

THE CLWYD-POWYS ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRUST

Early Medieval Ecclesiastical and Burial Sites in Mid and North-East Wales: An Interim Report



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**Early Medieval Ecclesiastical and Burial
Sites in Mid and North-East Wales:
An Interim Report**

DESK-TOP ASSESSMENT

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Report for Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments

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EARLY MEDIEVAL ECCLESIASTICAL SITES IN MID AND NORTH-EAST WALES

1 INTRODUCTION

When the Cadw-commissioned report on the archaeological resource in Wales as defined in the four regional Sites and Monuments Records, was completed (Musson and Martin 1998), one of the more obvious lacunae was in the material evidence of the early medieval era, here understood to be in broad terms the beginning of the 5th century AD to the end of the 11th century. The report pointed out to that sites of this period were poorly represented in the schedule of ancient monuments and one of their key recommendations was that "every ... Dark Age item [in the Sites and Monuments Record] should be looked at in more detail for possible scheduling" (*ibid.*, 9). When, in 1999, Cadw issued their *Statement on Grant-Aid for Future Threat Related Assessments*, the 'development of a project to look at monuments throughout Wales dating to the Early Historic period, and including settlements and cemeteries' was seen as a Priority 1 theme.

The theme had in fact already been taken up by the Gwynedd Archaeological Trust who produced a detailed academic assessment of *Early Medieval Burial in Gwynedd* (Longley and Richards 1999).

In 2001 Cadw funded all four Welsh Archaeological Trusts to conduct a study of the early ecclesiastical evidence in their regions, GAT expanding their study on burial, the other three trusts starting from scratch. This report considers the first stage of the study that ranges across north-east and east Wales. It is largely a desk-top based assessment of the available data, but a limited amount of fieldwork was conducted in 2001/2, with the intention of extending this to a larger number of sites in the next financial year.

It is useful here to acknowledge the assistance of others in the research for and preparation of this study, including the discussion of avenues of research, particularly Messrs R Turner and F Olding of Cadw, the lead members of the other Trusts involved, Dr E Evans (GGAT), Mr A Davidson and Mr D Longley (GAT) and Mr N Ludlow (ACA), and Drs N Edwards of the University of Wales, Bangor and M Redknapp of the National Museums & Galleries of Wales for the provision of information and ideas.

1.1 Aims of the study

Initial discussions with Cadw and within the Trust identified the main thrust of the study, and a number of specific aims were identified. In order of broad priorities these are:

- i) to assess the nature and prevalence of the evidence that relates to the early medieval ecclesiastical landscape
- ii) to identify, as objectively as it is possible to do, the major and the likely early ecclesiastical sites
- iii) to identify potential sites of national importance with a view to recommending scheduling.
- iv) to generate data which are compatible across the four trusts in order to facilitate any future amalgamation
- v) to enhance and where necessary modify data held in the regional SMR

1.2 Methodology

In a pan-Wales project involving all of the Welsh Trusts it is to be hoped, and indeed it should be a cardinal aim, that the approach adopted throughout the study is a reasonably consistent one, so that even

though the emphasis in certain lines of enquiry may vary from trust to trust, the final results should ultimately be comparable in order to allow a high degree of consensus in data assessment across the country.

The broad approach adopted by CPAT was to undertake a desk-top assessment during the first year, and follow this up in at least one successive year by targeted fieldwork. The occurrence of Foot and Mouth disease and the restrictions that it placed on any sort of work in the countryside has served to reinforce this dual approach.

The Desk-Top Assessment

The fundamental research tool in this, as in so many other Cadw-funded enquiries, is the regional Sites and Monuments Record, henceforward the SMR. An initial interrogation, deliberately wide in its adoption of the key terms (*i.e.* site types) used for site identification, in order not to miss significant records that might have been idiosyncratically entered in the record in the past, yielded over one thousand records. The information in these records has had to be assessed for every SMR is a double-edged tool, containing a great deal of invaluable data but providing a uncritical and often unordered picture of material gathered from a variety of sound and less than sound sources.

Using the SMR data as a starting point and its database structure as a framework, assessment of current and antiquarian literature followed, both to identify sites and features previously overlooked and to extend the information already available on known sites. The National Monuments Record offered a further source of unpublished information, and key articles of synthesis such as those by Nancy Edwards (Edwards and Lane 1992, Edwards 1996) were consulted. It is not felt necessary to elaborate on this aspect of the desk-top work: a full list of the published works that have been examined is included in the Bibliographic section at the end of this report.

New information generated from this research has been fed into a project-specific database which is fully compatible with the SMR. Together with existing information it has informed the text report that follows and has resulted, too, in the identification of a range of sites where field visits would be useful. Additionally, a classificatory scheme has been developed in conjunction with GAT and ACA to establish the relative significance of the potentially large number of ecclesiastical sites originating in the early medieval era in central and north-east Wales. Details of how this has been devised can be found in the relevant section below.

One final note: throughout this report we have used the old historic counties for location purposes. The primary reason for this is the descriptively unhelpful nature of the present large county of Powys, its constituent parts of Brecknock, Radnorshire and Montgomeryshire being more meaningful to many in any discussion of the early church. In practical terms there have been other changes; in the 1970s a part of historic Denbighshire around Llanwrst passed to Gwynedd, while some parishes in eastern Merionydd came to Clwyd (and now form part of Denbighshire). More recently in 1996, several parishes in southern Denbighshire were moved to northern Powys in 1996, several parishes on the eastern side of the Vale of Clwyd and now in Denbighshire were formerly in Flintshire and much of eastern Denbighshire is now in Conwy.

2 ASSESSMENT OF THE EVIDENCE

This section of the report examines the evidence from mid and north-east Wales for the presence of the early medieval church and also for cemeteries. It considers first the fairly thin documentary evidence, and also those attributes relevant to early church sites that are largely derived from written sources (sections 2.1-2). Secondly, there is the evidence of names, whether place-names or those given to churches. Thirdly, there is the archaeological evidence of the church, the churchyard in which it was set and the features and fittings with which it was associated. Next come sections on other potentially significant indicators of early Christianity, namely chapels and wells. Finally, there is a section on burials.

2.1 *Early churches – the documentary evidence*

A handful of churches or monastic sites are mentioned in the relatively sparse pre-Conquest sources, and a few others may be inferred from later sources. One fundamental problem is in determining whether these foundations were on the sites which subsequently developed into the churches still apparent today. For instance for Meifod Llangurig and Llandinam (all in Monts) and Llangollen (Denbs) there has been no serious doubt over whether the parish churches are on the sites of their early medieval predecessors but this is largely because the circumstances that might lead to anyone questioning the exact location have never arisen. In the case of Meifod with its huge churchyard and multiple churches (see below) the supporting evidence appears convincing. For the others there is nothing to corroborate the foundation date. St Asaph too has an early medieval attribution but it needs to be asked whether it is the parish church on the valley floor or the cathedral up the hill to which the documentary evidence applies. For others such as the adjacent parishes of Glasbury and Llowes (Rads) there are traditions that the original monastic sites were founded in one place, but as ecclesiastical centres they were subsequently transferred. The original monastic foundation of Glasbury is reputed to have been established on Fynnon Gynydd Common some 2.5km to the north-west of the village of Glasbury; no site can be recognised, but the presence of St Cynidr's Well here, which was referred to in the mid-1650s, has undoubtedly helped to fuel that tradition. In the post-Conquest period a new church was constructed adjacent to the River Wye, and nearer to the village and its dedication changed to that of St Peter. But with the unpredictability of the river's course, the church was abandoned in the 17th century (Howse 1949). Curiously, the monastery at Llowes was also believed to have been established on a common attached to the settlement, and with no obvious justification an area of disturbed ground was distinguished as its location.

More problematic still is Llangors (Breccs), where an early monastic establishment is referred to in the Book of Llandaff. It is assumed quite reasonably by some authorities that the present church in its curvilinear enclosure lies on the site of this monastery, but there is no firm evidence to support such a view, and alternative ideas that the monastery may have in another location close to Llangorse Lake cannot be dismissed.

St Asaph has been postulated as the location of an early medieval see by Wendy Davies (1982, 159), although not with the underpinning of any substantive evidence. We might perhaps ponder on the absence of any indicators of a bishopric in north-east and central Wales, a truly large tract which contrasts with the three bishoprics along the south coast of the country (Davies 1982, fig 53). But much of the documentary evidence for the establishment of the see of St Asaph is later, even if historians such as the late Glanville Jones are happy to accept its emergence at an early date (Jones 1985). There is for instance a tradition articulated by a 13th-century bishop of St Asaph than Llanellwyr (the earlier name for St Asaph) was given to the church by Maelgwn of Glywedd in the first half of the 6th century. While some of the embellishments in the detail were fabricated, it has been suggested that there may be a core of truth here (Jones 1985, 37), and at least two of the dependent chapelries – Henllan and Llanefydd – might have their origins in this early period.

Hagiography is an unreliable source. Many of the Saints' *Lives* are of 12th-century origin, even though their subjects may have lived several hundred years earlier (Davies 1982, 173). Potentially, the details embroidered into the *Lives* may thus reflect post-Conquest situations and ideals, and be of little help in this study. But there appear to be two exceptions, the *Life of St David* and the *Life of St Cadog* (Davies

1982, 208); the latter probably dates to the 1070s or 1080s, and thus has a significance for the immediate pre-Conquest era, but regrettably Llanspyddid¹ in Brecknock, is the only place in the region which can be identified when examining this particular source of evidence.

The Llandaff charters provide a little information for the extreme south of Powys though as Davies points out they do not carry dates, so their chronological niche can only be gauged from internal evidence (Davies 1978, 3). Allowing for the caveat noted above, it remains an assumption that a few of the sites recorded in the charters witnessed continuity since the early medieval era and subsequently developed into medieval churches. Thus the monastic sites at Llowes (Lluhesi) and Llangors (Lann Cors) are referred to in charters attributed to the late 7th and early 8th centuries, and there are several others whose early 'llan' names imply the presence of an ecclesiastical site in the 8th and 11th centuries, namely Llandeilo'r Fan (Lann Guruaet), Llanfihangel Cwmdu (Lann Mihacel tref Ceriau) and Llanbedr (Lannpetyr) (Davies 1978, 138). Independently, *the Liber Landavensis*, which contains other documentary material in addition to the charters also refers to the consecration - though this must surely be the re-consecration - of Cwmdu, Llanbedr and Partrishow by Herwald, bishop of Llandaff in c.1060, the last of these rather remarkably being confirmed to some degree by an inscription on the font which records that *Genillin* (Cynhyllyn, lord of Ystradyw at the time of Herwald) had the font made.

Domesday Book, compiled in 1086, has little of relevance to Wales for obvious reasons, but it does extend to two border areas. In Flintshire and Denbighshire there are references to churches at Dyserth, Gresford, Gwaenysgor, Halkyn, Hawarden, Meliden, Rhuddlan, Whitford and one, its location unknown, in the manor of *Danfrond*, Kelston and Gwesbyr (Morgan 1978). Of those on the list Rhuddlan and perhaps Gresford were in place in the year of the Conquest. The rest had certainly been founded by 1086 and probably, though perhaps not absolutely certainly, there were there prior to the Conquest. Further south, in the central Marches the only equivalent statement is for Churchstoke (Monts) where from the place-name - *Cirestoc*, the equivalent of 'farm with a church' (Morgan 2001, 55) - we can be certain that the church had been established by 1086, and given its Anglo-Saxon name, presumably much earlier.

Finally, Trelystan (Monts) is traditionally reputed to have been founded by a local lord, Elstan Glodrydd, who was then buried in 'Chappel Trest Elestan' at his death in 1010; in Domesday Book Trelystan appears as *Ulestanesmunde*.

2.2 *Clas churches*

Forming a specific group in this assessment, the *clasau* (sing. *clas*) developed from monasteries in the early medieval era to become the mother churches of their regions, controlling large *parochiae* which may have been co-extensive with secular land units such as *cantrefi* (Edwards 1996, 51), and ultimately developing into collegiate churches which had abandoned the regular monastic life. Subsequently some *clasau* continued into the 12th and 13th centuries (Edwards and Lane 1992, 3; Evans 1992, 33; Pryce 1992, 49). Some *clas* foundations are reasonably well evidenced. Bowen (1956, 117) and Rees (1967, 24; pl 27) distinguished eleven where records, not all of them pre-Conquest, identified them as *clasau*. From north to south, these were Abergele (Denbs), Llanellwy [St Asaph], Llanynys (Denbs), Bangor-is-y-coed (Flints), Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant (Denbs), Meifod, Llandinam, Llangurig (Monts), St Harmon (Monts), Glaschwim (Rads) and Glasbury. While Llanynys (Evans 1992, 39) and Abergele (Pryce 1992, 57) are solidly documented, the classification of Llangurig appears to rest solely on the presence of some *clas* place-names in the neighbourhood, and an inquisition of 1560/1 which reported that local tenants were called *classwyre* (Evans 1992, 38).

William Rees also cited a further group of churches - Llandrillo-yn-Rhos (Denbs), Llanarmon-yn-Ial (Denbs), Corwen (Mer), Llanafan Fawr (Brecks) and Merthyr Cynog (Brecks) - as foundations that might have functioned as *clas* churches but for which no significant documentary support exists. There is a little evidence to support the first two of these in that in the first half of the 12th century Griffith ap Cynan, prince of Gwynedd, bequeathed 10s each to the churches of Meifod, Dinerth (Llandrillo-yn-Rhos) and Llanarmon yn Ial (Thomas 1913, 211; see also Pryce 1992, 57 fn). The first of these was a mother church, which might indicate, too, that both Llandrillo and Llanarmon had a similar status.

Gwytherin has been claimed as a '*clas* or *collegium*' by D. R. Thomas on the basis of traditional stories of some of the saints residing here (1911, 312), and this identification could conceivably be strengthened by an observation of Edwards and Lane (1992, 9) to a reference citing *abbates* ('abbots') at Gwytherin in the 1334 *Survey of the Honour of Denbigh* (though see below under *Monasteries*).

Other churches, too, have been suggested in the same vein, namely Whitford (Flints) by Archdeacon Thomas; Berriew (Monts) by Fenn and Sinclair (1990, 57) and Llanddew (Brecks) by Haslam (1979, 329), but none of these can be properly substantiated, and indeed, it is not always clear how or why these views originated. This group of three sites has not been distinguished on Fig 1.

If there is one point to be made it is that the distribution of *clasau* is somewhat uneven (Fig 1). While north Wales appears reasonably well covered, the picture in mid-Wales is curiously skewed. Llandinam, Llangurig and St Harmon are close together and the environs of the Upper Wye are thus well catered for. In contrast apart from the unsubstantiated sites of Methyr Cynog and Llanddew, the picture for the upper Usk and its environs is sparse indeed. There is of course no reason why an even distribution pattern should be anticipated, except for the consideration referred to above that every *cantref* might have had a mother church. However, coupled with the apparent dearth of documentary information that influences our examination of other early medieval traits in south central Wales (compare the following section), it seems probable that the picture of *clasau* is incomplete at least in the southern part of the region.

Finally it can only be an assumption that the majority of *clas* churches later evolved into the churches that we recognise today - there is in fact little to collaborate this assumption. Bangor-on-Dee and Llangors are the best known cases, but it has also been suggested though for what reasons are unclear that the *clas* of Glaschwim was not at the present church site but nearby at The Yat, while the monastic settlement which equated with the *clas* at Glasbury is supposed to have developed Fynnon Gynydd Common some 2.5km from the village, yet it is not clear if this story has emerged because, as noted above, this is where St Cynidr's well is to be found.

2.3 *Monasteries and hermitages*

There are some sites flagged as early medieval monasteries that cannot be readily classed as *clasau*. Such a one is Pennant Melangell (Monts) where the *Life of St Melangell* mentions both a female community founded by the saint and 'freeholding abbots of thy (Melangell's) sanctuary', hinting at a double community (Edwards and Lane 1992, 10, citing R Williams 1848). A 6th-century monastery, already noted, is reputed to have existed on Llowes Common (Rads), a result of antiquarian speculation no doubt, another at Gwenddwr (Brecks) where St Dubricius reputedly founded a seminary in the 6th century, and Gwytherin has been seen by some as a monastery rather than a *clas* (Edwards and Lane 1992, 9), but what should we make of Charles Thomas' suggestion of a pre-Norman monastery at Brecon, a predecessor, spiritually but not necessarily geographically, of the Priory (Thomas 1994, 131)? As it seems no more than a speculative hypothesis we have omitted Brecon from our grading list, yet we can note in passing that there is a hint of a curvilinear churchyard on early maps of the Priory (Morgan 1988/89).

Traditionally hermitages were part of the Celtic church experience, as the well-known story of St Cuthbert reveals. Some hermitages may have evolved into church sites over a period of time. Here the *desertum* place names as revealed in Dyserth (Flints) and Disserth (Rads) could be relevant. Other hermitages, however, may only have lasted for the lifetime of their occupiers, before being committed to legend. In this region this is only a short list of around five, and it is impossible to determine the veracity of almost any of the claims that have been recorded. Thus Eglwys Caradog Cave in Breconshire is supposed to have been the hermitage of St Caradog or St Gunleus, a tradition going back to the beginning of the 19th century, St Cynog is said to have lived in a cell under a steep cliff near the top of the hill called Van, about four miles from Brecon, a well nearby sharing the saint's name (Jones 1992, 145).

2.4 *Portionary churches*

The significance of portionary churches in the context of the early church in Wales appears to have been addressed for the first time by A N Palmer in north Wales (1886). He used 13th-century sources, but also cited Giraldus Cambrensis a century earlier who mentioned the portionary church at Meifod. The presence of portionary churches, usually with named and often secular individuals as holders of parts of the church income, is revealed in the Norwich and Lincoln (Pope Nicholas IV) Taxations of 1254 and 1291 respectively, although there is no clear consistency in these successive records. Their importance lies in the presence of such 'portions', invoking a memory of the *clas* community and its hereditary entitlements (Williams 1962, 17).

The *clas* churches of Llanhaeadr-ym-Mochnant and Meifod, for instance, had their portions listed in 1291 but not in the taxation records of forty years earlier. But in addition the 1291 Taxation records other portionary churches, not obviously *clasau*, but presumably dependent on them. Thus Llangadwaladr (Denbs), itself a chapel of Llanrhaeadr had six portionary holders. Corwen had five, Hope (Flints) had two, Llansannan (Denbs) had two in addition to the vicar, Ysceifiog (Flints) had two, Northop (Flints) had two, Llandrinio (Monts) had two, and Llansilin (Denbs) had one in addition to the rector and vicar. The clergy of Llansilin were also referred to earlier, in 1210x18, in the foundation charter of the Hospital of St John at Oswestry (Radford 1966, 128). From an earlier date Kerry (Monts) is recorded as having two in addition to the parson in 1246 (Thomas 1908, 517), and the argument has also been advanced for Dinerth (Llandrillo-yn-Rhos) by Palmer (1886, 194) and for Llandinam (Evans 1992, 40). Exceptional even by these standards was Llanynys which in the later 14th century had twenty-four portioners known to the papal scribes as *abbathelaswyr* (Williams *op cit*). It cannot, of course, be demonstrated that these lower ranked ecclesiastical centres were in existence at the time of the Conquest, for conceivably, they might have been apportioned at the time of their establishment after the Conquest but while the organisational (and financial) procedures of the mother churches were still in place. Nevertheless taken in conjunction with other evidence a pre-Conquest origin is likely.

The problem is complicated for Llanelwy (St Asaph) because of its later elevation to head the new diocese in north-east Wales, and its subsequent acquisition of several churches to support the cathedral chapter. By the 13th century there was a long list of dependencies. Nevertheless, the 1291 Taxation of the diocese ends with a list of five portioners for St Asaph which tends to suggest that it should be included.

Again, for portionary churches the available evidence is weighted heavily to north Wales (Fig 2). There is nothing comparable for the south of the region, implying either that the whole system in the early church was different or that the 13th-century taxation records for the southern dioceses were less complete. Further study ought to clarify the picture.

2.5 Dependent chapels

There is a belief, sometimes articulated but not frequently committed to print, that major church sites with a number of dependent chapels had early medieval origins (Brook 1992, 85; Edwards 1996, 51, and see also Pryce 1992, 58, and perhaps a little more ambiguously Palmer 1886, 195). Brooks cites no authority for her belief, and what evidence there is seems to be oriented towards the south-east of Wales (Edwards *op cit*); the writers have failed to encounter any objective and independent evidence to support the contention for mid and north-east Wales. Nevertheless, whilst there is a danger of developing a circular argument in support of the hypothesis, it is true that some, at least, of the major, early medieval churches in the region did have significant quotas of chapels in the medieval centuries.

It needs to be stressed that there is no evidence contemporary with the early medieval church for this dependency. Rather, the earliest sources are from the 13th century. But in this respect north Wales is fortunate, for the Taxation of 1291 (Ayscough and Caley 1802) where referring to the diocese of St Asaph does detail dependent chapelries, in contrast to the skeletal picture presented for the diocese of St Davids. The earlier taxation, that of Norwich in 1254 is less useful, except that a number of ecclesiastical foundations are termed *capella* and a handful are associated with mother churches. For the see of St Davids there was no return in 1254 (Betley 1987, 26).

The effect of this is to generate a picture with a clear bias towards the northern counties of Denbighshire, Flintshire and Montgomeryshire. The pattern of dependent chapels in Radnorshire and Breconshire can be established only from occasional, sparse records in antiquarian sources and almost certainly reveals nothing like a full picture.

The complication is, of course, that we are reliant on medieval and later documents which reflect not only the dependencies of the early medieval centuries but those too of the post-Conquest era. which witnessed the creation of new dependencies as churches were founded to serve an increasing population (see Pryce 1992, 57). Bettws Clyro and Bettws Disserth emerged as chapelries attached to Clyro and Disserth (Rads) respectively, but Roberts has pointed out that the place-name element *betws* does not emerge before the beginning of the 13th century (1992, 44) and there is no reason to believe that either of the chapels was established before that date. For the chapels linked to Llandrillo yn Rhos and listed in Appendix 1, the evidence is inferential and is based largely it appears on post-medieval documents (Thomas 1913, 210). Nor was the dependence necessarily static. Guilsfield (Monts) was a *capella* that passed from one mother church to another. Originally attached to Llandrinio, it passed to Meifod in the third quarter of the 14th century (Thomas 1913, 144). More significant, at least in terms of numbers, is the Cathedral of St Asaph which in the post-Conquest period took over a number of churches to support its dean and chapter, but how many of these were already dependent on the earlier *clas* community we cannot ascertain. Palmer mentions only that the manor of Llangernyw fell within their holding (1886, 187). Up to a dozen churches including the former *clas* church of Abergele seem to have become dependent on the cathedral.

Thus every church with its dependencies has to be treated on its own merits. The list given in Appendix ** includes all churches where dependent chapels, regardless of date, are known or suspected, and includes those dependencies where the evidence (or lack of it) is ambivalent. Only a small group of sites stand out, almost all of them *clas* churches. The significant ones are Llandrillo-yn-Rhos, and particularly Llandrinio (Monts) and Llangollen (Denbs). The appearance, too, of Defynnog (Breccs), is interesting, although the early origins of the dependent chapels cannot be demonstrated.

2.6 Place-names

There can be no doubt that some place-names are relevant to this study. Tomos Roberts (1992) has provided the most recent statement on this issue, following in the footsteps, appropriately, of Melville Richards (1968; 1971). From Roberts' analysis the elements *merthyr*, *eglwys* (church), *myfyr* and perhaps *bod-* appear to be significant in an early medieval context, while *capel* and *betws* are generally late. From Richards we might add *bangor*, although this appears only once in this region, and *diserth* (1968, 12). The commonest element, *llan-*, appears to range in date across the whole early medieval and medieval period (Roberts 1992, 44). But as Nancy Edwards has intimated every place name should be assessed in its own right and 'their individual interpretation is crucial before they can be used by archaeologists as reliable indicators of antiquity' (1996, 49).

With the exception of the numerous place names incorporating the *llan* element, there are relatively few names incorporating the elements listed above. There is only one place name with *eglwys*, the Welsh derivation from Latin *ecclesia*, namely Bryneglwys, near Llangollen, though Llangynidr (Breccs) is often found in association with, and is sometimes replaced by, Eglwys Iail, which in its earliest form dates from 1263 (Morgan and Powell 1999, 106). What though should we make of Llaneglwys (Breccs) where *Nanteglus* goes back to 1241 (*op cit.* 96); despite the duplicative nature of the place name no church has ever been noted there, and no record encountered which might lead to the site of one.

Roberts makes the point that *eglwys* as a noun became common only from the 12th century, although as a place name element he felt that many might link to early Christian centres. However, there is a range of minor names which must remain suspect in this context. Chief amongst them are the several sites termed *Hen Eglwys*, where one senses that local tradition or even antiquarian speculation may have had a role in the appellation. Thus *Lle yr Hen Eglwys*, remote in the Cedig valley, one of the tributaries that feed into the upper Vyrnwy Valley (but now converted to Lake Vyrnwy), remains a puzzling site, a building rather like a long hut site set close to what may be a prehistoric enclosure, but an enigma because it is not clear whether the name was already in existence when the site was discovered, or

whether it gained the term subsequently. Hen Ddinbych, the medieval sheepcote enclosure which may perhaps have been linked to the bishopric of St Asaph, on the basis of the supposedly associated name, *Bysshopeswall* (Gresham, Hemp and Thompson 1959, 72) was formerly known as Hen Eglwys (Thomas 1911, 58), and local guides in the mid-19th century even went so far as to claim that the site had been a church and churchyard (Lynch 1993, 4).

Merthyr is taken by Roberts, following Charles Thomas, to indicate a place holding the physical remains of a saint or martyr. In mid and north-east Wales the only relevant settlement name is Merthyr Cynog, although Partrishow was termed Merthyr Issui in the 12th century. A valley in Trefelglwys (Monts) is called Dyffryn Merthyr, and there is some documentary evidence that Strata Marcella had a chapel there (Thomas 1997, 195).

Bangor appears only in Bangor Is-y-coed (Flints), while *diserth* remains in Dyserth (Flints) and Disserth (Rads).

Bod- appears only in Bodfari, but perhaps significantly the earlier name for Llanelian-yn-Rhos was Bodlenyn (Thomas 1913, 251), and the settlement appears to have acquired its 'llan' name only after 1291. Of the final, potentially early, element *myfyr*, a Welsh borrowing from Latin *memoria*, and one that could signify a 'grave' there is only one example, namely Llanfihangel Glyn Myfyr now in eastern Conwy.

Two later elements need brief consideration. *Betws* appears several times in the region. There is little doubt that Betws Cedewain and probably Betws yn Rhos are early church sites: other features would suggest so. St Mary's church at Bettws Gwerfil Goch offers something of a conundrum. The place-name incorporates the personal name of Gwefyl, daughter of Cynan, lord of Merionydd, who died around 1200, and this might suggest that the church was founded in her lifetime. But there must be the suspicion that there was already a church on the spot and that this was a re-foundation. Indeed, D R Thomas was of the view that there was an earlier dedication to St Elian, based on his recognition of several relevant minor names in the vicinity (Thomas 1911, 136), and this implies an earlier establishment. Other *betws* churches, however, give the appearance of being later medieval foundations - Bettws Clyro (Rads), Bettws Disserth (Rads), and Bettws Penpont (Brecons), while Llangadwaladr (Denbs) was known in the 13th century as Betws Cadawaladr.

Richards (1968, 11) saw cases such as Llangadwaladr as examples of the interchangeability of place-name elements. This leads into the question of *llan* names, by far the most common element, and previously more common for some have disappeared including Llanfair Fadlen (Cerrigydrudion in Denbs), Llanddewi Maesmynys (Maesmynys in Brecons), Llanfair o'r Waun Isaf (Chirk, Denbs), Llanfair Cefnlllys (Cefnlllys in Rads), Llanfihangel Trefelglwys (Trefelglwys in Monts), Llanfihangel Bryn-gwyn (Bryn-gwyn in Rads), Llanfihangel y Bugeildy (Bugeildy, Rads) and Llanfihangel-yng-Ngheri (Kerry, Monts). Seemingly, despite the very large number of *llan-* names, even those associated with the name of a Celtic saint cannot with any legitimacy be included here, without much more detailed examination of the supporting evidence (Roberts 1992, 44). Thus *llan* names in themselves cannot be used as an early medieval indicator. Llanfihangel Trefelglwys is a case in point for Pryce (1993) has convincingly unraveled the origins of this church in the post-Conquest era. Nevertheless, it seems reasonably likely that many of our *llan* names could have early origins. It is not without interest, for instance, that in every county in the region, the correlation between curvilinear churchyards and *llan* place-names is higher than between curvilinear churchyards and non-*llan* place-names. Thus in Brecknock the percentages are 71% and 53%; in Radnorshire 57% and 34%, in Montgomeryshire 86% and 59%, in Flintshire 0% (but there is only one *llan* name) and 30%, and in Denbighshire 71% and 25%.

2.7 Church dedications

There is no consensus view on the matter of dedications so it is not easy to ascertain how much weight should be attached to Celtic (British) church dedications in this assessment. They featured strongly, and perhaps a little uncritically, in E G Bowen's works (1956, 1977). Edwards and Lane were rather less forthright, stressing the need for more research on the subject (1992, 4), and Knight too has pointed out some of the potential pitfalls (1984, 380). Indeed, J W Evans (1991) has argued that clusters of

dedications to individual Celtic saints, which Bowen used to identify spheres of influence in the 5-6th century reflect events rather later, perhaps in the 10th to 12th centuries. Views, however, do tend to polarise on this issue, and others such as Fenn and Sinclair have argued, following 19th-century writers and whilst acknowledging that special circumstances are applicable in the case of dedications to St David, that 'despite recent arguments to the contrary, it is our opinion that churches in Wales were indeed probably often named after their founders' (1990, 48).

A Celtic dedication may appear in itself to be insufficient to point to an early beginning - the consecration of the iron church of St Tudfyl's on a greenfield site at Coedpoeth near Wrexham in 1875 (Thomas 1913, 269) is warning enough though rather exceptional, a Victorian whim. Yet a comparable naming is certainly possible in the Middle Ages and much less likely to be documented. Bowen, himself referred to this occurrence, noting that "most frequently a revival of a saint's cult, expressing itself in new dedications, coincided with the publication of his 'Life'" (Bowen 1956, 7).

Occasionally, the dedication to a Celtic saint was joined by another, more contemporary dedication. Thus Northop has a joint dedication to Ss Peter and Eurgain and the settlement was originally termed Llaneurgain. At Llandrinio, St Trinio was subsequently joined by Ss Peter and Paul, and interestingly perhaps Llywel (Brecs) was formerly dedicated to Ss Padarn, David and Teilo, though now it is to Teilo alone.

But it can be assumed that much more common was the complete loss of the Celtic dedication. The prevalence of re-dedication is now widely recognised. Bowen flagged it up many years ago, citing St Mary's, Ruabon as a case in point, for this had previously been dedicated to the British saint, Collen (1956, 9). There are at least ten churches in mid and north-east Wales where there is evidence that a Celtic saint has been replaced by a Roman site in the post-Conquest era (see Appendix 2), and several more where we may suspect an earlier dedication such as Trallwng (Brecs) where a 12th-century source names the settlement or manor as *thrallyng kynuyn* which might suggest a saint's name and probably, therefore, an earlier dedication (Morgan and Powell 1999, 143). But many more re-dedications are likely to remain anonymous. In south Wales the frequency of churches dedicated to St David certainly suggests the influence of the medieval see. In southern Powys there are no less than seventeen such dedications, many no doubt imposed in the Middle Ages, and it is now impossible to establish how many, if any, of these were original dedications in the early medieval era. Similarly the influence of the Cistercians may be seen in the number of dedications to St Mary.

But there are also cases where one dedication is known (or at least is suspected) to have replaced another. Thus St Michael's church at Abergele may have had an earlier dedication, to St Elfod (Thomas 1913, 188), Llansilin is generally assumed to have had an earlier dedication to the otherwise unknown saint, St Silin, than to St Giles who was favoured when Raleigh Radford wrote (1966, 128), but now St Silin is once again in place; Gwytherin is claimed to have been dedicated originally to St Eleri, subsequently to St James and, from 1867, St Winifred (Thomas 1911, 313). But Guilsfield's dedication is to St Aelhaiarn but Thomas (1913, 147) suggested that another dedication - to St Tysilio - was advocated by some, citing a well bearing that name in the area, but dismissing another alternative - to St Giles - as a local misrepresentation from the place name.

Mid and north-east Wales have some 130 churches which retain dedications of apparently British derivation, including eleven where a British dedication is linked to a post-Conquest one; a further ten have evidence for the re-dedication of an early name (see Appendix 2), but also six where one British dedication has been replaced by another. A further twenty or so sites in the form of chapels have British names attached, and there is a considerable number where there is a potentially early name attached to a 'holy' well.

2.8 Surviving churches

Occasionally in the past a theory has been advanced for the partial survival of an early medieval church encapsulated in a later building. Such was the case with Defynnog (Brecs) where part of the north wall was considered to be very early. Most such arguments have little substantive truth to back them up, and the only church in Wales where a significant case can be made is Presteigne (Rads), where the presence

of masonry predating the Norman windows was made some years ago (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 497) and does stand up to critical scrutiny.

2.9 Multiple churches

The presence of several churches grouped together in one enclosure is seen as a guide to arrangements in the early medieval period (Davies 1982, 26; Edwards and Lane 1992, 7). However the only site in the region which convincingly falls into this category is Meifod (Monts) where Eglwys Gwydafarch, Eglwys Fair and Eglwys Tysilio are said to have occupied the same churchyard. However, there is a tantalizing reference from Edward Lhuyd at the end of the 17th century to a former chapel in the churchyard at Abergele (Denbs), of which nothing more is known and which might perhaps have been a *capel y bedd* whose origins had been forgotten (see below). In the light of the multiple dedication at Meifod, we might also speculate on the reasons for the triple dedication which formerly existed at Llywel (Breccs).

2.10 Shrines and burials

Shrines might take several forms and be located outside or internally, or be a portable shrine (see below for Gwytherin). The construction of a *capel y bedd* (grave chapel) over the remains might take place centuries after the initial interment yet the fact that such a shrine exists at all is suggestive of an early medieval foundation.

Two churches – Pennant Melangell (Monts) and Partrishow (Breccs) – have *capeli* or *cellau y bedd*, to which, from documentary evidence may be added Gwytherin (Denbs) where Penbryn Capel, the name applied to a low rounded elevation south of the churchyard, is believed to be the site of the small chapel of St Winifred which was demolished in the early 18th century (Edwards 1996, 55), and Llangollen (Denbs) where in 1749, the ‘old church’ where St Collen was buried was still standing according to the rural dean, but was old and decayed and it was proposed at that time that it would be taken down and the materials used for the construction of the new west tower (Thomas 1911, 287). Finally, there are the several Romanesque fragments in the church at Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant (Denbs) which it is reasonable to assume came from a shrine memorialising an early medieval figure, perhaps the church’s dedicatee, St Dogfan, though whether this was originally set in a *capel y bedd* is impossible to determine.

One other potentially significant burial is that of St Afan at Llanafan Fawr. In its present form his tomb on the south side of the church is almost certainly post-medieval as is the incised slab covering it, but given its unusual nature we can probably assume a much longer history for the tradition that this is the burial spot of one of the early saints.

2.11 Church plan form

C. A. Raleigh Radford appears to have been the first authority to have discussed, at least at any length, the distinctive style employed in a handful of churches as indicators of a *clas* origin, in that ‘Romanesque influences in the twelfth century led the native Welsh *clas* to adopt for its principal church the cruciform plan in normal use amongst western monasteries, but modified to suit its own needs’ (Radford 1963, 358). Radford was arguing not for the antiquity of the cruciform plan but that it was taken up by those churches high up in the hierarchy which, as has been posited above, had long histories stretching back into the early medieval era. It is beyond the expertise of the writers to judge the validity of Radford’s arguments, but if we accept them without comment, the churches in this region which Radford cited as falling within this tradition are Llanddew (Breccs) and Llansilin (Denbs) (for which see also Radford 1966). To this may be added Corwen in Denbighshire (Silvester 1999), and Meifod (Monts) which has been claimed as a Romanesque cruciform building. But a caveat must be entered here for at least one cruciform church – Crickhowell (Breccs) – is known to have been constructed on a new site in the early 14th century.

2.12 Artefacts and fittings

The identification of furnishings, fittings and other moveable objects, which could have originated in the early medieval era, will necessarily generate a miscellaneous collection of elements.

Gwytherin, in addition to its *capel y bedd*, had a portable shrine for the remains of Gwenferi (Winifrid), the remaining fragments being attributed to the 8th or 9th century (Butler and Graham-Campbell 1990). The Romanesque shrine fragments from Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant (Denbs) has already been noted earlier.

Jeremy Knight has pointed out that the two usual attributions of an early British cleric were a crozier and a hand bell (1984, 370). The survival of such items beyond the Reformation was, not surprisingly, extremely rare and the traditions linked to such moveables are more common than fact. Thus three bells were reputedly found at Cwm (81720) on a hill near the church, namely: the yellow bell of Cwm, the white bell of Abergele and the blue bell of Llanddulas. More tangible is an iron handbell reputedly found St Cenau's Chapel in Llangenny (Breccs) and now in the National Museum (Fox 1949, 122), although its precise provenance could be more precise. The same can be said for the gold enamelled ring with a Saxon inscription found on a common at Llysfaen is thought to have belonged to bishop Alhstan (AD 817-67). St Curig's staff said to be housed in the church of St Germanus at St Harmon by Gerald of Wales in c.1190 (Thorpe 1978, 78) has long gone, as has St Cynog's wonderful torque which Gerald did not locate to a specific named church but which is also referred to by another writer in the 15th century in the obvious church, that of Merthyr Cynog (Morgan and Powell 1999, 117). But what should we say about the handbell that reputedly had belonged to St David and for which miraculous powers were claimed: Giraldus located this in Glaschw church (Rads), and the later life of St David by Rhigyfarch (later 11th century with early 12th century revisions) refers to the saint's foundation of Glaschw (James 1996/7, 14).

Finally the inscribed font at Partrishow has been cited above (para **) and to this can be added the great font at Old Radnor church (Rads), fashioned from a boulder, is usually attributed an early medieval date. This seems quite possible given its curious nature, but there is no intrinsic evidence.

2.13 Inscribed and cross-marked stones

The current revision of Nash Williams' magisterial volume on Early Christian monuments now being undertaken by Drs Nancy Edwards and Mark Redknap enables much greater consistency to be achieved in the use of this sometimes problematic data. It must be acknowledged that most of the following information and references are derived from their draft reports and we are grateful to both of them for allowing us access to their as yet unpublished data.

It is not so much the dating of the individual stones that is the problem but more importantly in the context of this report the question as to whether they were originally set in the church enclosure or were brought in at a later date, as was the case with the inscribed stone built into a buttress at Cwmdu (Breccs) which was brought to the church by the vicar in 1830. The cross shaft from Lladdewi'r Cwm (Breccs) in the context of the church would have been valuable but instead it came from a farm, some distance away, and cannot be associated with what appears to be the early medieval site.

For mid and north-east Wales the numbers are relatively small (Fig 3). Positively identified cross-marked but unscribed stones include those from Defynnog, Cwmdu, Llangammarch Wells (Breccs), Llanhamlach (Breccs), Llanspyddid (Breccs), one of the four stones at Gwytherin, Llanwyddelan (Monts), several from Llanafan Fawr (Breccs), two at Llanellieu (Breccs), although the circumstances of their discovery are unknown, the fine cross slab in Meifod (Monts), of 10th-century date, together with another stone on which the crosses look more like graffiti, three recently identified at Hope in Flintshire (Jones *et al* forthcoming), and finally a stone built into a wall at New Radnor (Rads) which creates a particular problem as this town and its church were a new foundation in the post-Conquest period, and there is not a shred of evidence for an earlier settlement though a late Saxon *burh* has been postulated (Silvester 1997, 157). A cross slab from Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant may be 9th-10th century with a slightly later inscription, and there is also another decorated stone of uncertain function in the same church.

Inscribed stones, some also carved with crosses of later date include the 5th-century stones in Defynnog (Breccs) and Llanerfyl (Monts), a 6th-century stone at Trallwng (Breccs), two of the same century at Ystradgynlais, the 6th-7th-century stone at Llanlleonfel (Breccs), the 9th century stone at Llanddettŷ (Breccs), 8th or 9th century stone at Llanddew (Breccs), the heavily decorated 10th century stone at Llandefaclog Fach (Breccs), one or two, the other having been built into the church fabric in the 19th century, a fate shared with one or possibly two others at Llanfrynach (Breccs), the 10th-11th century stone in Cwmdŷ, one similarly dated stone at Llangors (Breccs) and two others from the same place which may be later. That from Llanhamlach (Breccs) of 10th/11th century date which was first identified in the nearby rectory is included here as it appears likely that it originated in the church enclosure.

The Pentrey Goch Garreg stone is a lost Latin-inscribed stone came from a chapel known to Edward Lhuyd as 'Kapel y Fynon' in Defynnog. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to identify the site of the chapel, perhaps not surprisingly in view of the fact that even Lhuyd at the end of the 17th century was rather vague about it. Details of the 11th-12th century Genillin stone and other, now lost, cross-carved stones, at Partrishow are sadly too vague for certain inclusion here.

2.14 Freestanding crosses

Free-standing crosses are distinguished here as a separate category, though they do come within the ambit of the Nash Williams revision: these are also shown on Fig 3. Redknapp classifies the Bryngwyn stone, of 7th- 9th century date as simply a cross-marked stone whilst elsewhere it is considered as a pillar cross or pillar stone (Nash Williams 1950, 220). Likewise the great cross slab, 1.7m high, from Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochant, already listed above, has also been termed, but probably mistakenly, a pillar cross (Sharkey 1998, 140).

This leaves a small group usually of fragmentary stones including the shaft at Llandrinio (Monts) of 9th - 10th century date, the 11th-century cross-shaft and also a separate cross base at Dyserth (Flints) and the shaft at Llanfrynach (Breccs) of the 10th or 11th century. A pillar stone has been used as a door lintel at Corwen (Mers), and two other fragments, seemingly from other stones, were seen in the church at the beginning of the 20th century but have since disappeared (Owen 1886, 21).

The cross-shaft fragment from Meliden, now in Chester Museum and referred to in Edward Lhuyd's notes, cannot be attributed more precisely than to the parish, and that at Rhuddlan, one extant of the two known, offers a problem in that the present church is a post-Conquest foundation and its predecessor, the logical source of the cross shaft(s) is buried beneath the castle mound.

Finally, the roughly cylindrical stone in the porch of Llanfihangel Talyllŷn church has been claimed as an unusual cross-shaft, probably of early medieval date.

2.15 Associations

E G Bowen (1956), and more recently Melville Richards (1971), drew attention to an association between mother churches and Roman forts and stations, and also what the latter termed 'native centres and royal residences'. In this category Richards placed Abergele which lay close to the hillfort of Dinorben, and Meifod near to Mathrafal. The significance of these locational associations require further research before they can be accepted as true indicators of early origins for any particular set of churches, but proximity to Roman sites is much better attested. Holyhead, Caerhun and Caerwent are all set within or close to Roman forts (Bowen 1956, 119; Edwards 1996, 50), and these associations find significant parallels in England. But in contrast the situation in mid and north-east Wales is not so encouraging, even though the full suite of Roman military installations in the region has yet to be identified. No *clasau* or indeed smaller churches are set within Roman enclosures, but there are a few, such as Meliden (Flints), and more specifically Aberyscir (Breccs), only 150m from the fort of Brecon Gaer, which lie relatively close to Roman sites.

The presence on the other hand of prehistoric features in churches and churchyards is better attested. One has to assume that large monoliths such as the standing stone, *Carreg I Big yn y fach*, built into the

porch of Corwen church and the large boulder of putative prehistoric date set in the churchyard at Llanwrthwl (Brecs) were already in place when the church was established. To these we can add the two boulders on either side of a chest tomb at Llangernyw (Denbs), putatively prehistoric, and just conceivably the stone row at Gywtherin (Denbs), although with one of them having an early medieval inscription it is perhaps a more likely that the whole row originated in the later period. But how much significance we can attach to churches that have a prehistoric accompaniment, and whether this link reinforces the early medieval origin is a matter for debate.

2.16 Churchyard morphology

The validity of the concept that circular churchyards are an indicator of early medieval ecclesiastical origins remains a matter of dispute. Charles Thomas was the first to develop the hypothesis thirty years ago (1971, 41), and since that time studies in Ireland, Cumbria, south-west England and Wales have all broadly supported his contention (references in Edwards and Lane 1992). The strength of the argument is such that circular churchyards have been claimed even where they do not exist. Haslam (1979) wrongly claimed a circular churchyard for Llanddewi'r Cwm (Brecs) but the present churchyard is in fact polygonal, and it has taken a detailed survey to reveal its predecessor as curvilinear, disguised largely by the graves of a more recent period. One of the present writers is sufficiently convinced by the arguments to have gone into print on the matter (Silvester 1997a). Edwards has adopted a cautious approach, arguing for excavation to test the theory (1996, 56), and there is also a body of opinion which holds against this hypothesis, although opponents have yet to pursue their arguments in print. The closest anyone has come to this is Arnold's statement that "the view that curvilinear churchyard enclosures represent the boundaries of early cemeteries is a persistent one. The archaeological evidence in some ways supports this model but in other contradicts it". The fact that churchyard morphology is graded only as 'C' in the classificatory system adopted below (Section 3) is a reflection of the doubts that some of those involved in the current project have on this particular issue.

In Wales Diane Brook has been at the forefront of studies on churchyard morphology, arguing strongly for the early origins of the curvilinear churchyard (Brook 1985-88; 1992), and creating a system for calculating curvilinearity (Brook 1992, 80). We have not adopted this system, preferring instead an intuitive assessment of whether a churchyard is or was originally curvilinear. Lists of churchyards that met this criterion were given in the regional reports of the Cadw-funded Welsh Historic Churches Project (Silvester 1998a; 1998b; 1999a; 1999b; Silvester and Davidson 2000) and these have been copied into the grading table in Section 3.

One important point should be made here, namely that the present form of a churchyard may bear little relationship to its original appearance. In settlements such as Garthbeibio (Monts) and Llanyre (Rads) virtually the whole of the original churchyard boundary has now become fossilised, a relict earthwork within a later graveyard. There are not many churchyards that were not enlarged during the 19th and 20th centuries; many indeed have had new ground added to them on several occasions, and in this respect an examination of early large-scale Ordnance Survey maps and, less reliably Tithe maps, may provide some guidance. But others have clearly been extended at an earlier date, before large-scale mapping was undertaken and prior to the time when a faculty was required. Both Llanllwrchhaiarn and Llanfyllin in Montgomeryshire display earthworks of earlier, unmapped enclosures, while Llanddewi'r Cwm (Brecs) is an example of a churchyard enclosure where the earlier circuit has been enlarged slightly on all sides.

Equally, there are some churchyards that have been reduced in size, usually because a portion has been hived off for other purposes. Llanarmon-yn-Ial (Denbs), Llangadawladr (Denbs), Gwyddelwern (Denbs) and Hirnant (Monts) fall into this category, the last losing the area to the north of the church to create the rectory garden, almost certainly in the 18th century. Information on the course of the earlier churchyard frequently can only be gained from fieldwork, and the Cadw-funded churches survey in some instances provided this information.

Truly circular or indeed wholly curvilinear churchyards are a rarity. Llanmerewig (Monts) which, it has been suggested, is a re-used prehistoric enclosure, Llanyre (Rads) and Cilcain (Flints) are examples which are in this way exceptional. More prevalent are those enclosures where a part of the circuit is

distinctively curved or, as importantly, was curved, for there is some evidence as well as a basic logic that when churchyard enclosures were walled, as the vast majority now are, earthworks might be dug back to create straight alignments that would facilitate the construction of the wall. Derwen (Denbs) is a good example where the requirements of road construction have necessitated this practice and where it can be documented from early Ordnance Survey maps. Likewise semi-circular churchyards will often reflect the fact that the enclosure butted up against the edge of a deeply etched valley: Llanfair Caereinion, Llandysilio, Meifod and Cemmaes (Monts), Llanddettty, Trallong and Llanspyddid (Brecks) and Llanfwrog (Denbs) all reflect this tendency.

Llanafan Fawr (Brecks) and probably Glascwm (Rads) are presently the only church enclosures in the region where there are indications of double enclosures that appear to bear similarities to better attested examples in south-west Wales (T. James 1992). But there are also some churchyards – Llanfair Caereinion (Monts), Gwenddwr (Brecks) and perhaps Llandeilo Graban (Rads) – where the local topography and the form of adjacent boundaries suggest that there were originally much larger enclosures, again comparable with some postulated by James in the south-west counties.

Excavations in mid and north-east Wales have been limited to a handful of places in Brecknock: at Merthyr Cynog no datable material was identified (Walters 1992, 77), at Llanspyddid the continuation of the curving churchyard boundary was identified in an evaluation and at Llangasty Tal-y-llyn an earlier phase of the curvilinear boundary was excavated (Redknap 1993, 36; Edwards 1996, 56). None of these, however, have any absolute dating attached to them, although more solid evidence comes from elsewhere in Wales and also in south-west England (Edwards *op cit*).

Large churchyards are worth consideration in their own right. Meifod is the largest in Powys but Llandrinio may have been larger; there is only an antiquarian reference to it extending northwards, this part being hived off at about the time of the local Enclosure Act at the end of the 18th century. Llanafan Fawr is also large, and here there is evidently a double enclosure. Whether this indicates the replacement of an earlier smaller enclosure is unclear, but Llanafan Fawr has parallels with some of the south-west Wales enclosures.

Appendix 3 lists all the extant churchyards in mid and north-east Wales. It distinguishes which of those appear to be curvilinear now, which were probably curvilinear in the past, and whether these changes can be detected on early maps or from fieldwork alone. Fig 4 depicts the known curvilinear churchyards. From these figures it is possible to establish that the result is that of some 270 historic churchyards still in use (or recently fallen out of use) in Powys and the former county of Clwyd, 142 can be positively considered as curvilinear with another 21 possible examples. Fifty-six have earthworks that appear to reveal earlier enclosures that are not depicted on large-scale historic mapping.

2.17 Deserted churches

Most of the church sites which form the core of this project still have an ecclesiastical use with the churches functioning as centres of worship. There are, however, a small group of sites where for one reason or another the church has been abandoned. Such a situation in itself has no direct relevance to the project, but the survival of an abandoned early church site has potential significance both for examining the origins of that church without the encumbrance of modern developments, and also with regard to the whole question of management and conservation. Because of the focus on active places of worship, the Cadw-funded Churches Project did not examine these places.

Llanbedr Dyffryn Clwyd (Denbs), Llandyssil (Monts) and Halkyn (Flints) were all succeeded by Victorian churches in different places in the parishes; the adjacent churches of Llanddewi Abergwesyn and Llanfihangel Abergwesyn (Brecks) were abandoned, and Llangynog (Brecks) fell out of use and was demolished, leaving mounds of rubble in a churchyard enclosure set amongst fields; the church at Glasbury (PRN 16781), reputedly Norman but possibly on an earlier site, was swept away by the Wye leaving only earthworks, Llanwddyn (Monts) was drowned beneath the Vyrnwy reservoir, although it is exposed when the water level is very low; and Llanilltyd (Brecks) was declared unsafe a few years ago and demolished, again leaving only earthworks.

Not included in this listing, however, are those churches such as Ystradgynlais (Brecks), Llansantffraed Cwmdeuddwr (Rads) and Llanddulas (Denbs) where the church has been relocated within the existing churchyard. Nor is the ruined church at Newtown (Monts) which from its position in a planned settlement of the post-Conquest period appears an unlikely candidate for an early medieval foundation origin, although the ostensibly similar topographical location of Llanidloes with its putative early dedication advises some caution.

2.18 Chapels

We can make the tacit assumption that in most areas there are a significant but unknown number of chapels which once functioned in the early medieval and medieval centuries but which were at one point of time or another abandoned. These then collapsed, were integrated into vernacular buildings or were demolished leaving, at best, foundations or simply a local tradition which in some cases has been passed down to the present day, or, probably, absolutely no record at all. The evidence underpinning these views appears solidly based in the western parts of Wales, yet is less well founded, or is at least more sporadic, in the eastern half of the country.

This is certainly the case in Powys and Clwyd where as far as the writers can establish no systematic attempt has been made specifically to identify lost chapels. True, Browne Willis in the second quarter of the 18th century, followed by Wade-Evans (1910), almost two centuries later, listed chapel sites amongst the extant churches of each diocese, and the regional Sites and Monuments Record does carry some references, accumulated on a random basis, but coverage is patchy. This is largely a function of the disparate sources of information available and the locational data often imprecise. The Royal Commission's inventories for Denbighshire, Flintshire, Montgomeryshire and Radnorshire carry references to both chapel ruins and place names, and a few of these sites are, exceptionally, well-evidenced, as with St Mordeyrn's Chapel at Nantglyn (Denbs), a precisely located example which even appears on early Ordnance Survey maps (see fig). Many other records, however, can be sited only very poorly and in a fair proportion of the cases not at all.

One starting point is the early topographical works that have been prepared for some counties, and to some extent these were used by the Royal Commission at the beginning of the 20th century and subsequently the Ordnance Survey Archeology Division. Thus there is Jonathan Williams' *History of Radnorshire* and Theophilus Jones' *History of Brecknock* to which can be added Archdeacon Thomas' *History of the diocese of St Asaph* and Samuel Lewis' *Topographical Dictionary of Wales* (1833). Together with occasional comments in other documentary sources these provide the basic records of chapels. Place-name volumes (particularly Morgan 1998, Morgan 2001 and Morgan and Powell 1999) have also increased the total, although as much of Richard Morgan's earliest evidence seems to come from no earlier than 1578, the source is probably Christopher Saxton's original county maps, published in that year. But some of the references are irritatingly vague. Lewis (1833) mentioned the place-name, Pant yr Eglwys (Rads), claiming that traditionally this was the site of the original church at Rhaiadr on a tract of land on Cefn Ceido. Where he came by his information is unknown.

The resulting list (see Appendix 4) is, we believe, the first time that the lost and abandoned chapels of Powys and Clwyd have been listed. And the incorporation of data on lost chapels has been perhaps one of the more substantive additions that this project has made to the Sites and Monuments Record. There can be no suggestion that the list is anywhere near complete. Many chapels have disappeared without any record being made. Furthermore, in the context of this study only a proportion of these are likely to have had their origins in the early medieval era. The presence of a British "saint's" name in association can at best be used as broad guide – the excavated example of Capel Maelog (Britnell 1990) is illuminating in this respect, for the earliest chapel on the site seems to be of the 12th or 13th century, and only very rarely – the case of St Eluned's chapel near Brecon, mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis in the later 12th century, is an exception – do the records go back into the medieval centuries. However, a small number of chapels are traditionally early medieval in origin: St Cenau's Chapel in Llangenny (Brecks) is one such, as is Capel Llewelyn in Welshpool; though its precise location has not been identified, an associated graveyard was found in 1986, although the skeletons that were radiometrically dated were of the 13th-14th century. Those chapels which are the most likely candidates for an early medieval foundation feature in the tabulated grading (Section 3).

Others, on the basis of the extremely limited evidence available to us, are probably of post-Conquest origin. Maescelyn Chapel, once dedicated to St Mary, is generally thought of as the predecessor of the church within the planned settlement of Crickhowell (Brecks), but the date attributed to it is the 12th century at the earliest, and there seems no reason to push it back into the early medieval era.

Missing from the list are the one or two chapels for which no location can be postulated. Llandegeman Fawr Chapel (PRN 674) is an example of where even rigorous fieldwork may be of little use. Theophilus Jones classed this as an extinct chapel dedicated to Saint Decumen and thus one of seven religious houses in Dyfed mentioned in laws of Hywel Dda. The credibility of this association must remain in question, and it is unclear whether this is the sole evidence for a chapel at this spot! Such also is Aber Henllan, one of the two chapels in Llansantffraid Cwmdeuddwr (Rads) referred to by Lewis in 1833: while its partner, Capel Madoc, is readily placed, we are largely ignorant of the site of Aber Henllan (PRN 3468). Likewise two miles away from Llagynidr (Brecks) it has been claimed that there was previously a chapel on the banks of the Crawnant, but its position is unknown. On the other hand, modern field archaeology coupled with an assiduous search may yield better data, and analysis of some primary records such as the Tithe surveys has clarified a number of the uncertainties. Samuel Lewis (1833) speculated that Llysdinam, near Newbridge (Brecks) had once had its own chapel or church, and this would have remained anonymous had not an incidental scan of an early Ordnance Survey map revealed that its location had been pinpointed in the 19th century.

Foundations are sometimes given a 'chapel' appellation. Cae yr Hen Eglwys, the name of a field near Darowen (in western Montgomeryshire), had foundations supposedly of the chapel, though the reference is vague. A further problem is a traditional tendency, to identify earthwork platforms and even structures to churches and chapels on very tenuous grounds. Thus we find it with the earthwork at Dyrsgol in St Harmon (Rads), Hen Ddinbych (Denbs) and also with the Glog 'Chapel' Enclosure in Kerry (PRN 6146) which evidently has no tangible religious associations and the Llandybo earthworks (PRN 1711). A curious circular platform has been claimed as the site of a church near Doleglwys House (PRN 4145). In the first two cases there are good reasons for interpreting the remains as medieval sheepcotes, in the last case, a house platform. But the interesting question, particularly in the case of the first two, is whether there was a long-term folk memory which identified religious connotations for sites which had monastic associations.

2.19 Holy wells

What significance can be attached to the holy wells of Wales, a subject which already has its own discursive volume (Jones 1992). The fact that there is a long and well-established tradition linking early medieval 'saints' and holy men to wells requires us to treat the concept of the holy well seriously, particularly where these are within or close to putative sites of early medieval origin. Edwards and Lane have noted that 'the presence of a well is usually regarded as evidence for the antiquity of the well itself is extremely difficult to prove' (1992, 8), and that 'the early medieval use of holy wells is wrongly indicated in the hagiography' (Edwards 1996, 58).

Various types of water source can be considered to fall into the designation of holy well, and we can briefly examine the geological background of the water supplies that may have been tapped. In the Carboniferous limestone areas (parts of both the north and extreme south of the region), wells are generally natural springs where water emerges from a system of underground passages developed along joints and faults; yields vary markedly with the season and hence the development of springs for water supply is often in conjunction with the creation of small reservoirs (Downing 1994, 8). Springs are either *Resurgences* where the water supply originates mainly from sinking streams (commonly found in limestone areas) or *Exsurgences* where the water is derived entirely from percolation through rock (Lowe & Waltham 1995). With the exception of areas of Old Red Sandstone, which acts as an aquifer of secondary importance, the underlying rock of the remainder of the study area is generally of Lower Palaeozoic age, where groundwater flow is only in the upper 100m. Spring discharges and well yields are invariably small (Downing 1994, 7). It seems to be the case that the term 'holy well' most often refers to a natural spring which has provided a convenient source of water rather than an excavated well, and in this context the term 'well' is used throughout this report, in the full realisation that many of these water sources discussed are in fact springs.

There are very many 'holy wells' in Wales, and it is hardly surprising that an entire volume – by F Jones has been devoted to the subject. Some lie close to churches and settlements, many others well away from such foci. For very few is it possible to trace their 'holy' attribute back into the medieval era. Our approach to holy wells has been to check the SMR against Francis Jones' volume and also to pick up any other 'stray' holy wells from antiquarian sources as these have been searched. Jones' work suffers from the fact that there is no locational data, other than to parish, so it has been necessary to use modern and early Ordnance Survey maps and occasionally Tithe maps to identify geographical locations, although a number of wells remain unlocated. We have focused here on what Jones has termed Class A and B wells (*i.e.* those bearing the names of saints and similar designations and wells associated with churches, chapels, feasts and pilgrimages)

The total number of recorded "historic" wells which we have been able to identify in the study area is two hundred and four, though no doubt others have yet to appear in the record. Some have obvious ecclesiastical connections (generally, though not invariably by name), but there are some with no tangible link. Approximately 90 wells have names which might suggest a relation to a known saint, though not all of these will necessarily have an ecclesiastical connection (Appendix 5). Even where a well is named after a particular saint there is no certainty that the naming is original, as there is at least the possibility that the association may have developed at a later date, as a result of its geographical proximity to a nearby church, for example. In this regard, the confirmation of the connection between a saint and well is probably made more difficult by publicity relating to the popular fashion for frequenting wells and "taking the waters" which became prevalent in the late 18th and 19th centuries. On the other hand, some of the wells for which there is no recognised name could have had ecclesiastical origins, despite there being no surviving tradition of their ecclesiastical use.

Some wells have been lost in that their position cannot longer be ascertained. Such is Ffynnon Ddewi near the church at Llanddewi Abergwesyn.

Few churches have wells immediately adjacent. Pilleth is an exception, as are Llanfair Caereinion (Monts) and Llandefalle (Brecks). A rather larger number have wells in the immediate vicinity, e.g. St Eluned's chapel (Brecks), Fynnon Eigon, 150m away from Llanigon church (Brecks), Filo Well just outside Llanfilo churchyard, Ffynnon Ishow in the valley below Partrishow (Brecks), Ffynnon Afan to the south-west of the church at Llanafan Fawr (Brecks), St Tydecho's Well close to the church at Garthbeibio (Monts), St Cadfan's Well near Llangadfan church (Monts), St Michael's Well near the church at Llanfihangel-yng-Ngwynfa, Ffynnon Dadur built into the churchyard wall at Darowen. St Mordeyrn's Well lies about 100m to the north of Nantglyn church (Denbs), Ffynnon Dyfnog, less than 200m from Llanrhaeadr-yng-Nghinmeirch church, St Tecla's Well less than 200m to the south-west of Llandegla church and one of the few excavated examples. Others, however, are at a rather greater distance as with Fynnon Erfyl (PRN 4289) near Llanerfyl, Ffynnon Idloes in Llanidloes and Ffynnon Garmon Well near Llanfechain, Ffynnon Ishow, Ffynnon Gyngar is said to be about half a mile from St Cyngar's church at Hope. Ffynnon Gynfran about 100m north of Llysfaen church (Denbs). Ffynnon Digain, several hundred metres to the west of St Digain's church at Llangernyw (Denbs); St Cynhafal's Well is nearly 500m from the church of the same name at Llangynghafal (Denbs). Ffynnon Nefydd is some 240m to the north of Llanefyd church (Denbs), but Thomas (1911, 43) refers to Pant yr Hen Eglwys, not far from the well and on the basis of antiquarian tradition suggested that this probably marked the site of the first foundation at Llanefydd. The church guide refers to this, claiming that this was the name of the church. Some claimed as holy wells cannot be located. Such is the holy well near the old church at Llandrindod which F Jones referred to (1992, 217). In the south-west corner of the old churchyard at Halkyn was a hollow, generally believed to be the holy well mentioned in 1699 by Edward Lhuyd.

There are a few wells, sufficiently important to have merited the construction of a well over them. St Winefride's Chapel at Holywell (Flints) is by far the best-known example, to which could be added the chapel of Ffynnon Fair Denbs). Some wells, too, may have a significance in their perceived relation to lost chapels. Ffynnon Ceneu (PRN 4002) lay near to what seems to have been a now lost chapel or oratory of St Ceneu on the far side of the river from Llangenny. But in other cases such as Penegoes (Monts) there are wells near the church but no known claims of any links even though curative properties were stressed. Some claims have little obvious foundation though this is not to invalidate

them. Thus there is a spring to the east of Cefnlllys church (Rads) and the RCAHMW have questioned whether this was a holy well, and what should be made of the spring 20m to the north-east of Llanbadarn-y-garreg churchyard whose outflow runs to the churchyard wall? Pistyll Cynllo holy well lies a short distance way from the church at Llanbister; in Carlisle's Topographical Dictionary of Wales (1811), it was called a noted spring.

Dating holy wells is an almost impossible task, and is complicated by the possibility that some wells might have acquired their holy status after the Conquest. Pilleth (Rads) is probably a post-Conquest foundation, but has St Mary's well immediately adjacent to its north wall. Was the well already in existence and one of the reasons why the church was developed where it was? The well of Gwenfrewi (St Winifred) at Holywell, probably the best known holy well in the region, is first referred to in 1093 (Edwards and Lane 1992, 8), so its pre-Conquest origin can be inferred if not proved. Most other wells are much less fortunate in their documentation. And even excavation is not necessarily the solution. Edwards and Lane (1992, 8) have noted the excavation of *Fynnon Deglaat* Llandegley (Dens) in 1935 which revealed a limited amount of stratigraphy beneath the paving but no dating evidence. More recently the well of St Eluyned near Brecon has been partially examined (P Dorling: *pers comm.*).

In cases where a connection between the well and an ecclesiastical site or hermitage related to a saint can be established with some confidence, we might consider whether the water source was a primary reason for the original siting of the settlement. The size of the water source may of course have been important, though there are many factors which could cause a change in the amount of water available from any source, not least a change of local abstraction patterns, with for instance the development of new wells nearby. In the case of St Winifred's well in Holywell, a drainage tunnel associated with the Halkyn lead mining district broke through into a flooded cavern in 1917, and this caused the well, two and half miles distant, to dry up completely eleven hours later. The drying up of the well caused consternation in Holywell, and initially water was brought there by barrels, though as the flow was also important in local industry, a new supply was found by pumping water from a mine shaft at Holywell.

The study of holy wells is one which, although superficially straightforward, presents significant problems in determining the authenticity of a site and also in locating traditional sites. Normally only where there is onomastic evidence is a site recorded. But as Edwards has pointed out few have been properly recorded or indeed excavated, and few too are protected (1996, 59).

2.20 Burials and cemeteries

This section examines the burials that can be attributed to the early medieval period that have been identified in mid and north-east Wales. It is based on excavated evidence and on a handful of observations, both terrestrial and aerial. Excluded at this stage are a number of undated and empty cists, many of which are likely to be Bronze Age in origin, and such features as the few *Hic Iacit* inscriptions. Also excluded are the indicative but geographically vague place-names signalling graves or cemeteries – e.g Pwll Tri Beddau in Llanwrthwl (Breccs) which might indicate burials of any date beyond the recent past. More problematic is the place-name Maes y Beddau (field of the graves) in Llanfihangel Nant Bran (PRN 852) given to a farm. The Tithe map for the parish names a field centred at SN 9309 3675 as Bryn y Ferrwent, presumably a poor transcription of Bryn y Fynwent, suggesting there was a cemetery there; there is also a platform - perhaps for a building, even a chapel? - on part of this field.

It will become rapidly apparent that in contrast to the western parts of Wales, the total dataset is remarkably small (Fig 5; Appendix 6) when compared with say the 47 burial sites identified in Gwynedd (Longley 1999, 13), and inevitably the conclusions that can be reached on such issues as the nature of burial, regional variations and the like is significantly handicapped by the dearth of available information.

The terminology used in this section follows that adopted by Longley in his glossary of terms (1999, 9).

Much of the evidence for burials of early medieval date is rather disparate, only coming to light either as a result of excavations carried out on apparently unrelated archaeological sites or the chance finds of burials - the more readily recognised cist graves - resulting from ground disturbance associated with

development. A note of caution must be added here for the accurate dating of other, chance discoveries of cists and graves is usually impossible; some could potentially be of early medieval date, but the absence of datable remains and artefacts is an insurmountable handicap. Thus a cist found at Penlan High School, Brecon in 1961 might or might not be early medieval, although the fact that it has been as irregular and pentagonal might argue for an earlier origin.

Undeveloped cemeteries

Four early medieval cemeteries consisting of dug graves have been confirmed in the region, six of which have been revealed during excavations, sufficiently extensive to provide significant evidence of form and in some cases period. The usual absence of associated artefacts which can be dated, means that a period attribution is dependent on attributes such as orientation, absence of grave goods, and any relationship with earlier or later features. Bone survival is generally very poor in the region and as a consequence this has rarely been a factor in cemetery dating.

Typical are the results of the excavation of a Bronze Age barrow at Trelystan (Monts) where burials - five adult and two child inhumation in dug graves - of probable early medieval date were unexpectedly encountered on the eastern side of the mound. The graves were all aligned east-west and rock-cut; there was a suggestion that the burials had been placed in wooden containers, and charred fibrous strips, possibly tree bark, were found in one of the graves. No firm dating evidence was encountered (Britnell 1982).

The other undeveloped cemeteries are Brynhyfryd Park, Ruthin (Denbs), where a small cemetery of twelve graves aligned east to west included six cut through a Roman trackway, and Four Crosses (Monts) where five dug graves were found in a barrow excavation.

A feature common to at least some of the burials of the period is the association, seen at Trelystan (and also at Pennant Melangell, for which see below, where there were Bronze Age cremations) with prehistoric funerary monuments. Some early medieval cemeteries were centred on these earlier features when they were still visible elements of the landscape (cf also Tandderwen below, where there was an adjacent ring ditch), and it raises the question of commonly held beliefs in the importance of burial close to those of much earlier times. As an extension to this theory it might be considered whether those prehistoric funerary monuments purporting to be the graves of early medieval 'saints' such as Bedd Illtyd on Mynydd Illtyd (Breccs) and perhaps the lost Bedd Trillo in Llandrillo (Mer) are a reflection of this practice retained as a folk memory.

The possibilities of locating further cemeteries seem, on past experience, to be based on fortuitous excavation strategies. Very exceptionally, however, there may be other mechanisms of identification. In 1975 J K S St Joseph photographed a linear spread of some forty dark marks about 2m long, set across palaeochannels near Llanrhaiadr-ym-Mochant (Denbs). Now known as the Meusydd 'cemetery', this is currently the only proposed undeveloped cemetery in the region which has not been excavated (St Joseph 1980).

Developed cemeteries

The excavation of the ecclesiastical sites at Pennant Melangell (Monts) and Capel Maelog, near Llandrindod Wells (Rads) revealed developed cemeteries that pre-dated the foundation of churches, and exemplifying the most widely cited model for the emergence of churches in the late pre-Conquest era or in the centuries that immediately followed. In these cases, the dating of the graves generally was assisted by their relationship to structural features, but a significant number of the excavated graves could be dated to the early medieval period only by association. The early burials at Pennant Melangell may have focused on a cist grave (now housed within a rebuilt apse at the eastern end of the church which itself was established in the 12th century), which is traditionally claimed as the grave of St Melangell who is believed to have lived in the period between the later 6th and later 8th centuries (Britnell 1994, 92). That the grave of a presumably important individual became a focus for subsequent burials in this period is well documented, appearing again at Capel Maelog where the chapel itself was built in the late 12th century.

Cist cemeteries

Prevalent in the north-west and south-west of Wales cemeteries of long cists where the grave is slab-lined and/or covered with a stone slab, are rare in mid and north-east Wales. Redknap (2000) has recently reinterpreted the coastal Tanlan burial in Llanasa (Flints) as a long cist, its occupant of Scandinavian origin. The Doltrededdu long cist cemetery was revealed in the 1820s at Pentrefoelas in western Denbighshire, during work on the London to Holyhead road. Inevitably, there is little in the way of detail about the site, but it has usually been attributed to the early medieval era on the basis of the inscribed Brohomagus stone, which marked one of the graves. Longley, however, has inclined towards a late prehistoric date for this cemetery (1999, 4), and for almost all of the other known cists – e.g. those around the Moel Ty-uchaf stone circle near Llandrillo (Mer) and the Twyn y Beddau Cemetery of three cists near a Bronze Age cairn in Llanigon (Brecks) – the dating is completely equivocal.

Square ditch barrows

Such burials are distinguished by a square or rectangular burial area delimited by a ditch or gully, the material from it presumably being thrown over the burial to create a low mound. Nine square barrows were excavated at Tandderwen, near Denbigh, within a cemetery of at least 39 east-west aligned inhumations dating to the period of the 6th to 10th centuries (Brassil *et al* 1991). Eight of the square barrows had single dug graves, but one contained three.

No other similar burials have been unequivocally identified in the region. However, recent geophysics work at Lower Luggy near Welshpool (Monts) has revealed two square barrows near the better-known long barrow, and aerial photographic analysis has produced another at Thornbury in Forden parish (Monts), all of them close to the River Severn. There is also a cropmark of what could be a square barrow, regrettably showing only very vaguely, on a high-level vertical aerial photograph, just to the north of Northop (Flints). This lies close to what is generally considered to be an early medieval secular site at Llys Edwin. Also a small rectangular earthwork on Coed Bell, near Llanasa (Flints) has been reported which could conceivably belong to this class of monument, though its interpretation as a pillow mound is also plausible.

3 AN EARLY MEDIEVAL ECCLESIASTICAL CATEGORISATION

The following system of grading was developed to determine the relative standing of early churches and church sites in Wales. One of the spurs in the development of a suitable methodology was the appearance of a similar system adopted by T A Hall for characterising high-status churches in Dorset (2000, 7), though A Preston Jones' tabulation of churchyard data for Cornwall is not dissimilar (Jones 1992, 110). Both, however, attempted a quantitative grading by employing numeric values, something that has been avoided here.

The system presented here witnesses a collaborative exercise between A Davidson (GAT), N Ludlow (ACA) and the writer which, it is hoped, can be utilised in the fourth area of Wales, Glamorgan and Gwent. Certain of the attributes, considered in greater detail above, are seen as indicators of greater or lesser importance in the identification of early ecclesiastical sites (and it should be stressed that the following system is applicable only to churches and chapels and not to stand-alone cemeteries). As might be anticipated the potential importance of an indicator as a signal of early medieval beginnings is reflected in its grading. Thus Grade A attributes can broadly be viewed as a uncontrovertible sign of early origins, Grade B as a probable indicator and Grade C as a possible indicator.

It is fair to note that there has been some give and take amongst the compilers in grading these attributes, and that what is presented here reflects a consensus view. Almost all of the attributes are discussed above, though one or two are currently not relevant within Clwyd and Powys.

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

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; lann; merthyr*
4. Several dependent chapels
5. Wells bearing saint's name nearby
6. Antiquarian statement on site antiquity

Notes

Documented churches. A relatively tight definition has been adopted here, no latitude allowed. For instance the majority of churches in Domesday Book are not recorded as having existed in the pre-Conquest era and have thus been excluded from this categorisation.

Dependent chapelries. There is no indication of what number of chapels attached to a church might be significant in the context of early medieval origins. For the purposes of the grading system below, the totally arbitrary figure of three has been adopted.

Artefacts of early date. Included here as indicators are the various artefacts of putative early medieval date but now lost or destroyed, for which there are firm traditions or medieval references.

Free-standing crosses are included in the decorated stone category.

Wells. Any decision as to when a holy well should be associated with a church or chapel site is necessarily arbitrary. For the purposes of this classification we have adopted a radial distance of 250m from the church as our guide. This, however, is not based on empiric data but on what is judged to be an acceptable distance.

Discussion

A total of 288 churches, chapels and allied sites have been assessed in this classification, of which 73 existing church sites failed to register indicators in any of the categories. The list given as Appendix 7 offers a complete tabulation of the information available to us and orders the sites in descending order to provide a measure of relative significance; those at the top of the list are of indisputable early medieval origin, while those at the end are at best possible contenders. In all there are 40 sites with Category A characteristics (Fig 7):

Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant (Denbs)	Llangadwaladr (Denbs)
Corwen (Mer)	Llangurig (Monts)
Gwytherin (Denbs)	Llanarmon-yn-Ial (Denbs)
Meifod (Monts)	Llandeilo'r Fan (Breccs)
Llanafan Fawr (Breccs)	Llangollen (Denbs)
Partrishow (Breccs)	Llowes (Rads)
St Asaph (Flints)	Capel Maelog (Rads)
Pennant Melangell (Monts)	Gwenddwr (Breccs)
Llandrinio (Monts)	Llanynys (Denbs)
Abergele (Denbs)	Llansannan (Denbs)
Merthyr Cynog (Breccs)	Northop (Flints)
Llansilin (Denbs)	Churchstoke (Monts)
Hope (Flints)	Trelystan (Monts)
Glascwm (Rads)	Llandinam (Monts)
Llanspyddid (Breccs)	Glasbury (Rads)
Llangors (Breccs)	Kerry (Monts)
Cwmdu (Breccs)	Gresford (Denbs)
Rhuddlan, old church (Flints)	Presteigne (Rads)
Llandrillo-yn-Rhos (Denbs)	Ysceifiog (Flints)
Bangor Is-y-coed (Flints)	Llanbedr Ystrad Yw (Breccs)

There are in this list one or two sites, Ysceifiog and Gresford being examples where the classification must be treated with caution, the former because its standing rests on its solitary status as a portionary church, which might perhaps be a post-Conquest occurrence, the latter because of its Domesday Book appearance. A question, too, hangs over Glasbury, because of the uncertainties as to where the original monastic site was and whether and indeed when it was moved.

Equally there are some church sites that do not feature in the classification at all, through none of the indicators listed above being applicable to them. The nature and attributes of Capel Llewellyn at Welshpool, for instance, are ill known, but there must be at least a suspicion that it is early medieval, while the little church at Alltmawr (Breccs) surely has very early origins. For this reason we have followed GAT in producing a final grading – again based on the ABC categories for certain, probable and possible sites - based on our own expertise and understanding of the evidence; it is necessarily subjective, but may assist a little in understanding what is a complex and incomplete field of study.

4 CONCLUSIONS

This report represents no more than an interim statement on the early medieval ecclesiastical sites of mid and north-east Wales, founded on a considerable amount of research into the primary records that have in the past generated a relatively disparate set of records in the regional Sites and Monuments Record. One of the key objects of this first year of the study has been the rationalisation and improvement of the Record, so that the data now available through it are considerably more consistent than previously.

Analysis of these data have enabled a clearer picture to emerge of the significant ecclesiastical sites, based on the very limited documentary evidence and the more wide-ranging archaeological evidence. Some new information has been culled from obscure sources but by and large is the correlation of the available evidence which has enabled a picture of the range of early medieval sites to be developed, and the tabulated data in this report focus on this objective.

Many of the sites considered here are churches which are still in regular use. Opportunities for further research in such places are relatively limited, although opportunities do occasionally arise and as Hope (Flints) demonstrated, can be extremely productive. There is a second tier of sites which offers other opportunities for both research and management, namely the abandoned sites – a few churches and rather more chapels. Not all of these will have their origins way back in the early medieval era, but it is likely that only detailed archaeological examination will be able to clarify these origins.

The second year of the project will have a rather larger fieldwork component, in order to develop the picture for some of the lesser known sites noted above, such as the chapels and wells. It is also anticipated that this new data coupled with what has already been collated will enable more of a narrative to be prepared.

End Notes

1 The early *Life* of St Cadog was mentioned as significant by Professor Davies in a lecture to the Brecknock Society on 14 March 2002.

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Appendix 1: Dependent Chapels

Abergele (Denbs) – chapels: Llangustenyn; Bettws; Llanddulas
Bangor (Flints) – chapels: Erbistock; Marchwiel; Worthenbury; Overton
Berriew (Monts) – chapels: Bettws Cedewain
Churchstoke (Monts)– chapels: Hyssington; Snead
Corwen (Mer) – chapel: Llansantffraid Glyndyvrwy
Defynnog (Breccs) – chapels: Capel Collwen; Capel Senni; Llanilid
Dyserth (Flints) – chapel: Trelawnyd
Glasbury (Rads) – chapels: Aberllynfi; Felindre
Glascwm (Rads) – chapels: Colva, Rhulen
Gwytherin (Denbs) – chapel: Nantglyn
Henllan (Denbs) – chapels: ‘Caer Capel’; Aberwhiler; Waun Twysog
Llan(brynmair) (Monts)– chapel: Talerddig
Llanafan Fawr (Breccs) – chapels: Alltmawr; Gellitalgarth
Llanasa (Flints) – chapel: ?Gwenysgor
Llanbister (Rads) - Cwmhir
Llandefaelog Fach (Breccs) – chapel: Lower Chapel
Llandeilo’r Fan (Breccs) – chapel: ?Capel Maes-y-bwlch
Llandetty (Breccs) – chapel: Taf Fechan
Llandinam (Monts)– chapel: Aberhafesp
Llandrillo-yn-Rhos (Denbs) – chapels: Llanelian, Llansantffraid Glan Conwy, Llysfaen; Llanrhos
Llandrinio (Monts)– chapels: Guilsfield; Welshpool; Llandysilio
Llanerfyl (Monts)– chapel: Dolwen
Llanfeugan (Breccs) – chapel: Glyn Collwng
Llanfihangel Cwmdu (Breccs) – chapel: Tretower
Llangamarch (Breccs) – chapel: Llanddewi Llwynfynent
Llanganten (Breccs) – chapel: Llangynog
Llangattock (Breccs) – chapel: Crickhowell
Llangollen (Denbs) – chapels: Wrexham; Ruabon; Chirk; Llandegla; Llansantffraid
Llangunllo (Rads) – chapel: Pilleth
Llanhamlach (Breccs) – chapel: Llechfaen
Llanigon (Breccs) – chapel: Llanthomas
Llanllwrchaiarn (Monts)– chapel: Llanmerewig
Llanrhaiadr-yn-Mochnant (Denbs) – chapels: Llangedwyn; Llanarmon Mynydd Mawr;
Llangadwaladr; ?Llanwddyn
Llansantffraid-juxta-Usk (Breccs) – chapel: St Lenoard’s, Pencelli Castle
Llanymawddwy (Mer) – chapel: Garthbeibio
Llanynys (Denbs) – chapels: Cyffyllog
Llowes (Rads) – chapels: Llanddewi Fach
Llywel (Breccs) – chapel: Capel Rhyd-briw
Meifod (Monts)– chapels: Llanfecahin; Llanfihangel-yng-Nghwnfa; Llanfyllin; Llanfair
Caereinion;
Merthyr Cynog (Breccs) – chapel: Upper Chapel; Llanfihangel Nant Bran
Mold (Flints) – chapels: Nercwys; Treuddyn
Northop (Flints)– chapels: Flint; Cilcain
Old Radnor (Rads) – chapel: Ednol; Kinnerton
Whitford (Flints) – chapel: Holywell
Ystradgynlais (Breccs) – chapel: Capel Coelbren

Appendix 2 : Celtic Dedications

<i>Church/chapel name</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>NGR</i>	<i>PRN</i>	<i>Present dedication</i>	<i>Earlier dedication</i>
Guilfield	Monts	SJ21921165	16786	Aelhaiarn	
Capel Aelhaiarn	Denbs	SJ08705033	100771	Aelhaiarn?	
Llanafan Fawr	Breccs	SN96915578	16804	Afan	
Llanafan Fechan	Breccs	SN97295034	16805	Afan	
Llananno	Rads	SO09567434	16806	Anno	
St Asaph	Flints	SJ03697431	16955	Asaph	
Llanferres	Denbs	SJ18816055	16849	Berres	
Gwyddelwern	Mer	SJ07464668	16789	Beuno	
Aberhafesp	Monts	SO07299236	16688	Beuno	
Berriew	Monts	SJ18780082	16709	Beuno	
Bettws Cedewain	Monts	SO12279683	16711	Beuno	
Capel Beuno	Flints	SJ1183	102471	Beuno?	
Llanfilo	Breccs	SO11893326	16858	Bilo	Milburga
Llansantffraed juxta Usk	Breccs	SO12242349	16886	Bridget	
Carrog	Mer	SJ1112843569	16738	Bridget	
Dyserth	Flints	SJ0561479387	102073	Bridget	Cwyfan
Llansantffraed in Elvel	Rads	SO09965486	16888	Bridget	
Glyn Ceiriog	Denbs	SJ20473844	16889	Bridget	
Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain	Monts	SJ2205520398	16890	Bridget	
Llanfrynach	Breccs	SO07522579	16859	Brynach	
Llangadfan	Monts	SJ0110910341	16678	Cadfan	
Penegoes	Monts	SH76970096	16395	Cadfarach	
Llangammarch Wells	Breccs	SN93504730	16862	Cadmarch	
Llangadwaladr	Denbs	SJ18183036	16861	Cadwaladr	
Llanganten	Breccs	SO00955176	16863	Cannen	
Llanspyddid	Breccs	SO01192818	16891	Cattwg	
Llangattock	Breccs	SO21101788	16866	Catwg	
Llangedwyn	Denbs	SJ18832414	16867	Cedwyn	
Llangenny	Breccs	SO24011815	16868	Cenau	
Aberedw	Rads	SO0802747315	17243	Cewydd	
Disserth	Rads	SO03445836	20110	Cewydd	
Rhayader	Rads	SN96936815	16940	Clement	Cynllo
Llangollen	Denbs	SJ2167141975	101175	Collen	
Llangurig	Monts	SN90787991	16873	Curig	
Llangwyfan	Denbs	SJ12046629	16837	Cwyfan	
Llanddulas	Denbs	SH90857821	16825	Cynbryd	
Llanasa	Flints	SJ10668141	16809	Cynderyn	
Llysfaen	Denbs	SH89327748	16901	Cynfran	
Hope	Flints	SJ30965836	16798	Cyngar	Cynfarch
Llangynhafal	Denbs	SJ13306340	16875	Cynhafal	
Aberyscir	Breccs	SO00042967	16704	Cynidr and Mary	
Llangynidr	Breccs	SO15551941	16877	Cynidr and Mary	
Llanbister	Rads	SO10997330	16816	Cynllo	
Llangunllo	Rads	SO21177128	16872	Cynllo	
Nantmel	Rads	SO03436637	16918	Cynllo	
Battle	Breccs	SO0083030973	16707	Cynog	
Defynnog	Breccs	SN92542793	16764	Cynog	
Merthyr Cynog	Breccs	SN98483745	16909	Cynog	
Ystradgynlais	Breccs	SN7871110051	16979	Cynog	
Boughrood	Rads	SO1278839290	17716	Cynog	
Llangynog	Monts	SJ05302610	16482	Cynog	
Llangynog	Breccs	SO02454599	16878	Cynog	
Tregynon	Monts	SO096987	32492	Cynon	
Llangynyw	Monts	SJ1271009099	16405	Cynyw	
Garthbrenny	Breccs	SO0456033515	31225	David	
Llanddew	Breccs	SO05483074	16819	David	Holy Trinity?
Llanddewi'r Cwm	Breccs	SO03494863	16823	David	
Llanfaes	Breccs	SO03792831	6880	David	
Llanwrtyd	Breccs	SN86364778	16895	David	
Llywel	Breccs	SN86943005	16903	David	David Padarn & Teilo
Maesymunio	Breccs	SO02814076	16006	David	

<i>Church/chapel name</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>NGR</i>	<i>PRN</i>	<i>Present dedication</i>	<i>Earlier dedication</i>
Trallong	Brecks	SN96612958	16963	David	
Llanynis	Brecks	SN99845087	16896	David	Llyr
Colva	Rads	SO19985313	16751	David	
Cregrina	Rads	SO12365210	16752	David	
Glascwm	Rads	SO15595315	16782	David	
Heyop	Rads	SO23977456	16795	David	
Llanddewi Fach	Rads	SO14594543	16821	David	
Llanddewi Ystradenni	Rads	SO10806863	16822	David	
Rhulen	Rads	SO13774984	16944	David	
Whitton	Rads	SO27056733	16975	David	
Llanddewi Abergwesyn	Brecks	SN85255262	16820	David	
Hawarden	Flints	SJ31576590	16792	Deiniol	
Worthenbury	Flints	SJ41894623	16976	Deiniol	
Llangernyw	Denbs	SH87526744	16869	Digain	
Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant	Denbs	SJ12382602	101046	Dogfan	
Gwenddwr	Brecks	SO06484326	16788	Dubricius	
Bangor Is-y-coed	Flints	SJ38904539	16706	Dunawd	
Llanrhaeadr-yng-Nghinmeirch	Denbigh	SJ08166337	16884	Dyfnog	
Llanigon	Brecks	SO21383992	16881	Eigon	
Llanelian-yn-Rhos	Denbs	SH86357643	16713	Elian	? Eleri
Llanelidan	Denbs	SJ10995054	16842	Elidan	
Llanelieu	Brecks	SO18503418	16843	Ellyw	
St Eluned's Chapel		SO05792861	617	Eluned?	
Llanerfyl	Monts	SJ03400977	16409	Erfyl	
Northop	Flints	SJ24646848	100307	Eurgain and Peter	
Llanarmon-yn-Ial	Denbs	SJ19075616	16808	Garmon	
St Harmon	Rads	SN98897286	16957	Garmon	
Llanarmon Dyffryn Ceiriog	Denbs	SJ15833280	100998	Garmon	
Castle Caereinion	Monts	SJ16310548	16739	Garmon	
Llanfechain	Monts	SJ18892043	16408	Garmon	
Llanarmon Mynydd-mawr	Denbs	SJ13552794	16807	Garmon	
Llangasty Tal-y-Llyn	Brecks	SO13312613	16865	Gastyn	
Llyswen	Brecks	SO13333801	16902	Gwendoline	
Talgarth	Brecks	SO15733382	16959	Gwendoline	
Penstrowed	Monts	SO069915	16392	Gwrhai	
Llanwrin	Monts	SH78660353	15842	Gwrin	
Llanwrthwl	Brecks	SN97576373	16894	Gwrthwl	
Llanwyddelan	Monts	SJ0824701189	7585	Gwyddelan	
Llanwnnog	Monts	SO02239382	16403	Gwynnog	
Llanychan	Denbs	SJ11436213	16876	Hychan	
Llanidloes	Monts	SN95398468	16880	Idloes	
St Ilied's Chapel		SN89032717	3137	Ilied?	
Hirnant	Monts	SJ05042295	16414	Illog	
Llanilltyd	Brecks	SN97112611	16882	Illtyd	
Partrishow	Brecks	SO27892243	16931	Issui (Ishow)	
Capel Llewellyn	Monts	SJ22710764	4438	Llewellyn?	
Llandinam	Monts	SO02648860	16832	Llonio	
Llanllwchaiarn	Monts	SO1237692527	15849	Llwchaiarn	
Llanmerewig	Monts	SO1577793171	16404	Llwchaiarn	
Llanyre	Rads	SO04446233	16898	Llyr	?All Saints in C19th(Haslam)
Capel Madog	Rads	SN93896575	1670	Madog?	
Corwen	Mer	SJ116437	101354	Mael and Sulien	
Cwm	Flints	SJ06627746	16756	Mael and Sulien	
Llandefaelog Fach	Brecks	SO03403240	31233	Maelog	
Llandefaelog Tre'r-graig	Brecks	SO12632989	16826	Maelog	
Capel Maelog	Rads	SO06876125	15844	Maelog?	
Marchwiell	Denbs	SJ35704772	100145	Marcella and Deiniol	
Llanfarchell	Denbs	SJ07146623	16767	Marcellus	
Bettws Gwerfil Goch	Mer	SJ03234658	16701	Mary	? Elian
Abbecwmhir	Rads	SO0539771309	16703	Mary	? Bridget
Chirk	Denbs	SJ29143762	16745	Mary	? Tysilio
Whitford	Flints	ST1461878183	102359	Mary and Reuno	Reuno

<i>Church/chapel name</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>NGR</i>	<i>PRN</i>	<i>Present dedication</i>	<i>Earlier dedication</i>
Llan-y-Wern	Brecs	SO10202868	16803	Mary the Virgin	Cynidr
Llandefalle	Brecs	SO1074735576	16827	Matthew	Maelog
Alltmawr	Brecs	SO07344687	16705	Mauritius	
Llowes	Rads	SO19244172	16899	Meilig	
Pennant Melangell	Monts	SJ02422654	19470	Melangell	
Meliden	Flints	SJ06288109	16938	Melyd	
Llanfeugan	Brecs	SO10732370	16850	Meugan	
Llanrhudd	Denbs	SJ14005776	102594	Meugan	
Llanfwrog	Denbs	SJ11365783	16951	Mwrog	
Llanfyllin	Monts	SJ14171956	16860	Myllin	
Llanefydd	Denbs	SH98207060	16841	Nefydd and Mary	
Llanbadarn Fawr	Rads	SO08696490	16810	Padarn	
Llanbadarn Fynydd	Rads	SO09767767	16811	Padarn	
Llanbadarn-y-garreg	Rads	SO11254877	16812	Padarn	
Llangors	Brecs	SO13502762	16871	Paulinus	
Llanhamlach	Brecs	SO08962644	16879	Peter and Illtyd	
Henllan	Denbs	SJ02236817	100581	Sadwrn	
Llanynys	Denbs	SJ10326267	16897	Saeran	
Llansannan	Denbs	SH93406590	16885	Sannan	
Llansilin	Denbs	SJ2096428184	101080	Silin	
Llanstephan	Rads	SO11974217	16892	Steffan	
Old Radnor	Rads	SO24995909	16929	Stephen	Ystyffan
Llandegla	Denbs	SJ19595244	16828	Tecla	
Llandegley	Rads	SO13906289	16829	Tecla	
Llandeilo'r Fan	Brecs	SN89633465	16831	Teilo	
Llandeilo Graban	Rads	SO09374468	16830	Teilo	
Llanddetty	Brecs	SO12812024	16818	Tetti	
Llandyrnog	Denbs	SJ10786510	16838	Teyrnog	
Llandrillo-yn-Rhos	Denbs	SH83218064	16834	Trillo	
Clocaenog	Denbs	SJ08195423	16749	Trillo	Medwida
Llandrillo yn Edeyrnion	Mer	SJ03433707	16833	Trillo	
St Trillo's Chapel		SH8413581131	100500	Trillo?	
Llandrinio	Monts	SJ29501705	16836	Trinio, Peter and Paul	
Darowen	Monts	SH83000181	32601	Tudyr	
Cemmaes	Monts	SH83980624	32576	Tydecho	
Garthbeibio	Monts	SH98551189	16368	Tydecho	
Bryneglwys	Denbs	SJ14484736	16725	Tysilio	
Llantysilio	Denbs	SJ19404355	16893	Tysilio	
Llandysilio	Monts	SJ26771931	16410	Tysilio	
Meifod	Monts	SJ1551113221	75	Tysilio and Mary	
Llandyssil	Monts	SO19819525	15893	Tyssil	
Llanwddyn	Monts	SH999212	15852	Wddyn	
Llansantffraed Cwmdeuddwr	Rads	SN96816769	16887	Winefrid	Bridget
Gwytherin	Denbs	SH87676147	16790	Winifred	James

Appendix 3: Curvilinear churchyards

<i>Church</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>NGR</i>	<i>PRN</i>	<i>Now curvilinear</i>	<i>Past curvilinear</i>	<i>Earthwork only</i>
Abbeycwmhir	Rads	SO0539771309	16703			
Aberedw	Rads	SO0802747315	17243	T	T	
Abergele	Denbs	SH94547764	16350		?	
Aberhafesp	Monts	SO07299236	16688		?	
Aberyscir	Breccs	SO00042967	16704		Part	
Alltmawr	Breccs	SO07344687	16705	Part	Part	
Bangor Is-y-coed	Flints	SJ38904539	16706			
Battle	Breccs	SO0083030973	16707		T	T
Beguildy	Rads	SO1944379731	16708		T	T
Berriew	Monts	SJ18780082	16709	T	T	
Berse Drelincourt	Denbs	SJ31695097	16710			
Bettws Cedewain	Monts	SO12279683	16711	TT	TT	
Bettws Clyro	Rads	SO2278547325	16004			
Bettws Dissert	Rads	SO11615693	16712			
Bettws Gwerfil Goch	Mer	SJ03234658	16701			
Bettws Penpont	Breccs	SN97292852	16934			
Betws yn Rhos	Denbs	SH90697355	16714	T	T	
Bleddfa	Rads	SO2065368384	16716		?	
Bodfari	Flints	SJ09257012	16719			
Boughrood	Rads	SO1278839290	17716	T	T	
Brecon	Breccs	SO04522852	16720			
Bronllys	Breccs	SO1437934898	16721		T	T
Bryneglwys	Denbs	SJ14484736	16725		?	
Bryngwyn	Rads	SO18664948	17248	T	T	
Builth Wells	Breccs	SO03965103	16675			
Buttington	Monts	SJ24980884	5478	T	T	
Caerwys	Flints	SJ12757282	15838			
Cantref	Breccs	SO05642546	16734			
Capel Aelhaiarn	Denbs	SJ08705033	100771			
Capel Beuno	Flints	SJ1183	102471			
Capel Llewellyn	Monts	SJ22710764	4438			
Capel Madog	Rads	SN93896575	1670			
Capel Maelog	Rads	SO06876125	15844			
Capel y Fynon	Breccs		0			
Capel-y-ffin	Breccs	SO2548031525	32446			
Carno	Monts	SN96329648	16736			
Carrog	Mer	SJ1112843569	16738			T
Cascob	Rads	SO23906639	16700		T?	
Castle Caereinion	Monts	SJ16310548	16739			
Cathedine	Breccs	SO14372518	15846			
Cefnlllys	Rads	SO0849161507	16743			
Cemmaes	Monts	SH83980624	32576	ST	ST	
Ceneu's oratory	Breccs	SO24151808	4002			
Cerrigydrudion	Denbs	SH95324874	16744			
Chirk	Denbs	SJ29143762	16745			
Churchstoke	Monts	SO27119398	16746		T	T
Cilcain	Flints	SJ17666515	16747	TT	TT	
Clocaenog	Denbs	SJ08195423	16749			
Clyro	Rads	SO21344383	16750			
Colva	Rads	SO19985313	16751			
Corwen	Mer	SJ116437	101354			
Cregrina	Rads	SO12365210	16752		?	
Crickadarn	Breccs	SO08944222	16682	TT?	TT?	
Crickhowell	Breccs	SO216184	16753			
Criggion	Monts	SJ29561510	16677	partT	partT	
Cwm	Flints	SJ06627746	16756			
Cwmdu	Breccs	SO18052385	16757			
Cyffylliog	Denbs	SJ05905783	16640			
Darowen	Monts	SH83000181	32601	TT	TT	
Defynnog	Breccs	SN92542793	16764		Part	T

<i>Church</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>NGR</i>	<i>PRN</i>	<i>Now curvilinear</i>	<i>Past curvilinear</i>	<i>Earthwork only</i>
Derwen	Denbs	SJ07035072	100767		T	
Discoed	Rads	SO27666474	16770		?	
Disserth	Rads	SO03445836	20110			
Dyserth	Flints	SJ0561479387	102073		T	T
Ednol	Rads	SO23256479	1077			
Efenechtyd	Denbs	SJ11165577	16774	T	T	T
Erbistock	Denbs	SJ35574132	16776			
Flint	Flints	SJ24347299	16778			
Forden	Monts	SJ22720111	16418			
Fynnon Fair	Denbs	SJ02917107	102141			
Garthbeibio	Monts	SH98551189	16368		T	T
Garthbreny	Breccs	SO0456033515	31225	T	TT	T
Gladestry	Rads	SO23065510	16780			
Glasbury	Rads	SO17633891	519			
Glascwm	Rads	SO15595315	16782	TT	TT	T
Glyn Ceiriog	Denbs	SJ20473844	16889			
Graig y Don Hermitage	Breccs	SO262737	1144			
Gresford	Denbs	SJ34645497	16785			?
GUILDSFIELD	Monts	SJ21921165	16786	T?	T?	
Gwaenysgor	Flints	SJ07518102	16787		?	
Gwenddwr	Breccs	SO06484326	16788		T	
Gwyddelwern	Mer	SJ07464668	16789	T	T	
Gwytherin	Denbs	SH87676147	16790			
Halkyn (old)	Flints	SJ20977103	16472		T?	
Hanmer	Flints	SJ45453972	100182			
Hawarden	Flints	SJ31576590	16792			T?
Hay-on-Wye	Breccs	SO22584214	16794		T	T
Henllan	Denbs	SJ02236817	100581			
Heyop	Rads	SO23977456	16795			
Hirnant	Monts	SJ05042295	16414	T	T	T
Holt	Denbs	SJ41205409	16796			
Holywell	Flints	SJ18537627	16797			
Hope	Flints	SJ30965836	16798	T	T	
Hyssington	Monts	SO31359457	16799			
Isycoed	Flints	SJ40405010	17136			
Kerry	Monts	SO14729010	16413			
Kinnerton	Rads	SO24426314	16800		?	
Knighton	Rads	SO2872372471	16801			
Llan	Monts	SH88410077	16383	T	T	T
Llan-y-Wern	Breccs	SO10202868	16803	T	T	
Llanafan Fawr	Breccs	SN96915578	16804	T	TT	T
Llanafan Fechan	Breccs	SN97295034	16805	T	TT?	T
Llananno	Rads	SO09567434	16806		?	T
Llanarmon Dyffryn Ceirio	Denbs	SJ15833280	100998	T	T	
Llanarmon Mynydd-mawr	Denbs	SJ13552794	16807		?	
Llanarmon-yn-Ial	Denbs	SJ19075616	16808	T	T	T
Llanasa	Flints	SJ10668141	16809			
Llanbadarn Fawr	Rads	SO08696490	16810			
Llanbadarn Fynydd	Rads	SO09767767	16811			
Llanbadarn-y-garreg	Rads	SO11254877	16812	T	T	
Llanbedr Dyffryn Clwyd	Denbs	SJ14535981	16815	T	T	
Llanbedr Painscastle (Rads	SO14144639	16814	T?	T	T
Llanbedr Ystrad Yw	Breccs	SO23972040	16813			
Llanbister	Rads	SO10997330	16816		T	T
Llanddetty	Breccs	SO12812024	16818	ST	ST	
Llanddew	Breccs	SO05483074	16819		?	
Llanddewi Abergwesyn	Breccs	SN85255262	16820		?	
Llanddewi Fach	Rads	SO14594543	16821			
Llanddewi Ystradenni	Rads	SO10806863	16822	T	TT?	T
Llanddewi'r Cwm	Breccs	SO03494863	16823		TT	T
Llanddulas	Denbs	SH90857821	16825	T	T	

<i>Church</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>NGR</i>	<i>PRN</i>	<i>Now curvilinear</i>	<i>Past curvilinear</i>	<i>Earthwork only</i>
Llandefaelog Fach	Brecks	SO03403240	31233	T	T	T
Llandefaelog Tre'r-graig	Brecks	SO12632989	16826		?	
Llandefalle	Brecks	SO1074735576	16827	T	T	T
Llandegla	Denbs	SJ19595244	16828		?	
Llandegley	Rads	SO13906289	16829	T	T	
Llandeilo Graban	Rads	SO09374468	16830	T	T	
Llandeilo'r Fan	Brecks	SN89633465	16831	T	T	
Llandinam	Monts	SO02648860	16832			
Llandrillo yn Edeyrnion	Mer	SJ03433707	16833	TT?	TT?	
Llandrillo-yn-Rhos	Denbs	SH83218064	16834		T	
Llandrinio	Monts	SJ29501705	16836		T	
Llandulas	Brecks	SN87984129	16839		T	
Llandyrnog	Denbs	SJ10786510	16838		T	T
Llandysilio	Monts	SJ26771931	16410	ST	ST	
Llandyssil	Monts	SO19819525	15893			
Llanelian-yn-Rhos	Denbs	SH86357643	16713			
Llanelidan	Denbs	SJ10995054	16842		T	
Llanelieu	Brecks	SO18503418	16843	?	?	
Llanelwedd	Rads	SO04665179	16845			
Llanerfyl	Monts	SJ03400977	16409	TT	TT	
Llanfaes	Brecks	SO03792831	6880			
Llanfair Caereinion	Monts	SJ10390646	32637	ST	ST	
Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd	Denbs	SJ13455548	100878			
Llanfair Talhaiarn	Denbs	SH92717013	16847		T	
Llanfarchell	Denbs	SJ07146623	16767		T	T
Llanfaredd	Rads	SO06955074	16848	TT?	TT?	
Llanfechain	Monts	SJ18892043	16408	T	T	
Llanferres	Denbs	SJ18816055	16849		T	
Llanfeugan	Brecks	SO10732370	16850			
Llanfihangel Abergwesyn	Brecks	SN85415265	16852			
Llanfihangel Brynpabuan	Brecks	SN9841356646	16406		T	T
Llanfihangel Glyn Myfyr	Denbs	SH98984941	16347	T	T	
Llanfihangel Helygen	Rads	SO04586439	16853			
Llanfihangel Nant Bran	Brecks	SN94443427	16854			
Llanfihangel Nant Melan	Rads	SO18015818	16855		T	T
Llanfihangel Rhydithon	Rads	SO15146671	16856			
Llanfihangel Talyllyn	Brecks	SO11422840	16857	T	T	
Llanfihangel-yng-Ngwynfa	Monts	SJ08021695	16407		T	T
Llanfilo	Brecks	SO11893326	16858	TT	TT	
Llanfrynach	Brecks	SO07522579	16859		?	T
Llanfwrog	Denbs	SJ11365783	16951	ST	ST	
Llanfyllin	Monts	SJ14171956	16860		T	T
Llangadfan	Monts	SJ0110910341	16678	T	T	
Llangadwaladr	Denbs	SJ18183036	16861	T	T	
Llangammarch Wells	Brecks	SN93504730	16862		T	
Llanganten	Brecks	SO00955176	16863			T
Llangar	Mer	SJ06354244	16864	T	T	
Llangasty Tal-y-Llyn	Brecks	SO13312613	16865		T	
Llangattock	Brecks	SO21101788	16866	T	T	
Llangedwyn	Denbs	SJ18832414	16867		T	
Llangenny	Brecks	SO24011815	16868	T	TT?	
Llangernyw	Denbs	SH87526744	16869		T	
Llangollen	Denbs	SJ2167141975	101175		T	
Llangors	Brecks	SO13502762	16871	T	TT	
Llangunllo	Rads	SO21177128	16872			
Llangurig	Monts	SN90787991	16873	?	?	
Llangwm	Denbs	SH96684461	16874		?	
Llangwyfan	Denbs	SJ12046629	16837			
Llangynhafal	Denbs	SJ13306340	16875		TT	
Llangynidr	Brecks	SO15551941	16877	T	T	
Llangynog	Monts	SJ05302610	16482	T	T	

<i>Church</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>NGR</i>	<i>PRN</i>	<i>Now curvilinear</i>	<i>Past curvilinear</i>	<i>Earthwork only</i>
Llangynog	Brecks	SO02454599	16878		?	
Llangynyw	Monts	SJ1271009099	16405		T	
Llanhamlach	Brecks	SO08962644	16879	T	T	
Llanidloes	Monts	SN95398468	16880			
Llanigon	Brecks	SO21383992	16881	T	T	
Llanilltyd	Brecks	SN97112611	16882	T	T	
Llanlleonfel	Brecks	SN9387449936	32166	T	T	
Llanllugan	Monts	SJ05780234	32541		T	T
Llanllwchaiarn	Monts	SO1237692527	15849		TT	T
Llanmerewig	Monts	SO1577793171	16404	TT	TT	
Llannefydd	Denbs	SH98207060	16841		T?	
Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant	Denbs	SJ12382602	101046		?	
Llanrhaeadr-yng-Nghinmei	Denbigh	SJ08166337	16884			
Llanrhudd	Denbs	SJ14005776	102594			
Llansannan	Denbs	SH93406590	16885		T	
Llansantffraed Cwmdeuddw	Rads	SN96816769	16887	T	T	
Llansantffraed in Elvel	Rads	SO09965486	16888		T	T
Llansantffraed juxta Usk	Brecks	SO12242349	16886			
Llansantffraid-ym-Mechai	Monts	SJ2205520398	16890		T	T
Llansilin	Denbs	SJ2096428184	101080	TT	TT	
Llanspyddid	Brecks	SO01192818	16891	ST	ST	
Llanstephan	Rads	SO11974217	16892	?	T	T
Llantysilio	Denbs	SJ19404355	16893			
Llanwddyn	Monts	SH999212	15852			
Llanwnnog	Monts	SO02239382	16403		T	T
Llanwrin	Monts	SH78660353	15842	T	T	
Llanwrthwl	Brecks	SN97576373	16894		T	T
Llanwrtyd	Brecks	SN86364778	16895	T	T	T
Llanwyddelan	Monts	SJ0824701189	7585	T	T	T
Llanychan	Denbs	SJ11436213	16876	T	T	
Llanymynech	Monts/Salop	SJ26742080				
Llanynis	Brecks	SN99845087	16896		T	T
Llanynys	Denbs	SJ10326267	16897	T	T	
Llanyre	Rads	SO04446233	16898	T	TT	T
Llowes	Rads	SO19244172	16899	T?	T?	
Llysfaen	Denbs	SH89327748	16901		T	
Llyswen	Brecks	SO13333801	16902	TT	TT	
Llywel	Brecks	SN86943005	16903	T	T	
Lower Chapel	Brecks	SO02793584	16385			
Machynlleth	Monts	SH74530095	16904	?	T	T
Maesmynis	Brecks	SO02814976	16906			
Manafon	Monts	SJ11310247	16907		T	
Marchwiel	Denbs	SJ35704772	100145			
Meifod	Monts	SJ1551113221	75	ST	ST	
Meliden	Flints	SJ06288109	16938		T	
Merthyr Cynog	Brecks	SN98483745	16909	TT	TT	
Michaelchurch-on-Arrow	Rads	SO24645070	16910			
Mochdre	Monts	SO07238867	16912			
Mold	Flints	SJ23676418	16913	TT	TT	
Montgomery	Monts	SO22359652	16914			
Nannerch	Flints	SJ1666969675	16915	T	TT	T
Nantglyn	Denbs	SJ00416213	16917		T	
Nantmel	Rads	SO03436637	16918	T	TT?	T
Nercwys	Flints	SJ23476042	16920		T?	T
New Radnor	Rads	SO21066093	16921			
Newchurch	Rads	SO21625073	16923			
Newtown	Monts	SO108920	16925			
Northop	Flints	SJ24646848	100307		?	?
Norton	Rads	SO30466722	16928			
Old Llandrindod	Rads	SO06506012	16835			
Old Radnor	Rads	SO24995909	16929	T	T	T

<i>Church</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>NGR</i>	<i>PRN</i>	<i>Now curvilinear</i>	<i>Past curvilinear</i>	<i>Earthwork only</i>
Overton	Flints	SJ37354181	100152			
Partrishow	Breccs	SO27892243	16931		T	
Penegoes	Monts	SH76970096	16395		T	
Penley	Flints	SJ41324005	15845			
Pennant Melangell	Monts	SJ02422654	19470	T	T	
Penrhos	Monts	SJ23671659	15856			
Penstrowed	Monts	SO069915	16392			
Pentrefoelas	Denbs	SH87315158	16935			
Pilleth	Rads	SO25636823	16936			
Presteigne	Rads	SO3157964558	16939			
Rhayader	Rads	SN96936815	16940			
Rhuddlan	Flints	SJ02137819	16943			
Rhulen	Rads	SO13774984	16944	T	T	T
Ruabon	Denbs	SJ30384380	16950	T	T	
Ruthin	Denbs	SJ12355838	16952			
Snead	Monts	SO31619189	16390			
St Asaph	Flints	SJ03697431	16955	T	T	
St Cenu's Chapel	Breccs	SO241180	4910			
St Cynog's cell	Breccs	SO0121	81731			
St Eluned's Chapel		SO05792861	617			
St George	Denbs	SH97457570	16956		?	
St Harmon	Rads	SN98897286	16957	TT	TT	
St Ilid's Chapel		SN89032717	3137			
St Mordeyrn's Chapel (Na	Denbs	SJ00656202	100592			
St Trillo's Chapel		SH8413581131	100500			
St Winefride's chapel	Flints	SJ1850776269	102417			
Talachddu	Breccs	SO08183316	16958			T
Talgarth	Breccs	SO15733382	16959			T
Trallong	Breccs	SN96612958	16963	ST	ST	
Trefeglwys	Monts	SN97049061	16964			
Tregynon	Monts	SO096987	32492	T	T	
Trelawnyd	Flints	SJ08907963	102099			
Trelystan	Monts	SJ26360395	16965		T	T
Tremeirchion	Flints	SJ08287308	16966			
Tretower	Breccs	SO18622128	16967			
Treuddyn	Flints	SJ25415810	16387		T	T
Trevor	Denbs	SJ2644142418	16671			
Upper Chapel	Breccs	SO0072440581	20106		T	
Welshpool	Monts	SJ22580763	16973			
Whitewell	Flints	SJ49484139	16974			
Whitford	Flints	SJ1461878183	102359			
Whitton	Rads	SO27056733	16975			
Worthenbury	Flints	SJ41894623	16976			
Wrexham	Denbs	SJ33555012	106012			
Ysceifiog	Flints	SJ15257150	16977			
Ystradfellte	Breccs	SN93061344	16978			
Ystradgynlais	Breccs	SN7871110051	16979		T	T

Appendix 4: Documented Chapels

<i>Chapel name</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>NGR</i>	<i>PRN</i>	<i>Type 1</i>
Aber Henllan Chapel	Rads	SN89957229	3468	Chapel ?
Aberllynfi Chapel, site	Breccs	SO17233799	527	Chapel
Brecon Chapel (St Catherine), Watton	Breccs	SO049283	6889	Chapel
Bryn-yr-Eglwys	Breccs	SH87305236	19083	Chapel
Cae Capel Building	Breccs	SN87482315	5685	Chapel ?
Cae Henllan Church, Llanelwedd	Rads	SO04275219	1601	Chapel
Cae yr Eglwys Placename	Rads	SO02455294	3786	Grange ?
Cae yr Hen Eglwys foundations	Monts	SH82790056	1298	Church ?
Caergwle Chapel	Flints	SJ30485707	101297	Chapel
Capel Aelhaiarn (site of)	Mer	SJ08705033	100771	Chapel
Capel Banhadlog Chapel	Monts	SN98118059	1543	Chapel
Capel Banhadlog Church	Monts	SN98118059	15854	Church
Capel Beuno (site of)	Flints	SJ1183	102471	Chapel
Capel Coelbren	Breccs	SN84971170	81678	Chapel
Capel Dolwen	Monts	SH977075	17924	Chapel
Capel Glyn Collwng	Breccs	SO078172	81679	Chapel
Capel Gorllwyd Placename	Rads	SO06307139	3462	Chapel ?
Capel Hirbryd Chapel Site	Monts	SJ17321649	66	Chapel
Capel Hwlkyn	Flints	SJ10036890	102588	Chapel
Capel Llewellyn, Welshpool	Monts	SJ22710764	4438	Church
Capel Madog (St Madog)	Rads	SN93896575	1644	Chapel
Capel Maelog Church (St Maelog)	Rads	SO06876125	15844	Church
Capel Maes-y-bwlch	Breccs	SN84583520	81676	Chapel
Capel Nant-ddu	Breccs	SO004145	81719	Chapel
Capel Ogwen	Denbs	SH858786	81561	Chapel
Capel Rhyd-y-briw Church	Breccs	SN92002898	20130	Church
Capel Senni	Breccs	SN929233	81677	Chapel
Capel Spon Chapel	Flints	SJ28246271	100102	Chapel
Caple Llan Ycha placename	Breccs	SO24721848	81564	Chapel
Cappele chapel	Denbs	SH90304740	81769	Chapel
Carneddau Chapel	Rads	SO0453	1616	Chapel
Cefn Fynydd Church site	Denbs	SJ062513	101902	Church
College chapel	Flints	SJ0570	81765	Chapel
Cwm, Hen Eglwys	Flints	SJ0776	81761	Church
Cyffin Monastic Cell (Strata Marcella)	Monts	SJ038141	17922	Hermitage
Doleglwys House Church site	Breccs	SO03035209	4145	Platform
Dyffryn Merthyr chapel	Monts	SN970905	81713	Chapel
Ednol Chapel	Rads	SO23256479	1077	Chapel
Emral Hall Chapel	Flints	SJ42004434	100190	Chapel
Faenol Fawr Chapel Site	Flints	SJ00067600	102050	Find
Felindre Chapel	Breccs	SO18643680	523	Chapel
Ffynnon Fair Chapel	Flints	SJ02917107	102141	Chapel
Gelli Chapel	Flints	SJ12767828	81552	Chapel
Gelli Talgarth Chapel	Breccs	SN97055738	863	Chapel
Glanirwch chapel	Denbs	SJ1437425562	35794	Chapel ?
Glyntawe Church (St Callwen)	Breccs	SN84811688	20114	Church
Gwernygo chapel	Monts	SO221919	81764	Chapel
Gwytherin Church (St Winifred), `Capel G	Denbs	SH87666140	100444	Chapel
Hay Chapel (St John)	Breccs	SO2300942406	30906	Chapel
Hen Eglwys Pont Dwr site	Monts	SJ02502940	9	Chapel ?
Hen Eglwys, chapel or grange (Valle Cruc	Denbs	SJ17674845	101485	Grange ?
Hendre church	Denbs	SJ09872858	81556	Church
Hwlkyn placename	Flints	SJ09327111	81557	Chapel
Llan Guaered placename	Flints	SJ42404663	81558	Chapel
Llandegeman Fawr Chapel (St Decumen)	Breccs	SO19372106	674	Church
Llandeilo'r Fan Chapel	Breccs	SN8934	4377	Chapel
Llandinir	Monts	SO1798	81684	Chapel ?
Llandybo Earthworks	Monts	SH83810997	1711	Farmstead ?
Llaneglwys Uchaf Placename	Breccs	SO05703875	4439	Church ?
Llanfair Trellwydion chapel	Rads	SO0973	81682	Chapel
Llanfachan placename	Monts	SH7705	81685	Placename

<i>Chapel name</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>NGR</i>	<i>PRN</i>	<i>Type 1</i>
Llanfechan placename	Monts	SO0797	81686	Placename
Llangoed church	Brecs	SO11943999	81715	Church
Llanifan	Rads	SO1561	81683	Chapel?
Llanloddian placename	Monts	SJ1008	81687	Placename
Llanmarchell, Llanstephan	Rads	SO137424	81689	Chapel ?
Llanthomas chapel	Brecs	SO2140	81681	Chapel
Lle yr Hen Eglwys	Monts	SH99312534	6	Chapel ?
Llechfaen chapel	Brecs	SO08052843	81716	Chapel
Llwyn y Fynwent	Brecs	SN89944300	3051	Chapel
Llyweni chapel	Denbs	SJ025680	81718	Chapel
Lower Caerfaelog Church site	Rads	SO11007395	1985	Church ?
Maes Llymystyn Chapel	Monts	SH98111134	1214	Chapel ?
Maes-gwyn church	Rads	SO15027770	81705	Church
Maescelyn Chapel (St Mary)	Brecs	SO20681950	700	Chapel
Meity Isaf Chapel (St ???)	Brecs	SN8571126143	3138	Chapel ?
Melai chapel	Denbs	SH9067	81562	Chapel
Melin Llangwm	Denbs	SH96544493	100709	Chapel
Pant yr Eglwys placename	Rads	SN980685	3553	Church ?
Pen Blaen Farm Church site	Rads	SO106508	4268	Church ?
Pen Llys 'Church' site	Brecs	SN99945847	3009	Quarry ?
Pentre Fidog Chapel	Denbs	SH8751	105556	Chapel
Pentre Hall Chapel	Monts	SO2791	202	Chapel
Pipton Chapel	Brecs	SO16773806	521	Chapel
Plas Mawr Chapel	Flints	SJ104779	102716	Chapel
Plas-Uchaf Church site	Denbs	SH93276679	100524	Church
Spwdwr Chapel	Flints	SJ21426491	100084	Chapel
St Cenau's Chapel	Brecs	SO241180	4910	Chapel ?
St Eluned's Chapel	Brecs	SO05792861	617	Chapel
St Iliid's Chapel	Brecs	SN89032717	3137	Chapel
St Leonard in Glyn Church	Flints	SJ33625422	17011	Church
St Mordeyrn's Chapel	Denbs	SJ00656202	100592	Chapel
St Peter's Chapel	Denbs	SJ369575	101535	Chapel
St Trillo's Chapel	Denbs	SH8413581131	1100500	Chapel
Taf Fechan chapel site	Brecs	SO05451375	9786	Chapel
Tair y Wen Chapel	Brecs	SO23803886	5385	Stone setting
Talerddig Chapel Site	Monts	SH9300	1320	Chapel
Tan y Fedw Chapel	Brecs	SN89132573	3140	Chapel ?
Trehydan chapel	Monts	SJ1407	81763	Chapel
Tyddyn-cochyn, chapel site	Mer	SJ0743648125	72088	Chapel
Tywysog Chapel Site	Denbs	SJ00306673	101815	Chapel ?
Upper Snead 'Church' site	Monts	SO30899292	227	Church ?
Waun Tywysog chapel	Denbs	SH995661	81766	Chapel
Waun y Capel Chapel	Brecs	SO11871786	3333	Chapel

Appendix 5: Holy wells with saints' names

<i>Name</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>NGR</i>	<i>PRN</i>
Cefnlllys spring	Rads	SO08646155	81700
Cerrig Church (St Mary Magdalene)	Denbs	SH9532248740	100697
Ffynnon Afan Well	Brecs	SN96795563	5886
Ffynnon Armon	Denbs	SJ15733290	81733
Ffynnon Asa	Flints	SJ0751778925	81712
Ffynnon Benyw	Denbs	SJ11435569	81553
Ffynnon Beuno	Mer	SJ07584691	100790
Ffynnon Beuno well	Flints	SJ0835072363	102157
Ffynnon Ceneu Well	Brecs	SO24151808	4002
Ffynnon Cerog Well	Denbs	SJ26194208	101207
Ffynnon Cilyn Well	Monts	SN95238459	1540
Ffynnon Cwm Ewyn Well	Monts	SJ02542736	11
Ffynnon Cwyfan	Flints	SJ05617939	102075
Ffynnon Cynfran	Denbs	SH89317759	100465
Ffynnon Dadur Well	Monts	SH82970182	1725
Ffynnon Ddewi Well	Brecs	SN85305250	3453
Ffynnon Ddueno Well	Flints	SJ31365191	101537
Ffynnon Diefer Well (site of)	Flints	SJ09176999	102014
Ffynnon Digain Holy Well	Denbs	SH87146839	100428
Ffynnon Drillo	Denbs	SH9154864973	81727
Ffynnon Drillo	Mer	SJ034370	81560
Ffynnon Dwgan Well	Monts	SH98292203	32
Ffynnon Dyfnog Well	Denbs	SJ07966334	100603
Ffynnon Dyssilio	Denbs	SJ14874714	81735
Ffynnon Efa Well	Flints	SJ08387531	106511
Ffynnon Elian	Denbs	SH86087691	100460
Ffynnon Elidan	Denbs	SJ10754790	100958
Ffynnon Elwoc	Denbs	SH95267719	101997
Ffynnon Erfyl Well	Monts	SJ03131008	1323
Ffynnon Erfyl Well	Monts	SJ03350980	4289
Ffynnon Fael A Sulien	Flints	SJ06657745	102078
Ffynnon Fair	Flints	SJ2095570985	100344
Ffynnon Fair	Flints	SJ152719	102543
Ffynnon Fair	Denbs	SJ08066311	81740
Ffynnon Fair	Flints	SJ03387803	81742
Ffynnon Fair	Flints	SJ14637808	81743
Ffynnon Fair Holy Well	Flints	SJ02907107	102142
Ffynnon Fair Well	Rads	SN96916842	256
Ffynnon Fair Well	Monts	SJ10360648	758
Ffynnon Fair Well	Monts	SO28969544	1826
Ffynnon Fair Well	Rads	SO17067780	5739
Ffynnon Fair Well	Denbs	SH95384894	100696
Ffynnon Fair, St Marys Well/fynnon Bwbach	Flints	SJ0677	102079
Ffynnon Farcel Well (site of)	Denbs	SJ06736612	102022
Ffynnon Fihangel	Flints	SJ09007088	81741
Ffynnon Gadfarch	Monts	SH76840093	1276
Ffynnon Gadferth Well	Brecs	SN935473	3413
Ffynnon Garmon Well	Monts	SJ19252013	1485
Ffynnon Gattwg	Brecs	SO20531811	692
Ffynnon Gedwyn	Monts	SN96498951	1850
Ffynnon Gewydd	Rads	SO0438258313	81709
Ffynnon Gloch Felen Well (site of)	Mer	SJ07834334	100821
Ffynnon Gyngar	Flints	SJ31625821	81723
Ffynnon Gynog	Brecs	SO0121	81730
Ffynnon Gynydd Well	Rads	SO1641141284	408
Ffynnon Idloes Well	Monts	SN95668468	1539
Ffynnon Illog Well	Monts	SJ04942313	42
Ffynnon Ishow well	Brecs	SO2784322428	31209
Ffynnon Ishow Well	Brecs	SO2784322428	3219
Ffynnon Iwan	Monts	SJ0522	81744
Ffynnon Iainu Well Bacin	Flints	SJ1961067700	100720

<i>Name</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>NGR</i>	<i>PRN</i>
Ffynnon Leucu	Flints	SJ06967706	81724
Ffynnon Madoc Wells	Monts	SJ12120454	107
Ffynnon Mihangel	Flints	SJ12287292	102445
Ffynnon Modrib Well	Monts	SJ1818	3804
Ffynnon Nefydd	Denbs	SH9827270830	81728
Ffynnon Oswallt	Flints	SJ16867762	81722
Ffynnon Sadwrn Well	Denbs	SJ04076722	101471
Ffynnon Santffraid	Mer	SJ1043	100973
Ffynnon Sarah	Denbs	SJ06435154	100763
Ffynnon Silin Well	Denbs	SJ20812825	101085
Ffynnon Sulien	Mer	SJ0688344098	100813
Ffynnon Tudur Well	Denbs	SJ12484915	102776
Ffynnon Wenfil	Denbs	SJ18875708	81734
Ffynnon Wnnod	Denbs	SH96914438	100711
Ffynnon y Capel	Flints	SJ33445415	81738
Ffynnon y Creiriwr	Denbs	SJ05476969	81737
Ffynnon y Saint	Flints	SJ39424582	81736
Ffynnon y Saint	Denbs	SH9275	81739
Ffynnon y Saint Well	Denbs	SH98254947	100699
Filo Well	Brecs	SO11903320	4492
Graig y Don Well	Rads	SO262737	6090
Holywell Meadow Fieldname	Denbs	SJ362595	100367
Holywell, St Winefride's Chapel and Well	Flints	SJ1850776269	102417
Lady's Well	Monts	SJ17910079	115
Llanbadarn-y-garreg holy well	Rads	SO11184867	81703
Llandefalle Church (St Matthew), well	Brecs	SO10743560	4485
Llandrindod Old Church holy well	Rads	SO065601	81710
Llangors, holy well	Brecs	SO1327	70570
Pistyll Cynllo holy well	Rads	SO1107773289	81708
Saint's Well		SO04947430	243
St Anne's Well, Presteigne	Monts	SO3218464622	81707
St Benion's Well	Monts	SJ26642055	29
St Bennion's well	Monts	SJ28051814	81745
St Beuno's Well	Flints	SJ18417619	102410
St Cadfan's Well	Monts	SJ01101044	1230
St Chad's Well	Flints	SJ45324037	100213
St Collen's Well	Denbs	SJ204446	70933
St Cynhafal's Well	Denbs	SJ13316383	100611
St Deiniol's Well	Flints	SJ3845	70936
St Dogfan's Well	Denbs	SJ094290	101576
St Eigon's Well	Brecs	SO21523998	1063
St Eluned's Well	Brecs	SO05792861	38588
St Garmon's Well	Denbs	SJ18555343	100939
St Mary's well	Flints	SJ06858141	102245
St Mary's well, Pilleth	Rads	SO25636823	287
St Michael's Well	Monts	SJ08121686	1689
St Michael's Well Pentre	Flints	SJ17436495	102290
St Mordeyrn's Well	Denbs	SJ00436225	100595
St Myllin's Well	Monts	SJ1393019525	56
St Peter's Well	Denbs	SJ36725788	101536
St Tecla's Well	Denbs	SJ19485227	100931
St Tydecho's Well	Monts	SH98571197	1217
White Well Alleged Holy Well	Flints	SJ49484137	100215

Appendix 6: Early medieval burials

<i>Name</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>NGR</i>	<i>PRN</i>	<i>Nature</i>
Beddau Dark Age Cemetery	Denbs	SH85905127	100408	Cist cemetery
Capel Maelog Church (St Maelog), early medieval cemetery	Rads	SO06886125	81714	Developed cemetery
Coed Bell rectilinear feature	Flints	SJ08748292	106503	Square ditch barrow
Four Crosses Barrow Cemetery, site II (dark age)	Monts	SJ2708218814	50527	Undeveloped cemetery
Llys Edwin, possible cropmark cemetery	Flints	SJ24056932	19508	Square ditch barrow ?
Lower Luggy square barrow II	Monts	SJ20140186	34995	Square ditch barrow
Maes y Beddau Placename	Brecs	SN93003690	852	Placename
Meusydd 'cemetery'	Denbs	SJ132253	102775	Undeveloped cemetery ?
Pennant Melangell Church (St Melangell), Dark Age phase	Monts	SJ02422654	50678	Developed cemetery
Ruthin, Brynhyfryd Park, cemetery	Denbs	SJ130582	17805	Undeveloped cemetery
Tandderwen Cropmark Complex, Dark Age cemetery	Denbs	SJ081661	101905	Square ditch barrow
Tanlan Burial Site	Flints	SJ11988298	102472	Cist
Thornbury Square Barrow	Monts	SO204994	33071	Square ditch barrow
Trelystan Round Barrows (Early Christian burials)	Monts	SJ27740700	50646	Undeveloped cemetery
Twyn y Beddau Cemetery	Brecs	SO24113861	5723	Cists

Appendix 7: Early Medieval Ecclesiastical Categorisation

Name	PRN	Doc	Clas	Mon'try	Portion	Burial	Multiple	Plan	Stones	Artefacts	Assocs	C'yard	Dedication	Placename	Dependent	Well	Overall
Llanafan Fawr	16804	A?			A				B			C	C		C		A
Cwmdu	16757	A							B								A
Defynnog	16764								B				C		C		A
Llanddety	16818								B			C	C				A
Llandefaelog Fach	31233								B			C	C				A
Llanelieu	16843								B			C	C				A
Llangors	16871	A							B			C	C				A
Llanspyddid	16891	A							B			C	C				A
Llanyynys	16897				A							C	C				A
Merthyr Cynog	16909		A?							B		C	C	C			A
Partrishow	16931	A			A					B		C	C			C	A
Trallong	16963								B			C	C				A
Abergele	16350		A				B		B				C		C		A
Gwytherin	16790			A		A			B		B?		C				A
Llandrillo-yn-Rhos	16834	A?										C	C		C		A
Corwen	101354	A?			A		B		B		B	C	C	C			A
Dyserth	102073								B			C	C			C	A
Llanarmon-yn-Ial	16808		A?									C	C				A
Rhuddlan	16943	A											C				A
St Asaph	16955		A		A							C	C				A
Llangollen	101175					A						C	C		C		A
Llansilin	101080						B					C	C				A
Hope	16798								B			C	C				A
Northop	100307											C	C				A
Glascwm	16782		A							B		C	C				A
Llowes	16899		A									C	C				A
Old Radnor	16929											C					A
Presteigne	16939												C				A
St Harmon	16957		A							B		C	C				A
Bangor Is-y-coed	16706		A									C	C		C		A
Churchstoke	16746		A									C					A
Llandinam	16832												C				A
Llandrinio	16836								B				C		C		A
Llanerfyl	16409								B			C	C				A
Llangurig	16873		A									C	C				A
Pennant Melangell	19470			A		A						C	C				A
Trelystan	16965	A										C					A
Meifod	75				A		B	B				C	C		C		A

Name	PRN	Doc	Clas	Montry	Portion	Burial	Multiple	Plan	Stones	Artefacts	Assocs	Cyard	Dedication	Placename	Dependent	Well	Overall
Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochman	101046	A			A	A			B				C		C		A
Llangadwaladr	16861				A							C	C				A
Capel Maelog	15844					A						C	C				A
Aberyscir	16704									B		C	C				B
Battle	16707											C	C				B
Crickadarn	16682											C	C				B
Garthbreny	31225											C	C				B
Gwenddwr	16788			A								C	C				B
Llan-y-Wern	16803											C	C				B
Llanbedr Ystrad Yw	16813	A					B	B					C				B
Llanddew	16819											C	C				B
Llanddewi'r Cwm	16823											C	C				B
Llandefalle	16827											C	C		C		B
Llandelo'r Fan	16831											C	C				B
Llanfeugan	16850											C	C				B
Llanfihangel Talyllyn	16857											C	C				B
Llanfילו	16858											C	C		C		B
Llanfrynach	16859								B				C				B
Llangammarch Wells	16862								B				C				B
Llangasty Tal-y-Llyn	16865												C				B
Llangattock	16866											C	C			692??	B
Llangenny	16868											C	C				B
Llangynidr	16877											C	C	C			B
Llanhamlach	16879								B			C	C				B
Llanigon	16881											C	C				B
Llanlleonfel	32166								B			C	C				B
Llanwrthwl	16894									B		C	C				B
Llanwrtyd	16895											C	C				B
Llyswen	16902											C	C				B
Llywel	16903											C	C				B
Talachddu	16958											C	C				B
Talgarth	16959											C	C				B
Ystradgynlais	16979											C	C				B
Betws yn Rhos	16714											C	C				B
Llanddulas	16825									B		C	C				B
Llanelian-yn-Rhos	16713											C	C				B
Llangernyw	16869										B	C	C				B
Llannefydd	16841											C	C			C	B
Llansannan	16885												C				B

Name	PRN	Doc	Clas	Mon'try	Portion	Burial	Multiple	Plan	Stones	Artefacts	Assocs	C'yard	Dedication	Placename	Dependent	Well	Overall
Berriew	16709											C	C				B
Bettws Cedewain	16711											C	C				B
Cemmaes	32576											C	C				B
Darowen	32601											C	C				B
Garthbeibio	16368											C	C				B
Gullsfield	16786											C	C				B
Hirnant	16414											C	C			C	B
Kerry	16413			A													B
Llan	16383											C					B
Llandysilio	16410											C	C				B
Llanfair Caereinion	32637											C					B
Llanfechain	16408											C	C				B
Llanfyllin	16860											C	C				B
Llangadfan	16678											C	C				B
Llangynog	16482											C	C				B
Llangynyw	16405											C	C				B
Llanllugan	32541											C					B
Llanllwchaiarn	15849											C	C				B
Llanmerewig	16404											C	C				B
Llansantffraid-ym-Mech	16890											C	C				B
Llanwnnog	16403											C	C				B
Llanwrin	15842											C	C				B
Llanwyddelan	7585								B			C	C				B
Penegoes	16395											C	C			C	B
Tregynon	32492											C	C				B
Llanarmon Mynydd-mawr	16807											C	C				B
Llangedwyn	16867											C	C				B
Llangar	16864											C					B
Llanddewi Abergwesyn	16820											C				C	B
Llanilltyd	16882											C					B
St Eluned's Chapel	617									x		C	C				B
Ceneu's oratory	4002											C	C				B
Capel y Fynon	0																B
St Cenanu's Chapel	4910																B
Cantref	16734																C
Llanafan Fechan	16805												C				C
Llandefaelog Tre'r-gra	16826												C				C
Llanfaes	6880												C				C
Llangantien	16863												C				C

Name	PRN	Doc Clas	Mon'try	Portion	Burial	Multiple	Plan	Stones	Artefacts	Assocs	C'yard	Dedication	Placename	Dependent	Well	Overall
Llansantffraed juxta U	16886											C				C
Maesmynis	16906											C				C
Llysfan	16901											C			C	C
Llanfihangel Glyn Myfy	16347										C		C			C
Bryneglwys	16725											C	C			C
Bodfari	16719												C			C
Clocaenog	16749											C				C
Llanychan	16876										C					C
Llanynis	16896										C					C
Llanfarchell	16767											C				C
Llanrhaeadr-yng-Nghinm	16884											C				C
Llanrhudd	102594											C				C
Caerwys	15838											C				C
Hawarden	16792											C				C
Llanasa	16809											C				C
Nannerch	16915										C					C
Whitford	102359											C			C	C
Ysceifiog	16977															C
Colva	16751											C				C
Cregrina	16752											C				C
Heyop	16795											C				C
Llanbadarn Fynydd	16811											C				C
Llanddewi Fach	16821											C				C
Llansantffraed in Elve	16888											C				C
Llanstephan	16892										C					C
New Radnor	16921															C
Rhayader	16940											C				C
Chirk	16745											C				C
Glyn Ceiriog	16889											C				C
Whitewell	16974											C				C
Worthenbury	16976											C				C
Marchwiell	100145											C				C
Aberhafesp	16688										C					C
Castle Caereinion	16739											C				C
Llanfihangel-yng-Ngwyn	16407										C					C
Llanidloes	16880										C					C
Machynlleth	16904										C					C
Manafon	16907										C					C
Penstrawed	16392											C				C

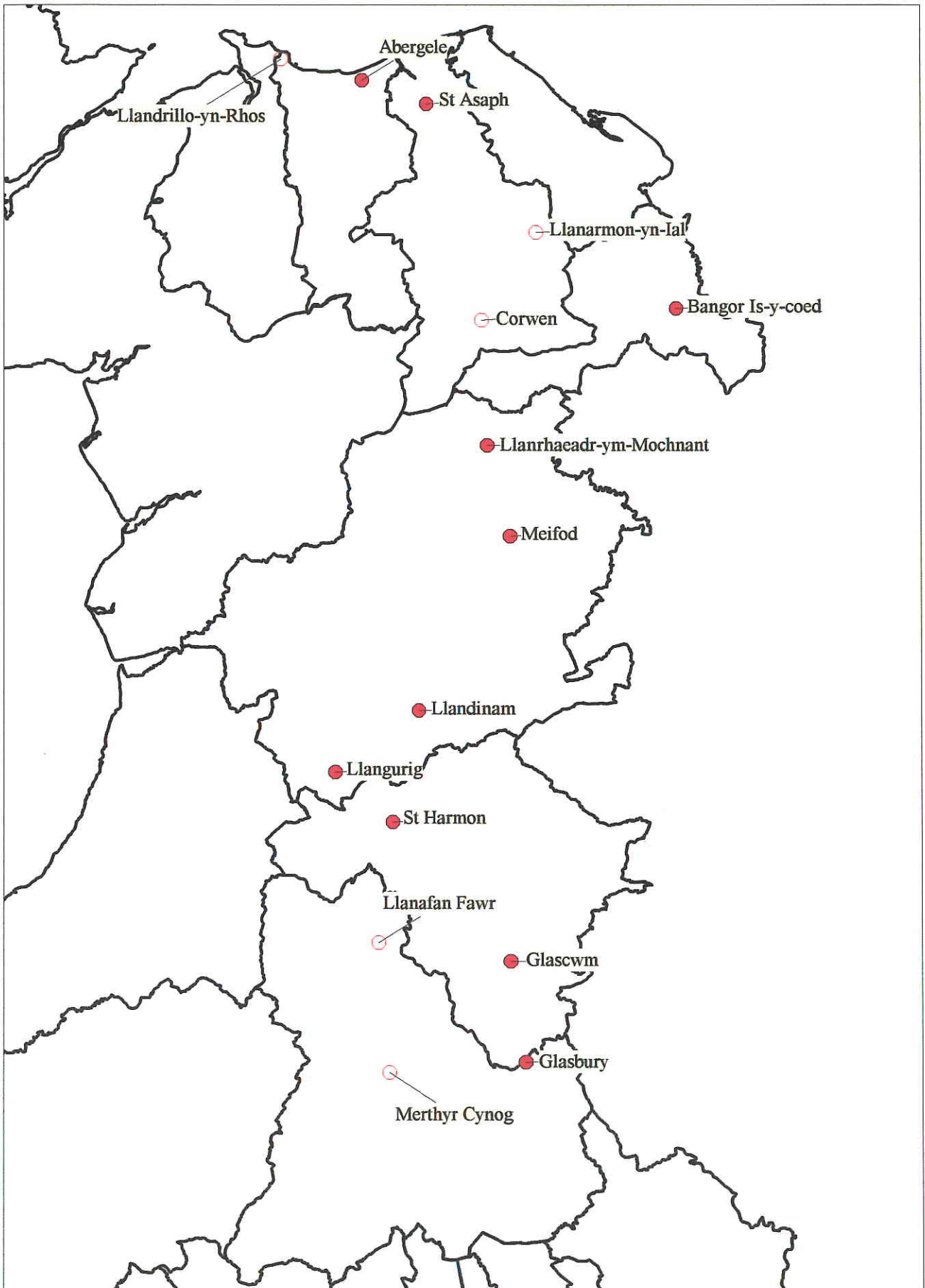


Fig 1: Clas churches

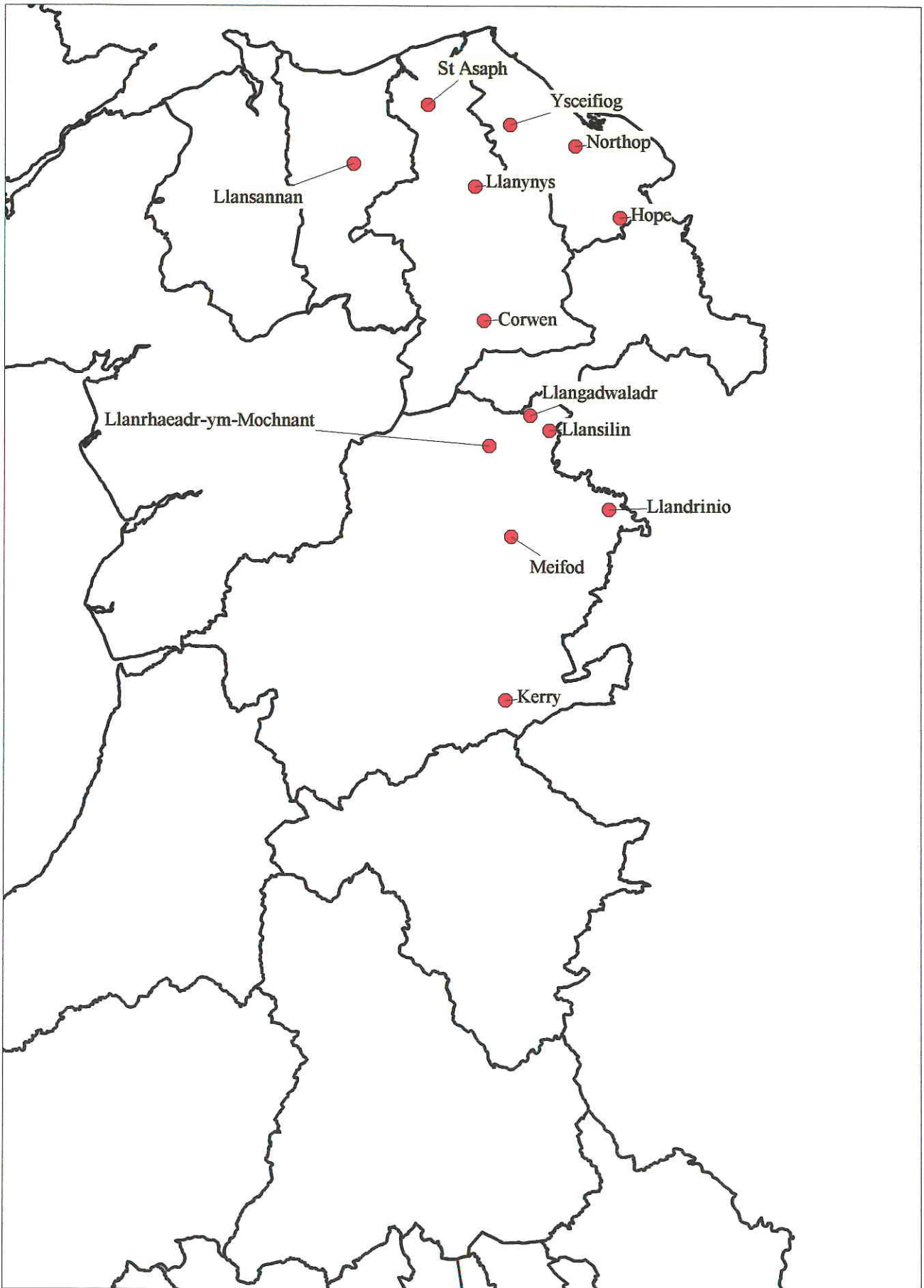


Fig 2: Portionary churches

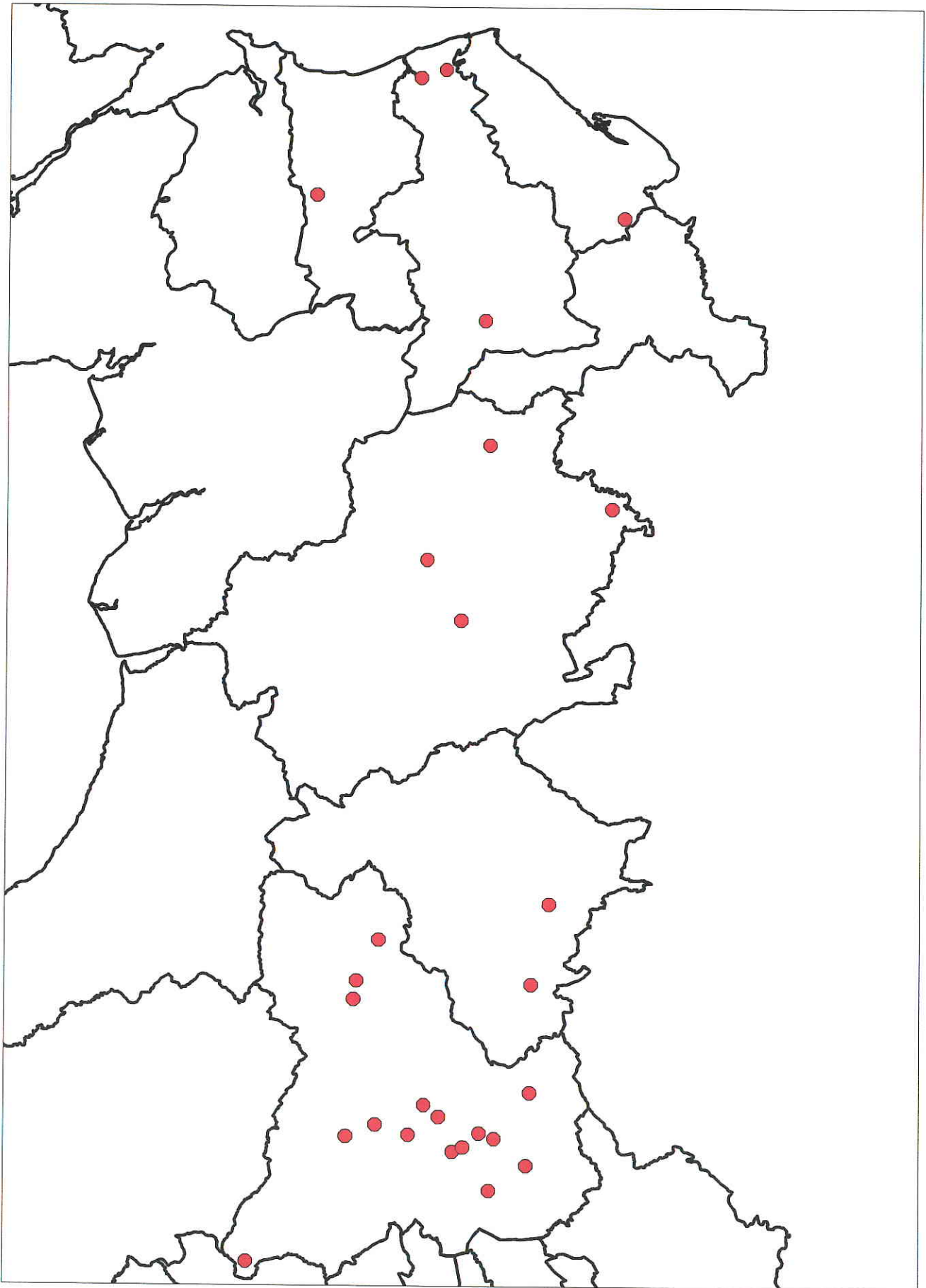


Fig 3: Inscribed and cross-marked stones and freestanding crosses

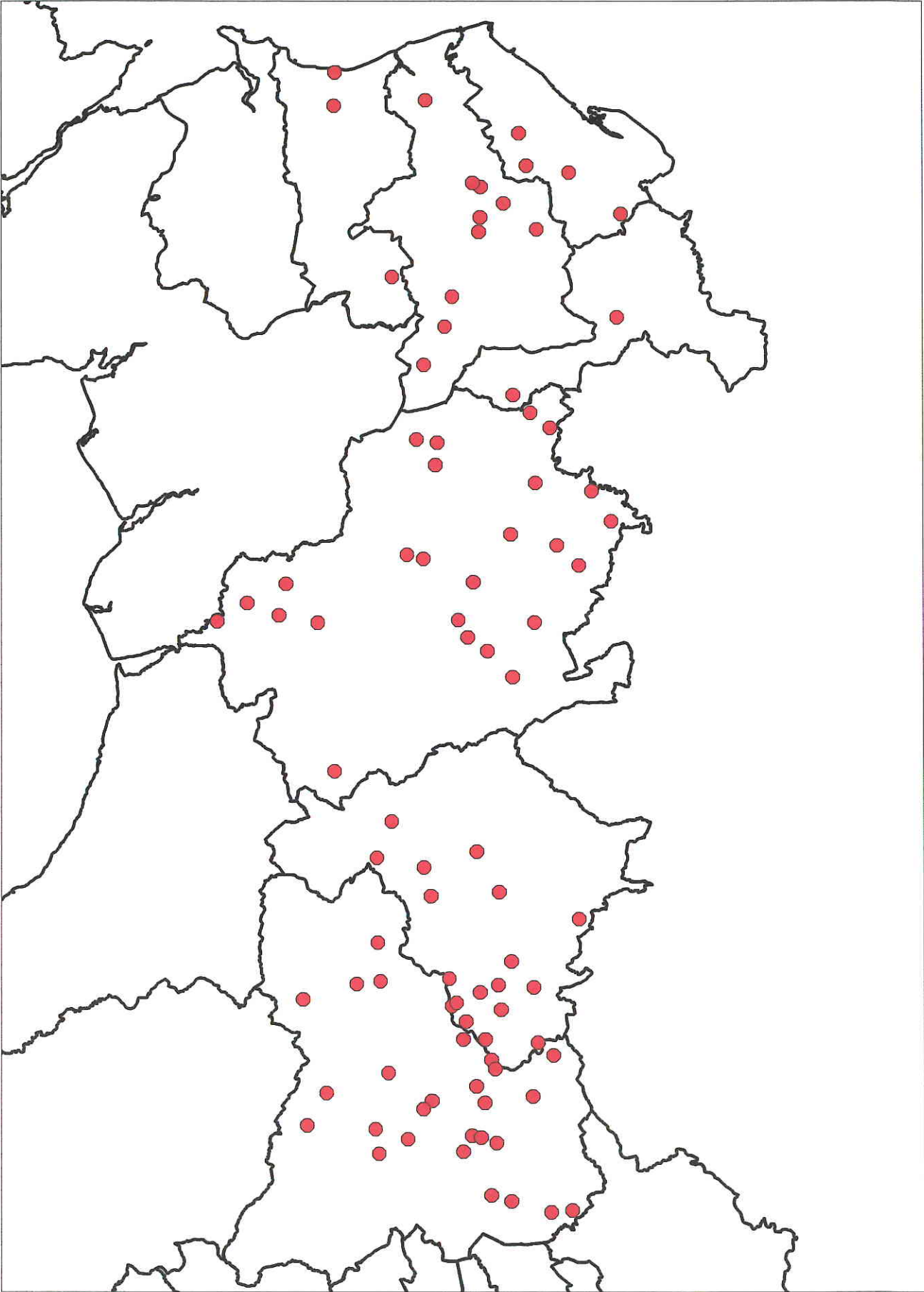


Fig 4: Curvilinear churchyards

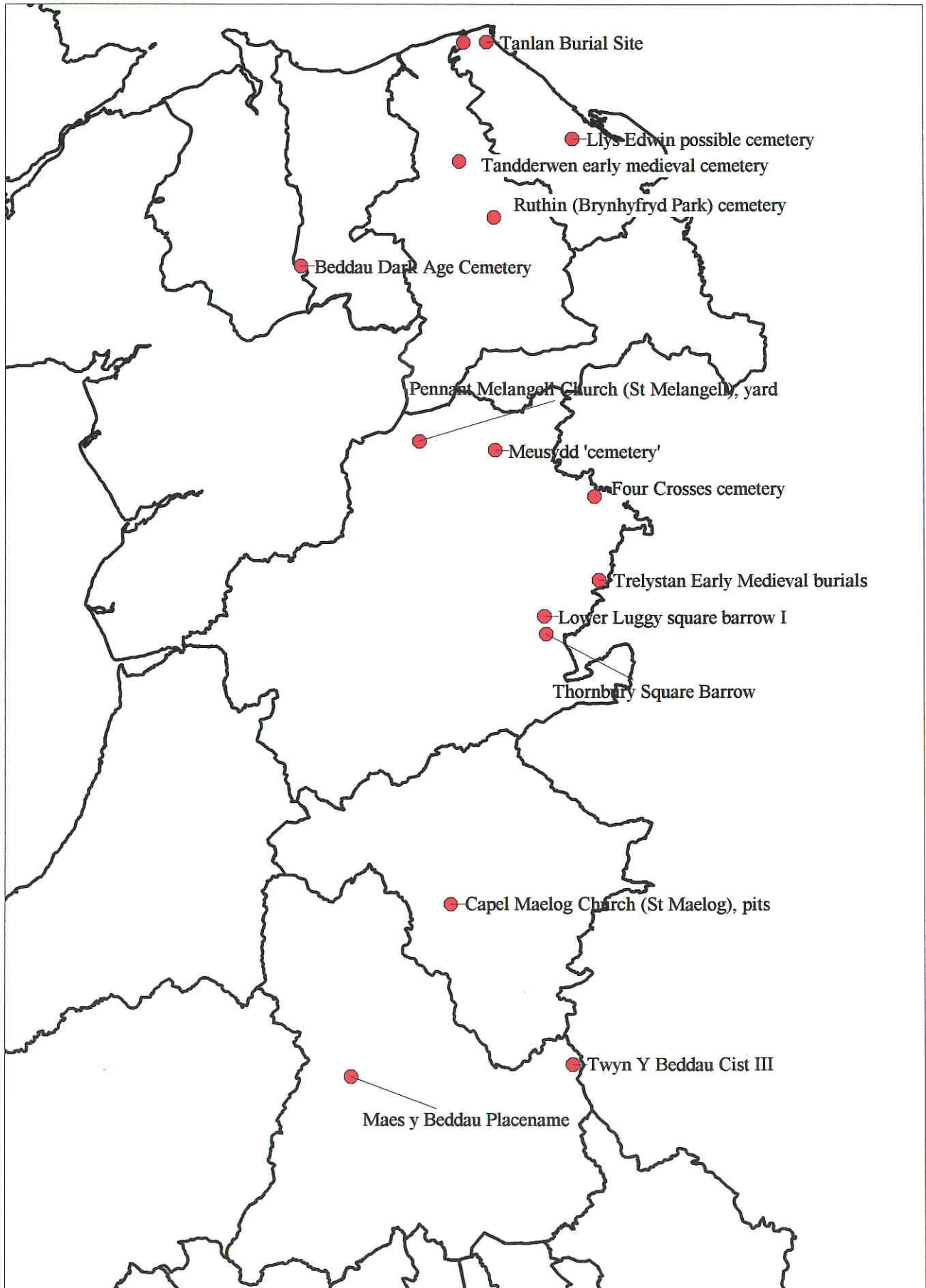


Fig 5: Burials and cemeteries

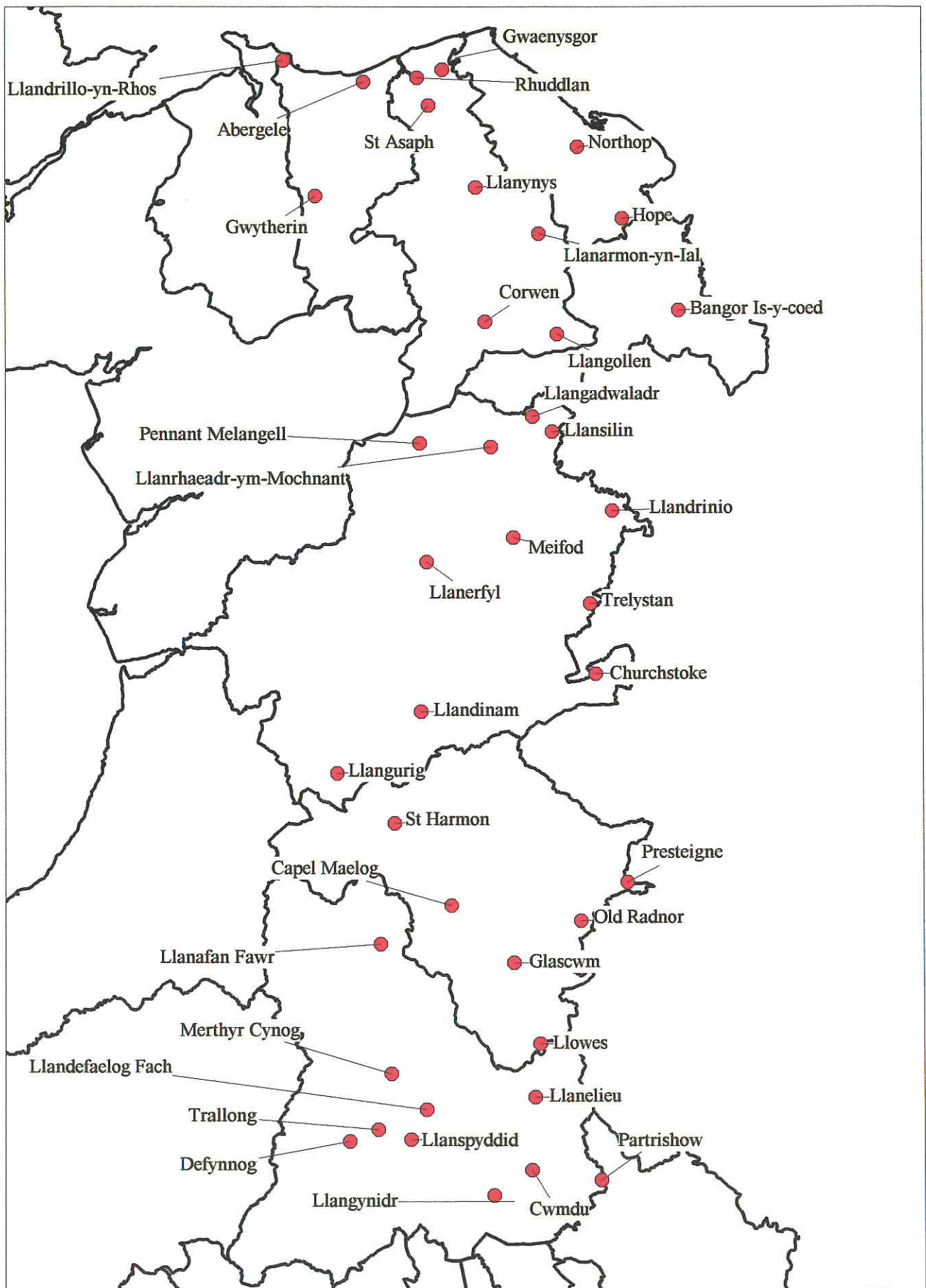


Fig 6: Ecclesiastical sites of indisputable Early Medieval origin