
Early Medieval Burial and Ecclesiastical Sites 2001-2002 (G1680)

Report No. 451

Granted-aided by
Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments

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Ymddiriedolaeth Archaeolegol Gwynedd
Gwynedd Archaeological Trust
March 2002

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Early Medieval Burial and Ecclesiastical Sites

Introduction and background to the report

During 1998-9 the Gwynedd Archaeological Trust undertook an assessment of the evidence for Early Medieval burial in north-west-Wales. The object of this exercise was to collate information from known sources towards the development of criteria which would allow an assessment of condition, threat and relative significance and which would produce recommendations for further assessment, the mitigation of any destructive processes and the provision of statutory protection where appropriate.

The resource, represented by this evidence was considered to be a significant one, capable of informing a number of key research questions. These research questions concern:

- The origin of Christian cemeteries
- The role of focal graves
- The importance and chronology of orientation
- The relevance of pre-Christian burial practices and the continuity or otherwise of Early Christian burial on the site of ancestral pagan cemeteries
- The association and significance of inscribed stones
- The chronology of and the association of burial grounds with the development of early churches.

There also remains the potential for obtaining pathological and demographic data and information on the relationship of burial grounds to the wider secular landscape

A report was produced which after briefly considering previous work on the subject and the historical context and antecedents of Early Medieval burial, assessed the evidence in the categories of:

- Burial: the characteristics, variant forms and the degrees of complexity encountered within cemeteries
- Stone memorials as indicators of burial, their chronology and distribution,
- The landscape associations of these forms of evidence as represented by association with pre-Christian ceremonial and funerary sites pre-Christian secular sites, enclosures other than later church graveyards and Christian religious associations.

The direct or circumstantial association of Early Medieval burial with the locations of stone memorials and the sites of later stone churches was also considered.

Criteria were proposed for inclusion on the database of Early Medieval burial and for assessing the significance of the various components of the resource. Recommendations were advanced for conservation and further work. These criteria are reproduced here as they have a bearing on the recommendations for further work and on the results of the second stage of the project.

Criteria for inclusion of sites and for assessment.

Early Medieval burials (predating the earliest recorded stone churches in the twelfth-century)

Entries may represent the location of potentially Early Medieval burial rather than demonstrable sites. Christianity is a consideration but is not an essential criterion.

a. extended inhumation in dug graves or extended inhumation in long-cists

Factors which enhance the significance of recognised sites include:

- Large sample capable of permitting the determination of trends such as groupings of orientation, pathology, sex, age, stature, etc., and statistical information on grave size

- Environmental conditions conducive to the survival of bone or organic remains, or both.
 - More than one grave type present, for example, dug graves and cist burials and/or different types of cist burial.
 - Presence of a 'special' grave, particularly if associated with other burials on the site.
- b. **Datable association:** These can include radiocarbon associations (as, for example, at Tywyn y Capel, where the long-cist phase has seventh-century associations and the dug grave phase has twelfth-century associations).

Enhancement factors include:

- Significance is enhanced if there is potential for obtaining radiocarbon determinations.
- Significance is considerably enhanced if there are artefact associations as these are rare in monuments of this class.

- c. **Circumstantial association:** (as, for example, where an inscribed, cross incised or decorated stone is reputed to have come from the site).
- d. **Artefact association.**
- e. **Documentary or inscriptional association:** (For example, where a strong documented tradition attests the burial of a Saint in a particular location or where an early inscription appears to mark a burial).

Enhancement factors include:

- Presence of an inscribed stone of Group 1 at a cemetery site, particularly if the stone is directly associated with a grave. This degree of association should be considered to be exceptionally significant.
- Further, a site assumes additional significance if there is documentary evidence concerning any discovery associated with the site, particularly with regard to provenance and associations.

Inscribed stones and cross-incised stones.

The following factors contribute to the significance of the components identified as follows:

- **Provenance:** If a stone is known or presumed to stand *in situ* in its original location then the significance of this association is very greatly enhanced.
- If documentary evidence survives detailing the original provenance of a stone then the significance of this association is enhanced.
- **Association:** If a stone is associated with a cemetery of the early period then the significance of this association is very greatly enhanced.
- If a stone of Group 1 is associated with the site of a church and this is believed to be its original provenance then the significance of this association is greatly enhanced.
- If a stone is directly associated with an earlier prehistoric ritual and funerary context then the significance of this association is greatly enhanced.

Locational associations

A site assumes particular significance if it is associated directly with the following categories of site:

- Earlier prehistoric ritual and funerary monuments. The significance of this association is greatly enhanced if it can be shown that the location of the cemetery was directly influenced by the presence of the earlier monument.
- Pre-Christian secular or domestic monuments, for example, the presence of Iron Age and Romano-British settlement within the northern henge at Llandygai.
- Enclosures not including later church graveyards. These associations are relatively rare in north-west Wales and confirmed examples have enhanced significance.
- Churches. The significance of this association is greatly enhanced if it can be shown that the relationship is a direct or sequential one rather than circumstantial and that there are independent grounds for associating the burial with the earlier period.

Recommendations for conservation and further work

A total of 47 entries has been identified in the catalogue of Early Medieval burial sites. In addition, 48 inscribed stones, indicative of burial, are known from the study area. A further 52 stones of Groups 2 and 3 including a small number of unclassified or miscellaneous stones have also been recorded, of which a proportion is recognised to have been indicative of burial.

There are considerable difficulties regarding the conservation of this resource.

Burial sites

The locations of burial in this period are rarely visible above the surface of the ground, as many other monument classes are. They are unlikely to have been enclosed within defined graveyard boundaries unless a later church developed on the same site. Even in these instances the graveyard will not necessarily be commensurate with the extent of early burial.

The identification of early burial grounds has almost invariably been at the point of disturbance or destruction rather than through archaeological fieldwork or antiquarian observation. In those instances where new sites have been first discovered through archaeological excavation, this has, in each case, been incidental to work on either the visible structure of an ecclesiastical site; on settlements; visible monuments of the Early Bronze Age; or through assessment in advance of development. The following table identifies the processes which have led to the identification of sites.

Activity	No.	%	
Building works or related development	10	21	
Road works and railways	7	15	
Field clearance and boundary removal	7	15	
Indirect discovery during research excavation	4	9	2 settlement; 2 EBA burials
Quarrying	4	9	
Ploughing	4	9	
Archaeological research excavation	3	6	3 ecclesiastical;
Coastal erosion	3	6	
Peat digging	1	2	
Reported (unspecified)	4	9	

The recommendations for further work which were advanced in 1999 included:

Recommendation 1

Consideration might be given to an attempt to define the limits of burial grounds where survival beyond the limits of the recorded evidence is likely and where the significance of the site is high, for the purposes of future management and/or statutory protection. This might be achieved through one, or a combination, of the following methods:

- (a) Targeted aerial survey under the right conditions of crop growth
- (b) Remote sensing survey
- (c) Targeted assessment excavation

Recommendation 2

On the analogy of more completely excavated sites, Early Bronze Age barrows and cairns may have provided a focus for more extensive burial. The significance of such association would be high. There is a possibility that further burials survive in the immediate vicinity of those Early Bronze Age mounds into which Early Medieval burials have been inserted. Consideration might be given to an attempt to define the limits of such cemeteries for the purposes of future management and/or statutory protection as proposed in Recommendation 1.

Recommendation 3

Consideration might be given to recovering contextual detail for provenances of Group 1 inscribed stones, particularly where the stones are associated with burial or with ceremonial and/or funerary monuments of earlier prehistory.

Recommendation 4

Consideration might be given to the dissemination of information as a conservation tool in order to raise public awareness of the character of these monuments and their significance.

Recommendation 5

The development of early churches before the appearance of the first surviving masonry churches in the twelfth-century, and their role in burial, is clearly of great significance in respect of our understanding of the period in general and Early Medieval burial grounds in particular. An assessment of potentially early church sites was outside the scope of the original study. Nevertheless certain criteria were proposed as a starting point in identifying such sites. It was suggested that consideration might be given to encouraging an assessment of this component of the resource as a logical progression of the study. These criteria were revised by the those participating in the current assessment of the Early Medieval Burial and Ecclesiastical Sites project and, for ecclesiastical sites, formed the basis of the methodology employed during 2001-2002.

The current project

The Early Medieval Burial and Ecclesiastical Sites project has been undertaken in conjunction with the other three Welsh Archaeological Trusts. Two joint meetings were held to discuss the parameters and methodology, attended by representatives from each of the Welsh Archaeological Trusts, Rick Turner from Cadw, Dr Mark Redknap from the NMGW, and Dr Nancy Edwards from University of Wales, Bangor. The work undertaken by the Gwynedd Archaeological Trust comprises two elements. The first, described in Part 1, involved the compilation of a database and an assessment of the identified resource, in respect of Early Medieval Ecclesiastical sites. The second, described in Part 2, sought to implement certain of the recommendations arising from the 1999 project, in respect of the identification of additional and new evidence for the sites of Early Medieval burial.

Part 1

Early Medieval Ecclesiastical Sites

Aims and Methodology

This section of the report is concerned with the fifth recommendation from the first part of this project, namely to use a set of criteria to assess the potential for the existence of early medieval remains on medieval church sites (Longley and Richards 1999, 54). The aim of this part of the project is to identify sites of early medieval date by assessing the potential of all medieval ecclesiastical sites for early medieval remains.

The following methodology was employed.

- A database of all Medieval church and chapel sites was collated from the Sites and Monuments Record.
- A set of criteria for the identification of sites was jointly agreed between the four Welsh Archaeological Trusts (see below).
- The criteria were applied to each of the identified sites.
- Site visits were made to selected sites to assess condition and threat.
- The data was processed to identify those sites of greatest potential.

Historical Background

The history and archaeology of the early church in Wales has received considerable attention in recent years, and there are now a number of publications interpreting and summarising the evidence (Davies 1982; Edwards and Lane 1992; Edwards 1996). A full discussion of the archaeological evidence for early medieval burial sites and Early Christian Monuments for Gwynedd is contained within the report which accompanied the first phase of this project (Longley and Richards 1999).

Despite advances in archaeological knowledge, the development of the church in pre-twelfth century Wales is still relatively poorly understood. The scarcity and dispersed nature of the historical evidence, and the lack of archaeological evidence for early churches, make the task of recognising and understanding its nature a difficult one. Nonetheless, there is general agreement on certain issues, and a number of these will be examined in this section, which, it is hoped, will aid identification of the early church, and its composition.

The primary element within the composition of the early Welsh church is the concept of a mother church. The classic description remains that of John Lloyd (1912, 202-28), who described a system based upon two classes of church, namely mother churches and those of 'less consideration'. The former had an abbot with a community or 'clas' of canons (claswyr), including at least one priest (offeiriad). He suggests that the mother churches were all originally monasteries operating under a monastic rule, but also offering a level of pastoral care through dependant churches. The monasteries became increasingly secular, and they came to be controlled largely by lay portioners. Cathedrals developed from selected mother churches, and the title of bishop and abbot was merged. The dependant churches became, in the twelfth century, parish churches, which were supplemented by new churches founded by prominent lay persons.

Much of this model still holds true, though more recent developments in understanding are described by Pryce (1992a; 1992b), Knight (1984; 1993) for Glamorgan and Gwent, Kirby (1994) for Cardiganshire, and Evans (1986) for Denbighshire. Work by Johns (1960) and Jones Pierce (1963) are seminal ones for Gwynedd.

One problem remains that of terminology. It has been argued that the term *clas* is a relatively late one, and that *monasterium* would be a better term for referring to these churches (Pryce 1992a). It is also undoubtedly the case that variations existed in the way each church operated, and in its relative importance, and using a single term is simplifying a far more complex situation. However, given the common usage already applied to the term, it was decided that, in order to be consistent across the four Welsh archaeological Trusts, for the purposes of this project the former mother churches would be referred to as *clas* churches. It is of interest that similar problems exist in the early English church, and it has been argued that *minster* is the logical name for early churches with a combined monastic and pastoral role (Foot 1992).

There is little evidence to ascertain the various levels between monastic and clerical duties. A number of early references make it clear that *clas* churches could have either an abbot or a bishop at its head, and that churches could contain both monks and priests. However, by the 12th century the canons were often lay persons who held a portion of the church, as was clearly the case at Holyhead where the rights were held by the descendants of two principal families (Palmer 1886), and monks may no longer be present. Similarly it is difficult to differentiate between the role of a bishop and an abbot; there was still an abbot at Tywyn in the 12th century, and it was not unusual for the abbot to be a lay person. By the eighth century at least there were archbishops, though the seat of Elfoddw, archbishop of Gwynedd who died 809, is not certain; two choices are Clynnog and Bangor (Jones 1952, 3). In 1151-2 Simon, archdeacon of Clynnog, died (Jones 1952, 58), perhaps, therefore arguing for Clynnog as the most likely seat (note that Abergele has also been suggested as a possible seat in Evans 1986, 78). It has recently been argued that the chapter at Bangor Cathedral was formed 1177-1215, developing from a clerical elite, or *familia*, who tended to encourage hereditary succession to the *familia*, and who were more closely bound in loyalty to the Welsh princes than, perhaps, to the wider Church, and particularly Canterbury (Pearson 2000).

An entry in the Welsh laws, though probably of 13th century date, throws some light on these issues. It states that 'Whosoever commits an offence in a mother church, let him pay her fourteen pounds, one half to the abbot if he is a literate divine, and the other among the priests and the *clas*. If an offence is committed in the churchyard, it is worth seven pounds; and those are shared in the same way as the others. Whosoever commits an offence in another church, let him pay seven pounds, one half to the priests and the other to the parsons' (Jenkins 1990, 41). This passage clearly refers to 'mother churches', and other (lesser or daughter?) churches. It also distinguishes between the 'priests' and the '*clas*' or community of canons, and refers to 'parsons' serving the other churches (Pryce 1993, 163-203 provides much greater discussion concerning this entry). The reference also refers to the right of ecclesiastical sanctuary at churches (*nawdd*), whereby law-breakers could take refuge within the sanctuary-place (*noddfa*) of mother churches. Though the origins of sanctuary are obscure, and it appears to be reflected in the law books as primarily a 12th and 13th century problem, those churches with the right of sanctuary are typically thought to be early establishments.

The concept of a mother church implies the existence of daughter or satellite churches, and whereas it is possible to find the sites, if not the remains, of the former, the latter are considerably more difficult to locate. Possible sites, as discussed below, may be identifiable by the application of the criteria used for this project, and identified as Class B sites in the concluding section of this report. These include sites with cross-incised slabs, as, for example, at Llangaffo and Llangeinwen on Anglesey. However, we have no indication of the number of lesser churches, and sites need not have been plentiful.

However references to mother churches are all relatively late, and Gildas makes no mention of them. Are we to look for an early monastic church, as suggested by Lloyd, from which the later *clas* churches were derived? Evidence for the strong traditions of learning associated with St Illtud, and the description of his monastery as 'crowded and tumultuous' in the 8th century *Vita Samsonis*, is interestingly contrasted with the *insula* of Piro, implying both monastic centres and isolated hermitages (Doble 1971, 88-96). If these monastic centres were, from an early stage, serving a wider community, then the cemeteries discovered by

archaeological excavation which contain not only cist and simple dug graves but also, on occasion, specially marked graves, may be those sites they visited and served. It has been suggested for north Devon that the cemeteries were set up by and for the use of estates, and served by the monasteries (Pearce 1985, 273-4). However, as pointed out above, the Christian origins of the undeveloped cemeteries remains unproven, though this does not preclude them being used for Christian burials with an accompanying Christian service.

A relationship between principal sites and hermitages is a common one that is still present in the 12th century at, for example, Penmon and Ynys Seiriol, or Aberdaron and Bardsey. St Tudwal is another possible hermitage site, as is Beddgelert. Gerald of Wales, in the 12th century, describes two of these as inhabited by *culdees*, or *Céli dé* (servants of God), which cannot predate the 8th century, but that does not preclude an earlier, similar, usage. Certainly all the sites mentioned above have archaeological evidence for pre-12th century activity.

There thus existed a variety of ecclesiastical sites, each of varying importance, ranging from principal churches, through early monasteries, lesser churches and hermitages. These differences need to be acknowledged when applying the criteria developed for this project, and many of the above themes are developed further below under the discussion of each criterion.

Criteria used to identify sites

A set of seventeen criteria have been compiled which are used to determine the likelihood of the presence of a pre-1066 ecclesiastical site. For the purposes of this project, these criteria have been applied to known church or chapel sites occupied within the medieval period; that is the primary focus has been upon the known medieval churches and chapels, and how to recognise early medieval origins of those sites. Certain criteria, in particular burials and stone memorials, occur in other locations, but these have already been fully listed and discussed (Longley and Richards 1999), and it is only when they are present on medieval ecclesiastical sites that they are considered in this report. There is, of course, considerable correlation between the two, and sites identified as medieval chapels using place-name evidence have, on two occasions, Capel Eithin (White and Smith 1999) and Capel Heilyn (see this report) revealed no evidence for use in medieval times, but only for burial in the early medieval period.

Sites which have early medieval origins, but did not continue in use into the medieval period are typically called *undeveloped* cemeteries, whereas those that did continue in use are termed *developed* sites (Thomas 1971, 50-51; this theme is also discussed in Edwards and Lane 1992, 10-11). However it has been pointed out that there is no conclusive evidence the earliest cemeteries are Christian, and indeed many of their characteristics can be found in pre-Christian contexts (Longley and Richards 1999, 25).

The criteria used for this project have been chosen during meetings between the Welsh Archaeological Trusts, Cadw and invited specialists. These build upon earlier lists of criteria given in other sources (Edwards and Lane 1992, 3-11; Longley and Richards 1999, 54-6). Caution needs to be exercised concerning their use, and arguments over the relative importance of each could be extended *ad infinitum*. However, the great value of the present list is the use of the criteria throughout Wales in a consistent manner.

The list as finally compiled comprises the following:

Grade A

1. Documented pre-Conquest (1066) church
2. Clas/portionary church evidence
3. Direct archaeological evidence (e.g. excavated cist graves, radiocarbon dated deposits etc)
4. Saint's grave/capel y bedd
5. Siting within Roman fort etc

Grade B

GRADE B

1. Multiple churches in same churchyard
2. Church plan form
3. Archaeological evidence, undated but compatible with early medieval date
4. Decorated stones, in situ
5. Inscribed stones, in situ
6. Artefacts of early medieval date
7. Prehistoric associations; features in the immediate vicinity

Grade C

- 1 Churchyard morphology
2. British dedication
3. Placename: eglwys; merthyr
4. Wells bearing saint's name nearby
- 5 Antiquarian statement on site antiquity

The indicators are grouped into three grades, according to their perceived ability to identify early ecclesiastical sites. Thus Grade A attributes can broadly be viewed as an incontrovertible sign of early origins, Grade B as a probable indicator and Grade C as a possible indicator. As will be seen in the discussions below, this is not always clear cut, and it is possible that a church listed with an 'A' indicator may be considered as only a 'probable' site because of doubt over the indicator attribution.

Results

Grade A

A1 Documented pre-Conquest (1066) church

The mention of a church within a proven early text is irrefutable proof of the presence of a church at that time or earlier. Unfortunately, the occurrence of church names in early texts is rare, and sometimes the church is not always explicitly referred to, thus lessening the certainty of this indicator. For example, one of the best potential sources of material are the *Chronicles of the Princes*, which mention numerous places, particularly in association with Viking raids (Jones 1952; 1955). A reasonable assumption is that the wealth of the church was the primary target, but this is not explicitly stated. The places referred to in this way are all have churches identified by other indicators as being of regional importance, that is, *clas* churches. These include Holyhead (raided 961), Tywyn (963) Penmon (971), Clynnog (978) and Bangor (1073). The implication is that these churches were wealthy enough to be worth raiding, and therefore of particular importance, however it is interesting that there is only a single record of raiding each church, and indeed the only church in Wales documented to have been raided more than once was St Davids.

Llanfor church is mentioned within the saga cycle of Llywarch Hen, thought to have been originally composed in the mid or late ninth century, but surviving in manuscript from the 13th century. The tale records that Llywarch, a former sixth century chieftain of north Britain, has been reduced to serving as a cowherd and subsisting on acorns. He meets a passing horseman, Llallogan, and asks for hospitality, but instead is told to make for Llanfawr, which is identified as lying on the Dee and by the Tryweryn, an accurate description of the location of Llanfor (Williams 2001, 508-10).

A possible early reference to Bangor is found in the *Annales Cambrie* for 584 AD; the entry reads '*deposito Danielis Bancorum*' (the burial of Daniel of the Bangors). A slightly later reference occurs in the *Annals of Ulster* for the year 631/634 when '*Bennochor moer in Britannia*' (Bangor the great in Britain) is referred to (quoted in Roberts 1994, 24).

The *Brut* contains an entry for 1012 which reads '*Ac a bu varw Hayarn Drut, mynach o Enlli*' (And Haeardndrud, a monk from Bardsey, died) (Jones 1955, 18-19). Though Aberdaron is not mentioned in an early reference, the importance of the church in Early Medieval times is

implied by the manner in which Gruffudd ap Rhys sought sanctuary there from Gruffudd ap Cynan in 1115 (Jones 1955, 84-5).

The reference in the *Brut* to the 'Battle of Llan-faes' in 817, must imply the presence of a 'Llan' and presumably a church there by that date (Jones 1955, 3).

In 1188 Gerald of Wales travelled around Wales, and stopped at a number of churches. His references to these, though over 100 years later than the cut-off date for this project, at least suggest the presence of churches by the late twelfth century, and the manner in which he refers to them suggest some were of reasonable age by that date. The sites mentioned are Tywyn, Llanfair (by Harlech), Nefyn, Bangor, and, in passing, Llandyfydog. In addition two monasteries are referred to, the first as 'Beyond Lleyrn, there is a small island inhabited by very religious monks, called Caelibes, or Coidei..... Its name is Enlli in the Welsh, and Berdesey in the Saxon language; and very many bodies of saints are said to be buried there, and amongst them that of Daniel, bishop of Bangor' (Williams 1908, 116). The second reference is to Ynys Seiriol, 'There is a small island, almost adjoining to Anglesey, which is inhabited by hermits, living by manual labour, and serving God..... This island is called in Welsh, Ynys Lenach, or the ecclesiastical island, because many bodies of saints are deposited there, and no woman suffered to enter it' (Williams 1908, 122-3). Beddgelert is also mentioned by Gerald, where the inmates are described as 'bound to no particular order of monks or canons but were celibates or culdees, that is, worshippers of God, given alike to continence and to abstinence, chiefly outstanding for their works of charity and hospitality' (quoted and translated in Johns 1960, 31). The *Céli dé* (servants of God), or Culdee movement, formed in Ireland in the later 8th century, founded a number of more ascetic communities, many of them close to or associated with existing monasteries (Edwards 1990, 100), a pattern which could include Ynys Seiriol and Bardsey, but not Beddgelert, unless a *clas* church existed alongside the more ascetic culdee monastery. The remains on St Tudwal may also have been of a similar type (Haugue 1960). It has been suggested that a group of poems preserved in the Black Book of Carmarthen, though not written down until the 12th century, may have originated within one of the culdee monasteries (Davies 1996, 45-8).

Several churches are mentioned in the biography of Gruffudd ap Cynan (c. 1055 to 1137), composed probably in the 13th century, and to whom he left money when he died. If the amount of money is relevant, then Christchurch in Dublin, St Davids in Pembroke, the monastery of Shrewsbury and the church of Bangor (where he was buried) were considered the more important. Next came Holyhead, Penmon, Clynnog and Bardsey, all in north-west Wales, and the major churches of Meifod, Llanarmon and Dineirth in north-east Wales.

Neither the references by Gerald, nor those in Gruffudd's biography are included in the list below as they fall outside the date set for this project, but both are taken into account when grading the likelihood of a pre-conquest church on the site.

List of Documented pre-Conquest (1066) churches

781	ST MARY'S ABBEY, BARDSEY ISLAND	Reference in 1012 to death of Monk Iarddur (BT Pen 20, 11)
2305	BANGOR CATHEDRAL	Reference in <i>Annales Cambriae</i> 584 and <i>Ulster</i> 631/4
6915	HOLYHEAD CHURCH	Raided in 961 (BT Pen 20, 8)
6922	CLYNNOG FAWR CHURCH	Raided in 978 (BT Pen 20, 9)
6982	LLANFAES CHURCH	Reference to 'Battle of Llan-faes' in 817 (BT Pen 20, 3)
7005	LLANFOR CHURCH	Reference in Llywarch Hen to Llanfawr (9 th century).
7054	PENMON CHURCH	Raided in 971 (BT Pen 20, 8)
7078	TYWYN CHURCH	Raided in 963 (BT Pen 20, 8)

A2 Clas / Portionary church evidence

The use of this indicator is fraught with problems, particularly concerning the definition of various terms used to describe the early church in Wales, and the extent to which it was monastic and/or Episcopal (see the introduction above). Typically, this indicator is taken to refer to a church of regional importance (the region may be as large as a *cantref*), which would contain a body of canons (and quite possibly monks also) and which was responsible for providing pastoral care throughout the region, usually through manning lesser churches. Typically it would equate with the English Minster church. The use of the term *clas* has been questioned by Pryce (1992a, 48-61), who argues that the Latin *monasterium* may be a better word to use. Nonetheless, for the sake of convenience, the term *clas* church has been used in this report to refer to former Welsh mother churches. The date of the introduction of *clas* churches is uncertain, though they are typically seen as developing out of early monastic foundations of the sixth century, such as may have been founded by Cybi and Seiriol, and which are better evidenced in south Wales at Llanilltud (Knight 1984, 375). A change to a more secular way of life took place, though this was partly off-set by the establishment (or continuation) of the more ascetic monasteries and hermitages at Ynys Seiriol, Bardsy, St Tudwal's and Beddgelert.

Despite problems over their definition, there is little doubt that a number of regionally important ecclesiastical centres existed within the later Early Medieval period, and which continued to exist into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Thus the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas undertaken in 1291 (Record Commission 1802) records a number of churches which had their revenues divided into portions. In the case of Holyhead it has been shown that the twelve portions were being received by lay persons, and these were directly descended from two patrons of the twelfth century (Palmer 1886). This type of institution, recorded also in derogatory terms by Giraldus, is thought to indicate a high level of secular intrusion into church affairs which took place in the later early medieval period, and which was sharply dealt with in the twelfth century, when a number were granted to the Augustinian Order, or given collegiate status.

The portionary churches recorded in the 1291 *Taxatio* are: Holyhead, Clynnog, Tywyn, Llanfor, Llanymawddwy and Corwen. The latter lies outside the study area, but was formerly responsible for Edeirnion. Certain churches are not necessarily *portionary*, but other evidence exists for their being referred to as a *clas* church. For example Aberdaron had canons associated with it, and Llanellian had its own *abadaeth*, or *clas* lands. Penmon, similarly, had canons and its *abadaeth* associated with it. The portion associated with Llanfaes in the 1291 *taxatio* is not fully understood, but there is no evidence that it reflects an early medieval status.

The granting of the earlier *clas* churches of Enlli and Penmon to the Augustinian Order by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth in the thirteenth century (Jones-Pierce 1963; Carr 1986) formed an alternative future to becoming collegiate and/or portionary. The Augustinian Order was chosen because its members were ordained priests, and thus were able to accept the former responsibilities of the *claswyr* or canons, as they did at Enlli, where they served a wide number of subordinate chapels (Jones-Pierce 1963, 405).

Beddgelert was also granted to the Augustinians, and although it is included in this section as a *clas* church, its status in the early medieval period is not clear. Gerald of Wales records the existence of a monastery of culdees (see above), but the Augustinian Priory was responsible for serving several churches in the vicinity, and it is therefore probable that responsibility for these was inherited from a former mother church, which may have been served by priests or canons existing alongside the monks. Two other churches are associated with the Augustinians, though their earlier origins are obscure. The monastery on St Tudwal's island was certainly Augustinian, and there is slight archaeological evidence for early medieval activity (Hague 1960), but the nature of the community is not known, and it has not been

included here as *clas* church. Finally there is a possibility of an Augustinian Priory at Nefyn, but the status of the church is uncertain, and it is not included here as a *clas* church.

Map 00 shows the churches mapped against *cantrefi* boundaries. The date of the establishment of *cantrefi* is not known, but they are usually thought to pre-date commotal boundaries, which may be of twelfth century origin (Jones 1998). Once mapped, two *Cantrefi*, Arllechwedd and Ardudwy, are without dominant churches. A case has recently been argued for Llandannwg being the principal church of Ardudwy (Pryce 2001, 266-7; also suggested by Knight 1999, 146), where it is suggested that it once formerly included the later parishes of Llanbedr and Llanfair. The choice of a principal church for Arllechwedd is not easy. It may be Penmachno, which certainly had two churches in one cemetery in medieval times, and a number of inscribed stones are known from the site and vicinity. However, the usual choice would be a coastal site, and Penmachno is far inland. More work is required to ascertain the former status of Aber, Llanfairfechan and Dwygyfichi.

List of Clas/Portionary churches

2305	BANGOR CATHEDRAL	Portionary church
6901	ABERDARON CHURCH	Clas church
6915	HOLYHEAD CHURCH	Portionary church
6922	CLYNNOG FAWR CHURCH	Portionary church
6949	LLANDANNWG CHURCH	Possible Clas church
6972	LLANEILIAN CHURCH	Clas church
6982	LLANFAES CHURCH	Single portion in Taxatio P. Nicholl
7005	LLANFOR CHURCH	Clas church
7041	LLANYMAWDDWY CHURCH	Portionary Church
7054	PENMON CHURCH	Clas church
7078	TYWYN CHURCH	Portionary church

A3 Direct archaeological evidence

This attribute becomes positive if there is archaeological evidence for pre-1066 activity on the site of a medieval church or chapel. This does not provide evidence for the existence of an ecclesiastical structure upon the site, merely that these sites are good candidates for the former existence of one. Indeed, there are very few sites with securely dated evidence; the majority being undated, and therefore listed in category B3 below. Categories B4 and B5, sites containing inscribed and decorated incised stones, are also related to this group.

In only two instances (Towyn y Capel and Llangian) have early radiocarbon dates been received of appropriate date, and the latter is from a context of unknown origin, so is not included here.

A firm example is Towyn y Capel, a site containing dated 7th century burials, and which formerly possessed a stone chapel of medieval date (Davidson 1997; 1998).

List of sites with direct archaeological evidence

2001	TOWYN Y CAPEL	Cist graves on site of 7th century date (Davidson 1997; 1998)
2305	BANGOR CATHEDRAL	A cemetery of 76 graves was excavated east of the Cathedral, on a site later occupied by the medieval chantry chapel 'Capel Goryw'. (PRN 2371 and Longley 1995). Also slot adjacent to Cathedral dated AD 540-752

5017	MONASTERY, YNYS SEIRIOL	(Longley 1995, 56). Excavation and survey have shown the 12 th century chancel and tower to have been preceded by a small barrel-vaulted structure containing a long-cist burial (Hughes 1901).
6915	HOLYHEAD CHURCH	Coin of 975-8 found within the cemetery (Dolley and Knight 1970, 80-81; PRN 1547). Also cist graves (PRN 6894) reported by Llwyd (1833, 205) south of church.

A4 Capel y Bedd

Capeli y Bedd are mortuary chapels, usually associated with a major church, built over the location regarded as the burial place of the saint venerated at that church (Longley and Richards 1999, 11). They may perform the same function as a *cella memoriae*, that is a place or structure containing the relics of a dead person, or they may house a reliquary performing the same function. There are four examples in Gwynedd: Llaneilian, Holyhead, Clynnog and Tywyn. At the three former sites the chapels were all rebuilt in the late medieval period. At Llaneilian and Clynnog they are simple single cell structures, though Holyhead was formerly a two cell structure, of which only the nave remains. The chapel at Tywyn no longer stands but was recorded in the additional information in Camden's *Britannia* of 1789 as a free-standing chapel in the north-west of the churchyard known as Capel Cadfan (note that Baring-Gould and Fisher *Lives of the British Saints*, describe it in the north-east corner, but do not give their source – there is considerably more space in the north-west corner, which looks the more likely spot. See also Davidson 2001, 368-9). As noted in the discussion of B3 below, the late medieval chapel at Clynnog is known to have been preceded by an earlier structure, certainly of 12th century date, but more likely of pre-11th century date. The four known examples are all associated with known *clas* churches. Any saint's (or founder's) graves at lesser churches are more likely to be found underlying the medieval chancel, as, perhaps, at Capel Maelog (Britnell 1990). The earlier chancel at Ynys Seiriol fits into this latter category.

List of sites associated with Capel y Bedd

6915	HOLYHEAD CHURCH	Eglwys y Bedd (PRN 1764)
6922	CLYNNOG FAWR CHURCH	Capel y Bedd
6972	LLANEILIAN CHURCH	Capel y bedd
7078	TYWYN CHURCH	Former Capel y Bedd (PRN 4804)

A5 Siting within Roman fort

It is not uncommon to find Christian churches sited within Roman forts. The significance of this is not fully understood, and the usual explanation is that they were convenient sites that were within the gift of local rulers (Morris 1989, 119). Several early Continental examples are known, for example the gift of the fort at Amboise (Indre-et-Loire) to a group of monks c. 400 (Blair 1992, 235-6), and Bede records several examples of Roman forts being granted for ecclesiastical use.

Two churches lie within Roman forts in north-west Wales. The principal example is Holyhead, sited within the late Roman fort of Caer Gybi. The Life of St Cybi (written c. 1200) records that the fort was donated to St Cybi by King Maelgwn (Wade Evans 1944, 234-51). Other indicators would clearly point to Holyhead being one of the more significant churches in Gwynedd prior to the 11th century, and its situation within a place of former political importance could also be a factor influencing location. In contrast, there is little evidence for the existence of a church at Caerhun prior to 1200. Rhun was, of course, the (possibly illegitimate) son of Maelgwn Gwynedd, and succeeded him as ruler of Gwynedd. He came to be regarded as the founder of the royal dynasty which ended with Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, but there is no direct line between the two, and little of certainty is known about his life (Owen

2000, 238-9). The current dedication of the church is to St Mary, though this may be 12th century, and a replacement of an earlier dedication.

The siting of a church within a Roman fort is not an example of the continuity of Roman Christian sites for which there is little evidence in Wales (Arnold and Davies 2000, 130-2). However, the requirement to site cemeteries outside settlements in the Roman period, and their appearance alongside Roman roads outside the fort perimeter may have influenced the siting of Llanbeblig church outside Segontium; it is also noteworthy that the church lies close to the site of a *mithraeum* (Boon 1960), though there need be no significance in this. The church at Aberffraw is similarly sited if we assume a fort existed there (White and Longley 1995). Burials have been found in association with an inscribed stone outside Caer Gai fort in a field called Cae Capel, though this is most likely a capel reference to an undeveloped cemetery (Longley and Richards 1999). There are also burials outside Tomen y Mur, though these are Roman in character and not Christian. Nothing is known from the fort at Bryn y Gyfeiliau. Pennal church lies relatively close to the Roman fort, though any direct causal link is tenuous.

Because of the doubtful nature of the relationship between the Roman forts and church, this indicator, though left in 'A' to ensure compatibility with the other Welsh Trusts, will typically be used to score relevant churches of 'B' status only. In particular any direct relationship at Aberffraw, Caer Gai and Pennal is questionable, and there is little evidence that Caerhun is of early date.

List of sites associated with Roman forts

6903	ABERFFRAW CHURCH	Roman fort adjacent to church (PRN 3016)
6915	HOLYHEAD CHURCH	Lies within Caer Gybi fort (PRN 1762)
6916	CAERHUN CHURCH	Lies within Caerhun fort (PRN 662)
6942	LLANBEBLIG CHURCH	Lies adjacent to Segontium Roman fort (PRN 3089)
20002	CAE CAPEL, CAER GAI	Field called Cae Capel lies south of fort
7057	PENNAL CHURCH	Roman fort lies 400m SE of church (PRN 5177)

B1 Multiple churches in same churchyard

There is some evidence that Anglo-Saxon Minster churches and Irish monastic churches contained more than one church within an enclosure (Blair 1992, 246-50, Edwards 1990, 104-14), the separate churches lying either parallel to one another, or more usually in an east-west line. Each church would be dedicated to a different saint. There is no clear evidence from Wales, but nonetheless evidence for the existence of more than one church on a single site in medieval times could be indicative of early origins.

The principal examples are those churches containing *capeli y bedd*, discussed under A4 above, and therefore not repeated in this section. The only known example of a cemetery which contained two churches is Penmachno, which contained St Enclwyd's and St Tudclyd's churches. There is little evidence concerning the former, which may have fallen into disrepair shortly after the Reformation, and there is now no visible evidence. The latter was rebuilt between 1857 and 1862 when a new church was erected on the site of the old. There is some evidence for another church in the parish of Penmachno dedicated to St Tudclyd (Hughes and North 1924, 115-24), and it is therefore possible that the second one was built to replace the first during the Middle Ages.

Capel Gorfyw, Bangor, though the date of origin is unknown, lay within the cathedral precincts at Bangor, and was used as a chantry chapel in the 15th century (Longley 1995, 66).

List of sites with multiple churches

7053	PENMACHNO CHURCH	Evidence for 2 churches in cemetery
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B2 Church plan form

There is strong evidence that the plan layout of cruciform churches in England in the 11th and 12th centuries was influenced by their former use as Minster churches, and the space requirements demanded by a body of canons (Blair 1998). It is probable that similar demands were required of *clas* churches, and it is certainly true that the more important *clas* churches were built to a cruciform plan in the 12th or 13th century, and that there are no cruciform plan churches of that date which were not *clas* churches. The primary examples are Penmon and Tywyn (RCAHMW 1937, 119-22; Davidson 2001, 368-70). Corwen also is of cruciform plan, and though there is no evidence for a central tower, there is a west tower, which though of later medieval date could, perhaps, replace an earlier one. Twelfth century west towers are present at Llaneilian and Llanfor, but these are not confined to churches of *clas* status, and also exist at Llanfechell and, possibly, Llannerchymedd. Although the status conferred by the presence of a west tower is not known, it does suggest they were dominant churches in the 12th century, and therefore dominant also in the early medieval period (this approach is discussed further below when considering the use of the medieval taxation's).

The original plan form at Holyhead is unknown, but was almost certainly cruciform (Hughes 1930, 360), though not necessarily with a central tower. There is no evidence for elaborate plan form at the *clas* churches of Aberdaron or Llanymawddwy.

A number of churches became cruciform as a result of the construction of transepts in late medieval times, but these are not considered here.

List of churches with cruciform plan or with west tower

5017	MONASTERY, YNYS SEIRIOL	Transeptal plan
6915	HOLYHEAD CHURCH	Originally transeptal in plan
6972	LLANEILIAN CHURCH	12th century west tower
6976	LLANNERCHYMEDD CHURCH	Probable 12th century west tower
6993	LLANFEHELL CHURCH	12th century west tower
7005	LLANFOR CHURCH	12th century west tower
7054	PENMON CHURCH	Transeptal plan
7078	TYWYN CHURCH	Transeptal plan

B3 Archaeological evidence: undated but compatible with early medieval date

This indicator contains a mixed bag of possible archaeological evidence which does not fit into the other categories. Cross-incised and inscribed stones are considered within B4 and B5 below, and other artefacts are considered under B6. The primary archaeological evidence is from extended inhumations on an east-west alignment, some of which are in stone long-cists, others in simple dug graves. Some of the burials have been found a short distance from later churches, rather than immediately adjacent. For example the Llanrhyddlad graves were found about "300 yards south of the entrance of Llanrhyddlad church" (Baynes 1935, 189), and the Penmon burials were found some distance from the monastery during clearance for quarrying. Capel Deiniol is more likely to be an undeveloped cemetery than a 'developed' site. Llanfair Garth Brenan contains a structure which may be a medieval chapel, and the long-cist graves would suggest an early date for the foundation of the site.

The earlier chapel and burials at Clynnog are compatible with an early medieval date, though the only secure dating is a penny of Edward I or Edward II stratified above (Stalleybrass 1914).

The Priory at St Tudwal's, given the parallels for island sites at Seiriol and Bardsey, should have early medieval origins, though the only excavated evidence is from 4 graves set on a separate alignment to the chapel which overlay them (RCAHMW 1964, 48-50).

The cell at Penmon is included within this category, though there is no dating evidence for it.

The radiocarbon date from Llangian churchyard is secure, but the evidence may not be from an ecclesiastical context.

List of churches with archaeology undated but compatible with early medieval date

2070	CAPEL DEINIOL, BOD DEINIOL, LLANBABO	4 cist graves (PRN 2070 and 13,918) found on site known as 'Capel Deiniol'.
3182	CHAPEL LLANFAIR (SITE OF), GARTH BRENAN	3 cist burials and 16 dug graves on site of medieval chapel (Hughes 1926).
4010	MEDIEVAL PRIORY, ST TUDWAL'S ISLAND EAST	4 graves pre-dated the medieval chapel and were on different alignment.
6922	CLYNNOG FAWR CHURCH	Cist burials under chapel (PRN 7316) which pre-date 14 th century (Stalleybrass 1914).
7014	LLANGIAN CHURCH	6th century radiocarbon date from ditch.
7032	LLANRHYDDLAD CHURCH	Cist burials to south of church (PRN 2040).
7045	LLECHCYNFARWY CHURCH	Cist burials found alongside church (PRN 2080) (Baynes 1935).
7054	PENMON CHURCH	A circular structure, traditionally the cell of Seiriol, lies alongside the well chamber also dedicated to him. Although not dated, these may be early medieval remains (PRN 2540).
7054	PENMON CHURCH	Long-cist burials were found 100m west of the church in 1847 during clearance for quarrying operations (PRN 2557).

B4 Decorated stones *in situ*

The full catalogue of decorated stones has been mapped and discussed as part of the earlier phase of this project (Longley and Richards 1999), which also included a list of stones on medieval church sites. Only one additional example of has been included here: the Class II stone from Llechcynfarwy. The siting and distribution of these stones has also recently been discussed by Edwards (2001). The typological distinctions remain those of Nash-Williams (1955). Discussion in this report will be confined to 'deveoped' sites with examples of Nash-Williams Class 2 and Class 3 stones.

B4a Class 2 cross-incised stones

The function of these stones is largely assumed to be grave markers, though none have yet been found in direct association with a grave. Other functions may include recording the donation of land to a church, marking the boundaries of church land, or as way-side praying stations (Edwards 2001, 24-6). The implications of this are that many of the stones not considered here may have a direct relationship with a church, but be situated some distance away.

There are sixteen medieval churches with examples of cross-incised stones. Of particular interest are the groups of stones at Llangaffo and Llangeinwen, implying the presence of a former workshop, an idea reinforced by the existence of a number of undecorated stone slabs within the cemetery at Llangaffo. The stone at Llanfihangel Esceifiog may belong to this group. Llangaffo and Llangeinwen were, in medieval times, held by Clynnog church, but it is not known when this association came about (Carr 1982, 273-5). If the association was early, one would expect cross-incised stones to be present at Clynnog. There are no stones known

from the cemetery, but a distinct group is to be found within Llein some of which are associated with lands owned by Clynnog (Radford and Hemp 1960; Thomas 1992): however, the latter are generally simpler incised crosses, in contrast to the more complex outline crosses from Anglesey.

Many of the churches with cross-incised stones also have other indicators suggesting an early date, for example Heneglwys and Llechcynfarwy. The presence of stones at other sites may point to sites of particular former importance for which the remaining evidence is now missing, for example Amlwch, Penrhos Lligwy and Llanfaes.

List of churches with Class 2 cross-incised stones (note: NW refers to numbers in Nash-Williams 1950).

781	ST MARY'S ABBEY, BARDSEY ISLAND	2 cross incised slabs (PRN 3628, 1588: scheduled).
1583	LLANFIHANGEL YSGEIFIOG CHURCH	Cross-incised stone on site (PRN 3700: scheduled)
6935	HENEGLWYS CHURCH	Incised Latin cross on SE buttress of church (RCAHMW 1937, 21).
6937	LLANAELHAEARN CHURCH	Group 2 incised cross recorded but now lost (NW 88).
6941	LLANBADRIG CHURCH	Cross incised stone (PRN 3059)
6949	LLANDANWYG CHURCH	Cross incised stone in west gable (PRN 2911)
6971	LLANEGRYN CHURCH	Cross incised stone (PRN 4918)
6982	LLANFAES CHURCH	Cross incised stone (PRN 13919)
7000	LLANFIHANGEL TRE'R BEIRDD CHURCH	Cross incised stone in church (PRN 2189)
7009	LLANGAFFO CHURCH	7 cross-incised stones on site (NW 17-24)
7011	LLANGEINWEN CHURCH	Four cross-incised stones (PRN 2633-7; NW 28-31)
7018	LLANGWNNADL CHURCH	Group 2 cross incised stone (PRN 3641)
7022	LLANGYBI CHURCH	Cross incised stone by path (PRN 2773)
7045	LLECHCYNFARWY CHURCH	Cross incised slab found SW of church (Edwards 2001, 22)
7053	PENMACHNO CHURCH	1 cross incised stones (PRN 3733)
7059	PENRHOS LLIGWY CHURCH	Skinner (1908, 77-8) records two or three slabs carved with the 'figure of a cross'.

Class B4b Class 3 decorated stones

These stones are more closely associated with former *clas* churches than Class 2 stones, and are generally thought to indicate churches of regional importance. It has been suggested that they may have had several functions including the marking of land boundaries and recording of land donations (Edwards 2001, 33-35), and the two stones at Penmon are specifically cited in this context.

It is interesting that several Class 3 stones are to be found at Llangaffo, perhaps marking the continuation of a workshop, and similarly that one has been found at Llanfihangel Esceifog (Edwards 1993).

The significance of the Llanfachraith and Llanfair Mathafarn Eithaf crosses is unknown: there is no other evidence for an early date at either church.

Two other stones have been placed in this group, namely the sundials from Clynnog and Tywyn. These are of 10th or 11th century date, and are assumed to have been associated with the monastic houses at the two sites (Thomas 1989, 111-13).

1583	LLANFIHANGEL YSGEIFIOG CHURCH	Decorated cross-head found in cemetery wall (Edwards 1993).
1308	BANGOR CATHEDRAL	3 Fragmentary blocks c. 1100. (NW 75)

		80a, 81)
6922	CLYNNOG FAWR CHURCH	Sundial in churchyard (PRN 2768)
6978	LLANFACHRAITH CHURCH	Decorated cross-head in church (NW 8)
6987	LLANFAIR MATHAFARN EITHAF CHURCH	Pillar stone with fragmentary cross-head (PRN 3615; NW 11)
7009	LLANGAFFO CHURCH	3 Group 3 stones (NW 14, 15, 16).
7054	PENMON CHURCH	2 Free standing crosses (PRN 2543, 2552; NW 37, 38)
7078	TYWYN CHURCH	Sun dial (Thomas 1989, 111-113).

B5 Inscribed stones *in situ*

The inscribed stones considered here are confined to those thought to have been found on a developed church site. However, the origin of the stones is rarely known with certainty, and the risk of forming incorrect associations must always be borne in mind. The full distribution and associations of these stones have been discussed and mapped during the earlier phase of this project (Longley and Richards 1999; see also Edwards 2001 for a discussion of location and function).

Certain associations appear more positive than others. Two examples include the name of the dedicated saint, namely Saturninus at Llansadwrn, and Catamanus at Llangadwaladr.

In some instances the presence of an inscribed stone is combined with other indicators to suggest identification of an early site. Such examples include Llanfor, Llangian, Llanymawddwy, Penmachno and Tywyn. In contrast other churches contain no additional evidence, such as Llangefni, Llandecwyn and Treflys, and these sites must, unless other evidence becomes available, be treated with caution.

Two sites in this category are not certainly developed sites, namely Trefollwyn and Anelog. Both are 'Capel' sites, which often applies to undeveloped cemeteries. The former has been investigated as part of this project and the evidence suggests an undeveloped cemetery, though documentary evidence does suggest the presence of a clearly marked cemetery into post-medieval times (see below p ??). There are remains at Anelog of a rectangular building (RCAHMW 1964, 3) which may be those of a medieval chapel, but positive identification remains unproven and the foundations may have nothing to do with any ecclesiastical remains.

List of Inscribed stones *in situ*

1201	CAPEL ANELOG	2 Inscribed stones found on site (PRN 1571 Scheduled)
2142	CAPEL HEILYN, TREFOLLWYN	Inscribed Soris stone (PRN 2668) now lost
6935	HENEGLWYS CHURCH	Inscribed stone (PRN 2135)
6937	LLANAEHLAEARN CHURCH	2 Inscribed stones in church (PRN 1563, 1564)
6949	LLANDANWYG CHURCH	2 Inscribed stones (PRN 4077, 4780)
6957	LLANDECWYN CHURCH	Inscribed stone (PRN 4182)
6984	LLANFAGLAN CHURCH	Inscribed stone (PRN 3103)
7005	LLANFOR CHURCH	Inscribed stone (PRN 3204)
7008	LLANGADWALADR CHURCH	Inscribed stone (PRN 3005)
7010	LLANGEFNI CHURCH	Inscribed Culidori stone (PRN 2673)
7014	LLANGIAN CHURCH	Inscribed Medici stone (PRN 1246)
7029	LLANNOR CHURCH	Inscribed stone Figvlini (PRN 439)
7035	LLANSADWRN CHURCH	Inscribed Saturninus stone (PRN 2644)
7041	LLANYMAWDDWY CHURCH	Lost Inscribed stone (PRN 4952)
7053	PENMACHNO CHURCH	Inscribed stone (Oria, PRN 3700) found

		during demolition of medieval church.
7073	TREFLYS CHURCH	Inscribed stone (PRN 1299)
7078	TYWYN CHURCH	2 Inscribed stones (PRN 4798, 4799)

B6 Artefacts of early medieval date

There are five hand-bells associated with churches in this area, namely Llanrhyddlad, Llanarmon, Llangwnadl, Llangystenin and Dolwyddelan (Fisher 1926, 324-34). Close dating of these artefacts is not possible, but bells are traditionally associated with their own saint, and Gerald of Wales wrote that the Welsh people and clergy 'have such a preference for portable bells, staffs crooked at the top and encased in gold, silver or bronze and other similar relics of the saints that they are more afraid of swearing oaths upon them and then breaking their word than they are upon the Gospels' (Dimock 1868, 27, quoted in Pryce 1992b, 25-6). Ornamentation on St Gwynhoedl's bell suggests a 9th to 11th century date (Redknap 1991, 80), similar dates for the remaining bells are not unlikely. The bell from Dolwyddelan was reputedly found on the site of the former church some 300m south-west of the present church (Hughes and North 1924, 124-134). The only other item is a bronze pin found during grave digging in Llanfairpwllgwyngyll churchyard (Fox 1940).

List of artefacts of early medieval date

3724	CHURCH, BRYN Y BEDD, DOLWYDDELAN	Hand bell in medieval church
6939	LLANARMON CHURCH	Handbell in church (PRN 6898)
7018	LLANGWNNADL CHURCH	Handbell in church
7019	LLANGWSTENIN CHURCH	Handbell in church
7032	LLANRHYDDLAD CHURCH	Hand bell in church
6988	LLANFAIR PWLLGWYNGYLL CHURCH	Bronze pin found in cemetery (Fox 1940)

B7 Prehistoric associations

The association of prehistoric secular, ceremonial and funerary monuments with sites of the early medieval period are discussed in Longley and Richards (1999, 35-9). Here the discussion will be confined to prehistoric associations with developed ecclesiastical sites. It is generally true to say that the majority of Prehistoric associations occur with undeveloped cemetery sites than with developed sites.

The most frequent association is with standing stones, of which there are five occurrences. Two parishes are named after standing stones, Llechcynfarwydd and Maentwrog. The stone at the former site (PRN 2080) is no longer present, but lay some 100m north-east of the church, and is clearly marked on Lewis Morris's map of 1723 (UWB Bodorgan Mss 1579). The stone at Maentwrog is within the churchyard, but is reputed to have been moved there from another site (RCAHMW 1921, 154). The stone features in the fourth branch of the Mabinogi, where 'Maen Tyriawg, above Y Felenrhyd' was the burial place of Pryderi, slain by Gwydion (Davidson 2001, 365; Williams 2001 315-16). A standing stone lies within the cemetery of the church of St Peter ad Vincula, Sarn Melltteyrn (PRN 1256), and adjacent to the churches at Llanfihangel Tre'r Beirdd (PRN 1999 and 2199) and Llanddyfnan (PRN 2753). A series of Bronze Age round barrows lie a short distance east of Llanddyfnan church.

There are few other associations worthy of note, though the location of Llanfihangel Din Silwy church so close to the dominant hillfort of Bwrdd Arthur is of potential interest.

The remaining sites, with the possible exception of Capel Llochwydd, have been included for the sake of completeness, but the significance of any relationship is likely to be slight or non-existent.

List of sites with Prehistoric associations

779	ST MARY'S CHURCH, NW OF MYNYDD GWYDDEL	Enclosure adjacent to site (PRN 3630, 3631)
1200	CHURCH OF ST PETER AD VINCULA, SARN MEYLLTEYRN	Standing stone in churchyard (PRN 1256).
1260	CAPEL FAIR, GALLT-TRAETH	Burial urns possibly found on site (PRN 3623)
1752	CAPEL LLOCHWYDD, HOLYHEAD	Hut circles and cairns on site of chapel (PRN 1753, 1754).
2058	CAPEL BRONWEN, LLANYNGHENEDL	D shaped cropmark alongside (PRN 6642)
2060	CAPEL NETTI, MYNWENT MWROG, LLANFWROG	Bronze spear head findspot (PRN 2057)
2157	LLAN Y GWYDDEL, CERRIG GWYDDEL	Possible Cist close by (PRN 7871).
2519	MURDDYN EGLWYS, LLANFAIR-YN-NEUBWLL	Possible tumulus close by (PRN 2521).
6944	LLANBEDR GOCH CHURCH	Part of concentric enclosure to north visible on AP.
6956	LLANDDYFNAN CHURCH	Standing stone adjacent (PRN 2753)
6998	LLANFIHANGEL DIN SYLWY CHURCH	Bwrdd Arthur Hill fort (PRN 2595)
7000	LLANFIHANGEL TRE'R BEIRDD CHURCH	Maenaddwyn Standing Stones (PRN 1999, 2199).
7011	LLANGEINWEN CHURCH	Prehistoric stone head found in cemetery wall (PRN 84).
7045	LLECHCYNFARWY CHURCH	Stone of Cynfarwy (PRN 2078).
7047	MAENTWROG CHURCH	Stone of Twrog (PRN 4352)
7052	PENLLECH CHURCH	Cup-marked stone 300m E. (PRN 1259)

C1 Churchyard Morphology

It is a widely held belief that circular churchyards denote an early foundation, and yet this belief has rarely been archaeologically tested. A number of studies have been undertaken which attempt to use the curvilinearity of a cemetery boundary as an indicator for an early church foundation (Brook 1992; Preston-Jones 1992), and results suggest that the majority of early foundations do have cemeteries with curvilinear boundaries, though these may be confined to sites of 8th century date or later (Dark, K., 2000, 162, quoting David Petts, unpublished). Sites earlier than the 8th century are rarely enclosed. Thomas (1971, 50) considered the 'enclosed circular aspect' to be one of the really important characteristics of the primary field-monuments of insular Christianity.

There is also some evidence that larger concentric outer enclosures formerly surrounded early churches (James 1992), though the purpose of the outer enclosure is not clearly defined. There is evidence that the larger churches, as at Bangor and Llandeilo, had clearly defined large enclosures, and these were then well suited to become the nucleus of later urban settlement (Butler 1979; for Bangor see also Longley 1994). A similar process has been identified in Ireland (Swan 1985).

Examples also occur, however, of concentric outer enclosures around smaller churches. Jones (1981, 206-8) has attempted to associate such enclosures with Tir Corddlan, or nucleal land. These would form a specific type of nucleal land, which appears to have its origins in church lands used to support the members of the *clas*. The Welsh laws accept the presence of a defined enclosure around a church when defining the rights of sanctuary, as in the following passage 'Whoever takes sanctuary, it is right for him to go about in the churchyard and the enclosure without relics on him, while his livestock go with the livestock of the clas and the abbots as far as the farthest point to which they go while able to return to their cattle pen.....The measure of an enclosure is a legal area in length, with its end at the churchyard and surrounding the churchyard' (Jenkins 1986, 82). Examples of strips surrounding a churchyard in this manner existed into the 13th century at Llangadwaldr (Jones 1981, 213-15).

and may be the origin of the outer enclosure identified at Llanbabo, identified during research for this project, and examined by geophysical survey (see below). Further work will undoubtedly produce more sites, though it is notable that a study of maps can easily lead to the identification of a variety of possible outer enclosures, and it is possible to generate considerable numbers of these that may, on further investigation, prove to be unrelated to the church boundary.

The association of circular or curvilinear boundaries with Iron Age settlements common in south Wales (James 1992) does not appear to occur in north Wales.

There are many pitfalls to using morphology as an indicator. Circular churchyards can be constructed at any time, and are not limited to the early medieval period. Churchyards regularly change shape as they expand, or are truncated by later development, and recognising their earliest shape is rarely possible. When a curving boundary is present, this is often followed, in part, by a road or track running around the perimeter, as, for example, at Aberdaron.

The examples included within this section are those cemeteries with apparently early curvilinear boundaries (that is, pre-date the 19th century), or for which there is good documentary or archaeological evidence that they formerly existed. The list below includes 31 churches, but this is by no means exhaustive. With the exception of Aberdaron and Llanfor, none of the primary *clas* sites have curvilinear boundaries, though some sites that do, such as Llangian and Llanfaglan, do have other indicator evidence for an early foundation.

List of sites with curvilinear cemeteries

1583	LLANFIHANGEL YSGEIFIOG CHURCH	curvilinear cemetery
1998	CHURCH OF ST AELRHIW, RHIW	Large curvilinear cemetery, straight on W.
3151	OLD CHURCH OF ST. NIDAN, LLANIDAN	Curvilinear cemetery
5370	CHURCH OF ST. ENGHENEDL, LLANYNGHENEDL	Curved boundary on east
6901	ABERDARON CHURCH	Curvilinear to north
6912	BODWROG CHURCH	Part curvilinear cemetery and road
6928	DOLGELLAU CHURCH	Part curvilinear
6931	EDERN CHURCH	Large and curvilinear
6937	LLANAEHAEARN CHURCH	Part curvilinear
6939	LLANARMON CHURCH	Large curved cemetery
6940	LLANBABO CHURCH	Curvilinear cemetery
6945	LLANBEDR Y CENNIN CHURCH	Curvilinear to south
6954	LLANDDONA CHURCH	Part curvilinear with road around
6961	LLANDUDNO CHURCH	Part curvilinear boundary with road around
6966	LLANDWROG CHURCH	Partly curvilinear boundary
6967	LLANDYFRYDOG CHURCH	Curvilinear boundary
6968	LLANDYGWNNING CHURCH	Part curvilinear
6980	LLANFAELOG CHURCH	Curved, with road around
6984	LLANFAGLAN CHURCH	Part curvilinear (once larger enclosure?)
6985	LLANFAIR CHURCH (MER)	Part curvilinear
6986	LLANFAIR IS GAER CHURCH	Part curvilinear
6988	LLANFAIR PWLLGWYNGYLL CHURCH	Part curvilinear
6993	LLANFEHELL CHURCH	Large curvilinear cemetery
7005	LLANFOR CHURCH	Large and partly curvilinear cemetery
7007	LLANFWROG CHURCH	Curvilinear with road round outside

	LLANFWROG CHURCH	Curvilinear cemetery to south
7010	LLANGEFNI CHURCH	Curvilinear at east end
7014	LLANGIAN CHURCH	Large cemetery part curvilinear, bounded by stream
7034	LLANRWST CHURCH	Curvilinear cemetery
7035	LLANSADWRN CHURCH	Curvilinear cemetery
7057	PENNAL CHURCH	Good curvilinear cemetery
7059	PENRHOS LLIGWY CHURCH	Curvilinear to east - extended to west

C2 British dedication

Dedications form a considerable body of evidence, and yet the interpretation of that evidence has proved difficult and any firm conclusions elusive. Their distribution was used by Bowen (1954; 1977) to attempt to show the areas of influence of specific saints, and by so doing also to identify areas of cultural homogeneity which may have preceded medieval or pre-Roman times. However, there are no contemporary references to dedications, and abundant evidence exists to show that dedications were frequently changed (Chadwick 1954). The distribution of a specific dedication undoubtedly does have some bearing upon the area of influence of a specific church, but the date of that influence is not readily apparent.

The distribution of Celtic to non-Celtic dedications has been examined (Yates 1973), and shown that Celtic dedications make up some 55% of the total throughout Wales, though on Anglesey it is higher at 75%. However, whereas there are a large number of different Celtic saints, there are only a small number (under ten) non-Celtic saints which means that in terms of numbers of dedications per saint, the non-Celtic ones are much higher. Thus Mary is by far the most popular dedication in Wales, and this is true for Gwynedd also. Other studies have examined the Irish influence upon the Welsh dedications (O Riain 1994).

For the purposes of this project only the parish churches and extant chapels (189 sites) are included within the survey of dedications, as the location and dedication of the lesser chapels (80 sites) are far less certain. Of the 189 sites examined, 130 or 70% were Celtic dedications, and 59 or 30% were non-Celtic. Of the latter over half (30) were dedications to Mary, 13 were to Michael and six to Peter. The remaining eight included John (2), Catherine (2), Martin and Benedict. One was to the Holy Cross and another to the Holy Rood. The dating of the non-Celtic dedications is as problematic as the Celtic ones, and though the majority are likely to date from the 11th and 12th centuries, some of the Michael dedications may be earlier. The popularity of the cult of St Michael is shown by the entry in the *Brut* for 717 recording the consecration of the church of St Michael (i.e. Mont St Michael) (Jones 1952, 1).

Of the Celtic dedications in Gwynedd Beuno is the most frequent with nine; Deiniol has five. Cybi, Garmon, Iestyn and Twrog all have three dedications, and those with two include Bodfan, Cawrdaf, Ceidio, Ceinwen, Celynin, Cwyfan, Edeyrn and Tydecho. There are two dedications to Ffraid, typically one of the most popular of non-Welsh dedications. All the remaining dedications are single, though some occur elsewhere in Wales, for example there are over 15 dedications to St Illtyd nationally, of which only one occurs in Gwynedd.

The two dominant Welsh saints in Gwynedd are Deiniol and Beuno. The distribution of the first is fairly widespread, and occurs throughout north Wales, whereas the latter is closely identifiable with Lleyn and Anglesey, perhaps reflecting the dominance of Clynnog in former times.

List of non-Celtic dedications

BENEDICT	6934	GYFFIN PARISH CHURCH
CATHERINE	6982	LLANFAES PARISH CHURCH

CATHERINE	6925	CRICCIETH PARISH CHURCH
CRISTOLUS	7017	LLANGRISTIOLUS PARISH CHURCH
HOLY CROSS	7029	LLANNOR PARISH CHURCH
HOLY ROOD	3508	HOLY ROOD CHURCH, CEIRCHIOG
JOHN	7043	LLANYSTUMDWY PARISH CHURCH
JOHN	7080	YSBYTY IFAN CHURCH
MARCELLUS MARCELLINUS MARTIN	6953	LLANDDEUSANT PARISH CHURCH
MARY	6964	EGLWYSFACH PARISH CHURCH
MARY	6976	LLANERCHYMEDD PARISH CHURCH
MARY	7061	PENTRAETH PARISH CHURCH
MARY	7074	TREFRIW PARISH CHURCH
MARY	6924	CONWAY PARISH CHURCH
MARY	6971	LLANEGRYN PARISH CHURCH
MARY	6927	DOLBENMAEN PARISH CHURCH
MARY	6928	DOLGELLAU PARISH CHURCH
MARY	781	ST MARY'S ABBEY, BARDSEY ISLAND
MARY	6936	LLANABER PARISH CHURCH
MARY	6988	LLANFAIR PWLLGWYNGYLL PARISH
MARY	6932	LLANRHOS PARISH CHURCH
MARY	6910	BODEWRYD PARISH CHURCH
MARY	4316	ST. MARY'S CHURCH, NEFYN
MARY	6905	BEAUMARIS PARISH CHURCH
MARY	6906	BEDDGELERT PARISH CHURCH
MARY	6917	CAERNARFON, ST MARY'S CHURCH
MARY	6916	CAERHUN PARISH CHURCH
MARY	6914	BRYNCROES PARISH CHURCH
MARY	6986	LLANFAIR IS GAER PARISH CHURCH
MARY	7070	TAL Y LLYN PARISH CHURCH (MER)
MARY	2064	ST MARY'S CHURCH, RHODOGEIDIO
MARY	6992	LLANFAIRYNGHORNWY PARISH CHURCH
MARY	7069	TAL Y LLYN CHURCH (ANG)
MARY	6990	LLANFAIR YN NEUBWLL PARISH CHURCH
MARY	6989	LLANFAIR Y CWMWD PARISH CHURCH
MARY	6987	LLANFAIR MATHAFARN EITHAF PARISH
MARY	6985	LLANFAIR PARISH CHURCH (MER)
MARY	6991	LLANFAIRFECHAN PARISH CHURCH
MARY	7052	PENLLECH PARISH CHURCH
MARY	779	ST MARY'S CHURCH - SITE OF, NW OF MYNYDD GWYDDEL
MICHAEL	7073	TREFLYS PARISH CHURCH
MICHAEL	7004	LLANFIHANGEL YN NHOWYN CHURCH
MICHAEL	7033	LLANRUG PARISH CHURCH
MICHAEL	1583	LLANFIHANGEL YSGEIFIOG CHURCH
MICHAEL	7059	PENRHOS LLIGWY PARISH CHURCH
MICHAEL	6908	BETWS Y COED PARISH CHURCH
MICHAEL	7003	LLANFIHANGEL Y TRAETHAU CHURCH
MICHAEL	6933	FFESTINIOG PARISH CHURCH
MICHAEL	7002	LLANFIHANGEL Y PENNANT CHURCH (GRN)
MICHAEL	6997	LLANFIHANGEL BACHELLAETH CHURCH
MICHAEL	6998	LLANFIHANGEL DIN SYLWY CHURCH
MICHAEL	7000	LLANFIHANGEL TRE'R BEIRDD CHURCH
MICHAEL	7001	LLANFIHANGEL Y PENNANT CHURCH (MER)

PETER	6944	LLANBEDR GOCH PARISH CHURCH
PETER	6943	LLANBEDR PARISH CHURCH
PETER	7051	NEWBOROUGH PARISH CHURCH
PETER	6945	LLANBEDR Y CENNIN PARISH CHURCH
PETER AD VINCULA	1200	CHURCH OF ST PETER AD VINCULA, SARN MEYLLTEYRN
PETER AD VINCULA	7057	PENNAL PARISH CHURCH

List of Celtic dedications

AELHAEARN	6937	LLANAELHAEARN PARISH CHURCH
AELRHIW	1998	CHURCH OF ST AELRHIW, RHIW
AFRAN; IEUAN; SANNAN	7036	LLANTRISANT PARISH CHURCH
ALLGO	6938	LLANALLGO PARISH CHURCH
ANEU	6923	COEDANEU PARISH CHURCH
BAGLAN	6984	LLANFAGLAN PARISH CHURCH
BEUNO	7072	TREFDRAETH PARISH CHURCH
BEUNO	6922	CLYNNOG FAWR PARISH CHURCH
BEUNO	7055	PENMORFA PARISH CHURCH
BEUNO	6926	DENEIO PARISH CHURCH
BEUNO	7040	LLANYCIL PARISH CHURCH
BEUNO	7062	PISTYLL PARISH CHURCH
BEUNO	6903	ABERFFRAW PARISH CHURCH
BEUNO	6913	BOTWNNOG PARISH CHURCH
BEUNO	6919	CARNGUWCH PARISH CHURCH
BODFAN	6936	LLANABER PARISH CHURCH
BODFAN	6900	ABER PARISH CHURCH
BROTHEN	7006	LLANFROTHEN PARISH CHURCH
BUAN	6911	BODUAN PARISH CHURCH
CADFAN	7078	TYWYN PARISH CHURCH
CADWALADR	7008	LLANGADWALADR PARISH CHURCH
CAFFO	7009	LLANGAFFO PARISH CHURCH
CAIAN	7075	TREGAIAN PARISH CHURCH
CAWRDAF	7015	LLANGOED PARISH CHURCH
CAWRDAF	6902	ABERERCH PARISH CHURCH
CEDOL	7060	PENTIR PARISH CHURCH
CEIDIO	7064	RHODOGEIDIO PARISH CHURCH
CEIDIO	6920	CEIDIO PARISH CHURCH
CEINWEN	6921	CERRIGCEINWEN PARISH CHURCH
CEINWEN	7011	LLANGEINWEN PARISH CHURCH
CELYNIN	7013	LLANGELYNIN PARISH CHURCH (MER)
CELYNIN	7012	LLANGELYNIN PARISH CHURCH (CRN)
CIAN	7014	LLANGIAN PARISH CHURCH
CURIG LWYD	6918	CAPEL CURIG PARISH CHURCH
CWSTENIN	7019	LLANGWSTENIN PARISH CHURCH
CWYFAN	7020	LLANGWYFAN PARISH CHURCH
CWYFAN	7077	TUDWEILIOG PARISH CHURCH
CWYLLLOG	7021	LLANGWYLLLOG PARISH CHURCH
CYBI	7022	LLANGYBI PARISH CHURCH
CYBI	6915	HOLYHEAD PARISH CHURCH
CYBI	7022	LLANGYBI PARISH CHURCH
CYNFARWY	7045	LLECHCYNFARWY PARISH CHURCH
Cynfil	3163	ST CYNFIL'S PARISH CHURCH, PENRHOS
CYNGAR	7010	LLANGEFNI PARISH CHURCH
CYNHAEARN	7079	YNYSCYNHAEARN PARISH CHURCH
CYWAIR GEORGE	7016	LLANGOWER PARISH CHURCH

DEINIOL	2305	BANGOR CATHEDRAL, BANGOR
DEINIOL	7037	LLANUWCHLLYN PARISH CHURCH
DEINIOL	7005	LLANFOR PARISH CHURCH
DEINIOLEN	6950	LLANDDANIEL FAB PARISH CHURCH
DEINIOLEN	6951	LLANDDEINIOLEN PARISH CHURCH
DERFEL	6952	LLANDDERFEL PARISH CHURCH
DOGED	6965	LLANDDOGED PARISH CHURCH
DONA	6954	LLANDDONA PARISH CHURCH
DWYNWEN	3026	ST DWYNWEN'S CHURCH, LLANDDWYN
DWYWE	6955	LLANDDWYWE PARISH CHURCH
DYFNAN	6956	LLANDDYFNAN PARISH CHURCH
EDEYRN	6931	EDERN PARISH CHURCH
EDEYRN	6909	BODEERN PARISH CHURCH
EDWEN	6970	LLANEDWEN PARISH CHURCH
EILIAN	6972	LLANEILIAN PARISH CHURCH
ELAETH	6904	AMLWCH PARISH CHURCH
ENDDWYN	6974	LLANENDDWYN PARISH CHURCH
ENGAN, EINION FRENIN	6975	LLANENGAN PARISH CHURCH
ENGHENEDEL	5370	PARISH CHURCH OF ST. ENGHENEDEL, LLANYNGHENEDEL
EUGRAD	6977	LLANEUGRAD PARISH CHURCH
FFINAN	6994	LLANFFINAN PARISH CHURCH
FFLEWYN	6995	LLANFFLEWYN PARISH CHURCH
FFRAID	7081	LLANSANTFFRAID GLAN CONWY
FFRAID	2001	TOWYN Y CAPEL MOUND
MIGAEI	6996	LLANFIGAEI PARISH CHURCH
GARMON	6939	LLANARMON PARISH CHURCH
GARMON	6963	CAPEL GARMON PARISH CHURCH
GARMON	6907	BETWS GARMON PARISH CHURCH
CREDIFAEI	7056	PENMYNYDD PARISH CHURCH
GRWST	7034	LLANRWST PARISH CHURCH
GWENFAEN	7068	RHOSCOLYN PARISH CHURCH
GWENLLWYFO	3572	OLD PARISH CHURCH OF ST. GWENLLWYFO,
LLANWENLLWYFO		
GWNININ	6968	LLANDYGWNNING PARISH CHURCH
GWYDDELAN	6929	DOLWYDDELAN PARISH CHURCH
GWYNAN	6930	DWYGIFYLCHI PARISH CHURCH
GWYNDAF	7039	LLANWYDA PARISH CHURCH
GWYNHOYDL	7018	LLANGWYNNADL PARISH CHURCH
HYWYN	6901	ABERDARON PARISH CHURCH
IDAN	3151	OLD PARISH CHURCH OF ST. NIDAN,
LLANIDAN		
IESTYN	7025	LLANIESTYN PARISH CHURCH (CRN)
IESTYN	7024	LLANIESTYN PARISH CHURCH (ANG)
IESTYN	6946	LLANBEDROG PARISH CHURCH
ILLTYD	6973	LLANELITYD PARISH CHURCH
LLECHID	7026	LLANLLECHID PARISH CHURCH
LLIBIO	2054	ST LLIBIO'S CHURCH - SITE OF, BODEERN
LLWYDIAN	6935	HENEGLWYS PARISH CHURCH
MACHRAITH	6978	LLANFACHRAITH PARISH CHURCH
MACHRETH	6979	LLANFACHRETH PARISH CHURCH

MADRYN	7071	TRAWSFYNYDD PARISH CHURCH
MAELOG	6980	LLANFAELOG PARISH CHURCH
MAELRHYS	6981	LLANFAELRHYS PARISH CHURCH
MAETHLU	6983	LLANFAETHLU PARISH CHURCH
MECHELL	6993	LLANFECHELL PARISH CHURCH
MORHAIARN	7076	TREWALCHMAI PARISH CHURCH
MWROG	7007	LLANFWROG PARISH CHURCH
PABO	6940	LLANBABO PARISH CHURCH
PATRICK	6941	LLANBADRIG PARISH CHURCH
PEBLIG	6942	LLANBEBLIG PARISH CHURCH
PEIRIO	3056	ST. PEIRIO'S CHURCH, RHOSBEIRIO
PERIS	6947	LLANBERIS PARISH CHURCH (NANT PERIS)
PEULAN	6948	LLANBEULAN PARISH CHURCH
RHEDYW	7028	LLANLLYFNI PARISH CHURCH
RHWYDRYS	7030	LLANRHWYDRYS PARISH CHURCH
RHYCHWYN	7031	LLANRHYCHWYN PARISH CHURCH
RHYDDLAD	7032	LLANRHYDDLAD PARISH CHURCH
SADWRN	7035	LLANSADWRN PARISH CHURCH
SEIRIOL	7054	PENMON PARISH CHURCH
TANWG	6949	LLANDANWG PARISH CHURCH
TECWYN	6957	LLANDECWYN PARISH CHURCH
CAI	6958	LLANDEGAI PARISH CHURCH
TEGFAN	6959	LLANDEGFAN PARISH CHURCH
TRYFYDOG	6967	LLANDYFRYDOG PARISH CHURCH
TRYGARN	6960	LLANDRYGARN PARISH CHURCH
TUDCLUD, ENCLYDWYN	7053	PENMACHNO PARISH CHURCH
TUDNO	6961	LLANDUDNO PARISH CHURCH
TUDWEN	6962	LLANDUDWEN PARISH CHURCH
TWROG	6912	BODWROG PARISH CHURCH
TWROG	7047	MAENTWROG PARISH CHURCH
TWROG	6966	LLANDWROG PARISH CHURCH
TYDECHO	7048	MALLWYD PARISH CHURCH
TYDECHO	7041	LLANYMAWDDWY PARISH CHURCH
TYSILIO	6969	LLANDYSILIO PARISH CHURCH
ULCHED	2525	ST ULCHED'S CHURCH, LLECHYLCHED

C3 Place-name evidence

Although literary references to ecclesiastical sites are few (see A1 above), it is possible to use certain diagnostic place-names occurring in later documents to suggest a site has earlier origins. The evidence has been recently examined by Roberts (1992), building on earlier work by Richards (1968; 1971).

The place-name 'merthyr', derived from the Latin *martyrium*, occurs in three places in north-west Wales; it is thought to signify a site containing the physical remains of a martyr or saint (Thomas 1971, 89). The first occurrence is Merthyr Caffo, which developed into Llangaffo (Richards 1968, 11). The abundance of cross-incised slabs at this site has already identified it as a possible early foundation. The second example is Llanveirian, also known as Merthyr Meirion (Richards 1968, 11); which Llwyd (1833, 196-7) says had been 'allowed to fall into decay about the year 1775'. The site lies in a small wooded enclosure in which rectangular foundations can still be seen. The final example is Criccieth, where the township still bore the

designation 'Merthyr' in the fourteenth century (Longley and Richards 1999, 27), which in a later reference appears as 'Merthyr Meirion', thought to be the original dedication of the church prior to Catherine (Wade-Evans 1921, 75-6).

Three churches in the area are referred to by the name 'eglwys', derived from the Latin *ecclesia*. Although the significance of the use of 'eglwys' as opposed to the more commonly used 'llan' is not fully understood, those sites which do retain the name also have other reasons for suggesting an early foundation. For example Eglwys Ail, now Llangadwaladr, is the ecclesiastical site associated with the royal centre at Aberffraw. The second element 'Ail' means wattled, and the assumption is it refers to an early church built of wattle. Another site on Anglesey is Heneglwys, a site probably mentioned in the *Stanzas of the Graves*, as 'The grave of Ceri Long-sword is in the region of Hen Eglwys, on the gravelly hillside, bull of battle, in Corbre's churchyard' (Jones 1967, 119). The use of the word 'Hen' in this way typically implies former rather than old, and the dedication of the church to Faustinus and Bacellinus by 1352 has led to the suggestion that the earlier church was that of Corbre (Roberts 1992, 43). It is of interest that in the 1352 extent Heneglwys was one of the few townships held by the local saint(s); others were Eglwys Ail held of Cadfan, and Llaneilian, held of St Eilian (Carr 1972, 159, 166, 222). The final example is Eglwys-rhos, Creuddyn, a church bearing the same name as its Cantref, and associated with the royal centre at Deganwy as Llangadwaladr was to Aberffraw. Tradition associates Maelgwn Gwynedd with Deganwy, and has him seeking refuge in Eglwys-rhos to escape the 'yellow fever' (Longley 1997, 45; Lewis 1833).

In the 17th century the chapel y bedd at Llaneilian was referred to as *Myfyr Eilian*. This may be use of a traditional long-standing name, in which case the *Myfyr* (memoria) would be the *cella memoria* in which the relics of Eilian would be displayed.

Mynwent (graveyard) is considered by Roberts (1992, 43) to be a term used by antiquarian writers of ruined church sites or cemeteries. Only one instance of its use is included in the list below as it aids confirmation that the site was once ecclesiastical. Mynwent y Llwyn, also known as St Tygai's chapel, is now merely a large earthen mound alongside the Afon Cefni, Anglesey, but tradition has long held it to be the site of a chapel: 'dygai first fixed himself at Cors Dygai, but finding himself too near Cristiolus, removed hither [i.e. to Llandegai]. The foundation of a building shewn at Corsdygai in ruins is said to have been his first chapel' (Fisher 1917, 317).

The two remaining place-names to be considered are Llanfor and Llannor, both thought to be derived from Llanfawr. The former was a *clas* church, but there is little evidence for the existence of a pre-12th century church at the latter site.

List of sites with place-name evidence

1593	MYNWENT Y LLWYN	Mynwent - also called Capel Tygai
3008	ST MEIRIAN'S CHURCH, BODORGAN	Known as Merthyr Meirian
6925	CRICCIETH CHURCH	Called Merthyr in the 14 th century
6932	LLANRHOS CHURCH	Also known as Eglwys Rhos
6972	LLANEILIAN CHURCH	Capel y Bedd also called Myfyr Eilian
7005	LLANFOR CHURCH	Llanfawr
7009	LLANGAFFO CHURCH	Merthyr Caffo
7029	LLANNOR CHURCH	Llannor possibly derived from Llanfawr

C4 Wells bearing saints name

Sanctuaries and ritual sites have long been associated with springs (see Green 1986), and many of these were undoubtedly christianised in the first millennium AD. There are a large number still in existence, but the difficulty lies in that they remained popular long after the Reformation, and were much used in late medieval and post-medieval times as places of pilgrimage. There is no secure dating evidence from any of the wells, and whereas

majority may have an early origin, some will be late creations, designed to encourage pilgrims to visit. All the major early churches have well sites associated with them, some of them (for example the Cadfan wells at Tywyn) developing into major attractions still much visited in the 19th century (see Jones 1954 for a general description and list of wells, and Morris 1989, 84-92 for a discussion of springs in early Christian Britain).

Although the evidence of wells and springs undoubtedly could make a valid contribution to the present study, the continued use of wells and springs into the present century, their popularity in late medieval and early post-Reformation times, and their lack of archaeological dating mean that their present contribution can only be very limited, and evidence of a well is not used on its own to suggest the presence of an early church.

Forty wells are included in the list below out of a total of 168 examples which were gathered during the course of this project. The list included here are those where a close geographical relationship existed with the church, and where the name given to the well was the same as the church dedication.

List of sites with associated wells

1752	CAPEL LLOCHWYDD, HOLYHEAD	Well, 90145, below chapel
1761	CAPEL GORLAS, HOLYHEAD	Well, 90104, alongside
1765	CAPEL ULO, HOLYHEAD	Well 1766 close to.
3026	ST DWYNWEN'S CHURCH, LLANDDWYN	St Dwywnen's Well 3027.
3120	CAPEL HELEN, CAERNARFON	Ffynon Helen, Site of 3119
4205	CHAPEL, E OF FFYNNON GARMON	Well 4206
6915	HOLYHEAD CHURCH	Ffynon Cybi 1767
6921	CERRIGCEINWEN CHURCH	Well in cemetery 2158
6932	LLANRHOS CHURCH	Well in churchyard 90115
6938	LLANALLGO CHURCH	Well to SW 2202
6941	LLANBADRIG CHURCH	Well to north 3043
6945	LLANBEDR Y CENNIN CHURCH	Well 90118
6947	LLANBERIS CHURCH (NANT PERIS)	Well 4500
6952	LLANDDERFEL CHURCH	Well 3228
6957	LLANDECWYN CHURCH	Wells 12443 and 1481
6961	LLANDUDNO CHURCH	Well 4591
6965	LLANDDOGED CHURCH	Well 2462
6966	LLANDWROG CHURCH	Water conduits 12646
6972	LLANEILIAN CHURCH	Well on coast 3567
6975	LLANENGAN CHURCH	Well 1253
6984	LLANFAGLAN CHURCH	Well 3093
6998	LLANFIHANGEL DIN SYLWY CHURCH	Well 2597 to south
7005	LLANFOR CHURCH	Well to north dedicated to Deiniol 3208
7006	LLANFROTHEN CHURCH	Well 4736
7006	LLANFROTHEN CHURCH	Well to south bearing name of Brothen 4736
7012	LLANGELYNIN CHURCH (CRN)	Well in churchyard 657
7014	LLANGIAN CHURCH	Well site north of church
7019	LLANGWSTENIN CHURCH	Former holy well 90120
7022	LLANGYBI CHURCH	Ffynon Cybi adjacent to church 2772
7024	LLANIESTYN CHURCH (ANG)	Well adjacent 2662

7028	LLANLLYFNI CHURCH	Well to west 2343
7054	PENMON CHURCH	Well to north 2540
7062	PISTYLL CHURCH	Well SE of church 2230
7068	RHOSCOLYN CHURCH	Well 1Km WSW of church 2004 (SAM)
7078	TYWYN CHURCH	Holy Well 4801

C5 Antiquarian evidence

In general, the antiquarian evidence is incorporated elsewhere within this study, however two entries are made here. The first is the recording of a cross-shaft at Aberffraw; this is the only record of such a find, and it is not possible to date it from the evidence given (PRN 3010).

An inscribed stone is said to have been found at Beddgelert (Griffith 2001, 3) though the nature and date of the inscription are not known.

6903	ABERFFRAW CHURCH	Cross shaft 3010 recorded from cemetery
6906	BEDDGELERT CHURCH	Lost inscribed stone said to have been found on site (Griffith 2001, 3)

Other Indicators

Two other indicators have been examined during the course of this project, namely the value of the church in the 13th century, and the topographic location of the church.

Value in 13th century

Two sources have been used for this, the Valuation of Norwich in 1254 and the Taxatio of Pope Nicholi IV taken in 1291. The expectation was that those churches which were wealthiest during the early medieval period would retain that wealth into the 13th century, and thus be ranked high on the list, though it is, of course, understood that other churches would have gained in popularity, and financial income, in the meantime. Neither source is ideal for the task. Not all churches can be recognised from the lists, and not all churches are included on the lists. The version of the *Taxatio* used here is that printed by the Record Commission in 1802, but several versions exist, and a recent study of the Llandaff returns highlights the problems of relying upon the 1802 transcript (Denton and Taylor, 1998). The spiritualities only have been used, and no account has been taken of the temporalities, which are not clearly listed. The two lists are not directly comparable, but have been used to obtain an idea of their comparative wealth. A previous study attempted to use the 1254 returns for analysing the agricultural productivity of Anglesey (Jones 1955, 50-53), and whilst broad trends do hold good, there are examples, such as the high ranking of Amlwch church, which suggest other factors could play a more dominant role.

It was expected that the former *clas* churches would emerge the wealthiest, and indeed Penmon and Aberdaron feature high upon the 1254 list, though Tywyn is surprisingly lower down. Unfortunately Holyhead is not included. However the 1291 *taxatio* easily puts Holyhead at the top, worth one third more than the next, Clynnog. The top five churches in this list are all former *clas* churches: following the top two are Tywyn, Llanfor and Aberdaron. Penmon does not feature in the *taxatio*.

The maerdref churches are, by the 13th century, relatively wealthy, and particularly Llanfaes, which is the wealthiest church in the Norwich valuation. Aberffraw is also high, perhaps reflected in the high standard of Romanesque sculpture remaining on the west wall.

Considerably more work is required before the results of these two rankings can be explained. The wealth of the former *clas* churches is clear, and the presence of the maerdref churches high on the list is not unexpected. Others, however, for example Llanllechid and Amlwch (which is worth considerably more than Llaneilian, its neighbouring former *clas* church), require further explanation.

Value of churches in the 1254 Valuation of Norwich (value given in shillings and pence).

6982	LLANFAES PARISH CHURCH	186.08
7054	PENMON PARISH CHURCH	133.04
6901	ABERDARON PARISH CHURCH	120.00
6904	AMLWCH PARISH CHURCH	080.00
7005	LLANFOR PARISH CHURCH	066.08
4316	ST. MARY'S CHURCH, NEFYN	060.00
6903	ABERFFRAW PARISH CHURCH	053.04
3151	OLD PARISH CHURCH OF ST. NIDAN, LLANIDAN	053.04
6941	LLANBADRIG PARISH CHURCH	053.04
7078	TYWYN PARISH CHURCH	040.00
7026	LLANLLECHID PARISH CHURCH	040.00
7056	PENMYNYDD PARISH CHURCH	040.00
7029	LLANNOR PARISH CHURCH	040.00
7014	LLANGIAN PARISH CHURCH	040.00
7025	LLANIESTYN PARISH CHURCH (CRN)	040.00
7041	LLANYMAWDDWY PARISH CHURCH	040.00
6956	LLANDDYFNAN PARISH CHURCH	040.00
6976	LLANERCHYMEDD PARISH CHURCH	035.06
7051	NEWBOROUGH PARISH CHURCH	033.04
6900	ABER PARISH CHURCH	033.04
7053	PENMACHNO PARISH CHURCH	026.08
7048	MALLWYD PARISH CHURCH	026.08
7011	LLANGEINWEN PARISH CHURCH	026.08
6991	LLANFAIRFECHAN PARISH CHURCH	026.08
6916	CAERHUN PARISH CHURCH	026.08
6958	LLANDEGAI PARISH CHURCH	026.08
6972	LLANEILIAN PARISH CHURCH	026.08
6993	LLANFECHELL PARISH CHURCH	026.08
7072	TREFDRAETH PARISH CHURCH	026.08
6934	GYFFIN PARISH CHURCH	026.08
7035	LLANSADWRN PARISH CHURCH	026.08
6978	LLANFACHRAITH PARISH CHURCH	026.08
7061	PENTRAETH PARISH CHURCH	026.08
6948	LLANBEULAN PARISH CHURCH	026.08
6987	LLANFAIR MATHAFARN EITHAF PARISH CHURCH	026.08

6979	LLANFACHRETH PARISH CHURCH	020.00
6985	LLANFAIR PARISH CHURCH (MER)	020.00
7020	LLANGWYFAN PARISH CHURCH	020.00
7057	PENNAL PARISH CHURCH	020.00
7017	LLANGRISTIOLUS PARISH CHURCH	020.00
7052	PENLLECH PARISH CHURCH	020.00
1200	CHURCH OF ST PETER AD VINCULA, SARN MEYLLTEYRN	020.00
6928	DOLGELLAU PARISH CHURCH	020.00
6971	LLANEGRYN PARISH CHURCH	020.00
7013	LLANGELYNIN PARISH CHURCH (MER)	020.00
7036	LLANTRISANT PARISH CHURCH	020.00
6992	LLANFAIRYNGHORNWY PARISH CHURCH	017.09
6977	LLANEUGRAD PARISH CHURCH	017.09
6995	LLANFFLEWYN PARISH CHURCH	017.09
6967	LLANDYFRYDOG PARISH CHURCH	017.04
7045	LLECHCYNFARWY PARISH CHURCH	014.00
6931	EDERN PARISH CHURCH	013.04
6930	DWYGYFYLCHI PARISH CHURCH	013.04
6959	LLANDEGFAN PARISH CHURCH	013.04
6970	LLANEDWEN PARISH CHURCH	013.04
7012	LLANGELYNIN PARISH CHURCH (CRN)	013.04
6950	LLANDDANIEL FAB PARISH CHURCH	013.04
7021	LLANGWYLLOG PARISH CHURCH	013.04
7010	LLANGEFNI PARISH CHURCH	013.04
1583	LLANFIHANGEL YSGEIFIOG (ST MICHAEL'S) OLD CHURCH	013.04
6997	LLANFIHANGEL BACHELLAETH PARISH CHURCH	013.04
7068	RHOSCOLYN PARISH CHURCH	013.04
7007	LLANFWROG PARISH CHURCH	011.06
6983	LLANFAETHLU PARISH CHURCH	011.06
7009	LLANGAFFO PARISH CHURCH	010.00
7008	LLANGADWALADR PARISH CHURCH	010.00
6935	HENEGLWYS PARISH CHURCH	010.00
4010	MEDIEVAL PRIORY, ST TUDWAL'S ISLAND EAST	010.00
6908	BETWS Y COED PARISH CHURCH	010.00
6929	DOLWYDDELAN PARISH CHURCH	010.00
6921	CERRIGCEINWEN PARISH CHURCH	010.00
7031	LLANRHYCHWYN PARISH CHURCH	010.00
7077	TUDWEILIOG PARISH CHURCH	010.00
7076	TREWALCHMAI PARISH CHURCH	010.00
7074	TREFRIW PARISH CHURCH	010.00

2054	ST LLIBIO'S CHURCH - SITE OF, BODEDERN	010.00
5370	PARISH CHURCH OF ST. ENGHENEDL, LLANYNGHENEDL	010.00
6945	LLANBEDR Y CENNIN PARISH CHURCH	010.00
6980	LLANFAELOG PARISH CHURCH	010.00
7032	LLANRHYDDLAD PARISH CHURCH	008.10
7000	LLANFIHANGEL TRE'R BEIRDD PARISH CHURCH	008.10
6953	LLANDDEUSANT PARISH CHURCH	008.10
6938	LLANALLGO PARISH CHURCH	008.10
6923	COEDANEU PARISH CHURCH	008.10
6940	LLANBABO PARISH CHURCH	008.10
7015	LLANGOED PARISH CHURCH	008.10
6939	LLANARMON PARISH CHURCH	008.04
7062	PISTYLL PARISH CHURCH	008.04
7003	LLANFIHANGEL Y TRAETHAU PARISH CHURCH	006.08
7069	TAL Y LLYN CHURCH (ANG)	006.08
6952	LLANDOERFEL PARISH CHURCH	006.08
6994	LLANFFINAN PARISH CHURCH	006.08
5372	PARISH CHURCH OF ST ULCHED, LLECHYLCHED	006.08
7075	TREGAIAN PARISH CHURCH	006.08
3508	HOLY ROOD CHURCH, CEIRCHIOG	006.08
6990	LLANFAIR YN NEUBWLL PARISH CHURCH	006.08
7004	LLANFIHANGEL YN NHOWYN PARISH CHURCH	006.08
7030	LLANRHWDYDRYS PARISH CHURCH	006.00
6920	CEIDIO PARISH CHURCH	005.00
6989	LLANFAIR Y CWMWD PARISH CHURCH	005.00
6968	LLANDYGWNNING PARISH CHURCH	005.00
6910	BODEWRYD PARISH CHURCH	004.05
6969	LLANDYSILIO PARISH CHURCH	004.05
7064	RHODOGEIDIO PARISH CHURCH	004.00
6998	LLANFIHANGEL DIN SYLWY PARISH CHURCH	003.00
406	ST. MERIN'S CHURCH - SITE OF, BODFERIN	003.00
6954	LLANDDONA PARISH CHURCH	003.00
3056	ST. PEIRIO'S CHURCH, RHOSBEIRIO	003.00
6988	LLANFAIR PWLLGWYNGYLL PARISH CHURCH	003.00
6902	ABERERCH PARISH CHURCH	003.00
7024	LLANIESTYN PARISH CHURCH (ANG)	003.00
6946	LLANBEDROG PARISH CHURCH	002.06
6996	LLANFIGAEL PARISH CHURCH	002.03
6919	CARNGUWCH PARISH CHURCH	001.08
5913	BOTWNNOG PARISH CHURCH	001.08

Value of churches in the 1291 Taxatio (value given in shillings and pence).

6915	HOLYHEAD PARISH CHURCH	840.00
6922	CLYNNOG FAWR PARISH CHURCH	526.08
7078	TYWYN PARISH CHURCH	433.04
7005	LLANFOR PARISH CHURCH	380.00
6901	ABERDARON PARISH CHURCH	273.04
6982	LLANFAES PARISH CHURCH	250.00
7037	LLANUWCHLLYN PARISH CHURCH	176.08
7026	LLANLLECHID PARISH CHURCH	170.00
7025	LLANIESTYN PARISH CHURCH (CRN)	170.00
6934	GYFFIN PARISH CHURCH	160.00
6904	AMLWCH PARISH CHURCH	133.04
4316	ST. MARY'S CHURCH, NEFYN	133.04
6956	LLANDDYFNAN PARISH CHURCH	133.04
6993	LLANFECHELL PARISH CHURCH	133.04
6942	LLANBEBLIG PARISH CHURCH	133.04
7016	LLANGOWER PARISH CHURCH	120.00
7040	LLANYCIL PARISH CHURCH	120.00
6900	ABER PARISH CHURCH	106.08
6916	CAERHUN PARISH CHURCH	106.08
4010	MEDIEVAL PRIORY, ST TUDWAL'S ISLAND EAST	106.08
6952	LLANDDERFEL PARISH CHURCH	100.00
7055	PENMORFA PARISH CHURCH	100.00
6903	ABERFFRAW PARISH CHURCH	086.08
6972	LLANEILIAN PARISH CHURCH	086.08
7011	LLANGEINWEN PARISH CHURCH	086.08
1200	CHURCH OF ST PETER AD VINCULA, SARN MEYLLTEYRN	086.08
6992	LLANFAIRYNGHORNWY PARISH CHURCH	086.08
7068	RHOSCOLYN PARISH CHURCH	085.00

Location

A number of studies have examined the topographic location of churches, to see if any pattern emerges according to date and type of foundation. The results typically show that churches are founded on locally dominant points, and often next to streams or rivers (for example see Bowen 1954, Hurley 1982, Morris 1989 and Blair 1992). They are rarely built on very high ground, and in mountainous areas are always built on the lower lying lands. A study of the location of Anglesey churches for this project has shown the same preferences. The majority of churches were built upon rock outcrops which were dominant locally, though rarely the highest point in the area. The churches usually had wide views to the south, and less good views to the north. Some exceptions include Cerrigceinwen, which is built in the bottom of a narrow valley, and Llechcynfarwy, Llanbedr-Goch, and Tal y Llyn, which are built

on prominent rises with good views in all directions. The location of rivers does not appear to have been significant, though some, for example Llangefni, are sited on major river banks.

Defining the influence of the coast upon location is more difficult. The three *clas* churches of Holyhead, Penmon and Llaneilian are all on the coast, and the Maerdref churches of Rhosyr, Aberffraw, Cemais, Penrhos-Lligwy and Llanfaes are all on or within easy reach of the coast. Some of the lesser churches appear to be deliberately sited in coastal locations, usually on small islands or peninsulas, for example Llandysilio, Llanddwyn and Llangwyfan, whilst others such as Llanbadrig and Llanidan lie close to the coast edge. In contrast, Llanallgo, Llanfairynghornwy and Llanfechell are all parishes with coastal edges and good landing points, but the churches appear deliberately further in land.

The early monastic hermitages made use of the coast, particularly islands (Ynys Seiriol, Bardsey and Ynys Tudwal). Thus similarly sited churches at, for example, Llanddwyn, may be early in origin, and there may be a case for looking for early monastic settlements on other islands, for example the Skerries.

More work is required to examine both the topographic location of churches according to geomorphology, and their location in relation to other features present in the landscape, including principal communication routes and ports.

Summary of Evidence and Management Recommendations

This section forms an attempt to classify church sites into A (certain sites), B (probable sites) and C (possible sites) using the results from the application of the criteria discussed above. There are, inevitably, degrees of certainty arising from the results, for example some sites with more than one Class C criterion proving positive may be ranked as a Class B church.

Class A churches

(i) *Clas churches*

The principal *clas* churches, that is those that were responsible for ministering to a *parochiae*, which in the 12th century would be sub-divided into parishes, are listed below. The size and boundaries of the *parochiae* to which they ministered is no longer known though, as shown above, it may have been one major church per cantref, thus the three cantrefi on Anglesey may be represented by Holyhead, Llaneilian and Penmon. The others are Clynnog for Arfon, Aberdaron for Llyn, Beddgelert for Eifionydd, Llandannwg for Ardudwy, Tywyn for Meirionnydd, Llanymawddwy for Mawddwy, Llanfor for Penllyn, Corwen for Edeirnion, Eglwys Rhos for Rhos. The *clas* church responsible for Arllechwedd has not yet been identified with certainty though Arfon contains both Bangor and Clynnog, and perhaps Bangor was responsible for a part of Arllechwedd.

The majority of these sites are still active churches, and though there is always threat from development, this can be minimised by ensuring active participation by the Diocesan Archaeologist when responding to applications.

(ii) *Other churches*

The other churches of Class A status consist of four sites only, two are island sites, Ynys Seiriol and Bardsey, and one (Towyn y Capel) because it is the only securely dated 'developed' cemetery. All these sites are all or partly scheduled. The status of the fourth site, Llanfaes, is unknown. It is included because of the reference to Llanfaes in 817, it is certainly a wealthy church in the 12th century, but one would expect that as it was a maerdref church associated with the town of Llanfaes. It also has a single portion mentioned in the 1291 *taxatio*, but the relevance of this is not known.

2305	BANGOR CATHEDRAL, BANGOR	Cathedral
6901	ABERDARON PARISH CHURCH	Church
6906	BEDDGELERT PARISH CHURCH	Church
6915	HOLYHEAD PARISH CHURCH	Church
6922	CLYNNOG FAWR PARISH CHURCH	Church
6932	LLANRHOS PARISH CHURCH	Church
6949	LLANDANWG PARISH CHURCH	Church
6972	LLANEILIAN PARISH CHURCH	Church
7005	LLANFOR PARISH CHURCH	Church
7041	LLANYMAWDDWY PARISH CHURCH	Church
7054	PENMON PARISH CHURCH	Church
7078	TYWYN PARISH CHURCH	Church
781	ST MARY'S ABBEY, BARDSEY ISLAND	Managed by Bardsey Island Trust and tower is scheduled.
2001	TOWYN Y CAPEL MOUND	Scheduled ancient monument, but suffering active erosion. Excavation
5017	MONASTERY, YNYS SEIRIOL	Scheduled ancient monument.
6982	LLANFAES PARISH CHURCH	Church

Class B sites

There are 45 Class B churches. Most fall into this category because of associations with related archaeological material including inscribed stones, decorated incised stones, cist burials and metalwork. See above for a discussion of the evidence and Appendix 2 for a full list of criteria for each church.

Management

The majority of the sites are churches still in use, and thus have some protection through the faculty system, though several of the churches, for example Llannerchymedd and Llanddyfnan are no longer used for regular service. The Diocesan Archaeologist needs to be made aware of the results of this project to ensure the implications of any applications for work at these sites is fully appreciated.

Two sites are redundant former parish churches, namely Sarn Meyllteyrn and Llanfihangel Esceifiog, of which the latter is scheduled, and the former is preserved as a cemetery, though the church has been demolished. There is good reason to believe Bryn y Bedd, Dolwyddelan is the former site of the present late medieval church, and further evaluation is required to ascertain the nature of any remains associated with this site.

The remainder are field sites, the majority being 'chapel' place-names. The point has been made above that not all these may be 'developed' cemeteries. Evaluation excavations at Capel Heilyn as part of this project would suggest an undeveloped cemetery, and the same may be true of Capel Anleog, Capel Bronwen and Capel Deiniol. Foundations of a probable chapel exist at Garth Brenan, and a chapel formerly existed at St Tudwal.

PRN	SITENAME	STATUS/MANAGEMENT
1200	CHURCH OF ST PETER AD VINCULA, SARN MEYLLTEYRN	Cemetery
1201	CAPEL ANEOG	Scheduled
1583	LLANFIHANGEL YSGEIFIOG (ST MICHAEL'S) OLD CHURCH	Scheduled
1752	CAPEL LLOCHWYDD	Scheduled

2058	CAPEL BRONWEN - SITE OF, YR ARW, LLANYNGHENE DL	Field evaluation
2060	CAPEL NETTI - SITE OF, MYNWENT MWROG, LLANFWROG	Field evaluation
2070	CAPEL DEINIOL - SITE OF, LLANBABO	Field evaluation
2142	CAPEL HEILYN - SITE OF, TREFOLLWYN	Field evaluation
3182	CHAPEL LLANFAIR (SITE OF), GARTH BRENAN	In University grounds. None
3724	CHURCH - SITE OF, BRYN Y BEDD, DOLWYDDELAN	Assessment and evaluation
4010	MEDIEVAL PRIORY, ST TUDWAL'S ISLAND EAST	Assessment and evaluation
6903	ABERFFRAW PARISH CHURCH	Church
6916	CAERHUN PARISH CHURCH	Church
6937	LLANAELHAEARN PARISH CHURCH	Church
6939	LLANARMON PARISH CHURCH	Church
6941	LLANBADRIG PARISH CHURCH	Church
6942	LLANBEBLIG PARISH CHURCH	Church
6956	LLANDDYFNAN PARISH CHURCH	Church
6957	LLANDECWYN PARISH CHURCH	Church
6971	LLANEGRYN PARISH CHURCH	Church
6976	LLANERCHYMEDD PARISH CHURCH	Church
6984	LLANFAGLAN PARISH CHURCH	Church
6987	LLANFAIR MATHAFARN EITHAF PARISH CHURCH	Church
6988	LLANFAIR PWLLGWYNGYLL PARISH CHURCH	Church
6993	LLANFECHELL PARISH CHURCH	Church
6998	LLANFIHANGEL DIN SYLWY PARISH CHURCH	Church
7000	LLANFIHANGEL TRE'R BEIRDD PARISH CHURCH	Church
7008	LLANGADWALADR PARISH CHURCH	Church
7009	LLANGAFFO PARISH CHURCH	Church
7010	LLANGFNI PARISH CHURCH	Church
7011	LLANGEINWEN PARISH CHURCH	Church
7014	LLANGIAN PARISH CHURCH	Church
7018	LLANGWNNADL PARISH CHURCH	Church
7019	LLANGWSTENIN PARISH CHURCH	Church
7022	LLANGYBI PARISH CHURCH	Church
7029	LLANNOR PARISH CHURCH	Church
7032	LLANRHYDDLAD PARISH CHURCH	Church
7035	LLANSADWRN PARISH CHURCH	Church
7045	LLECHCYNFARWY PARISH CHURCH	Church
7047	MAENTWROG PARISH CHURCH	Church
7053	PENMACHNO PARISH CHURCH	Church
7057	PENNAL PARISH CHURCH	Church
7059	PENRHOS LLIGWY PARISH CHURCH	Church
7073	TREFLYS PARISH CHURCH	Church
20002	CAE CAPEL, CAER GAI, LLANUWCHLLYN	Field evaluation

Class C sites

A proportion of these sites are of medieval field chapels. The status of these is often uncertain and they were not included within the overall assessment of medieval churches

nor have they been comprehensively covered here. It is therefore recommended that an assessment of all field chapels be carried out. Their status needs to be assessed according to the available documentary evidence, their sites identified, and an assessment made of the field remains. This will lead to a clearer understanding of the nature of those sites which may be undeveloped cemeteries, and medieval sites.

PRN	SITENAME	STATUS/MANAGEMENT
779	ST MARY'S CHURCH - SITE OF, NW OF MYNYDD GWYDDEL	Assessment
1260	TY FAIR (SITE OF ST MARY'S CHAPEL), GALLT-TRAETH	Assessment
1593	MYNWENT Y LLWYN	Scheduled ancient monument
1761	CAPEL GORLAS - SITE OF	Assessment
1765	CAPEL ULO - SITE OF, HOLYHEAD	Assessment
1998	CHURCH OF ST AELRHIW, RHIW	Cemetery
2157	LLAN Y GWYDDEL - SITE OF, CERRIG GWYDDEL	Assessment
2519	MURDDYN EGLWYS - SITE OF, LLANFAIR-YN-NEUBWLL	Assessment
3008	ST MEIRIAN'S CHURCH - SITE OF, BODORGAN	Assessment
3026	ST DWYNWEN'S CHURCH, LLANDDWYN	Scheduled ancient monument
3120	CAPEL HELEN - SITE OF, CAERNARFON	Assessment
3151	OLD PARISH CHURCH OF ST. NIDAN, LLANIDAN	Scheduled ancient monument
4205	CHAPEL, E OF FFYNNON GARMON	Assessment
5370	PARISH CHURCH OF ST. ENGHENEDL, LLANYNGHENEDL	Cemetery
6912	BODWROG PARISH CHURCH	Church
6921	CERRIGCEINWEN PARISH CHURCH	Church
6925	CRICCIETH PARISH CHURCH	Church
6928	DOLGELLAU PARISH CHURCH	Church
6931	EDERN PARISH CHURCH	Church
6935	HENEGLWYS PARISH CHURCH	Church
6938	LLANALLGO PARISH CHURCH	Church
6940	LLANBABO PARISH CHURCH	Church
6944	LLANBEDR GOCH PARISH CHURCH	Church
6945	LLANBEDR Y CENNIN PARISH CHURCH	Church
6947	LLANBERIS PARISH CHURCH (NANT PERIS)	Church
6952	LLANDDERFEL PARISH CHURCH	Church
6954	LLANDDONA PARISH CHURCH	Church
6961	LLANDUDNO PARISH CHURCH	Church
6965	LLANDDOGED PARISH CHURCH	Church
6966	LLANDWROG PARISH CHURCH	Church
6967	LLANDYFRYDOG PARISH CHURCH	Church
6968	LLANDYGWNNING PARISH CHURCH	Church
6975	LLANENGAN PARISH CHURCH	Church
6980	LLANFAELOG PARISH CHURCH	Church
6985	LLANFAIR PARISH CHURCH (MER)	Church
6986	LLANFAIR IS GAER PARISH CHURCH	Church
7006	LLANFROTHEN PARISH CHURCH	Church
7007	LLANFWROG PARISH CHURCH	Church
7012	LLANGELYNIN PARISH CHURCH (CRNI)	Church

7024	LLANIESTYN PARISH CHURCH (ANG)	Church
7028	LLANLLYFNI PARISH CHURCH	Church
7034	LLANRWST PARISH CHURCH	Church
7052	PENLLECH PARISH CHURCH	Church
7062	PISTYLL PARISH CHURCH	Church
7064	RHODOGEIDIO PARISH CHURCH	Church
7068	RHOSCOLYN PARISH CHURCH	Church

Conclusions

This study has applied a series of criteria to all known medieval church and chapel sites in north-west Wales in order to ascertain the likelihood of an early medieval origin. A total of 267 sites were examined, of which 16 are graded Class A (certain sites), 45 are Class B (probable sites) and 46 are Class C (possible sites). The certain sites are primarily the known early monastic, or *clas* churches. These are all still in use as parish churches, but it remains of particular importance that every opportunity is taken to carry out archaeological evaluation works or watching briefs within these churches and cemeteries, as they offer the primary key to understanding the development of the early church. Similar importance is attached to the island hermitages of Ynys Seiriol and Bardsey.

The development of the lesser church is very poorly understood. The principal example to have been excavated within Wales is Capel Maelog (Britnell 1990), which revealed a small cemetery clustered round a special grave of 7th to 9th century date, the construction of a cemetery boundary in the 10th century, and the appearance of the first church in the 12th century. To what extent this sequence is echoed elsewhere is unknown, though the appearance of stone-built churches in the 12th century is evidenced in both historical and archaeological sources, and appears to be both a British and Western European phenomenon (Gem 1988). It is, therefore, important that opportunity is taken to excavate all church sites, so that their origin and development are better understood.

The point is made above that the location of many lesser churches and chapels is unknown with certainty. These sites are no longer in ecclesiastical use, and are the most vulnerable. They also possess the least records, and hence are unlikely to score highly in this study, though examples which do feature above include Llanfeirig, Bodorgan, Capel Ulo, Holyhead and Capel Gorlas, Holyhead. These sites were not included within the recently completed church assessment, as they were no longer owned by the Church in Wales. They are, however, by virtue of not being in use, considerably more at risk, though their status, location and archaeological potential often remains unknown. It is therefore recommended that an assessment be undertaken of all deserted church and chapel sites.

Part 2

Implementing the recommendations in respect of the identification of Early Medieval Burial

Introduction

This, fieldwork, stage of the project was primarily concerned with implementing recommendations 1-3 of the 1999 report and, in the process, testing and refining the methodology outlined there. Geophysical survey was undertaken at 8 locations, all on Anglesey. At Ty'n y Pwll (Llanddyfnan), Castell (Llanynghenedl), Fron (Llangefni), Ynys Fawr (1 and 2) (Llanfihangel), Arfryn (Bodedern), Trefollwyn (Llangeni), and Llanbabo

At Ty'n y Pwll the objective was to test the possibility that the single known extended inhumation, inserted into an Early Bronze Age Barrow was the sole indicator of a more extensive cemetery.

At Castell, Llanynghenedl, the objective was to identify a postulated but unconfirmed long-cist cemetery at the possible location of the discovery of a 6th-century inscribed memorial stone.

At Fron, Llangefni the objective was to relocate an extensive cemetery, the site of which has been lost since its discovery in the early 19th-century.

At Ynys Fawr, Llanfihangel, local tradition and aerial photographic evidence suggested that burials had been discovered to the north of the present farm house. The objective was to confirm and locate the site of this tradition.

At Arfryn, Bodedern, geophysical survey was undertaken to test the methodology employed during the assessment and at the same time to obtain additional data on the bank and ditch enclosure, within which the cemetery lay and to investigate the degree to which the cemetery extended beyond the enclosure.

At Trefollwyn, geophysical survey was employed in an attempt to locate a potentially early chapel site, suggested on the basis of place-name evidence and the record of a 6th-century inscribed stone found locally.

Geophysical survey was undertaken at Llanbabo to investigate the possibility of an early outer enclosure, concentric with the extant churchyard wall indicated on an 18th century estate map but no longer visible on the ground.

Results

Ty'n y Pwll, Llanddyfnan PRN 4355 + 4356

The rationale of the survey

At Ty'n y Pwll the rationale was to test the possibility that the single extended inhumation, identified as a secondary burial within an Early Bronze Age mound, might form part of a more extensive cemetery with the mound as its focus. Monuments of an earlier ritual landscape are recurring influences in determining the location of Early Medieval burial. Standing stones are recorded in association with such burials on 5 or 6 occasions. Barrows and cairns of the Early Bronze Age are even more commonly associated. On Anglesey, the co-incidence of Early Medieval burial and ritual or funerary monuments of earlier prehistory occurs at 40% of the total known inhumation cemeteries on the island. At Ty Mawr, Holyhead and Arfryn, Bodedern, where large scale excavation has taken place it is possible to argue that such prehistoric features - a ring ditch at Ty Mawr and the low denuded ruin of a clay walled house at Arfryn - not only attracted later burial, but provided a focus for extensive cemeteries. At Arfryn, the cemetery of 127 graves expanded out from the original focus, within and beyond a

bank and ditch which enclosed the original settlement. At Ty Mawr, the cemetery of 43 graves developed in orderly rows, aligned on a pre-existing field boundary and confined between the north-easterly angle of this ancient field and the denuded mound or ring ditch of the Late Neolithic or Early Bronze Age. At Capel Eithin it cannot be demonstrated, but is circumstantially likely, that a landscape feature marked the interment of 15 cremation burials spanning the Early to Late Bronze Age and that this also provided a focus for one cluster of graves within a large Early Medieval cemetery of over 100 graves.

The site

Ty'n Pwll Farm stands on a low rise at about 40m OD, one kilometre to the west of Pentraeth. Five Early Bronze Age barrows extend in a curving line westward to a notable standing stone 800 m distant, close to Llanddyfnan church.

The Llanddyfnan area and the location of the barrows, although very low lying, occupy the effective watershed between the marshy valleys of the Cefni and the Ceint to the south-west and the Nodwydd as it flows north-east to Red Wharf Bay. Most of the Llanddyfnan barrows have been so denuded by later agriculture that they are no longer clearly visible above the surface of the ground. The penultimate barrow from the eastern extremity, however, stands on a locally prominent rise and may always have been the most conspicuous. Excavation in 1908 identified 8 cremation burials. Seven of these were contained within urns although one was not. This un-urned cremation was, however, protected by a small cist. A second cist protected an urned cremation accompanied by an accessory, 'food' vessel, a miniature axe with cast flanges, a bronze chisel and a riveted 'Camerton-Snowhill dagger' (Baynes 1909, 312-23; Lynch 1991, 172-181). Baynes also excavated the easternmost barrow at Ty'n y Pwll in 1908. The mound contained a crouched inhumation in a small chamber. In respect of the present assessment, however, the significant aspect of these discoveries at Ty'n y Pwll is that the mound housing the numerous cremation was used, two thousand years later, as an appropriate location for the interment of an extended inhumation, oriented, feet to the east among a heap of stones.

The geophysical survey

Survey at Tyn y Pwll was centred on the ploughed down remains of the larger round barrow excavated in 1908 (Baynes 1909, Lynch 1991). The smaller barrow to the south-east could not be seen on the ground at the time of survey.

The survey was carried out in October 2001. An area of 120m x 80m was surveyed at standard resolution. An area of 40m x 60m, centred on the larger barrow was surveyed at high resolution at 45 degrees to the original survey. Both results are combined on Fig. xx. The field was reasonably level and ideal for survey. Weather conditions were reasonable with overcast skies and occasional rain. Initial scanning of the site revealed varying amounts of noise and the presence of the very magnetically intrusive high pressure gas pipeline that runs across Anglesey at the eastern side of the site. The pipeline produces a 30m wide anomaly and no survey could be carried out within this area.

The survey revealed the two barrows, both clearly defined by an outer positive anomaly (1 and 3 Fig xx), best interpreted as a ditch, along with a circular negative anomaly (2 and 4) which presumably represents the edge of the original raised earthwork. The somewhat irregular readings in the centre of the large barrow could be a result of disturbance by the excavations of 1908.

Two sets of double linear anomalies (7-10) intersect the large barrow. These are probably more recent in origin perhaps being ditches marking old field boundaries. Much of the survey area was quite noisy thus effectively masking weaker archaeological features. Two weak anomalies in the south-eastern corner of the survey can be very tentatively interpreted as the remains of a ploughed out barrow (5) and the corner of a rectangular enclosure in excess of 40m across (6).

The survey produced no evidence to suggest any further burials. However, although the survey conditions and general results are somewhat better than those from Arfryn it must be stressed that this does not prove that further burials are not present at Tyn y Pwll.

Castell

PRN 2056

The rationale of the survey

At Castell, Llanynghenedl, the objective was to investigate the possibility of an association between the reported discovery of an inscribed memorial stone of 6th-century date and a postulated but unconfirmed Early Medieval cemetery. The stone is the Trescawen (Llangwyllog) stone, which is reputed to have been removed from 'near the ruins of a building called Cappel Bronwen' (Gwallter Mechain, NLW.MS.1713c.) in the 18th-century. Cappel Bronwen or Bronwen Chapel is elsewhere described as near Yr Arw, now Erw Fawr, three-quarters of a mile north-west of Llanynghenedl church. Castell is a circular embanked enclosure, c.50m in diameter, close to river Alaw, at its estuary, 1150m west-north-west of the church. There is circumstantial evidence to suggest that other stones were removed at the same time, giving rise to the possibility that a cist cemetery occupied the same site (Morris letters Vol II).

The site

The Trescawen stone

The inscription carved on this stone represents one of the most elaborate memorials to have survived from Early Medieval western Britain. There are 15 lines of text, mostly Roman capitals with the occasional half-uncial d and q. There is also an apparent brief postscript on the upper part of the right-hand edge of the stone. The extended epitaph, the name of the deceased in the nominative case, the horizontal disposition of the text and the presence of ligatures are all characteristic of the continental tradition of Early Christian usage in the late Roman Western Empire. This distinguishes the memorial from those components such as a vertically downward disposition of the text, a simple, possibly single name, epitaph often in the genitive case or, perhaps, accompanied by a statement of filiation, which are more characteristic of Irish influence. The inscription is now virtually illegible but was brilliantly deciphered and translated in the 1930s by Sir Ifor Williams and Dr Raleigh Radford (RCAHMW 1937, cix – cxiii). The text reads:

...IVA / SANCTISSI / MA MULIER / HIC IACIT QUE/FUIT AMATI / SSI CONIUX BI / VATIGI
FAMULUS DI SACERDOS ET VAS / SO PAULINI ANDOCO / GNATIONE ET OMNI / UM
CIVIVM ADQUAE / PARENTUM EXEMPL / A ET MORIBUS DIS / CIPLINA AC SAPIEN /
TIAE

(and on the upper right edge) AURO E / LAPIDIBUS

Even in the 1930s many letters were difficult or impossible to read. The stone had been used, after removal from its original location, as a rubbing stone for cattle, then as a gatepost, with holes driven for gate-hangers, and subsequently as a chopping block. Elements of the inscription, therefore, remain conjectural. The stone commemorates a lady whose name ...IVA has been largely obliterated by damage to the uppermost part. She was the dearly beloved wife of Bivatigirinus and the greater part of the memorial commemorates her husband's accomplishments. He was a cleric, possible a bishop and, most interestingly, a native of the region around modern Angers on the Loire, if Sir Ifor Williams' reading is accepted. Nash-Williams describes the stone itself as a 'rough pillar stone' (Nash-Williams 1950, 63; Anglesey 33). Close examination, however, despite the damage inflicted on it during the last 250 years, reveals it to be anything but a rough pillar stone. The stone has been carefully prepared. It is shaped and dressed and of even thickness in cross-section. Face-on the stone swells from its base to a maximum width of 935mm, 450mm from the floor into which it is at present set. It then tapers elegantly to a rounded apex at its full height of 1.45m. The proportions are such as to suggest that the preparation of the stone was achieved to a mathematical template in the proportions: 3:2 (height/width); 2:1 (height above shoulder/height below shoulder)

There are general similarities in the shape of the stone, which is unlike any other insular inscribed memorial, to continental Iron Age stelae of which the best known and most numerous occur in the coastal regions of Brittany with concentrations in Finistère, Côtes d'Armor and the Morbihan. It may not be co-incidental that Angers, the presumed place of origin of Bivatigirinus, is on the southern fringe of Brittany and close to one of the major

distributions of these monuments. It is also worthy of note that certain of these Iron Age stelae were, in Brittany, re-used as a medium on which crosses or Early Christian memorial formulae could be inscribed. It may also be significant that Edwards (1997) has drawn parallels between the Late Iron Age pillars at Trefollwyn and the contemporary stelae of Brittany.

The Trescawen stone is first mentioned by the Revd Walter Davies (Gwallter Mechain) in the later 18th-century, who describes it at Ty'n Rhosydd near Chwaen Ddu in the parish of Llantrisant, where it was in use as a gatepost. Davies tells us that the stone was found 'near the place at the ruins of a building called Cappel Bronwen (NLW MS 1713c fol. 8). Bronwen Chapel is recorded in the 18th century near Yr Arw (H. Hughes, 1796, *Cambrian Register*, UWB MS.), which Baynes equates with Erw Fawr at Pont yr Arw near the estuary of the Alaw (E N Baynes, *The Old monasteries, abbeys and chapels of Anglesey*, 1920, 40). However, there appear to have been other Bronwen place names along the Alaw. When in 1813 digging for stone in a mound alongside the Alaw near Glan Alaw, Llanddeusant revealed a cremation burial in a short cist, the discovery immediately prompted the suggestion of an association with the 'four-sided grave' of Branwen, the tragic heroine of the 3rd Branch of the Mabinogi. Jones cites a reference in the *Cambro Briton* for September 1820, reporting this discovery and noting that this location still called Ynys Bronwen (B L Jones, 1966, 33). The place, now well known as Bedd Branwen, may already have been so called. Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt refers, in the 17th-century, to a small curved cell of stone near the Alaw where Bronwen is said to have been buried (B L Jones, 'Bedd Branwen, The Literary Evidence', *TAAS*, 1966, 32-37). Henry Rowlands described having lately seen the 'monument' of Bronwen 'who died and was buried on the bank of the river Alaw' (H Rowlands, *Mona Antiqua Restaurata*, 1723, 166). These earlier references to the grave of Bronwen are, however less specific with regard to location. Further confusion is introduced in correspondence in 1758 between William Morris and Richard Morris of the famous Anglesey family. When in referring to the grave of Branwen, William Morris laments that while something of the stones are still visible, there were many before Wicked Will of Chwaen Ddu devastated them (Morris Letters, II, 75).

Chwaen Ddu, or rather the adjacent farm house, Ty'n Rhosydd, is of course where the Trescawen stone was seen by Davies, forty years later. It is possible that Wicked Will's depredations at the grave of Branwen also saw the removal of the Trescawen stone. Questions have since arisen as to whether the site referred to by William Morris in 1758 was that later known as Bedd Branwen (Edwards 1986, 'Anglesey in the Early Middle Ages', *TAAS*, 22); whether the ruins of Cappel Bronwen referred to by Davies are the same place or whether these 18th-century notices refer to a different location altogether as implied by the *Cambrian Register*'s 18th-century identification of Capel Bronwen at Yr Arw. The Revd Davies was certainly aware of Robert Vaughan's commentary and, therefore, of other potential Branwen associations (NLW MS 1713c fol. 5). Nevertheless, he saw and drew the Trescawen stone at Ty'n Rhosydd and located its findspot at Cappel Bronwen (NLW MS 1713c fol. 8). Bedd Branwen / Ynys Branwen are 5.5 km to the north of Yr Arw.

Yr Arw was a hamlet of the Medieval township of Conyslog, one of the great dynastic estates, or *maenolau*, of Anglesey with interests extending through much of Llifon. More particularly, the major incidents in the Second Branch of the Mabinogi, Branwen Ferch Llŷr, set, in the storyteller's imagination, in the real landscape of Medieval Gwynedd, are located at centres of major importance, Harlech, Caernarfon, Aberffraw and Aberllefenni. Llanllibio located adjacent to Yr Arw at the point where the Alaw is bridgeable as it begins to widen at its estuary, is considered to be the possible location of the lost *maerdref*, or royal estate centre, of the commote of Llŷfion. This is a plausible landscape for the setting of the return of Branwen and her companions from Ireland and her broken-hearted death and burial. The discovery and disturbance of cist burials in the immediate vicinity must already have been made before the 12th-century for the text to have described her grave 'on the bank of the Alaw' as 'petrual', that is 'pedwar wal' – four-walled (G Jones and T Jones, 1993, *The Mabinogion*, 32).

Castell is a circular denuded, earthwork enclosure c.55 m in diameter. There are faint indications of undulations within the interior which have been fancied to represent an oriented

rectangular structure (R B White manuscript notes, c.1980). The enclosure sits on a low rise, 200m from the estuarine Alaw on land between Glan Traeth and Erw Fawr.

Results

Castell is clearly visible as an earthwork. An area of 80m x 120m was surveyed at standard resolution and a cross-shaped area of five 20m grids centred on the earthwork was surveyed at high resolution. The results are combined on the grey-scale plan (see Appendices). The field was under pasture and was relatively easy to survey. The field boundary just to the north-east of the earthwork (was mainly ruined but some traverses were truncated because of hawthorn and gorse bushes. The survey was carried out in mid December 2001; weather conditions were ideal with high cloud and low winds.

The survey revealed a nearly circular anomaly (1) which appears to be a ditch around the outside of the earthwork. The remains of a bank (2) along the inside of the earthwork are visible in places. There is a suggestion of a former field boundary approaching the earthwork from the south-west and continuing across the interior. The eastern side of the interior is marked by an area of noise (3). The western part of the interior and the area around the earthwork contain a moderate level of noise much of which appears to be caused by pieces of stray iron in the soil. No further details could be seen even at high resolution but its somewhat striated appearance imply plough dragged remains. The external ditch and general size of the earthwork are compatible with an interpretation as a small enclosed settlement. There is nothing to confirm the presence of inhumation burials despite reasonably good survey results.

Fron, Llangefni PRN 2680

The rationale of the survey

A cemetery of at least 30 cist graves was disturbed during the removal of a boundary hedge at Fron, Llangefni, in 1829. This represents a large cemetery and is likely to have been more extensive as the disturbance which gave rise to the discovery would have been linear and not extensive in area itself. The precise location is no longer known. Nevertheless, a study of the archive maps of the area suggested that the changing pattern of landholding at Fron might allow an indication of the boundaries which were being removed at this period with the potential for relocating this important cemetery.

The site

The burials at Fron were discovered during the removal of a boundary between Fron and Glanhwfa. Glanhwfa or Glanhwrfa derives its name from Nanhwrfa, a Medieval free township of the Bishop of Bangor with 14 tenants in the early 14th-century. By the 18th-century land at Glanhwfa had become part of the Garreglwyd Estate. It then passed into the hands of the Bulkeley family before 1791 (Gwyn 2001). Some of this land was leased to a certain Hugh Hughes. Between 1805 and 1809 there was an exchange of lands in this area between Bulkeley and a Reverend Mr. Henry Hughes, probably a relative and perhaps an heir of the leaseholder, by which he acquired additional land in 'Glanhwfa'. This Reverend Hughes built the house at Fron in 1812. It was probably as a result of these or further exchanges and acquisitions that the Hughes Family, who were still owners of the land although not occupiers of the house in 1841, removed a former boundary between Fron and Glanhwfa in 1829.

Fron is located at about 40 m OD above the west bank of the Cefni on the southern outskirts of Llangefni. Glanhwfa lands lay immediately to the south. Boundaries visible along the northern limit of Glanhwfa in the late 18th century had been removed by the late 19th century. The easternmost section of this former boundary is that closest to the present site of Fron house, which was established during the first quarter of the 19th century. This was the area selected for geophysical survey and trial excavation.

Results

An L-shaped area of 60m x 80m was surveyed. The southernmost five grids were surveyed at high resolution with the rest at standard (Appendix). The survey was carried out in February 2002. The field was level, dry and under pasture and weather conditions were good. The local geology appeared to consist of limestone with some igneous intrusions

The survey clearly revealed several linear and curvilinear features. Anomaly 1 appears to be the 'missing' field boundary. Anomalies 2 and 3 also appear to be ditches and are presumably part of an field system predating the boundaries on the 1754 map. Faint traces of cultivation ridges (5 and 6) can be seen in the southern part of the survey. Anomaly 4 is probably a land drain and 7 appears to be the result of an igneous intrusion. There were again no clear signs of early Christian burials despite the well defined results for this area. A scatter of very small anomalies not attributable to iron litter in the south-eastern part of the survey could bear further scrutiny but the lack of regular orientation suggests that they are not burials.

Ynys Fawr PRN 3584

The rationale of the survey

This site had not previously been recorded on the Regional Sites and Monuments Record as a location of early burials. However, a tradition, reported by two local residents, Owenna Orme and Marjorie Hughes, indicated that burials were known to exist in a field 450m north-north-east of Ynys Fawr farmhouse. The farmer confirmed this tradition. In addition, an aerial photograph in the Cambridge University collection appeared to show a circular cropmark, 200m further north, with an annotation indicating the site of a burial ground. Geophysical survey was undertaken in anticipation of establishing the presence of burials in association with a curvilinear enclosure.

The site

Ynys Fawr stands on a low but locally conspicuous rise overlooking the upper reaches of the Afon Goch on its east bank at around 70m od. The land to the north, through which the river runs, is marshy. To the north-north-east, however, the ground rises, over a space of 300m, to 75m od before falling away to the north west. A circular earthwork enclosure lies on the northern slope, just below this crest. The defining characteristic of the earthwork is a very denuded enclosing ditch about 60m in diameter. The central area of the enclosure, 30m in diameter, appears to be slightly mounded. At a distance of 180m to the north-west, and downslope, a curvilinear cropmark feature on the site of a less regular mound appears to define a second enclosure. It is in the immediate vicinity of the first of these two locations that local tradition records burials. The second feature is thought to be associated with burial on the strength of an annotation in the Cambridge University collection of aerial photographs. Both sites appear to have been first recorded on RAF vertical photographs (106G/UK655/3196-7 13. 8. 45)

Two grinding stones are retained at Ynys Fawr farmhouse. One is the upper stone of a Romano-British beehive rotary quern, the other is a single piece bowl-shaped mortar. The rotary quern was found in the field immediately north of the farmhouse.

Results

Three areas were surveyed: on, and to the north of, the ditched enclosure (A and B), and to the north-west (C). All fields were under pasture and provided no major impediments to the survey which was carried out at the beginning of December 2001. Weather conditions were not ideal, with periods of heavy rain and high winds hampering the work. The weather slowed down the survey but did not seriously affect the data. Unfortunately, some of the site records were damaged in a particularly heavy squall and as a result, area C is not accurately located on the plan. The mound in the field gives a good indication of its position but the exact location of the grid over the feature can not be determined.

Area A

An area of 120m x 80m was surveyed at standard resolution and two grids were resurveyed at high resolution. The two results are combined on the grey-scale plot. Surprisingly, given the scale of the earthwork, no major anomalies were visible on the survey (Appendix). The central mound (1) is marked by an area of increased noise some of which could be resolved into vague arcs and possible circles. The higher resolution survey did not, however, help to resolve these features. The anomalies range between 5m and 20m in diameter and seem to

be too numerous and of the wrong size range to represent successive roundhouse occupation sites or elements of a very large barrow. It is possible that they are natural occurrences in the subsoil or geology which would suggest that the seemingly regular earthwork is in fact a natural feature. An alternative explanation for the lack of anomalies is that the soil conditions are particularly badly suited to geophysical survey with no magnetic enhancement or differences between subsoil and topsoil.

Area B

An area of 60m x 40m was surveyed in the field to the north-east of area A. No anomalies apart from the faintest hint of plough-scarring were visible.

Area C

A further area of 60 x 40m was surveyed over the mound to the north-west of area A. The mound appeared to be a natural feature perhaps caused by erosion to either side of a hard area of bedrock by run-off from the slope above. The survey revealed no anomalies apart from some geological noise and some faint curving responses similar to those in area A.

The survey at Ynys Fawr can only be described as inconclusive. There was nothing in any of the areas that could be identified as being of archaeological interest but, without excavation, it is impossible to determine whether this is a result of unfavourable conditions in the soil or geology.

Arfryn

The rationale of the survey

At Arfryn geophysical survey was undertaken as a control on the methodology employed at Ty'n y Pwll, Ynys Fawr and Castell. At these three sites the structural evidence of enclosures (at Ynys Fawr (1) and Castell) and ditched barrows (at Ty'n y Pwll) was recorded but there was no clear evidence of burial. The possibility was considered that burials might be present but that the relatively small size of such features and the lack of clear differentiation between the fill of graves and the present subsoil was obscuring their recognition. At Arfryn, burials, mostly in stone cists, were known to be present. It was also known from the results of excavation that the settlement had developed within the bank and ditch enclosure of an earlier, prehistoric, settlement. Within the excavated area burials extended to the limit of the former enclosure and in some cases, beyond it. Approximately one-half of the site remains un-excavated, however. The possibility existed, therefore, that both graves and the enclosure ditch might be identified through geophysical survey in the un-excavated area. If graves were capable of recognition through the use of this technique it might also have been possible to assess how far beyond the original enclosure the cemetery extended.

The site

Arfryn occupies a gentle but locally prominent rise at c.50 m OD. The site commands extensive views, particularly to the west.

The earliest recorded activity on the hill may be represented by the standing stone, Llech Eder, described by Lewis Morris in 1732 and by a ploughman's discovery of 'a multitude' of Early Bronze Age un-urned cremations in short cists, recounted by Richard Lewis in 1856. Both the stone and the cremation burials were found at Pen Eglwys Eder which corresponds to the location of the Arfryn cemetery and, in fact, Lewis Morris' discussion of the place describes the discovery shortly before 1732 of what must be long cists – stone coffins with their heads to the south (Morris 1732; Richard Lewis, 1856).

The excavation of 1971 demonstrated that a secular settlement developed on the site, possibly during the later Bronze Age. This comprised a circular bank and ditch enclosure, within which stood a single clay-walled round-house. After abandonment the dilapidated structure on the summit and the enclosure ditch must have remained sufficiently visible as a landmark to provide an attraction and a focus for the initiation of an Early Medieval cemetery on the site. The disposition of the graves clearly centres on the site of the clay-walled house. It is possible that the low mound of its debris was mistaken for a hill-top barrow. Here, one

grave, within the area of the former house and central to the expansion of the cemetery, may have been marked by an inscribed memorial standing stone. A large dug hole, suitable for retaining such a stone was identified at the foot of the grave. The stone itself was discovered, face down and re-used as a bridge over the enclosure ditch on the south side. The ditch had, by this time, been recut. The stone, bearing the single word Ercagni: (the grave of) Ercagnas, is of 5th- or 6th-century date. A radiocarbon determination indicates a possible 7th-century date for the recut-ditch and a terminus post quem for the replacement of the stone (CAR1556 1340±60). There are 127 graves within the excavated area, the largest recorded Early Medieval cemetery in north-west-Wales. Some burials have been placed outside the area of the ditch and the implication must be that the unexcavated part of the enclosed area is as equally full of graves.

The memorial stone, though not bilingual, as many of the ogam inscribed stones of south-west-Wales are, is, nevertheless, characteristic of the Irish or Western British tradition, in contrast to the Trescawen stone discussed in the context of Castell, Llanyngghenedl. The defining characteristics of this tradition are a vertically downward disposition of the text, a single name epitaph, often with the addition of some indication of kinship (although this stone lacks it); and the use of the genitive case to define possession. The name is very probably Irish although this does not necessarily require that the individual commemorated was an Irishman.

Results

The survey was carried out in wet weather at the end of January 2002. The ground was waterlogged making survey difficult. The poor conditions probably added a small amount of tilt error to the results. The underlying geology of the area is igneous and the soil was observed to contain a lot of stone along with a fair amount of modern litter some of it ferric.

An area of 40m x 60m was surveyed at standard resolution apart from the two 20m grids adjacent to the excavated portion of the cemetery which were surveyed at high resolution.

The survey revealed a series of four weak linear and curvilinear anomalies (Appendix) along with a scatter of small anomalies almost certainly caused by the modern ferric litter in the topsoil. Anomaly 1 (Appendix) is a continuation of the ditched enclosure found during the excavations. Anomaly 2 appears to represent part of a further ditched enclosure extending to the south-west of the cemetery. Anomalies 3 and 4 are best interpreted as modern drainage features.

It was noted that there was nothing to suggest the presence of further graves even at high resolution. There was, however, quite a high level of background noise which could easily mask relatively small features. The larger linear features did not produce strong anomalies suggesting that cut features are not easily detected in this area. It therefore appears that these two factors make the detection of single unlined graves unlikely at Arfryn and it also must be presumed that the stone used to line the cists does not produce significant magnetic anomalies.

Trefollwyn

The rationale of the survey

A chapel was recorded in the area of Trefollwyn, Llangejni, apparently independently, by both Lewis Morris and Henry Rowlands during the first half of the 18th-century. An Early Christian inscribed stone is said to have come from the site. Neither the chapel nor the stone can now be located although field name evidence and the circumstantial association of structural foundations revealed during ploughing suggested that geophysical survey might be an appropriate technique in relocating a potentially important site.

The site

Trefollwyn was a Medieval free township in the commote of Menai. The name survives in the single holding of Trefollwyn on the east bank of the upper reaches of the Cefni, 2 km north-west of Llangejni, at about 43 m OD. Henry Rowlands describes the township as formerly

having had a chapel, dedicated to St. Heilyn, 'which now, through the injury of time and the coldness of ancient piety' had fallen into ruins. It was amongst these ruins that Rowlands saw the inscribed stone which in his estimation bore the inscription OSORII. Lewis Morris was more specific in referring to the location of the stone as the churchyard of 'Cappel Heily' (alias Heilyn). It is certain that he saw the stone as his drawn record survives which provides a slightly different reading of the inscription to that of Rowlands (E. Owen, 'Lewis Morris's Notes on Some Inscribed Stones in Wales', *Arch Camb*, 1896, 129-144). Morris describes the stone as having formerly stood on end, with the implication that when he saw it, it did not. He further adds that the top was 'riow broke off' and attempts a completion of the shape of the stone and the text, although whether from knowledge of the lost piece or from conjecture, is unclear. Morris' transcription reads (HIC) IACIT / SORIS. His drawing indicates that the inscription ran vertically downwards.

A field 350 m south of Trefollwyn farmhouse is known as Cae Capel. Local memory records that an inscribed stone found lying in this field was cut up and used in the foundations of Trefollwyn itself (OS card index SH 47 NE 3). This may refer to the incident related by both Rowlands and Morris concerning Richard Evans of Trefollwyn's removal of stone from 'the ruins of the chapel for the purpose of erecting a certain building near his own house' (Owen 1896, 140-1). A square stone foundation, packed with lime, has been revealed in the fields south of Trefollwyn, during ploughing. This possible structure is, however, located in Cae Neuadd (the Hall field) 250 m north of Cae Capel. An estate map of 1774 (Henllys MS 1185, University of Wales, Bangor) shows that the field boundaries at the south of Cae Capel and the field to the east have changed since the date of the map's compilation and identifies a road running from the east along with a row of cottages in the eastern field.

In 1993 and 1994 a carved stone pillar (stone A) and a fragment of a second, plain, pillar (stone B) were found by Irene Carruthers and Roland Flook respectively in the field boundaries at the north-east and south-eastern corners of the field immediately to the south-south-west of Cae Capel. The more complete of the two pillars (Stone A) 480 mm in height, phallic in shape and decorated with grooved horizontal lines and arcades, was found in the boundary shared with Cae Capel. The stones have been compared by Edwards with La Tene carved pillars from the Rhineland, Brittany and Ireland and indicative of a late Iron Age ritual and, possibly, burial site (Edwards, 1997, 108-117). Aerial photography has revealed the possible existence of circular enclosures, respectively 56 m and 75 m in diameter immediately to the east and 75 m to the north of the find-spot of Stone A. The south-eastern part of Cae Capel, the location of the crop-marks and the find-spot of Stone A occupies the highest point of a gentle ridge at 50 m OD.

Results

Two areas were surveyed in late February 2002. Area A comprised an area of 120m x 40m aligned along the present eastern boundary of Cae Capel. It was originally intended to survey a larger part of the field but it soon emerged that the western half of the field was producing very strong anomalies of geological origin that would completely mask any archaeology. Area B was located in the eastern field and aligned with area A. A roughly rectangular area with dimensions of 120m x 80m was surveyed. The fields were under pasture and easy to survey and the weather was changeable but good for the time of year.

Two 20m x 40m areas were resurveyed at high resolution. All of the plots were combined (Appendix) thus allowing larger scale features to be seen in their entirety.

The most obvious anomaly is a large area of geological noise (1) at the west of the survey area. Several rather faint linear anomalies can be seen to extend across the rest of the survey areas. Some anomalies can be recognised as the field boundaries shown on the 1774 estate map that flank the road and form the eastern part of the enclosure associated with the cottages. Anomaly 8 may also form part of this enclosure but also includes a boundary to the south that is not shown on the map. Anomaly 6 also represents a field boundary on the estate map which predates the current boundary dividing the two fields. Anomalies 4 and 5 appear to represent the road that originally ran to the cottages. Section 4 suggests that it continued beyond them. A small (c. 5m x 5m) square anomaly was detected close to the end of the road. This anomaly is cut by the field boundary and is therefore from a different phase

of activity that can probably be assumed to be earlier because the fields have been open pasture during recent years. It was thought that the feature could represent the ruins of Capel Heilin although the clearly defined negative anomaly suggests a ditched enclosure as opposed to a spread of rubble. There also appears to be a break or entrance in the north-eastern side corresponding to the line of the road. There were again no anomalies that can be clearly distinguished as graves although it was noted that there was a slight increase in noise around the square anomaly. It is also just possible that a small anomaly in the entrance to the enclosure could be a grave.

Features 9, 10 and 11 are best interpreted as modern field drains. Interestingly neither the cottages on the estate map or the crop marks noted by Edwards produced any anomalies. The cottages may have been completely cleared away during agricultural improvements, and it is possible that at least the northernmost crop mark could be a result of bedrock close to the surface of the field.

Llanbabo

The rationale of the survey

Archive research identified an estate map showing a now lost curvilinear boundary feature to the south-east of Llanbabo church and concentric with the circular graveyard of that church. Attention has been drawn to the significance of such outer concentric or appended enclosures (for example, James, 1992). Geophysical survey was undertaken to investigate the potential for obtaining further information on an enclosure, or sequence of enclosures at Llanbabo.

Results

A roughly square area with dimensions of 80m x 90m was surveyed at the beginning of March 2002. The weather was good but the field was saturated after a period of heavy rain. Survey was hampered by standing water and deep mud in places. The field criss-crossed with linear hollows indicating field drains.

The results show numerous linear and curvilinear features, some of which are clearly associated with drainage. The north-western end of the field was also very noisy. Anomaly 1 appears to be the boundary shown on the 18th century map. Parallel anomalies 2 and 3 could either represent successive realignments of the boundary or ploughing inside the enclosure. A rather diffuse linear anomaly (4) appears to respect boundary 1 and could therefore represent a subdivision of this enclosure. Anomaly 6, perhaps representing a bank and ditch, clearly changes direction as it crosses boundary 1 and must therefore have existed at the same time. It does, however, appear to cross anomaly 4 suggesting that these features are not contemporary. Anomaly 5 appears to be a ditch or land drain. Anomaly 7 could represent further drainage and the very well defined linear nature of 8, 9 and 10 suggests modern disturbance. Anomalies 12 to 15 represent the land drains visible on the surface.

A scatter of small anomalies (11) at the east of the survey were noted but could not be easily interpreted. There was again nothing that could be interpreted as graves but the chance of identifying such features in an area as noisy as this is very small.

Conclusions and recommendations

Identifying new evidence of Early Medieval Burial

The principal result of Part 1 of this, second, stage of the Early Medieval burials and ecclesiastical sites project is the production of a catalogue of early churches, classified and ranked according to their potential for retaining evidence relevant to the development of churches during the early middle ages. The data has been discussed in detail above where certain recommendations for management and further work are advanced. These are summarised below.

The project also implemented certain of the recommendations proposed during stage 1. That is, an investigation of the potential for identifying new cemetery evidence, through fieldwork, including geophysical survey and targeted excavation. Fieldwork was undertaken at eight locations. The most significant result of this stage of the project was the identification, through geophysical survey and targeted excavation, of a previously undiscovered cemetery on the lands of Trefollwyn. The principal feature within the limited area of excavation was a 'special grave' taking the form of a rectangular ditched mortuary enclosure, within which lay three extended inhumations. A further four extended inhumations, one of which was stone-lined, lay outside the mortuary structure, on the same alignment. The full extent of the cemetery is unknown but is likely to have included many more burials.

Certain more general conclusions may be drawn from the results.

Geophysical survey using magnetometry was successful in almost every case in identifying linear anomalies and major features. The ditches of round barrows at Ty'n Pwll were identified where none had been previously recorded; the enclosure ditches at Castell and at Arfryn were identified, in the latter case where no evidence was visible above the surface of the ground; field boundaries were identified at Ty'n Pwll, Fron, Arfryn and Trefollwyn which do not appear on any map and a small rectangular anomaly was identified at Trefollwyn which, on excavation proved to be a mortuary structure associated with an Early Medieval cemetery.

Graves were not, however, readily recognisable in the results of geophysical survey. It should in theory be possible to detect adult sized graves using high resolution fluxgate gradiometer survey. At low resolution, a scatter of graves could produce an area of noise that could be differentiated from the surrounding area. The soils of Anglesey have, in the most part, quite high levels of background noise. This still allows linear features to be seen but smaller features such as graves, covering a maximum of 8x1 gradiometer readings at high resolution, appear as something close to a point on the geophysics plot. It is therefore difficult to distinguish such an anomaly from the very similar or identical anomalies caused by small-scale magnetic changes (noise) in the soil. This puts some limits on the usefulness of gradiometer survey in the detection of early Christian burials. Nevertheless, careful examination of the Trefollwyn results, once the presence of graves had been established by excavation, showed that the graves *were*, in fact, producing anomalies but that they could not be sufficiently distinguished from the surrounding noise. Structures other than graves can, however, be detected, even in less than ideal conditions, as described above. The detection of such features can clearly be very useful in the location of this site type and demonstrates that geophysical survey can still produce meaningful results.

Targeted excavation did reveal the evidence of burial at Trefollwyn. It is significant, however, that the location of this cemetery was established through the recognition, by geophysical survey, of an associated cemetery feature, in this case the rectangular mortuary structure. The area targeted for survey was selected on the basis of local field name and archive map sources.

In summary, apparently negative geophysical survey results can not be taken to imply an absence of graves and targeted excavation remains the most effective method of detection in respect of burials. However, archive searches, antiquarian records and geophysical survey contribute considerably to the process of site selection for excavation and also significantly enhance interpretation.

Recommendations

In respect of part 1, it is recommended that, following on from the current work, there should be:

- an assessment of the topographic and landscape setting of churches
- monitoring of all works, preceded by field evaluation where possible, at the former *clas* church sites
- archaeological monitoring of relevant maintenance and development works on all church sites
- an assessment of deserted church and chapel sites

In respect of Part 2 it is suggested that consideration be given to:

1.. further excavation at Trefollwyn in order to establish the full extent of the cemetery and the presence or otherwise of related features. In considering the results of the original assessment of the evidence for Early Medieval burial in north-west-Wales, certain factors were identified which were suggested to enhance the significance of recognised sites. These enhancement factors included

- More than one grave type present (e.g. both unprotected and cist graves in the same cemetery).
- The presence of a 'special' grave, particularly if associated with other burials on the site.
- The circumstantial association of an inscribed stone (and, in the case of Trefollwyn, 1A decorated stones).
- Documentary association in respect of previous discoveries and their provenance
- The locational association of earlier prehistoric ritual and funerary monuments.

All of these elements are present at Trefollwyn, from which it may be concluded that the site is of exceptional significance.

2. The selection of sites for geophysical survey and targeted excavation was severely constrained by the need to be sensitive to the requirements of the measures taken to combat foot and mouth disease and the concerns of landowners. It is suggested that this component of the project be continued and extended, building on the experience of stage 2, to include locations on the mainland of Gwynedd, Conwy and Meirionydd.

Appendices

Appendix 1: List of Criteria sorted on Criteria Type in Part 1, The Early Ecclesiastical Sites database

A1	Documented pre-Conquest (1066) church	
	781 ST MARY'S ABBEY, BARDSEY ISLAND	Reference in 1012 to death of Monk Iarddur (BT Pen 20, 11)
		2305 BANGOR CATHEDRAL
		Reference in Annales Cambriae 584 and Ulster 631/4
	later, 6906 BEDDGELERT CHURCH	Description by Gerald of Wales, though made
	6915 HOLYHEAD CHURCH	implies the existence of an early monastery.
	6922 CLYNNOG FAWR CHURCH	Raided in 961 (BT Pen 20, 8)
	6982 LLANFAES CHURCH	Raided in 978 (BT Pen 20, 9)
	7005 LLANFOR CHURCH	Reference to 'Battle of Llan-faes' in 817 (BT Pen 20, 3)
	7054 PENMON CHURCH	Reference in Llywarch Hen to Llantawn (9th century?)
A2	7078 TYWYN CHURCH	Raided in 971 (BT Pen 20, 8)
		Raided in 963 (BT Pen 20, 8)
	Clas/portionary church	
	2305 BANGOR CATHEDRAL	Portionary church
	6901 ABERDARON CHURCH	Clas church
	6906 BEDDGELERT CHURCH	Considered as a Clas church because of later association with Augustinians
	6915 HOLYHEAD CHURCH	Portionary church
	6922 CLYNNOG FAWR CHURCH	Portionary church
	6932 LLANRHOS CHURCH	May be Clas church, though only evidence of placename
	6949 LLANDANWG CHURCH	Possible Clas church
A3	6972 LLANEILIAN CHURCH	Clas church
	6982 LLANFAES CHURCH	Single portion in Taxatio P. Nichol
	7005 LLANFOR CHURCH	Clas church
	7041 LLANYMAWDDWY CHURCH	Portionary Church
	7054 PENMON CHURCH	Clas church
	7078 TYWYN CHURCH	Portionary church
	Direct archaeological evidence (e.g. cist graves)	
	2001 TOWYN Y CAPEL	Cist graves on site of 7th century date
	2305 BANGOR CATHEDRAL	Cist graves adjacent
	5017 MONASTERY, YNYS SEIRIOL	Pre-12th century remains
A4	6915 HOLYHEAD CHURCH	Cist graves 6894, Coin 1547
	Saint's grave/capel y bedd	
	6915 HOLYHEAD CHURCH	Eglwys y Bedd PRN 1764
	6922 CLYNNOG FAWR CHURCH	Capel y Bedd
	6972 LLANEILIAN CHURCH	Capel y bedd
A5	7078 TYWYN CHURCH	Former Capel y Bedd 4804
	Siting within Roman fort	
	6903 ABERFFRAW CHURCH	Roman fort in vicinity
	6915 HOLYHEAD CHURCH	Roman fort PRN 1762
	6916 CAERHUN CHURCH	Caerhun fort 662
	6942 LLANBEEBIG CHURCH	Close to Segontium Roman fort

	7057 PENNAL CHURCH	Roman fort lies nearby
	20002 CAE CAPEL, CAER GAI	Field called Cae Capel south of fort with burials
B1	Multiple churches in same churchyard	
	2305 BANGOR CATHEDRAL	Capel Gorfwy in enclosure
	7053 PENMACHNO CHURCH	Evidence for 2 churches in cemetery
B2	Church plan form	
	5017 MONASTERY, YNYS SEIRIOL	Transeptal plan
	6915 HOLYHEAD CHURCH	Originally transeptal in plan
	6972 LLANEILIAN CHURCH	12th century west tower
	6976 LLANNERCHYMEDD CHURCH	Probable 12th century west tower
	6993 LLANFECHELL CHURCH	12th century west tower
	7005 LLANFOR CHURCH	12th century west tower
	7054 PENMON CHURCH	Transeptal plan
	7078 TYWYN CHURCH	Transeptal plan
B3	Archaeological evidence, undated but compatible	
	2070 CAPEL DEINIOL, LLANFECHELL	4 cist graves 13,918 found on site
	3182 CHAPEL LLANFAIR (SITE OF), GARTH BRENAN	3 cist burials and 16 dug graves
	4010 MEDIEVAL PRIORY, ST TUDWAL'S ISLAND EAST	4 Cist graves on site
	6922 CLYNNOG FAWR CHURCH	Burials under chapel 7316
	7014 LLANGIAN CHURCH	6th century radiocarbon date from ditch
	7032 LLANRHYDDLAD CHURCH	Cist burials to south of church 2040
	7045 LLECHCYNFARWY CHURCH	Cist burials 2080
	7054 PENMON CHURCH	Cist burials to west of church
	7054 PENMON CHURCH	Possible cell adjacent to well 2540
B4	Cross incised stones in situ	
	781 ST MARY'S ABBEY, BARDSEY ISLAND	2 cross incised slabs 3628, 1588 (scheduled)
	1583 LLANFIHANGEL YSGEIFIOG CHURCH	Cross-incised stone on site (SAM)
	6935 HENEGWLWYS CHURCH	Group 2 incised cross recorded (DL)
	6937 LLANAELHAEARN CHURCH	Group 2 incised cross recorded but now lost (NW 88).
	6941 LLANBADRIG CHURCH	Cross incised stone 3059
	6949 LLANDANWYG CHURCH	Cross incised stone in west gable 2911
	6971 LLANEGRYN CHURCH	Incised stone 4918
	6982 LLANFAES CHURCH	Cross incised stone 13919
	7000 LLANFIHANGEL TRE'R BEIRDD CHURCH	Cross incised stone in church 2189
	7009 LLANGAFFO CHURCH	7 cross-incised stones on site; NW 17-24 (not 217)
	7011 LLANGEINWEN CHURCH	Four cross-incised stones 2633-7; NW 28-31
	7018 LLANGWNNADL CHURCH	Group 2 cross incised stone 3641
	7022 LLANGYBI CHURCH	Cross incised stone by path 2773
	7045 LLECHCYNFARWY CHURCH	Cross incised slab found?
	7053 PENMACHNO CHURCH	1 cross incised stones 3733
	7059 PENRHOS LLIGWY CHURCH	Group 2 incised cross recorded from church
(DL)		
B4a	Decorated stones in situ	
	1583 LLANFIHANGEL YSGEIFIOG CHURCH	Decorated cross-head found on site
	2305 BANGOR CATHEDRAL	3 Fragmentary blocks c. 11C. (NW 79, 80a, 81)
	6922 CLYNNOG FAWR CHURCH	Sundial in churchyard 2768
	5978 LLANFACHRAITH CHURCH	Decorated cross-head

	6987 LLANFAIR MATHAFARN EITHAF CHURCH	Cross 3615
	7009 LLANGAFFO CHURCH	3 Group 3 stones (NW 14, 15, 16)
38)	7054 PENMON CHURCH	2 Free standing crosses 2543, 2552 (NW 37,
	7078 TYWYN CHURCH	Sun dial in town 10-11C?
B5	Inscribed stones in situ	
	1201 CAPEL ANELOG	2 Inscribed stones found on site (site is SAM)
	2142 CAPEL HEILYN, TREFOLLWYN	Inscribed Soris stone 2668 found on site
	6935 HENEGLWYS CHURCH	Inscribed stone 2135
	6937 LLANAEHLAEARN CHURCH	2 Inscribed stones in church 1563 and 1564
	6949 LLANDANWYG CHURCH	2 Inscribed stones 4077 and 4780
	6957 LLANDECWYN CHURCH	Inscribed stone found 4182
	6984 LLANFAGLAN CHURCH	Inscribed stone 3103
	7005 LLANFOR CHURCH	Inscribed stone Class 1 3204
	7008 LLANGADWALADR CHURCH	Inscribed stone 3005
	7010 LLANGEFNI CHURCH	Inscribed Culidori stone 2673
	7014 LLANGIAN CHURCH	Inscribed Medici stone 1246
	7029 LLANNOR CHURCH	Inscribed stone Figvlini 439
	7035 LLANSADWRN CHURCH	Inscribed Saturninus stone 2644
	7041 LLANYMAWDDWY CHURCH	Lost Class 1 Insc stone 4952 found adjacent
	7053 PENMACHNO CHURCH	2 inscribed stones (Oria and Avitorius) 3730,
3732		
	7073 TREFLYS CHURCH	Inscribed stone 1299
	7078 TYWYN CHURCH	2 Inscribed stones 4798; 4799
B6	Artefacts of Early Medieval date	
	3724 CHURCH, BRYN Y BEDD, DOLWYDDELAN	Hand bell in medieval church
	6939 LLANARMON CHURCH	Handbell in church 6898
	6988 LLANFAIR PWLLGWYNGYLL CHURCH	Bronze pin in cemetery
	7018 LLANGWNNADL CHURCH	Handbell in church
	7019 LLANGWSTENIN CHURCH	Handbell in church
	7032 LLANRHYDDLAD CHURCH	Hand bell in church
B7	Prehistoric associations	
	779 ST MARY'S CHURCH, NW OF MYNYDD GWYDDEL	Enclosure 3630, 3631 by site
	1200 CHURCH OF ST PETER AD VINCULA, SARN MEYLLTEYRN	Standing stone 1256 in churchyard
	1260 CAPE FAIR, GALLT-TRAETH	Burial urns poss found on site 3623
	1752 CAPEL LLOCHWYDD, HOLYHEAD	Hut circles and cairns, 1753+1754 on site
	2058 CAPEL BRONWEN, LLANYNGHENEDEL	D shaped cropmark alongside 6642
	2060 CAPEL NETTI, MYNWENT MWROG, LLANFWROG	Bronze spear head findspot 2057 on site
	2157 LLAN Y GWYDDEL, CERRIG GWYDDEL	Possible Cist 7871 close by
	2519 MURDDYN EGLWYS, LLANFAIR-YN-NEUBWLL	Possible tumulus 2521 close by
	6944 LLANBEDR GOCH CHURCH	Part of concentric enclosure?? to north
	6956 LLANDDYFNAN CHURCH	Standing stone adjacent 2753
	6998 LLANFIHANGEL DIN SYLWY CHURCH	Bwrdd Arthur Hill fort 2595 above
	7000 LLANFIHANGEL TRE'R BEIRDD CHURCH	Maenaddwyn Standing Stones 1999 and 2199
	7011 LLANGEINWEN CHURCH	Stone head found in cemetery wall 84
	7019 LLANGWSTENIN CHURCH	Roman coin hoard found 2470
	7045 LLECHCYNFARWY CHURCH	Stone of Cynfarwy 2078
	7047 MAENTWROG CHURCH	Stone of Twrog 4352

	7052 PENLLECH CHURCH	Cup-marked stone 300m E. 1259
C1	Churchyard morphology	
	1583 LLANFIHANGEL YSGEIFIOG CHURCH	curvilinear cemetery
	1998 CHURCH OF ST AELRHIW, RHIW	Large curvilinear cemetery, straight on W.
	3151 OLD CHURCH OF ST. NIDAN, LLANIDAN	Curvilinear cemetery
	5370 CHURCH OF ST. ENGHENEDL, LLANYNGHENEDL	Curved boundary on east
	6901 ABERDARON CHURCH	Curvilinear to north
	6912 BODWROG CHURCH	Part curvilinear cemetery and road
	6928 DOLGELLAU CHURCH	Part curvilinear
	6931 EDERN CHURCH	Large and curvilinear
	6937 LLANAELHAEARN CHURCH	Part curvilinear
	6939 LLANARMON CHURCH	Large curved cemetery
	6940 LLANBABO CHURCH	Curvilinear cemetery
	6945 LLANBEDR Y CENNIN CHURCH	Curvilinear to south
	6954 LLANDDONA CHURCH	Part curvilinear with road around
	6961 LLANDUDNO CHURCH	Part curvilinear boundary with road around
	6966 LLANDWROG CHURCH	Partly curvilinear boundary
	6967 LLANDYFRYDOG CHURCH	Curvilinear boundary
	6968 LLANDYGWNNING CHURCH	Part curvilinear
	6980 LLANFAELOG CHURCH	Curved, with road around
	6984 LLANFAGLAN CHURCH	Part curvilinear (once larger enclosure?)
	6985 LLANFAIR CHURCH (MER)	Part curvilinear
	6986 LLANFAIR IS GAER CHURCH	Part curvilinear
	6988 LLANFAIR PWLLGWYNGYLL CHURCH	Part curvilinear
	6993 LLANFECHELL CHURCH	Large curvilinear cemetery
	7005 LLANFOR CHURCH	Large and partly curvilinear cemetery
	7007 LLANFWROG CHURCH	Curvilinear with road round outside
	7007 LLANFWROG CHURCH	Curvilinear cemetery to south
	7010 LLANGEFNI CHURCH	Curvilinear at east end
	7014 LLANGIAN CHURCH	Large cemetery part curvilinear, bounded by
stream	7034 LLANRWST CHURCH	Curvilinear cemetery
	7035 LLANSADWRN CHURCH	Curvilinear cemetery
	7057 PENNAL CHURCH	Good curvilinear cemetery
	7059 PENRHOS LLIGWY CHURCH	Curvilinear to east - extended to west
side	7064 RHODOGEIDIO CHURCH	Curvilinear cemetery with road around east
C3	Placename (e.g. eglwys, merthyr)	
	1593 MYNWENT Y LLWYN	Mynwent - also called Capel Tygai
	3008 ST MEIRIAN'S CHURCH, BODORGAN	Known as Merthyr Meirian (Roberts 1992)
	6925 CRICCIETH CHURCH	Also known as 'Merthyr Merion' (Wade-Evans 1911, 75-6).
	6932 LLANRHOS CHURCH	Also known as Eglwys Rhos
	6935 HENEGLWYS CHURCH	"Heneglwys" implies "former" church, possibly dedicated to "Corbri".
	6972 LLANEILIAN CHURCH	Capel y Bedd also called Myfyr Eilian
	7005 LLANFOR CHURCH	Name Llanfawr
	7009 LLANGAFFO CHURCH	Placename Merthyr Caffo
	7029 LLANNOR CHURCH	Llannor possibly derived from Llanfawr

C4**Well bearing saint's name nearby**

1752 CAPEL LLOCHWYDD, HOLYHEAD	Well, 90145, below chapel
1761 CAPEL GORLAS, HOLYHEAD	Well, 90104, alongside
1765 CAPEL ULO, HOLYHEAD	Well 1766 close to
3026 ST DWYNWEN'S CHURCH, LLANDDWYN	St Dwynwen's Well 3027.
3120 CAPEL HELEN, CAERNARFON	Ffynon Helen, Site of 3119
4205 CHAPEL, E OF FFYNNON GARMON	Well 4206
6915 HOLYHEAD CHURCH	Ffynon Cybi 1767
6921 CERRIGCEINWEN CHURCH	Well in cemetery 2158
6932 LLANRHOS CHURCH	Well in churchyard 90115
6938 LLANALLGO CHURCH	Well to SW 2202
6941 LLANBADRIG CHURCH	Well to north 3043
6945 LLANBEDR Y CENNIN CHURCH	Well 90118
6947 LLANBERIS CHURCH (NANT PERIS)	Well 4500
6952 LLANDDERFEL CHURCH	Well 3228
6957 LLANDECWYN CHURCH	Wells 12443 and 1481
6961 LLANDUDNO CHURCH	Well 4591
6965 LLANDDOGED CHURCH	Well 2462
6966 LLANDWROG CHURCH	Water conduits 12646
6972 LLANEILIAN CHURCH	Well on coast 3567
6975 LLANENGAN CHURCH	Well 1253
6984 LLANFAGLAN CHURCH	Well 3093
6998 LLANFIHANGEL DIN SYLWY CHURCH	Well 2597 to south
7005 LLANFOR CHURCH	Well to north dedicated to Deiniol 3208
7006 LLANFROTHEN CHURCH	Well 4736
7006 LLANFROTHEN CHURCH	Well to south bearing name of Brothen 4736
7012 LLANGELYNIN CHURCH (CRN)	Well in churchyard 657
7014 LLANGIAN CHURCH	Well site north of church
7019 LLANGWSTENIN CHURCH	Former holy well 90120
7022 LLANGYBI CHURCH	Ffynon Cybi adjacent to church 2772
7024 LLANIESTYN CHURCH (ANG)	Well adjacent 2662
7028 LLANLLYFNI CHURCH	Well to west 2343
7054 PENMON CHURCH	Well to north 2540
7062 PISTYLL CHURCH	Well SE of church 2230
7068 RHOSCOLYN CHURCH	Well 1Km WSW of church 2004 (SAM)
7078 TYWYN CHURCH	Holy Well 4801

C5**Antiquarian statement on site antiquity**

6903 ABERFFRAW CHURCH	Cross shaft 3010 recorded from cemetery
6906 BEDDGELERT CHURCH	Lost inscribed stone said to have been found

on site

Appendix 2: List of Criteria sorted on Church pm

779	ST MARY'S CHURCH, NW OF MYNYDD GWYDDEL		
	B7	Prehistoric associations	Enclosure 3630, 3631 by site
781	ST MARY'S ABBEY, BARDSEY ISLAND		SAM
11)	A1	Documented pre-Conquest	Reference in 1012 to death of Monk Iarddur (BT Pen 20,
		(1066) church	
	B4	Cross incised stones in situ	2 cross incised slabs 3628, 1588 (scheduled)
1200	CHURCH OF ST PETER AD VINCULA, SARN MEYLLTEYRN		
	B7	Prehistoric associations	Standing stone 1256 in churchyard
1201	CAPEL ANELOG		SAM
	B5	Inscribed stones in situ	2 Inscribed stones found on site (site is SAM)
1260	CAPE FAIR, GALLT-TRAETH		
	B7	Prehistoric associations	Burial urns poss found on site 3623
1583	LLANFIHANGEL YSGEIFIOG CHURCH		SAM
	B4	Cross incised stones in situ	Cross-incised stone on site (SAM)
	B4a	Decorated stones in situ	Decorated cross-head found on site
	C1	Churchyard morphology	curvilinear cemetery
1593	MYNWENT Y LLWYN		SAM
	C3	Placename (e.g. eglwys, merthyr)	Mynwent - also called Capel Tygai
1752	CAPEL LLOCHWYDD, HOLYHEAD		
	B7	Prehistoric associations	Hut circles and cairns, 1753+1754 on site
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby	Well, 90145, below chapel
1761	CAPEL GORLAS, HOLYHEAD		
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby	Well, 90104, alongside
1765	CAPEL ULO, HOLYHEAD		
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby	Well 1766 close to.
1998	CHURCH OF ST AELRHIW, RHIW		
	C1	Churchyard morphology	Large curvilinear cemetery, straight on W.
2001	TOWYN Y CAPEL		
	A3	Direct archaeological evidence (e.g. cist graves)	Cist graves on site of 7th century date
2058	CAPEL BRONWEN, LLANYNGHEDL		
	B7	Prehistoric associations	D shaped cropmark alongside 6642
2060	CAPEL NETTI, MYNWENT MWROG, LLANFWROG		
	B7	Prehistoric associations	Bronze spear head findspot 2057 on site
2070	CAPEL DEINIOL, LLANFECHELL		
	B3	Archaeological evidence, undated but compatible with	4 cist graves 13,918 found on site
2142	CAPEL HEILYN, TREFOLLWYN		
	B5	Inscribed stones in situ	Inscribed Soris stone 2668 found on site
2157	LLAN Y GWYDDEL, CERRIG GWYDDEL		
	B7	Prehistoric associations	Possible Cist 7871 close by
2305	BANGOR CATHEDRAL		
	A1	Documented pre-Conquest (1066) church	Reference in Annales Cambriae 584 and Ulster 521/4

	A2	Clas/portionary church	Portionary church
	A3	Direct archaeological evidence (e.g. cist graves)	Cist graves adjacent
	B1	Multiple churches in same churchyard	Capel Gorfw in enclosure
	B4a	Decorated stones in situ	3 Fragmentary blocks c. 11C. (NW 79, 80a, 81)
2519		MURDDYN EGLWYS, LLANFAIR-YN-NEUBWLL	
	B7	Prehistoric associations	Possible tumulus 2521 close by
3008		ST MEIRIAN'S CHURCH, BODORGAN	
	C3	Placename (e.g. eglwys, merthyr)	Known as Merthyr Meirian (Roberts 1992).
3026		ST DWYNWEN'S CHURCH, LLANDDWYN	SAM
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby	St Dwynwen's Well 3027.
3120		CAPEL HELEN, CAERNARFON	
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby	Ffynon Helen, Site of 3119
3151		OLD CHURCH OF ST. NIDAN, LLANIDAN	SAM
	C1	Churchyard morphology	Curvilinear cemetery
3182		CHAPEL LLANFAIR (SITE OF), GARTH BRENAN	
	B3	Archaeological evidence, undated but compatible with	3 cist burials and 16 dug graves
3724		CHURCH, BRYN Y BEDD, DOLWYDDELAN	
	B6	Artefacts of Early Medieval date	Hand bell in medieval church
4010		MEDIEVAL PRIORY, ST TUDWAL'S ISLAND EAST	
	B3	Archaeological evidence, undated but compatible with	4 Cist graves on site
4205		CHAPEL, E OF FFYNNON GARMON	
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby	Well 4206
5017		MONASTERY, YNYS SEIRIOL	A064
	A3	Direct archaeological evidence (e.g. cist graves)	Pre-12th century remains
	B2	Church plan form	Transeptal plan
5370		CHURCH OF ST. ENGHENEDL, LLANYNGHENEDL	
	C1	Churchyard morphology	Curved boundary on east
6901		ABERDARON CHURCH	
	A2	Clas/portionary church	Clas church
	C1	Churchyard morphology	Curvilinear to north
6903		ABERFFRAW CHURCH	
	A5	Siting within Roman fort	Roman fort in vicinity
	C5	Antiquarian statement on site antiquity	Cross shaft 3010 recorded from cemetery
6906		BEDDGELERT CHURCH	
implies the	A1	Documented pre-Conquest	Description by Gerald of Wales, though made later.
	A2	(1066) church Clas/portionary church	existence of an early monastery. Considered as a Clas church because of later association
with			
	C5	Antiquarian statement on site antiquity	Augustinians Lost inscribed stone said to have been found on site
6912		BODWROG CHURCH	
	C1	Churchyard morphology	Part curvilinear cemetery and road
6915		HOLYHEAD CHURCH	
	A1	Documented pre-Conquest (1066) church	Raided in 961 (BT Pen 20. 8)
	A2	Clas/portionary church	Portionary church

	A3	Direct archaeological evidence (e.g. cist graves)	Cist graves 6894, Coin 1547
	A4	Saint's grave/capel y bedd	Eglwys y Bedd PRN 1764
	A5	Siting within Roman fort	Roman fort PRN 1762
	B2	Church plan form	Originally transeptal in plan
	C2	British Saint dedication	Cybi
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby	Ffynon Cybi 1767
6916	CAERHUN CHURCH		
	A5	Siting within Roman fort	Caerhun fort 662
6921	CERRIGCEINWEN CHURCH		
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby	Well in cemetery 2158
6922	CLYNNOG FAWR CHURCH		
	A1	Documented pre-Conquest (1066) church	Raided in 978 (BT Pen 20, 9)
	A2	Clas/portionary church	Portionary church
	A4	Saint's grave/capel y bedd	Capel y Bedd
	B3	Archaeological evidence, undated but compatible with	Burials under chapel 7316
	B4a	Decorated stones in situ	Sundial in churchyard 2768
6925	CRICCIETH CHURCH		
6),	C3	Placename (e.g. eglwys, merthyr)	Also known as 'Merthyr Merion' (Wade-Evans 1911, 75-
6928	DOLGELLAU CHURCH		
	C1	Churchyard morphology	Part curvilinear
6931	EDERN CHURCH		
	C1	Churchyard morphology	Large and curvilinear
6932	LLANRHOS CHURCH		
	A2	Clas/portionary church	May be Clas church, though only evidence of placename
	C3	Placename (e.g. eglwys, merthyr)	Also known as Eglwys Rhos
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby	Well in churchyard 90115
6935	HENEGLWYS CHURCH		
	B4	Cross incised stones in situ	Group 2 incised cross recorded (DL)
	B5	Inscribed stones in situ	Inscribed stone 2135
to	C3	Placename (e.g. eglwys, merthyr)	"Heneglwys" implies "former" church, possibly dedicated "Corbri"
6937	LLANAELHAEARN CHURCH		
	B4	Cross incised stones in situ	Group 2 incised cross recorded but now lost (NW 88).
	B5	Inscribed stones in situ	2 Inscribed stones in church 1563 and 1564
	C1	Churchyard morphology	Part curvilinear
6938	LLANALLGO CHURCH		
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby	Well to SW 2202
6939	LLANARMON CHURCH		
	B6	Artefacts of Early Medieval date	Handbell in church 6898
	C1	Churchyard morphology	Large curved cemetery
6940	LLANBABO CHURCH		
	C1	Churchyard morphology	Curvilinear cemetery
6941	LLANBADRIG CHURCH		
	B4	Cross incised stones in situ	Cross incised stone 3059

	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby	Well to north 3043	
6942		LLANBEBLIG CHURCH		
	A5	Siting within Roman fort	Close to Segontium Roman fort	
6944		LLANBEDR GOCH CHURCH		
	B7	Prehistoric associations	Part of concentric enclosure?? to north	
6945		LLANBEDR Y CENNIN CHURCH		
	C1	Churchyard morphology	Curvilinear to south	
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby	Well 90118	
6947		LLANBERIS CHURCH (NANT PERIS)		
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby	Well 4500	
6949		LLANDANWYG CHURCH		
	A2	Clas/portionary church	Possible Clas church	
	B4	Cross incised stones in situ	Cross incised stone in west gable 2911	
	B5	Inscribed stones in situ	2 Inscribed stones 4077 and 4780	
6952		LLANDDERFEL CHURCH		
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby	Well 3228	
6954		LLANDDONA CHURCH		
	C1	Churchyard morphology	Part curvilinear with road around	
6956		LLANDDYFNAN CHURCH		
	B7	Prehistoric associations	Standing stone adjacent 2753	
6957		LLANDECWYN CHURCH		
	B5	Inscribed stones in situ	Inscribed stone found 4182	
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby	Wells 12443 and 1481	
6961		LLANDUDNO CHURCH		
	C1	Churchyard morphology	Part curvilinear boundary with road around	
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby	Well 4591	
6965		LLANDDOGED CHURCH		
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby	Well 2462	
6966		LLANDWROG CHURCH		
	C1	Churchyard morphology	Partly curvilinear boundary	
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby	Water conduits 12646	
6967		LLANDYFRYDOG CHURCH		
	C1	Churchyard morphology	Curvilinear boundary	
6968		LLANDYGWNNING CHURCH		
	C1	Churchyard morphology	Part curvilinear	
6971		LLANEGRYN CHURCH		LB
	B4	Cross incised stones in situ	Incised stone 4918	
6972		LLANEILIAN CHURCH		
	A2	Clas/portionary church	Clas church	
	A4	Saint's grave/capel y bedd	Capel y bedd	
	B2	Church plan form	12th century west tower	
	C3	Placename (e.g. eglwys, merthyr)	Capel y Bedd also called Myfyr Eilian	
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby	Well on coast 3567	
6975		LLANENGAN CHURCH		LS

	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby	Well 1253
6976		LLANNERCHYMEDD CHURCH	
	B2	Church plan form	Probable 12th century west tower
6978		LLANFACHRAITH CHURCH	
	B4a	Decorated stones in situ	Decorated cross-head
6980		LLANFAELOG CHURCH	
	C1	Churchyard morphology	Curved, with road around
6982		LLANFAES CHURCH	
	A1	Documented pre-Conquest (1066) church	Reference to 'Battle of Llan-faes' in 817 (BT Pen 20, 3)
	A2	Clas/portionary church	Single portion in Taxatio P. Nicholi
	B4	Cross incised stones in situ	Cross incised stone 13919
6984		LLANFAGLAN CHURCH	
	B5	Inscribed stones in situ	Inscribed stone 3103
	C1	Churchyard morphology	Part curvilinear (once larger enclosure?)
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby	Well 3093
6985		LLANFAIR CHURCH (MER)	
	C1	Churchyard morphology	Part curvilinear
6986		LLANFAIR IS GAER CHURCH	
	C1	Churchyard morphology	Part curvilinear
6987		LLANFAIR MATHAFARN EITHAF CHURCH	
	B4a	Decorated stones in situ	Cross 3615
6988		LLANFAIR PWLLGWYNGYLL CHURCH	
	B6	Artefacts of Early Medieval date	Bronze pin in cemetery
	C1	Churchyard morphology	Part curvilinear
6993		LLANFEHELL CHURCH	
	B2	Church plan form	12th century west tower
	C1	Churchyard morphology	Large curvilinear cemetery
6998		LLANFIHANGEL DIN SYLWY CHURCH	
	B7	Prehistoric associations	Bwrdd Arthur Hill fort 2595 above
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby	Well 2597 to south
7000		LLANFIHANGEL TRE'R BEIRDD CHURCH	
	B4	Cross incised stones in situ	Cross incised stone in church 2189
	B7	Prehistoric associations	Maenaddwyn Standing Stones 1999 and 2199
7005		LLANFOR CHURCH	
	A1	Documented pre-Conquest (1066) church	Reference in Llywarch Hen to Llanfawr (9th century?).
	A2	Clas/portionary church	Clas church
	B2	Church plan form	12th century west tower
	B5	Inscribed stones in situ	Inscribed stone Class 1 3204
	C1	Churchyard morphology	Large and partly curvilinear cemetery
	C3	Placename (e.g. eglwys, merthyr)	Name Llanfawr
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby	Well to north dedicated to Deiniol 3208
7006		LLANFROTHEN CHURCH	
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby	Well to south bearing name of Brothen 4736
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby	Well 4736

7007	LLANFWROG CHURCH	
	C1	Churchyard morphology
	C1	Churchyard morphology
		Curvilinear cemetery to south
		Curvilinear with road round outside
7008	LLANGADWALADR CHURCH	
	B5	Inscribed stones in situ
		Inscribed stone 3005
7009	LLANGAFFO CHURCH	
	B4	Cross incised stones in situ
		7 cross-incised stones on site; NW 17-24 (not 21?)
	B4a	Decorated stones in situ
		3 Group 3 stones (NW 14, 15, 16)
	C3	Placename (e.g. eglwys, merthyr)
		Placename Merthyr Caffo
7010	LLANGFNI CHURCH	
	B5	Inscribed stones in situ
		Inscribed Culidori stone 2673
	C1	Churchyard morphology
		Curvilinear at east end
7011	LLANGEINWEN CHURCH	
	B4	Cross incised stones in situ
		Four cross-incised stones 2633-7; NW 28-31
	B7	Prehistoric associations
		Stone head found in cemetery wall 84
7012	LLANGELYNIN CHURCH (CRN)	
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby
		Well in churchyard 657
7014	LLANGIAN CHURCH	LB
	B3	Archaeological evidence, undated but compatible with
		6th century radiocarbon date from ditch
	B5	Inscribed stones in situ
		Inscribed Medici stone 1246
	C1	Churchyard morphology
		Large cemetery part curvilinear, bounded by stream
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby
		Well site north of church
7018	LLANGWNNADL CHURCH	
	B4	Cross incised stones in situ
		Group 2 cross incised stone 3641
	B6	Artefacts of Early Medieval date
		Hanbell in church
7019	LLANGWSTENIN CHURCH	
	B6	Artefacts of Early Medieval date
		Hanbell in church
	B7	Prehistoric associations
		Roman coin hoard found 2470
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby
		Former holy well 90120
7022	LLANGYBI CHURCH	
	B4	Cross incised stones in situ
		Cross incised stone by path 2773
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby
		Ffynon Cybi adjacent to church 2772
7024	LLANIESTYN CHURCH (ANG)	
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby
		Well adjacent 2662
7028	LLANLLYFNI CHURCH	
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby
		Well to west 2343
7029	LLANNOR CHURCH	
	B5	Inscribed stones in situ
		Inscribed stone Figlini 439
	C3	Placename (e.g. eglwys, merthyr)
		Llannor possibly derived from Llanfawr
7032	LLANRHYDDLAD CHURCH	
	B3	Archaeological evidence, undated but compatible with
		Cist burials to south of church 2040
	B6	Artefacts of Early Medieval date
		Hand bell in church
7034	LLANRWST CHURCH	
	C1	Churchyard morphology
		Curvilinear cemetery

7035	LLANSADWRN CHURCH		
	B5	Inscribed stones in situ	Inscribed Saturninus stone 2644
	C1	Churchyard morphology	Curvilinear cemetery
7041	LLANYMAWDDWY CHURCH		
	A2	Clas/portionary church	Portionary Church
	B5	Inscribed stones in situ	Lost Class 1 Insc stone 4952 found adjacent
7045	LLECHCYNFARWY CHURCH		
	B3	Archaeological evidence, undated but compatible with	Cist burials 2080
	B4	Cross incised stones in situ	Cross incised slab found?
	B7	Prehistoric associations	Stone of Cynfarwy 2078
7047	MAENTWROG CHURCH		
	B7	Prehistoric associations	Stone of Twrog 4352
7052	PENLLECH CHURCH		
	B7	Prehistoric associations	Cup-marked stone 300m E 1259
7053	PENMACHNO CHURCH		
	B1	Multiple churches in same churchyard	Evidence for 2 churches in cemetery
	B4	Cross incised stones in situ	1 cross incised stones 3733
	B5	Inscribed stones in situ	2 inscribed stones (Oria and Avitorius) 3730, 3732
7054	PENMON CHURCH		
	A1	Documented pre-Conquest (1066) church	Raided in 971 (BT Pen 20, 8)
	A2	Clas/portionary church	Clas church
	B2	Church plan form	Transeptal plan
	B3	Archaeological evidence, undated but compatible with	Cist burials to west of church
	B3	Archaeological evidence, undated but compatible with	Possible cell adjacent to well 2540
	B4a	Decorated stones in situ	2 Free standing crosses 2543, 2552 (NW 37, 38)
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby	Well to north 2540
7057	PENNAL CHURCH		
	A5	Siting within Roman fort	Roman fort lies nearby
	C1	Churchyard morphology	Good curvilinear cemetery
7059	PENRHOS LLIGWY CHURCH		
	B4	Cross incised stones in situ	Group 2 incised cross recorded from church (DL)
	C1	Churchyard morphology	Curvilinear to east - extended to west
7062	PISTYLL CHURCH		
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby	Well SE of church 2230
7064	RHODOGEIDIO CHURCH		
	C1	Churchyard morphology	Curvilinear cemetery with road around east side
7068	RHOSCOLYN CHURCH		
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby	Well 1Km WSW of church 2004 (SAM)
7073	TREFLYS CHURCH		
	B5	Inscribed stones in situ	Inscribed stone 1299
7078	TYWYN CHURCH		
	A1	Documented pre-Conquest (1066) church	Raided in 963 (BT Pen 20, 8)
	A2	Clas/portionary church	Portionary church
	A4	Saint's grave/capel y bedd	Former Capel y Bedd 4E04
	B2	Church plan form	Transeptal plan

	B4a	Decorated stones in situ	Sun dial in town 10-11C?
	B5	Inscribed stones in situ	2 Inscribed stones 4798; 4799
	C4	Well bearing saint's name nearby	Holy Well 4801
20002	CAE CAPEL, CAER GAI		
	A5	Siting within Roman fort	Field called Cae Capel south of fort with burials

Appendix 3: full list of ecclesiastical sites

406	ST. MERIN'S CHURCH - SITE OF, NW OF RHYDLIOS	SH17323149
779	ST MARY'S CHURCH - SITE OF, NW OF MYNYDD GWYDDEL	SH13922533
781	ST MARY'S ABBEY, BARDSEY ISLAND	SH12002217
1200	CHURCH OF ST PETER AD VINCULA, SARN MEYLLTEYRN	SH23723283
1201	CAPEL ANELOG	SH15602743
1260	TY FAIR (SITE OF ST MARY'S CHAPEL), GALLT-TRAETH	SH23293095
1583	LLANFIHANGEL YSGEIFIOG (ST MICHAEL'S) OLD CHURCH	SH47887342
1593	MYNWENT Y LLWYN	SH45907310
1628	CHURCH SITE, ABERGWYNGREGYN	SH65317268
1752	CAPEL LLOCHWYDD	SH21408276
1761	CAPEL GORLAS - SITE OF	SH23368242
1765	CAPEL ULO - SITE OF, HOLYHEAD	SH24918132A
1998	CHURCH OF ST AELRHIW, RHIW	SH23412865
2001	TOWYN Y CAPEL MOUND	SH25697899
2016	CAPEL LUGORS, SITE OF	SH27807757
2017	CAPEL GWYNGENAU, SITE OF	SH26797810
2034	CAPEL MAETHLU - SITE OF, LLANFAETHLU	SH31408564
2041	BETWS PERWAS CHAPEL - SITE OF, LLANRHYDDLAD	SH32008800A
2054	ST LLIBIO'S CHURCH - SITE OF, BODEDERN	SH33038166
2058	CAPEL BRONWEN - SITE OF, YR ARW, LLANYNGHENEDL	SH31008100A
2060	CAPEL NETTI - SITE OF, MYNWENT MWROG, LLANFWROG	SH30008400A
2061	CAPEL MARCHWDA - SITE OF, TRE'R GWEHELYTH	SH34008200A
2064	ST MARY'S CHURCH, RHODOGEIDIO	SH39908556
2070	CAPEL DEINIOL - SITE OF, LLANFECHELL	SH37208570A
2082	CAPEL CWMSTRYD - SITE OF, LLANDEUSAIN	SH35008500A
2085	CAPEL Y GEIRN - SITE OF, UCHELSAIN	SH38008100A
2107	CAPEL LIDACH - SITE OF, TREWYNN	SH45008500A
2114	CAPEL LLANGADOG - SITE OF, DULAS	SH46568772
2116	CAPEL HALEN - SITE OF, CAPEL GLEN FARM, MOELFRE	SH48308731
2126	HEN CAPEL LLIGWY	SH49918631
2142	CAPEL HEILYN - SITE OF, TREFOLLWYN	SH44967726
2149	CAPEL MAIR - SITE OF, BODORGAN	SH40107190A
2157	LLAN Y GWYDDAL - SITE OF, CERRIG GWYDDEL	SH40907217
2197	CAPEL TOBIAS - SITE OF, TAL Y LLYN	SH46008200A
2231	RUINED CHAPEL, FYNWENT, NANT GWRTHEYRN	SH35114495
2303	CAPEL GORFYW - FINDSPOT, BANGOR CATHEDRAL	SH58147210
2305	BANGOR CATHEDRAL, BANGOR	SH58057205
2316	CHAPEL, LLANDEGAI	SH60077206
2519	MURDDYN EGLWYS - SITE OF, LLANFAIR-YN-NEUBWLL	SH31507506
2522	CAPEL LUR, LLAWR OR NUR - SITE OF, BODEDERN	SH34007800A
2525	ST ULCHED'S CHURCH, LLECHYLCHED	SH34007667
2526	CAPEL GWFA - SITE OF, TYWYN TREWEN	SH31007500A
2582	CAPEL MEUCANT - SITE OF, BEAUMARIS	SH60007600
2583	CAPEL TYDECHO - SITE OF, LLANDEGFAN	SH60007600A
2651	CAPEL PUGAN - SITE OF, LLANDDONA	SH56007900A
2675	CAPEL CARNEDD MAES LIDR - SITE OF, TREGARNEDD	SH47307510A
2734	CAPEL ULO - SITE OF, HOLLAND ARMS, PENTRE BERW	SH46987262
2801	CAPEL GALLTGOED, SW OF TYDDYN CRYTHOR	SH47074030
2863	CAPEL ULO - SITE OF (TRADITIONAL)	SH74427658
2941	CIRCULAR ENCLOSURE, DERI	SH46208830
2981	BUILDING REMAINS, EGLYWS Y GWYDDELOD, DYSYNNI	SH62990556
3008	ST MEIRIAN'S CHURCH - SITE OF, BODORGAN	SH38876862
3012	CAPEL BEUNO - SITE OF, ABERFFRAW	SH35446887A
3026	ST DWYNWEN'S CHURCH, LLANDDWYN	SH38696275C
3036	CAPEL BETTWS - SITE OF, LLANFAELOG	SH33007300A
3044	CHAPEL, LLANLEIANA	SH38789493
3049	CAPEL, SITE OF, LLANDDYGFAEL	SH35079033
3056	ST. PEIRIO'S CHURCH, RHOSBEIRIO	SH39119173
3060	CAPEL GWEN HIR (HOYW) - SITE OF, LLANBADRIG	SH39439355
3062	CAPEL ANHUNEDD Y PRAN - SITE OF, CLEGYROG	SH38009000A
3120	CAPEL HELEN - SITE OF, CAERNARFON	SH48206230A
3122	CAPEL CWRT (QUIRT) (C15TH), NR. DWYRAN	SH45806494
3139	CAPEL CADWALADR - SITE OF, LLANDDANIEL FAB	SH48336917
3151	OLD PARISH CHURCH OF ST. NIDAN, LLANIDAN	SH49496690
3163	ST CYNFIL'S PARISH CHURCH, PENRHOS	SH34173370
3182	CHAPEL LLANFAIR (SITE OF), GARTH BRENAN	SH58057220
3235	CHAPEL OR PRIORY - SITE OF, TY CERRIG, LLANDDERFEL	SH98133710
3399	HEN CAPEL - PLACENAME SITE, LLYN GWYNANT	SH64495169
3508	HOLY ROOD CHURCH, CEIRCHIOG	SH36077685
3528	CAPEL Y GADAI - SITE OF, LLANFAIRYNGHORNWY	SH31609038A
3529	CAPEL BER YR EOS - SITE OF, LLANFAIRYNGHORNWY	SH31609038A

3550	ST. CADOC'S CHAPEL - SITE OF, AMLWCH	SH43009200A
3570	ST. EILIAN'S CHAPEL, LLANEILIAN CHURCHYARD	SH46989288
3572	OLD PARISH CHURCH OF ST. GWENLLWYFO, LLANWENLLWYFO	SH48569006
3582	CAPEL CYBI - SITE OF, TY CROES, RHODWYDD CEIDIO	SH40008300A
3724	CHURCH - SITE OF, BRYN Y BEDD, DOLWYDDELAN	SH73125225A
3897	CHAPEL - SITE OF, HARLECH	SH58153120
4010	MEDIEVAL PRIORY, ST TUDWAL'S ISLAND EAST	SH34212591A
4135	GWANAS - SITE OF CHAPEL HOSPICE AND GRANGE	SH76751683A
4205	PROBABLE 16TH CENTURY CHAPEL, E OF FFYNNON GARMON	SH52665764
4280	CHRIST CHURCH MEDIEVAL CHAPEL - SITE OF, BALA	SH92703621
4316	ST. MARY'S CHURCH, NEFYN	SH30864065
4544	CHAPEL, PENRHYN OLD HALL	SH81638162
4572	GWYDYR UCHAF CHAPEL	SH79496092
4614	CHAPEL (SITE OF), COED FFYNNON, LLANDDOGED	SH79696729
4721	POSS EARLY CHURCH SITE, RHODOGEIDIO	SH39338461
4804	ST. CADFAN'S CHAPEL - SITE OF, TYWYN CHURCHYARD	SH58830096
4832	EGLWYS WEN - SITE OF CHURCH, ABOVE TALARDD	SH89862747
4925	CHAPEL - SITE OF	SH56700500A
4934	LLANFIHANGEL Y PENNANT CHURCH SITE	SH67880903
4955	SITE OF MEDIEVAL CHAPEL - GWERN Y CAPEL	SH57552496
5017	MONASTERY, YNYS SEIRIOL	SH65128212
5370	PARISH CHURCH OF ST. ENGHENEDL, LLANYNGHENEDL	SH31718100
5372	PARISH CHURCH OF ST ULCHED, LLECHYLCHED	SH35167744
5681	CHURCH SITE (REPORTED), LLAN FFESTINIOG	SH69104173
6639	CAPEL MAIR, DINDRYFOL - APPROX. SITE OF	SH39707290
6643	BRYN EGLWYS, SITE OF CHURCH, TREGARTH	SH60706668
6900	ABER PARISH CHURCH	SH65317268
6901	ABERDARON PARISH CHURCH	SH17322637
6902	ABERERCH PARISH CHURCH	SH39653657
6903	ABERFFRAW PARISH CHURCH	SH35366879
6904	AMLWCH PARISH CHURCH	SH44229294
6905	BEAUMARIS PARISH CHURCH	SH60407613
6906	BEDDGELERT PARISH CHURCH	SH59094802
6907	BETWS GARMON PARISH CHURCH	SH53585760
6908	BETWS Y COED PARISH CHURCH	SH79605656
6909	BODEDERN PARISH CHURCH	SH33348044
6910	BODEWRYD PARISH CHURCH	SH40029058
6911	BODUAN PARISH CHURCH	SH32523774
6912	BODWROG PARISH CHURCH	SH40027763
6913	BOTWNNOG PARISH CHURCH	SH26253155
6914	BRYNCROES PARISH CHURCH	SH22623147
6915	HOLYHEAD PARISH CHURCH	SH24728262
6916	CAERHUN PARISH CHURCH	SH77687040
6917	CAERNARFON, ST MARY'S CHURCH	SH47756295
6918	CAPEL CURIG PARISH CHURCH	SH71855797
6919	CARNGUWCH PARISH CHURCH	SH37414182
6920	CEIDIO PARISH CHURCH	SH28783821
6921	CERRIGCEINWEN PARISH CHURCH	SH42357371
6922	CLYNNOG FAWR PARISH CHURCH	SH41444969
6923	COEDANEU PARISH CHURCH	SH43088218
6924	CONWAY PARISH CHURCH	SH78107750
6925	CRICCIETH PARISH CHURCH	SH50063832
6926	DENEIO PARISH CHURCH	SH37273574
6927	DOLBENMAEN PARISH CHURCH	SH50664314
6928	DOLGELLAU PARISH CHURCH	SH72751785
6929	DOLWYDDELAN PARISH CHURCH	SH73605230
6930	DWYGYFYLCHI PARISH CHURCH	SH73677730
6931	EDERN PARISH CHURCH	SH27953959
6932	LLANRHOS PARISH CHURCH	SH79338032
6933	FFESTINIOG PARISH CHURCH	SH69944190
6934	GYFFIN PARISH CHURCH	SH77657694
6935	HENEGLWYS PARISH CHURCH	SH42247612
6936	LLANABER PARISH CHURCH	SH59931802
6937	LLANAEHAEARN PARISH CHURCH	SH38704481
6938	LLANALLGO PARISH CHURCH	SH50138505
6939	LLANARMON PARISH CHURCH	SH42313935
6940	LLANBAGO PARISH CHURCH	SH37818677
6941	LLANBADRIG PARISH CHURCH	SH37619463
6942	LLANBEBLIG PARISH CHURCH	SH48746228
6943	LLANBEDR PARISH CHURCH	SH58492698
6944	LLANBEDR GOCH PARISH CHURCH	SH50937985
6945	LLANBEDR Y CENNIN PARISH CHURCH	SH76066957
6946	LLANBEDROG PARISH CHURCH	SH32943155
6947	LLANBERIS PARISH CHURCH (NANT PERIS)	SH60655829
6948	LLANBEULAN PARISH CHURCH	SH37257547

6949	LLANDANWG PARISH CHURCH	SH56872824
6950	LLANDDANIEL FAB PARISH CHURCH	SH49577045
6951	LLANDDEINIOLLEN PARISH CHURCH	SH54576593
6952	LLANDDERFEL PARISH CHURCH	SH98163706
6953	LLANDDEUSANT PARISH CHURCH	SH34578528
6954	LLANDDONA PARISH CHURCH	SH57448083
6955	LLANDDWYWE PARISH CHURCH	SH58642234
6956	LLANDDYFNAN PARISH CHURCH	SH50227870
6957	LLANDECWYN PARISH CHURCH	SH63213745
6958	LLANDEGAI PARISH CHURCH	SH60077098
6959	LLANDEGFAN PARISH CHURCH	SH56387437
6960	LLANDRYGARN PARISH CHURCH	SH38287960
6961	LLANDUDNO PARISH CHURCH	SH76978382
6962	LLANDUDWEN PARISH CHURCH	SH27403687
6963	CAPEL GARMON PARISH CHURCH	SH81565545
6964	EGLWYSFACH PARISH CHURCH	SH80327053
6965	LLANDDOGED PARISH CHURCH	SH80606380
6966	LLANDWROG PARISH CHURCH	SH45105607
6967	LLANDYFRYDOG PARISH CHURCH	SH44358535
6968	LLANDYGWNNING PARISH CHURCH	SH26623005
6969	LLANDYSILIO PARISH CHURCH	SH55127168
6970	LLANEDWEN PARISH CHURCH	SH51726825
6971	LLANEGRYN PARISH CHURCH	SH59610579
6972	LLANEILIAN PARISH CHURCH	SH46979289
6973	LLANELLYD PARISH CHURCH	SH71751954
6974	LLANENDDWYN PARISH CHURCH	SH58242343
6975	LLANENGAN PARISH CHURCH	SH29392702
6976	LLANERCHYMEDD PARISH CHURCH	SH41768409
6977	LLANEUGRAD PARISH CHURCH	SH49548416
6978	LLANFACHRAITH PARISH CHURCH	SH31328311
6979	LLANFACHRETH PARISH CHURCH	SH75462248
6980	LLANFAELOG PARISH CHURCH	SH33677300
6981	LLANFAELRHYS PARISH CHURCH	SH21012681
6982	LLANFAES PARISH CHURCH	SH60457787
6983	LLANFAETHLU PARISH CHURCH	SH31268709
6984	LLANFAGLAN PARISH CHURCH	SH45546068
6985	LLANFAIR PARISH CHURCH (MER)	SH57762906
6986	LLANFAIR IS GAER PARISH CHURCH	SH50176602
6987	LLANFAIR MATHAFARN EITHAF PARISH CHURCH	SH50658289
6988	LLANFAIR PWLLGWYNGYLL PARISH CHURCH	SH53697120
6989	LLANFAIR Y CWMWD PARISH CHURCH	SH44706676
6990	LLANFAIR YN NEUBWLL PARISH CHURCH	SH29707783
6991	LLANFAIRFECHAN PARISH CHURCH	SH68297457
6992	LLANFAIRYNGHORNWY PARISH CHURCH	SH32729085
6993	LLANFEHELL PARISH CHURCH	SH36949127
6994	LLANFFINAN PARISH CHURCH	SH49557550
6995	LLANFFLEWYN PARISH CHURCH	SH34968905
6996	LLANFIGAEL PARISH CHURCH	SH32798281
6997	LLANFIHANGEL BACHELLAETH PARISH CHURCH	SH30413427
6998	LLANFIHANGEL DIN SYLWY PARISH CHURCH	SH58808151
7000	LLANFIHANGEL TRE'R BEIRDD PARISH CHURCH	SH45908370
7001	LLANFIHANGEL Y PENNANT PARISH CHURCH (MER)	SH67140886
7002	LLANFIHANGEL Y PENNANT PARISH CHURCH (CRN)	SH52744486
7003	LLANFIHANGEL Y TRAETHAU PARISH CHURCH	SH59523526
7004	LLANFIHANGEL YN NHOWYN PARISH CHURCH	SH32157745
7005	LLANFOR PARISH CHURCH	SH93833680
7006	LLANFROTHEN PARISH CHURCH	SH62234117
7007	LLANFWROG PARISH CHURCH	SH30118389
7008	LLANGADWALADR PARISH CHURCH	SH38376926
7009	LLANGAFFO PARISH CHURCH	SH44606855
7010	LLANGEFNI PARISH CHURCH	SH45807592
7011	LLANGEINWEN PARISH CHURCH	SH43977658
7012	LLANGELYNIN PARISH CHURCH (CRN)	SH75127373
7013	LLANGELYNIN PARISH CHURCH (MER)	SH57120720
7014	LLANGIAN PARISH CHURCH	SH29562894
7015	LLANGOED PARISH CHURCH	SH61178056
7016	LLANGOWER PARISH CHURCH	SH90423226
7017	LLANGRISTIOLUS PARISH CHURCH	SH45017357
7018	LLANGWNNADL PARISH CHURCH	SH20883321
7019	LLANGWSTENIN PARISH CHURCH	SH82207922
7020	LLANGWYFAN PARISH CHURCH	SH33596827
7021	LLANGWYLLOG PARISH CHURCH	SH43387967
7022	LLANGYBI PARISH CHURCH	SH42864117
7022	LLANGYBI PARISH CHURCH	SH42864117
7024	LLANIESTYN PARISH CHURCH (ANG)	SH58507959

7025	LLANIESTYN PARISH CHURCH (CRN)	SH26983375
7026	LLANLLECHID PARISH CHURCH	SH62196869
7028	LLANLLYFNI PARISH CHURCH	SH47065209
7029	LLANNOR PARISH CHURCH	SH35383725
7030	LLANRHWDYDRYS PARISH CHURCH	SH32219322
7031	LLANRHYCHWYN PARISH CHURCH	SH77486161
7032	LLANRHYDDLAD PARISH CHURCH	SH30608956
7033	LLANRUG PARISH CHURCH	SH52696308
7034	LLANRWST PARISH CHURCH	SH79746161
7035	LLANSADWRN PARISH CHURCH	SH55387588
7036	LLANTRISANT PARISH CHURCH	SH34958406
7037	LLANUWCHLLYN PARISH CHURCH	SH87363030
7039	LLANWDA PARISH CHURCH	SH47595868
7040	LLANYCIL PARISH CHURCH	SH91473485
7041	LLANYMAWDDWY PARISH CHURCH	SH90331904
7043	LLANYSTUMDWY PARISH CHURCH	SH47403859
7045	LLECHCYNFARWY PARISH CHURCH	SH38128110
7047	MAENTWROG PARISH CHURCH	SH66454053
7048	MALLWYD PARISH CHURCH	SH86281235
7051	NEWBOROUGH PARISH CHURCH	SH41986546
7052	PENLLECH PARISH CHURCH	SH21993440
7053	PENMACHNO PARISH CHURCH	SH79445028
7054	PENMON PARISH CHURCH	SH63048072
7055	PENMORFA PARISH CHURCH	SH54124028
7056	PENMYNYDD PARISH CHURCH	SH51727492
7057	PENNAL PARISH CHURCH	SH69970039
7059	PENRHOS LLIGWY PARISH CHURCH	SH48058591
7060	PENTIR PARISH CHURCH	SH57256709
7061	PENTRAETH PARISH CHURCH	SH52337844
7062	PISTYLL PARISH CHURCH	SH32824232
7064	RHODOGEIDIO PARISH CHURCH	SH41158547
7068	RHOSCOLYN PARISH CHURCH	SH26827571
7069	TAL Y LLYN CHURCH (ANG)	SH36667285
7070	TAL Y LLYN PARISH CHURCH (MER)	SH71070939
7071	TRAWSFYNYDD PARISH CHURCH	SH70653570
7072	TREFDRAETH PARISH CHURCH	SH40867039
7073	TREFLYS PARISH CHURCH	SH53443785
7074	TREFRIW PARISH CHURCH	SH78066323
7075	TREGAIA PARISH CHURCH	SH45127971
7076	TREWALCHMAI PARISH CHURCH	SH39047611
7077	TUDWEILIOG PARISH CHURCH	SH23823677
7078	TYWYN PARISH CHURCH	SH58820095
7079	YNYSCYNHAERN PARISH CHURCH	SH52583878
7080	YSBYTY IFAN CHURCH	SH84404890
7081	LLANSANTFFRAID GLAN CONWY	SH80407610
20002	CAE CAPEL, CAER GAI, LLANUWCHLLYN	SH87803135

Appendix 4: list of wells associated with churches

103	FFYNNON BEUNO HOLY WELL, CLYNNOG FAWR	SH41324945
201	FFYNNON DDIGWG HOLY WELL, MYNYDD BYCHAN	SH42965046
634	FFYNNON ELEN HOLY WELL	SH73675252
650	FFYNNON LLYGAID, GREAT ORME	SH76158319
651	FFYNNON RUFENIG, GREAT ORME	SH76558386
657	FFYNNON GELYNIN HOLY WELL, LLANGELYNIN	SH75127369
675	FFYNNON BEDR - SITE OF, LLANBEDR Y CENNIN	SH76296914
775	FFYNNON DDWRDAN HOLY WELL, NE OF ABERDARON	SH19252792
776	FFYNNON SAINT HOLY WELL, MINAFON	SH16532671
933	BOSTON SULPHUR WELL (CHALYBEATE) SE OF BRYNREFAIL	SH48588602
1203	WELL (UN-NAMED), MYNYDD ENLLI	SH12182219
1221	FFYNNON AELRHIW HOLY WELL, RHIW	SH23382847
1222	FFYNNON SAINT HOLY WELL, NR RHIW	SH24202947
1251	FFYNNON FYW - HOLY WELL, NR CAPEL HOREB	SH30903086
1252	FFYNNON SAETHON - HOLY WELL/SPRING, NR. SAETHON	SH29723244
1253	FFYNNON ENGAN - HOLY WELL, LLANENGAN	SH29302707
1254	FFYNNON FAIR - HOLY WELL, BRYNCROES	SH22663139
1285	FFYNNON SAINT - HOLY WELL, SITE OF, CRICCIETH	SH49923838
1374	FFYNNON GRASI - HOLY WELL, E OF LLYN GLASFRYD	SH40434230
1481	FFYNNON DECWYN HOLY WELL, LLANDECWYN	SH63243737
1766	FFYNNON ULO (POSS.), HOLYHEAD	SH24798131
1767	FFYNNON GYBI - SITE OF, HOLYHEAD	SH24758280
1770	FFYNNON Y WRACH - HOLY WELL, S. OF HOLYHEAD MTN	SH22328226
1911	FFYNNON Y SAIS, YNYS LLANDDWYN	SH38886313
2004	FFYNNON GWENFAEN HOLY WELL	SH25957543
2158	CERRIG CEINWEN HOLY WELL & SPRING, C.C. CHURCHYARD	SH42377369
2202	FFYNNON ALLGO, HOLY WELL	SH49898477
2230	FFYNNON (UNATTRIBUTED), HOLY WELL, PISTYLL FARM	SH32984225
2232	FFYNNON AELHAEARN - HOLY WELL, LLANAELHAERN	SH38424462
2254	FFYNNON GWYNEDD HOLY WELL, TYDDYN FFYNNON	SH37464026
2255	FFYNNON GADFARCH HOLY WELL, W OF AFON ERCH	SH39974021
2262	FFYNNON CAWRDAF HOLY WELL, BRYN BERYL HOSPITAL	SH39193753
2266	FFYNNON EDLIW HOLY WELL, SE OF BODFAN	SH44915539
2279	WELL, BETWS FAWR, LLANYSTUMDWY	SH46633975
2343	FFYNNON RHEDYW HOLY WELL, LLANLLYFNI	SH46805195
2379	FFYNNON DDUNAWD HOLY WELL, BRAICH-Y-SAINT	SH51354009
2417	FFYNNON CEGIN ARTHUR HOLY WELL, PENISARWAUN	SH55486488
2462	FFYNNON DDOGET HOLY WELL, LLANDDOGED	SH80596378
2540	ST. SEIRIOL'S HOLY WELL & CELL, PENMON PRIORY	SH63058079
2587	WELL OR SPRING, TROS YR AFON, NEAR PENMON	SH61497924
2597	HOLY WELL, LLANFIHANGEL DIN SILWY	SH58808146
2618	HOLY WELL - SITE OF, CROCHAN GAFFO, LLANGAFFO	SH44336934
2619	HOLY WELL - SITE OF, FFYNNON PECHOD, LLANGAFFO	SH44006900
2624	WELL - SITE OF, CROCHAN TYNCOED, NEWBOROUGH	SH41776581
2662	FFYNNON IESTYN WELL, LLANIESTYN	SH58337961
2696	FFYNNON GREDIFAEI HOLY WELL, PENMYNYDD	SH51677465
2741	FFYNNON DDANIEL HOLY WELL, LLANDDANIEL FAB	SH49007000
2769	FFYNNON CORN HOLY WELL, YNYS ENLLI	SH12152218
2770	FFYNNON DOLYSGWYDD HOLY WELL, YNYS ENLLI	SH11822106
2771	FFYNNON WEIRGLODD BACH HOLY WELL, YNYS ENLLI	SH11962130
2772	FFYNNON CYBI HOLY WELL, LLANGYBI	SH42734126
2923	FFYNNON OLEDD (OR GOLEDD), BWLCH Y RHIWGYR	SH63702012
2986	FFYNNON Y FRON, DYSYNNI	SH60940637
3011	FFYNNON BRYN FENDIGAID HOLY WELL, ABERFFRAW	SH36036913
3013	FFYNNON BEUNO HOLY WELL, ABERFFRAW	SH35536907
3027	FFYNNON DDWYNWEN - SITE OF, LLANDDWYN ISLAND	SH38606270
3028	FFYNNON DARFADEN SPRING, LLANDDWYN ISLAND	SH38706290
3039	FFYNNON MAELOG HOLY WELL, RHOSNEIGR	SH32007200
3043	FFYNNON BADRIG HOLY WELL, LLANBADRIG	SH37549468
3045	FFYNNON DDYGAEL, NR. LLANDDYGAEL GROES	SH35109050
3073	CROCHAN LLANDDWYN WELL, NEWBOROUGH	SH40986478
3093	FFYNNON FAGLAN HOLY WELL, LLANAFGLAN	SH46016085
3119	FFYNNON HELEN HOLY WELL, NR. HEN WALIAU	SH48206230
3208	FFYNNON DDEINIOL (WELL) - SITE OF, LLANDDERFEL	SH93823676
3210	FFYNNON BEUNO (WELL), BALA	SH92153583
3228	FFYNNON DERFEL (POSSIBLE HOLY WELL), LLANDDERFEL	SH97763727
3250	HOLY WELL (ALLEGED) - SITE OF, BALA LAKE	SH91003300
3452	FFYNNON BEUNO, NR RHOSGADFAN	SH50405889
3511	FFYNNON ANNON HOLY WELL - SITE OF, LLANBEULAN	SH38007600
3544	FFYNNON ELAETH HOLY WELL - SITE OF, AMLWCH	SH44079296
3587	FFYNNON EILIAN - HOLY WELL, LLANEILIAN	SH45569329
3580	FFYNNON SEIRIOL - HOLY WELL, SITE OF, PONT CLORACH	SH44908410
3581	FFYNNON GYBI - HOLY WELL, PONT CLORACH	SH44908414

3638	FFYNNON DUDWEN - HOLY WELL, SE OF ST. TUDWEN'S CH.	SH27473679
3647	FFYNNON LLEUDDAD - HOLY WELL, SE OF CARROG	SH21973272
3652	FFYNNON BEDROG HOLY WELL, LLANBEDROG	SH32263225
3653	FFYNNON FAIR HOLY WELL, NW OF HENLLYS UCHAF	SH31133293
3659	FFYNNON ARIAN - HOLY WELL, N OF MYNYTHO	SH30413113
4109	FFYNNON FRIDD-ARW - HOLYWELL (SITE OF) M.	SH74001790
4115	FFYNNON FAIR - HOLYWELL	SH72601755
4123	FFYNNON Y GAER - (CURSING WELL)	SH72001700
4125	FFYNNON Y LLYGID - DOLGELLAU	SH72551757
4126	FFYNNON CLEINI OR FFYNNON LLWYN CLEINI	SH72001700
4127	FFYNNON GWENHUDW OR GWENHIDIW	SH72001700
4146	FFYNNON RHIWR CAWR - HOLY WELL	SH80001000
4206	FFYNNON GARMON, E OF MOEL SMYTHO	SH52565766
4259	FFYNNON GOWER (SITE OF)	SH89923166
4352	STONE PILLAR (MAEN TWROG), MAENTWROG CHURCHYARD	SH66604054
4500	FFYNNON BERIS - HOLY WELL	SH60855636
4591	ST TUDNO'S WELL (FFYNNON), LLANDUDNO	SH77068378
4736	HOLY WELL- FFYNNON FROTHEN	SH62194112
4741	HOLY WELL - FFYNNON HELEN	SH62974485
4745	HOLY WELL- FFYNNON-Y-CAPEL	SH75102248
4765	FFYNNON CWM RHWYFOR - WELL	SH74541283
4774	WELL- FFYNNON BADARN	SH77571138
4784	HOLY WELL - FFYNNON DELAU	SH58602760
4801	ST CADFAN'S WELLS - HOLY WELL, SITE OF, TYWYN	SH58600102
4822	FFYNNON CAE GWYN - WELL	SH85551509
4971	FFYNNON Y GWYLLIAID	SH91002300
5364	FFYNNON FIHANGEL, FFYNNON FARM, MANOD	SH70664369
5423	FFYNNON GOWPERVALLBRIGHTS WELL GWYDIR	SH79706070
5436	FFYNNON Y GALCHOG, GT. ORME	SH77758367
5437	FFYNNON GASEG, GT. ORME	SH75328404
5438	FFYNNON GOGARTH, GT. ORME	SH76358308
5439	FFYNNON TY'N Y PWLL (SITE OF), LLANDUDNO	SH77908250
5440	FFYNNON POWEL, GT. ORME	SH77128358
5551	FFYNNON CYBI HOLY WELL, CARMEL	SH40068284
5890	ST MIHANGEL'S STONE & WELL, CRIMEA PASS	SH70354959
7480	FFYNNON EIDDA, NW OF MIGNEINT	SH76214366
12644	FFYNNON CYBI	SH40434230
12646	LLANDWROG, WATER CONDUITS	SH45085606
12647	RIVER GYFFIN	SH78007700
12648	FFYNNON SULIEN	SJ06904411
12658	AUGUSTA STREET, DRINKING TROUGH	SH78298215
90100	Ffynnon Seiriol	SH704751A
90101	Ffynnon Dalar	
90102	Daniel's well	SH580720
90103	Ffynnon Fair	SH685745A
90104	Ffynnon y Gorllës	SH23368242
90105	Ffynnon Fair	SH590483A
90106	Ffynnon Seiriol	SH590795A
90107	Ffynnon Gurig	SH600705A
90108	Ffynnon Gwyfan	SH238370A
90109	Ffynnon Gwynwy	SH752738A
90110	Ffynnon Gynfran	SH893768A
90111	Ffynnon Helen	SH491621A
90112	Ffynnon Ddefaid	
SH46633975?		
90113	Ffynnon Owen	SH890770A
90114	Ffynnon y Cefnydd	
90115	Ffynnon Trillo	
SH793803A?		
90116	Ffynnon Dduw	
SH30903086?		
90117	Holywell	SH295290A
90118	Llanbedrycennin well	SH76066957
90120	Ffynnon Llangystenin	SH822792A
90121	Ffynnon Sanctaidd	SH368421A
90122	Ffynnon yr Allt	
90123	Ffynnon Cae Garw	SH375418a
90124	Ffynnon Cefn Lleithfan	SH225315A
90125	Ffynnon y Capel	SH612354A
90126	Ffynnon Llugwy	SH48058591
90127	Ffynnon Llechid	SH522687
90128	Ffynnon Ddeiniolen	SH546651A
90129	Ffynnon Silian	
90130	Ffynnon Santffraid	
90131	Ffynnon Fair	SH585290A

90132	Ffynnon Fair	SH665404A
90133	Ffynnon Fair Harlech	SH582312A
90134	Ffynnon Fair	
90135	Ffynnon Fair	
SH585260A?		
90136	Ffynnon Fair	SH63173742
90137	Ffynnon Fair	
90138	Ffynnon Enddwyn	SH600247A
90139	Ffynnon Fair	SH138260A
90140	Ffynnon Halog	
90141	Ffynnon Dwr Llygad	SH527449A
90142	Ffynnon Nantcall	SH426467A
90143	Ffynnon Fednant	
SH345445A?		
90144	Ffynnon y Filiast	SH265340A
90145	Ffynnon Lochwyd	SH21478281
90146	Ffynnon y Gwaenydd	
SH46633975?		
90147	Ffynnon Drillo	SJ034375A
90148	Pin y wig	SH310405A
90149	Ffynnon Pistyll y Garn	SH265340A
90150	Tai Bach Spring	SH590556
90151	Ffynnon Badarn	
90152	Ffynnon Badrig	SH580235A
90153	Ffynnon Beuno	
90154	Ffynnon Degid	SH904323A

Appendix 5. The methodology of the geophysical surveys

Geophysical Survey

Introduction

Fluxgate gradiometer survey provides a relatively swift and completely non-invasive method of surveying large areas. It has recently been used in Gwynedd to survey Roman forts and their environs, providing much new information about all sites surveyed. The aim of the geophysical survey phase of the present project is to assess the suitability of the technique for the detection and examination of early Christian burials. The detection of early Christian graves is potentially difficult because of the relatively small nature of the features along with the potential lack of magnetic objects and magnetic enhancement within the features. A standard fluxgate gradiometer survey has a spatial resolution of 1.0m x 0.5m (or 0.25m), a more time consuming, high-resolution survey improves this to 0.5m x 0.25m. Even higher resolution surveys are possible but are not suitable for large area surveys. A scatter of graves could be visible, at least as an area of noise, at either standard or high resolution if the fill contained material that was sufficiently magnetically different to the surrounding soil. Simple graves cut into subsoil and backfilled with the same material without the addition of a stone cist are unlikely to produce a strong anomaly. It should also be noted that other potential sources of magnetic anomalies such as grave goods and cremated remains are not usually a feature of early Christian inhumations. The stones lining a cist grave could, depending on the type of stone produce a well-defined anomaly, or conversely make little difference.

The seven sites that were chosen for survey are located in various places across Anglesey. The complex and in some cases very magnetically intrusive geology of Anglesey has often resulted in disappointing gradiometer surveys so the sites were selected with some care. Sites in potentially problematic areas such as those with very shallow soil over igneous rock were avoided. Examination of relevant geological maps and local building stone demonstrated that the surveys were carried out over a wide range of geology, including magnetically quiet limestone and potentially noisy igneous rock all of which were buried beneath glacial drift.

Methodology

Each site was initially surveyed at standard resolution (1.0m x 0.25m), allowing a reasonably large area to be surveyed, followed by selected areas at high resolution (0.5m x 0.25m) where appropriate.

Instrumentation

All geophysical work was carried out using a Geoscan FM36 Fluxgate Gradiometer. This instrument detects variations in the earth's magnetic field caused by the presence of iron in the soil. This is usually in the form of weakly magnetised iron oxides which tend to be concentrated in the topsoil. Features cut into the subsoil and backfilled or silted with topsoil therefore contain greater amounts of iron and can therefore be detected with the gradiometer. This is a simplified description as there are other processes and materials which can produce detectable anomalies. The most obvious is the presence of pieces of iron in the soil or immediate environs which usually produce very high readings and can mask the relatively weak readings produced by variations in the soil. Strong readings are also produced by archaeological features such as hearths or kilns as fired clay acquires a permanent magnetic field upon cooling. Not all surveys can produce good results as results can be masked by large magnetic variations in the bedrock or soil and in some cases, there may be little variation between the topsoil and subsoil resulting in undetectable features.

The Geoscan FM36 is a hand held instrument and readings can be taken automatically as the operator walks at a constant speed along a series of fixed length traverses. The sensor consists of two vertically aligned fluxgates set 500mm apart. Their Mumetal cores are driven in and out of magnetic saturation by a 1,000Hz alternating current passing through two opposing driver coils. As the cores come out of saturation, the external magnetic field can enter them producing an electrical pulse proportional to the field strength in a sensor coil

The high frequency of the detection cycle produces what is in effect a continuous output (Clark 1990).

The gradiometer can detect anomalies down to a depth of approximately one metre. The magnetic variations are measured in nanoTeslas (nT). The earth's magnetic field strength is about 48,000 nT, typical archaeological features produce readings of below 15nT although burnt features and iron objects can result in changes of several hundred nT. The machine is capable of detecting changes as low as 0.1nT.

Data Collection

The gradiometer includes an on-board data-logger. Readings in the early Christian burials survey were taken along traverses of one axis of a 20m x 20m grid. The traverse interval was one metre at standard resolution and 0.5m at high resolution. Readings were logged at intervals of 0.25m along each traverse giving 1600 or 3200 readings per grid. Surveys are commonly carried out in either a series of parallel traverses with the operator walking in one direction only, or as a series of zigzag traverses where the gradiometer faces the same way but the operator walks up one side of the traverse and back along the other. The latter method is obviously quicker but can introduce both positional and directional error. An experienced operator can usually minimise these factors and this method is usually used for standard resolution area surveys. High-resolution surveys are more commonly carried out using parallel traverses. This method is, however, very time consuming. There was not time to carry out many high resolution grids in this project and it was felt that high resolution survey could be carried out using zigzag traverses thus allowing a greater area to be surveyed. A test area was surveyed and it was found that if the traverse walking speed was reduced by a small amount, error was reduced to a point that made the results closely comparable to parallel survey. The high-resolution survey was therefore carried out using this method.

Data presentation

The data is transferred from the data-logger to a computer where it is compiled and processed using Geoplot 3.0 software. The data in this report is presented as a series of grey-scale plots along with an interpretation drawing for each plot. In the grey-scale display option, data values are represented by modulation of the intensity of a grey scale within a rectangular area corresponding to the data collection point within the grid. This produces a plan view of the survey and allows subtle changes in the data to be displayed.

An x-y plot where each traverse is shown by a line trace was also produced for each site. In this display option, the line traces are presented side by side allowing the full range of data and the shape of major anomalies to be seen. These plots are not included in the report as they do not display any significant additional information. All raw data and trace plots have, however, been retained in the archive at Gwynedd Archaeological Trust.

Data Processing

The data is presented with a minimum of processing. High readings caused by stray pieces of iron, fences, etc. are modified on the grey-scale plot as they have a tendency to compress the rest of the data. The data is however carefully examined before this procedure is carried out as kilns and other burnt features can produce similar readings. Corrections are also made to compensate for instrument drift and other data collection inconsistencies. Any further processing is noted in relation to the individual plot.

Appendix 6. The results of excavation at Trefollwyn and Fron

Trefollwyn

Methodology

The excavation trenches were dug entirely by hand, as the fields were too wet to allow access for a mechanical excavator. This meant that the size of the trench had to be kept to a minimum if the projected timetable was to be adhered to. The clarity of the geophysical plot allowed the trench to be located with considerable accuracy, enabling the initial interpretation and dating of the site to be achieved with a small hand-dug trench.

The geophysics plot indicated a square feature, initially thought to represent an early chapel. A trench measuring 1m by 6m was located to cut across this feature. The results were difficult to interpret, so another trench measuring 1m by 10m was dug a few metres to the east. The two trenches were then joined together, and expanded an additional metre to the west to uncover a feature just glimpsed in the original trench. The resulting exposed area revealed two sides of the square feature and a section across a third side. Other features were clipped in the north and south limits of the trench, which was further expanded in these areas to investigate the features. The resulting area proved sufficient to allow identification and interpretation of the features revealed and to permit an assessment of the significance of the results.

The features were not clearly visible until the trench had been intensively cleaned using trowels. All the features were tested by excavating sections across them, sufficient to determine their nature. All significant features were recorded by scaled plan and section drawings, a written record on standard GAT context sheets, and a photographic record comprising colour prints and slides. The full site record is archived at GAT under the project number G1680.

Results

The excavation revealed three sides of a square ditch enclosing three, parallel features, with other features to the north and south, also parallel to the north and south sides of the square feature. Despite the absence of artefacts or other dating material comparisons with other dated sites indicate that this is a ditched enclosure around three graves, and possibly acting as a focus within a more extensive Early Medieval cemetery.

The square feature shown on the geophysics plot proved to be a square, ditched enclosure (cut 001) measuring 5.5m across from north to south. The east to west measurement may be presumed to be similar, from the evidence of the geophysical survey, although the east side of the feature was not revealed in the excavation. The ditch varied in width between 0.6 and 0.82m, and in depth between 0.42 and 0.2m. The north side was broader and deeper than elsewhere, and the profile of the ditch here was almost V-shaped, whereas the west and south sides had a U-shaped profile, with steep sides and a flat base. The north-western corner was a sharp right angle, and it is probable that the other corners are equally sharp and well defined.

The ditch was filled with a mid brown clayey silt (010) containing about 30% small stones. Within the top of this fill were occasional larger stones up to 0.25m in length.

The eastern side of the ditch was orientated very close to magnetic north-south, with the north and south sides perpendicular to this. The geophysical plot indicates a break in the eastern side, and this may be an entrance, but time limits prevented its investigation.

Within the centre of the square enclosure were three deep cuts, all aligned parallel to the north and south sides of the enclosure. The northern most of these features (cut 003) was 1.3m long, its western end was 0.56m wide and it tapered to 0.38m wide at the eastern end. Both ends were rounded, and the steep, nearly vertical sides curved sharply into a flat base, 0.42m below the subsoil surface. The fill (016) was a compact yellowish-brown clayey loam containing c.50% small stones, with occasional larger stones in the top of the fill. No artefacts were recovered from the fill.

About 0.4m south of 003 was a much larger feature (cut 005). All the western half of the feature was excavated revealing a broad western end (1.0m in width) tapering to 0.76m in width at the eastern balk of the trench. Again the sides were very steep and the base flat. The cut was 0.5m deep, and probably exceeded the excavated length of 1.6m by at least 0.4m. The fill (014) was very similar to that of 003, and again there were no artefacts or human remains.

Lying 0.24m south of 005 was cut 006, which had steep sides, a flat base and the same fill as the previous two features. A section only 0.8m long was opened across this feature, but with a width of 0.8m this showed that the cut was of a similar size to 005. It is probable that the western end of 006 is aligned with that of 005.

Also in the middle of the enclosure was a rather irregular, sub-rectangular cut (021), measuring 0.50 by 0.42m and 0.2m deep. This was filled with a reddish brown sandy silt (017) quite different to the fills of the other features. It was located at the western end of cut 005, and seemed to be cut by it.

Located 2.5m south of the southern side of the square enclosure was another feature (cut 004) aligned roughly parallel to the side of the enclosure. This had straight sides and a rounded western end, steep sides and a flat base. The eastern end was not excavated, but it probably was not much longer than the 1.3m visible. It was 0.56m wide, and did not taper significantly towards the eastern end. It differed significantly from the other features in that it was only 0.18m deep and had stones placed on edge against the western end.

Three other similar features (cuts 007, 008, 009) lay 1.5m north of the enclosure. The eastern terminal of 008 was just visible in the trench, so its size could not be determined. 007 measured 1.10m by 0.52m and was 0.41m deep. Like the other features it had steep sides and a flat base, and had no packing stones or other evidence of a lining. 009 probably measured c.0.95m in length (0.85m was visible in the trench). It was 0.38m wide, and the depth is unknown, as it was not excavated. All these had fills similar to the other features, and were orientated in the same direction.

The only other feature found was the ditch of a field boundary (cut 002), which had been indicated on the geophysical plot and could also be identified on the 1774 estate map. This ditch was 2.7m wide and 0.5m deep, with very gently sloping sides and a rounded base. It cut through the square enclosure from north-east to south-western corners, disturbing and destroying part of the ditch and also truncating cuts 005 and 006. The ditch was filled by a mid brown, friable loam (011), containing c.10% small stones, with occasional larger stones in the top of the fill. When the area was first cleared this fill, with larger stones distributed within it, covered a considerable area of the southern part of the trench, and completely obscured cuts 005 and 006. With exception of occasional sherds of post-medieval pottery from the topsoil, the only artefact found on the site came from the fill of this ditch. This was a fragment of clay pipe stem, which was recovered at a depth of c.0.2m into the fill of the ditch.

Discussion

Despite the complete absence of artefacts or any trace of human remains all the features within and outside the square enclosure, excepting cut 021, can be confidently interpreted as grave cuts. The shape in plan, with the broader western end and east-west alignment, is typical of Early Medieval grave cuts. The subsoil is hard and difficult to dig, but considerable effort had been expended to ensure that the sides of the features are straight and nearly vertical, and that the bases are level. This confirms an important function for the cuts, rather than their use as mundane pits. None of the graves cut each other, or the square enclosure, demonstrating that, while they were probably not all dug simultaneously, the location of previous graves was known when new ones were dug, indicating a broadly contemporary phase of activity.

Most of the graves contained few, if any larger stones, and showed no indication of having had a cist or lining. However, grave cut 004 had several stones neatly placed around the

curve of its western end, with other stones elsewhere along the sides. While full or partial stone cists are typical of Early Medieval cemeteries many graves of this period contain stones distributed around the edge of the cut in a manner very similar to grave 004. In the Early Medieval cemetery at Ty Mawr, Holyhead (Kenney forthcoming) there were several such graves, some with only a small number of stones, some with almost drystone revetments to the grave cut. None of these were self supporting structures and were interpreted as packing stones for timber cists (following Hill's interpretation of similar graves at Whithorn, Hill 1997, 70). This hypothesis was strongly supported by the discovery of traces of the timber of such cists in two graves at Ty Mawr. It seems possible, therefore, that the stones in grave 004 were to support a timber cist or similar timber lining. It appears to be significant that this is the only grave to have evidence of a lining and that it is the shallowest grave. There may not have been the same imperative to dig deeply when the body was protected by a cist as when it was placed in an unlined grave.

The sample of graves excavated may not be representative of others on the site, but it is interesting to note that, with the exception of graves 005 and 006, they are all too small to hold full grown adults, and were presumably dug for the burial of children. Graves 005 and 006 seem much wider than necessary to accommodate a corpse alone, and perhaps indicate that the body was in some sort of container or wrapping.

Graves 003, 005 and 006 were apparently positioned so as to fit within the centre of the square enclosure. It is likely that 005 was first located in the exact centre of the enclosure, leaving a space of 1.6m at either side, which was later filled by the other two graves. However, many similar square enclosures are considerably smaller than the one at Trefollwyn, and it seems probable that the larger size specifically allows the accommodation of associated graves. This implies that, even if all three bodies were not buried simultaneously, they were planned for when the enclosure was laid out. Alternatively the group of three graves could have preceded the enclosure, which was dug to surround them. In either case grave 003 has been allocated an adult sized space.

The square enclosure with central graves can be compared to several similar features on Early Medieval sites in Wales and elsewhere. These form part of larger cemeteries and the presence of graves outside the enclosure at Trefollwyn confirms that it is comparable with these sites. Square mortuary enclosures are also present in Iron Age and Roman contexts.

Within England features of this type have been found at Queenford Farm, Oxfordshire, where a rectangular enclosure, measuring 6m internally and containing two centrally placed burials, was dated to the 6th century AD (O'Brien 1999, 19). An Early Medieval cemetery at Finglesham, Kent, containing numerous circular enclosures around single graves also had one grave enclosed by a rectangular feature (c. 5m across), (Hawkes 1982), and the cemetery at St Peter's, Broadstairs, Kent included both circular and rectangular grave enclosures (O'Brien 1999, 137).

Rectangular enclosures are found within Early Medieval cemeteries in Wales. A rectangular enclosure, measuring 4.2 by 3.6m, containing a single central grave formed part of the cemetery at Llandegai, Bangor (Houlder, C H 1968. 'The Henge monuments at Llandegai', *Antiquity*, 42, 216-221). Capel Eithin, Gaerwen, Anglesey had a square enclosure measuring 4.9m across. This contained a central adult grave with a child's grave to the south, and space for a third grave to the north (White and Smith 1999). Three graves at Plas Gogerddan, Dyfed were placed in rectangular enclosures (Murphy, K 1992)

The best preserved of these measured 5m by 3.5m and contained a central adult's grave, and what is most probably a child's grave, though the excavator described it as a shallow, stone-lined pit (Murphy 1986, 29-31). Most of these examples are somewhat smaller than that at Trefollwyn, but the cemetery at Tandderwen, Clwyd contained slightly larger enclosures. Here there were 9 square enclosures, 8 with a single central grave, and one containing three graves. Three of the enclosures were about 6m across, and the largest was c. 10m across (Brassil, K S, Owen, W G and Britnell, W J, 1991)

There is some discussion as to the exact function of these features. O'Brien points out that the ditches are shallow, and that any mound derived from the upcast of these shallow ditches would be insignificant (O'Brien 1999, 43). She suggests that the ditch as an enclosure or marker was important in itself. However, there are also suggestions that the ditches may have supported timber structures. The Llandegai enclosure has been interpreted as the support for a timber surround to the grave (O'Brien 1999, 35). The Tandderwen features are described as ditches, and at Trefollwyn the excavated sections of the ditch provided no indication of slots or timber impressions in the base of the ditch, nor of packing stones or other suggestions that the feature had been used to support a structure. However, this may not rule out its function as a foundation slot. At Plas Gogerddan the enclosure ditch was U-shaped in section, like Trefollwyn, with no timber impressions or packing stones, but a timber stain had been preserved down the middle of the feature proving that it had held a timber structure (Murphy 1986, 29-31). The trench at Capel Eithin was also U-shaped, but this contained timber staining and some packing stones. It also had a clay floor, which covered the central graves. The excavators suggest that the feature was a timber building, and that it was roofed, as a clay floor suggests an internal surface (White and Smith 1999, 133-136). Organic remains were extremely poorly preserved at Trefollwyn, so timber staining would not be expected, and the use of the ditch as a foundation slot cannot be ruled out. Comparisons with the other sites make it more likely that the square feature should be interpreted as a timber mausoleum, rather than an open ditched enclosure, but this is impossible to prove from the evidence on this particular site.

Orientation

It may be premature to discuss the orientation of a small sample of burials in what may be a considerably more extensive cemetery. Nevertheless, the orientation of the burials at Trefollwyn is generally consistent, occupying a zone between 67° and 85° east of true north. There has been much debate on the significance and the determinants of orientation in burial contexts (Hawkes, S C 1976; Brown, M A 1983; Longley, forthcoming).

There is a predominance of west-east orientation rather than north-south orientation in western British Early Medieval cemeteries which has generally been supposed to be a characteristic of Christianity despite any clear canonical or doctrinal authority to support the view. There are adherents of the proposition that the position of the rising sun on the eastern horizon on the day of death or burial determined alignment (Hawkes 1976) and those that would argue that the pattern of seasonal mortality with an expectation of a greater number of winter deaths does not correspond to the observed site evidence (Brown 1983). In this case more generalised orientation with a spread of alignment about the true east might more accurately reflect common practice. In fact, the data from the inhumation cemeteries of north-west-Wales shows an overwhelming correspondence with alignments on the rising sun during the summer months with a peak during the 35 days following the vernal equinox which, perhaps, not co-incidentally is the period during which Easter falls. It may be that local reference points in a cemetery fixed the alignment to correspond to the rising of the sun on important Spring festivals of regeneration and renewal.

In this respect, orientation as recorded at Trefollwyn is in line with the region generally (Longley, forthcoming).

Stone hole

Feature 021, lying just west of grave 005, and cut by it, may be of some significance. Its steep, well-defined sides demonstrate that it is not the result of natural disturbance, and that it was deliberately cut for some purpose. Its relationship to grave 005 suggests it may be the earliest feature on the site, and it could be interpreted as a hole to support a post or stone. Posts tend to require deeper holes, whereas stones, with their greater weight, often only require fairly shallow holes. It is, therefore, suggested that feature 021 may be a stone hole. This is particularly interesting as three stone pillars, or fragments of pillars, have been found in the immediate area. A fragment of an early Christian inscribed stone was recorded as being found at "Capel Heilin" in the early 19th century (Edwards 1997, 114). A decorated phallic pillar of La Tene style was found in 1993 and the fragment of a second, similar pillar was found in 1994. The 1993 pillar was found in the north-eastern corner of Cae Capel, about 30m from the excavated site. The fragment came from the southern corner of the same field

(Edwards 1997, 108, Illus. 1). It cannot be proved which, if any, of these stones may have occupied this hole, but the associations encourage speculation.

Conclusions

The excavation at Trefollwyn proved to be very successful. The geophysical survey picked up the square feature clearly and allowed the precise location of the excavation trench. Although the square feature did not prove to be an early chapel it is of Early Medieval date, and is actually an enclosure around focal graves in a cemetery. There remain many questions to be answered. It is not yet known if the enclosure has an entrance, although the geophysics suggests that it probably does. This entrance may be blocked by a later grave as at Capel Eithin or it may have post holes as at Plas Gogerddan, only excavation will reveal this. The full extent of the cemetery is unknown. More excavation will be necessary before even an estimate of the number of graves is possible. It would be interesting to identify the general orientation of the graves and whether the apparent concentrations of child's graves near the square enclosure is genuine. The field to the east of that in which the present excavation took place is much wetter, and if the cemetery continues into this field organic preservation may be better. It is unlikely that skeletal material would be preserved, but timber stains from timber cists might survive, and there may be some evidence of what contained the bodies in the apparently empty cut graves.

Fron

Methodology

The graves discovered in 1829 were found during the removal of a field boundary (Gwyn 2002, 1). The most likely location of this boundary was believed to be immediately north-east of Fron's farmyard. The geophysical survey identified a feature, which possibly represented the removed boundary, and the aim of the trenches was to investigate the area across and around the boundary. As a full sized mechanical excavator could not access the field, a mini-digger with a toothless bucket was used. The turf and topsoil was stripped off under supervision, to expose the natural subsoil. The resulting trenches were then cleaned by hand, and features of interest were investigated by digging exploratory sections across them.

Two trenches, measuring c.20m by 2m, were positioned to run across the line of the removed field boundary. A third trench, c.15m long, was dug between these, as an additional check for graves, and also to investigate other features shown on the geophysical plot. These trenches failed to reveal any graves, so a fourth trench, measuring 19m by 2m, was located further north. This was positioned to investigate geophysical features and to explore the summit of a slight rise. If there was a cemetery in the area it seemed likely that it would be centred on the summit of the rise.

All significant features were recorded by scaled plan and section drawings, a written record, and a photographic record comprising colour prints and slides. The full site record is archived at GAT under the project number G1680.

Results

The excavated trenches revealed field boundaries and furrows, including the boundary referred to in the documentary record, in its predicted location, but no trace of burials was discovered.

Running perpendicularly across trench A was the linear feature shown on the geophysical plot and assumed to be the removed boundary. The cut [004] was 2m wide but only 0.35m deep, and it was filled with a mid-brown, clayey loam, containing occasional small stones (003). This same feature should have been visible in the southern end of trench C. Here it could not be seen as a clear linear feature. Bedrock outcropped along its line, and this confused the feature, which was identifiable only as loam filled hollows [019] around and between the bedrock outcrops.

Two narrow, parallel linear features, [006] and [008], ran at an angle across trench A. These were c.0.25m wide and filled with brown, friable loam. Another, broader feature, [010], ran perpendicular to these, and seemed to be related to them. These are probably related to land drainage, and were not further investigated.

In trench B a linear feature seen on the geophysical plot was revealed to be a narrow ditch [012]. At this point the feature was confused by outcropping bedrock, so the ditch was not investigated in detail here. Instead a section was dug through it towards its northern end in trench D.

Parallel to ditch 012 were two shallow features, [014] and [016], c.1m wide and up to 0.3m deep. These could also been seen on the geophysical plot, and appeared to be furrows. Another furrow or possible field boundary [018] crossed the northern end of trench C, and was orientated at 90 degrees to the others. It was also c.1m wide and up to 0.3m deep, with rather irregular sides and base.

Trench D contained several linear features. A straight, well-defined ditch [021], 0.9m wide and 0.6m deep, crossed the southern end of the trench, running from south-west to north-east. The sides of the ditch sloped fairly steeply to a rounded base. The geophysical plot demonstrated that this was the same feature (012) that appeared in trench B. The other four features, [023], [025], [027], and [028], were much slighter and less well defined. They all ran parallel from north-west to south-east, and varied in width between 1.25m and 0.8m. 023 was the deepest at 0.45m, and was the most clearly defined, with fairly steep sides and a flat base. The others were no more than 0.25m deep, with very gently sloping sides and flat bases.

Discussion

Although it is only shallow, feature 004/019 is best interpreted as a field boundary. The boundary itself may have been a wall or bank. A slight disturbance of the subsoil surface, to the north of the negative feature in trench A, may indicate the location of such a structure. It is possible that the boundary was a hedge that has been grubbed out, but the sections excavated did not indicate deep root holes or extensive disturbance from removing tree roots. It seems most likely, therefore, that the boundary was a wall or bank with a slight ditch, all upstanding remains of which have been efficiently removed. This is likely to be the boundary mentioned in the documentary source (see discussion in Part 2). The boundary may have extended for a considerable distance to the north-west, and it is possible that the graves were discovered elsewhere along its length. Although only a fairly small area was opened this would have been more than sufficient to locate one or more graves if they existed at the density suggested by the documentary record. It is safe to conclude that the cemetery is not located in the area investigated.

The geophysical survey, confirmed by the excavation, appears to have revealed a field system not previously known from the map evidence, although no pre-19th century maps have been located covering the northern two thirds of the investigated field (Gwyn 2002). The ditch recorded in trenches B and D, [012] and [021], is clearly a boundary ditch. Feature 023 running almost perpendicular to it, and deeper than other features in trench D, may also be a boundary ditch. The remaining features might be furrows between cultivation ridges, however, they are rather too irregularly spaced, and more furrows should have been found in trenches B and C if the area was cultivated in this way. It is possible that they are merely shallow drainage features.

Conclusions

The excavation was not successful in locating the suspected early medieval cemetery, but it ruled out one possible location, so that future investigation can be more fruitfully directed towards other areas. The efficiency of the geophysical survey was demonstrated, as it proved able to detect very slight features, no more than 0.3m in depth.

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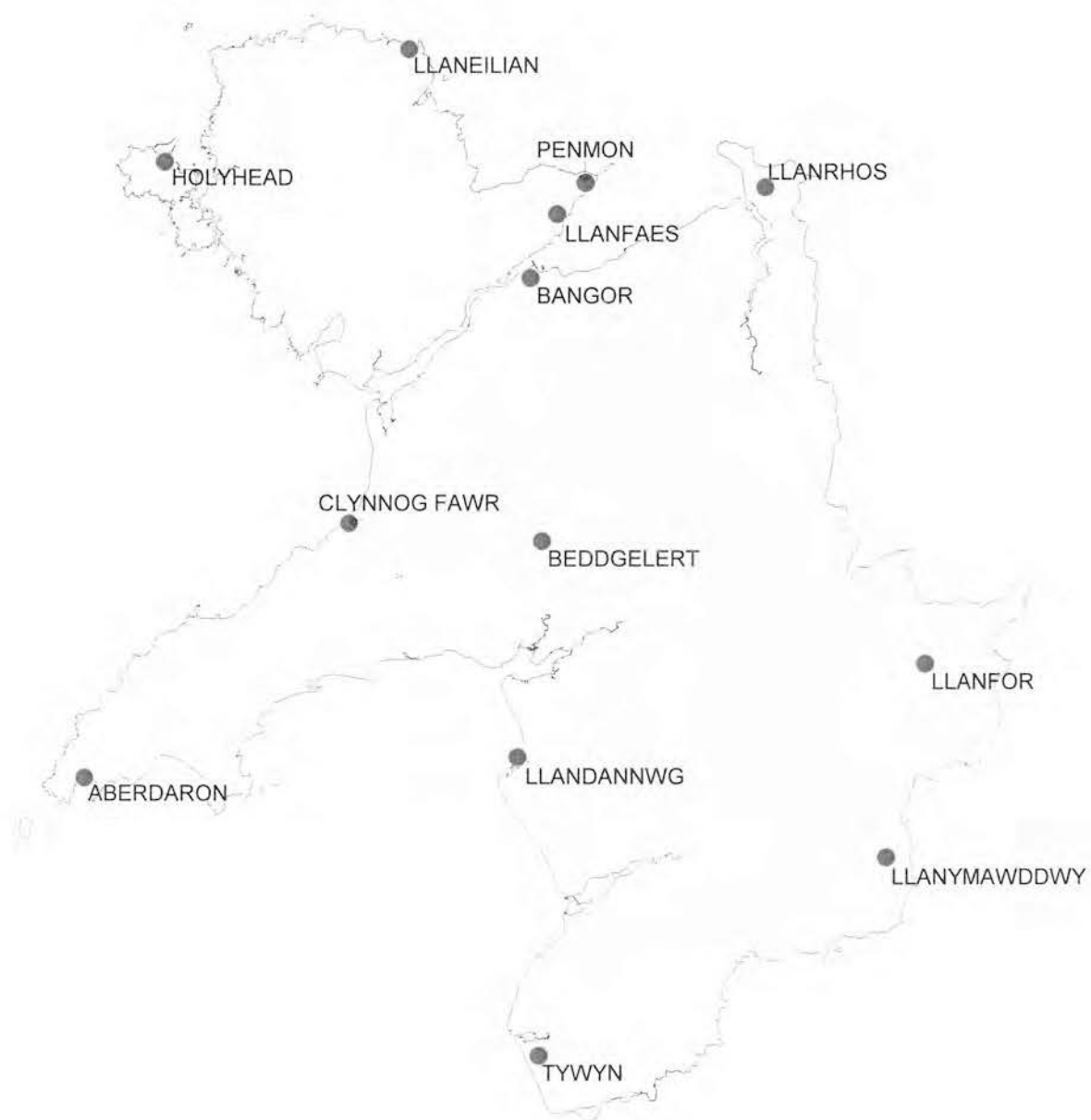
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Appendix 7. Figures illustrating the data in Part 1, The Early Ecclesiastical Sites database

Appendix 8 Location maps and geophysical survey results in respect of Part 2, Early Medieval Burial Sites.



Distribution of A1 criterion: documented pre-1066 church



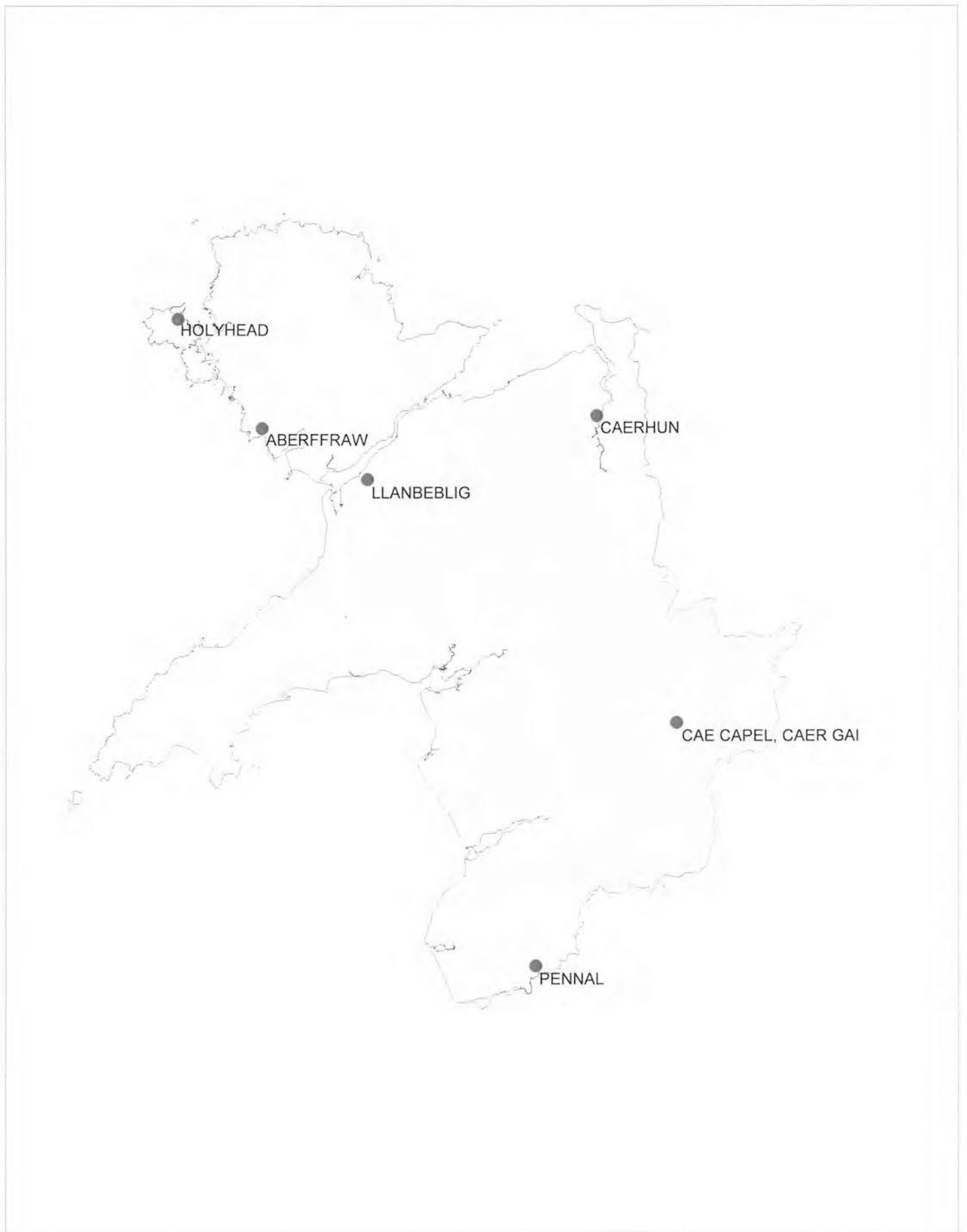
Distribution of A2 criterion: Clas/portionary churches



Distribution of A3 criterion: direct archaeological evidence



Distribution of A4 criterion: Capeli y Bedd



Distribution of A5 criterion: Roman fort association



Distribution of B2 criterion: transeptal plan and west towers



Distribution of B4a criterion: Class 2 incised stones



Distribution of B4a criterion: Class 3 decorated stones



Distribution of B5 criterion: Class 1 inscribed stones



Cantref boundaries and principal churches (note that the status of Penmachno is uncertain)



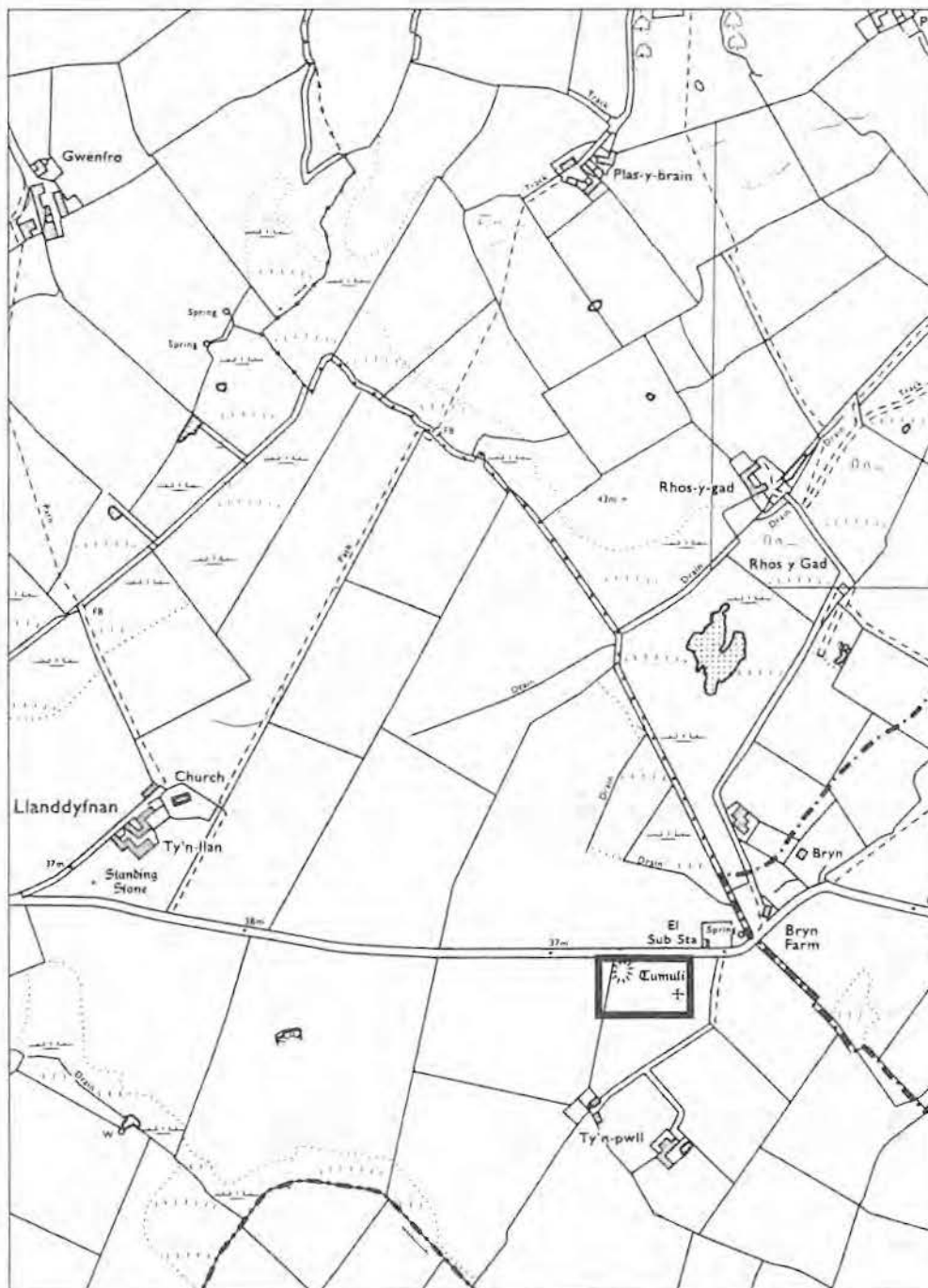
Location of Class A churches



Location of Class B churches



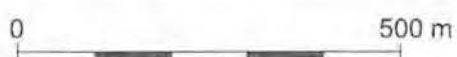
Location of Class C churches



Ty'n Pwll, Llanddyfnan.

General area of geophysical survey:  For precise location, see detailed map

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Tyn y Pwll gradiometer survey

Grey-scale plot

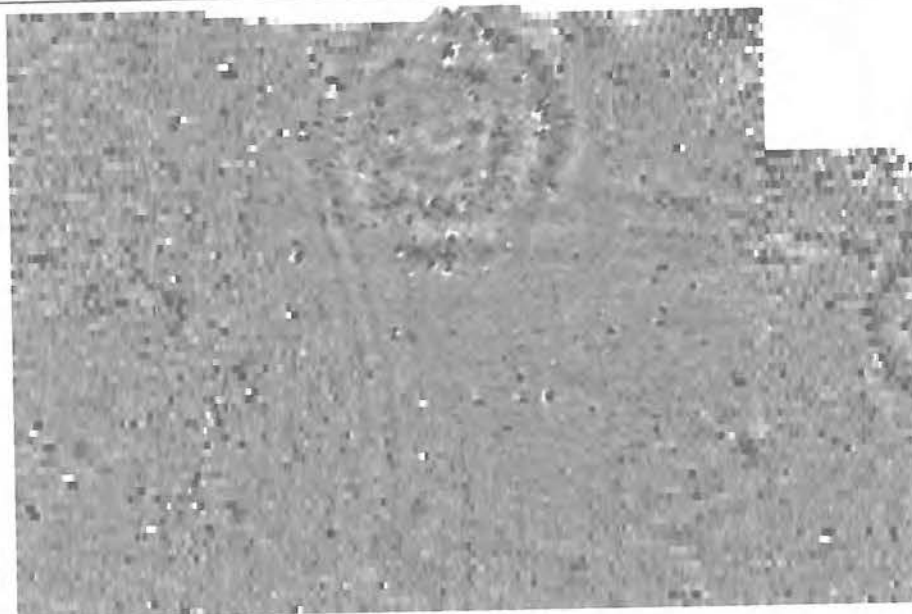
Combined standard resolution (sample interval
1m x 0.25m) and high resolution (sample interval
0.5m x 0.25m)

Data clipped to $\pm 15\text{nT}$

Scale: 1:1000

Survey by D. Hopewell

METRES



Ty'n y Pwll gradiometer survey

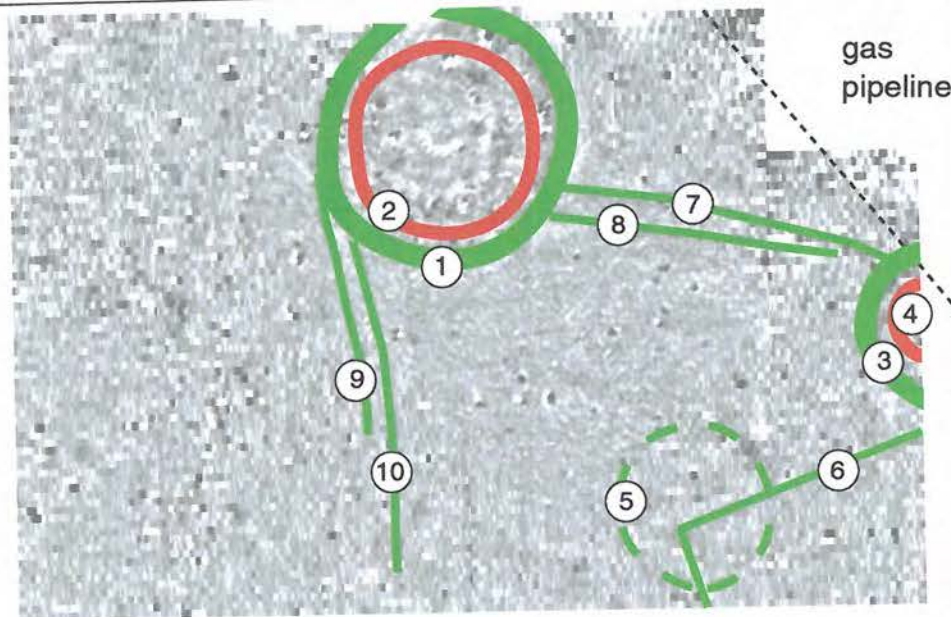
Grey-scale interpretation

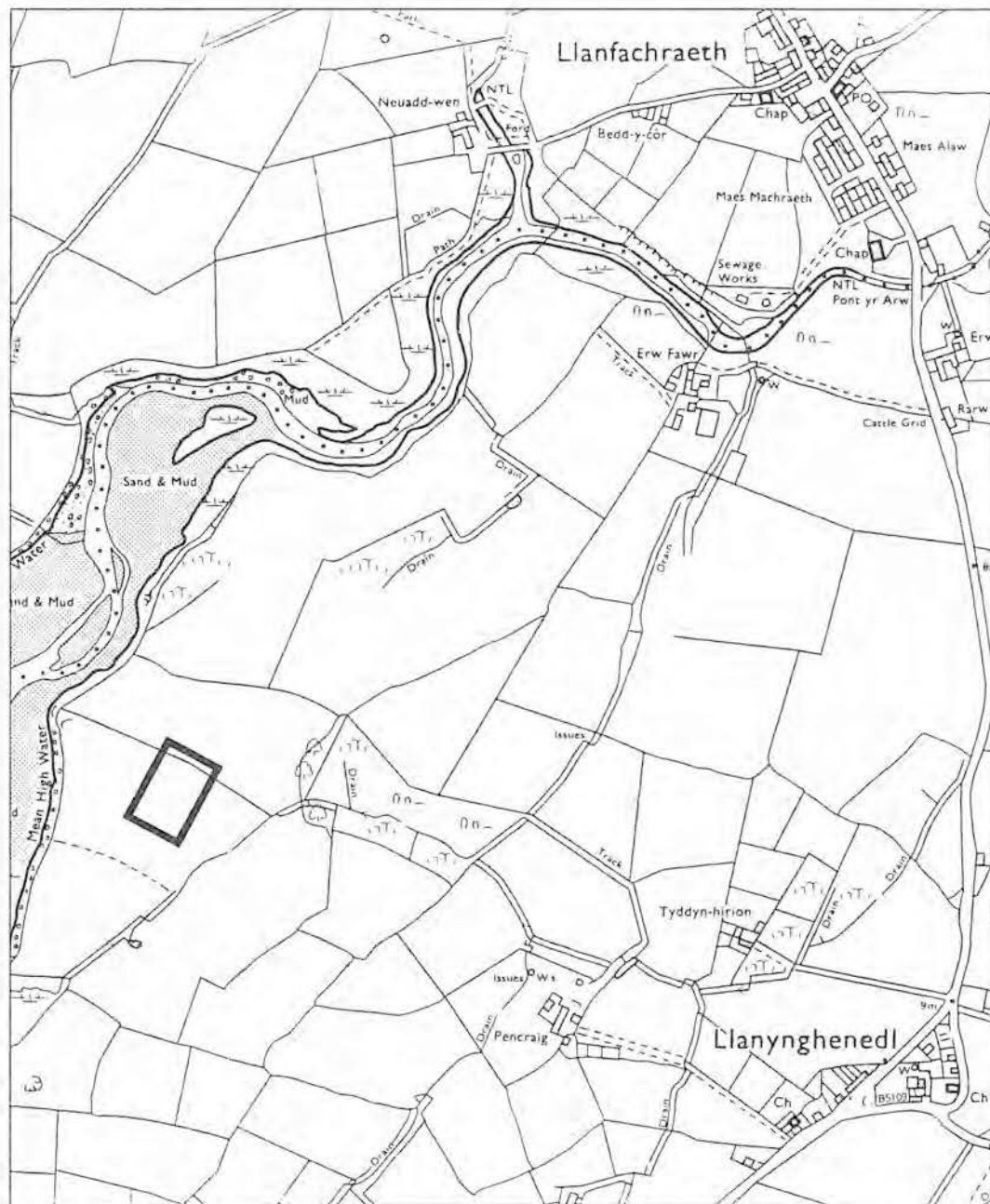
- banks
- ditches
- roads
- geology
- agriculture

scale: 1:1000

Survey by D. Hopewell

METRES





Castell, Llanynghenedl.

General area of geophysical survey:  For precise location, see detailed map

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Castell gradiometer survey

Grey-scale plot
Combined standard resolution (sample interval
1m x 0.25m) and high resolution (sample interval
0.5m x 0.25m)

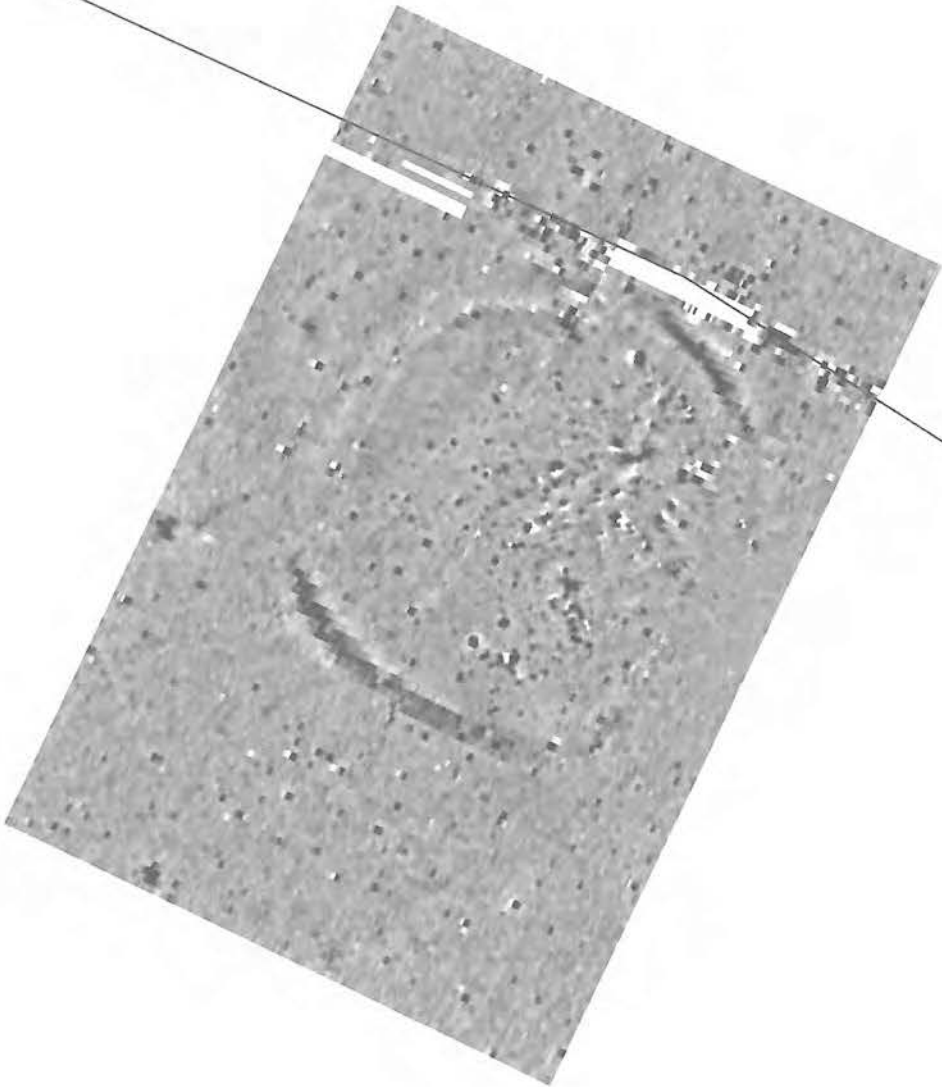
Data clipped to $\pm 15\text{nT}$

Scale: 1:1000








Survey by D. Hopewell

METRES



Castell gradiometer survey

combined grey-scale interpretation

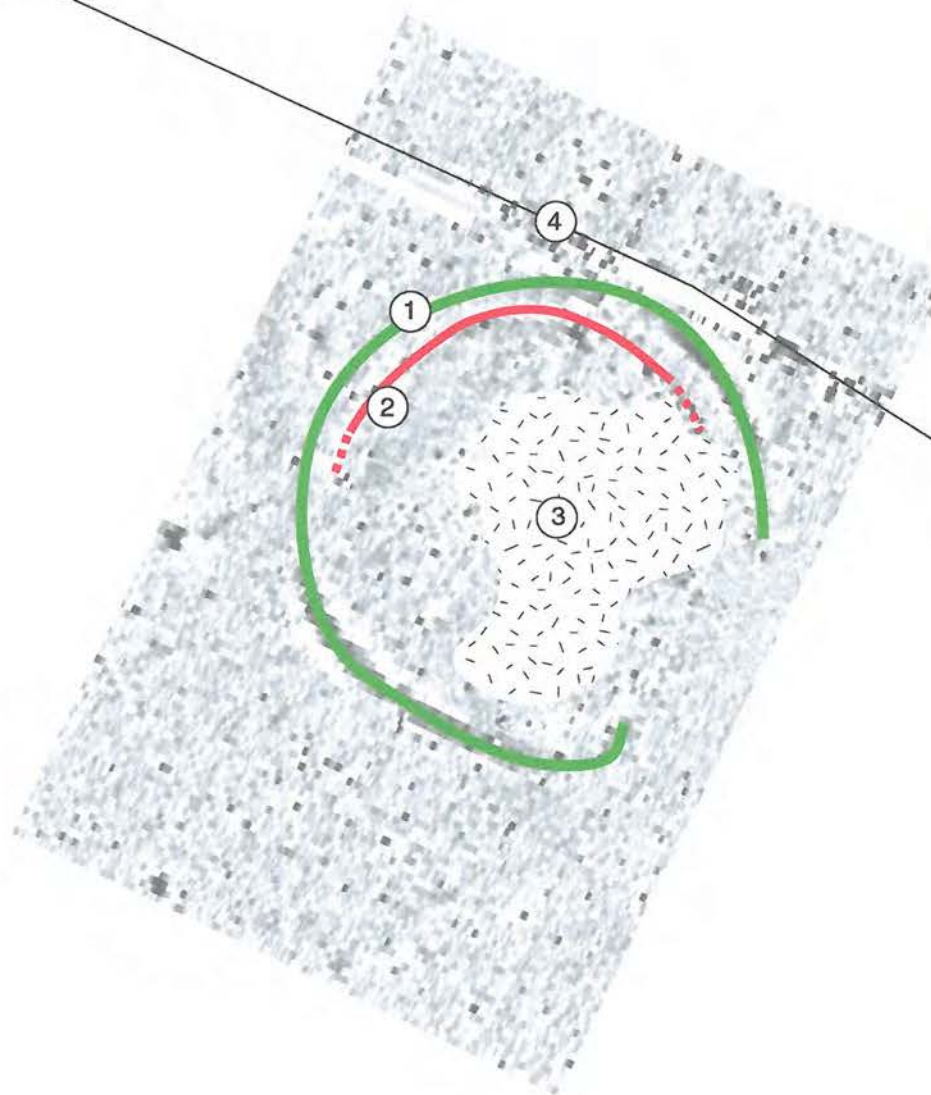
-  banks
-  ditches
-  roads
-  increased noise
-  agriculture

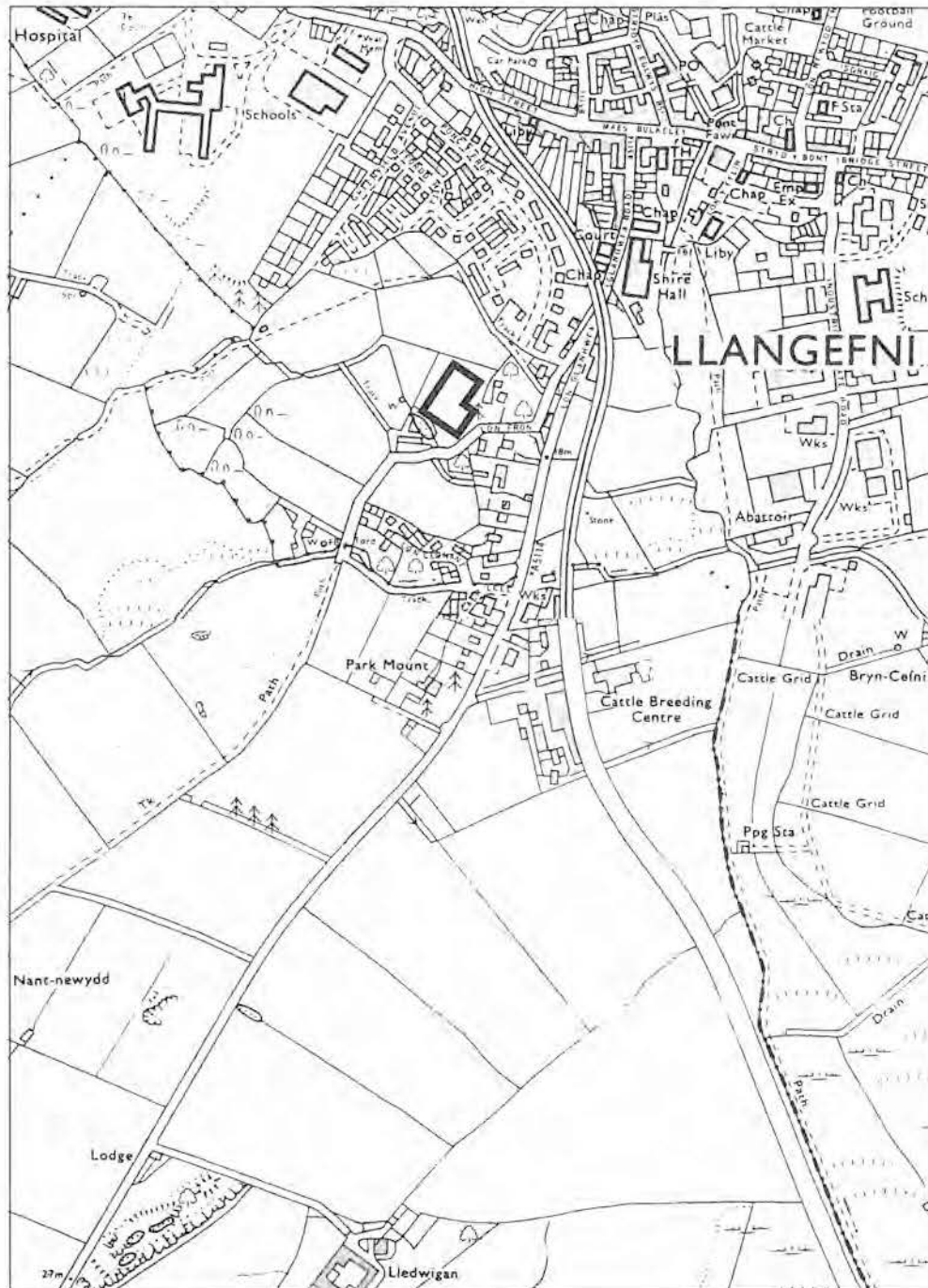


scale: 1:1000

Survey by D. Hopewell

METRES





Fron, Llangefni.

General area of geophysical survey:  For precise location, see detailed map

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0 500 m



From gradiometer survey

Grey-scale plot

Combined standard resolution (sample interval
1m x 0.25m) and high resolution (sample interval
0.5m x 0.25m)

Data clipped to $\pm 15\text{nT}$

Scale: 1:1000

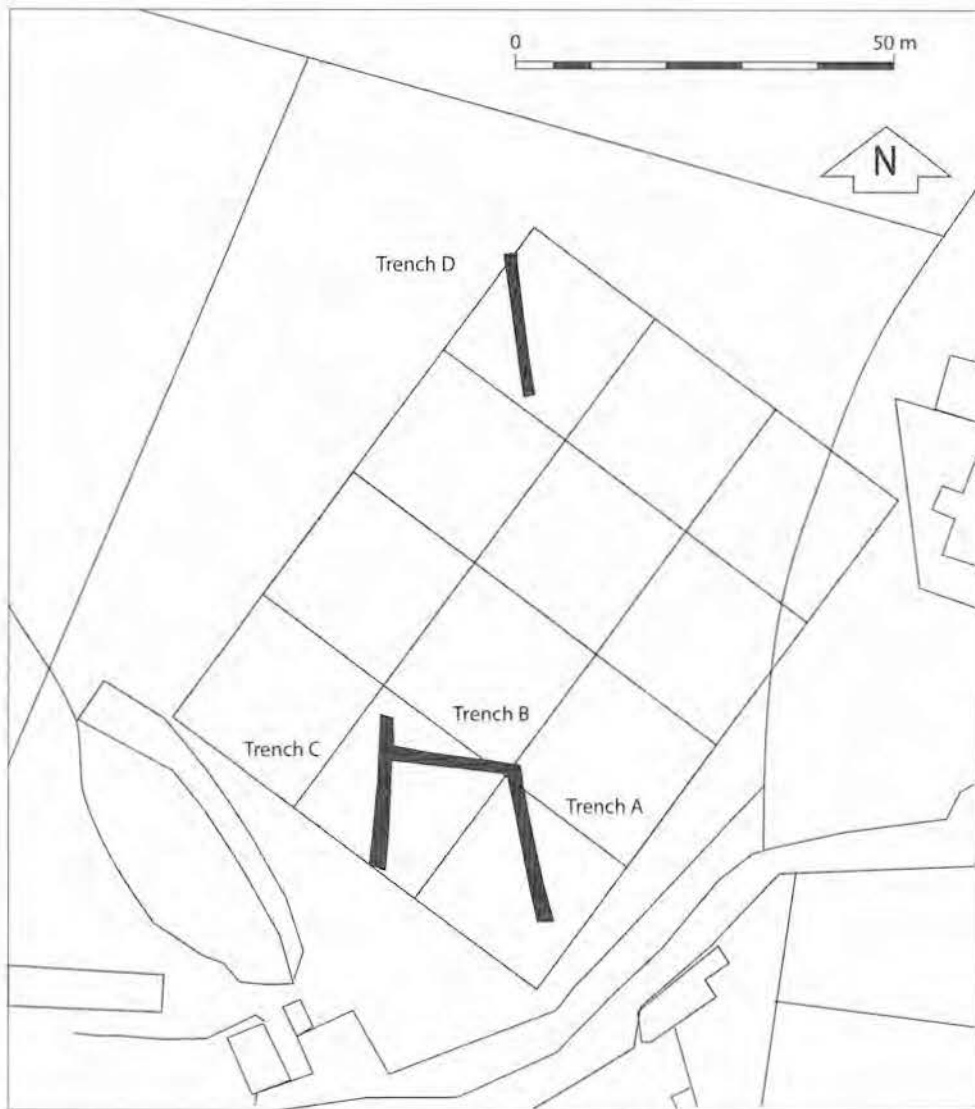
Survey by D. Hopewell



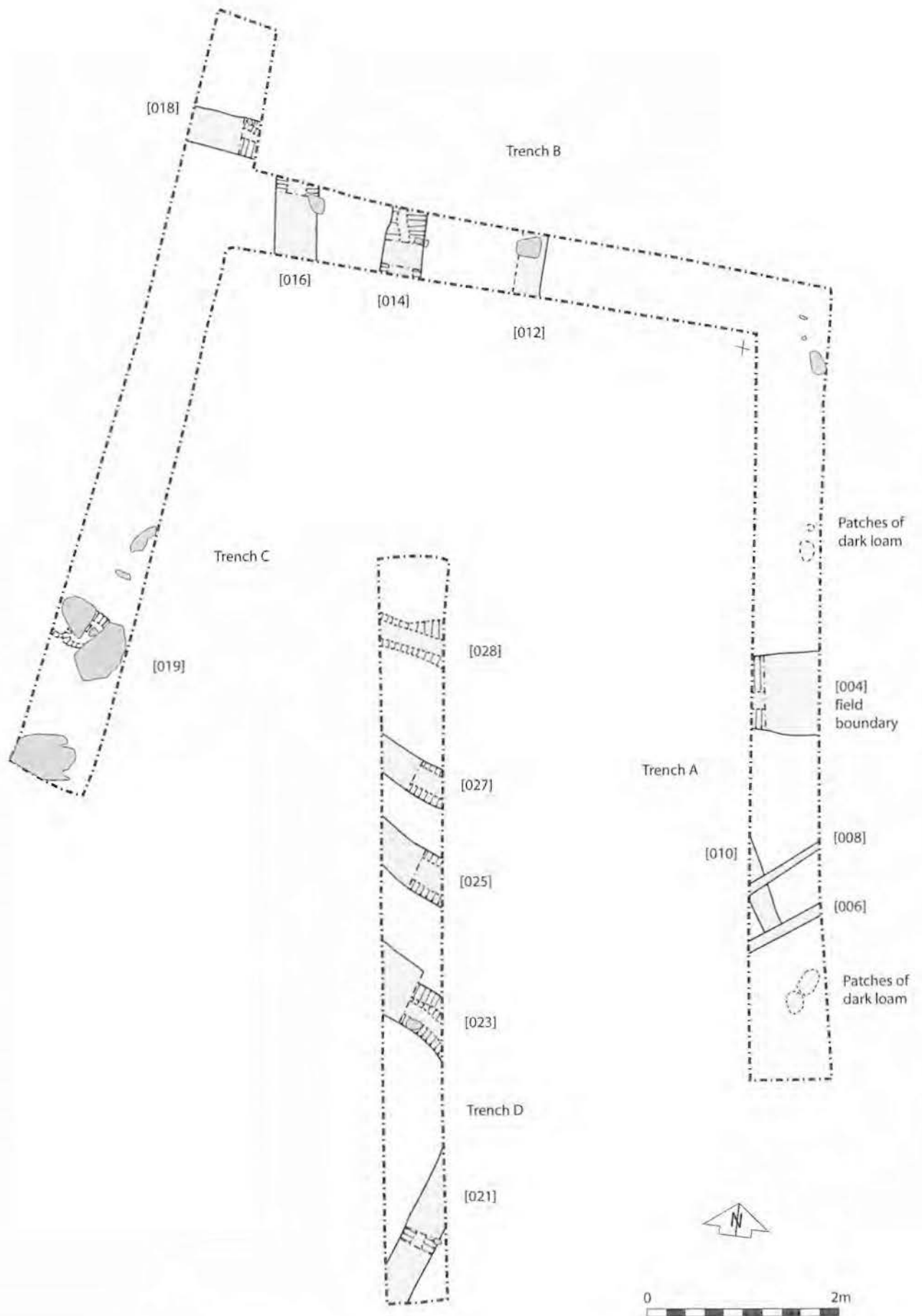
METRES



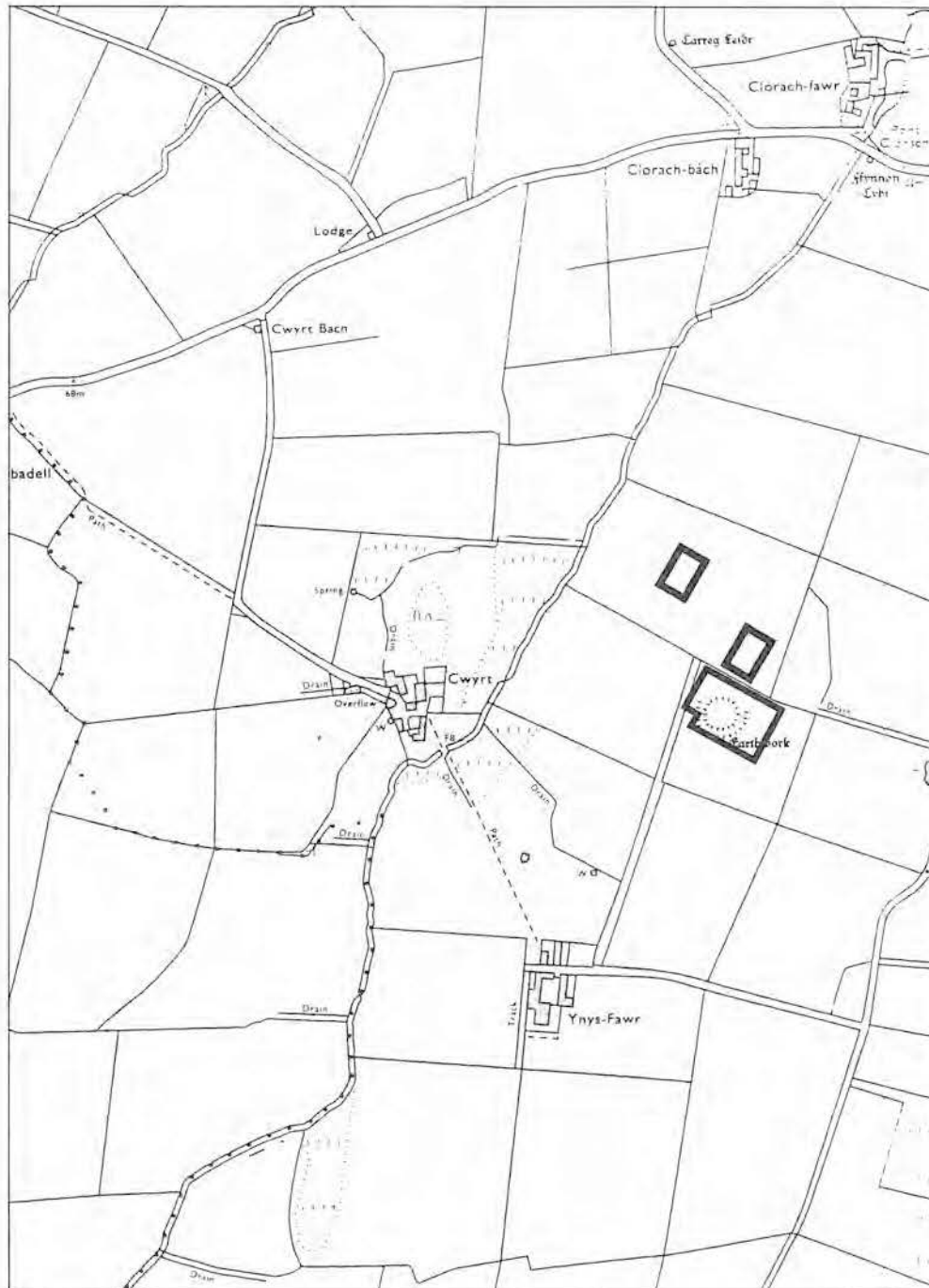




Location of the trenches at Fron



Plan of Fron trenches A to C



Ynys Fawr, Llanfihangel.

General area of geophysical survey:  For precise location, see detailed map

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0 500 m



Ynys Fawr gradiometer survey

Grey-scale plot, areas A, B and C
Combined standard resolution (sample interval
1m x 0.25m) and high resolution (sample interval
0.5m x 0.25m)

Data clipped to $\pm 15\text{nT}$

Scale: 1:1250

Survey by D. Hopewell



METRES

0 50

Area C

Area B

Area A

Outer limit of central mound

Outer limit of earthwork

Ynys Fawr gradiometer survey

Grey-scale interpretation

- banks
- ditches
- roads
- geology
- unidentified



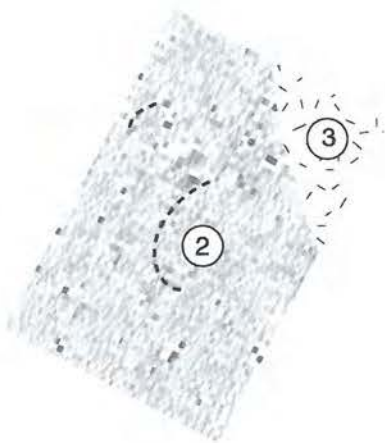
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Survey by D. Hopewell

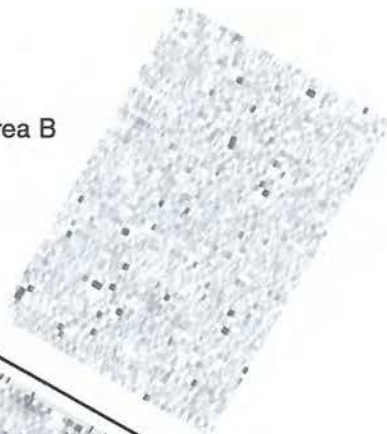
METRES



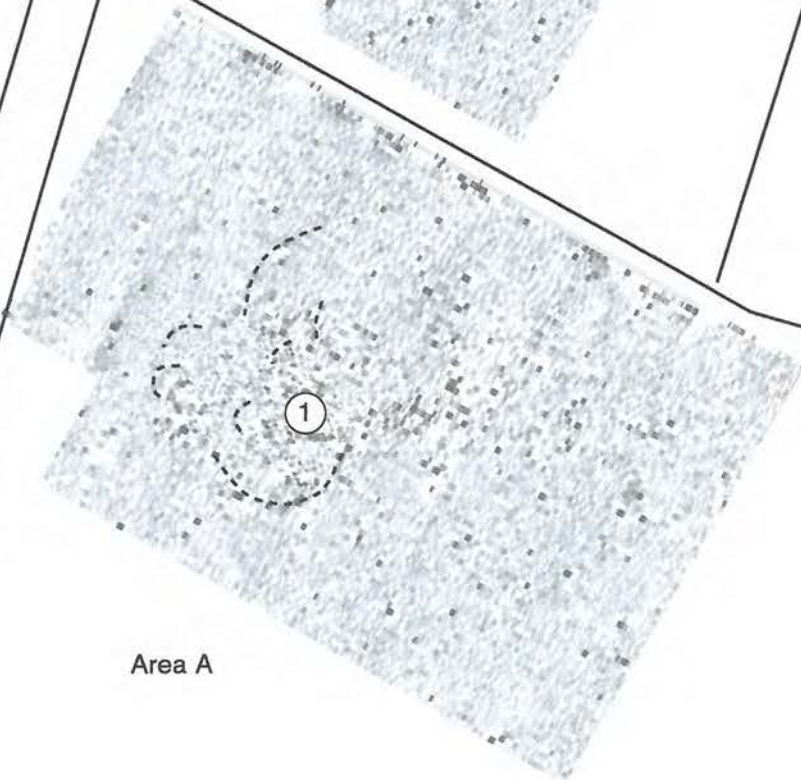
Area C

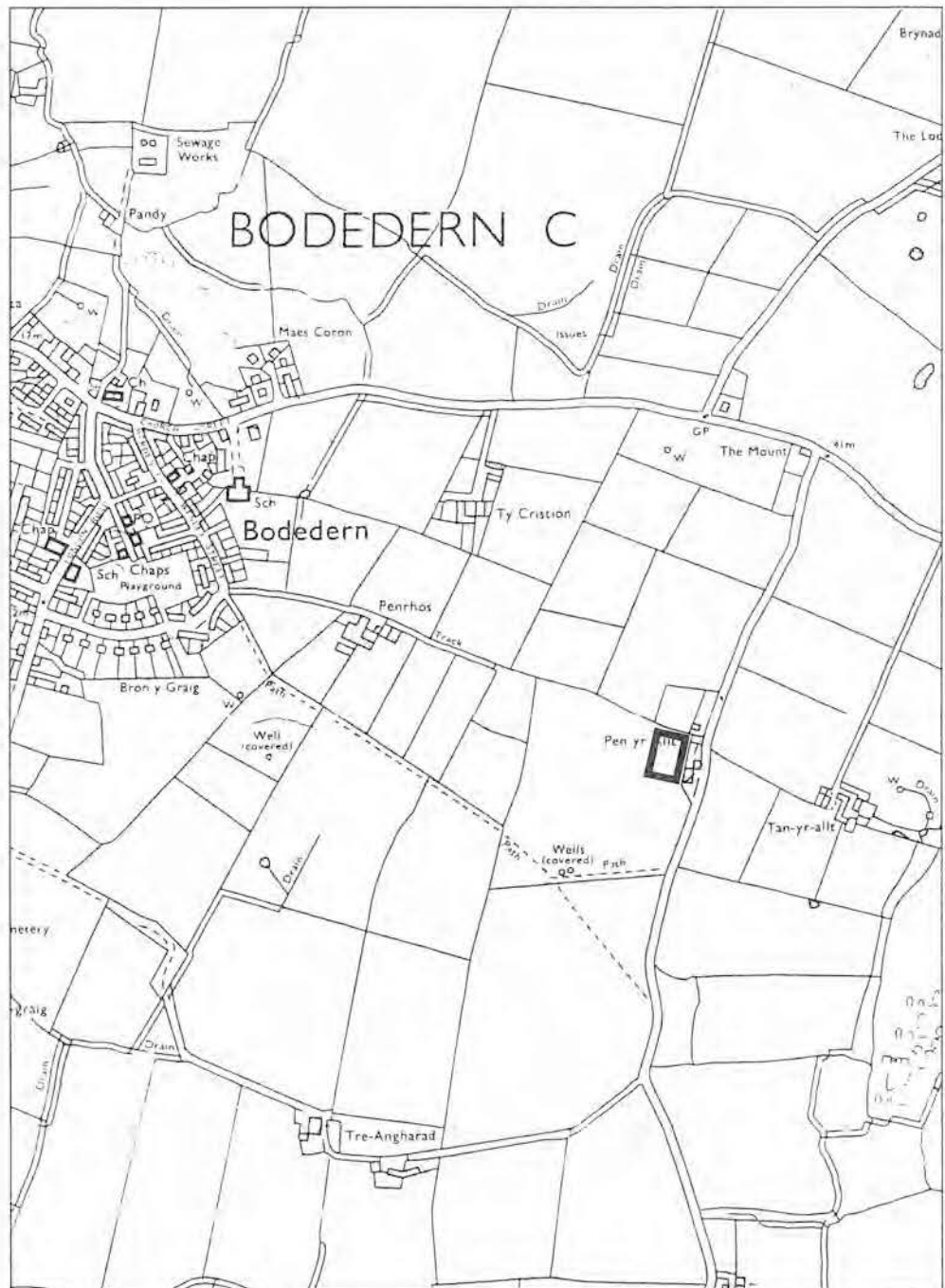


Area B



Area A





Arfryn, Bodedern.

General area of geophysical survey:  For precise location, see detailed map

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0 500 m



Afryn gradiometer survey

Grey-scale plot

Combined standard resolution (sample interval
1m x 0.25m) and high resolution (sample interval
0.5m x 0.25m)

Data clipped to $\pm 15\text{nT}$

Scale: 1:1000

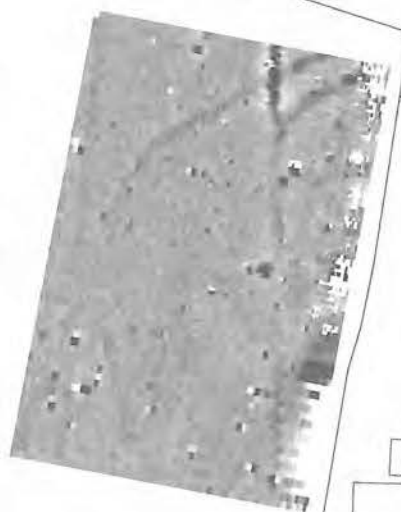
Survey by D. Hopewell

METRES



Pen yr allt

Afryn



Arfryn gradiometer survey

combined grey-scale interpretation

- banks
- ditches
- roads
- geology
- agriculture



scale: 1:1000

Survey by D. Hopewell

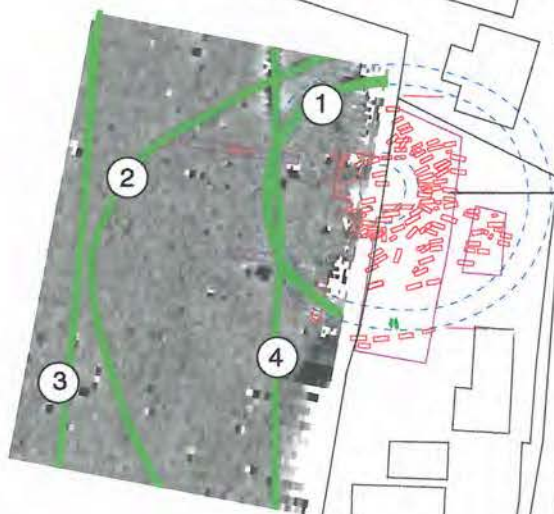
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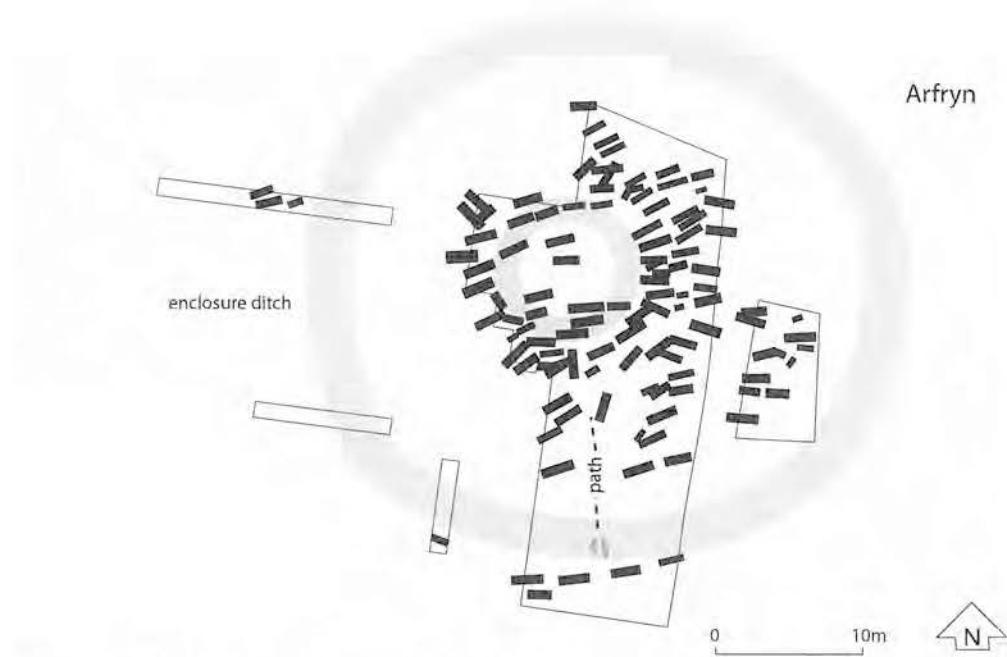
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Pen yr allt

Details of 1971 excavations

Arfryn

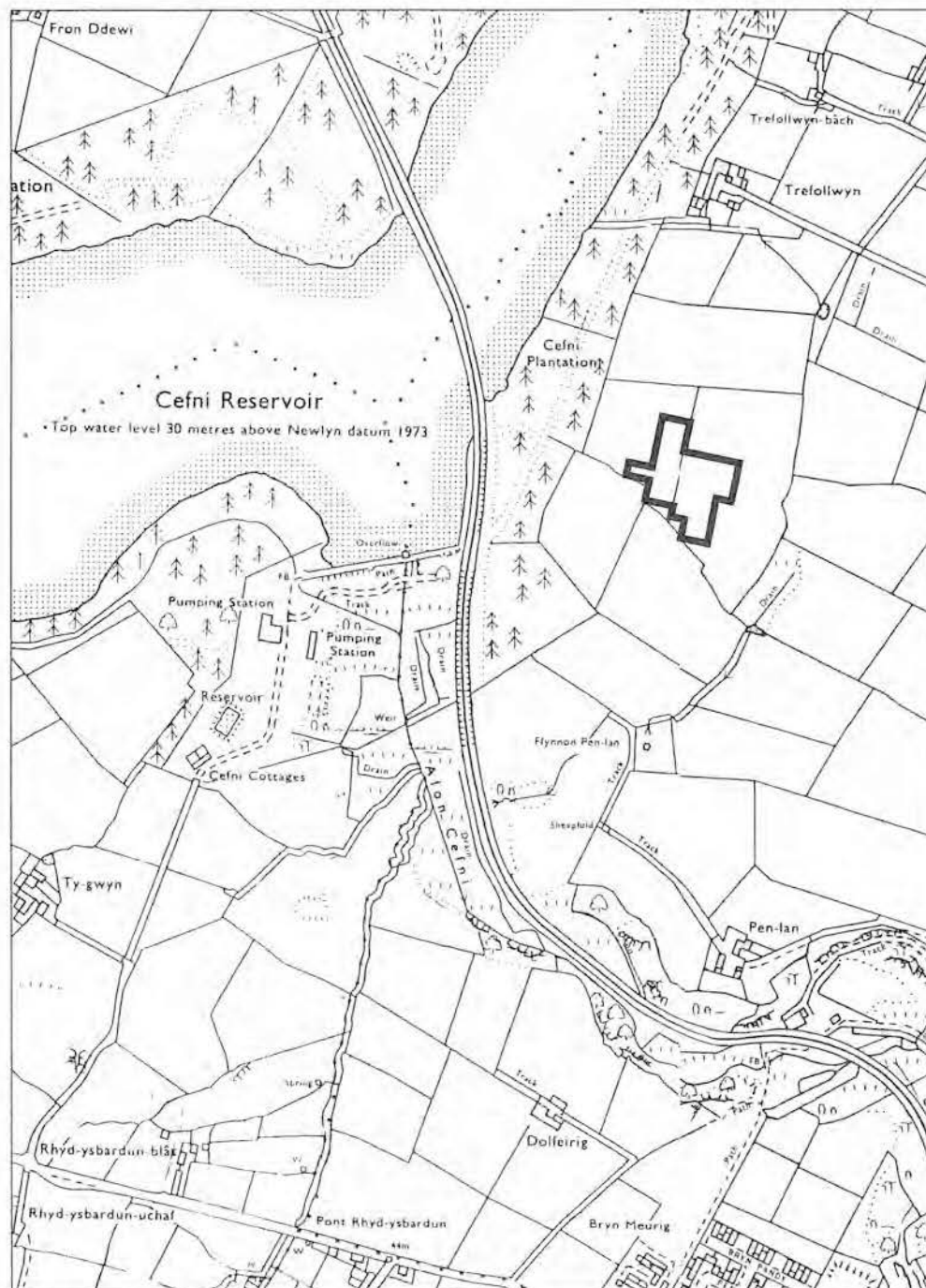




Arfryn, Bodedern, showing the excavated extent of the cemetery and the ditched enclosure within which the cemetery was founded. The line of the ditch is based partly on the geophysical evidence



Capel Eithin, showing the rectangular mortuary enclosure, comparable to the new evidence from Trefollwyn, as a focus for one part of the cemetery



Trefollwyn, Llangefni.

General area of geophysical survey:  For precise location, see detailed map

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Trefollwyn gradiometer survey

Grey-scale plot

Combined standard resolution (sample interval
1m x 0.25m) and high resolution (sample interval
0.5m x 0.25m)

Data clipped to $\pm 15\text{nT}$

Scale: 1:1000



Survey by D. Hopewell

METRES



Area A

Area B

Trefollwyn gradiometer survey

combined grey-scale interpretation

- banks
- ditches
- roads
- geology
- agriculture

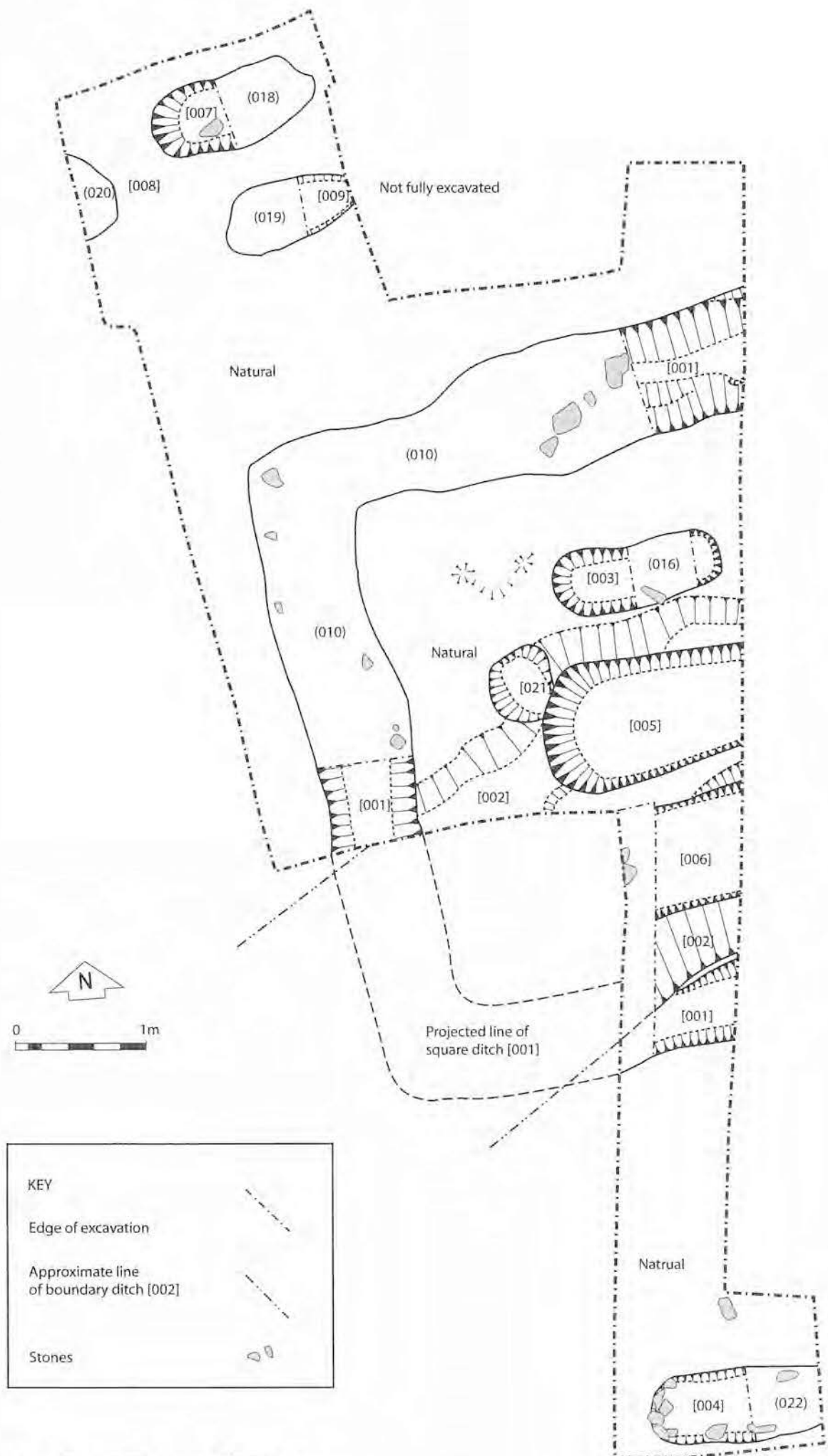


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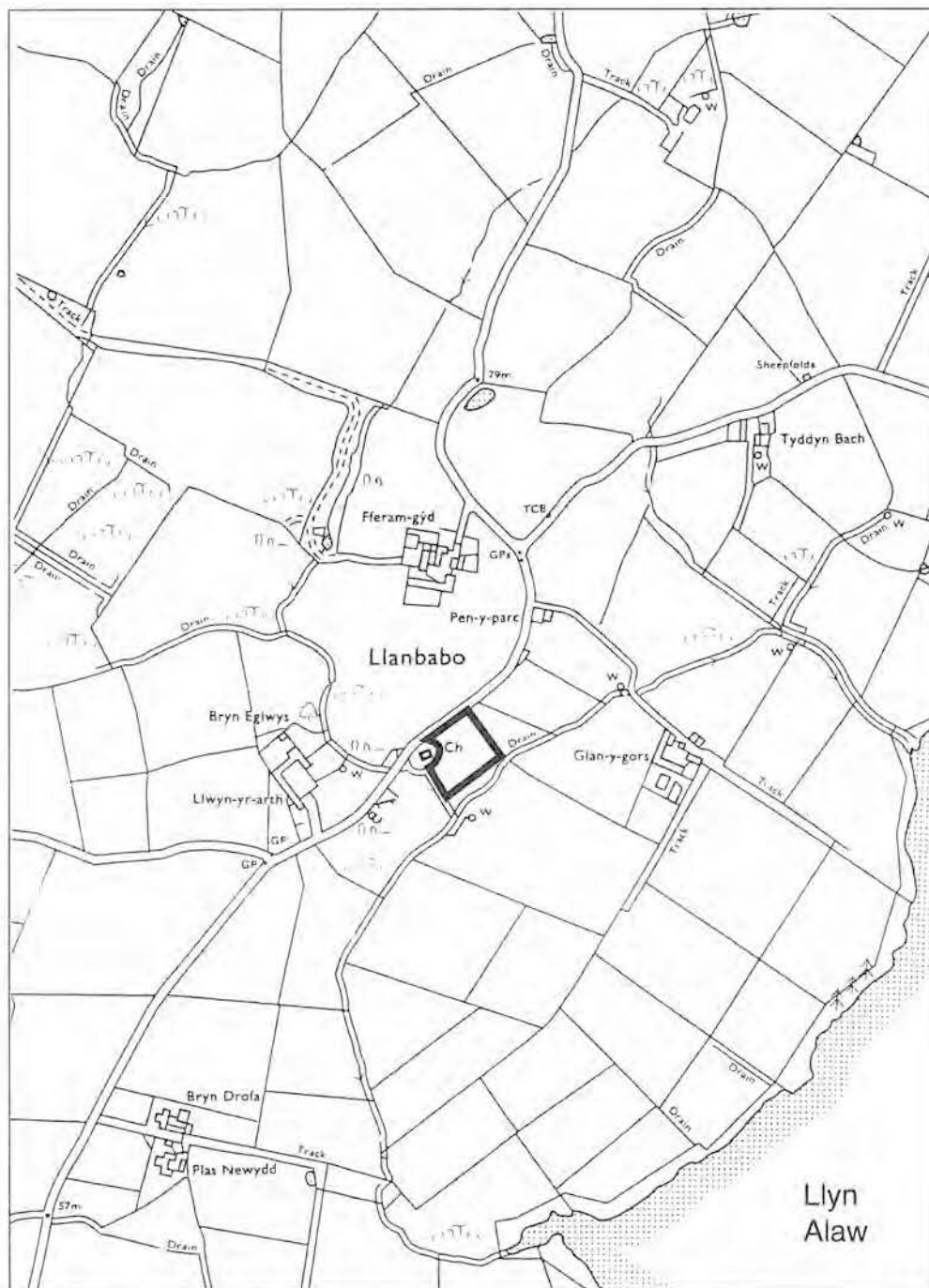
Survey by D. Hopewell

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Plan of excavated trench at Trefollwyn



Llanbabo.

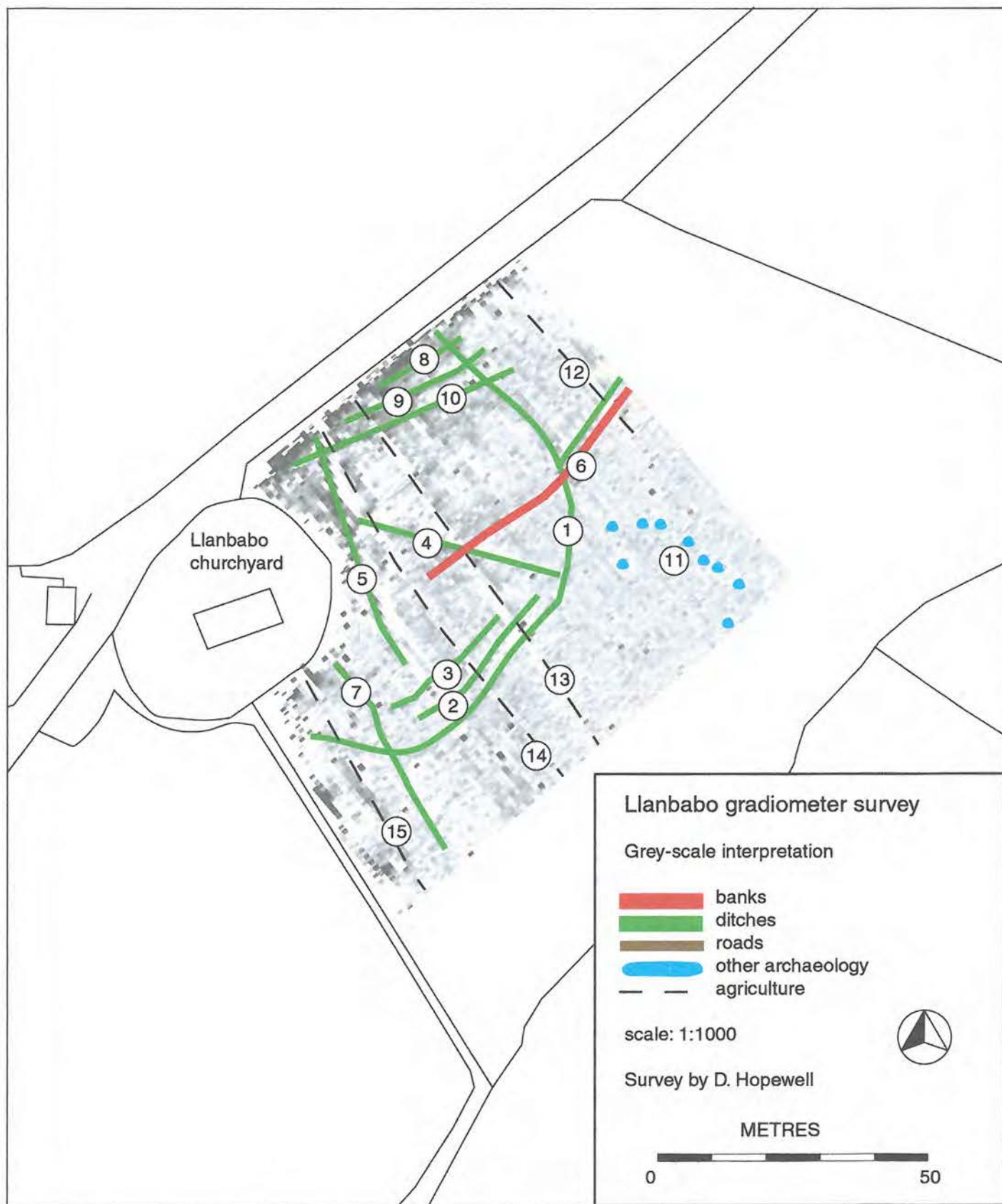
General area of geophysical survey: For precise location, see detailed map

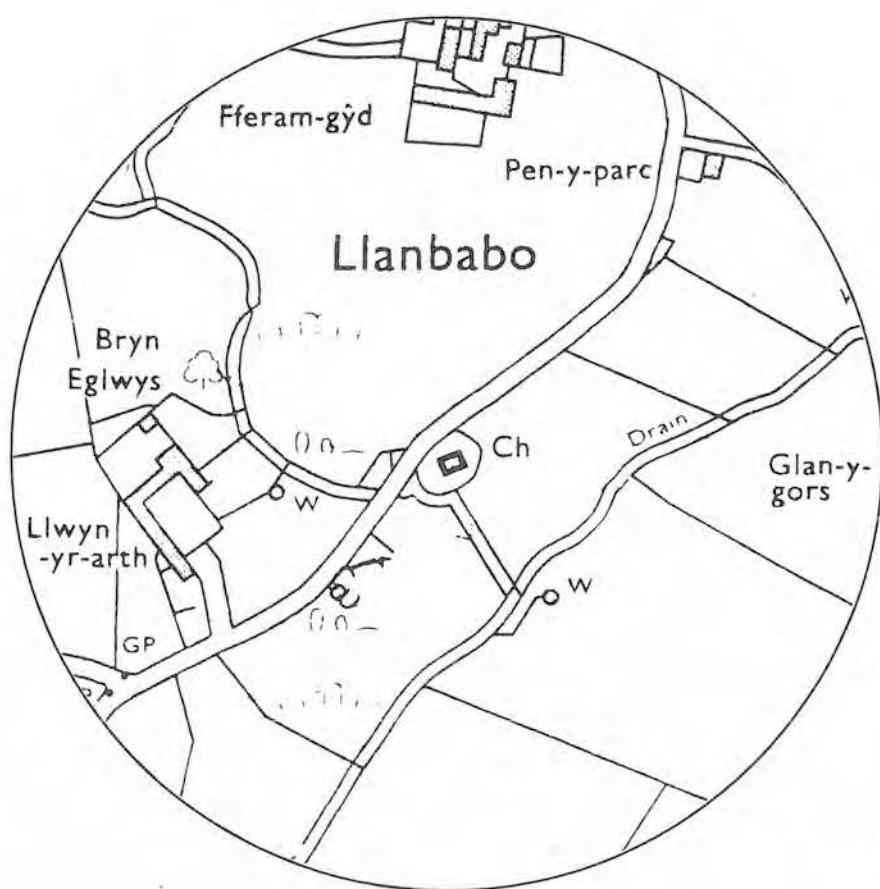
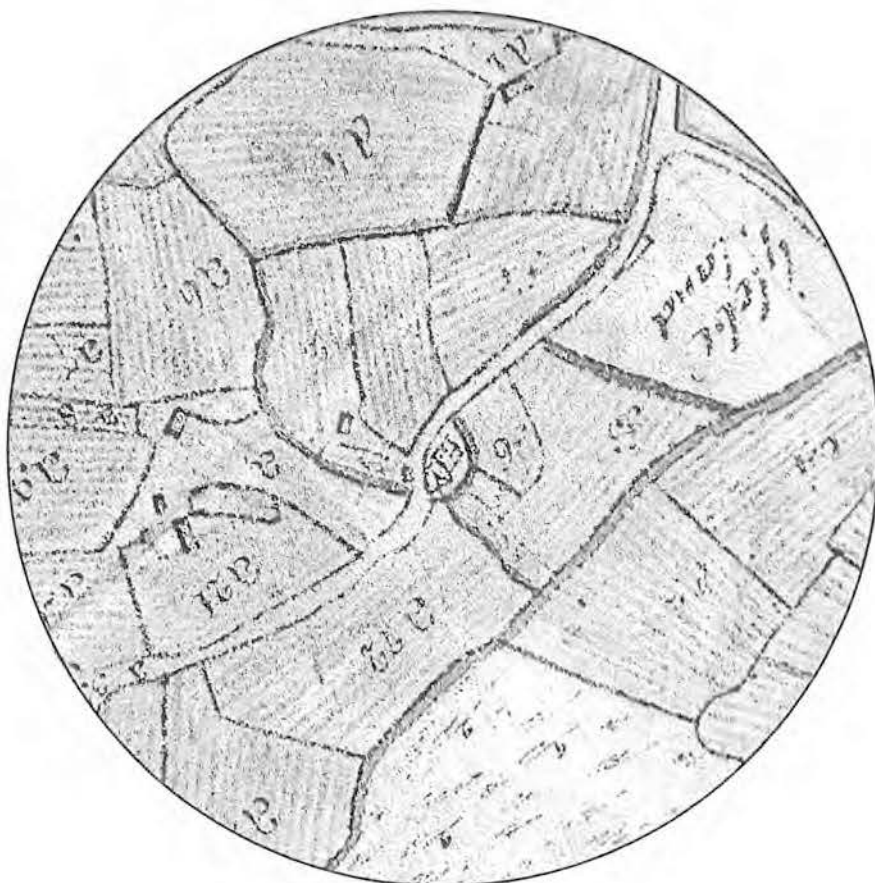
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0 500 m







Llanbabo.

Area around church. 18th century survey compared with modern 1:10000 map (at x2 scale).
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0 250 m

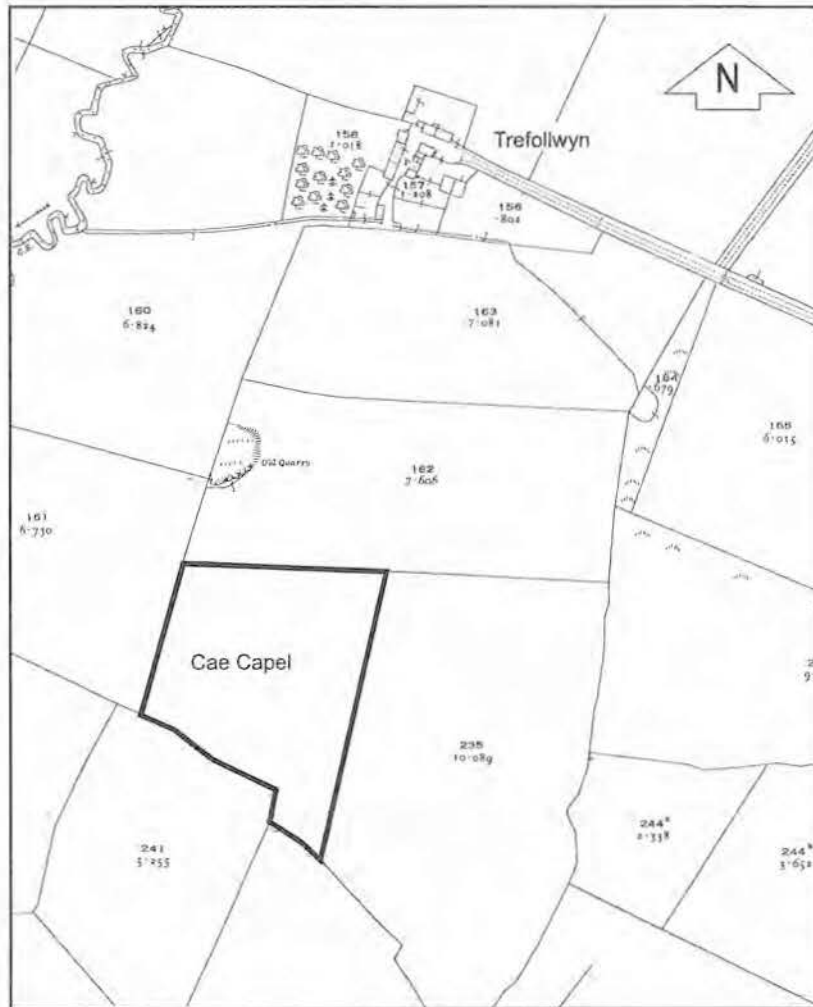
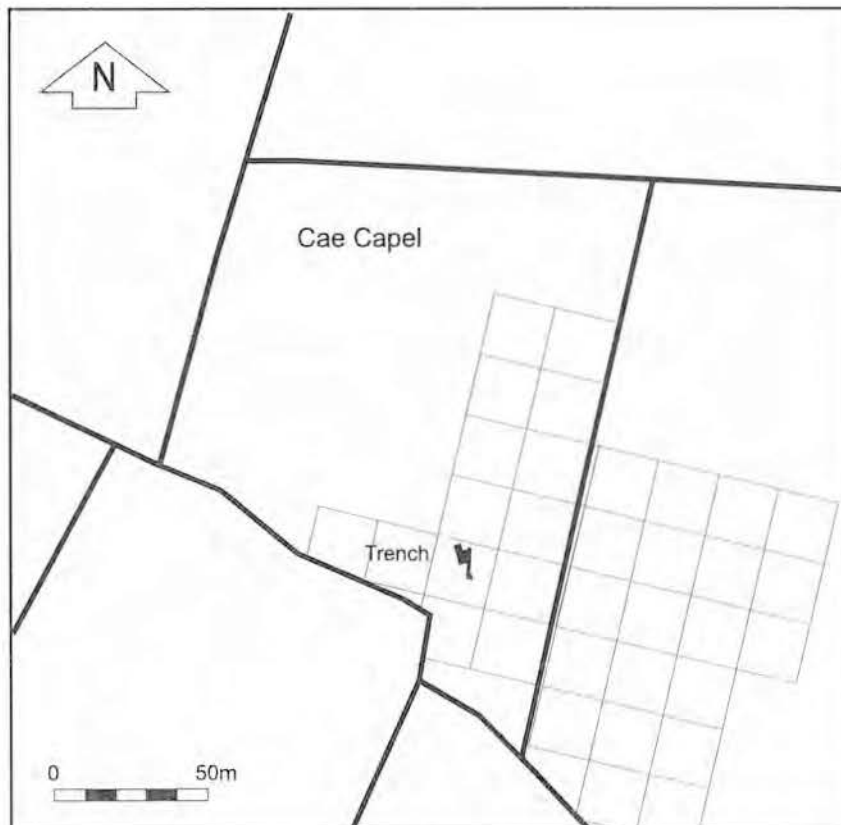


Figure 1: location of Cae Capel



Location of excavated trench and geophysical grid

YMDDIRIEDOLAETH
ARCHAEOLEGOL
GWYNEDD



GWYNEDD
ARCHAEOLOGICAL
TRUST