

**THE CLWYD-POWYS ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRUST**

**Early Medieval Ecclesiastical and Burial  
Sites in Mid and North-East Wales:  
The Second Report**



**CPAT Report No 534**

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Sites in Mid and North-East Wales:  
The Second Report**

**FIELDWORK**

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Report for Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments

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## Early Medieval Ecclesiastical Sites in Mid and North-East Wales

### Some Results from the Field Survey (2002-3)

#### 1 Introduction

In 2001/02 Cadw funded the four Welsh Archaeological Trusts to conduct a study of the evidence of early medieval ecclesiastical activity in their regions, in broad terms covering the period from the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD to the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. This decision was in part a reaction to one of the more obvious lacunae identified by Messrs Musson and Martin in their 1998 report on the state of the archaeological resource in Wales as defined in the four regional Sites and Monuments Records. In practical terms the Gwynedd Archaeological Trust had already conducted some work on the topic, while the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust was able to undertake no more than a preliminary scoping study during the first year. Notwithstanding these variations in the overall pattern, the Early Medieval Ecclesiastical Project is seen to be an important pan-Wales initiative, with significant implications not only for enhancing the scheduled ancient monument stock but also for adding considerably to our general knowledge of the period.

Five primary aims were identified for the study in the east and north-east Wales region, namely: i) an assessment of the nature and prevalence of the evidence that relates to the early medieval ecclesiastical landscape; ii) the identification, as objectively as possible, of the major and the likely early ecclesiastical sites; iii) the identification of potential sites of national importance with a view to recommending statutory protection; iv) the compilation of data compatible across the four trusts in order to facilitate any future pan-Wales assessment; and v) the enhancement and where necessary the modification of data held in the regional SMR.

The initial stage of the study comprised a detailed desk-top analysis of the early medieval evidence across mid and north-east Wales, utilising a wide range of data, archaeological, historical and place-name. It also defined a system of site grading, developed by three of the Trusts, to determine the *relative* standing of early churches and church sites in Wales. This formed the subject of the first report, which was circulated in April 2003 as CPAT Report no. 468.

The second phase of the project, which commenced at the beginning of the financial year, 2002/03, and continued throughout the twelve-month period, involved the field examination of potentially relevant sites. It was appreciated from the onset that the physical survival of early medieval ecclesiastical remains was both variable and thin, and that for a variety of site types, the existing information suggested that while the site itself might have an early medieval origin, the structure currently occupying that site was much more likely to be medieval or even later. For instance, of nearly one thousand historic church sites in Wales, many of which are thought to have originated in the pre-Conquest era, only one – Presteigne in central Powys – can be convincingly shown to have surviving fabric from that era. However, the sub-circular churchyards in which many of these churches are or were set provide more substantive evidence of early medieval activity. Some of the sub-parochial chapel sites in the region – and curiously there are far fewer of these than in some western parts of Wales – may have their genesis in the early medieval centuries, but again physical traces from that period are absent. And holy wells which are frequently thought of as early medieval because of their frequent attribute of a British saint's name are intrinsically undatable. On the other hand there are some site types such as early medieval inscribed stones and cross slabs where the chronological attribution is usually indisputable.

Sites that might benefit from detailed field examination were initially identified from the completed database that had been prepared during the desk-top assessment. As this contained

some thirteen hundred entries, this was a not altogether straightforward task, based as the data entries were on records of very variable quality and age. The latter in fact is a more significant factor than for some other thematic studies, for there is a long antiquarian tradition of identifying and attributing monuments to the early medieval era, with a strong and early tradition of integrating saint's cults based on the often hagiographical literature, and the folk traditions that have piled up in relation to chapels, wells and the like. As a consequence many records are both early in origin – and for this one only has to examine Edward Lhuyd's *Parochialia* (Morris 1909-11) – and now wholly unverifiable.

A fair proportion of the sites recorded in the database were, it appears, no longer visible on the ground. The Ordnance Survey had been quite assiduous, particularly in the 1970s, in trying to track down and accurately locate such sites as wells, with only variable success, and on occasions their results had been checked and corroborated in the field by CPAT or by other agencies. Such sites have generally been excluded from field examination, on the general, yet reasonable, assumption that what was not visible to expert archaeological investigators in the 1970s was hardly likely to manifest itself to other archaeologists thirty years later. Where, however, another extant site in the vicinity was being visited the opportunity might be taken to examine the 'lost' site, and this served on at least one occasion to demonstrate that earlier records should not always be taken at face value. The well, known as Ffynnon Ddewi (PRN 3453) at Llanddewi Abergwesyn and seemingly confused with the apparently mythical Ffynnon Thewy (PRN 3414) by Francis Jones in 1954, was claimed to have been destroyed by CPAT when fieldworkers visited the site in 1980. However, beside the track leading to Llanddewi Abergwesyn church, a small stream issues through a stone surround into an oval 'pool' which is edged by stone. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, this can be identified as the surviving remains of Ffynnon Ddewi which seem not to have been destroyed.

Inscribed and decorated stones have been largely, but not wholly, ignored, because of the ongoing and comprehensive study, currently being conducted by Drs Edwards and Redknap in the preparation of a revised edition of Nash-Williams' corpus. Churches, too, have been excluded as almost all of these were examined in detail by one of the writers for the pan-Wales 'Churches Project' in the late 1990s. But the handful of known, abandoned parish churches were not examined at that time, and they together with the churchyards which may constitute some of the primary evidence of early medieval activity but were only examined on a cursory basis then, are seen as important to the current study.

The situation in late March regarding visits to sites of potential early medieval significance is shown in Table 1.

*Table 1: Sites Visited*

Site Type	Number in database	Number targeted for visits	Number visited
Abandoned church	10	8	5
Churchyard	205	12	9
Chapels	132	67	31
Burial Sites	42	9	6
Shrines/Hermitages	2	2	1
Inscribed stones	248	16	14
Holy wells	194	107	42

## **2 Abandoned churches**

At a time when church redundancy is a major concern not only for the Church in Wales but also for those concerned with the heritage it comes as something of a surprise that there are relatively few former parish churches now standing in ruins.

Putting aside such early churches as Forden, Ystradgynlais, Llandulas, St George, Llansantffraed Cwmdeuddwr, and even Builth Wells, which were all replaced by Victorian buildings in a different portion of their respective churchyards, and are not considered further here, there are perhaps ten abandoned, historic churches that have been identified from the database. Several including the old church at Newtown, abandoned for a new site in the 1840s because of flooding, and Halkyn which was transferred to a new site in the 19<sup>th</sup> century at the whim of the local lord of the manor, probably because in its original position it was too close to his gentry home, have yet to be examined, nor has Llandysul which appears to have been deserted in favour of a site more convenient for its congregation. Others such as the old church at Llanwddyn, drowned by Lake Vyrnwy, and Carrog, on the plain of the River Dee and swept away by the floodwaters, are no longer accessible.

Of those that have been visited Llanbedr Dyffryn Clwyd (Denbs; PRN 16815), Llangynog (Breccs; PRN 16878), Llanddewi Abergwesyn (Breccs; PRN 1188) and Llanfihangel Abergwesyn (Breccs; PRN 4424) appear to have been abandoned because they no longer had viable congregations. These churches were not assessed during the Cadw-funded pan-Wales study of historic churches, and only fleetingly during the early historic settlements survey conducted by CPAT. The opportunity has been taken therefore to produce a fuller record of the surviving remains.

Several of these churches are likely to have had medieval fabric at the time that they were taken out of use, although in view of the picture that emerges from the many still functioning historic churches elsewhere in Wales it is highly improbable that anything remained of any early medieval predecessors. And there are no records of early medieval stones associated with any of them, though this of course is not to deny that such stones may once have existed. The ruins of Llanbedr Dyffryn Clwyd are exceptional for the degree of survival and include the west gable end, two original doorways in the west and north walls of the nave, and a clear definition of the outline of the building. Much less can be said of Llangynog, Llanddewi Abergwesyn and Llanfihangel Abergwesyn where the remains of each church have been largely levelled. In the first of these the wall fragments poke out intermittently, and the Victorian floor of the chancel has been partially cleared, while at Llanfihangel Abergwesyn, the walls look to have been levelled into the interior of the church in order to create a safe environment, although at the west end the large size of the church required the wall to be built up from a slope and masonry survives to a height of around 1m. The remote community of Abergwesyn has also lost its other church, Llanddewi, which is set on the opposite side of the Irfon, little more than 200m away from Llanfihangel. Its foundations survive, and the interior is filled with vegetation but there is no evidence of any architectural details that might provide a date.

One exceptional site is Glasbury (Rads; PRN 519) which was dedicated to St Cynidr. The present church, a 17<sup>th</sup>-century foundation, is on the south bank of the Wye in Breconshire, but its predecessor which was destroyed by flooding in 1642 (Martin and Walters 1993) had an unusual location, very close to the river, and also to its tributary, the Llynfi which converges on it. This site is, and probably frequently was in the past, threatened by river erosion, yet it was intentionally sited at the place where two rivers came together. The ground has been deliberately raised to create a triangular-shaped mound on which the church was then erected. However, the position of the latter is still evident occupying the north-west angle of the mound, which otherwise is remarkably featureless. From the remaining traces, which show as linear depressions where stone has been robbed out and spoil cast to one or both sides, that church comprised a

small nave and chancel. Presumably, the mound itself formed some sort of inner church enclosure or graveyard, but an earlier churchyard enclosure is still visible on the south side (see Fig 1), where a low curving earthwork appears to indicate a semi-circular churchyard abutting the river edge. Glasbury as its name suggests was a *clas* foundation, and traditionally its site was on the edge of an open common to the north where a holy well, Ffynnon Gynydd (Rads; PRN 408), otherwise Ffynnon Cynidr, is situated. While there is a long history behind the common taking its name from the well, the tradition that this is where the *clas* was established is a relatively recent development, and must be open to question. The location, of the earthwork remains on the Wye flood plain, however, is comparable with some other early monastic establishments in Wales, particularly Llanynys (Denbs) but also it would seem, Bangor-on Dee (Flints).

The churches of east and north-east Wales, whether abandoned or still in use, are arguably not as relevant to this study of early medieval ecclesiastical establishments as the enclosures in which they were set.

### 3 Churchyards

Sub-circular churchyards in the region were examined sporadically during the pan-Wales Churches survey, and the present programme has been able to build on the data that were gathered at that time (for a limited analysis see Silvester 1997). The link between circular and sub-circular churchyards and early medieval ecclesiastical activity is, of course, not universally accepted, but there amongst specialists there seems to be a widely-held view that, in conjunction with other forms of evidence, curvilinearity can indicate early origins (Edwards and Lane 1992, 5; Petts 2002, 25). It is not proposed to update any of the statistics given in Silvester 1997 – this will be done at a later date, probably in time for the Bangor Conference on The Archaeology of Early Medieval Celtic Churches in 2004 – but rather to examine one or two church sites where recent observations have added to the overall picture.

Accurate plans of earlier churchyards are rarely available, particularly where the changes to, and fossilisation of, boundaries long pre-date the earliest Ordnance Survey maps. A small corpus of plans is now being compiled from detailed surveys in order to illustrate the evidence that is available in earthwork form on the ground. The enclosures at Llanafan Fawr (Brecs; PRN 16804), a potential but unproven *clas* site have been referred to in the past (Silvester 1997, 116), and the earthworks to the south of its big churchyard were surveyed in 1993 (Jones 1993). The picture has now been completed by further work within the churchyard, and the accompanying plan reveals, not only the platform for the former chancel that was demolished in 1887, but more significantly in the context of this report the earlier churchyard enclosure, and the tomb of St Afan (Fig 2). On a smaller scale the polygonal churchyard at Llanddewi'r Cwm (Brecs; PRN 16823) has always appeared curiously atypical amongst the Brecknock churchyards, a mix of angled lines and curves. To the south of the church the area is heavy with marked and unmarked burials, but it is still possible through close observation to make out the line of an earlier oval enclosure (Fig 3).

A gradually increasing number of churchyards exhibit traces of relict boundaries that have previously gone unnoticed. At Llandefalle (Brecs; PRN 20916), the rectangular churchyard perimeter on the south side of the church has always sat oddly with the curvilinear component of the boundary to the north. An early curvilinear boundary, showing as a slight scarp has now been detected immediately to the south of the church, difficult to detect beneath the graves and the footpath but nevertheless providing a logical continuation of the existing curvilinear boundary, and perhaps continuing for a short distance as a gentle scarp bank, outside the east churchyard wall, although this identification is more subjective. Also in Brecknock is Llandefaelog Fach (PRN 2958), the qualifier seemingly being included to distinguish it from Llandefaelog Fawr, which reputedly was an earlier name for Llandefalle (Davies, n.d.) before it acquired its

dedication to St Matthew, which was certainly in place in the late 13<sup>th</sup> century. Llandefaelog Fach has a curve to its north side but its other sides are straight, giving it a largely rectilinear appearance. On the south side of the church no earthwork survives to reveal an earlier boundary; instead a line of eight mature yews, two of them now no more than large stumps, arc around to define a semicircle which is now followed by a footpath which is a recent introduction. There is no reason for this particular configuration of trees and they clearly were planted to follow or even lie on the course of a former boundary, a common enough practice in churches in the region (cf Guilsfield, Monts). An approximate date can perhaps be attributed to the expansion of the churchyard from the occurrence just outside the yews of the Penoyre mausoleum which was erected in 1816. This sizeable edifice in its own walled enclosure required a considerable amount of space which was not available in the existing churchyard so the latter was enlarged. It is noticeable too that all of the graves in the extension are of 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup>-century date. On the north side of the church the pattern of yews is less regular, but a relict bank surmounted by two large yews lies inside the present boundary, and it is clear that virtually none of the churchyard boundary as seen today represents the earlier, and smaller enclosure that once occupied the site.

The abandoned churches also have evidence to reveal. The polygonal enclosure surrounding the abandoned church at Llangynog (Brecs; PRN 5483) is a reflection of the insertion of a stone facing wall to the raised churchyard, perhaps in the post-medieval era, the original boundary showing as a rather more curvilinear terrace just outside it on its south and west sides. Llanfihangel Abergwesyn also has an earlier boundary showing as a scarp (PRN 20123), within the later stone-walled enclosure, and the large church dedicated to St Michael though it dwarfs its churchyard has not managed to remove the earthwork traces. However, in its shape the earlier boundary is matched for much of its course by the later wall which was just built a couple of metres outside it, but still adopted a curvilinear line for a part of its course.

Finally, we might note Forden church to the south of Welshpool, which has an incontrovertibly rectangular enclosure, implying that it is probably a post-Conquest foundation. However, the chance study of a 1783 estate map has revealed that the present churchyard is a 19<sup>th</sup>-century redesign. Forden previously had a sub-circular churchyard.

#### **4 Chapels**

It is reasonable to assume that in many areas there were once significant numbers of chapels which functioned either in the early medieval and medieval centuries but which were subsequently abandoned. So much is clear from other regions of Wales, and from the sporadic documented information that we have available to us for mid and north-east Wales. The collapse of these sites, their integration into vernacular buildings, or demolition often only leaves the foundations of walling or perhaps even just a local tradition which in some cases has been passed down to the present day, or, more probably, absolutely no record at all. The evidence underpinning these views often appears solidly based in the western regions of Wales, and there are suggestions in places like the parish of Crai, near Brecon that this might be extended to the remainder of the country. Equally, however, the view articulated by Archdeacon Thomas that there were several chapels in the parish of Henllan, near Denbigh, in the pre-Reformation era, which could no longer be located in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, reveals a problem which may be insuperable (Thomas 1911, 31). Even where one of those chapels is more firmly grounded topographically, as with a chapel on, or adjacent to, Denbigh Green, on ground belonging to a farm called The College, the difficulties in identifying the precise spot cannot be resolved.

The list of chapels which was recorded in the previous report (Silvester and Hankinson 2002, Appendix 4) appears to represent the first time that the lost and abandoned chapels of Powys and the old county of Clwyd have been listed. The visits carried out in this year of the project have attempted to examine more fully the nature and potential dating of some of the chapels identified,

in order to evaluate the potential that some of sites have an early medieval origin. The lack of a British saint's name in association with a chapel is not a reliable indicator as many of these associations have been lost following the abandonment of sites.

There are, of course, some very well-known chapels in excellent condition. Foremost in this category is the polygonal chapel, enclosing St Winefride's Well at Holywell (Flints; PRN 102417). The chapel with its elaborate roof vaulting, is considered to be of early 16<sup>th</sup>-century date, but the well traditionally marks the spot where Winefride was decapitated in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, and, although it is impossible to determine how that tradition developed it seems likely that there was some degree of religious activity here, before the Conquest, for the 'church of Haliwel' was referred to as early as 1093 (Silvester 1995, 31). Less familiar is the ruined chapel near Wigfair to the south-west of St Asaph which houses Ffynnon Fair (Denbs; PRN 102141). Its surviving Perpendicular features signal a fine late medieval chapel, and there is intricately shaped well-pool constructed in sandstone. But there is little documented history to the site, and it is impossible to determine whether it goes back further into the medieval period or beyond. Both of these are specifically well-chapels, the chapel being an adjunct to the well which clearly acquired a considerable importance during the medieval period.

The remote chapel of Llanilltyd (Breccs; PRN 16882) has now been reduced to its foundations, about 0.5m high, because of safety concerns. This building was 19<sup>th</sup> century in date (Haslam 1979, 352), but stood on the site on a much earlier structure. The curvilinear churchyard which almost certainly adopts an earlier, prehistoric enclosure, hints at an early medieval establishment, as does the dedication, and while there is now nothing of the chapel now that requires a full record, there are elements of the surrounding earthworks, which went unrecorded by the Ordnance Survey and which add to the complexity of this remote and interesting site.

The adjacent parish of Crai (Breccs) is one of the few in the region where several chapels have been recorded and arguably perhaps the only one where those chapels show some level of survival. Three are known in the parish, namely St Ildid's chapel (PRN 3137), Tan y Fedw chapel (PRN 3140) and Cae Capel (PRN 5685), a building in Cwmnewynydd, which on the basis of its geographical proximity, has been generally associated with the 'Cappel y fynwent' referred to by Lhuyd in his *Parochialia*. In contrast to expectations prior to the field visits, all of these sites appear to represent authentic chapels, although their proximity might suggest that unusual factors must be at work in this area.

The chapels are all located on the west side of the Afon Crai valley, with the most northerly (St Ildid's) 1.4 km downstream from that at Tan y Fedw, and the most southerly (Cae Capel) 3 km upstream of Tan y Fedw. Interestingly, a fourth site, that at Meity Isaf farmhouse (PRN 3138) in Cwm Hydfer within the adjoining parish of Llywel, is also only 3 km distant from each of the sites in Crai; its name appears to be an anglicisation of the term 'Meudwy', which translates as 'Hermitage' (see below), and there is architectural details in the form of moulded stone windows and door openings, which suggest that this site is also a former chapel, perhaps of 15<sup>th</sup>-century date.

Existing evidence indicates that the Crai chapels were in use from at least the medieval period and were possibly largely intact until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. St Ildid's chapel was apparently demolished after its last use in 1880, soon after which the modern church at Crai was built on a new site. Tan y Fedw chapel has some surviving masonry and there is evidence of what appears to be a sub-circular churchyard, some 50m to -60m in diameter, surrounding the knoll on which it is situated. An ogee-headed moulded stone window, probably dating to the earlier 14<sup>th</sup> century, has been rebuilt into the wall of an agricultural building (PRN 31224) at the farm. The remains of the chapel at Cae Capel in Cwmnewynydd consist only of the basal walling of a rectangular building and traces of an associated enclosure, and there are no visible architectural fragments to provide dating evidence. Local knowledge on the use of the chapel suggests that it was still in use in the

post-medieval centuries, even though it was not depicted by the Tithe survey. Its location was highlighted, however, by the adjoining 'capel' field names recorded on the apportionment for the Crai Tithe map of 1840.

A number of possible reasons behind this grouping of chapels can be suggested, none of these are completely convincing. A major factor which may be involved is the dispersed nature of the parish of Crai, though the close proximity of the sites and their distribution makes it unlikely that they simply formed chapels of ease. Possibly, also the chapels could form successive examples of a building fulfilling the function of a parish church, in which case St Ilid's chapel might be the latest structure, but the existing evidence intimates that there could have been some overlap in their usage.

Two inscribed stones of early medieval date are recorded from Crai, with that (PRN 3145) found at Pentre Goch Garreg (now Goch Garreg Farm) said to have been directly associated with 'Cappel y fynwent', and thus linked with the extant chapel site in Cwmnewynydd. This stone has been lost, but a second stone (PRN 797), which is now in the British Museum, was found about 1 km to the west of Tan y Fedw and equidistant from St Ilid's chapel, in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. It has been suggested that the second stone could also have originated at one of the chapels in the area. Although the identified chapel sites appear to be all of medieval and later date, the presence of these early medieval stones in the area implies some level of early medieval ecclesiastical activity in their immediate locality.

Many chapels remain impossible to locate, documented in antiquarian sources, but not accurately enough (even if the location was known at the time) to be sited precisely. A chapel, supposedly in ruins, was recorded in Derwen (Denbs) at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and following an article in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* which described that two roof trusses from the church had been incorporated in the barn and cowshed at a farm called Pyllau Perth, Archdeacon Thomas (1911, 73) pinpointed the latter near a well called Ffynnon Sarah. Pyllau Perth is now known as Glanyraber, and consists of a group of buildings, and the present occupant has no knowledge of any chapel. The owner of the surrounding land had removed the roof of one of the older buildings at Pyllau Perth in the 1960s, after a failed planning application to turn it into a house. Some timbers were removed to his farm at Cefn Mawr, but those that remain there in store there are undiagnostic. Others reputedly went elsewhere. There is thus no way of verifying the original 19<sup>th</sup>-century record, although that record in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* is positive enough to suggest an authentic identification. However, it seems evident that the trusses were not in situ but had been brought from elsewhere. There is nothing now standing to suggest a chapel, but equally the barn itself may also have gone for the surviving building to the south of Glanyraber has two fireplaces.

According to the Brecknock historian, Theophilus Jones, a chapel of ease at Llanhamlach Fan (now Llechfaen) collapsed about 1700 (PRN 81716). An 18<sup>th</sup>-century map in the West Glamorgan archives gives no hint as to its location, and the Tithe map for Llanhamlach only names two adjoining fields as 'Tyle yr Eglwys', some 0.4 km to the south of the village. Nothing significant can be identified within the two fields and there is no folk memory of a chapel. It is even possible that as the field names lie on the direct route between Llanhamlach and Llechfaen they might simply reflect the 'steep way to the church'.

Also in the vicinity of Brecon is the reputedly 5<sup>th</sup>-century chapel associated with St Alud (or St Eluned) and first referred to in the first half of 12<sup>th</sup> century (between 1116 and 1149). It is believed to have become derelict in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, but its position is depicted on Edward Thomas' map of the Slwch area in the early 1780s, and traces of a structure were still visible in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Worked ashlar in Slwch Farm, noted in 1949, may have come from the chapel. It is recorded that the chapel lay at the centre of a large, near circular enclosure (PRN 35884), c 90m in diameter, which was still visible in late 19<sup>th</sup> century. There is an associated

well dedicated to the saint (PRN 38588). The chapel complex is now scheduled. The scheduled area is located on the highest point of a sloping pasture field, named 'Gwrlod y Capel' on the Tithe map for Brecon (St John the Evangelist).

No trace of a building survives on the site which is defined by a series of hollows/irregular platforms in a topographically irregular area at the south-west end of the field, and the existing description is difficult to tie in with the visible remains which seem to include surface quarries and their associated spoil. Some of these platforms may have had buildings on them but none is totally convincing. Of the church enclosure very little appears to survive. However, to add to the confusion when Richard Kay visited Slwch in Sept 1949, he recorded and sketched what he considered to be the chapel enclosure on the north side of the lane but several hundred further west (R Kay's notebooks now in NMR). It is clear, however, from early Ordnance Survey maps that what he perceived to be the chapel enclosure was in fact a tree plantation ring, and while re-use is not impossible, the Thomas map of the late 18th century confirms the position of the chapel further east.

Finally, with regard to the chapels of the region, 'Cae Henllan' was believed by the Radnorshire historian W Howse (1949) to be the site of the first Celtic church of Llanelwedd, half a mile to the north of the present church. Excavations in the interior in 1910 revealed flooring and wall foundations. Richard Kay visited the site in 1950 and identified on a knoll, a polygonal enclosure with the possible site of the church in the northern part of the enclosure. Now, however, there are no visible surface traces of the chapel, and the only surviving features which suggest an associated enclosure are two banks on the south and east sides of the knoll which may conform to some of Kay's observations fifty years ago.

## **5 Hermitages**

One of the site types which has a particular connection with the fundamental concepts of Celtic Christianity is the hermitage. The idea that a religious figure would find it desirable to retreat to an isolated location was widely accepted in the early medieval period and is still understood in many localities to this day. Two sites in northern Montgomeryshire use the term 'gwely', or 'bed', to describe the abode of a saint - Gwely Melangell (PRN 18) and Gwely Wddyn (PRN 35) - although in the case of the former the name was applied to a natural rock shelf, and in the latter to a rock crevice.

The prehistoric long cairn of Ty Illtud, in Llanhamlach near Brecon (Brecks; PRN 50435) is a site which was allegedly a residence of St Illtud, as its name suggests; and the numerous crosses and other symbols incised on the orthostats of the chamber - more than seventy have been counted - have been taken as corroborative evidence of its authenticity. However, the tradition cannot be documented any further than the early 19<sup>th</sup>-century Brecknock historian, Theophilus Jones, although one suspects he may have been citing oral beliefs. That the crosses do exist there can be no doubt, but some could be the equivalent of graffiti initials, an indicator of people visiting the cairn as the tradition linking it to St Illtyd developed. Others, however, reputedly appear in a form that might have been current during the early medieval period (RCAHMW 1997, 32).

The difficulties in the study of hermitages can be paralleled with those of holy wells where there are fundamental problems in determining the authenticity of sites and also in locating sites when the common evidence tends to be recorded placenames. One example of place-name evidence, although there is, as yet, no physical evidence of an early medieval site in association with it, consists of the place-name 'meity' preserved in Cwm Hydfer within the parish of Llywel. The name occurs as 'Cwm Meity', 'Moel Feity', 'Meity Isaf', 'Meity Fechan' and 'Meity-fawr', and is probably an anglicisation of the term 'Meudwy', which translates as 'Hermitage'. As has been noted above, there appears to be a chapel site at Meity Isaf, but perhaps the hermitage was

located in the valley of Cwm Meity which runs from Moel Feity at SN 849233 to its confluence with the Afon Hydfer at SN 848259.

One site which demonstrates the difficulties in the recording and identification of hermitages is the hermitage attributed to St Gunleus, in the upper Swansea Valley, first noted by Jones in 1809. The existing record of this site, known locally as 'Eglwys Caradoc', relates to a rock arch (PRN 1534), which was suggested as the site location by a local resident when fieldworkers in the 1970s failed to find the site of the hermitage. Fieldwork, however, casts significant doubts on this interpretation for the site appears unsuitable for its alleged purpose and does not match the descriptions given by the 19<sup>th</sup>-century sources. Fortunately, as a result of the local knowledge of the CPAT fieldworker, a second cave site (PRN 80328) in the area was visited which, it is believed, conforms more closely to the 19th-century descriptions. The examination of the second site confirmed this belief, and also led to the recording of a surviving structure within the cave, which appeared to suggest that it had been occupied at least on a temporary basis in the past, though at what point in the past cannot, of course be ascertained.

## **6 Holy Wells**

The main significance which can be attached to holy wells in Wales relates to the long and well-established tradition linking early medieval 'saints' and holy men to wells and water sources. This 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. Even so, the attribution of a saint's name to a particular well is no guarantee that the saint had any direct link with that well, it being perfectly possible that the well acquired its name at a later date as a result of the site's proximity to a nearby church with the same dedication, or because of a growing body of folk tradition. Even today, however, the presence of a well or water source which is reputed to be of 'holy' origin will generally be a well-known feature of the landscape, whose nature and function will be understood and appreciated by the local population, in contrast to many other elements of the archaeological resource.

The suggestion in the desk-top study that the term 'holy well' can be ascribed to a wide variety of water sources has been largely confirmed by the evidence of site visits. Often the water source is a wholly natural phenomenon and examples such as at Trinity Well I, near Guilsfield (PRN 97) demonstrate that despite the source acquiring a 'holy' name, it remained physically unmodified. More commonly, some alterations to the area of the water source will have been attempted, perhaps by the addition of structural features or by excavations designed to provide a receptacle for holding water. At its simplest a potential holy well may consist of a simple hollow from which water issues, such as in the case of St Cenau's Well, Llangenny (Brecks; PRN 4002). This was apparently situated in close proximity to the lost chapel or oratory of St Ceneu on the far side of the river from Llangenny, from which a bell 'of curious form' was said to have been recovered when it was dismantled in 1790. Occasionally there may be a stone revetment to one of more sides of the hollow, as at St Dogfan's Well (PRN 101576), in the parish of Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant, or spring water may be held in a stone-lined bath or tank with an overflow, as at Pistyll y Clawdd (Monts; PRN 82).

However, like other monuments wells are likely to undergo refurbishment and rehousing, often without reference to their historic potential. Thus the spring well behind Llandefalle church (Brecks; PRN 4485) which is not known to have any 'holy' attributes, but is nevertheless set within the early curvilinear church enclosure, was formerly enclosed by stone walls on three sides, creating a pool about one metre square and 0.5m deep. It is now encased in brick with a concrete top in which is set a manhole cover, and any evidence of its previous form is either hidden or destroyed.

A small number of more complex well structures are found to occur both in Montgomeryshire and in other parts of the region, consisting of a variety of stone-built features, the most common of which appears to be a roofed alcove with drystone side and rear walls and a small, rock-cut, stone trough in the base which captures spring water. Generally these wells are associated with a particular saint, lending credence to the possibility of an early medieval origin, although the existing structures undoubtedly represent later refurbishments. Good examples of the type include St Myllin's Well near Llanfyllin (Monts; PRN 56) and St Cadfan's Well, near Llangadfan (Monts; PRN 1230), neither of which is in the immediate vicinity of the relevant dedicated church. The cobbled ramp which leads down to the stone revetted Ffynnon Erfyl at Llanerfyl (Monts; PRN 1323) is another type of structure, though there is some doubt as to the attribution; it is situated at some distance from the church of Llanerfyl, on the other side of the River Banwy.

In Denbighshire Ffynnon Sarah (Denbs; PRN 100763) consists of a large, rectangular well pool, sunk into the slope, recently restored by the local council. It has mortared walls of random rubble, and a flight of four steps down to water level in the south-east angle; a stream runs past the well on the N side and an overflow channel, possibly of recent construction, leads from the W side of the pool to the stream. Likewise at Llanrhaeadr-yng-Nghinmeirch, Ffynnon Dyfnog (Denbs; PRN 100603), the main element is a large well pool, broadly rectangular and of well-squared masonry, and set in a hollow. The pool is fed by what appears to be a copious stream. This emerges from a conduit topped by a concrete lintel which appears to be relatively modern. Above and behind this a dry gully leads back to what was probably the 'cave' of earlier records, in which the spring rose, but is now just a shallow concavity. On the north side of the gully a drystone revetment wall is clearly associated with it. The 'cave' was certainly the origin of the water supply at the time of Richard Fenton's visit in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the pool, too, was in existence. But possibly this may have been a feature of the landscaping that was instituted around Llanrhaiadr Hall in the later 18<sup>th</sup> century, and certainly there is nothing to suggest that it goes back into the medieval ages, although the proximity of the well bearing the same saint's name as the nearby church hints at a longer tradition.

The Maen-du well (PRN 81732), near Brecon, is an example which demonstrates the continuation of a tradition of housing wells in the manner of a medieval well-chapel in later centuries. Francis Jones (1992, 146) classed this as a holy well because people resorted to it and items were deposited there. Over it is a building, dated to 1754, but its appearance, and particularly the corbelled roof, suggests that an attempt may even have been made to copy the form of an oratory, thereby mirroring the tradition of the small, corbelled-roof, monastic cells of the early medieval period which are found in the western parts of Britain and Ireland.

One of the difficulties regarding the identification and dating of a potential holy well lies in determining the authenticity of the site. Even if some structure is present it is generally impossible to ascertain the period in which it was built and, as mentioned above, even a positive attribution of a well to a particular saint is no guarantee of an early medieval origin. Pilleth church (Rads) is probably a post-Conquest foundation, but St Mary's well is set immediately adjacent to its north wall. The well of Gwenfrewi (St Winifred) at Holywell, probably the best known holy well in the region, is as noted above 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 probably unlikely to provide a satisfactory solution. Edwards and Lane (1992, 8) have noted the excavation of Ffynnon Degla at Llandegley (Denbs) in 1935 which revealed a limited amount of stratigraphy beneath the paving but no dating evidence. More recently the well of St Eluned near Brecon has been partially examined, although again without any significant discoveries (P Dorling: *pers comm.*).

## *7 Cemeteries*

Only a very limited number of burial sites and cemeteries of potential early medieval origin are known in the region (see Silvester and Hankinson 2002, 19), and several of these were the result of rescue excavations, so further fieldwork is unlikely to have a meaningful outcome.

One of very few such sites which have been not been revealed by excavation is that recorded at Meusydd, Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant (Denbs; PRN 102775) on a single CUCAP oblique aerial photograph taken in 1975. Slight marks appear to represent an unenclosed group of burials; this site has not been dated, but from its appearance it could belong to the early medieval period. Inevitably, there are no surface traces, but conceivably a limited intervention might clarify the nature of the site and possibly even its date.

One further site which is likely to represent a funerary monument of the period is a possible square-shaped barrow (PRN 106503) at Coed Bell, near Prestatyn, which was found by members of the public, and might be an extant example of the type of early medieval burials found during excavations by CPAT at Tandderwen, near Denbigh in 1986-7.

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Grant-aid programme Threat Related Assessments

Financial year 2002/03

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**1 Code number and project title**

CPAT 930

EARLY MEDIEVAL ECCLESIASTICAL SITES

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**2 Location: NGR, Community, SAM no/SMR no**Not applicable

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**3 Summary of proposals for current/forthcoming year**

The first year of the project (2001/02), forming part of a pan-Wales initiative currently involving the Gwynedd and Dyfed Archaeological Trusts, was primarily concerned with desktop work and initial assessment of a wide range of early medieval religious sites.

The second year of the project (2002/03) is planned to see the completion of the rapid fieldwork recording element of the project, together with the production of a final project report including a gazetteer of sites, scheduling and management recommendations, and recommendations for further work.

It is possible that further proposals might be submitted for the following financial year, depending upon the results of work undertaken during 2002/03, and possibly also including participation in a national conference and/or publication.

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**4 Description of the site(s), area, material etc and assessment of archaeological importance**

The predominant site types are early chapels, churches and churchyards (including both surviving and abandoned sites), holy wells, inscribed stones, place-names, and early cemeteries.

Religious and burial sites and monuments of early medieval origin are of fundamental importance both in themselves and because in many instances they provide the foundation, occasionally physically more frequently metaphorically, for the subsequent development and practice of medieval and modern Christianity in Wales. They represent, too, one group of elements that were formative in the earliest emergence of the Welsh nation. Many such sites have disappeared completely and many others are poorly known, but those that are recognisable must be considered a key archaeological resource.

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**5 Nature of threat, the likely extent of timing and destruction**

Cultivation, general development, and more specifically graveyard expansion represent the major threats to these classes of monument.

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**6 Research objectives**

- Definition, classification and distribution of the classes of site representing early medieval religious and burial activity throughout the region.
- Rationalisation and enhancement of the existing SMR record.
- Assessment of the archaeological and historical significance of these sites in both a regional and national context.

- Assessment of both the vulnerability of the archaeological resource and the scheduling criteria that might be applied, with recommendations for future management strategies.
- Enhancement of ENDEX.

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## 7 Proposed work programme

See also Project Management Plan in section 15. The anticipated work programme includes the following elements (numbered as in Project Management Plan):

### 1 Administration

Project Management; AMI monitoring; Liaison meetings (if appropriate); Financial statements; Audited statement; CPAT Committee Reports; Half-Year/Annual Reports; *Archaeology in Wales* report.

### 2 Fieldwork

Liaison with landowners concerning access. Completion of visits to sites which desktop study suggests have archaeological potential (many of which may not have been visited for some time) for the purpose of rapid recording, possibly including more detailed measured survey or geophysical survey in some instances.

### 3 Report Preparation

Report preparation to focus on the methodology and results of both the desk-top and field analyses. Compilation of a separate paper on scheduling and management issues and recommendation for further work.

### 6 Archive

Submission of records and archive to Sites and Monuments Record.

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## 8 Specialist requirements

Advice from Astrid Caseldine on palaeoenvironmental potential, as necessary

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## 9 Proposed timing of work programme

To be completed during course of financial year. See Project Management Plan Timetable in section 15.

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## 10 Presentation of results

Compilation of a survey report in *CPAT Report* series, the report to include the following elements: summary of the work undertaken; background; methodology; synthesis of the results; interpretation, classification and appraisal of significance of the archaeological resource within a regional and national framework; integrity and survival of the resource; conclusions; gazetteer of significant early medieval sites. Preparation and dissemination of report, with separate paper on recommendations for scheduling enhancement, and for management of the resource; general and specific recommendations for further work in this and other areas. The possibility of a synthetic overview in conjunction with the other Trusts.

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## 11 End products

### a During the coming financial year

- Project report in *CPAT Report* series as outlined in section 10 and separate report on scheduling recommendations and management.

- Summary report on CPAT website [www.cpat.org.uk](http://www.cpat.org.uk).
- Summary report in *Archaeology in Wales*
- Project archive (field record forms, slides, prints, negatives) to be deposited with the regional SMR
- Enhanced SMR data to be fed into END in due course

***b Year by year until the completion of the project***

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**12 Progress**

It is anticipated that the targets for the first year of the project (2001/02) will be substantially completed by the end of the financial year, with only a little disruption due to the foot and mouth epidemic, as follows: setting up of project database from Regional SMR; record enhancement from NMR and a range of other secondary sources; assessment of sites listed in the project database and scoring according to criteria agreed between each of the Trusts currently engaged in the project (CPAT, DAT, GAT); some initial fieldwork; plus preliminary project report on work undertaken during the course of the year.

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**13 Project supervisor**

***a Name***

Bob Silvester

***b Qualifications***

BA, MIFA

***c Position in organisation***

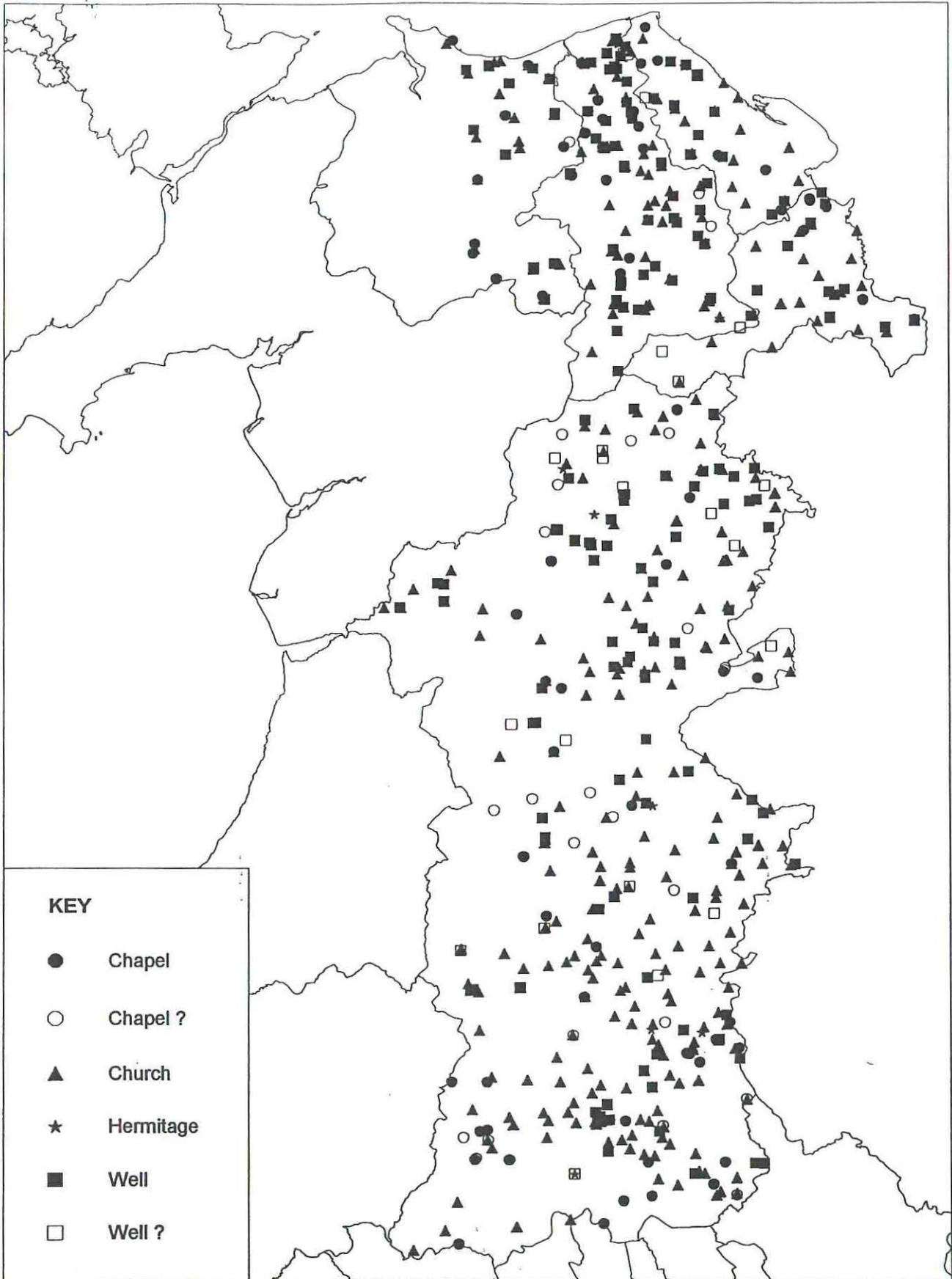
Deputy Director

***d List of unpublished excavations***

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***e Details of other commitments during the coming year***

Anticipated commitments to Cadw-funded projects include Short Dykes, Roman roads, Regional Industries scoping study and Ridge and Furrow pilot study.



**Early Medieval Ecclesiastical Sites**

Provisional distribution of early medieval and possible early medieval sites with ecclesiastical and religious association in the Clwyd-Powys area.

## *Appendix 2: Early Medieval Ecclesiastical Sites Visited*

<i>Site name</i>	<i>PRN</i>	<i>Site Type</i>	<i>NGR</i>	<i>Map</i>
Eglwys Caradog Cave	1534	Cave occupation	SN84491580	SN81NW
Meusydd 'cemetery'	102775	Cemetery	SJ13252525	SJ12NW
Maes y Beddau placename	852	Cemetery ?	SN93003690	SN93NW
Maes y Beddau placename	1176	Cemetery ?	SO13191900	SO11NW
Gorn Hill Cemetery	1542	Cemetery ?	SN96328439	SN98SE
Twyn y Beddau cemetery	5723	Cemetery ?	SO24113861	SO23NW
Pipton Chapel	521	Chapel	SO16773806	SO13NE
Felindre Chapel	523	Chapel	SO18643680	SO13NE
St Eluned's Chapel	617	Chapel	SO05792861	SO02NE
Llandegeman Fawr Chapel	674	Chapel	SO19372106	SO12SE
Gelli Talgarth Chapel	863	Chapel	SN97055738	SN95NE
Capel Banhadlog Chapel	1543	Chapel	SN98118059	SN98SE
Cae Henllan Church, Llanelwedd	1601	Chapel	SO04275219	SO05SW
Capel Madog	1644	Chapel	SN93896575	SN96NW
Llwyn y Fynwent	3051	Chapel	SN89944300	SN84SE
St Ilid's Chapel	3137	Chapel	SN89032717	SN82NE
Waun y Capel Chapel	3333	Chapel	SO11871786	SO11NW
Llandeilo'r Fan Chapel	4377	Chapel	SN8934	SN83SE
Pen Y Coed Chapel Site	19003	Chapel	SN99258949	SN98NE
Cefn Fynydd Chapel site	101902	Chapel	SJ062513	SJ05SE
Ffynnon Fair Chapel	102141	Chapel	SJ02917107	SJ07SW
Llechfaen chapel	81716	Chapel	SO08052843	SO02NE
Capel Nant-ddu	81719	Chapel	SO00341475	SO01SW
Capel Taf Fechan	81748	Chapel	SO0513	SO01SE
Capel Maes-y-bwlch	81676	Chapel	SN84583520	SN83NW
Capel Senni	81677	Chapel	SN929233	SN92SW
Capel Coelbren	81678	Chapel	SN84971170	SN81SW
Capel Glyn Collwn	81679	Chapel	SO07801715	SO01NE

<i>Site name</i>	<i>PRN</i>	<i>Site Type</i>	<i>NGR</i>	<i>Map</i>
Tair y Wen Chapel	3119	Chapel ?	SO243388	SO23NW
Tan y Fedw Chapel	3140	Chapel ?	SN89132573	SN82NE
Aber Henllan Chapel	3468	Chapel ?	SN89957229	SN87SE
St Cenau's Chapel	4910	Chapel ?	SO24141817	SO21NW
Cae Capel Building	5685	Chapel ?	SN87482315	SN82SE
Meity Isaf Chapel	3138	Chapel ?	SN8571126143	SN82NE
Pen Cerig Calch chapel site	72430	Chapel ?	SO22302263	SO22SW
Llanifan	81683	Chapel?	SO1561	SO16SE
Glasbury old church site	519	Church	SO17633891	SO13NE
Llanddewi Abergwesyn Church	1188	Church	SN85255262	SN85SE
Llanfihangel Abergwesyn Church	4424	Church	SN85415265	SN85SE
New Radnor Castle, church site	5240	Church	SO2160	SO26SW
Llanbedr Dyffryn Clwyd Old Church	16815	Church	SJ14535981	SJ15NW
Llangynog Church	16878	Church	SO02454599	SO04NW
Llanilltyd Church	16882	Church	SN97112611	SN92NE
Hendre church	81556	Church ?	SJ09842858	SJ02NE
Llanilltyd Church churchyard	587	Churchyard	SN97122611	SN92NE
Llangynog Church, churchyard	5483	Churchyard	SO02454599	SO04NW
Glyntawe Church, churchyard	16991	Churchyard	SN84811688	SN81NW
Llanbedr Dyffryn Clwyd Old Church (St	19740	Churchyard	SJ14535981	SJ15NW
Llanddewi Abergwesyn Church, churchyar	20122	Churchyard	SN85255262	SN85SE
Llanfihangel Abergwesyn Church, church	20123	Churchyard	SN85415265	SN85SE
Himant Church, churchyard	7631	Churchyard	SJ05042295	SJ02SE
Llandefalle Church, churchyard	20196	Churchyard	SO10763558	SO13NW
Llanafan-Fechan Church (St Afan), moun	2972	Churchyard ?	SN97295034	SN95SE
Twyn Y Beddau Cist I	50549	Cist ?	SO24113861	SO23NW
Upper Pen y Fforest Cross	410	Cross	SO18884359	SO14SE
Maen Achwyfan cross	102328	Cross	SJ12887876	SJ17NW
Hope Church stone I	81751	Cross-carved stone	SJ30965836	SJ35NW

<i>Site name</i>	<i>PRN</i>	<i>Site Type</i>	<i>NGR</i>	<i>Map</i>
Hope Church stone II	81752	Cross-carved stone	SJ30965836	SJ35NW
Hope Church stone III	81753	Cross-carved stone	SJ30965836	SJ35NW
Bryn Cynon Stone	389	Decorated stone	SO18104942	SO14NE
Llanelieu Church (St Ellyw), stone I	563	Decorated stone	SO1848534175	SO13SE
Llanelieu Church (St Ellyw), stone II	5829	Decorated stone	SO1848534175	SO13SE
Llanafan Fawr Church (St Afan), cross	5882	Decorated stone	SN96915577	SN95NE
Llanafan Fawr Church (St Afan), cross	5883	Decorated stone	SN96915577	SN95NE
Llanafan Fawr Church (St Afan), cross	5884	Decorated stone	SN96915577	SN95NE
Pont Glan Tanat Uchaf Stones	5989	Decorated stone	SJ13722435	SJ12SW
Ty Illtud Long Cairn, decorated stones	50435	Decorated stone	SO09842638	SO02NE
St Eluned's Chapel enclosure	35884	Enclosure	SO05792861	SO02NE
Craig y Rhiwarth cave II	80328	Hermitage ?	SN84611565	SN81NW
Pentrey Goch Garreg Stone	3145	Inscribed stone	SN877235	SN82SE
Esgym Brook Limekiln	5392	Limekiln	SO24483716	SO23NW
Tan y Fedw tractor shed	31224	Machinery store	SN8906825791	SN82NE
Llowes Monastery	407	Monastery	SO199431	SO14SE
Glasbury Clas	516	Monastery	SO164412	SO14SE
Pen Llys 'Church' site	3009	Quarry ?	SN99945847	SN95NE
Bedd Illtyd Stone Setting	582	Round barrow (ring cairn)	SN97392639	SN92NE
Coed Bell rectilinear feature	106503	Square barrow ?	SJ08778291	SJ08SE
Llanhamlach Standing Stone	615	Standing stone	SO08942675	SO02NE
Tair y Wen Chapel	5385	Stone setting	SO23833886	SO23NW
St Myllin's Well	56	Well	SJ1393019525	SJ11NW
Pistyll y Clawdd Well	82	Well	SJ15391091	SJ11SE
Trinity Well I	97	Well	SJ21891296	SJ21SW
Ffynnon Fair Well	256	Well	SN96916842	SN96NE
St Mary's well, Pilleth	287	Well	SO25636823	SO26NE
Ffynnon y Gwrlodan Well	675	Well	SO1821	SO12SE
Ffynnon Gattwg	692	Well	SO20531812	SO21NW

<i>Site name</i>	<i>PRN</i>	<i>Site Type</i>	<i>NGR</i>	<i>Map</i>
Well Houses Well	735	Well	SN87124702	SN84NE
Ffynnon Fair Well	758	Well	SJ10360648	SJ10NW
Ffynnon Ddu Well	781	Well	SO08809403	SO09SE
St Cadfan's Well	1230	Well	SJ01101044	SJ01SW
Trinity Well	1251	Well	SJ25951593	SJ21NE
Ffynnon Erfyl Well	1323	Well	SJ03131008	SJ01SW
Ffynnon Idloes Well	1539	Well	SN95668468	SN98SE
Ffynnon Cilyn Well	1540	Well	SN95238459	SN98SE
St Michael's Well	1689	Well	SJ08121686	SJ01NE
Ffynnon Fach Well	1690	Well	SJ07931682	SJ01NE
Ffynnon Geiliog Well	1698	Well	SJ06201335	SJ01SE
Ffynnon Gedwyn	1850	Well	SN96498951	SN98NE
Ffynnon Fair Well	3215	Well	SO2663522460	SO22SE
David's Well	3457	Well	SO05987858	SO07NE
Forden Well	3810	Well	SJ23000053	SJ20SW
Ffynnon Ceneu Well	4002	Well	SO24141810	SO21NW
Clyro Well	4278	Well	SO22504343	SO24SW
Holy Well	4369	Well	SJ22331549	SJ21NW
Trinity Well II	4370	Well	SJ28691222	SJ21SE
Llandefalle Church well	4485	Well	SO10743560	SO13NW
Filo Well	4492	Well	SO11903320	SO13SW
Ffynnon Fair Well	5739	Well	SO17067780	SO17NE
New Wells Well	5762	Well	SO15209590	SO19NE
Ffynnon Ishow well	31209	Well	SO2784322428	SO22SE
Ffynnon Dyfnog Well	100603	Well	SJ07966334	SJ06SE
Ffynnon Sarah	100763	Well	SJ06435154	SJ05SE
St Dogfan's Well	101576	Well	SJ09452901	SJ02NE
Ffynnon Fair Holy Well	102142	Well	SJ02907107	SJ07SW
Ffynnon Gynydd Well	408	Well	SO1641141284	SO14SE

<i>Site name</i>	<i>PRN</i>	<i>Site Type</i>	<i>NGR</i>	<i>Map</i>
Ffynnon Ishow Well	3219	Well	SO27772238	SO22SE
St Eluned's Well	38588	Well	SO05792861	SO02NE
Ffynnon Gwydd	81709	Well	SO0438258313	SO05NW
Llandrindod Old Church holy well	81710	Well	SO06566009	SO06SE
Maen Du well	81732	Well	SO0390029635	SO02NW
Ffynnon Fair	81740	Well	SJ08066311	SJ06SE
Ty'n y Llan Spring	3418	Well ?	SN93934990	SN94NW
Ffynnon Ddewi Well	3453	Well ?	SN85325258	SN85SE
Llanafan Fawr Well	6388	Well ?	SN96795563	SN95NE
Peter's Well	81711	Well ?	SO201578	SO25NW
Ffynnon Iwan	81744	Well ?	SJ0522	SJ02SE
St Bennion's well	81745	Well ?	SJ28051814	SJ21NE

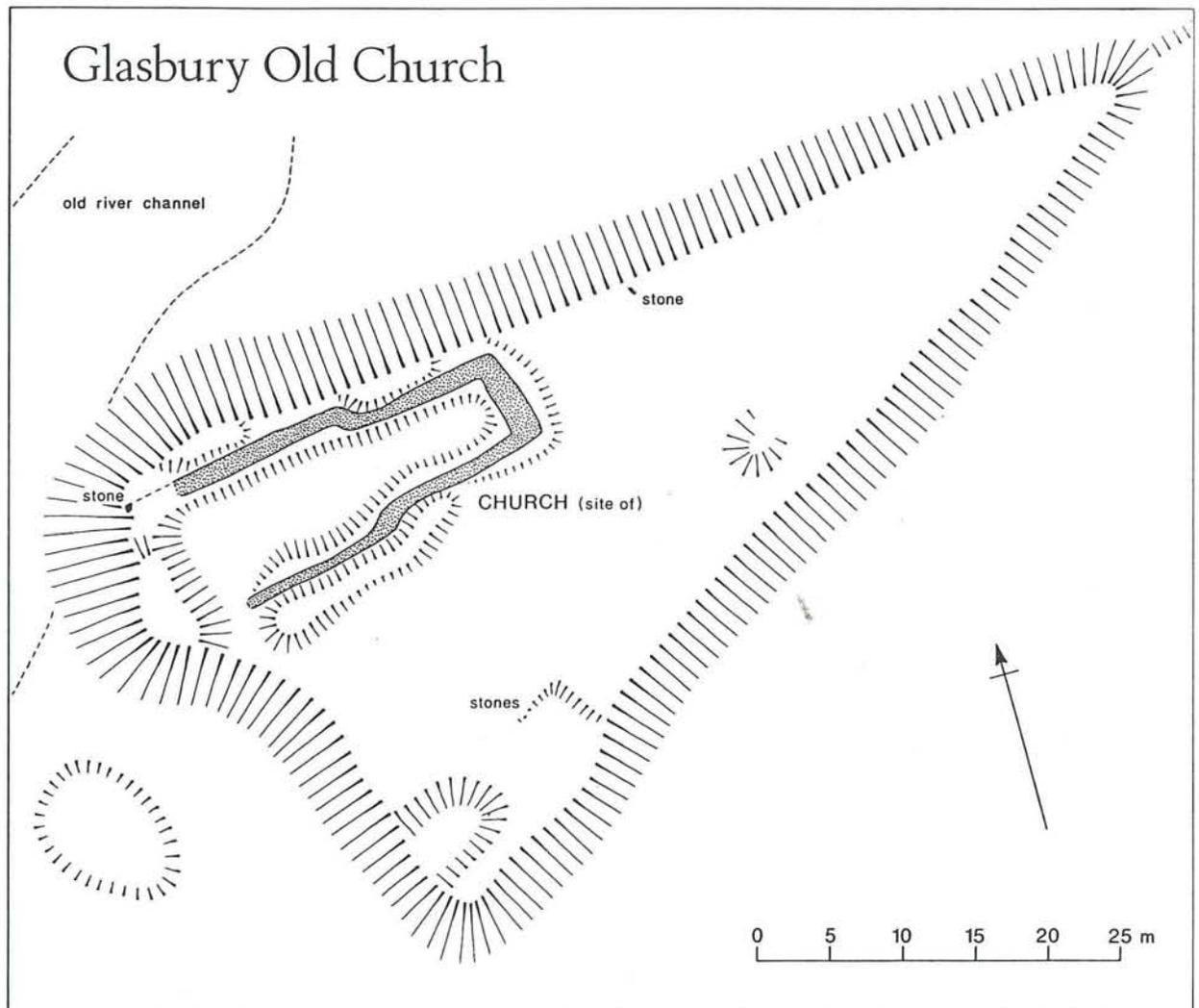


Fig. 1 Glasbury Old Church mound

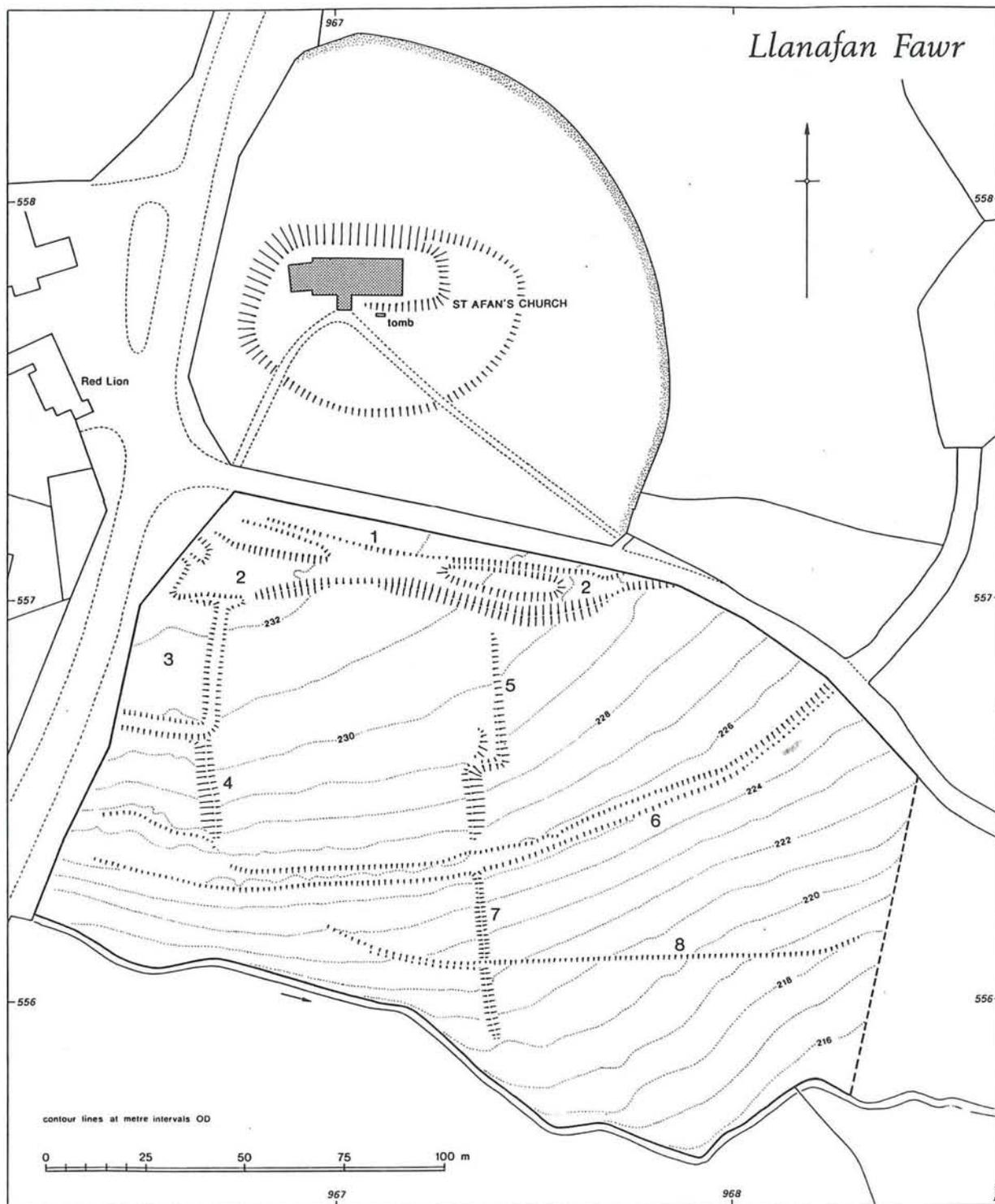


Fig. 2 Llanafan Fawr churchyard and enclosure

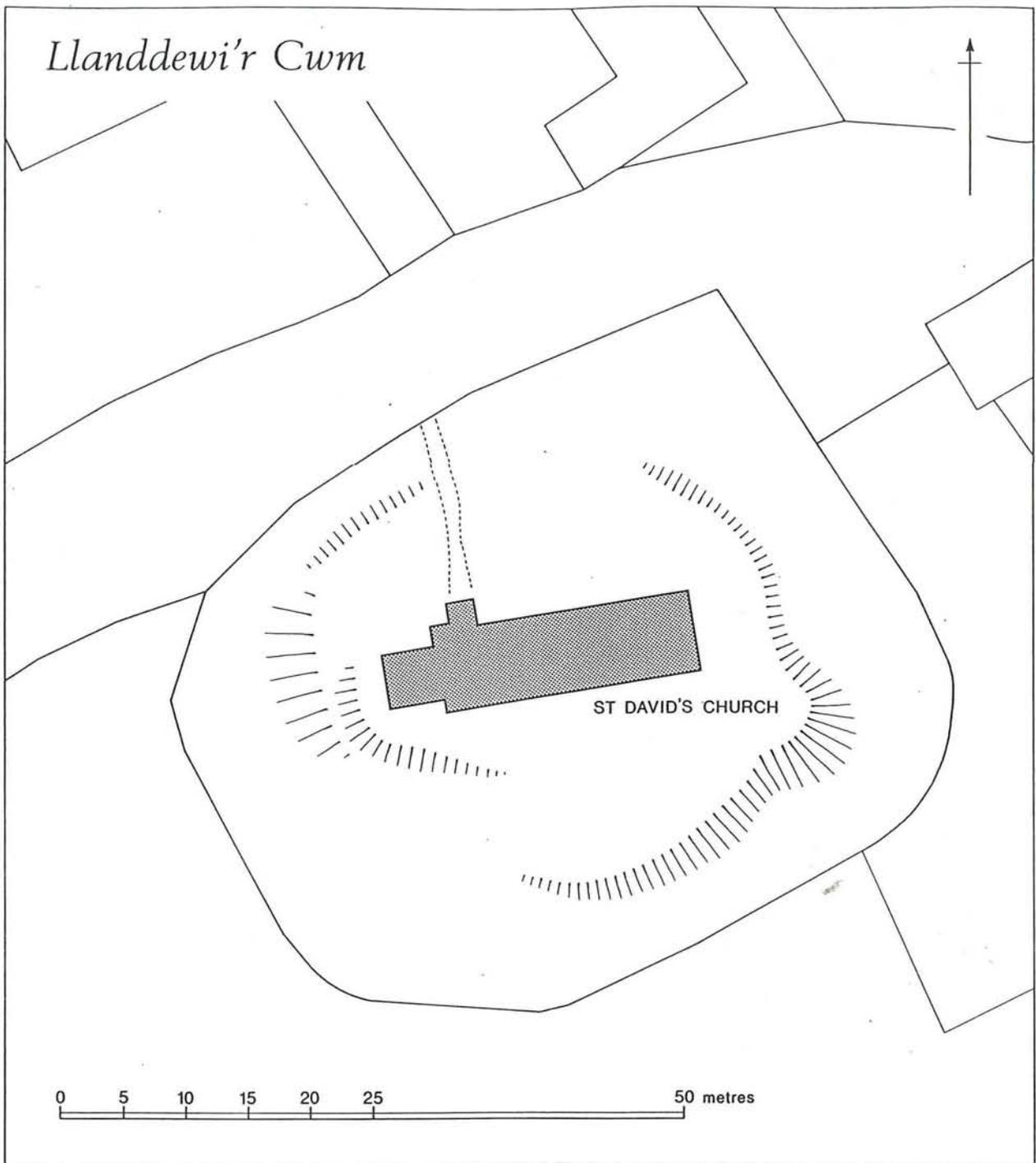


Fig. 3 Llanddewi'r Cwm churchyard and enclosure



Plate 1 Interior of Ffynnon Fair Chapel (PRN 102141), showing the well (PRN 102142)



Plate 2 David's Well (PRN 3457)



Plate 3 Glasbury Old Church mound



Plate 4 Llanellieu Church stones (PRNs 563 and 5829)



Plate 5 Meity Isaf Chapel (PRN 3138), head of window in garden wall



Plate 6 Tan y Fedw Chapel (PRN 3140), showing possible surrounding enclosure