyw ap Itgwon Dindryfwl	Heneglwys	hamlet index status 9Wely
eommote settlement mill	Malltraeth township Trahaearn ap Itgwon Dindryfwl	Heneglwys	hamlet index status gwely
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth township Bodwina Gwalchmai	Heneglwys	hamlet index status hamlet
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth township Lledwigan Llan Carreglwyd (derelict)	Lledwigan Llan	hamlet index 5 status tref
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth township Bodpenwyn Dindryfwl	Lledwigan Llys	hamlet index 7 status hamlet
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth township Lledwigan Llys Fechan, Cerriceinwen, Din	Lledwigan Llys dryfwl	harnlet index 53 status tref
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth township Einion ap Gwalchmai Melin Fechan, Melin Cerrig	Lledwigan Llys g Ceinwen	hamlet index status gwely
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth township Llywarch ap larnan Y Bont	Rhosmor	hannlet index 6 status gwely
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth township Rhosmor y Bont, y Traeth	Rhosmor	harnlet index 80 status tref

commote settlement mill	Malltraeth Treruffydd y Traeth	township	Rhosmor	hamle status		index
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth Wyrion Dafydd Y Traeth	township	Rhosmor	hamle status	Ireruttydd	index
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth Wyrion Seithian Y Traeth	township	Rhosmor	hamlet status	Treruffydd	index
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth Wyrion Einion ap Gwna	township p Gwalchmai	Trefddisteiniaid	hamlet status	rt 9\1\fely	index
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth Bryndewin Gwna	township	Trefddisteiniaid	hamlet status	et hamlet	index
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth Trefddisteiniaid Gwna	township	Trefddisteiniaid	hamlet status	tref	index
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth Tudur ap Itgwon Gwna(.3)	township 1	Trefddisteiniaid	hamlet status	t gwely	index
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth Hywel ap Tudur Dindryfwl	township	Trefwastrodion	hamlet status	gwely	index
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth Einion Fras Dindryfwl	township	Trefwastrodion	hamlet status	gwely	index
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth Bleddyn Goeg Dindryfwl	township	Trefwastrodion	hamlet status	gwely	index
eommote settlement mill	Malltraeth Gwalchyddion Dindryfwl	township	Trefwastrodion	hamlet status	gwely	index
commote		·	Trefwastrodion	hamlet		
settlement mill	Cynwrig ap Tegw Fechan	/ared		status	gwely	index
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth Trefwastrodion Fechan, Dindryfw	·	Trefwastrodion	hamlet status	tref	index 51
commote settlement mill	Malltraeth Einion ap Issac Gwalchmai	township	Trefwastrodion	hamlet status	i gwely	index 1

commote settlement mill	Malltraeth Meilir ap Gwalch Trewalchmai	township nmai	Trefwastrodion	hamlet status	9wery	index	K
commote settlement mill	Menai Bodrida Rhosyr	township	Bodrida	hamlet status	tret	index	
commote settlement mill	Menai Rhys ap Dafydd Rhosyr	township	Bodrida	hamlet status	gwely	index	
commote settlement mill	Menai Griffri Chwith Newydd	township	Carnan	hamlet status	gweJy	index	
commote settlement mill	Menai Carnan Uchaf Newydd	township	Carnan Uchaf	hamlet status	tref	index	
eommote settlement mill	Menai Cerrigdewi none	township	Cerrigdewi	hamlet status	tref	index	
commote settlement mill	Menai Dinam Rhosyr	township	Dinam	hamlet status	tret	index	
commote settlement mill	Menai Hirdrefaig Hirdrefaig	township	Hirdrefaig	hamlet status	hamlet	index	3
commote settlement mill	Menai Hirdrefaig Iord's mill in this	township s tref	Hirdrefaig	hamlet status	tret	index	9
commote settlement mill	Menai Mysoglen Rhosyr	township	Mysoglen	hamlet status	tref	index	9
commote settlement mill	Menai Tudur Foel Rhosyr	township	Mysoglen	hannlet status	gwely	index	39
commote settlement mill	Menai Ithel ap Dafydd Rhosyr	township	Mysoglen	hannlet status	gwely	index	39
commote settlement mill	Menai Y Coch Rhosyr	township	Mysoglen	hannlet status g	jwely	index	391
commote settlement mill	Menai Symond ap Gyln Newydd	township mot	Rhandirgadog	hamlet status gv	wely	index	381

commote settlement mill	Menai Rhandirgadog Newydd	township	Rhandirgadog	hamlet status	tref	index	925
commote settlement mill	Menai leuan Goch Rhosyr	township	Rhosyr	hamlet status	gafael (0.5)	index	421
commote settlement mill	Menai Madog ap Mori Rhosyr	township ddig	Rhosyr	hamlet status	gafael	index	414
commote settlement mill	Menai Cadwgan ap Go Rhosyr	township pronwy	Rhosyr	hamlet status	gafael (1.5)	index	415
commote settlement mill	Menai Adda ap Thoma Rhosyr	township as	Rhosyr	hamlet status	gafael (0.5)	index	416
eommote settlement mill	Menai Rhosyr (land) Rhosyr	township	Rhosyr	hamlet status	gafael (0.5)	index	417
eommote settlement mill	Menai Porthwysion Rhosyr	township	Rhosyr	hamlet status	gafael	index	418
eommote settlement mill	Menai Meudwy Rhosyr	township	Rhosyr	hamlet status	gafael	index	420
eommote settlement mill	Menai Cernestrens Rhosyr	township	Rhosyr	hamlet status	gardd	index	441
commote settlement mill	Menai Mab Bol Rhosyr	township	Rhosyr	hamlet status	gardd	index	440
commote settlement mill	Menai Adda Ddu Rhosyr	township	Rhosyr	hamlet status	gardd	index	429
commote settlement mill	Menai Philip Mon Rhosyr	township	Rhosyr	hamlet status	gafael	index	428
commote settlement mill	Menai Garddwr Rhosyr	township	Rhosyr	hamlet status	land	index	427
eommote settlement mill	Menai Gwas Dewi Rhosyr	township	Rhosyr	hamlet status	land	index	426

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commote settlement mill	Menai Dafydd ap Ithel Rhosyr	township ap leuan	Rhosyr	hamlet status	land	index	425
commote settlement mill	Menai Porthorion Rhosyr	township	Rhosyr	hamlet status	gafael	index	419
commote settlement mill	Menai Werke Rhosyr	township	Rhosyr	hamlet status	gardd	index	432
commote settlement mill	Menai Moriddig ap Ma Rhosyr	township ath	Rhosyr	hamlet status	gardd	index	435
commote settlement mill	Menai Efa Felyn Rhosyr	township	Rhosyr	hamlet status	gardd	index	436
commote settlement mill	Menai Tegwared Cals Rhosyr	township	Rhosyr	hamlet status	gardd	index	437
commote settlement mill	Menai Dolbenmaen Rhosyr	township	Rhosyr	hamlet status	gardd	index	434
eommote settlement mill	Menai Madyn Trwyn Rhosyr	township	Rhosyr	hamlet status	land	index	424
commote settlement mill	Menai Dafydd ap Tegv Rhosyr	township vared	Rhosyr	hamlet status	gafael	index	413
commote settlement mill	Menai Rhosyr Rhosyr	township	Rhosyr	hamlet status	maerdref	index	938
commote settlement mill	Menai maerdref Rhosyr	township	Rhosyr	hamlet status	gafael (12.5)	index	412
commote settlement mill	Menai Adda Chwith Rhosyr	township	Rhosyr	hamlet status	gardd	index	431
commote settlement mill	Menai Efa Ffol Rhosyr	township	Rhosyr	hamlet status	gardd	index	430
commote settlement mill	Menai Madyn ap Meily Rhosyr	township r	Rhosyr	hamlet status	land	index	423

commote settlement mill	Menai Madog Moch Rhosyr	township	Rhosyr	hamlet status	gafael (0.5)	index	422
commote settlement mill	Menai Swyddwr Rhosyr	township	Rhosyr	hamlet status	gardd	index	438
commote settlement mill	Menai Bondes Rhosyr	township	Rhosyr	hamlet status	gardd	index	439
commote settlement mill	Menai leuan Crythwr Rhosyr	township	Rhosyr	hamlet status	gardd	index	433
commote settlement mill	Menai Trefeibion Pyll Rhosyr	township	Trefeibion Pyll	hamlet status	tref	index	936
commote settlement mill	Menai Idnerth Rhosyr	township	Trefeibion Pyll	hamlet status	gwely	index	407
commote settlement mill	Menai Brochwel Rhosyr	township	Trefeibion Pyll	hamlet status	gwely	index	406
commote settlement mill	Menai Llywarch ap Me Newydd	township rwydd	Treferwydd	hamlet status	gwely	index	379
commote settlement mill	Menai Treferwydd Newydd	township	Treferwydd	hamlet status	tref	index	924
commote settlement mill	Menai Madog ap Merw Newydd	township ydd	Treferwydd	hamlet status	gwely	index	377
commote settlement mill	Menai Iorwerth ap Mer Newydd	township wydd	Treferwydd	hamlet status	gwely	index	378
eommote settlement mill	Menai Gwas Sanffraid Newydd	township	Treferwydd	hamlet status	gwely	index	380
commote settlement mill	Menai Dafydd ap Iorwe Rhosyr	township erth	Trefioseth	hamlet status	gwely	index	383
commote settlement mill	Menai Dafydd ap Wyn Rhosyr	township ap Dafydd	Trefioseth	hamlet status	gwely	index	382

commote settlement mill	Menai Trefioseth Rhosyr	township	Trefioseth	hamlet status	tref	index	926
commote settlement mill	Menai Carwed Rhosyr	township	Tregarwed	hamlet status	gwely	index	405
commote settlement mill	Menai Meibion Gof Rhosyr	township	Tregarwed	hamlet status	gwely	index	404
commote settlement mill	Menai Meibion Mael Rhosyr	township	Tregarwed	hamlet status	gwely	index	403
commote settlement mill	Menai Tregarwed Rhosyr	township	Tregarwed	hamlet status	tref	index	935
commote settlement mill	Menai Keffor Hirdrefaig	township	Ysceifiog	hamlet status	gwely (0.5)	index	369
commote settlement mill	Menai Ysceifiog Hirdrefaig	township	Ysceifiog	hamlet status	tref	index	922
commote settlement mill	Menai Hywel Foel Ddu Hirdrefaig	township	Ysceifiog	hamlet status	Gaerwen gwely	index	365
commote settlement mill	Menai Rhys ap lorwert Hirdrefaig	township h	Ysceifiog	hamlet status	gwely	index	366
eommote settlement mill	Menai Gaerwen Hirdrefaig	township	Ysceifiog	hamlet status	hamlet	index	768
commote settlement mill	Menai Tudur ap Snegh Hirdrefaig	township t	Ysceifiog	hamlet status	gwely	index	367
commote settlement mill	Menai Blourduy Hirdrefaig	township	Ysceifiog	hamlet status	gwely	index	368
commote settlement mill	Talybolion Gyll ap Prydydd Aberalaw	township ap Goridir	Aberalaw	hamlet status	gwely	index	154
commote settlement mill	Talybolion Bledrws ap Gori Aberalaw	township dir	Aberalaw	hamlet status	gwely	index	151

commote settlement mill	Talybolion Hoedliw ap Gor Aberalaw	township idir	Aberalaw	hamlet status	gwely	index	152
commote settlement mill	Talybolion Mab Porth Aberalaw	township	Aberalaw	hamlet status	gwely	index	155
eommote settlement mill	Talybolion Rhys ap Goridir Aberalaw	township	Aberalaw	hamlet status	gwely	index	153
commote settlement mill	Talybolion Aberalaw Aberalaw, Corny	township vy	Aberalaw	hamlet status	tref	index	819
commote settlement mill	Talybolion Aberalaw (land) Cornwy	township	Aberalaw	hamlet status	land	index	150
eommote settlement mill	Talybolion Alaw'r Beirdd mill of free men	township of Alaw	Alaw'r Beirdd	hamlet status	tref	index	825
commote settlement mill	Talybolion Cyfnerth ap Barr suit to mill of fre		Alaw'r Beirdd w	hamlet status	gwely	index	188
commote settlement mill	Talybolion Morudd suit to mill of fre	township e men of Ala	Alaw'r Beirdd w	hamlet status	gwely	index	187
commote settlement mill	Talybolion Bodfardden Alaw	township	Bodfardden	hamlet status	tref	index	824
commote settlement mill	Talybolion Bodfardden (lan Alaw (share)	township d)	Bodfardden	hamlet status	land	index	186
commote settlement mill	Talybolion Elidir Llwyd Bodronyn	township	Bodronyn	hamlet status	gwely	index	183
commote settlement mill	Talybolion Penfras Bodronyn	township	Bodronyn	hamlet status	gwely	index	185
commote settlement mill	Talybolion Adda ap Tegward Bodronyn	township ed	Bodronyn	hamlet status	gwely	index	184
commote settlement mill	Talybolion Bodronyn lord prince's mill	township in this tref	Bodronyn	hamlet status	tref	index	823

commote settlement mill	Talybolion township lorwerth ap Einion Botan (share)	Botan	hamlet status	gwely	index	133
eommote settlement mill	Talybolion township Meredydd ap Einion Botan (share)	Botan	hamlet status	gwely	index	131
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Dafydd ap Einion Botan (share)	Botan	hamlet status	gwely	index	132
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Botan Melin Botan	Botan	hamlet status	tref	index	844
eommote settlement mill	Talybolion township Llanddygfael (Gwion ap Daf Bodronyn	Caerdegog ydd)	hamlet status	hamlet	index	162
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Gwion ap Dafydd Bodronyn	Caerdegog	hamlet status	Llanddygfael gwely	index	775
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Gwrgenau ap Dafydd Bodronyn	Caerdegog	hamlet status	Cafnan gwely	index	756
eommote settlement mill	Talybolion township Cafnan (Gwrgenau ap Dafyd Bodronyn	Caerdegog ld)	hamlet status	hamlet	index	163
eommote settlement mill	Talybolion township Hywel ap Cathaearn Cathaearn	Caerdegog	hamlet status	gwely	index	158
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Llywarch ap Cathaearn Cathaearn	Caerdegog	hamlet status	gwely	index	157
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Meurig ap Cathaearn Cathaearn	Caerdegog	hamlet status	gwely	index	156
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Caerdegog Cathaearn, Bodronyn	Caerdegog	hamlet status	tref	index	820
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Elidir ap Morgeneu Aberalaw	Carneddor	hamlet status	gwely	index	141
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Goronwy ap Morgeneu Aberalaw	Carneddor	hamlet status	gwely	index	139

commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Cethlyn ap Morgeneu Aberalaw	Carneddor	hamlet status	gwely	index	140
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Cynwrig ap Morgeneu Aberalaw	Carneddor	hamlet status	gwely	index	144
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Hwfa Ddu Aberalaw	Carneddor	hamlet status	gwely	index	143
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Madog ap Philip Aberalaw	Carneddor	hamlet status	gwely	index	142
eommote settlement mill	Talybolion township Gruffydd ap Meurig Cathaearn	Carneddor	hamlet status	gwely	index	137
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Dafydd ap Gwas Sanffraid Cornwy, Dronwy	Carneddor	hamlet status	gwely	index	136
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Carneddor Cornwy, Dronwy, Aberalaw	Carneddor	hamlet status	tref	index	817
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Meiriogen Aberalaw	Cemais	hamlet status	hamlet	index	228
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Rhys Chwith and leuan ap l Cemais	Cemais Homand	hamlet status	gafael	index	196
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Madog Fychan Cemais	Cemais	hamlet status	gafael	index	216
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Tyddyn y Gwragedd Cemais	Cemais	hamlet status	gafael	index	202
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Goeh Cemais	Cemais	hamlet status	gafael	index	203
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township lorwerth ap Cuhelyn Cemais	Cemais	hamlet status	gafael	index	204
eommote settlement mill	Talybolion township Ednywain ap Cuhelyn Cemais	Cemais	hamlet status	gafael	index	205

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settlement	Talybolion Dafydd Gyll ap F Cemais	township Prydydd	Cemais	hamlet status	gafael	index	206
settlement I	Talybolion Philip Gwas Du Cemais	township	Cemais	hamlet status	gafael	index	207
settlement [	Talybolion Dafydd ap Bermo Cemais	township	Cemais	hamlet status	gafael	index	208
settlement I	Γalybolion euan ap Madog Cemais	township and Madog a	Cemais p Dafydd Goch	hamlet status	gafael	index	209
settlement 7	Γalybolion Γhomas ap leuar Cemais	township n Foel	Cemais	hamlet status	gafael	index	210
settlement (	Γalybolion Gwyn Wystl Cemais	township	Cemais	hamlet status	gafael	index	211
settlement C	Γalybolion Cynddelw ap Ma Cemais	township dog	Cemais	hamlet status	gafael	index	213
settlement T	Talybolion Tyddyn Traws Cemais	township	Cemais	hamlet status	gafael (0.25)	index	201
settlement N	Talybolion Madog ap Gwyn Cemais	township	Cemais	hamlet status	gafael	index	215
settlement N	Talybolion Moyrewgh and M Cemais		Cemais Du	hamlet status	gafael	index	212
settlement M	alybolion fladog Ddu ap Ll		Cemais	hamlet status	gafael	index	217
settlement M	alybolion lab Bleddyn emais	township	Cemais	hamlet status	gafael (0.5)	index	218
settlement T	alybolion f egwaryn Llwyd emais	township	Cemais	hamlet status	gafael	index	219

commote settlement mill	Talybolion Gwetho Chwith Cemais	township	Cemais	hamlet status	gafael	index	221
commote settlement mill	Talybolion Gwr Hir Cemais	township	Cemais	hamlet status	gafael	index	222
commote settlement mill	Talybolion Madog ap Gwrge Cemais	township enau	Cemais	hamlet status	gafael	index	223
commote settlement mill	Talybolion Tegwared ap Gil Cemais	township	Cemais	hamlet status	gafael	index	224
commote settlement mill	Talybolion leuan Crydd Cemais	township	Cemais	hamlet status	gafael	index	225
commote settlement mill	Talybolion Philip Chwith Cemais	township	Cemais	hamlet status	gafael	index	226
commote settlement mill	Talybolion Tegwared ap Cyr Cemais	township nddelw	Cemais	hamlet status	gafael	index	227
eommote settlement mill	Talybolion Gwyn Crach and Cemais	township Mab Ithel	Cemais	hamlet status	gafael	index	194
commote settlement mill	Talybolion Madog ap Gwalc Cemais	township chyn	Cemais	hamlet status	gafael	index	214
commote settlement mill	Talybolion locyn ap Dafydd Cemais	township and Llyward	Cemais ch Fychan	hamlet status	gafael	index	200
commote settlement mill	Talybolion Foesen Hen Cemais	township	Cemais	hamlet status	gafael	index	199
commote settlement mill	Talybolion Mab Robyn and <sup>-</sup> Cemais	township Tir Aradr	Cemais	hamlet status	gafael	index	198
commote settlement mill	Talybolion Y Seiri Cemais	township	Cemais	hamlet status	gafael	index	197
commote settlement mill	Talybolion lorwerth ap Cadv Cemais	township wgan	Cemais	hamlet status	gafael	index	195

commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Coch Ffiol and leuan ap Da Cemais	Cemais fydd	hamlet status	gafael	index	193
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Cynwrig ap Caradog Cemais	Cemais	hamlet status	gafael (2)	index	192
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Cemais Cemais, Aberalaw	Cemais	hamlet status	tref	index	828
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Cyfnerth ap Philip Bodronyn	Cemlyn	hamlet status	gwely	index	181
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Iddon ap Llywarch Bodronyn	Cemlyn	hamlet status	gwely	index	182
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Cemlyn Bodronyn, lord prince's mill	Cemlyn within commote of choice	hamlet status	tref	index	822
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Einion ap Gwion mill of choice within commo	Cemlyn	hamlet status	gwely	index	179
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Hwfa ap Gwion mill of choice within commo	Cemlyn	hamlet status	gwely	index	177
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township madog ap Gwion mill of choice within commo	Cemlyn	hamlet status	gwely	index	178
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Goronwy ap Gwion mill of choice within commo	Cemlyn	hamlet status	gwely	index	180
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Ithel ap Dafydd Cemais	Clegyrog	hamlet status	Tre'r Gof gwely	index	787
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township lorwerth ap Heilyn Cemais	Clegyrog	hamlet status	gwely	index	170
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Gwion ap Heilyn Cemais	Clegyrog	hamlet status	gwely	index	169
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Tegwared ap Goronwy Cemais	Clegyrog	hamlet status	gwely	index	168

eommote settlement mill	Talybolion township Llywelyn ap Gwilym Cemais	Clegyrog	hamlet status	gwely	index	165
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Tudur ap Gruffydd Cemais	Clegyrog	hamlet status	gwely	index	164
eommote settlement mill	Talybolion township Goronwy Wyddel Cemais	Clegyrog	hamlet status	Tre'r <i>Got</i> gwely	index	788
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Tre'r <i>Got</i> Cemais	Clegyrog	hamlet status	hamlet	index	789
eommote settlement mill	Talybolion township Madog Goch ap Goronwy Cemais	Clegyrog	hamlet status	gwely	index	167
eommote settlement mill	Talybolion township Clegyrog Cemais, Llaneilian	Clegyrog	hamlet status	tref	index	821
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Gwythur ap Cadrod Llaneilian	Clegyrog	hamlet status	gwely	index	171
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Cuhelyn ap Cadrodd Llaneilian	Clegyrog	hamlet status	gwely	index	172
eommote settlement mill	Talybolion township Trahaearn ap Hwfa mill of choice within comm	Clegyrog	hamlet status	gwely	index	166
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Mor Dronwy, Cornwy	Dronwy	hamlet status	gwely	index	148
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Dronwy Dronwy, Cornwy	Dronwy	hamlet status	tref	index	818
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Dafydd ap Gwas Sanffraid Dronwy, Cornwy	Dronwy	hamlet status	gwely	index	146
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Conws Dronwy, Cornwy	Dronwy	hamlet status	gwely	index	147
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Llanfigel Llanfigel	Llanfigel	hamlet status	tref	index	816

eommote settlement mill	Talybolion township Meredydd ap Llywelyn Llanfigel	Llanfigel	hamlet status gwely	index	135
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Gruffydd ar Llywelyn Llanfigel	Llanfigel	hamlet status gwely	index	134
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Llannol Aberalaw	Llannol	hamlet status tref	index	191
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Cuhelyn ap Cadrodd Llaneilian	Trefadog	hamlet status gwely	index	127
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Gwythur ap Cadrodd Llaneilian	Trefadog	hamlet status gwely	index	128
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Trefadog Llaneilian, Llanfigael	Trefadog	hamlet status tref	index	815
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Llywelyn ap Caswallon Llanfigel	Trefadog	hamlet status gwely	index	129
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Trefednyfed Rhodogeidio	Trefednyfed	hamlet status tref	index	812
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township leuan ap Ednyfed Rhodogeidio (own mill)	Trefednyfed	hamlet status gwely	index	120
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Goronwy ap Ednyfed Rhodogeidio (own mill)	Trefednyfed	hamlet status gwely	index	119
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Pyll ap Ednyfed Rhodogeidio (own mill)	Trefednyfed	hamlet status gwely	index	121
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Trelywarch Tre Feibion Maelog	Trelywarch	hamlet status tref	index	813
eommote settlement mill	Talybolion township Bleddyn ap Llywarch Tre Feibion Maelog (share)	Trelywarch	hamlet Bodwigan status gwely	index	752
commote settlement mill	Talybolion township Iorwerth ap Llywarch Tre Feibion Maelog (share)	Trelywarch	hamlet status gwely	index	122

	eommote settlement mill	Talybolion Cadwgan ap Lly Tre Feibion Mae		Trelywarch	hamlet status	gwely	index	123
	commote settlement mill	Talybolion Bodwigan Tre Feibion Mae	township elog (share)	Trelywarch	hamlet status	hamlet	index	126
	commote settlement mill	Talybolion Madog ap Llywa Tre Feibion Mae		Trelywarch	hamlet status	gwely	index	124
	commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Wyrion Arthen Bodafon	township	Bodafon	hamlet status	gwely	index	249
	commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Wyrion Iddon Bodafon	township	Bodafon	hamlet status	gwely	index	248
	commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Bodafon Bodafon	township	Bodafon	hamlet status	tref	index	848
	commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Wyrion Sandde own mill	township	Bodafon	hamlet status	gwely	index	247
;	commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Bodednyfed b Adda	township	Bodednyfed	hamlet status	tref	index	278
;	commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Bodednyfed a Adda	township	Bodednyfed	hamlet status	tref	index	277
5	commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Bodednyfed Adda	township	Bodednyfed	hamlet status	tref	index	860
5	commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Crinrithiet Adda	township	Bodewryd	hamlet status	gwely	index	274
5	eommote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Rhingylled a Adda	township	Bodewryd	hamlet status	land	index	272
8	commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Bodhunod Adda	township	Bodhunod	hamlet status	tref	index	851
S	commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Bodhunod Adda	township	Bodhunod	hamlet status	hamlet	index	256

commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Deri Duias	township	Deri	hamlet status	tref	index	858
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Gwredog Trecastell	township	Gwredog	hamlet status	tref	index	859
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Llechog Adda	township	Llechog (Crynrythiet)	hamlet status	tref	index	853
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Twrllachied a Duias	township	Llysdulas	hamlet status	gwely	index	236
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Amlwch Isaf	township	Llysdulas	hamlet status	hamlet	index	743
eommote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Llechog a Isaf	township	Llysdulas	hamlet status	hamlet	index	777
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Twrllachied b Llysdulas	township	Llysdulas	hamlet status	gwely	index	237
eommote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Dolffin ap Carw Newydd	township ed	Llysdulas	hamlet status	gwely	index	235
eommote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Dwynwal ap Gri Newydd	township ffri	Llysdulas	hamlet status	gwely	index	234
eommote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Brochwel ap Gri Newydd	township iffri	Llysdulas	hamlet status	gwely	index	233
eommote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Tegeryn ap Carv Newydd	township ved	Llysdulas	hamlet status	gwely	index	229
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Hywel ap carwe Newydd, Perfed		Llysdulas	hamlet status	gwely	index	230
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Bledrws ap Griff Newydd,Perfedd		Llysdulas	hamlet status	gwely	index	232
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Adda ap Griffri Newydd,Perfed	township d,Adda	Llysdulas	hamlet status	gwely	index	231

eommote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Llysdulas Newydd, Perfed	township	Llysdulas	hamlet status	tref	index	847
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Hywel ap Llywe Braint (commo	township elyn	Nant Mawr	hamlet status	gwely	index	260
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Nant Mawr Braint, Bryn Gv	township	Nant Mawr	hamlet status	tref	index	854
eommote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Cathaearn ap C Bryn Gwydded	township Cynwrig	Nant Mawr	hamlet status	gwely (0.5)	index	265
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Madog ap Nynr Bryn Gwydded	township nio	Nant Mawr	hamlet status	gwely	index	264
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Cynwrig ap Elid Bryn Gwydded	township ir	Nant Mawr	hamlet status	gwely	index	263
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Pyll ap Issac Bryn Gwydded	township	Nant Mawr	hamlet status	gwely	index	262
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Dafydd ap Eure Bryn Gwydded	township elth	Nant Mawr	hamlet status	gwely	index	261
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Nantbychan Cadnant	township	Nantbychan	hamlet status	tref	index	855
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Nantbychan b Cadnant (Gruffy	township /dd's mill in	Nantbychan indaethwy)	hamlet status	tref	index	267
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Einion ap Adda Bryn Gwydded	township	Penrhos	hamlet status	gafael	index	290
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Goronwy ap Da Bryn Gwydded	township fydd and Meu	Penrhos urig ap Ieuan	hamlet status	gafael	index	300
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Gwas Mair Fych Bryn Gwydded	township an and Dafyd	Penrhos d ap lthel Cwith	hamlet status	gafael	index	299
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Madog ap Adda Bryn Gwydded	township	Penrhos	hamlet status	gafael	index	298

eommote settlement mill	Twrcelyn locyn Porth Bryn Gwydded	township	Penrhos	hamlet status	gafael	index	297
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Einion ap Dafy Bryn Gwydded	township ld ap leuan	Penrhos	hamlet status	gafael	index	296
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Adda Fychan Bryn Gwydded	township	Penrhos	hamlet status	gafael	index	287
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Crach Rafl Bryn Gwydded	township	Penrhos	hamlet status	gafael	index	279
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Madog Foel Bryn Gwydded	township	Penrhos	hamlet status	gafael	index	280
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Philip Saer Bryn Gwydded	township	Penrhos	hamlet status	gafael	index	281
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Dafydd Devet Bryn Gwydded	township	Penrhos	hamlet status	gafael	index	292
eommote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Ithel Fychan Bryn Gwydded	township	Penrhos	hamlet status	gafael	index	286
eommote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Madog ap Cynw Bryn Gwydded	township rig	Penrhos	hamlet status	gafael	index	295
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Gwas Dewi and I Bryn Gwydded			hamlet status	gafael	index	294
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Gwas Mair Moel Bryn Gwydded	township	Penrhos	hamlet status	gafael	index	293
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Offeiriaid Bryn Gwydded	township	Penrhos	hamlet status	gafael	index	291
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Madog Fychan Bryn Gwydded	township	Penrhos	hamlet status	gafael	index	288
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Philip ap Madog Bryn Gwydded	township	Penrhos	hamlet status	gafael	index	289

commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Penrhos Bryn Gwydded,	township Dulas	Penrhos	hamlet status	tref	index	861
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Gofaint Duias	township	Penrhos	hamlet status	gafael	index	282
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Ithel ap Knyppir Duias	township n	Penrhos	hamlet status	gafael	index	283
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Cloddiau Hirion Duias	township	Penrhos	hamlet status	gafael (0.5)	index	308
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Heusorion Duias	township	Penrhos	hamlet status	gafael (0.5)	index	285
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Tegwared ap Cy Duias	township /nddelw	Penrhos	hamlet status	gafael	index	302
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Dafydd Lon Duias	township	Penrhos	hamlet status	gafael	index	301
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn lorwert ap Einic Duias	township on Goch and I	Penrhos Marle	hamlet status	gafael	index	307
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Mas Dullas Dulas	township	Penrhos	hamlet status	gafael	index	306
eommote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Adda ap leuan Duias	township	Penrhos	hamlet status	gafael	index	305
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Einion Foel Duias	township	Penrhos	hamlet status	gafael	index	304
eommote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Dafydd ap Cynd Dulas	township ddelw	Penrhos	hamlet status	gafael	index	303
eommote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Porthorion Dulas	township	Penrhos	hamlet status	gafael (0.5)	index	284
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Rhosmynach Duias	township	Rhosmynach	hamlet status	tref	index	852

commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Rhingylled b Duias	township	Rhosmynach	hamlet status	land	index	273
commote settlement mill	Twrcelyn Ynys Gnud Duias	township	Ynys Gnud	hamlet status	tref	index	856

#### **Appendix**

#### Medieval settlement evidence on the Regional SMR

The following catalogue tabulates extracts from the Regional Sites and Monuments Record where the entries indicate a medieval date or medieval settlement association. The entries have not been comprehensively checked in the field as it is envisaged that this will form part of the next stage of the Deserted Rural Settlements project during 1999.

it will be appreciated that medieval settlement is seriously under-represented on the SMR. At the date of extract of the records below, only a handful of the potential settlement locations indicated by the place-name evidence, for example, are included. Similarly, industrial and related monuments of the period such as mills and fishtraps hardly feature at all. To some extent this deficiency has been rectified by very recent work resulting from Cadw grant aided survey of the Anglesey coastline and, in particular, the tidal mills of the Inland Sea. These results are in the process of being incorporated within the SMR. The catalogue, therefore, presents the state of recorded information (as represented by the Sites and Monuments Record) in 1987.

Community Council ABERFFRAW NGR SH36907415C PRN 1995

Site ENCLOSURE SW OF DOTHAN

Site type ENCLOSURE Period EARLY MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category EARTHWORK, SURFACE IRREGULARITIES

Recorded as: AP SITE

Additional notes

Community Council ABERFFRAW NGR SH35767286 PRN 2536

Site PLATFORM (POSSIBLE)- SITE OF, ABERFFRAW

Site type PLATFORM Period UNDETERMINED

Descriptive category

Recorded as: EARTHWORK

Additional notes

Community Council ABERFFRAW NGR SH35--68--A PRN 3184

Site ABERFFRAW- EARLY MEDIEVAL TOWN (GENERAL)

Site type TOWN Period EARLY MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: BURIED FEATURE

Additional notes

Community Council BEAUMARIS NGR SH60437615 PRN 2591

Site HENBLAS - HOUSE, NEAR BEAUMARIS

Site type HOUSE Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: BUILDING-ROOFED

Community Council BEAUMARIS NGR SH60--77--A PRN 2592

Site LLANFAES 13TH.C. TOWNSHIP - SITE OF, NR. BEAUMARIS

Site type TOWN Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: STONE BUILT FEATURE

Additional notes

Community Council BEAUMARIS NGR SH6050761QC PRN 3187

Site BEAUMARIS MEDIEVAL TOWN

Site type TOWN Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: BURIED FEATURE

Additional notes

Community Council BEAUMARIS NGR SH60437623 PRN 2577

Site BEAUMARIS TOWN WALLS C15AD

Site type TOWN DEFENCES Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category WALL-LINEAR

Recorded as: STANDING MONUMENT

Additional notes

Community Council BODEDERN NGR SH33008161 PRN 6661

Site MELIN LLIBIO, N OF BODEDERN

Site type MILL Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: RECORDED

Additional notes Site of Melin Llibio watermill, mentioned in the 1352 extent of Anglesey. Last used in 1820.

Community Council BODFFORDD NGR SH40208160 PRN 5836

Site YNYS-DODYN FARM, CARMEL C17TH

Site type FARM Period POST MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category BUILDING

Recorded as: BUILDING- RUINED

Additional notes A derelict farmhouse and associated outbuildings. Ynys Dodyn was a farm of some 118 acres,

owned by the Penrhos estate in the 18th century, but also mentioned in a document of 1699, when it formed part of lands held with Chwaen Wen. An interesting house of probable 17th century date.

Community Council BRYNGWRAN NGR SH3670771QC PRN 1610

Site TREBAN MEURIG (PLACE-NAME), BRYNGWRAN

Site type DESERTED VILLAGE Period EARLY MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: PLACENAME

Additional notes

Community Council BRYNGWRAN NGR SH38897900 PRN 3504

Site BODYCHEN MEDIAEVAL HOUSE - RUINS OF, BRYNGWRAN

Site type HOUSE Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: BUILDING- RUINED

Additional notes

Community Council CWM CADNANT NGR SH56327816 PRN 2650

Site HAFOTTY- 14TH.C. FARMHOUSE, LLANSADWRN

Site type HOUSE Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: BUILDING-ROOFED

Additional notes

Community Council CYLCH Y GARN NGR SH29909251C PRN 3426

Site BANK, GADER, MYNACHDY

Site type BANK Period EARLY MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: STONE BUILT FEATURE

Additional notes

Community Council CYLCH Y GARN NGR SH29159216A PRN 7239

Site BANK AND RIDGE AND FURROW, PENBRYNYREGLWYS

Site type BANK/RIDGE AND FURROW Period MEDIEVAL?

Descriptive category BANK, RIDGE AND FURROW

Recorded as: EARTHWORK

Additional notes A low earth bank running in a north-west -south-east direction, 0.3m high and 1m wide. There

appears to be ridge and furrow on the SW side of it.

Community Council CYLCH Y GARN NGR SH29709158C PRN 3425

Site CAIRNS, BRYN-RHWYDD, MYNACHDY

Site type CAIRN Period EARLY MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: STONE BUILT FEATURE

Additional notes

Community Council CYLCH Y GARN NGR SH29399271 PRN 3427

Site CLEARANCE CAIRN/BANK, PORTH Y DYFN, MYNACHDY

Site type CAIRN - FIELD CLEARANCE Period EARLY MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: STONE BUILT FEATURE

Additional notes

Community Council CYLCH Y GARN NGR SH33199083 PRN 3515

Site CASTELL CRWN- ENCLOSURE, LLANRHWYDRYS

Site type ENCLOSURE Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: STONE BUILT FEATURE

Additional notes

Community Council CYLCH Y GARN NGR SH29659095C PRN 3430

Site FIELD SYSTEM (POSS.), PORTH Y BRIBYS, MYNACHDY

Site type FARMSTEAD Period EARLY MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: STONE BUILT FEATURE

Additional notes

Community Council CYLCH Y GARN NGR SH29519138 PRN 3429

Site FARMSTEAD, BRYN RHWYDD, MYNACHDY

Site type FARMSTEAD Period EARLY MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: BUILDING-RUINED

Additional notes Two stone structures, reduced to foundations and separated by a trackway. The site is surrounded

by a number of field walls.

Community Council CYLCH Y GARN NGR SH30009141C PRN 3432

Site FIELD BOUNDARY- HEN DY, MYNACHDY

Site type FIELD SYSTEM Period EARLY MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: STONE BUILT FEATURE

Additional notes

Community Council CYLCH Y GARN NGR SH29639107 PRN 3431

Site POSSIBLE HOUSE, PORTH Y BRIBYS, MYNACHDY

Site type HOUSE Period EARLY MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: STONE BUILT FEATURE

Additional notes

Community Council CYLCH Y GARN NGR SH29309260A PRN 7196

Site TERRACING, PENBRYNYREGLWYS

Site type TERRACE Period MEDIEVAL?

Descriptive category FIELD SYSTEM Recorded as: EARTHWORK

Additional notes An area 200m square of irregular terraces.

Community Council CYLCH Y GARN NGR SH29429164 PRN 3434

Site WALL, TREWYN Y CREWYN, MYNACHDY

Site type WALL Period EARLY MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: STONE BUILT FEATURE

Additional notes

Community Council CYLCH Y GARN NGR SH29239160 PRN 3433

Site ORTHOSTATIC WALL, TRWYN Y CREWYN, MYNACHDY

Site type WALL Period EARLY MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: STONE BUILT FEATURE

Community Council LLANBADRIG NGR SH39009410 PRN 3065

Site RHYD Y CLAFDY, LEPER HOUSE, CEMAES

Site type BUILDING Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category BUILDING

Recorded as: BUILDING- ROOFED

Additional notes Rhyd y Clafdy - a probable lazar house east of Cemaes.

Community Council LLANDDANIEL FAB NGR SH51986872A PRN 925

Site DESERTED VILLAGE - (POSS), SE OF BRYN YR HEN BOBL

Site type DESERTED VILLAGE Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category BANKS, TERRACES, PLATFORMS-SQUARE

Recorded as: EARTHWORK

Additional notes

Community Council LLANDDANIEL FAB NGR SH51656779 PRN 3424

Site ENCLOSURE, MOEL Y DON, MENAI

Site type ENCLOSURE Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: AP SITE

Additional notes Nothing obviously visible, the coast edge is formed by a slight ridge before dipping down inland,

there is a possible ditch where this coastal ridge meets the field.

Community Council LLANDDYFNAN NGR SH48528003 PRN 1597

Site BUILDING FOUNDATIONS- PRYSAN

Site type BUILDING Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: BUILDING-RUINED

Additional notes

Community Council LLANDDYFNAN NGR SH495-782- PRN 1731

Site POSS. PLATFORM HOUSE, NE OF TALWRN

Site type PLATFORM HOUSE Period UNDETERMINED

Descriptive category HUT- RECTANGULAR, PLATFORM, BUILDING

Recorded as: REPORTED

Additional notes The stone foundations of a rectangular building can be seen on a platform just on the north-eastern

side of the field boundary. These remains were in a field called Cae Plas Bach belonging to the Marian farm on the Tithe Assessment map for Llanddyfnan. In the early land tax assessment for Llanddyfnan, Plas Bach is shown as a separate land holding, but was always rented by the tenant of Marian, the neighbouring farm. There was also a local tradition that Cromwellian soldiers broke

into Plas Bach and killed a nursing mother.

Community Council LLANDDYFNAN NGR SH49468092C PRN 5578

Site MEDIAEVAL MILLSTONE QUARRY (POSSIBLE), PANT GLAS

Site type QUARRY Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: OTHER STRUCTURE

Additional notes

Community Council LLANEILIAN NGR SH46729234 PRN 920

Site HOUSE (MEDIEVAL?) - HENBLAS, LLANEILIAN

Site type HOUSE Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category BUILDING-RECTANGULAR

Recorded as: BUILDING-ROOFED

Additional notes

Community Council LLANEILIAN NGR SH47729202 PRN 3571

Site LLYS CASWALLON - SITE OF, E OF PENGORFFWYSFA

Site type LLYS Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: RECORDED

Additional notes

Community Council LLANERCH-Y-MEDD NGR SH41808414C PRN 5682

Site VILLAGE OF LLANERCH-Y-MEDD

Site type SETTLEMENT Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: STONE BUILT FEATURE

Additional notes

Community Council LLANEUGRAD NGR SH49208450C PRN 1902

Site HOLLOWAY AND PLATFORMS, PARCIAU

Site type PLATFORMS!TRACKWAY Period UNDETERMINED

Descriptive category PLATFORMS, TRACKWAY, ENCLOSURE

Recorded as: OTHER STRUCTURE

Additional notes Hollow-way leading from fort through home farm and continuing through field. Traces of

platforms/enclosures on either side.

Community Council LLANEUGRAD NGR SH48648494 PRN 2191

Site MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT- REMAINS OF, LLANEUGRAD

Site type SETTLEMENT Period MEDIEVAL

**Descriptive category** 

Recorded as: STONE BUILT FEATURE

Additional notes

Community Council LLANFAETHLU NGR SH29108590 PRN

Site CASTELL PROMONTORY FORT, NEAR TREFADOG C11-C12

Site type FORT- PROMONTORY Period EARLY MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category BANK & DITCH

Recorded as: EARTHWORK

Additional notes Small natural promontory with sea on two sides, fortified on landward side with large ditch and

bank. Excavated 1984. The surviving defences were shown to have been erected in or before the 12th century AD on the ruins of an earlier fortification and are contemporary with the occupation of

a rectangular house within the defences.

Community Council LLANFAIR MATHAFARN EITHAF NGR SH51548133 PRN 3612

Site GLYN HOUSE (C14th DOOR), S.W. OF BENLLECH

Site type HOUSE Period MEDIEVAL

**Descriptive category** 

Recorded as: BUILDING- ROOFED

Additional notes

Community Council LLANFAIR MATHAFARN-EITHAF NGR SH51808115C PRN 5348

Site ENCLOSURE, LLANBEDRGOCH

Site type ENCLOSURE Period EARLY MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category ENCLOSURE

Recorded as: BURIED FEATURE

Additional notes See PRN 5347. Geophysical results indicate aD-shaped enclosure, with high spots of activity

within the ditch. excavation has established that the ditch was approximately 2m in width and 1m deep. its fill contained charcoal and the knob from a crucible of early medieval type, suggesting metalworking activity in the area. Calibrated c14 dates from the ditch fills are AD 450-770 and AD

760-1035.

Community Council LLANFAIR MATHAFARN-EITHAF NGR SH51358130C PRN 5347

Site AREA OF GEOPHYSICAL SURVEY, LLANBEDRGOCH

Site type ENCLOSURE Period EARLY MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category ENCLOSURE

Recorded as: RECORDED

Additional notes The NMW is investigating the site for evidence of viking period activity and the possibility of native

settlement.

Community Council LLANFAIRPWLL NGR SH54377168 PRN 5854

Site HUT PLATFORM, E. OF COED MOR

Site type PLATFORM Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category HUT- RECTANGULAR, PLATFORM

Recorded as: EARTHWORK

Additional notes A small hut scoop with level platform on downslope side, scarped into the slope at a point where

the gradient of the hillside changes. Stone settings are visible on the platform. A large tree currently

stands within the centre of the feature.

Community Council LLANFIHANGEL YSGEIFIOG NGR SH46567175 PRN 2726

Site PLAS BERW- C15th HOUSE & BARN, LLANIDAN 15-17AD

Site type BUILDING Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category BUILDING

Recorded as: BUILDING-RUINED

Additional notes

Community Council LLANGEFNI NGR SH46867464 PRN 2727

Site TRE-GARNEDD MOATED SITE, LLANGEFNI

Site type MOATED SITE Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category EARTHWORK, SQUARE ENCLOSURE, BANK & DITCH Recorded

as: EARTHWORK

Additional notes

Community Council LLANGEFNI NGR SH46507575 PRN 5731

Site WINDMILL, CRAIG FAWR, LLANGEFNI

Site type WINDMILL Period POST MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category BUILDING, TOWER

Recorded as: BUILDING - RUINED

Additional notes Derelict windmill (since 1937) soon to be redeveloped by Orange Personal Communication

Services, at present the windmill has no roof, blocked up windows, no door and the interior is full of

rubbish and grassed over.

Community Council LLANGOED NGR SH60557784 PRN 5376

Site MEDIEVAL POTTERY FINDSPOT, LLANFAES

Site type FINDSPOT Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: FIND ONLY

Additional notes

Community Council LLANGOED NGR SH62107915 PRN 2574

Site MOUND (POSSIBLE MOTTE), LLANGOED

Site type MOTTE Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: EARTHWORK

Additional notes A low tree covered mound, possibly defensive, partly eroding.

Community Council LLANGOED NGR SH61637930 PRN 2570

Site MOTTE AND BAILEY, CASTELL, ABERLLEINIOG C11AD

Site type MOTTE AND BAILEY, CASTLE Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category EARTHWORK, BANK & DITCH, WALLS

Recorded as: EARTHWORK

Additional notes

Community Council LLANGRISTIOLUS NGR SH45507405 PRN 1609

Site LLEDWIGAN LLYS (PLACE-NAME), LLANGRISTIOLUS

Site type DESERTED VILLAGE Period EARLY MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: PLACENAME

Additional notes

Community Council LLANGRISTIOLUS NGR SH44977358C PRN 1608

Site LLEDWIGAN LLAN (PLACE-NAME), LLANGRISTIOLUS

Site type DESERTED VILLAGE Period EARLY MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: PLACENAME

Community Council LLANGRISTIOLUS NGR SH42107400C PRN 1607

Site BODHENLLI (PLACE-NAME), CERRIGCEINWEN

Site type DESERTED VILLAGE Period EARLY MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: PLACENAME

Additional notes

Community Council LLANGRISTIOLUS NGR SH44807370C PRN 81

Site FIELD SYSTEM, TYDDYN BLEDDYN, LLANGRISTIOLUS

Site type FIELD SYSTEM Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category EARTHWORK
Recorded as: EARTHWORK

Additional notes

Community Council LLANGRISTIOLUS NGR SH44807370 PRN 405

Site HUT PLATFORM, TYDDYN BLEDDYN, LLANGRISTIOLUS

Site type PLATFORM HOUSE Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category PLATFORM RECTANGULAR

Recorded as: EARTHWORK

Additional notes

Community Council MECHELL NGR SH351-905- PRN 6333

Site PLAS Y MYNYDD MEDIEVAL HOUSE (SITE OF)

Site type HOUSR Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: REPORTED

Additional notes

Community Council MECHELL NGR SH351-927- PRN 6332

Site GROESFECHAN ?MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT, LLANFECHELL

Site type SETTLEMENT Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: REPORTED

Community Council MENAI BRIDGE NGR SH55207340 PRN 1562

Site DINAS CADNANT

Site type SETTLEMENT-DEFENDED Period EARLY MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category ENCLOSURE-CIRCULAR

Recorded as: STANDING MONUMENT

Additional notes

Community Council MENAI BRIDGE NGR SH55107184 PRN 7192

Site TIDAL MILL(SITE OF), CHURCH ISLAND MENAI BRIDGE

Site type TIDAL MILL Period MEDIEVAL?

Descriptive category WALL

Recorded as: STONE BUILT FEATURE

Additional notes The remains of two stone dams built between the mainland and Church Island. Records of a

double mill in this location survive from the sixteenth century.

Community Council MOELFRE NGR SH47248476 PRN 1553

Site BODAFON MOUNTAIN- POSSIBLE PLATFORM HOUSES

Site type SETTLEMENT-UNENCLOSED Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category PLATFORM

Recorded as: EARTHWORK

Additional notes

Community Council PENMYNYDD NGR SH51547515C PRN 76

Site EARTHWORKS (BANKS/DITCHES), N. OF PENMYNYDD

Site type ENCLOSURE COMPLEX Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category ENCLOSURE-RECTANGULAR

Recorded as: EARTHWORK

Additional notes

Community Council PENMYNYDD NGR SH51857665C PRN 77

Site RECTANGULAR PLATFORMS, S.E. OF TY-FRY, RHOSCEFNHIR

Site type PLATFORM HOUSE Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category PLATFORM, DITCH-RECTANGULAR

Recorded as: EARTHWORK

Community Council PENTRAETH NGR SH54357872 PRN 6647

Site PLATFORM, MYNYDD LLWYDIARTH

Site type PLATFORM Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category PLATFORM, HUT - RECTANGULAR

Recorded as: EARTHWORK

**Additional notes** A sub-rectangular platform c.7m x 8m.

Community Council RHOSCOLYN NGR SH26517494A PRN 7237

Site RIDGE AND FURROW, NR. PORTH YR HWNGAN

Site type RIDGE AND FURROW Period MEDIEVAL?

Descriptive category RIDGE AND FURROW

Recorded as: EARTHWORK

Additional notes Very denuded ridge and furrow running in a north-west-south-east direction.

Community Council RHOSCOLYN NGR SH28907676 PRN 7159

Site TIDAL MILL, TY'N Y FELIN

Site type TIDAL MILL Period MEDIEVAL?

Descriptive category BUILDING, MILL

Recorded as: STONE BUILT FEATURE

mill structure includes a water wheel pit and a probable adjacent wheel pit. It is c. 11m by ?m with some external walling surviving. Internally there is sub-circular feature of set larger stones, possibly the footings for the internal mechanism. The scheduled area includes the stone dam holding back a tidal creek, a sluice channel and at the south-east end a rock cut channel which would have

contained the mill wheel and the mill platform itself.

Community Council RHOSYBOL NGR SH43358884 PRN 2102

Site BETWS BWCHWDW- SITE OF, PENYFYNWENT

Site type ENCLOSURE Period MEDIEVAL

**Descriptive category** 

Recorded as: EARTHWORK

Additional notes Pen y Fynwent earthwork in the east part of the parish on a low hill between the 200ft and 300ft

contours, scheduled. A pentagonal earthwork defined by a bank and external ditch, with an entrance causeway on the north-east, the area enclosed being about 110ft square. The site has been ploughed heavily, the bank being now less than 1m high and 30m x 30m internally. Probably a pre-medieval homestead, it has been suggested that it is the site of an early chapel, either Betws

Bwchwdw or Capel Tegeryn. This site has been denuded by ploughing.

Community Council RHOSYBOL NGR SH428-887-A PRN 2099

Site SETTLEMENT - SITE OF, RHOS GOCH

Site type SETTLEMENT Period EARLY MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: EARTHWORK

Additional notes

Community Council RHOSYR NGR SH40426357 PRN 1904

Site HENDAI 2, NEWBOROUGH WARREN

Site type FARMSTEAD Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category BUILDING

Recorded as: BUILDING RUINED

Additional notes Possibly related to (or of similar date to) Hendai (3083), a late or sub-medieval homestead with

attached byre.

Community Council RHOSYR NGR SH40486371 PRN 3083

Site HENDAI MEDIEVAL FARMSTEAD, NEWBOROUGH WARREN

Site type FARMSTEAD Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category BUILDING, WALLS

Recorded as: BUILDING- RUINED

Additional notes

Community Council RHOSYR NGR SH420-655-A PRN 899

Site LLYS OF RHOSYR (SITE OF), NEWBOROUGH

Site type LLYS Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: DOCUMENTARY

Additional notes Excavated

Community Council RHOSYR NGR SH424656 PRN 3195

Site NEWBOROUGH MEDIEVAL TOWN

Site type TOWN Period MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: BURIED FEATURE

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Community Council TREF ALAW NGR SH37408750A PRN 5634

Site POSS RECTANGULAR PLATFORM & RIDGE & FURROW

Site type PLATFORM Period UNDETERMINED

Descriptive category PLATFORM

Recorded as: EARTHWORK

Additional notes

Community Council TREWALCHMAI NGR SH40147621 PRN 1613

Site BODWINA (PLACE-NAME), GWALCHMAI

Site type DESERTED VILLAGE Period EARLY MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: PLACENAME

Additional notes

Community Council TREWALCHMAI NGR SH38--76--A PRN 1611

Site TREWALCHMAI (PLACE-NAME), GWALCHMAI

Site type DESERTED VILLAGE Period EARLY MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: PLACENAME

Additional notes

Community Council TREWALCHMAI NGR SH38357597 PRN 1612

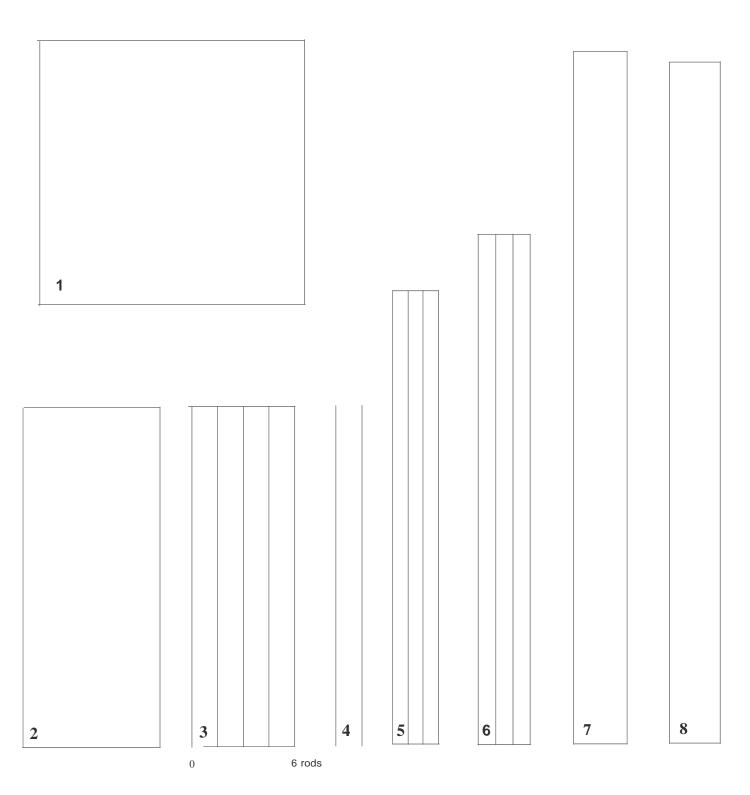
Site HAFOD LLWYN (PLACE-NAME), GWALCHMAI

Site type DESERTED VILLAGE Period EARLY MEDIEVAL

Descriptive category

Recorded as: PLACENAME

### The layout of fields



<sup>1.</sup> statute acre: 4840 sq yd
2. 3240 sq yd: the area of a large customary acre and the dimension of the fields at Llawr y Glyn, Montgomery, and y Ddwy Lathen, Criccieth
3. 2430 sq yd: the area of a small customary acre and the dimension of y Llathen, Criccieth. The illustration shows the hypothetical subdivision of the field into 4 llathenni of 607.5 sq yd each.

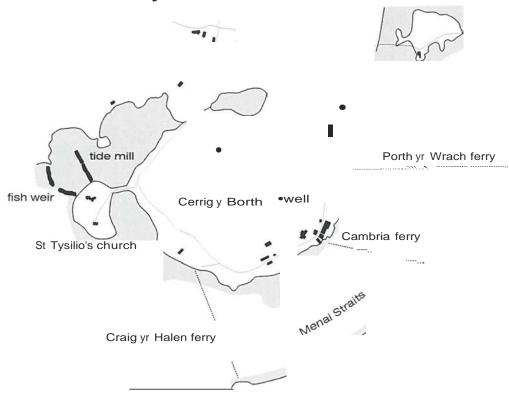
<sup>4.</sup> A hypotheticalllathen of one *land's* width and 607. 5 sq yd area.

<sup>6.</sup> An erw laid out to the proportions of the lorwerth redaction using a 13.5ft/4.5yd 'Cyfnerth' rod. The width of the *erw* is three such rods or two *lands*.

<sup>7.</sup> An average relict /lain or quillet recorded on the 1845 Tithe Apportionment map, Newborough, 1845.

<sup>8.</sup> A small customary acre formed by laying two pairs of llathenni, each llathen a land's width, end to end.

## Porthaethwy before 181 0



# Menai Bridge in the 20th century

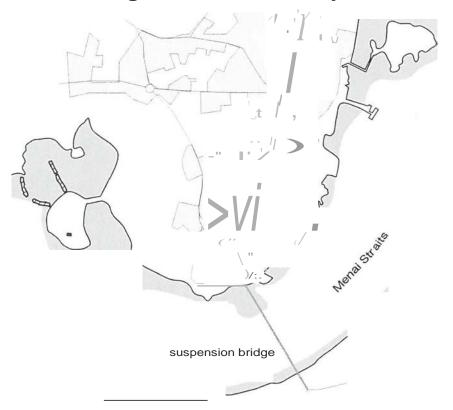
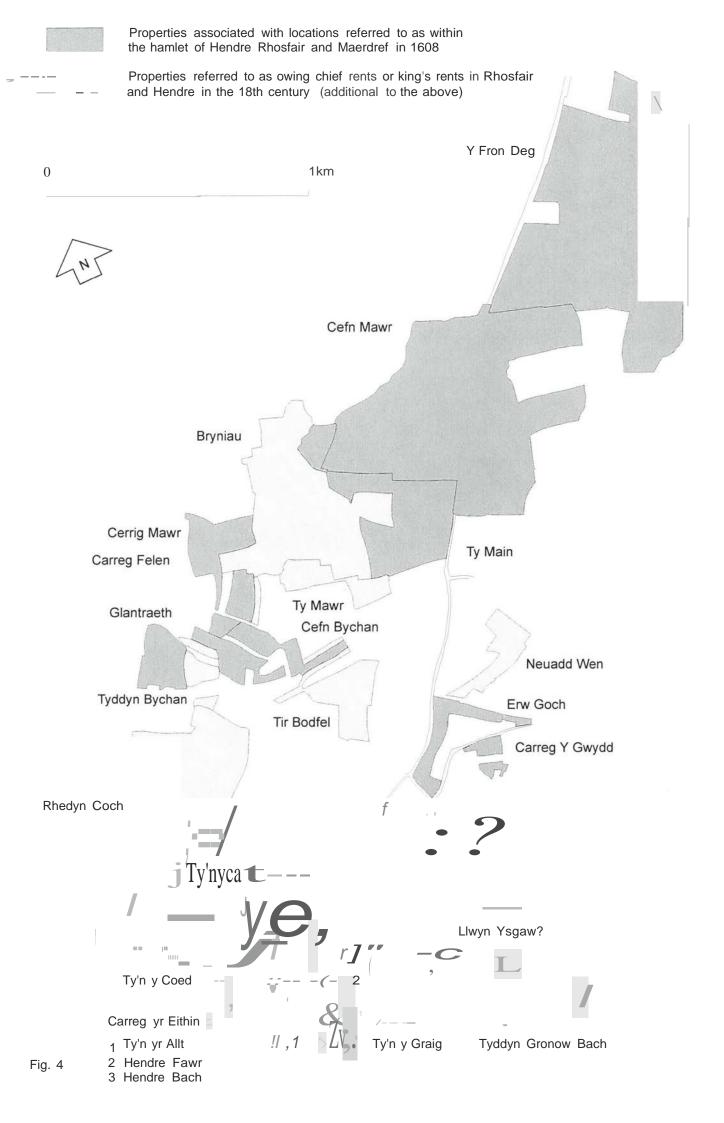




Fig. 00. Newborough town and Gallt Bedr in 1845 (Tithe apportionment map). A number of unenclosed quillets are visible, dispersed among the lands of consolidated holdings. St. Peter's Church is south-centre of the illustration and the excavated site of the llys is immediately southg west of the church.



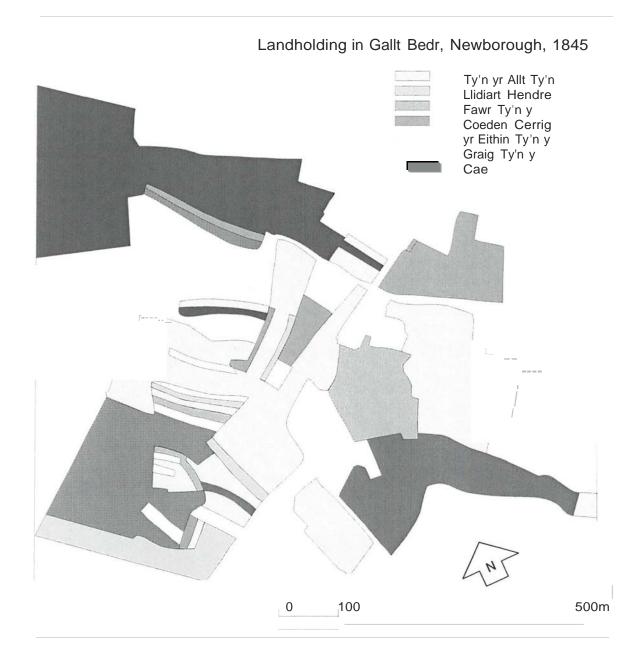
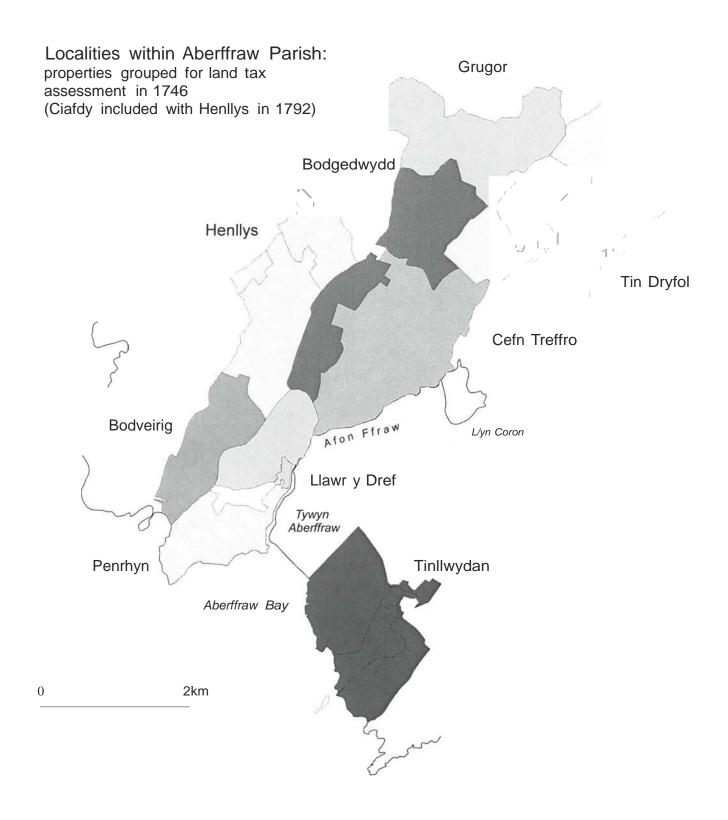


Fig. 5. Landholding in Gallt Bedr, Newborough, 1845 (Tithe apportionment map).



Llawr y Dref: Tyddyn yr Hwrdd; the Mill; houses in Aberffraw Bodveirig: Bodveirig farm; Tyddyn y Bid; Ty'n y Caeua (not located)

Penrhyn: Penrhyn; Fron; Penrhyn Isaf

Cefn Treffro: Bwlan and Pandy; Tire Iddon; Ty Mawr; Cefn Du Bach; Glan y Llyn; Creig

Bodgedwydd: Tai Malion; Bodgedwydd; Bogdedwydd Isaf; Cae Mawr; Qurtai; Tyddyn Isaf; Glan y Felin

Henllys: Rhos Badrig; Henllys Groes; Pen Henllys; Ty yn yr Allt; Henllys Wen; Tyddyn Bach; Henllys Fawr; Llwyn Ysgaw; Clafdy

Grugor: Cerrig Gafael; Cerrig Mynnan; Grugor Bach; Ty yn Rhos; Grugor Fawr; Cefn Du

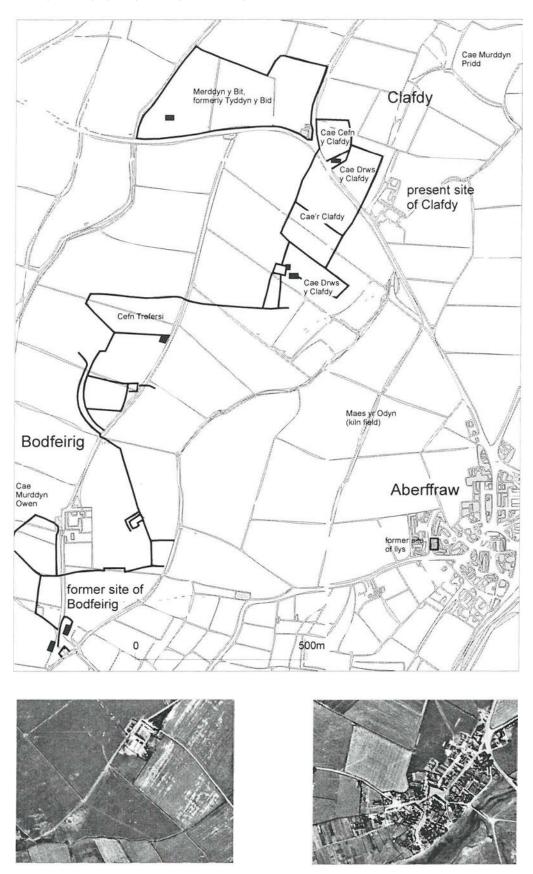
Rhosydd; Cerrig Engan and Penrhyn; Tindryfol; Tin Dryfol mill

Tin Dryfol: Tin Dryfol farm; Tyddyn y Pwll; Bodwrdin; Cae'r Fron; 'the Joynture'; Tyddyn Rhos; Casdelllago;

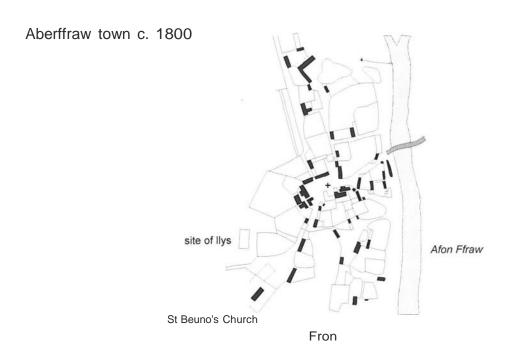
Tinllwydan: Trefryw; Tinllwydan; Pen y Cnwc; Tire Cornor; Chwintan (not located)

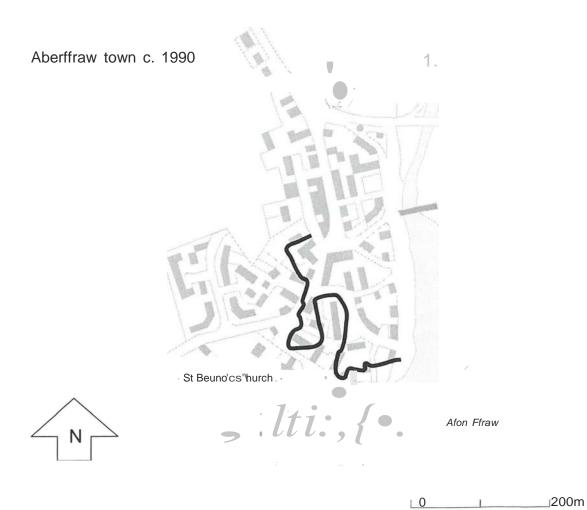
Landscape change in Aberffraw

Black lines show a selection of field boundaries and settlements of the 18th century landscape which have not survived into the 20th century. These include the important sites of Clafdy - the leper house - and settlements in the area of the free gwely of Bodfeirig. Murddyn place names indicate structures already ruinous by the 18th century (Merddyn y Bit by the early 19th century)



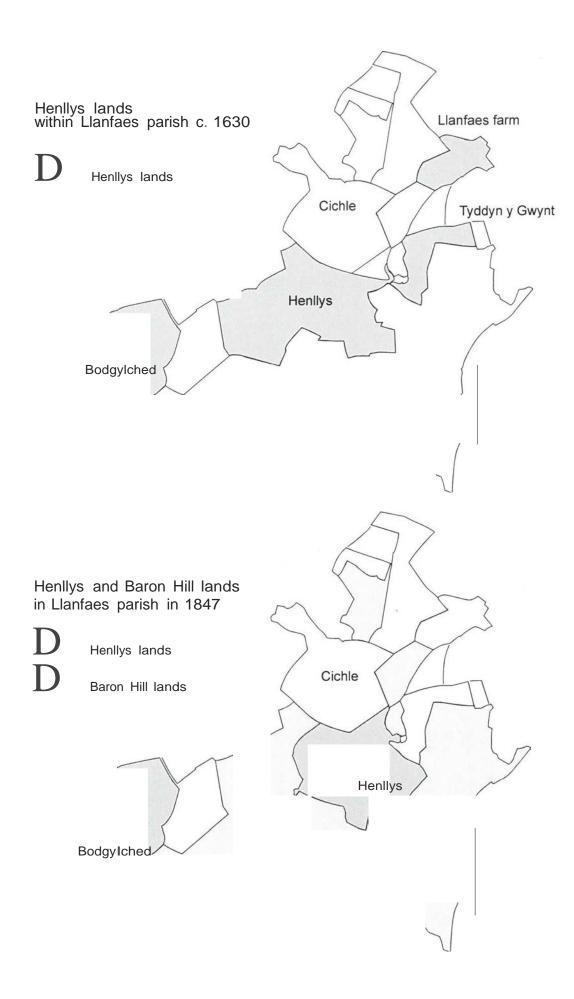
Aerial photographs (1947) show the former site of Bodfeirig, a free gwely of Aberffraw, as still visible as an earthwork (left photo: bottom left). The presumed former site of the llys of Aberffraw had yet to be built on (right photo: left centre).

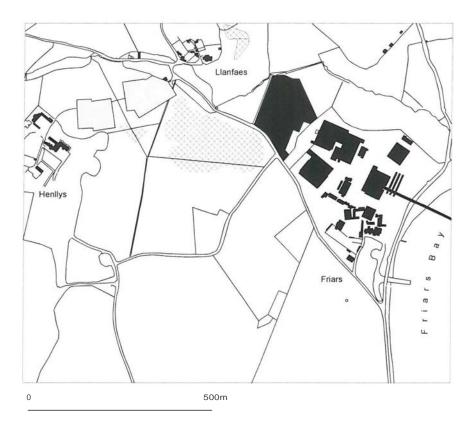




south-western limit of town c. 1800

Fig 8b





Areas of Geophysical Survey

Generalised distribution of artefacts

The Llanfaes area, showing recent development, distribution of archaeological stray finds and area of geophysical survey



