

# Early medieval ecclesiastical sites in southeast Wales

Desk-based assessment

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A report for Cadw  
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## **SUMMARY**

This report forms the first stage in the study of sites within the former counties of Glamorgan and Gwent as part of the Pan-Wales Early Medieval Ecclesiastical Sites Project. It considers evidence from the SMR, documentary and antiquarian sources and scholarly publications for ecclesiastical sites of the Early Medieval period, and grades them according to a series of criteria defined for use over the whole of Wales.

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## INTRODUCTION

In the 2001-02 financial year Cadw established a project to examine the evidence for Early Medieval ecclesiastical sites in the whole of Wales. Because of other commitments to Cadw projects, GGAT was not able to start effective project work until the following year, 2002-03. This report represents the first stage of the project, a desk-based assessment of the evidence for pre-Norman ecclesiastical sites within the former counties of Glamorgan and Gwent.

In some ways the area is extremely well served as regards evidence for the period. In pride of place is the extensive collection of charters known as the *Liber Landavensis*, the *Book of Llandaff*. This was compiled in the 1120s for the purpose of establishing the claims of the See of Llandaff to extensive properties in South Wales and the southern Marches, many of which were disputed by the sees of Hereford and St Davids (Davies 1979, 2). The studies of Professor Wendy Davies have demonstrated that most of the charters can credibly be attributed to the time at which they are alleged to have been drawn up, and can therefore be used as evidence for the pre-Norman period.

The first corpus of Early Christian monuments for Wales was drawn up by Nash-Williams (1950). The Glamorgan monuments, which account for all but four of those within the present study area, were revisited by RCAHMW staff in the 1960s and early 1970s, and their re-publication accounts for the greater part of volume 1 iii of the *Glamorgan Inventory*. This provides descriptions of all the monuments, together with very high-quality photographs, as well as drawings of those for which detail can be seen more clearly in this medium; Nash-Williams's dates for some of the entries have been revised. A new publication of all Early Christian monuments in Wales is in the course of production, but the results from this do not materially differ from RCAHMW's conclusions, as far as those aspects relevant to this study are concerned (M Redknap pers comm).

In other aspects, the pre-existing dataset was very poor. The biggest problem was with the SMR. The research audit for the area noted that there were only 30 sites of the category 'Religious, ritual and funerary' for the Early Medieval period in the SMR. This was partly due to the conflation of material of this period under a general 'Medieval' period heading (Evans *et al* 2002, 141-2), but also because in most cases the fact that a church had been mentioned in the *Book of Llandaff* was merely noted as part of its general description as a monument of the Medieval period. As a result of the additions and modifications made during the course of the project, there are now 223 sites. The correction of the period field from 'Medieval' to 'Early Medieval', accounts for 131 of these entries, but 92 are completely new entries, 74 of them resulting from the systematic examination of documentary sources and the addition to the database of those ecclesiastical establishments whose location is known or can be inferred.<sup>1</sup>

The other main lacuna is in excavation. Only fourteen sites excavated under modern conditions have produced structural evidence definitely or probably relating to the period. Of these, three were entirely settlement sites and at another three, evidence for the period consisted only of limited traces of activity, whose nature is not necessarily clear, found during the excavation of earlier sites. The remainder are almost entirely burials; there is very little evidence of any structures associated with ecclesiastical activity (see sections A3 and B3).

### Methodology

An initial trawl of the SMR, using the criteria Broadclass = Religious, Ritual and Funerary and Period = Early Medieval or Medieval, identified 859 sites potentially falling within the remit of the survey, but it proved possible to reduce these to 696 by the removal of separate PRNs for features within churchyards.

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<sup>1</sup> Criteria for inclusion in the database were rather less stringent than those adopted for the final selection in this report, since the SMR data collection policy calls for the inclusion of dubious sites as well.

However, more detailed examination of the data indicated that there were serious lacunae which necessitated further interrogation of the SMR. It was discovered that many Medieval and Early Medieval sites, particularly Early Christian monuments had been entered as Period = Not known, and that a significant number of churches, founded in the Middle Ages but still in use, were entered as Period = Post-medieval. In the Broadclass field, some holy wells had been entered as Water Supply and Drainage, and the granges (a significant proportion of which had early medieval antecedents) had all been entered as Religious, Ritual and Funerary; Agriculture and Subsistence, and had thus not been picked up by the original query. In addition, neither of these classes of monument had been systematically entered on the SMR, leading to numerous and significant omissions. Other classes of monument, in particular churchyards and burials associated with other classes of site, were seriously underrepresented. The addition both of SMR sites omitted from the initial trawl and of new sites added during the course of the work has resulted in a working database of nearly 1500 sites. Whilst it would have been possible to handle the data without adding quite so many PRNs, it was decided that this method was the most effective in ensuring that no significant aspects were overlooked in the report, as well as greatly improving the searchability of the SMR in the long run.

Other sources of data consulted during the course of the project were published collections of documents from the Medieval and Early Medieval periods, antiquarian writers, modern scholarly works and tithe maps. Tithe maps were examined to determine whether churchyards could be classed as curvilinear, or lay within outer enclosures. Where no tithe map was available, the 1st edn OS 6" map was consulted; it was also consulted if there were significant differences between the curvilinearity of a churchyard as shown on the tithe map and as it appears today. Where churchyards were curvilinear, a note was made if there was clear evidence that they predated the surrounding land divisions, though there was insufficient time to carry out detailed analyses. Where apparent double enclosures were noted, the tithe map was compared with modern OS 1:25000 maps of the Explorer series to determine whether this could be accounted for by the contours of the site, or other natural features, and those where this was the case were discarded. The sites of chapels, granges, holy wells and apparently isolated Early Christian monuments were examined to see whether they were connected with curvilinear enclosures, and if they were, the apportionment was consulted to see whether there were any significant field names. The apportionment was also consulted to see whether any outer enclosures could be linked with areas of glebe. However, use of the apportionments did not normally produce much in the way of additional information, as for many parishes field names were not included, and most of those examined had no record of glebe.

### **Criteria used to identify sites**

A set of seventeen criteria to identify sites were developed by the other three Welsh Trusts during what was for them the equivalent year of the project (2001-02). For the sake of consistency in the survey throughout Wales they have been used here, though because of the very different history of southeast Wales, with early, strong and pervasive Norman influence, the weighting given to individual criteria will not necessarily be the same as in other parts of the principality. Some of the criteria are very poorly represented within the area under consideration in this report, or may have very little relevance.

#### **Grade A**

1. Documented pre-Conquest (1066) church
2. Clas/portionary church evidence
3. Direct archaeological evidence (*eg* 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 the same churchyard
2. Church plan form
3. Archaeological evidence, undated but compatible with Early Medieval date
4. Decorated stones, *in situ*

5. Inscribed stones, *in situ*
6. Artefacts of Early Medieval date
7. Prehistoric associations, features in the immediate vicinity

Grade C

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

In addition, it became clear during the review of the evidence that there was a strong tendency for pre-Norman churches and monasteries to be granted by their new Norman lords, very soon after the Conquest, to Catholic regular orders represented by monasteries in England and France. There was also a further round of donations to the Cistercians, when they established themselves in Wales, of earlier church sites at which the Cistercians went on to establish granges. These are discussed in 'Other criteria', as is the evidence linking the prebends of Llandaff cathedral with pre-Norman sites.

No attempt has been made to relate sites to cantref or commote, since for much of the area, with the exception of Senghennydd and adjacent areas of the Welslry, this information does not seem to have been preserved long enough to have been written down (see Richards 1969). Although the cantrefi can to a certain extent be reconstructed using the post-Conquest deaneries as a basis (pers comm J K Knight), it was decided such an approach would not necessarily be helpful in this context, as there seems to be more than one major church per cantref as thus defined.

The three grades of criteria, plus the additions, are rated according to their perceived ability to identify pre-Norman ecclesiastical sites. Grade A indicators are regarded as generally providing incontrovertible evidence of early church sites, whereas Grade B indicators represent probable evidence and Grade C possible evidence. However, the distinction in practice is not as clear-cut, since the quality of the evidence for each individual site is not necessarily good; this is reflected in the summaries given below. Lists of sites arranged according to the 1977-1995 counties can be found in Tables 1-4, following the arrangement of the SMR into counties. The only sites listed in the main body of the text which have been omitted from the tables are the grange sites where no other indicators are recorded.

Each county has a distinctive suffix for its PRNs (Gwent =g, Mid Glamorgan = m, South Glamorgan = s, West Glamorgan =w). In the body of the text where the sites are listed according to criterion, this allows for a rough appreciation of the distribution of the various classes of evidence, with Gwent and West Glamorgan representing the eastern and western sides respectively, whilst the central section is divided into Mid Glamorgan and South Glamorgan, which are roughly its north and south areas, except that the boundary comes further south at the west side. Each indicator is graded (a), (b) and (c), depending on whether it is regarded as certain, probable or possible, and a final score for any one site is arrived at by considering the value of the criteria attributed to it. These scores are A=certain; B=probable and C=possible; a fourth score of D has been added for sites which require further investigation before a decision can be reached. Typically, a D score is given to sites for which an identification as a documented Early Medieval ecclesiastical institution has been suggested but for which definite evidence is lacking, and for sites where there is a constellation of lower-grade indicators.

## GRADE A

### A1 Documented pre-Conquest (1066) church

The Glamorgan-Gwent area contains the largest number of documented church sites in Wales, thanks to the survival of *Liber Landavensis*, the *Book of Llandaff*<sup>2</sup> a collection of documents drawn up in the 12th century to support the claims of the See of Llandaff to extensive estates not only within what had become the Norman diocese of Llandaff, but also in Mid and West Wales; the bulk of the properties however lay in the area covered by this report. Although at one time dismissed as a 12th century forgery, the *Book of Llandaff* has been rehabilitated as a source for the Early Medieval period by the work of Wendy Davies (1979), although some of the charters still contain problems. Although there is general agreement as to the location of many of the churches named,<sup>3</sup> some still remain elusive, and others must be regarded as no more than probable or possible identifications. In addition, those sites where the location is certain but come in charters where Davies (1979, 91) had reservations about the integrity of the text have been downgraded to probable; these charters are marked with an asterisk. The quotation of charter references follows Davies in using the first page number of the charter as appears in Evans's 1893 transcription, prefixed by LL, as the reference number, with the prefix (a) or (b) where more than one charter starts on the same page.

Seventy one possible identifications are made in the table below. In all cases, the assumption has been made that, if there is an existing church at that location, it is on the same site. No churches are known to have moved, but without further fieldwork there is no way of confirming the hypothesis. The list below includes all sites described as churches or monasteries, and all those for which *llan* and *merthyr* names are used (see section C3). Estates for which none of these are recorded have been omitted, even if the area is known to have included a church in the later Middle Ages. Three sites mentioned in the text as waypoints on boundaries have been included on the basis that their names indicate that they were probably ecclesiastical sites (see section C3).

There are a further two church sites described as *ecclesia* which are completely unplaced; these are Lann Gunnhoill (LL 240 of c925), which probably lies in Gwent, since this is the location of the associated sites, and Ecclesia Riu (LL230a of c880) as to the whereabouts of which there is no clue (Davies 1978, 137; 1979, 122, 125). There are also two unplaced *llan* names, Lanntiuauc (LL255 c1035) which is described as being in Penychen (the Glamorgan commote east of the River Thaw) (Davies 1978, 138; 1979, 126), and Lann Cincirill in the Ely valley (LL155; Davies 1979, 101).

PRN	SITE	EARLY MEDIEVAL NAME	TYPE	DATE	REFERENCE
00243g	Bishton	Lann Catgualtyr or Lann Catualader	Church	c710	LL180b
01064g	Caerwent	Urbs/Cair Guenti Tathui	Monastery	c 950-1075	LL218
00509g	Caldicot	Ecclesia Castell Conscuit	Church	c895	LL235b Davies 1978, 137; 1979, 123
02468g	Dingestow	Ecclesia Dincat	Church	c872	LL227b
01223g	Dixton	Hennlann or Sancti Tituuc	Monastery	c866	LL183a
08341g	Grangefield	Lontre Tunbwllch	Unknown	c710	LL180b
00770g	?Howick	Ecclesia Guruid	Church	c655	LL143
00490g	?Ifton	Ecclesia Santbreit or Ecclesia	Church	c895	LL235b
or	?Rogiet	Brigida			
00489g					
01108g	Itton	Lann Diniul	Church	c 860	LL171b

<sup>2</sup> Usually abbreviated to *LL*.

<sup>3</sup> Davies (1979, 188) notes that her identifications were checked by Professor Melville Richards.

00408g	?Kemeys Inferior	Lann Mihacgel	Monastery	c1045	LL261
01282g	Llanarth	Lanngarth	Monastery	c600	LL121
				c600	LL123
00417g	Llanbedr	Lanpetyr in Hennriu or Hennriu in Lebinid	Church	c1045	LL261
00309g	Llandegfedd	Merthyr Tecmed	Monastery	c750	LL199a
00932g	Llandenny	Ecclesia Mathenni)	Church	c785	LL207
00741g	Llandogo	Llannenniaun or Lannoudocui	Monastery	c625	LL165
				c698	LL156
00938g	Llanerthill	Lann Efrdil	Church(?)	c685	*LL159a <sup>4</sup>
				c745	*LL192 <sup>5</sup>
01539g	Llanfaenor	Lann Vannar	Church	c925	LL 240
01535g	?Llanfaenor (Chapel Farm)	Caer Riou	Chapel	c780	*LL240
01309g	Llanfapley	Ecclesia Mable	Church	c 860	LL171b
02244g	Llanfihangel Crucorney	Lann Michacgel Cruc Cornous	Church	c970	*LL 240
00486g	Llanfihangel Rogiet	Tref Peren or Lann Mihacgel Maur	Church(?)	c905	LL233
00860g	Llangovan	Ecclesia Mamouric or Llanuuien	Church	c755	LL206
04912g	Llangua	Lann Culan	Church	c872	LL216a
00911g	Llangwm	Lanncum	Church(?)	c860	LL173
00953g	Llanishen (Mon)	Lann Isien or Lann Nissien	Church	c925	*LL 240 <sup>6</sup>
01533g	Llanllwyd	Lann Liuit or Ecclesia Machmur	Church	c925	*LL240
08139g	?Llanmelin	Lann Mihacel Lichrit	Church	c710	LL180b
00915g	Llansoy	Lann Tisoi	Monastery	c725	LL187
01303g	Llantilio Crossenny	Lann Teiliau Cressinych or Lann Teiliau Crissinic	Church	c600	*LL123 <sup>7</sup>
01480g	Llantilio Pertholey	Lann Teiliau Port Halauc or Lann Maur)	Church	c600	LL122
00990g	Llanvaches	Merthyr Maches	Church	c775	LL211b
02512g	Llanvetherine	Ecclesia Gueithirin	Church	c876	LL228
05011g?	?Llanwern	Lann Guern Tiuauc	Church	c925	*LL240
08304g	Llwynderi	Lann Tituil	Church	c970	*LL 240
08307g	?Llyncoed <sup>8</sup>	Lanncoit	Church	c595	LL166
01212g	Mathern	Merthyr Teudiric	Church	?c620	*LL141 <sup>9</sup>
00466g	Merthyr Geryn	Merthyrgerein	Shrine	c905	LL233
00762g	Penterry	Lann Bedui or Lann Vedeui	Church	c955	LL218
01198g	Pwll Meurig	Lann Mihacgel i Pwll	Church	c925	*LL240
02506g	Rockfield	Lann Guoronoi	Church	c970	LL246 <sup>10</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Charter has no witness list (Davies 1979, 102).

<sup>5</sup> A memorandum rather than a charter; the lack of a witness list makes its associations unverifiable (Davies 1979, 113)

<sup>6</sup> A memorandum rather than a charter; the lack of a witness list makes its associations unverifiable (Davies 1979, 125)

<sup>7</sup> A narrative, with nothing to suggest that it was originally a charter, in spite of later editing to make it approximate to the form (Davies 1977, 95)

<sup>8</sup> Davies (1978, 137) tentatively suggests that it may be in Brecknockshire, but the other three grants made by Iddon are in northern Monmouthshire (LLanarth LL121, Llantilio Pertholey LL122 and Llantilio Crossenny LL123), and Llyncoed in the same area, where there was later a monastic grange, seems credible as a possible location.

<sup>9</sup> A narrative, with nothing to suggest that it was originally a charter (Davies 1979, 97)

<sup>10</sup> Lann Guoronoi is also the subject of a grant noted in the memorandum LL240, but different boundaries are given for its lands.

00774g	St Arvans	Ecclesia Sanctorum Iarmen et Febric	Church	c955	LL 218
00211g	?St Julians	Merthir Iun et Aaron or Mrtires	Shrine	c862	LL225
00653g	?St Aarons	Iulii et Aaron			
01163g	St Kynemark	Ecclesia Cynmarchii	Church	?c625	*LL165 <sup>11</sup>
03819g	St Maughans	Lann Bocha	Monastery	c860	LL74 =part LL171b
08294g	?St Maughans parish	Ecclesia Tipallai or Lann Typallai	Church	c860	LL171b
02509g	?Tregaer <sup>12</sup>	Lann Meiripen Ros or Ecclesia Sanctae Mariae	Church	c910	LL231 Davies 1978, 137; 1979, 122
00947g	Trellech Grange	Ecclesia Mainuon, Ecclesia Trylec, Lann Mainuon or Villa Guicon	Monastery	c755 c960	LL199b LL217
04209g	Wonastow	Ecclesia Lanngunguarui Gurthebiriuc super Trodi	Church	c750	LL201
01663m	Merthyr Mawr	Merthir Miur or Merthir Minmor	Shrine	c 862	LL212
00215m	?Newton Nottage (St	Merthir Glivis or Merthyr	Shrine	c935	LL224
00205m	John's or St David's)	Glywys			
00248m	?St Roque's Chapel	Merthir Buceil	Shrine	c862	LL212
02868s	Coed Nant-Bran	Hen Lotre Elidon	Unknown	c685	*LL157
00385s	Llancarfan	Nant Carban or Lann Gharrban	Monastery	c980	LL144
00133s	Llandaff	Landauia	Monastery	?670 c710	LL149 <sup>13</sup> LL180b <sup>14</sup>
00075s	Llandough-juxta-Penarth	Sancti Docunni, Sancti Docguinni or Sancti Dochou	Monastery	c650	LL144
00426s	Llantwit Major	Podum Sancti Ilduti	Monastery	c650	LL144
02833s	Maes-y-felin	Powisfa Dewi	?Cemetery	c685	*LL157
00738s	Monachdy near Galbalfa	Lann Menechi	Church	c685	LL159b
00170s	Sant y Nyll	Ecclesia Lann Titull	Church	c870	LL216b
00173s	St Brides-super-Ely	Lann Sant Breit in Mainaur Crucmarc	Church	1040	LL 263
00002s	St Lythans	Ecclesia Elidon	Church	c685	*LL157 <sup>15</sup>
00311w	Bishopston	Lann Cinuur, Sancti Cyngur, Sancti Conguri or Sancti Conuur	Monastery	c650	LL144
00621w	Llandeilo Talybont	Lan Teiliauo Talypont	Church	c655	LL140
05261w	Penmaen	Lann Pencreic	Church	c650	LL144
00328w	Pennard (Bodies Acre)	Lann Arthbodu or Cella Arthuodu	Monastery	c650	LL144
00153w	?Rhossili <sup>16</sup>	Lan Gemei or Terra Convoi	Church	c655	LL140

<sup>11</sup> Davies (1979, 105) notes that 'there are a number of peculiarities in this grant which make it a doubtful early record'.

<sup>12</sup> This is traditionally identified as Monmouth, but the evidence is not good. Knight (forthcoming) suggests that it was probably Tregaer, which is the neighbouring church to Penrhos, and is dedicated to St Mary.

<sup>13</sup> May refer to Llandowror rather than Llandaff

<sup>14</sup> For a fuller list see Davies 1978, 135-6.

<sup>15</sup> Davies (1979, 102) notes that 'there are a number of peculiarities in this record' and that 'no original charter is apparent behind this text'.

<sup>16</sup> Davies (1978, 135; 1979, 97, 124) suggests that Lann Cingulan is Rhossili, and does not suggest an identification for Lann Gemaei. However, the two properties share a boundary, and the topography fits best if Lann Cingulan is the Burrows church (its boundaries are '*infra duas fossas ad mare malyduc ir diu foss dyr*

00150w	?Rhossili Burrows church	Lann Cingulan or Podum Cingulan Cella Cingualan	Monastery	c650	LL144
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All the other source material is post-Conquest. There are a few charters in the *Book of Llandaff* which postdate 1066, one of which, dated c1075, mentions a priest of Basseleg (LL272). As part of the dispute with the sees of Hereford and St David, a list of all the properties claimed by Llandaff was drawn up in the 1120s, to be repeated in the confirmatory bulls of Pope Honorius of 1128 and 1129 (LL30, 41). Many of these were supported by charter evidence and appear in the lists above, but there remain some for which no charters are preserved, though it would appear very likely that they are pre-Norman. Those whose identity is known are:

PRN	SITE	EARLY MEDIEVAL NAME
00045g	Basseleg	Bassalec
00418g	?Llandevaud	Villa sancti Tauauc cum ecclesia
00692m	Eglwysilan	Merthir Ilan
00716m	Pentyrch	Penntirch
00336s	St Hilary	Ecclesia sancti Hilari

Another source is the saints' *Lives* compiled in the end of the 11th century and the beginning of the 12th century. Although these are slightly later than the Conquest, they mainly come within a generation of it, and are those churches which they claim to have been associated with the saints are unlikely to have been of recent foundation. Thus the *Vita Cadoci* claims an association with St Cadoc for Llancarfan (PRN 00385s), represented as being his principal foundation, which is borne out by the identification of the abbots of Llancarfan as abbots of St Cadoc (LL152); Cadoc is also associated in his *Life* with Barry Island, Flat Holm. Llanilid (PRN 387m), Llanmaes (PRN 1703s), Mamhilad (PRN 2504g ) and an area adjacent to the River Neath which can probably be identified as Cadoxton-juxta-Neath (PRN 630w) (Wade-Evans 1944, 52-3, 62-7, 120-1). The *Vita Sancti Cadoci* is particularly important in that it has a series of charters attached (Wade-Evans 1932); these record the grant of Mamhole, and also of Llanelli, though unfortunately it is not possible to establish whether this is the Llanelli near Abergavenny, which falls within the survey area, or the Carmarthenshire Llanelli.

PRN	SITE	EARLY MEDIEVAL NAME	TYPE	DATE	REFERENCE
00019g	?Coedkernew <sup>17</sup> or Pencarn	Pencarnou	Church	c1100	Wade-Evans 1932, 154-5 no.4
00641g	?Malpas <sup>18</sup>	templum dedicatum ad sanctam Mariam	Nunnery	c1130	Wade-Evans 1944, xii, 180-1
04913g	Llanelli	Ecclesia Elli	Monastery		Wade-Evans 1932, 152 no.1
08386g	Llangybi	Lankepi	Church		Wade-Evans 1944, 238

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*mynyd ar hyt yr cecyn* = 'between the two ditches towards the sea and upwards along the two ditches to the mountain along the Cecin, the boundary of Llan Gemei', whereas Lann Gemei's are '*a dorso montis diuidentem silvam et campum in mare et usque ad oculum Diugurach malyduc dirguaiet betymor*' = 'from the ridge of the Hill, which divides the uncultivated ground and the field, into the sea, and [from the same ridge] right to the spring of the Diwgurach; along [the Diwgurach] downwards as far as the sea' (Evans 1893, 368, 369).

<sup>17</sup> Suggested by Brook (1988, 77).

<sup>18</sup> The *Vita* of Gwladys's husband, St Gwynllyw, represents her as founding a nunnery for herself and her companions in a desolate mountainous situation seven *stadia* from her original foundation near the River Ebbw (*ad montanam solitudinem circa speciem vii stadiorum a primo loco distantem*). Although Malpas, which is now a suburb of Newport, would appear at first site to be an unlikely candidate for this description, it is on a marked hill (the only Mary dedication in the vicinity of Newport to be so) where the ground rises significantly above Newport, and the name *Malpas* indicates that it was regarded as being difficult country. Gwladys's original foundation (*ad ripam Ebod fluminis*) is traditionally identified as being in Tredegar Park, but this is an antiquarian speculation and does not appear to have any ancient warrant (see section C5).

02504g	Mamhilad	Mammeliat	Monastery	c1100	Wade-Evans 1944, xi, 120-1).
01978g	Mamhole	Mac Moilo or Mapenoil	Monastery	c1100	Wade-Evans 1932, 153 no.2
00166g	Newport	Egglis Guunliu	Monastery	c1100	Wade-Evans 1944, xi, xii, 90-1
08387g	Raglan	Raclan	Church	c1093-95	Rhigyfarch's Life of St David
00387m	Llanilid	Ecclus Ilid	Church	c1100	Wade-Evans 1944, xi, 120-1
03805s	Barry Island	Barren	Shrine	c1100	Wade-Evans 1944, xi, 62-3
03806s	Flatholm	Echni or Ronech <sup>19</sup>	Shrine	c1100	Wade-Evans 1944, xi, 62-3; Knight (1984, 394)
01703s	Llanmaes	Llanmais	Monastery	c1100	Wade-Evans 1944, xi, 52-5)
00630w	Cadoxton-juxta-Neath		Ecclesiastical building	c1100	Wade-Evans 1944, xi, 64-7
00383w	Llangyfelach	Monasterium Langemelach	Monastery	c1093-95	Rhigyfarch's Life of St David

Other post-Conquest sources can be dealt with briefly. The *Brut y Twysigion* mentions only two southeastern sites, Llantwit Major and Llancarfan, both of which are already known from the *Liber Landavensis*, in its account of the five monasteries attacked in a Viking raid of 988 (Jones 1952, 10).<sup>20</sup> Domesday Book includes limited areas of Gwent in its coverage of Gloucestershire and Herefordshire, but the only church it mentions by name is the church of Monmouth Castle, held by the king (Williams and Martin 1992, 498-9).<sup>21</sup> It is possible that the reference to '1 caracute of land [which] belongs to St Michael and 1 caracute to St David' (Williams and Martin 1992, 445) may refer to churches, in which case the most likely candidates, given the area being described, are St Michael's at Pwll Meyrick, already known from the *Book of Llandaff*, and Dewstow, which is not otherwise attested. It is not possible to sustain Bradney's conjecture that the phrase 'in the kings alms is 1 vill which renders to the church for his soul on the feast of St Martin 2 pigs and 100 loaves with beer' refers to Llanmartin Williams and Martin 1992, 445; (Bradney 1933, 220).

## A2 Clas/portionary church evidence

The *clas*, defined by Davies (1977, 130) as 'the hereditary property-holding religious community' can be identified at a number of sites. A reference to a monastic site in the *Book of Llandaff* is not necessarily evidence that it was a *clas* (Evans 1992, 33). There are no sites which are directly described as *clasau* in any of the surviving texts, so it is necessary to look at other types of evidence. At Llangyfelach, the modern placename 'Clase' preserves evidence of the former status of the ecclesiastical community: 'the Clas is a lordship or manor belonging to the bishop of St Davids' (Merrick ed Rees 1983, 122); otherwise direct evidence for *clas* status is difficult to find. The clearest seems to be where the community is referred to as consisting of canons (*canonici*), though this term is itself not without its problems (Evans 1992, 36). This is

<sup>19</sup> See Knight 1984, 394

<sup>20</sup> Brook (1982, 116) speculates that the fifth place mentioned might be Llandough, but there seems no reason to prefer this to the usual interpretation of Llandudoch (St Dogmaels)

<sup>21</sup> A list of churches claimed by Llandaff in Ergyng given in the *Liber Landavensis* and dated 1104 (LL275) includes 'Lann Meir Castell Mingui', St Mary's of Monmouth Castle.

the case for Llandaff (Davies 1946, 617 L33), Caerwent, Llancarfan and Llantwit Major (Wade-Evans 1944, 120-1, 202-3, 274-5).<sup>22</sup>

Elsewhere in Wales, there is direct evidence from later periods, such as in the 1291 *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas, for portionary churches, but only *portiones* (apart from those allocated to vicars which are irrelevant to this enquiry) are mentioned for only three churches in Llandaff diocese. These are Llangybi, of which *magister Mauricius* held a portion, Llantilio Pertholey and Newton Nottage (Lunt 1926, 319, 322, 323). These may however be shares related to the endowment of prebends (James 1997, 21), for which see the section on Other Indicators.

PRN	NAME
01064g	Caerwent
00352g	Llangybi
01480g	Llantilio Pertholey
00385s	Llancarfan
00133s	Llandaff
00426s	Llantwit Major
00215m	Newton Nottage
00383w	Llangyfelach

### **A3 Direct archaeological evidence (eg excavated cist graves, radiocarbon dated deposits etc)**

There is very little archaeological evidence of any kind which can be dated to the Early Medieval period. For the purposes of this survey, the only sites which are relevant are four cemeteries with radiocarbon dates, three isolated burials, also with radiocarbon dates, and three burials in an existing churchyard (Llantwit Major).

#### ***Cemeteries***

The cemeteries comprise two of the type known as developed, where a church was eventually added to the burial ground, and two undeveloped cemeteries, where it was not. The developed cemeteries are Llandough-juxta-Penarth (Thomas and Holbrook 1994) and within the walls of the Roman town of Caerwent (Farley 1984), and the undeveloped Atlantic Trading Estate (Newman and Newman forthcoming) and the Vicarage Orchard outside the east gate of Caerwent (Campbell and Macdonald 1995). Both Atlantic Trading Estate and Llandough had their origins in Roman cemeteries (see also section A5), neither of the Caerwent cemeteries did so; in the case of the former, burial within the walls was contrary to Roman practice, and in the case of the latter there is no evidence for a Roman nucleus, though one could theoretically exist outside the excavated area (Knight 1996, 54).

The excavated area of the Llandough cemetery, immediately to the north of St Dochdwy's church, contained by far the largest number of burials (858), and when the full report is available it will add immensely to our understanding of funerary practices of the period. Four radiocarbon dates were published in the interim report, and they are supported by sherds of imported post-Roman Bii amphora, with a rough date range of 475-550. Information in the interim report suggests that there were four main areas within the cemetery. Area I, at the east side of the excavation, had a curvilinear edge, though no unequivocal evidence for a boundary could be found, and a *floruit* of 5th-6th centuries; this was also the area in which Roman burials

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<sup>22</sup> There is also a document dating to 1172, in which Isaac the rural dean of Penychan, Walter of ?Merthyr Dyfan, O... of Llantrithyd and W... of St Hilary, acting for the Bishop of Llandaff, are to give seisin of Llancarfan to the Abbot of Gloucester and to excommunicate anyone who tries to stop them by force (Crouch 1988, 16 no.17). The significance of this document is not entirely clear, but it may perhaps be related to a similar situation as that recorded for Llanbadarn Fawr, where a group of men who appear to be *claswyr* were prepared to use force against churchmen who they perceived as acting against their interests (Evans 1992, 34-5).

(characterised by hobnails and coins) occurred. Area II, which lay at the west side, had a *floruit* of late 8th to mid 10th centuries and was characterised by burials in rows; it may have been bounded by a ditch. Both cemeteries appear to have been replaced by an expanded, possibly curvilinear cemetery, Area III, which lay between, and had a *floruit* of the latter part of the 10th or early part of the 11th century. Burial then continued to the north in Area IV, with distinct E-W aligned graves. Most of the burials were plain inhumations, though a few had evidence for stone linings or wooden coffins and pillow stones, and nine burials mostly in Area I, had evidence for possible markers

Although the Caerwent internal cemetery has produced over 100 graves, only a few were excavated to modern standards. The two radiocarbon dates obtained fell within the 7th-8th centuries. Redknap (1994, 4) suggests that this cemetery may have been a burial place for the laity, in contrast with the originally clerical/monastic intramural cemetery, and that it was eventually abandoned in favour of the intramural cemetery at a time when undeveloped cemeteries fell out of use. The Vicarage Orchard cemetery contained a minimum of 136 graves, with some crude ordering into rows. Most of the burials here were also plain inhumations, though cists, stone-lined graves and graves floored with stone slabs were also noted (a total of thirteen examples counting all types together). The date range of the skeletons was from the 5th century to the beginning of the 11th century.

The excavated section of the Atlantic Trading Estate cemetery contained 45 burials, arranged in rows; it appears to have been bounded to the south by a stone revetment, whose construction is given a *terminus post quem* of the early 3rd century AD, and to the north by a fence, represented by a shallow trench with stakeholes which lay approximately 7m from the revetment and roughly parallel to it. The burials were divided into plain inhumations, stone-lined graves and cists. Many contained pillow stones, and there is also evidence for wooden covers and shuttering to some of the graves. Radiocarbon determinations established that two of the burials were Roman (mid 3rd to early fifth centuries); the remainder fell between the 5th and early 8th centuries, with the majority 5th-6th century.

### ***Isolated burials***

Two of the isolated burials dated to this period came from Caerleon, where they were both found cut into Roman buildings, on the Roman Gates site within the fortress walls, and the Mill Street site in the extramural area. The third was excavated at Biglis, also cut into some of the latest feature of this Roman settlement site, and has a date-range between the early part of the 5th century and the mid 7th century (Parkhouse 1988, 31). On the Roman Gates site, the placement of the grave in the building suggested that it was still standing; there is a slight possibility that there may have been further burials in the area, though the evidence for this is not good, consisting only of a small amount of human skeletal material from overlying levels, which may or may not have come from the main burial. The burial(s) may or may not be connected with the round-ended building or buildings constructed in the ruins of the adjoining Roman building and road (Evans and Metcalf 1992, 54-6). In contrast, the Mill Street burial, which was completely isolated, must have been made when the Roman building at that point had been demolished and all trace of it had disappeared. There were however slight traces of activity in adjoining rooms, which may or may not be connected.

The context of both of these Caerleon burials is enigmatic. They both appear to indicate that burial may have been taking place adjacent to habitation, though this is not certain. If it is the case, it could possibly be connected with the type of activity associated with hermits, with the occupation representing the hermit's cell; this in turn would have implications for continuity of occupation, or lack of it, at Caerleon. Another possibility might be that they were murder victims. Neither burial place developed into a proper cemetery.

### ***Burials in Llantwit Major churchyard***

When the inscribed stone PRN 00428s, then known as the cross of Illtyd (see section B5) was moved to the church in 1900, it was found to be associated with the remains of three burials, all stratigraphically related, which lay partly within the excavated area. One was a cist burial which must from its position have been

have been made contemporaneously with the erection of the stone. The others were plain inhumations, one directly under the stone and obviously predating its erection, but postdating the third burial (Halliday 1903).

PRN	SITE NAME	ASSOCIATED ECCLESIASTICAL SITE
01069g	Caerwent intramural cemetery	Caerwent church PRN 01064g
03173g	Caerwent Vicarage Orchard	-
08359g	Caerleon Mill Street	-
08358g	Caerleon Roman Gates	-
03612s	Atlantic Trading Estate	-
02272s	Llandough	Llandough church PRN 00075s
03833s	Biglis	-

#### A4 Saint's grave/capel y bedd

There is very little evidence for either of these features within the study area. Some evidence was found for the presence of a reliquary at the Norman St Barruc's Chapel, Barry Island (PRN 00553s). Knight (1978, 47-51, 57) believes that this was a replacement for an open-air grave shrine. There is also documentary evidence for a portable shrine of St Cadoc, normally kept at Llanarfarn but moved at one stage to Mamhilad for safekeeping in the face of enemy attack, but this seems to have been lost at some time before the beginning of the 12th century (Knight 1984, 369-70). Brook (1988, 73) suggests that the reference to 'lights before the Sepulchre' at Llandegfedd could possibly be a reference to a shrine of St Tegfedd, but it could equally well be a reference to an Easter Sepulchre, though a burial found in the side wall of the church when it was taken down and rebuilt could have been (or been believed to have been) that of the saint. This is perhaps paralleled by a feature at Merthyr Dyfan, where a rectangular recess in the N wall of the chancel may have served as an Easter Sepulchre, as suggested by Thomas and Tyley (1987), but is also a possible candidate for a shrine. The chapel of Llandderfel was also reputed to contain relics of the saint (Williams 2001, 151). However, the supposed bones of Tewdrig at Mathern, allegedly unearthed in the 17th century (Bradney 1929, 68) and linked with the account of the saint's burial here, will have been those of a later medieval dignitary, since they were found in a stone coffin, which is not a feature found in Early Medieval burials.

Basseleg church (PRN 00045g) is generally believed to have had a capel y bedd (see below under B1), but conclusive proof is lacking. Knight (1993, 9-10) believes that it was the 'chapel of St Gladewis which Laudomer built upon the River Ebbw' mentioned in a document of 1146 (Crouch 1988, 2 no.2) and contained the bones of the saint. He would also interpret the western church of St Gwynllwy's, Newport, as being the *capel y bedd* of St Gwynllwy.

PRN	SITE NAME
00045g	Basseleg
00106g	Llandderfel
00309g	Llandegfedd
00166g	Newport
00553s	Barry Island (St Barruc's Chapel)
00544s	Merthyr Dyfan

#### A5 Siting within Roman forts etc

This criterion was originally established by discussion amongst the other Welsh Trusts as 'Siting within Roman forts'. However, because of the differences in the nature of Roman occupation and settlement in the southeast compared with that in the rest of the principality, the criterion as originally expressed would have excluded the best example of a site with proven continuity from the Roman period, and some other highly

probable ones. It has therefore been redefined to take into account not only forts and fortresses and their associated vici and cemeteries, but also towns and other settlements with urban characteristics, and villas, in other words sites with a significant degree of Romanisation. Churches at sites where there is no evidence, or no evidence as yet, to suggest there was any great degree of Romanisation (Ifton, Llanfrynach, Rogiet, Undy; PRNs 00490g, 01292s, 00489g, 00463g), have been excluded from the categorisation, as they are as likely to have been founded for the benefit of the Early Medieval settlement which grew out of the Roman one as to have had any direct connection with it.

Stray finds, such as those found during excavations at St Kynemark (PRN 01163g), have been also been excluded, although the quantity and quality of finds discovered during an evaluation adjacent to the church at Portskewett (PRN 00506g, 05313g) suggests that there was an important Romanised site here, which lay very close outside the excavated area. The finds in Caerau hillfort (PRN 00094s) and Sudbrook promontory fort (PRN 01145g) are fairly certain to indicate use of the site in the Roman period;<sup>23</sup> these are noted but have not been categorised. Also excluded from consideration are those church which have Roman tiles built into the walls (Langstone, Llantarnam and St Andrews Minor; PRNs 00251g, 00622g, 02244m); these may indicate a Roman site from which there was continuity, but the evidence is just not enough for them to be included here.

The only sites for which continuity can be proven are Atlantic Trading Estate and Llandough (see above, section A3).

### ***Forts and fortresses***

At Caerleon and Loughor, the medieval church lies within the Roman fort or fortress. Caerleon church definitely lies over the *principia*; Loughor probably does so, even though this fort is of non-standard plan. The pre-Norman use, and possible high status, of Caerleon is supported by the existence of a carved cross-slab (see section B4), but the *principia* itself was dismantled at the end of the 3rd century, and the positioning of the church may be no more than the reuse of a high-status walled site. Loughor has a Roman altar carved with an ogam inscription, probably a proper name (section B5), showing that it too is likely to be a pre-Norman site, but again continuity cannot be proved. A hoard of about 60 Roman coins extending into the early 5th century (02976w) is reported as a metal-detector find from Loughor, but the provenance is uncertain.

At Gelligaer the church lies a short distance outside the fort, and this location suggests that it is likely to have developed from the cemeteries (Morris 1989, 40), though so far only a single burial has been noted on this side, a cremation a short distance away to the south. The same may be true at Usk, where the priory and its church lie to the east of the Flavian fort which replaced the earlier fortress, and to the north of the main focus of 3rd century civilian activity, close to an area where traces of ditched enclosures of the Roman period have been noted. The church of St Cadoc in Monmouth lies just outside the generally accepted position of a possible Roman fort, known only from a single ditch section (PRN 04521g).

At Cardiff, three churches lie to the south of the late Roman fort, the original parish church of St Mary (PRN 00117s), St John Baptist (PRN 00115s) and St Piran's chapel (PRN 00121), but the extent and nature of the extramural area outside the fort is very poorly understood, and no attempt has therefore been made to categorise these churches, or the ones which follow. At Neath, Cwrt Herbert, which has produced a early Christian pillar stone with incised crosses of different dates (00588w), lay in a similar position with regard to the fort (PRN 670w), but it is not certain whether this stone was *in situ*.

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<sup>23</sup> Brook (1982, 74-5) doubts that there could have been continuity from the Roman period at Sudbrook as Nash-Williams (1939) published only 1st-2nd pottery from his excavations. However, Nash-Williams only excavated a very small proportion of the fort's area, and recent work has noted the presence of possible later Roman pottery in his backfill (Sell 2001, 130).

There is a possibility that there may have been a fort/church connection at Kenfig, which has produced a find of the early Roman date normally taken as indicative of the presence of a fort (Webster 1984, 287), but since the sites of both any Roman installation and the original medieval church have been swallowed up in sand, this can remain no more than speculation. There are also claims that the churches at Tredunnoc and Trostrey were adjacent to forts, but in neither case is the evidence conclusive; no military material has been found at Tredunnoc with the exception of the tombstone of a legionary, which was probably brought in at some time in the later Middle Ages, and the excavated evidence at Trostrey is more consistent with a rural settlement.

#### ***Sites with urban characteristics***

The best example here is Caerwent, where a large early cemetery has been excavated adjacent to the medieval church in the centre of the town. Knight (1996) has also reviewed the evidence for Early Medieval occupation in Caerwent, but is unable to say whether there was any direct continuation from the Roman town to St Tatheus's monastic foundation. There was also another cemetery outside the east gate (03173g; Campbell and Macdonald 1993); there is no surviving church connected with it, although Knight (1996, 48) thinks it probable that it did develop around the focus of some sort of 'special grave'. At Lower Machen, the church (PRN 05014g) lies apparently towards one side of an extensive area of metalworking activity, which seems to have had at least some of the characteristics of a 'small town' (00024g). Much more problematic is Great Bulmore. This was definitely a 'small town' (PRN 04058g), but the 10th century cross slab found at Bulmore has never been precisely provenanced and its context is unknown.

Cowbridge is also a Roman town, but the church here (PRN 01038s), which was a chapel of ease to the original parish church of Llanblethian, is generally regarded as a relatively late foundation built for the convenience of the townspeople, with no connections to the Roman settlement.

#### ***Villas***

The prime example here is Llandough, where the church (PRN 00075s) lies immediately adjacent to the villa (PRN 00768s) and the cemetery has been shown to have originated in the late Roman period but to have its main *floruit* in the Early Medieval period; the site later developed as one of the area's chief monasteries, well attested in the documentary sources (see section A1). At Llantwit Major, although there is the same sequence of a Roman villa with later burials and a major Early Christian monastery, two completely different sites some distance apart are involved, and there is nothing to indicate continuity from one to the other (RCAHMW 1976b, 113). The Ely villa also produced a stone-lined grave, thought by Nash-Williams 1929, 257) to be a possible Christian burial, but there is no evidence that, if this was the case, this site developed further. The presence of a Roman building with a mosaic floor (00466w) on the site of the graveyard at Oystermouth church (00472w) implies that there may also have been a villa here, but in the absence of any more specific information it is impossible to be certain of the type of site represented. There are also unsubstantiated reports of a tessellated pavement found at Ewenny, which has also recently produced Roman pottery from the excavation of a pipe-trench across the graveyard to the north of the priory church (00400m).

The villas at Monknash and Porthcasseg may also be associated with ecclesiastical buildings, but the evidence is not sufficiently good for them to be included in the categorisation. In his map of southeast Wales and the border in the 14th century, Rees marks a chapel (PRN 00398s) on the site of the New Mill Farm villa at Monknash (PRN 00763s), but there is no information either about his source for the chapel or for his decision as to where to site it. The hamlet of Porthcasseg had both a chapel (08366g) and a villa (PRN 02975g), but the chapel is insufficiently well located to determine whether there was any connection between the two.

#### ***Cemeteries and sites of uncertain nature***

At Chepstow an excavation on the site of the cattlemarket in St Mary Street, higher up the hill from the priory church, produced three cremations of Roman date (Shoesmith 1991); this could be part of a cemetery

which continued throughout the Roman period to give rise to a church on the site of St Mary's priory; this may have been connected with a fort, but the evidence is not good enough to be certain. The church at Dewstow was adjacent to the quarry in which inhumations of Roman date were discovered in the 19th century, and continuity is therefore a possibility here. There is also a record of a Roman urn being found in a stone sarcophagus (PRN 00644g) in the vicinity of Malpas church (OS card ST 39 SW 26), but the reference is so uncertain that this site must be excluded from consideration. The other cemetery, besides Llandough, where continuity from the Roman to the Early Medieval period has been proven is Atlantic Trading Estate, but there is no evidence to suggest that this site ever gave rise to a church.

Substantial buildings of Roman date but unknown function are known from Risca and Penhow. At Risca the church was constructed on the site of a substantial masonry building, probably a bath-building (Waly 1870), but it is unknown whether it was a fort or a settlement connected with mining and metalworking, as Machen in the adjacent valley. The vicarage adjacent to the church at Penhow has produced evidence for a masonry building associated with Roman pottery (Bradney 1932, 19)

PRN	SITE NAME	REMARKS
00555g	Caerleon	Church within fortress (00514g)
01064g	Caerwent	Within Roman town (1055g)
01183g	Chepstow	Adjacent to Roman fort; cemetery excavated on site of cattle market in St Mary Street (02464g).
08353g	Dewstow	Adjacent to Roman cemetery (00498)g
03723g	Great Bulmore	Adjacent to small town (04058g) (exact findspot of cross not known)
05014g	Machen	Adjacent to metalworking site (00024g)
01224g	Monmouth, St Cadoc's	Close ?outside ditch, possibly of Roman fort *
01013g	Penhow	Possible evidence for Roman buildings (01012g)
00117g	Risca	Roman ?bath building (00119g) found during rebuilding of church in 19th century
02018g	Usk	Adjacent to Roman fort (04551g)
00400m	Ewenny	Tessellated pavement and Roman finds in graves
00665m	Gelligaer	Just outside Roman fort (0066)m
03612s	Atlantic Trading Estate	Undeveloped cemetery 03612s Roman to Early Medieval
00075s	Llandough	Cemetery 02272s Roman to Early Medieval
00223w	Loughor	Church within fort 00202w; reused Roman altar
00472w	Oystermouth	Roman mosaic found within churchyard; site type unknown (00466w)

## **GRADE B**

### **B1 Multiple churches in the same churchyard**

There is only one example of a site fulfilling this criterion within the study area., Basseleg, where there is an antiquarian account of 'a small gothic edifice...probably an ancient chapel' in the churchyard (Coxe 1801, 59). This building, which lay on the south side of the church, was demolished without further record than a brief notice in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* in 1859. Modern scholarship generally interprets this as a chapel y bedd, but conclusive evidence is lacking.

PRN	SITE NAME
00045g	Basseleg

## **B2 Church plan form**

An influential article by Radford (1963) put forward the theory that the cruciform plan was a particular characteristic of the *clas* church, the result of adopting a form which was suitable for liturgical use by that particular type of community. This theory was applied by him to the areas which remained under Welsh control until the late 13th century, specifically excluding those which had come under strong Norman influence. Is it in any way applicable to the southeast?

Fifteen churches in Glamorgan and Gwent are recorded as having this form, either now or at some time during the Middle Ages:<sup>24</sup> Chepstow, Grosmont, Llantilio Crossenny, Usk, Coity, Coychurch, Ewenny, Llandow, Llantwit Major, Michaelston-le-Pit, St Athan, St George-super-Ely, Margam and Penrice. Of these churches, Chepstow, Ewenny, Margam and Usk should be removed from consideration, since all the present buildings were abbey churches. Although there is evidence to suggest that Norman abbeys were likely to be founded on pre-Norman sites (see section on other indicators), the form of the church does not in itself constitute evidence for pre-Norman date, since a cruciform plan was normal for the churches of Benedictine and Cistercian abbeys. At Coity, Penrice and St Athan, there is evidence to indicate that the church as originally constructed was not cruciform; transepts were added in the first half of the 13th century to the Norman church at Penrice, and in the 14th century to earlier churches whose original construction date is unknown at Coity and St Athan.

This leaves eight churches for consideration. It seems unlikely that Michaelston-le-Pit would qualify as a truly cruciform church, since the transepts here are diminutive structures, out of scale with the rest of the building and providing hardly any additional room. The presence of two fine 10th - 11th century monuments at Coychurch (see section B5) suggest that it also was of some importance; on the documentary evidence Llantilio Crossenny is almost certainly of pre-Norman date though otherwise unknown status. However, comparison of these data with those for documented early monastic sites given in section A1 suggests that any apparent correlation is probably no more than random. Whatever the position in those parts of Wales where Welsh control persisted into periods from which there are significant numbers of surviving churches, in the southeast, where Norman rule began early and had profound effects on all aspects of society, the presence of a cruciform plan must be regarded as a very uncertain indicator of a major pre-Norman ecclesiastical site.

The only possible exception is Llantwit Major, which is known from documentary evidence to have been a major monastery with a *clas* organisation in the pre-Norman period. Its initial 11th century cruciform plan (Halliday 1905, 243-4) seems out of scale with a status as a parish church, possibly doubling, after the grant to Tewksbury, as a grange chapel. If any church in the Glamorgan-Gwent area can be claimed to have a significant plan-type, it will be this one.

## **B3 Archaeological evidence, undated but compatible with Early Medieval date**

A larger range of type sites is represented here than those represented in the directly dated section (A3). Although burials still predominate, there is also evidence for two timber churches and one possible stone church.

### ***Churches and monastic sites***

Both Burry Holmes (RCAHMW 1976c, 14) and Llanelen (Kissock, *et al* 1997; Schlesinger and Walls 1995) have produced evidence for timber buildings underlying their stone churches. In both cases the balance of

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<sup>24</sup> In addition, eight Glamorgan churches (Bishopston, Reynoldston, Llandyfodwg, Llangan, Llangynwyd, Wick, Marcross and St Mary Hill) are represented by a cruciform block on their respective tithe maps, but this is likely to be a conventional representation, as there is no evidence that any of these churches had transepts.

probability is that they are Early Medieval. At Burry Holmes the presumed Early Medieval is a timber structure 3.55x3.05m, defined by four postholes, from which the posts were removed in order to construct the 12th century stone church which overlay it. As one of the postholes cut an earlier burial, this church is not a primary feature on the site. It lay within a boat-shaped enclosure with curvilinear sides to east and west and the north side parallel with the church; this enclosure was defined by an earthen bank revetted by very small stones. It was rebuilt and extended in the 12th century.

At Llanelen, the earliest phase of activity is represented by a group of seven postholes, two beamslots, two pits, seven graves, and a group of features consisting of a wall, a gully and a bank, all at the west side of the site; and by numerous postholes and gullies, and a hearth on the east side of the site. The postholes are believed to represent a small timber chapel. The graves fall into two stylistic groups. One, consisting of three graves aligned east-north-east by west-south-west formed a spatially separate group, all the graves having shallow cuttings with rounded ends, and being covered with many small stones set vertically. The other graves, which were aligned east-south-east by west-north-west were more dispersed, with significant mounds; one contained a massive gritstone block and another a comparatively large capstone. Artefactual material was present, though none was truly diagnostic, it included fragments of a glass phial of a type characteristic of late 4th - early 5th century Roman glass vessels and a copper alloy fitting with no exact parallels, but resembling a 11th century Scandinavian bridle cheek-piece or an Anglo-Saxon bucket escutcheon.

At Eglwys Nynnid later a monastic grange and the findspot of two Early Medieval inscribed stones (see section B5), excavations prior to development revealed a series of features, including system of intercutting ditches, pits and postholes, the possible stone floor of a circular building, a possible roadway or track, and, of particular interest in this context, a small possible apsidal-ended building with stone foundations, possibly a church or chapel, associated with two possible lines of postholes to the west. None of these were dated, but small quantities of medieval pottery recovered from features in the upper stratigraphic levels suggest that some, if not all, of the remaining undated lower stratigraphic features, including the putative church, were early medieval in date (Beasley and Moore 2000). Although the other suggested church buildings of this period were of timber construction, the existence of a stone architectural elements at Llanrhidian, where there is a probably 9th-10th century carved lintel (PRN 00092w; RCAHMW 1976c, 62-3 no.951; see section B4) argue for the existence of at least some stone churches.<sup>25</sup>

### ***Burials***

Apart from the burials associated with the above sites, there are a number which may perhaps be dated to the Early Medieval period on stratigraphic or morphological grounds. These are at Barry Island, Cadoxton-juxta-Barry, Ely, Ewenny and Ifton.<sup>26</sup> In addition there is an extramural cemetery at the east side of Caerwent which is spatially separate from the Vicarage Orchard cemetery, but also post-Roman in date (Campbell and Macdonald 1995, 87).

There are also burials from Llanvithyn and Swansea Castle which have been claimed as Early Medieval, but these have been excluded. At Llanvithyn five burials were discovered in the late 1960s, obviously part of a cemetery of 'many scores of coffinless inhumations' previously recorded on the site. This is identified by the excavators with 'the old cemetery' mentioned in a document of Llanvithyn Grange from the turn of the 12th-13th centuries, but as the foundation date of the grange is unknown, it does not necessarily imply an Early Medieval date, as they claim (Lewis and Knight 1973). It has been suggested from time to time that the burials at Swansea Castle must imply that the Norman castle was built on the site of an Early Christian

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<sup>25</sup> There is another possible lintel at Llysworney (PRN 00781s), which was later reused as a memorial; RCAHMW (1976c, 64 no.956) dates the carving to 11th-12th century.

<sup>26</sup> A group of long cist burials from Abernant burials, originally interpreted as Roman and then as possibly Early Medieval (Tuck *et al* 2001, 152-3) have now been confirmed by a radiocarbon determinations as Roman (pers comm M Tuck).

church, but as the castle was used as a prison in the post-medieval period and felons were executed there, they are probably more likely to represent burials connected with this activity (RCAHMW 2000, 351, 359).

In two cases, burials have been observed underlying 12th century church buildings and therefore may be pre-Norman, although this cannot necessarily be assumed. In both cases the dating is stratigraphic only. At Cadoxton, there was evidence of a long series of burials underlying the late 12th century chancel of the parish church, one of which was overlain by a carbonised plank, as with one of the burials from Atlantic Trading Estate (see section A3). A small slot or gully filled with stones may be connected with a timber building (Thomas 1989). At the neighbouring Barry Island, two of the burials excavated predated the construction of the apse to the 12th century stone chapel dedicated to St Barruc (Knight 1981, 41, fig 4); both appear to have been plain inhumations.

The Roman villa at Ely contained a burial in a stone lined grave; Nash-Williams (1929, 257) suggests that this might be Christian. At Ewenny, parts of twenty-two burials were excavated during the laying of an electricity cable across the churchyard to the north of the church towards its west end (Hollingrake and Hollingrake). Although no radiocarbon dates were obtained, one of the burials was accompanied by white quartz pebbles, a characteristic inclusion in Early Medieval graves (Fisher 1996, 41). During archaeological field evaluation at Ifton Manor, immediately adjoining the site of the destroyed St James's church, the remains of five individual burials were recovered from within an area defined by a substantial enclosure ditch of Roman date. Small sherds of Roman pottery were associated with the burials but were clearly not grave goods; they are assumed to be residual. Four of the burials were aligned approximately east-west. One was contained in a stone cist, and this was relatively well preserved in comparison with the others, which were in unlined graves.

PRN	SITE NAME	ASSOCIATED ECCLESIASTICAL SITE
08357g	Ifton	Ifton Church 00490g
04729m	Ewenny	Ewenny Priory 00400m
03832s	Barry Island	St Barruc's Chapel 00553s
03834s	Cadoxton-juxta-Barry	Cadoxton-juxta-Barry church 00574s
03835s	Ely Roman villa	-
05217w	Eglwys Nunydd	Eglwys Nunydd grange 00786w
00051w	Burry Holms	Burry Holms monastic site 00030w
05292w	Llanelen	Llanelen chapel 00234w

#### **B4 Decorated stones, *in situ***

These comprise Classes II and III of Nash-William's (1955) classification, the cross-decorated and sculptured stones. All but four of the decorated stones in the study area came from Glamorgan, and were thus included in the RCAHMW's (1976c, 18) revision of the Glamorgan entries in Nash-Williams's corpus. This divided the decorated stones into: (B) pillar stones with incised crosses; (C) recumbent grave-slabs with incised crosses; (D) standing sculptured slabs; (E) pillar-crosses and (F) other decorated stones. RCAHMW's Group G are later-period stones, corresponding to Nash-William's Class IV (transitional Romanesque monuments), and are not included here, since they could equally well date to after the Conquest. The discussion of monuments here and in the following section (B5) is divided according to Nash-William's classification, in order to facilitate comparisons with the rest of the principality. This section does not include stones with inscriptions; inscribed stones of Classes II and III can be found in section B5.

It is assumed that monuments which are recorded as standing are probably in their original positions, although those which were re-erected after originally having been recorded as recumbent are not included in this category. In the lists which follow, an asterisk indicates that the church is also associated with inscribed stones (section B5), which may or may not also be decorated

### ***Class II stones***

The county suffixes to the PRNs show that the distribution of Class 2 stones is mainly to the west and north of the survey area. Both of RCAHMW's Groups B and C are present, but it is notable that all the Group B stones come from West Glamorgan (Court Herbert, Llanmadoc, Meles Grange, Upper Penhydd Grange).

Where stones are in what appears to have been their original location, they are almost always associated sites known to have ecclesiastical connections, mainly surviving or documented churches or chapels, but with three on possible grange sites. The only stone to have come from a markedly different location is a Group B stone of 7th-9th century date which came from Mynydd Merthyr (00529m), on the ridge between the Cynon and Taff valleys and a natural routeway site, for discussion of which see sections B5 and B7.<sup>27</sup>

None of the other stones listed here were found in their original position (*ie* erect), but there is no reason to suppose that any of the stones listed here came from a location other than that where they were found. The majority were found built into the structure of churches or chapels (Capel Brithdir, Llangyfelach, Llanmadoc, Llantrisant, Llanwynno), with one in the churchyard (Llanmadoc). Llangyfelach is a documented pre-Norman site, with the status of a *clas*, but the status of the other churches is unknown, and in each case the presence of the stone is the main argument for regarding them as pre-Norman sites. The Aberavon and Penhydd stones were built into post-medieval farm buildings, the former believed to be on the site of a chapel and the latter of a grange; the status of any pre-Conquest predecessors is unknown.

MAIN SITE PRN	SITE NAME	STONE
02420m	Capel Brithdir*	Slab with incised crosses 7th-9th century (00647m)
00649m	Capel Gwladys	Slab with incised cross, probably 8th-9th century (00650m)
00607m	Llantrisant	Decorated slab 7th-9th century (00608m)
00547m	Llanwynno	Two decorated fragments, possibly 7th-9th century or later (00544m), and 7th or 8th century (00546m)
00666s	Flatholm	Possibly part of recumbent slab with cross formed by pecked grooves 7th-9th century (00668s)
00675w	Aberavon (St Mary's)	Gravestone with incised cross, probably late in period 9th to 11th centuries (00675w)
00729w	Aberavon (St Thomas's Chapel)	Part of a probable grave slab with incised cross, probably 8th or 9th century (00723w)
00904w	Court Herbert Grange	Pillar-stone with two incised crosses of different periods, the earlier thought to be 7th-8th century date and the later 9th century. Not necessarily <i>in situ</i> (00588w)
00383w	Llangyfelach*	Cross-incised slab probably 9th century (00395w)
00038w	Llanmadoc*	Two cross-incised pillar stones, probably 7th-9th century and 9th century (00033w, 00034w)
00725w	Meles Grange	Slab-like stone used for an incised cross in the 7th or 8th century; recut to form a 'panelled-cross' slab, late 9th or 10th century (00728w)
00945w	Upper Penhydd Grange	Pillar stone with traces of a linear cross, probably 9th or 10th century (00715w)

### ***Class III stones***

This group is the only one to include any of the four stones found in Gwent. All four are typologically very similar, possibly by the same hand, and show evidence for foreign influences, possibly from western

<sup>27</sup> Mynydd Merthyr lies partly within the parish of Merthyr Tydfil and it is assumed that it takes its name from the parish, rather than some otherwise lost *merthyr* site on the mountain.

Scotland (Knight forthcoming; Nash-Williams 1950, 175), though Redknap (1994, 3) sees Saxon influences at work. The Caerleon and St Arvans monuments come from the churchyard and church respectively; the Caerwent stone was first noted in the churchyard. The exact findspot of the Bulmore stone is not recorded; Knight (forthcoming) thinks it may have come from the shrine of SS Julian and Aaron, but the usually accepted site of this is more than 2km from Bulmore hamlet.

In Glamorgan, stones appear for the first time associated with church sites in the south. The west is still well represented, but all the 'm'-suffixed sites are all on the coastal area in the vicinity of Bridgend. One of the Group E stones was associated with a holy well (see also section B5), now unfortunately completely built over; all the other stones are associated with church or grange sites. Considering the distribution of monuments according to RCAHMW's types, other pillar-crosses both inscribed (section B5) and uninscribed (Group E), came from Coychurch, Llancarfan, Llandaff, Llandough-juxta-Penarth, Llangyfelach and Llantwit Major. With the exception of Coychurch, these are all documented as major monastic centres, and can mostly be shown to have been organised as *clasau*. The Group D standing sculptured slabs came from Merthyr Mawr, Tythegston, Llangan, Blaendulais, Llangennith, St Michael's Grange, Meles Grange, Llantwit-juxta-Neath, with inscribed examples (see section B5) also from Llantwit Major and Margam. The exact status of most of these sites in the Early Medieval period is unknown, but it is likely to be a much more heterogeneous group. Group F is a catch-all for a diverse selection of stones for various uses, not covered in the previous groups. They include probable architectural fragments from Llanrhidian and Llysworney; Llysworney was the site of the royal llys of the cantref of Gorfynydd though not its ecclesiastical centre, which was as Llantwit Major (Knight 1984, 375), but the status of Llanrhidian is unknown. Ewenny and Merthyr Mawr both have large and significant collections of Early Christian monuments, and are on that basis believed to have been monastic centres, but independent corroboration is absent.

MAIN SITE PRN	SITE NAME	STONE
?00211g	Bulmore	Decorated cross-slab, 10th century (03723g)
00555g	Caerleon	Decorated cross-slab (00556g)
08457g	Caerwent	Slab with cross (01082g)
00774g	St Arvans	Decorated cross-slab (00775g)
00367m	Cae Ffynnon (Carreg Fedyddiol)	Carved stone (Carreg Fedyddiol) late 10th - early 11th century 00368m
00409m	Coychurch*	Decorated cross, 10th - early 11th century date (00405m)
00400m	Ewenny	Fragments of decorated slabs and headstone from nine monuments, one 8th to 10th century (00417m); also eight others dating probably between 10th and 12th centuries
01663m	Merthyr Mawr*	Two fragments of decorated slabs of 11th to early 12th century (00282m); others dating from 11th and 12th centuries
00247m	Tythegston	Decorated slabs of 11th century (00263m); also 12th century
00385s	Llancarfan*	Probable decorated pillar-cross of late-9th, or possible 10th century in date, cut with secondary inscription in 11th or 12th century lettering (00780s)
00133s	Llandaff	Part of a decorated pillar cross of late 9th-early 10th century date (00132s)
000075s	Llandough-juxta-Penarth	Decorated pillar-cross, still in situ, late 10th early 11th century (00076)
00199s	Llangan	Fragments of decorated cross of late 9th or 10th century (00196s) and 11th century (00195s)
00426s	Llantwit Major*	Fragments of decorated crosses, one of the mid to late 9th century (00431s) and three 10th - 12th century (00429, 00430s, 00433s); two other decorated stone fragments, now lost, have not been recorded. One cross recorded in situ in 17th century
00295s	Llysworney	Fragment of decorated slab or pillar-stone, possibly a reused lintel, of 11th or 12th century date (00781s)

00910w, 00911w	Blaendulais Grange?	Carved stone, possibly 10th century date, found in general region of possible candidates for Blaendulais Grange (00934w)
5101w; 791w	Grange of St Michael	Fragments of a carved stone of 10th or 11th century date (00807w).
00058w	Llangennith	Carved stone, probably 9th century (00059w); a cross-inscribed stone on the capstone of the village well(01415w) immediately outside the church is not noticed by RCAHMW.
00383w	Llangyfelach*	Carved cross-socket stone of 9th-10th century (00394w)
00103w	Llanrhidian*	Slab, probably of architectural origin carved with human figures, probably 9th or 10th century (00092w)
00628w	Llantwit-juxta-Neath	Decorated cross slab, probably late 9th or early 10th century (00625w)
00725w	Meles Grange	Cross slab of 7th or 8th century recut to form a 'panelled-cross' slab, late 9th or 10th century (00728w); part of a decorated cross, 11th century (00727w)

### **B5 Inscribed stones, *in situ***

These comprise Nash-Williams's (1955) Class I, which equates to RCAHMW's (1976c, 18) Group A, plus inscribed examples in his Class II, which fall within RCAHMW's Group B, and his Class III (RCAHMW's Groups C-E). Class IV/Group F stones are not included as they may as easily be post- Conquest as pre-Conquest. In the lists which follow, an asterisk indicates that the church is also associated with decorated stones without inscriptions (section B4)

#### ***Class I stones***

The Class I/Group A stones are generally early, with a date range of 5th-7th century. As can be seen from the county suffixes to the PRNs, their distribution is to the west and north of the survey area. There are eleven extant stones and a further three lost ones, giving a total of fourteen. Of these, six are not associated with any churches, but were found in association with cairns of definite or probable Bronze Age date (see section B7); of these, at least three were associated with long-distance routeways. There is no evidence that any of these sites had more than one burial or at the most two; there is no sign that they developed into proper cemeteries, let alone acquired any buildings. A possible association with the Roman road between Cardiff and Neath is noted for two sites in the Port Talbot area, the 'Cantusus' stone (PRN 00734w) and the 'Pompeius' stone (00734w) (RCAHMW 1976c, 21), although the latter is now known to have come from a probable Early Christian ecclesiastical site (see below). Another routeway stone at Capel Brithdir with a 7th century inscription originally stood 150m from the site of the chapel, which is medieval in origin, and was found on demolition to contain a fragment of a 10th or 11th century cross-inscribed stone. There is no evidence that this site had any prehistoric associations.

Of the remaining Class I stones, the one Capel Llanilltern is first recorded built into the fabric of the church. The Merthyr Mawr example also came from the church site but had been reused. The other stones associated with existing churches (Llanmadoc, Llanrhidian) came from close to the church but not from within the churchyard. The remaining two (Court Herbert, Eglwys Nynnid) came from the sites of Cistercian granges (see section on 'Other indicators'). Thus RCAHMW's (1976c, 21) tally of three stones associated with churches<sup>28</sup> could well be increased to seven.

<sup>28</sup> RCAHMW appear to have drawn a rigid distinction between churches and chapel sites as exemplified by 'capel' names, and not to have counted Capel Brithdir and Capel Llanilltern in this total.

All, where they can be read, contain standard memorial formulae. The stone from Eglwys Nynnid bears two inscriptions, one in Latin and the other in ogam; there seems to be an attempt at rendering the name of the deceased as closely similar as possible in the two systems, but the rest of the formulae appear to be different. Although a second ogam inscription is known from the area, on a reused Roman altar from Loughor, its find-spot is not recorded with sufficient accuracy to determine whether it was associated with the church.

SITE PRN	NAME	MEMORIAL STONE
02420m	Capel Brithdir*	Irregular upright with inscription of probable 7th century date (00646m)
01262m	Capel Llanilltern	Late 6th-early 7th century pillar stone (00556m)
01663m	Merthyr Mawr*	Pillar stone, probably 5th century. Reused at later date probably 9th century (00279m); inscribed panel cross, 11th century (00281m)
00653w	Baglan	Cross-incised slab probably late 9th or 10th century (00670w)
00585w	Court Herbert	Pillar stone with inscription and incised crosses, 7th-8th century date (00805w)
00786w	Eglwys Nynnid	Inscribed stone of probable mid 6th century date (00788w), and stone with virtually unreadable inscription( 00785w, 'Pompeius' stone)
00038w	Llanmadoc*	Inscribed pillar stone, late 5th to early 6th century (00032w)
00103w	Llanrhidian*	Lost inscribed stone drawn in the 17th century immediately to W of parish church. Letter forms dated to probably early 6th century (01454w)
00223w	Loughor	Roman altar with secondary ogam inscription (00206w)

### ***Class II stones***

There were only two examples of this type, and both also fell within RCAHMW's Group B 'Pillar stones with incised cross'. The Merthyr Tydfil stone was found built into the fabric of the church, and that from the site of Meles Grange was found on the site of Lower Court (Cwrt Isaf) Farm. There is no reason to believe that they are other than standard memorial stones, though the inscription TOME on the Meles Grange stone has been used to argue that it was on the site of the documented St Thomas's chapel (RCAHMW 1982, 268). We have insufficient evidence about the status of these churches to allow for comment.

SITE PRN	NAME	MEMORIAL STONE
00457m	Merthyr Tydfil	A pillar-stone with ring-cross and inscription, probably 8th/9th century (00455m)
00725w	Meles Grange*	Inscribed cylindrical pillar stone with crosses, inscription and larger crosses 8th-9th century date, possibly reusing stone with smaller cross (00724w)

### ***Class III stones***

The Class III stones form a more diverse group. There are two examples of RCAHMW's Group C 'recumbent grave-slabs with incised crosses', ten of their Group D 'standing sculptured slabs', and three of their Group E 'pillar-crosses'. The recumbent stones are the ones from Llangyfelach and Meles Grange, the former found in the floor of the church<sup>29</sup> and the latter during the demolition of a building called Hen Gapel. Llangyfelach was a *clas*, but we have no information as to the status of establishment which may have preceded Meles Grange.

The three stones from Margam, two of which are recorded as standing by the church, are all Group D 'standing sculptured slabs', as are two of the Llantwit Major examples, of which one was recorded as standing in the churchyard and the other (the 'Houelt' stone) is first recorded as lying there, though this may not have been its original location. When the so-called 'Iltyd' stone (PRN 00428s) was removed to the church in 1900, it was found to have been associated with a cist burial which must have been made contemporaneously with the erection of the stone (Halliday 1903, 59). The 'Ilci' and 'Ilquici' stones had

<sup>29</sup> The present parish church was until 1804 the tithe barn, but it lay within the churchyard.

been reused in a footbridge at Cwrt y defaid, one of the best candidates for the site later known as Llanfugeilydd Grange. The crosses from Merthyr Mawr, both of which were recorded as standing in what were probably their original positions on the periphery of Merthyr Mawr are probably boundary markers to the monastic lands; although the surviving part of one was inscribed with standard memorial formulae, the other appears to have recorded a land grant. The other unusual location is that of Bryngwyneithin, where the stone is said to have been removed from a small holy well, now lost; the inscription is too fragmentary to determine its subject matter. The other Group D examples are probably personal memorials, though the inscriptions are not always sufficiently well preserved to give more than a few words. For the status of these sites in the Early Medieval period, see section B4.

The Group E monuments consist of a reused pillar-cross from Llancarfan church, the Samson cross which was originally recorded as standing in Llantwit Major churchyard, and another recorded from Coychurch, though there is no information as to whether it was standing. The only one of these with anything like complete inscription is the one from Llantwit Major, which is a memorial. Both Llancarfan and Llantwit were *clasau*.

SITE PRN	NAME	MEMORIAL STONE
01663m	Merthyr Mawr area	Decorated and inscribed crosses of 11th century (?boundary markers), one of which records a land grant (00245m), 00272m
00409m	Coychurch*	Decorated shaft with inscription, 11th century (00406m)
385s	Llancarfan*	Probable decorated pillar-cross of late-9th, or possible 10th century in date, cut with secondary inscription in 11th or 12th century lettering (00780s)
00383w	Llangyfelach	Inscribed stone of 9th century (00385w)
00426s	Llantwit Major*	Three inscribed crosses, one of which was originally recorded as standing in the churchyard. All between mid 9th and early 10th centuries (00427s, 'Houelt' stone; 00428s; 00432s, 'Samson' cross)
01689w	Bryngwyneithin	Incomplete inscribed panelled cross, 10th century (00695w)
05203w	Cwrt y defaid (?Llanfugeilydd Grange)	Two inscribed stones of the 10th-11th century (00782w, 'Ilquici' stone; 00783w, 'Ilci' stone)
00771w	Margam*	Two decorated and inscribed crosses, first noted standing by Margam church, also cross-head late 9th-10 century (00767w, Conbelin stone; 00768w, Grutne stone; 00778w)
00725w	Meles Grange*	Broken slab with carved cross and partial inscription (00726w)

## **B6 Artefacts of Early Medieval date**

Apart from carved and inscribed stones, very few artefacts of Early Medieval date have been discovered in the study area, and fewer still have any association with the early church. Knight (1996) has reviewed the artifactual evidence for Early Medieval occupation in Caerwent, but none of the objects which he publishes has any ecclesiastical association.

Documentary evidence furnishes some record of what has been lost. The monks at Llancarfan once possessed what appears to have been a portable shrine containing the relics of St Cadoc, which was at one stage taken to Mamhilad to protect it from invading maurauders (Wade-Evans 1944, 120-1). They also had the miraculous bell of St Gildas, and Llantwit Major had another bell allegedly made by St Gildas (Knight 1984, 370-1). A miniature bell was allegedly left at Llandegfedd by St Cybi (Knight 1993, 1). There are only two handbells of the type mentioned to survive from this period. One comes from Llanmadoc (00042w), and was found at Cwm Ivy some little distance from the church. This was made of iron, riveted at one side, with traces of a coat of a shiny substance, like gold, on the surface, and measured 0.10x0.037m (Davies 1879, 66).

The other, which is in the NMGW and published only in a note by Fox (1946, 122), was of bronze-plated iron and came from Newcastle, Bridgend.

The other characteristic ecclesiastical artefact of the period was the crozier (Knight 1984, 370), but no examples are known in the survey area. The only other artefact which can be related to ecclesiastical use is the lampholder of monastic type to be seen in the church at Llangwm Uchaf, where it was found during restoration work in 1877 (DRT, 1877, 46). It is carved from oolitic limestone and consists of a bowl decorated with interlace on a tall slim conical foot (Knight 1972) dates the style of carving to the late 11th - early 12th century, but his contention that it must post-date the Norman conquest because of the use of non-local stone is contentious, since oolite outcrops only a few miles away in the Usk valley, where it was used for carved ornament in churches later in the Middle Ages.

PRN	SITE NAME	ASSOCIATED ECCLESIASTICAL SITE	VALUE
08456g	Lampholder from Llangwm Uchaf	Llangwm Uchaf 00911g	c
04728m	Bell from Newcastle, Bridgend	Newcastle?	b
00042w	Bell from Cwm Ivy	Llanmadoc?	b

### **B7 Prehistoric associations, features in the immediate vicinity**

In five cases, Early Medieval inscribed stones are associated with round barrows or cairns. Three of these sites are in West Glamorgan and two in Mid Glamorgan (one of these previously in Brecknock). The only site where there is definite evidence that the associated tumulus was of Bronze Age date is at Abercar (00800m) from where one of the inscribed stones now in Merthyr Tydfil church (Anon 1901, 60-2). This stone, which was found used as the lintel to a farm building, was inscribed ]NNICCI FILIVS / ]IACIT pECVRII IN hOC TVMVLO; the farm also had a Bronze Age cairn (presumably the tumulus of the inscription, later found to have a cremation with two Bronze age pots (RCAHMW 1997, 133-4 no LBS4/BB15). A fragment of a second stone was also found reused in a building at the same farm, but the association between the two monuments is unclear.

Clwydi Banwen (PRN 00552w), at Banwen Pyrddin on the southern edge of the Brecon Beacons, was reported by Lhuyd as being associated with two tumuli (PRN 00553w), but for these, as for the remaining examples, there is no certain evidence that the tumuli on which the stone was situated was in fact prehistoric. The Bodvoc stone (PRN 00809w) was set into a small ring cairn (PRN 00753w). The exact location of the third, a slab cross from Mynydd Gellionnen (PRN 00510w) is uncertain, but also on the evidence of Lhuyd it seems to stand on a small cairn, possibly adjacent to a cist; RCAHMW (1976, 61 no.85) suggest that this may have been PRN 00504w, but certainty is impossible. There is antiquarian evidence to indicate that the Gelligaer stone (PRN 00635m), which now has no apparent association with any of the Bronze Age cairns on Gelligaer Common, was originally sited on one which has now been completely destroyed (Knight 1999, 141; RCAHMW 1976c, 36 no.842). Apart from the inscription on the Abercar stone, there is no evidence as to whether these memorial stones actually marked burials, and if so, whether they were more than isolated ones; certainly none seem to have developed into church sites.

Other factors than may be at work than just a possible connection with perceived monuments to ancient people (Knight 1999, 141). Lady Fox (1939) points out the connection of the Bodvoc and Gelligaer stones and Clwydi Banwen with routeways, the Roman road between Neath and Coelbren forts in the case of the Clwydi Banwen monument, and the Gelligaer to Penyardarren road in the case of the Gelligaer (Fochriw) stone. Alcock (1965) contests this, but apparently only on the basis of a single site where the road was overgrown before the stone was erected.

An ambiguous monument exists at Cefn Celfi southwest of Pontardawe, where there is what is normally described as a pair of standing stones (PRNs 00516w and 02668w). These are probably the stump of a standing stone and a fallen portion of the upper section, and are normally classed as prehistoric though this has not been confirmed by excavation. The stone(s) are however one or two of a group of three stones or

fragments, interpreted in an early Welsh poem as representing the graves of heroes (Jones 1936; Jones 1967, 133-4). In this case, however, they will either be Early Medieval, or prehistoric with an accretion of Early Medieval legendary associations, and not evidence for the reuse of an earlier site in the Early Medieval period. Similarly, the site at Maes-y-felin, a candidate as a cemetery site (see C3), has been suggested as a possible henge (Pearseon and Lewis 2003, 9), perhaps linked with the chambered tomb Gwal-y-filiast (PRN 00003s), but in this case the two interpretations are not necessarily exclusive. Another standing stone for which a Bronze Age date is given, but for which Early Medieval associations are possible is that at Cwrt Sart, Neath (PRN 00583w), but RCAHMW (1982, 257 MG12) places the centre of Cwrt Sart Grange at the now demolished Cwrt Sart Farm, 0.5km away.

Apart from the standing stones on cairns discussed above, there are no other locations with close association between proven ecclesiastical sites and prehistoric funerary and ritual sites. The Maer-y Felin enclosure (PRN 02833s), immediately adjacent to the Neolithic chambered tomb Gwal-y-Filiast (PRN 0003s) may possibly be of Early Medieval date (see section C3), but a definitive case has yet to be made. Given the fairly dense concentrations of round barrows over some areas of the lowlands, particularly in the Vale, it is hardly surprising that there are groups within a few hundred metres of churches, as at Monknash, Sker, and Whitchurch, but none of them is sufficiently close to be able to postulate any link between the two. The same is true of hillforts and related enclosures of late prehistoric type; the examples where the two do seem to be related are Sudbrook and Caerau where the churches (PRNs 01145g and 00094s) lie within the Iron Age ramparts (PRNs 01142g and 00093s), but in both there is evidence of Roman reoccupation, and the association may rather be one of ecclesiastical site with Roman site (Section A5). Bradney (1914, 71) states that the earthworks of a fort could be seen to surround the church at Tregaer in the early 20th century, though none have been recorded since, and that this was borne out by the name of the village Knight (forthcoming) notes that, if this site is the Lann Meiripenn Ros of the *Book of Llandaff*, there are the parallels for the granting of such a site for monastic purposes.

PRN	SITE NAME	REMARKS
01145g	Sudbrook	Church located in promontory fort 01142g
02509g	Tregaer	Earthworks noted in the early 20th century
00635m	Gelligaer stone	Inscribed stone set on ?ring cairn
04727m	Abercar stone	Inscribed stone set on ring cairn 00800m
00094s	Caerau	Church located in hillfort 00093s
00809w	Mynydd Margam (Bodvoc stone)	Inscribed stone set on ring cairn 00753w
00510w	Mynydd Gellionnen	Inscribed stone set on cairn ? 00504w
00552w	Clwydi Banwen	Inscribed stone set on pair of cairns 00553w

## **GRADE C**

### **C1 Churchyard morphology**

#### *Curvilinear enclosures*

The circular or curvilinear churchyard is generally accepted as being typical of Early Medieval ecclesiastical sites. Brook (1992, 80) has gone so far as to work out a system of assessing the degree of curvilinearity of any churchyard. However, in assessing the significance of the form, it is necessary to bear in mind certain factors, which may affect the interpretation of any site or group of sites.

Some of the problems in accepting the primacy of the curvilinear churchyard are to do with the fit of data. Brook (1982) has made a statistical study of churchyards in three sample areas of Glamorgan, in the south (Vale), the north and the west. She largely failed to produce good correlations with other indicators of early

date, apart from with Class II monuments, which showed a strong correlation in the north and west (Brook 1982, 97). However, reference to sections B4 and B5 show that the numbers involved overall are not large. James (1997, 6) notes that, in Pembrokeshire, cist burials have been recorded from beyond the curvilinear boundary of the churchyard at Mathry, St Ishmaels and Bridell. At two sites in the Glamorgan-Gwent area, Llangan and St Brides Wentloog, it appeared that a curvilinear churchyards had been superimposed over another curvilinear enclosure.

Other reservations are to do with the theoretical basis of the hypothesis. The concept of the circular churchyard was first popularised by Thomas who notes ‘though the plans of such enclosures are often distorted by facets of local topography, there is some evidence that the ideal was a circular one; an ideal rarely attained on the ground’ (Thomas 1971), 38. He cites possible connections with ‘the curvilinear form assumed by most pre-Christian fortifications in Britain and Ireland’, and later goes on to note that ‘the enclosed circular aspect is the really important characteristic’ (p50) and to stress ‘the symbolic and ritual value [of] the curvilinear cemetery’ (p58). He then goes on to cite a passage in a *Life of St Patrick*, dating to not before the 9th century, which he interprets as a description of the laying out of a circular enclosure using a line rotated about a central point (Thomas 1971, 40). Other writers have independently noted the association between circular or octagonal structures, centralised with an endless periphery, and death and baptism in Late Antique Christian structures (Visser 2000, 187, 189; White 2000, 738-9).

Most writers regard the circle and the oval as interchangeable; therefore any observation made about the circle is taken to apply equally to the oval and any other curvilinear shape. In fact, there are important differences, both symbolic and practical. To stand within a circular enclosure unencumbered by internal structures, as in an undeveloped cemetery, is to be conscious that all points are equidistant from the centre. Whilst an oval whose two axes are of similar length can in this regard be treated for all intents and purposes as a circle since the eye is not particularly conscious of a discrepancy between the two, it is a different matter in a more elongated oval, as are many of the examples noted below. More investigation needs to be carried out into the variety of curvilinear figures before assumptions are made as to their interchangeability.

Another factor which needs to be taken into account is the relationship of the churchyard to the landscape in which it was constructed. Examination of the tithe maps shows that circular and curvilinear shapes are commonly used for enclosures of moorland and other common land (see for example Ty-isaf and Ynys-log in Ystrayfodwg parish, or plots 892 and 847/848/851 on the Newcastle tithe maps), and on the Gwent Levels, Rippon (1997, 42) has demonstrated that the earliest enclosure is usually ovoid. In heavily forested areas, such as Wentwood, a clearing made in the trees will have most naturally assumed a circular or oval shape. This can perhaps be seen at Newchurch, where there are traces of the bank belonging to an earlier curvilinear enclosure surrounding the church within the present quadrangular churchyard; Newchurch itself is a post-Conquest foundation (Locock 1999, 18). On this evidence, therefore, it would seem reasonable to hypothesise that a curvilinear enclosure represents the first enclosure within an area of open ground. What little evidence that exists for fields in the Roman period suggests that the land may have been divided into infield and outfield (Evans forthcoming), and Davies (1978, 32) has drawn attention to the fact that the topographical detail given in the boundaries of the Llandaff charters suggests that the countryside was largely open. Under these circumstances, the presence of curvilinear boundaries suggest that the churchyards were the earliest defined features in their landscapes; this can be seen very clearly in a number of cases (Llanwern, Magor, Marshfield, St Athans, Tithegston Rudry, Wonastow); others would probably emerge if there was a more sophisticated analysis of the area.

Another possible indicator of an enclosure which predates the surrounding landscape is where it is entirely surrounded by roads, indicating that whilst it was a focus of travel, the traveller arrived at an enclosed site and then had to detour round it if he wanted to proceed beyond. Later developments may have resulted in parts of this road system being encroached upon. A road surrounding the churchyard (either as it is now or as projected at an earlier date) for at least half of its boundary, where this is not at a corner, was noted at Cwmcarvan, Laleston, Llandenny, Llanelli, the possible earlier enclosure at Llangan Llangennith, Llangyfelach, Llanharry, Llantwit Major, Mynyddislywn, Oldcastle, Penderyn, Peterston Wentloog,

Peterston-super-Ely, Rhossili, St Arvans, St Brides Wentloog, St Mary Church, Trevethin, Welsh St Donats and Wolvesnewton. However, this feature too only implies primacy in the landscape and not anything about its absolute date.

Without study of the formation of the landscapes themselves, it is inadmissible to proceed from this assertion to the assumption that the churchyards must therefore be pre-Norman. So far very little work has been done on landscape development in the Glamorgan-Gwent area. Rippon's study of the specialised environment of the Levels has already been mentioned. Work is ongoing on the defined Historic Landscape areas, but so far most of the ones which have been dealt with are primarily industrial/urban; among the more rural landscapes, only Margam has been dealt with so far, and here the only church, Llangynwyd, seems to lie in the middle of a small area of landscape of relatively early formation.

Llangynwyd churchyard serves to introduce another factor which needs to be taken into account in any assessment of churchyard form, previous traditions of enclosure type. In the summary of Thomas's hypothesis cited above, he notes a probable connection between the curvilinear churchyard and the curvilinear prehistoric enclosure. Although curvilinear enclosures are common in Glamorgan and Gwent, there is also a tradition of small square or nearly square enclosures with rounded corners, of which the type site is Whitton, where the surrounding bank and ditch continued in use well into the 3rd century (Jarrett and Wrathmell 1981). Llangynwyd church has other markers of a possible Early Medieval date.<sup>30</sup> It also has a nearly square churchyard entirely surrounded by roads. Llanfapley, a documented pre-Norman site, has a churchyard of the same shape, shown on the tithe map as surrounded by roads on all sides except one. It is possible that many of the quadrangular churchyards, particularly those with one or more rounded corners, may have started in this way.

Curvilinear churchyards, and other enclosures associated with ecclesiastical sites, are noted below and divided into five types. These are circular, including those churchyards (marked with an asterisk) which were polygonal at the time the tithe map was drawn up, but which appear originally to have been polygonal; oval or U-shaped (including sites where the churchyard is now restricted to a fraction of what appears to have been its original oval or U-shaped area); D-shaped (which might be derived from a circular or from an oval churchyard); almond-shaped and kidney-shaped. Because of the reservations noted above as to the propriety of assuming that curvilinear churchyards in the Glamorgan-Gwent area are indicative of Early Medieval date, they are all uniformly rated at (c) on Tables 1-4.

*Circular and polygonal but probably originally circular churches*

PRN	NAME
01971g	Bedwellty
00014g	Coedkernew
02468g	Dingestow*
02868g	Goetre*
00309g	Llandegfedd
02051g	Llangeview*
00860g	Llangovan*
02511g	Llanhilleth*
00953g	Llanishen (Mon)
00833g	Raglan*
01044g	Shirenewton*
00774g	St Arvans
00320m	Laleston*
00724m	Llanfedw
00569s	Barry*

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<sup>30</sup> It also has a carved stone (00120m) not included in section B4 because of a wide potential date range extending from the 9th to the 12th century.

02868s	Coed Nant-Bran (?Hen Lotre Elidon)
00214s	Llansannor
02833s	Maes-y-felin (?Powisfa Dewi)
01606s	Michaeolston-le-Pit*
00002s	St Lythans
01272s	St Mellons
00765w	Cryke, Capel Mair

*Oval or U-shaped*

PRN	NAME
02466g	Bryngwyn
02467g	Cwmcarvan
01675g	Grosmont
00251g	Langstone
01282g	Llanarth
01996g	Llanbadoc
00311g	Llanddewi Fach
00932g	Llandenny
00418g	Llandevaud
04913g	Llanelli
02501g	Llangattock Lingoed
00911g	Llangwm Uchaf
00390g	Llanhennock
00953g	Llanishen (Mon)
08351g	Llanlawrence
00331g	Llanllowell
00915g	Llansoy
00359g	Llantrisant (Mon)
00990g	Llanvaches
05011g	Llanwern
08331g	Llyncoed/Campston Grange
08392g	Marshfield (Vicarage House)
00466g	Merthyr Geryn
01090g	Newchurch
01605g	Oldcastle
01631g	Penbiddle (St John's Chapel)
08380g	Ponthir, St Gwnog's Chapel
00117g	Risca
02506g	Rockfield
03819g	St Maughan's
02509g	Tregaer
00665m	Gelligaer
00908m	Horgrove Grange
00923m	Llandyfodwg
00174m	Llangewydd
01696m	Llanharry
01106m	Penderyn
03245m	St Brides Major
00094s	Caerau
00070s	Cogan
00742s	Leckwith

00245s	?Llandough-juxta-Cowbridge <sup>31</sup>
00199s	Llangan
01703s	Llanmaes
00295s	Llysworney
00229s	?Monknash Grange <sup>32</sup>
03808s	St-y-Nyll
01877w	Aberpergwm
00515w	Cilybebyll
05290w	Grovesend <sup>33</sup>
00185w	Llanddewi
00058w	Llangennith
03022w	Llanyrnewydd
00299w	Oxwich
00186w	Penrice

*D-shaped*

PRN	NAME
01086g	Kilgwrrwg
00451g	Magor
00082g	Mynyddislwyn
00604m	Llanharan
00607m	Llantrisant (RCT)
0599m	Llantwit Fardre
02173m	Talygarn
00803s	Roath
00086s	St George-super-Ely
00185w	Llanddewi

*Almond-shaped*

PRN	NAME
08350g	Bryngwyn Grange (Chapel Farm)
01282g	Llanarth
03237g	Llanddewi Skirrid
01782g	Llanfoist
01212g	Mathern
00166g	Newport
01163g	St Kynemark's
00340s	St Mary Church
0630w	Cadoxton-juxta-Neath

*Kidney-shaped*

PRN	NAME
00978g	Llanishen (St Mary's chapel)

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<sup>31</sup> In 1843 when the tithe map was surveyed, the churchyard was quadrangular, as now, but twelve years later half a dozen burials were discovered 20ft (9m) beyond the present boundary of the churchyard, indicating that it has contracted in size (PRN 244s; *Archaeol J* 12 (1855), 185). This account does not specify on what side the burials were found, but the present churchyard lies on the N side of a large oval enclosure with a rectilinear extension to its N side, on the W side of which is the churchyard, and sharing its N boundary with the churchyard; the other three sides are surrounded by roads. It slopes up very slightly from SE to NW.

<sup>32</sup> A basically sub-oval shape, but the boundaries (represented partly by the modern road and partly by banks) have been regularised by the inclusion of straight lengths.

<sup>33</sup> A possible ecclesiastical enclosure appears as an ovoid area of glebe on the tithe map.

04209g Wonastow  
00311w Bishopston  
00383w Llangyfelach  
00900w Paviland Grange

### **Double enclosures**

Double enclosures have been discussed by James H (1997, 6-7) and James, T (1992, 65-70), who note that the outer enclosure was probably not defensive but defined by a *bangor* or wattle enclosure, and that the inner enclosure was more substantial. Air photograph evidence has revealed the presence of ‘funnelled entrances’, defined by linear features resembling antennae, linking the two enclosures; from this feature the Jameses described them as ‘antenna’ enclosures

The tithe maps were examined to see whether there was any trace of an outer enclosure. Possible candidates were then compared with modern OS maps (1:12500 Explorer series) to see whether the morphology of the area could be explained by reference to the local topography; if this was the case, the site was discounted. In a few cases it proved possible to determine from the accompanying apportionment that a significant block of land within the outer enclosure had been glebe (James 1997, 21); this information was also used in assessing the likelihood of the outer enclosure’s being related to the church, but more often information on glebe was not provided, or it lay at some distance from the church. The examples assessed at ‘c’ either have less than a quarter of a possible outer circumference, or it is difficult to see a clear outer boundary running for any distance.

A glance at the PRN suffixes on the table below shows that the majority of churchyards with double enclosures fall into an eastern group and a western group, both of twelve examples, with only five in the area between. In Gwent there is one subgroup centred on Newport (Coedkernew, Machen, Malpas, Michaelston-y-Fedw, Nash) and another on the area south of Abergavenny (Goetre, Llanarth, Penrhos, Tregaer, Llanddewi Skirrid). Half of the West Glamorgan group is to be found on Gower (Gellieithrim, Kelston, Llanddewi, Llanyrnewydd, Penmaen, Pennard). Given the comparative ground area and church numbers between Gwent and West Glamorgan, it is clear that the latter group is the more significant, probably an extension of those already noted during the course of the current pan-Wales project in, Carmathenshire, Ceredigion and Pembrokeshire.

Some sites still retain this layout. The plans of St Mary Church and Glyneathrim Uchaf are probably the best examples. St Mary Church has a radial plan, which has not changed much since the tithe survey, similar to that noted at Jeffreyston (Kissock 1997, 133). In the case of Glyneathrim Uchaf, one of the boundaries delimiting the central irregular polygonal core, provisionally identified at the church site, has disappeared and has been supplied from the tithe map. A road runs along the southern side of the site, with an awkward hairpin bend showing how it must originally have continued up the west side; although the site is on a slope, the hairpin has not been caused by the contours which are negotiated at right angles above and below. This site is provisionally interpreted as the Lann Ethrim of LL274 (Evans 1893, 408; Morgan 1899, 50). Llandeilo Talybont (not illustrated, although apparently with an inner and an outer enclosure, has a modified form due to the location of the church within a meander of the River Loughor. The neck of the promontory thus caused is shown on the tithe map as partly cut off by a curvilinear boundary represented by two field boundaries, which run across the track to the church, but have now been almost entirely obliterated by the M4 motorway.

PRN	NAME
00014g	Coedkernew
08391g	Glencourt Farm
02868g	Goetre
01282g	Llanarth

03237g	Llanddewi Skirrid
05014g	Machen
00641g	Malpas
04456g	Michaelston-y-Fedw
00266g	Nash
02505g	Penrhos
00489g	Rogiet
02509g	Tregaer <sup>34</sup>
00409m	Coychurch
00348m	Peterstone-super-Montem
00692m	Eglwysilan
00224s	Llandow
00340s	St Mary Church
00701w	Glyncorrwg
00168w	Knelston
05207w	Gellieithrim (?Gelli Thrim Grange)
05290w	Glyneathrim Uchaf
00185w	Llanddewi
00621w	Llandeilo Talybont
00383w	Llangyfelach
00628w	Llantwit-juxta-Neath
03022w	Llanyrnewydd
00294w	Penmaen
00327w	Pennard
00440m	Vaynor

## **C2 British dedication**

Like the rest of Wales, the survey area contains a significant proportion of dedications to Celtic saints. Attempts have been made in the past, notably by Bowen (1957; 1977) to use these to map out the itineraries of the more prominent saints, on the assumption that the dedication was to the founder. However, such an over-arching theory generally meets with limited acceptance these days, as it is recognised that rededication does occur, and a church's present dedication may not have been the same as it was in the high Middle Ages, and that again might have been different from the dedication in the pre-Conquest period. Knight (1984, 380-1) notes there are two areas in Glamorgan, Cardiff in the east and the Ewenny/St Brides Major area in the west, where Celtic dedications are almost unknown, and suggests that this is almost certainly due to wholesale rededication under Norman influence, with Celtic saints being replaced by saints from the Roman calendar with similar attributes or the same feast day. Three churches with double dedications are recorded in north Gower. Two are extant today: Llangyfelach is dedicated to SS David and Cyfelach, and Llanrhidian to SS Illtyd and Rhidian; The Tudor antiquary Rice Merrick, however, records that in his day Llangyfelach was dedicated to St David only, and Llanrhidian to St Illtyd only. Conversely he records that Llangennith, which today is dedicated to St Cennydd alone, had a double dedication to SS Mary and Cennydd (Merrick ed James 1983, 118, 119, 122). One can only speculate on the causes for the change. The first two may have gained their second saint through an antiquarian process of back-formation; the Mary dedication at Llangennith may well be as a result of the possession of that church by the monastery of St Taurin at Evreux, which had a cell there. Caerwent is dedicated to SS Stephen and Tathan, possibly also the result of the addition of a 'standard' saint to the original Celtic dedication.

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<sup>34</sup> Bradney (1914, 71) notes that an outer enclosure was visible in his day as an earthwork. It is not certain how this relates to the field pattern.

Comparing the tables below, it will be clear that whilst there are numbers of Celtic saints who have one, or at the most two, dedications, the favourite saints in order of popularity are Cadoc (18), David (11),<sup>35</sup> Illtyd (10),<sup>36</sup> Bridget (8) and Teilo (6). Some indication of the distribution can be seen from the county PRN suffixes. Cadoc (also known as Cattwg or Catwg, particularly in Glamorgan) is well represented over the whole area from east to west, though with few examples in northern Glamorgan and none in southern Gwent; Knight (forthcoming) sees the majority of the dedications as clustering around two centers, one in the Vale of Glamorgan around Glamorgan and the other in northern Gwent, perhaps centred on Mamhilad. In contrast Illtyd only has two dedications in Gwent, and these lie on the eastern side of the county, and only a single dedication in the Vale of Glamorgan/Cardiff area, which was his principal monastery at Llantwit Major. David is scarce in the central area, and Bridget is absent from the west. Teilo has a cluster of dedications in northern Gwent, plus one at the main Teilo centre of Llandaff and two further ones in the west, at Bishopston which, although lying within the diocese of St David, remained a possession of Llandaff up until the end of the 19th century, and Lladeilo Talybont. This serves to illustrate the importance of dedications in establishing the claim of a mother house over its daughters, a point which is also stressed in the *Vita Sancti Cadoci*, where the right of St Cadoc's monastery of Llancarfan to appoint abbots of the daughter houses is stressed at Macmoil and Pencarnou (and also Newport: Wade-Evans 1944, 124-5, 128-9).

Three dedications to saints from the Roman calendar are documented in pre-Conquest sources. These are Mary (*Lann Meiripenn Ros* LL231), Michael (*Lann Mihacgel* LL261; *Lann Mihacgel Cruc Cornou* LL240, *Lann Mihacgel Lichrit* LL244, *Lann Mihacgel Maur* LL233) and Peter (*Lann Petyr in Henriu* LL261). Taking all the dedications together, Mary is the most popular dedicatee (38) overall, as in most areas of Britain; Michael (20)<sup>37</sup> follows in second place. St Cadoc is third, ahead of St John Baptist (14) and St Peter (13);<sup>38</sup> the next most popular saints are David, Illtyd and Bridget, ahead of St Teilo and St James (6). Thomas (1984, 82, 83) has postulated Celtic saints remained sufficiently popular after the Conquest for new churches to be dedicated to them, though subsequent discoveries have caused him to modify his position somewhat (Thomas and Tyley 1987).

In the following tables only churches and chapels in use and well-documented extinct parish churches are included. Celtic dedications known only from the *Book of Llandaff* have been noted, but are not included in the assessment. Rating is (a) for churches documented as having a British dedication in the Middle Ages or 16th century, (b) for saint's name included in placename, except where there is evidence that it is a back-formation, and (c) others.

*Celtic dedications*

PRN	PRESENT DEDICATION	CHURCH	EARLIER DEDICATION
01861g	St Aeddan	Bettws Newydd	No current dedication; St Aeddan is suggested by Bradney (
05012g	St Audoenus	Mounton	
00774g	St Arvan	St Arvans	
00860w	St Baglan	Baglan	
01168m	St Barrwg	Bedwas	
00002s	St Bleiddian	St Lythans	Elidon in LL157
03245g	St Bride (Bridget)	Llansanffraed	
00471g	St Bride (Bridget)	St Brides Netherwent	
01696g	St Bride (Bridget)	Skenfrith	
02567m	St Bride (Bridget)	St Brides Minor	

<sup>35</sup> Ten if Bettws (Mid Glamorgan) is omitted.

<sup>36</sup> Eleven if Bettws (Mid Glamorgan) is added.

<sup>37</sup> Twenty one if the earlier dedication to St Michael at Redwick is taken into account

<sup>38</sup> In one of these is St Peter is associated with SS Paul and John

00325m	St Bride (Bridget)	St Brides Major	
00017g	St Bride (Bridget)	St Brides Wentloog	
00173s	St Bride (Bridget)	St Brides-super-Ely	
01292s	St Brynach	Llanfrynach	
00555g	St Cadoc (Cattwg)	Caerleon	
02467g	St Cadoc (Cattwg)	Cwmcarvan	Earlier dedication to St Michael or St Clement
02501g	St Cadoc (Cattwg)	Llangattock Lingoed	
01506g	St Cadoc (Cattwg)	Llangattock Vibon Avel	
02503g	St Cadoc (Cattwg)	Llangattock-juxta-Usk	
02505g	St Cadoc (Cattwg)	Penrhos	
00833g	St Cadoc (Cattwg)	Raglan	
02507g	St Cadoc (Cattwg)	Trevethin	
00665m	St Cadoc (Cattwg)	Gelligaer	
00716m	St Cadoc (Cattwg)	Pentyrch	
00574s	St Cadoc (Cattwg)	Cadoxton-juxta-Penarth	
00385s	St Cadoc (Cattwg)	Llancarfan	
01703s	St Cadoc (Cattwg)	Llanmaes	
00164s	St Cadoc (Cattwg)	Pendoylan	
00096w	St Cadoc (Cattwg)	Cheriton	
01877w	St Cadoc (Cattwg)	Aberpergwm	
00630w	St Cadoc (Cattwg)	Cadoxton-juxta-Neath	
00182w	St Cadoc (Cattwg)	Port Eynon	
00243g	St Cadwaladr	Bishton	Dedication to St Cyviv given in LL30
0a0199s	St Canna	Llangan	
00342m	St Cein	Llangeinor	
02506g	St Cenedlon	Rockfield	Lann Guoronoi in LL240
00058w	St Cennydd	Llangennith	SS Mary and Cennydd given by Merrick (ed James 1983, 118)
00493w	St Ciwg	Llangiwg	Culan in LL216
00409m	St Crallo	Coychurch	
00352g	St Cybi	Llangybi	
01106m	St Cynoc	Penderyn	
00910m	St Cynwyd	Llangynwyd	
00525s	St Curig	Porthkerry	
00153g	St David	Bettws	
00311g	St David	Llanddewi Fach	
03243g	St David	Llanddewi Rhydderch	
03237g	St David	Llanddewi Skirrid	
02051g	St David	Llangeview	
01737g	St David	Llanthony	
02032g	St David	Trostrey	
00137m	St David	Bettws	Illtyd given by Merrick (ed James 1983, 103)
00320m	St David	Laleston	
00185w	St David	Llanddewi	
00383w	SS David & Cyfelach	Llangyfelach	St David alone given by Merrick (ed James 1983, 122)
01108g	St Deiniol	Itton	

02468g	St Dingat	Dingestow	
00245s	St Dochdwy	Llandough-juxta-Cowbridge	
00075s	St Dochdwy	Llandough-juxta-Penarth	
00990g	St Dubritius	Llanvaches	Earlier dedication to St Maches
00424s	St Dunwyd	St Donats	
00318s	St Dunwyd <sup>3940</sup>	Welsh St Donats	
00544s	St Dyfan and St Teilo	Merthyr Dyfan	
00637s	St Edeyrn	Llanedeyrn	
04913g	St Elli	Llanelli	
01262m	St Ellteyrne	Capel Llanillterne	
00860g	St Govan (Coven)	Llangovan	
00946m	St Gwynno	Llanwynno	
00440m	St Gwynno	Vaynor	
03022w	St Gwynour	Llanyrnewydd	Dedication is back-formation from name
00692m	St Ilan	Eglwysilan	
00387m	St Ilid and St Curig	Llanilid	
02504g	St Illtyd	Mamhilad	
02511g	St Illtyd	Llanhilleth	Hyledd in c1566
01696m	St Illtyd	Llanharry	
00599m	St Illtyd	Llantwit Fardre	
00377m	St Illtyd	Newcastle	St Leonard in 1254
00426s	St Illtyd	Llantwit Major	
00247w	St Illtyd	Ilston	
00103w	SS Illtyd and Rhidian	Llanrhidian	St Illtyd alone given by Merrick (ed James 1983, 119)
00628w	St Illtyd	Llantwit-juxta-Neath	
00299w	St Illtyd	Oxwich	
00607s	St Isan	Llanishen	
01163g	St Kynemark	St Cynmarch	
00331g	St Llywel	Llanllowell	
01309g	St Mabli	Llanfapley	
00677m	St Mabon	Llanfabon	
01996g	St Madoc	Llanbadoc	
00038w	St Madoc	Llanmadoc	St Cadoc given by Merrick (ed James 1983, 119); probably an error
01272s	St Mellon	St Mellons	
03819g	St Meugan	St Maughans	
00741g	St Oudoceus	Llandogo	SS Enniaun and Oudocui in LL156
02749s	St Owain	Ystradowen	
00397w	St Samlet	Llansamlet	

<sup>39</sup> Knight (1984, 389) disputes this and suggests the dedicatee should be St Donatus of Fiesole

<sup>40</sup> See note to Welsh St Donats

01971g	St Sannan	Bedwellty	
00214s	St Senwyr	Llansannor	
01064g	(St Stephen and) St Tathan	Caerwent	St Tatheus in LL269
00484s	St Tathan	St Athan	
00309g	St Tegfeth	Llandegfeth	
01282g	St Teilo	Llanarth	
01303g	St Teilo	Llantilio Crossenny	
01480g	St Teilo	Llantilio Pertholey	
00133s	St Teilo	Llandaff	
01663m	St Teilo	Merthyr Mawr	
00311w	St Teilo	Bishopston	
00621w	St Teilo	Llandeilo Talybont	
01212g	St Tewdric	Mathern	
00457m	St Tydfil	Merthyr Tydfil	
00295s	St Tydfil	Llysworney	
00247m	St Tydwg	Tithegston	
00923m	St Tyfodwg	Llandyfodwg	
00915g	St Tysoi	Llansoy	
04209g	St Wonnaw	Wonastow	Wengel in 1254

*Non-Celtic dedications*

PRN	PRESENT DEDICATION	CHURCH	NOTES
00408g	All Saints	Coedkernew	
00618g	All Saints	Llanfrechfa	
00472w	All Saints	Oystermouth	
01086g	Holy Cross	Kilgwrrwg	This is a recent attribution; the original dedication is unknown
01038s	Holy Cross	Cowbridge	
00221g	Holy Trinity	Christchurch	
01145g	Holy Trinity	Sudbrook	
00224s	Holy Trinity	Llandow	
00411s	Holy Trinity	Marcross	
00375g	St Andrew	Tredunnoc	
00852s	St Andrew	St Andrews Major	
00220s	St Andrew	St Andrews Minor	
00186w	St Andrew	Penrice	
00063s	St Augustine	Penarth	
01137s	St Augustine	Rumney	
02502g	St Bartholemew	Llanover	Movor in 1285
00045g	St Basil	Basseleg	
00481s	St Brewis	Eglwysbrewis	
00953g	St Dennis	Llanishen	Lann Nisien in LL241
00626s	St Denys	Lisvane	

01782g	St Faith	Llanfoist	
00086s	St George	St George-super-Ely	
00107w	St George	Reynoldston	
00489s	St Giles	Gileston	
02469g	St Helen	Llanelen	
00336s	St Hilary	St Hilary	
00490g	St James	Ifton	
04912g	St James	Llangua	Lann Culan in LL216
02512g	St James	Llanvetherine	Lann Guerthirin in LL228
00152m	St James	Pyle	
00702m	St James	Rudry	
00435m	St James	Wick	
00911g	St Jerome	Llangwm Uchaf	One of the Llangwm churches (unspecified) was previously dedicated to SS Mirgint, Cinficc, Huui and Eruen (LL173)
01758g	St John	Abergavenny	
01812g	St John Baptist	Kemeys Commander	Now All Saints
01605g	St John Baptist	Oldcastle	
01013g	St John Baptist	Penhow	
00494m	St John Baptist	Aberdare	
00215m	St John Baptist	Newton Nottage	
01755m	St John Baptist	Ystradyfodwg	
00115s	St John Baptist	Cardiff St John the Baptist	
00264s	St John Baptist	Llanblethian	
01208s	St John Baptist	Radyr	
00586s	St John Baptist	Sully	
00701w	St John Baptist	Glyncorwg	
00294w	St John Baptist	Penmaen	
00429w	St John Baptist	Swansea St Matthew	Now St Matthew (Victorian rededication)
00932g	St John the Apostle	Llandenny	
00515w	St John the Evangelist	Cilybeyll	
00588s	St Lawrence	Lavernock	
00803s	St Margaret	Roath	
00525w	St Margaret	Crynant Chapel of Rest	
01715g	St Martin	Cwmyoy	
00254g	St Martin	Llanmartin	
00873g	St Martin	Penyclawdd	
00700m	St Martin	Caerphilly	
02338g	St Mary	Abergavenny St Mary	
00509g	St Mary	Caldicot	
00751g	St Mary	Chapel Hill	
01183g	St Mary	Chepstow	
01001g	St Mary	Llanfair Discoed	
02182g	St Mary	Llanfair Kilgeddin	
05011g	St Mary	Llanwern	If this is the Llanwern of LL240, the original dedication was to St Tivauc

00451g	St Mary	Magor	Previously St Leonard
00641g	St Mary	Malpas	
00010g	St Mary	Marshfield	
01231g	St Mary	Monmouth	
00266g	St Mary	Nash	
00296g	St Mary	Panteg	
01273g	St Mary	Penallt	
00762g	St Mary	Penterry	Lann Bedeui in LL218
00506g	St Mary	Portskewett	
00117g	St Mary	Risca	
00489g	St Mary	Rogiet	Previously St Hilary
02509g	St Mary	Tregaer	
00463g	St Mary	Undy	
02018g	St Mary	Usk	
00475g	St Mary	Wilcrick	
00373m	St Mary	Coity	
01440m	St Mary	Nolton	
00094s	St Mary	Caerau	
00117s	St Mary	Cardiff	
00340s	St Mary	St Mary Church	
00364s	St Mary	Bonvilston	
00225s	St Mary	Monknash	
00519s	St Mary	Penmark	
00085s	St Mary	St Fagans	St Fagan in 1254. <sup>41</sup>
00187s	St Mary	St Mary Hill	
00006s	St Mary	Wenvoe	
01163w	St Mary	Aberavon	
00645w	St Mary	Briton Ferry (Llansawel)	
00770w	St Mary	Margam	
00327w	St Mary	Pennard	
00153w	St Mary	Rhosili	
00430w	St Mary	Swansea St Mary	
00274g	St Mary Magdalene	Goldcliff	
01810g	St Matthew	Monkswood	
02244g	St Michael	Llanfihangel Cruorney	
03225g	St Michael	Llanfihangel Gobion	
00486g	St Michael	Llanfihangel Rogiet	
00963g	St Michael	Llanfihangel Tor-y-Mynydd	
02471g	St Michael	Llanfihangel-Ystern-Llewern	
05014g	St Michael	Machen	
04456g	St Michael	Michaelston-y-Fedw	
05015g	St Michael	Mitchel Troy	
00905g	St Michael and All Angels	Gwernesney	
02470g	St Michael and All Angels	Llanfihangel Pontymoile	
00622g	St Michael and All Angels	Llantarnam	
00728g	St Michael and All Angels	Tintern Parva	
00400m	St Michael	Ewenny	
00344s	St Michael	Flemingston	

<sup>41</sup> St Fagan's church is said to have been on a different site from the present parish church, but the building previously identified as St Fagan's church is now regarded as not being ecclesiastical.

00282s	St Michael	Llanmihangel	
01606s	St Michael	Michaelston-le-Pit	
00088s	St Michael	Michaelston-super-Ely	
00219s	St Michael and all Angels	Colwinston	
00223w	St Michael	Loughor	
01872w	St Michael and all Angels	Cwmavon	
01675g	St Nicholas	Grosmont	
00690g	St Nicholas	Trellech	
00569s	St Nicholas	Barry	
00375s	St Nicholas	St Nicholas	
00293w	St Nicholas	Nicholaston	
02077g	St Peter	Aberystroth	
02466g	St Peter	Bryngwyn	
01223g	St Peter	Dixton	Lann Titiuc in LL183a
02868g	St Peter	Goetre	
05013g	St Peter	Henllys	
00418g	St Peter	Llandeud	
04211g	St Peter	Llanwenarth Citra	
01090g	St Peter	Newchurch	
00020g	St Peter	Peterstone Wentloog	
01219g	St Peter	St Pierre	
00070s	St Peter	Cogan	
00174s	St Peter	Peterston-super-Ely	
00359g	SS Peter, Paul and John	Llantrisant	Bradney (1923, 157) says that he believes that this church was originally dedicated to SS David, Padarn and Teilo, but is unable to provide a reference
00437g	St Thomas	Redwick	Previously St Michael
01258g	St Thomas Becket	Overmonnow	
01044g	St Thomas Becket	Shirenewton	
01083g	St Thomas Becket	Wolvesnewton	
01754w	St Thomas	Neath	

### C3 Placename: eglwys, merthyr etc

In accordance with the methodology established for other areas in the pan-Wales survey, based on Roberts 1992, only a limited number of placename elements were considered. The principal ones were *eglwys* and *merthyr*, but *basaleg*, *bod*, *llodre*, *mwstwy* and *radur* were also considered, the last three (which do not appear in Roberts 1992) after consultation with Professor G O Pierce as likely to be indicative of pre-Conquest sites (see Pierce 1982, 485-7). No names incorporating *myfyr* were noted in the area. *Betws*, *capel*, *cil* and *llan* were excluded, either because they are more likely to be later, as in the case of the first two, or because of the difficulties in establishing a genuine relationship with ecclesiastical sites without extensive research. A few other names which turned up at significant locations during the course of the work have been added at the end, but no systematic search was made for them.

The following discussion does not include placenames for which the site has been lost.

### **Eglwys**

The place-name *eglwys*, derived from the Latin *ecclesia* was singled out for study. Three sites currently have names incorporating this element, Eglwysbrewis, Eglwysilan and Eglwys Nynnid. Wade-Evans (1911, 52) gives Eglwys Fair and Eglwys Fair y Mynydd as the Welsh names of the parishes of St Mary Church and St Mary Hill, a further five sites now called by different names have a documented earlier form which includes an *eglwys* element.

This element has been accepted by Roberts (1992, 42) as one which is likely to be a reliable indicator of early ecclesiastical sites. However, in the case of St Johns-juxta-Swansea there are good reasons why this cannot be the case. This name has the authority of the Tudor antiquary Rice Merrick (Merrick ed James 1983, 120), but it refers to a parish where there is good documentary evidence that the church of St John from which it took its name was constructed by the Knights Hospitallers in the 12th century (Barrow 1998, 68-73 no.46).<sup>42</sup> Eglwysbrewis should also perhaps be treated with some caution; a link has been suggested between this name and the important Norman family of the de Braoses, but this may be nothing more than coincidence of sound. Wade-Evans (1911, 52) gives Eglwys Fair and Eglwys Fair y Mynydd as the Welsh names of the parishes of St Mary Church and St Mary Hill. There are no early Welsh forms of either name. *Eglwys Fair y Mynydd* is usually accepted as genuine, but although *Eglwys Vaer* is given on Emmanuel Bowen's Map of 1729, the documented Welsh name for St Mary Church is Llanfair (Williams 1948, 63 n94). However, the earliest reference to both villages in Welsh (NLW Peniarth MS 147) uses the form Llanfair for both of them, respectively *ll.fair or mynydd* and *ll.fair or bewpyr* (G O Pierce *in litt*). Of the remaining names, five (Capel Gwladys, Eglwysilan, Eglwys Nunnid, Llanfapley, Newport) do have other evidence that they were Early Medieval sites.

PRN	PRESENT NAME	ALSO DOCUMENTED AS (EGLWYS NAME)
00481s	Eglwysbrewis	
00187s	St Mary Church	Eglwys Fair
00340s	St Mary Hill	Eglwys Fair y Mynydd
00342m	Llangeinor	Eglwyskainwyr
00429w	St Johns-juxta-Swansea	Eglwys Ieuan
00692m	Eglwysilan	
00387m	Llanilid	Ecclus Ilid
01309g	Llanfapley	Eglosemapel
00786w	Eglwys Nynnid	
00166g	Newport	Egglis Guunliu
00181s	Llanwensan	Egloiswensan
00649m	Capel Gwladys	Eglwyswladys

### **Merthyr**

The element *merthyr* is derived from the Latin *martyrium*, used to signify the grave, or a place holding the relics, of a martyr or more generally of a saint. There are three church which still retain *merthyr* names, and a further five churches or chapels for which such a name is attested. In addition there are two names for which, although an identification is not certain, it is possible to put forward a reasonable conjecture, and another which can be placed only more generally.

Seven of these names are attested in the pre-Conquest charters of the *Liber Landavensis* (Merthyr Buceil, Merthyr Geryn, Merthyr Glywys, Merthyr Iun et Aaron, Merthyr Mawr, Merthyr Onbrit, Merthyr Tecmed). Although Merthyr Glywys and Merthyr Buceil cannot be placed exactly, the charter evidence makes it clear that they are adjacent to Merthyr Mawr, and a reading of the boundaries given in LL212 and LL224 against a

<sup>42</sup> *Unam acram prati et trigintas acras simula ad construendum capellam Sancti Iohannis Baptiste.*

map of the area makes these the two most likely candidates.<sup>43</sup> The identification of Merthir Onbrit as being in the Fairwater area was made by Evans (1893, 412), who links it with the *petra onnbrit* which is mentioned in the bounds of LL188, a grant of Ystrad Ager/Tullcoit, which he identifies as Fairwater. Of the remaining names, although Merthyr Dyfan and Merthyr Tydfil do not appear until the *Valuation of Norwich* (Lunt 1926, 316, 317), Merthyr Dincat, Merthyr Ilan, Merthyr Onbrit and Merthyr Teudiric, appear in the Bulls of Honorius of 1128 and 1129.

PRN	PRESENT NAME	ALSO DOCUMENTED AS (MERTHYR NAME)
02468g	Dingestow	Merthir Dincat
00309g	Llandegfedd	Merthir Tecmed
01212g	Mathern	Mertyr Teudiric
00466g	Merthyr Geryn	Merthyrgerein
00211g	St Julians	Merthir Iun et Aaron
00692m	Eglwysilan	Merthir Ilan
01663m	Merthyr Mawr	Merthir Mimor (Miuor)
00457m	Merthyr Tydfil	Merthir
00544s	Merthyr Dyfan	Mertherdevan

Uncertain identification:

PRN	PRESENT NAME	ALSO DOCUMENTED AS (MERTHYR NAME)
00215m	?Newton Nottage	Merthyr Glywys (Merthir Gliuis)
00248m	?St Roque's Chapel	Merthir Buceil
03787s	? Fairwater	Merthir Onbrit

### **Basaleg**

PRN	PRESENT NAME
00045g	Basseleg

This place-name, derived from the Latin *basilica*, has been discussed at length by a number of authorities on both place-names and the early church (Knight 1993, 10; Roberts 1992, 41-2). *Benedictus presbiter Bassalec* appears as a clerical witness in LL272, dated to c1075.

### **Bod**

Roberts (1992, 43) notes *bod* as occurring at least six times in parish names in North Wales (though rarely in South Wales), and suggests that it may be used as the equivalent of *ty* in the medieval Welsh poetic usage *ty*+saint's name = church, though Pierce's opinion (*in litt*) is that it may sometimes be 'a simple reference to a habitation rather than hav(ing) an ecclesiastical significance'.

PRN	PRESENT NAME
08363g	Bedwellty (Bedwellte)

Pierce (2002, 19-20) derives the placename Bedwellte from *bod*+*Mellteu*, *Mellteu* being a rare personal name recorded in an early 13th century genealogical tract, with reference to the burial place of one of the daughters of Brychan Bycheiniog.

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<sup>43</sup> The place-name Clevis appears at least twice in Newton Nottage parish; the tithe map and later maps shows Clevis House adjacent to the parish church, and Knight (1853, 230) names a Clevis Ton as being adjacent to St David's Well. However, no work has been done on the antiquity or otherwise of the name, and therefore no firm conclusions can be drawn.

Whilst almost all the above sites are those of existing churches, with the remainder documented as later medieval ecclesiastical sites, none of the sites whose names are derived from this element fall into either of these categories.

### *Llodre*

Pierce (1984, 486-7; 2002 117-8) has discussed *llodre* place-names in Glamorgan, which he considers cognate with the Irish *láthrach*, ‘site or location of a house or church or similar edifice’, and apparently generally used with an ecclesiastical significance. *Llodre*, with the related forms *llodrog* and *llontre* appears in a few modern place-names, and also in the *Liber Landauiensis* where it is used on two occasions as a topographical marker on estate boundaries; collation of the information given in these boundaries with modern map evidence and other data collected for this survey makes it possible to suggest for the first time probable identification of these two sites:

PRN	NAME IN SMR	EARLY MEDIEVAL NAME	REFERENCE
08341g	Grangefield	Lontre Tunbwllch (08355g)	LL180b (c710)
02868s	West of Coed Nant-Bran WP12	Hen Lotre Elidon (03793s)	LL157 (c685)

*Hen Lotre Elidon* is mentioned in the Llandaff charters, LL157 (c685), as one of the boundary markers (at the head of Dyffryn Golych) delimiting the lands belonging to ecclesia Elidon (Davies 1979, 102). It would therefore appear to be the earlier site of this religious establishment. The SMR contains a record of a small sub-circular embanked enclosure (PRN 02868s), now containing a copse, on the summit of a small hill about 400m north of Nant-bran at ST10207335. It was examined during fieldwork for the Whitton Mawr to Pentreban gas pipeline (Roberts 1997, 5), and although it was provisionally interpreted as prehistoric, it is similar in size and morphology to small Early Christian sites on Anglesey (R Roberts, pers comm). *Lontre Tunbwllch* appears in the Llandaff charters, LL180b (c710) where it is mentioned as forming one of the boundaries of Lann Catgualatyr (Bishton). It might perhaps be identified as Grangefield on Green Moor at ST38908490, as it is only 1.5km from Bishton, in the middle of the marshes as required by the description, and had ecclesiastical associations after the Norman conquest, when it appears to have formed the administrative centre of the monastic estate owned by Tintern (Williams 1976, 121; 2001, 187 fig 84; 234 fig 108, 312 nos 181, 181a, 181b). (See section on Other Indicators).

The other three *llodre* names are still extant. They are listed here; none of them has produced any firm evidence of any other kind for being the sites of ecclesiastical establishments, though one is supported by another piece of placename evidence.

PRN	PRESENT NAME
05263w	Llandremor
04538m	Llety Brongu
05264w	Llotrog

Pierce (2002, 117-8) has identified the original form of Llandremore as *llodre+Mor*, *llodre* probably having a religious significance (site or location of a house or church or similar edifice), and *Mor* being a personal name. Llety Brongu was originally Llodre Brangye/Brangig, from *llodre+Brangu*, *Brangu* being a personal name, possibly the same as the Brancu who appears on a late 9th - early 10th century cross-decorated slab at Baglan (PRN 670w) (Pierce 1984, 487; 2002, 117-8). On the tithe map, the farm of Llety Brongu is shown as lying within an enclosure which is roughly quarter of a circle (but see section C1). For Llotrog, Pierce (2002, 117-8) notes that this is a possible adjectival form of *llodre*. He further notes that in a survey of 1764 it appears as Llodrog alias St Wall (Morris 2000, 90, 93), or Seintwar in 1641, which is a borrowing from a ME form like *seintuarie* (=sanctuary)

### ***Mystwyr***

Pierce (2000) has discussed the word *mystwyr* from Latin *monasterium* (not now extant and whose form implies its adoption into Welsh from the 5th to the 6th century onwards), and identified four modern placenames which may well incorporate this element, two of them within the study area.

PRN	PRESENT NAME	FORMER NAME
04549m	Coedymwstwr	
08436g	Pontymister Farm	Maestir Grange

In the case of Coedymwstwr, Pierce (1982, 485-6; 2000, 128-31) draws attention to the much reduced earthwork crowning an isolated rounded hill to the north of Coed Mwstwr Ganol farm (PRN 382m), catalogued by RCAHMW (1976b, 20 no.614) among the large univallate hillforts, although there is no evidence other than morphological to confirm an Iron Age date. He further notes that a Dunraven Estate map of 1778 records a well called Funnon-y-Munalog (=Ffynnon-y-Fynachlog) in one corner of a field to the east of this enclosure. He traces the original name of Pontymister Farm (Maistir Farm) to the Maistir/Mayster where Llantarnam Abbey is known to have possessed three caracutes of land in the 13th century and constructed a mill (Pierce 2000, 135-7).

### ***Radur***

Pierce (1982, 485; 2002, 159) derives *radur* from the Latin *oratorium* = prayer house, oratory, chapel. There are three *radur* names in the area, of which the church/parish name in South Glamorgan has the best evidence for being an early medieval establishment:

PRN	PRESENT NAME
01208s	Radyr/Radur
08391g	Glencourt Farm (Coed y Radyr)
08455g	Radyr Chapelr

A place called Arad, noted as being situated *inter Landau et siluam*, occurs in Lifris's *Vita Sancti Cadoci* of c 1100 as the location of a miraculous crossing of the River Taff (Wade-Evans 1944, xi, 88-9), and would thus fit the topographical position of Radyr, which is documented in the later Middle Ages as Aradur (Pierce 1984, 483). Arad is described here as being a *uilla*; no church is mentioned, but the fact that the placename was already well established suggests that the church was too, and the connection with the hermit Tylywai suggests that it probably started as a hermitage. The other two names appear in the vicinity of Usk, Rhadyr to the east of the town on the other side of the river in Llanbadoc parish, and Coed y Radyr in Llanllowell parish. On the Llanllowell tithe map, the wood centred ST401987 is called Coed y Radyr and its southwestern extremity is closely adjacent to a farm now called Glencourt Farm<sup>44</sup> where the farm buildings are arranged round a polygonal yard and there appears to be the western quadrant of an outer enclosure (see section C1).

### ***Other names***

PRN	NAME	ELEMENT
00383w	The Clase, Llangyfelach	<i>clas</i>
05290w	Glyneithrim Uchaf	<i>llogawd</i>
02833s	Powisfa Dewi (?Maes-y-felin)	<i>powisfa</i>

<sup>44</sup> *Court* names are not infrequently associated with the former presence of a grange.

The Clase was known as the Clas in the 16th century,<sup>45</sup> when it comprised land still belonging to the church. It is generally assumed to be a survival of the word *clas* as applied to the church of Llangyfelach (see section A2).

During the same pipeline survey as that which noted the enclosure interpreted as a probable candidate for Hen Lotre Elidon another site of very similar form (PRN 02833s) was noted about 100m east of the St Lythans chambered tomb at ST10087223 (Roberts 1997, 14). This is in the right position to be the *Powisva Dewi* of the charter boundaries given in LL157. In this context *powisfa* means a resting place (Pierce 1968, 219-20), and although this is normally taken to signifying resting place on a journey, pilgrimage etc, Professor Pierce allows (*in litt*) that it might perhaps be used for a last resting place, *ie* an early cemetery site.

At Glyneathrim, probably the site of the Lann Ethrim of LL274 (Evans 1893, 408; Morgan 1899, 50), the name of the field immediately to the north of the central polygon is named on the tithe apportionment as *Croft Llycod*, possibly related to *llogawd* = monastery (Pierce 1984, 487).

#### **C4 Wells bearing saint's name nearby**

In his classic study of the holy wells of Wales, Jones (1954, 24) noted nearly 200 examples of chapels and churches built at or near wells, most of which are natural springs, and it is now possible to add more to his list. The problem lies in unravelling the connection, if any, between them. Although the association between wells and churches has often been considered as significant, claims that a well indicates an ancient origin for a site, possibly involving the Christianisation of a preceding pagan water-cult, must be treated with caution (see for example Rattue 1995, 37-44). Morris (1989, 87) notes that the practical reason of obtaining a supply of water for baptism, ritual ablutions of the clergy, and cleansing the eucharistic vessels, as well as for the everyday needs of the priest, where he lived at the church, may be as much a factor in influencing the construction of a church near a spring as any pre-existing cultic associations.

In the present study area, 60 wells were found to be adjacent to churches, chapels, or other potential ecclesiastical site, but not all of these should be given equal weight. In some cases, although there is proximity between the well and the church, there is no evidence of any connection, and the name of the well does not support a religious interpretation. Such are Ffynnon Arthur near Penterry Church (PRN 00760g), Cold Well near Chapel Hill church (PRN 00783g), the pair of wells in Chepstow in the general vicinity of three churches and chapels (01175g), King Henry's Well in Monmouth (01249g), close to the site of St Cadoc's Church, the well approached by a subterranean passage at Wonnastow (01464g), Ffynnon y Garreg near St Mary's priory church at Abergavenny, the holy well immediately adjacent to Llancarfan village (01849s), the well at PRN 02237m and Ffynnon y Briwlon (01392s) near the site of chapels marked on Rees's map at Corntown and Moulton respectively. It is difficult to evaluate the wells which lie in the centres of the villages of Llangennith and Llysworney (02259w, 00297s), immediately adjacent in both cases to the parish church (00058w, 00295s), though in neither case does the well have a name to specifically connect it with the church. The capstone to the Llangennith well is incised with a cross similar to those on many Early Christian monuments, though it is not included in RCAHMW 1976c, either as a genuine example or a rejected one.

All wells and related features were considered with regard to their position in relation to other ecclesiastical sites. All those listed below lie within a few hundred metres of some sort of religious site, usually a church or chapel, though Monkash Grange is also included, since there is a possibility that this may have been constructed over a pre-Norman site. Kenfig Grange (00149m) has been omitted, even though there a healing well Ffynnon Lygad (01138m) must lie in its vicinity, but the position of the grange itself has never been

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<sup>45</sup> 'The Clas is a lordship or manor belonging to the bishop of St Davids' (Merrick ed Rees 1983, 122)

properly established. As none of the wells has been dated, none has been given a classification higher than (b), which is reserved for churchyard wells and Class A wells immediately adjacent to churchyards.

Three churches have wells (all unnamed) in their churchyards:

CHURCH PRN	CHURCH NAME	WELL PRN
00117g	Risca	00118g
00493w	Llangiwg	05255w
00299w	Oxwich	05216w

Amongst the wells which fall into Jones's (1954, 140) Class A (though not all are recorded by him), twenty-eight wells bear the same name as the church in the vicinity; wells marked with an asterisk are not immediately adjacent to the church, but they are within a couple of hundred metres.

CHURCH PRN	CHURCH NAME	WELL PRN	WELL NAME
02466g	Bryngwyn	01866g	St Peter's Well
00352g	Llangybi	00354g	Ffynnon Gybi
01212g	Mathern	01204g	St Tewdric's well
00768g	Rogerstone Grange (St John's Chapel )	08383g	St John's Well
01696g	Skenfrith	01703g	St Ffraed's well*
03819g	St Maughans	01507g	St Maughan's Well <sup>46</sup>
00409m	Coychurch	00410m	Ffynnon Grallo
00910m	Llangynwyd	00121m	Ffynnon Gynwyd*
00387m	Llanilid	00389m	Fynnon Geri*
00547m	Llanwynno	00543m	St Gwynno's Well
00215m	Newton Nottage	00217m	St John's Well or Sandford Well
00205m	Newton Nottage (St David's Chapel)	00201m	St David's Well
04542m	Penrhys	00937m	St Mary's Well
00716m	Pentyrch	00714m	Ffynnon Gattwg
00553s	Barry Island (St Barruc's Chapel)	00556s	St Barruc's Well*
00133s	Llandaff	00150s	St Teilo's Well
00224s	Llandow	00222s	Ffynnon y Drindod*
00229s	Monknash Grange	03802s	Ffynnon Mari
00164s	Pendoylan	00163s	Ffynnon Gattwg <sup>47</sup>
00085s	St Fagans	00083s	St Fagan's Well*
00340s	St Mary Church	00953s	St Mary's Well*
00318w	Caswell (St Peter's Chapel)	00319w	St Peter's Well
00642w	Coedffranc (St Margaret's Chapel)	00907w	St Margaret's Well
00765w	Cryke (St Mary's Chapel)	01157w	Lady's Well*
00383w	Llangyfelach	01210w	Ffynnon Dewi*
00288w	Pennard Burrows Church	00279w	St Mary's Well
00107w	Reynoldston	05212w	St George's Well <sup>48</sup>
05214w	Swansea (St Helen's Chapel)	05214w	St Helen's Well

In some cases, it is possible that a well of perfectly ordinary water might have become holy by virtue of its association with the church (Rattue 1995, 66). Where the well lies slightly further from the church, it could perhaps be regarded as being named after the patron saint of the parish. This might particularly be the case at St Fagans, St Mary Church and St Maughans, where the village itself bears a saint's name; the natural spring

<sup>46</sup> Exact position unknown.

<sup>47</sup> Exact position unknown.

<sup>48</sup> Exact position unknown.

at St Nicholas which Jones (1954, 183) includes as a Class A well, is a case in point; it is not included above as it is about half a kilometre from the church. It is notable that at Llangyfelach the well which lies closest to St David's church is called after the Holy Innocents, whereas Ffynnon Dewi lies rather further away.

A further nine Class A wells have a different dedication from that recorded at the church. It is difficult to know precisely what this signifies; it is not a case that the dedication of the church in the post-Conquest period has been changed to honour a more mainstream saint leaving the well with a Celtic dedication, since in most cases the dedicatee(s) of the church is Celtic whilst that of the well is non-Celtic, or else they are both Celtic. This appears to run contrary to the normal pattern observed by Morris (1989, 86), in which the well saint was frequently obscure. The dedication to of the well immediately outside St Michael's churchyard to St Anne at Llanmihangel follows an established trend and was probably made under Norman influence (Morris 1989, 89), though in the absence of excavation in and around it means that it is unclear whether this was a rededication of a well which already had a religious significance.

CHURCH PRN	CHURCH NAME	WELL PRN	WELL NAME
01198g	Pwll Meurig Chapel (St Michael)	01199g	Pwll Meurig
02507g	Trevethin (St Cadoc)	02125g	Ffynnon Wenog*
00387m	Llanilid (SS Curig and Ilid)	04482m	Ffynnon Garadog <sup>49</sup>
00282s	Llanmihangel (St Michael)	00279s	St Anne's Well
00544s	Merthyr Dyfan (SS Dyfan and Teilo)	01492s	St Peter's well*
00484s	St Athan (St Tathan)	00923s	St John's Well*
00383w	Llangyfelach (SS David and Cyfelach)	00386w	Ffynnon y Fil Feibion
00107w	Reynoldston (St George)	05211w	St Mary's Well <sup>50</sup>
00315w	Trinity Well (St Cennydd's Chapel)	00316w	Trinity Well

There are three Class B wells in the vicinity of known churches or chapels:

CHURCH PRN	CHURCH NAME	WELL PRN	WELL NAME
01463g	S Dials (St Duellus's Chapel)	01462g	Holy Well Wood well*
01041g	Runston (St Keyna)	01040g	Lavant Well
00422s	Capel	03720s	Ffynnon y Capel

In some cases the well is better attested than the church which allegedly accompanies it. The Lady's Well within the grounds of Tredegar Park (PRN 00051g) was associated with the hermitage which the *Vita Gundulei* says was built by St Gwladys where she had the habit of bathing in cold water (Wade-Evans 1944, 178-9); this was further collated with the record made in the 12th century of a chapel of St Gwladys (Crouch 1988, 2). Although there is no reason to doubt that the well name is genuine, the other elements of the supposed complex must be dismissed as unreliable.

Special mention should be made of the wells at Tarren Deusant north of Llantrisant (00594m), Cae Ffynnon (00367m) north of Bridgend, and Bryngwyneithin north of Pontrhydyfen. None of these developed into a church site, but some sort of religious association seems likely, particularly in the case of the second two. The name of Tarren Deusant indicates that it must have had the reputation of being a Christian place at some time, but in form it is totally unlike any other holy well site, consisting of a natural spring at the foot of a rock face which is carved with stylised human faces (00593m). It is first recorded in Lluyd's *Parochalia* (Lluyd 1911, 9), where it is noted that there were 'two persons', though there are now more. An antiquarian record of Cae Ffynnon made in the second half of the 19th century (GER 1877) show that this well was associated with an elaborately carved cross fragment (dated to late 10th - early 11th century), known as Carreg Fedyddiol (PRN 00368m), now in the Margam stones museum. RCAHMW investigators examined it while it was still on the site and noted that whilst the weathering patterns indicated that it had been moved, it

<sup>49</sup> Exact position unknown.

<sup>50</sup> Exact position unknown.

could have been located nearer to the spring. They considered that nothing about the well chamber as it then appeared provided any evidence of any particular antiquity, and that there was no local tradition that it had been a holy well (RCAHMW 1976c, 60-1 no.936), but they do not seem to have looked to see whether the group lay within any kind of enclosure, so it is uncertain whether at any time this well formed part of a more developed complex. The area has now been completely built over. For Bryngwyneithin there is only an antiquarian report of the removal of a 10th century panelled cross, which still survives, from a well whose position is now lost.

WELL PRN	WELL NAME	ASSOCIATED PRN	ASSOCIATED MONUMENT NAME
00367m	Cae Ffynnon	00368m	Carreg Fedyddiol
00594m	Tarren Deusant	00593m	Tarren Deusant
01689w	Bryngwyneithin	00695w	Bryngwyneithin

### **C5 Antiquarian statement on site antiquity**

With such a rich body of textual information about early ecclesiastical sites in the *Book of Llandaff*, few antiquaries seem to have ventured further in their search for sites. Otherwise unsupported statements about the existence of Early Medieval establishments, possibly drawing on local traditions, have been made about very few sites, and most of these can probably be dismissed. The tradition which places the hermitage of St Gwladys (PRN 00052g) at the Lady Well in Tredegar Park can be shown to be an antiquarian conjecture rather than a continuous tradition (Morgan 1885, 262). The alleged St Cawraf's monastery at Alltygawrddu, Miskin (01199m), included by Lewis (1849), probably following a statement by Iolo Morgannwg, has been demonstrated by RCAHMW (1982, 155-7 MH14) to be a medieval courtyard house.

Other sites claimed as Early Medieval are Caerleon, Coychurch, Llanvithyn and Marcross. The statement of Bazeley (1908, 42) that there was a monastic college at Caerleon in the 7th century (00662g) is probably based on Gerald of Wales's (1978, 115) assertion that the church of St Aaron at Caerleon was served by a chapter of canons. A persistent tradition, based partly on the fact that there is known to have been a chapel of St Meuthin at Llanvithyn, in the parish of Llancarfan, identifies this site at that of the early monastery of Llancarfan, St Meuthin, otherwise known as St Tatheus, having been St Cadoc's teacher; Knight (1984, 377) thinks it may have been a subsidiary centre to the main focus at Llancarfan itself. There is however no definite evidence to support this, as the pre-Norman date of the burials from Llanvithyn house must be regarded as non-proven (see section B3). This leaves Coychurch and Marcross. They, like St Cawdref's, are marked on the OS 1st edn 6", both as 'colleges'; OS fieldworkers in the 1950s were unable to find any supporting evidence. They are listed here, but with strong reservations, as it seems likely that they too may also have their ultimate origin in Iolo Morgannwg.

PRN	NAME	TYPE
?00555g	?Caerleon	Monastic college (clas)
00653g	?St Aarons	
00386s	Llanvithyn	Monastery
408m	Coychurch	(?Monastic) college (clas)
00785s	Marcross	(?Monastic) college (clas)

## **OTHER INDICATORS**

### **Norman monastic sites**

The *Book of Llandaff* is a testimony to the extent of donations of land to the pre-Conquest church by the native landowners, and also gives some idea of how they considered those donations, which were not, in their

eyes a grant of absolute tights in perpetuity (Davies 2000, 177; and see especially LL231). Within the first hundred years or so of the Norman Conquest, a large number of landed properties were donated to houses of the Catholic regular orders. Whilst a few of these can be documented as being new sites,<sup>51</sup> over a quarter are known to have been ecclesiastical sites in the pre-Norman period. The mechanism which seems to have been at work is that the new Norman lords took over the interest in sites which their Welsh predecessors had previously granted to the pre-Conquest church and, since the organisation of the Welsh church was considered as alien and inferior, they regranted them to the type of monastic institution with which they were familiar and in which they had confidence, namely houses in Normandy or England. The monastery then used the land to found a daughter house, either a monastic cell or a conventual monastery (Davies 2000, 181), or, particularly in the case of the Cistercians, a grange. No account is taken in section of grants of advowson, unless they are known to have been accompanied by landed property.

Elsewhere in Wales, a common route for houses to become acceptable to the Norman establishment was for a previously existing monastery on the Welsh model to adopt the Augustinian rule. Interestingly, there is only one recorded instance of that happening in the southeast, at St Kynemark's. This was initially one of the properties belonging to the See of Llandaff, granted about 624 (LL165), still in the bishop's possession in the early 13th century when it formed one of the endowments of the new chapter at Llandaff (see below), but recorded as a community of Augustinian canons by 1355 (Butler 1965, 33).

No-one would suggest that all, or even most, of the ecclesiastical establishments listed below are on the sites of pre-Norman monastic or other ecclesiastical sites, but enough of them have sufficiently good indicators of Early Christian activity (a total of 31 out of 118, or slightly over a quarter) to make the sites worth examining to see whether they might do so too. These indicators range from good documentary evidence at Llandough, Llangua, Manmoil, Merthyr Geryn, Newport, St Kynemark's and Trellech Grange (and possibly for Grangefield, Llanvithyn, Lincoyt and Theodoric's Granges), association with Roman sites at Chepstow, Llandough, Monmouth and Usk, the presence of decorated and inscribed stones at Cwrt Herbert Grange, Eglwys Nynnid, Ewenny, Flatholm, Llangennith, Llangewydd, Margam, Neath and the Upper and Lower Penhydd Granges, and probably Meles Grange, as well as a polygonal enclosure bank at Monknash, double churchyards at Glencourt and Malpas and placename evidence at Llangeinor Grange and Maestir Grange.

Some of the establishments on this lists below (particularly the granges) have more than one PRN. These are those with no generally agreed site, and the different PRN refer to different suggestions for their locations.

#### *Benedictine*

PRN	NAME	MOTHER HOUSE
01325g	Abergavenny Priory	St Florent
00046g, 00026g	Basseleg Priory <sup>52</sup>	Glastonbury
01184g	Chepstow Priory	Cormeilles
00284g	Goldcliff Priory	Bec
01596g	Llangua Priory	Lire
00166g	Newport Priory	Gloucester
02015g	Usk Priory	
04529m	Ewenny Priory	Gloucester
00143s	Cardiff Priory	Tewksbury
03719s	Llandough Grange	Tewksbury
00745s	Llanishen Grange	Tewksbury
00434s	Llantwit Major Grange	Tewksbury
00701s	Penn-onn Grange	Gloucester

<sup>51</sup> Notably Stormy (PRN 00157m); documentary evidence states that the church which was given to Margam in 1261 had been constructed on a green field site (Davies 1948, no.L154).

<sup>52</sup> The position of the priory is unknown. The traditional location is at Mynachty wood (centred ST24648637), but it might have been at the church.

00737s	Roath Grange	Keynsham
01927w	Llangennith Priory	Evreux

*Cistercians*

PRN	NAME	MOTHER HOUSE
08338g	Grace Dieu Abbey	Dore
00624g	Llantarnam Abbey	Strata Florida
00713g	Tintern Abbey	L'Aumône
08374g	Arail Grange	Llantarnam
08337g	Beaulieu Grange	Grace Dieu
01677g	Blackmore (Cold)Grange	Dore
08376g	Blaen Rhymney Grange	Llantarnam
08350g	Brygwyn Grange	Llantarnam
08324g	Cefn-Fynach (Kilsant) Grange	Llantarnam
08327g	Cilonydd Grange	Llantarnam
08334g	Coed Ytha Grange	Grace Dieu
08336g	Crug-yr-Onnen Grange	Grace Dieu
08372g	Dorallt Grange	Llantarnam
08341g	Grangefield	Tintern
08339g	Inysed Vaughan Grange	Grace Dieu
08335g	Le Cole/Cold Grange	Grace Dieu
08331g	Llyncoed (Campston) grange	Dore
08329g	Llanffair Kilgoed Grange	Dore
00110g	Llantarnam (Gelli-las) Grange	Llantarnam
08325g	Maestir Grange	Llantarnam
08378g	Manmoel Grange	Llantarnam
00466g	Merthyr Geryn (Upper) Grange	Tintern
00457g	Moor (Lower) Grange	Tintern
08332g	Morlais Grange	Dore
08328g	Mynachy'r Waun Grange	Llantarnam
08333g	Penrhos Grange	Grace Dieu
08321g	Pwll-pen Grange	Llantarnam
08326g	Rhyswg Grange	Llantarnam
00767g	Rogerstone Grange	Tintern
08344g	Rudding Grange	Tintern
08343g	Secular Firmary Grange	Tintern
02042g	Stavarney (Monkswood) Grange	Tintern
08340g	The Grange	Grace Dieu
08370g	Trefcarn Grange, Abercarn	Llantarnam
00950g	Trellech Grange	Tintern
08342g	Treurgan Grange	Grace Dieu
00635g	Ysgubor Grange	Llantarnam
01030m, 04546m	Glyn Garw Grange	Margam
00908m	Horgrove Grange	Margam
00149m	Kenfig Grange	Margam
00925m	Llangeinor Grange	Margam
00172m	Llangewydd Grange <sup>53</sup>	Margam
04478m	Nottage Court Grange	Margam
00550m	Pistyll Goleu Grange	Margam

<sup>53</sup> The grange buildings are not on the site of the Early Medieval church.

00900m	Sker Grange	Margam
00157m	Stormy Grange	Margam
00906m	Tanglwst Grange	Margam
01677s	Boverton Grange	Margam
00201s	Gelligarn Grange <sup>54</sup>	Neath
00798s	Greendown Grange	Margam
00386s	Llanvithyn Grange	Margam
00739s, 03801s	Llystalybont (Cibwr/Heath) Grange	Margam
00738s	Llystalybont Grange <sup>55</sup>	Llantarnam
00399s	Marcross Grange	Neath
00229s	Monknash Grange <sup>56</sup>	Neath
03803s	Moyl Grange	Margam
00485s	Orchard Grange	Margam
01237s	The Grange of the Moor	Margam
00771w	Margam Abbey	Clairvaux
00585w	Neath Abbey	Savigney
00558w	Aberpergwm Grange	Neath
00542w,	Blaendulais Grange	Neath
00910w, 00911w		
05279w	Cefn Saison Grange	Neath
00904w	Court Herbert Grange	Neath
00909w,	Crynant Grange	Neath
05199w, 05280		
00594w	Cwrt Sart Grange	Neath
00905w	Cwrt-Rhyd-Hir Grange	Neath
00595w	Cwrt-y-Bettws Grange	Neath
00899w	Cwrt-y-Carnau Grange	Neath
00786w	Eglwys Nynnid	Margam
00736w	Groeswen (Whitecross) Grange	Margam
00744w	Grugwallt (Crike) Grange)	Margam
05205w	Hafod-Decca Grange	Margam
00792w	Hafodheulog Grange	Margam
00760w	Hafod-y-Porth Grange	Margam
00740w	Hen Biniwn (Middle Burrows, New) Grange	Margam
05204w	Hendriago Grange	Margam
00730w, 05203w	Llanfugeilydd Grange	Margam
00791w	Llanmihangel (St Michael's) Grange	Margam
00706w	Loewer Penhydd Grange	Margam
00725w	Meles Grange	Margam
00900w	Paviland Grange	Neath
00559w,	Pwllwernan Grange	Neath
05200w, 05281w		
00567w,	Resolven Grange	Margam

<sup>54</sup> The grange buildings are not on the site of the parish church.

<sup>55</sup> Are one or both of the two Llystalybont granges (the other belonged to Margam, see below) on the site of the Villa Greguri, called Coupalua or Pennyporth granted to Bishop Euddogwy c 680 (LL151) or the neighbouring Villa Meneich granted c 708 (LL159) (Davies 1979 100, 102-3)

<sup>56</sup> The grange buildings are not on the site of the parish church.

00572w, 05202w		
00566w 00908w	Rheola (Hirrole) Grange	Neath
05278w	Rhydding (Assart) Grange	Neath
00906w	St Margaret's Grange	Neath
00738w	Theodoric's (Terrys) Grange	Margam
00945w	Upper Penhydd Grange	Margam
00902w, 05201w	Walterston Grange	Neath
00903w	Ynys Afan Grange	Margam

#### Augustinian

PRN	NAME	MOTHER HOUSE
01720g	Llanthony Priory <sup>57</sup>	
01163g	St Kynemark's Priory	
08360g	?St Lawrence, Bayfield	?St Kynemark
00365g	Grange at Llantrisant <sup>58</sup>	Llanthony
00021g	Monastery of St Peter on the Moor	Bristol
00065s	Cwrt y Fil Grange	Bristol
03807s	Flatholm Grange	Bristol

#### Other orders

ORDER	MOTHER HOUSE	PRN	NAME
Cluniac	Montacute	00642g	Malpas (monastic cell)
Premonstratensian	Talley	05207w	Gelli Thrim Grange
Premonstratensian	Talley	05206w	Gelli Wern Grange
Templars/Hospitallers		01812g	Kemeys Commander
Templars/Hospitallers	Slebech	00040w	Llanmadoc manor and farm
Templars/Hospitallers	Slebech	?00150w	?Rhossili Burrows <sup>59</sup>

#### Prebends of Llandaff Cathedral

When Bishop Henry created a cathedral chapter 'on the accepted contemporary model' between 1200 and 1214 (Crouch 1989, xxx), he endowed the prebends with income drawn from a group of churches which are listed in the *Book of Llandaff* (LL284; Davies 1948, 695-6 L301) as:

PRN	NAME IN LL	MODERN NAME
02468g	Llandingat	Dingestow
00251g	Langeston	Langstone
01282g	Lanhart	Llanarth
00860g	Lanchouian	Llangovan
01303g	Lanteylo Cresseny	Llantilio Crossenny

<sup>57</sup> Bradney (1906, 247) says it was founded on the site of a chapel of St David, but the reference to the chapel of St David by Gerald of Wales (pp96-7 in the Penguin edition) could be to the hermitage chapel.

<sup>58</sup> This has not been located. Could it perhaps be Glencourt (PRN 08391g), now on the other side of the parish boundary in Llanlloell?

<sup>59</sup> Although the grant of a church at Rhossili to the Hospitallers (Barrow 1998, 68-73 no.46) does not mention any attached land, the tithe map marks the area of the plateau between Rhossili Down and the sea where the Burrows church and the 'Old Rectory' are situated as glebe, and Davidson et al (1987, 257-8) suggest this can be connected with the Hospitallers' possessions in Rhossili. There is evidence from Essex to show Hospitallers did not normally cultivate their own land there, but let it out to tenants (Nicholson 2001, 79). Arrangements in South Wales may have been the same.

01480g	Lanteylo Porthalec	Llantilio Pertholey
01212g	Matharne	Mathern
02505g	St Caddoc of Penros	Penrhos
?00336s	St Hilary	St Hilary in Glamorgan?
?00489g		In Rogiet in Gwent? <sup>60</sup>
01163g	St Kynemark	St Kynemark

Brook (1988, 72-3) draws attention to the fact that most the Llandaff prebends can be documented as pre-Norman monasteries or their dependents, as listed in the *Book of Llandaff*; in the list given above, only Langstone and St Hilary lack documentary evidence of this kind. These were obviously the resources which were available to the bishop, and therefore likely to have been granted before the Conquest, since the see of Llandaff had subsequently suffered considerably from the depredations of the new Norman masters of the area who donated its possessions to the regular orders, particularly in Glamorgan. Brook (1988, 73) points out that all these sites are in Gwent where Llandaff seems to have been rather more successful in holding on to its lands. Conversion to prebends was probably a shrewd move to ensure that property was retained in the future, since the Normans would find it harder to appropriate endowments which were seen as fulfilling a recognised role in an ecclesiastical structure of a type familiar to them.

The same document also includes the church Llangwm, which is listed as one of the sources of income for the bishop, as is Rockfield church. Pendoylan and Llanedeyrn are mentioned at the end as being excluded from the account, but the clear implication of this is that they also were still in the possession of the cathedral.

To the list of prebends as laid down in LL284, the Taxation of Norwich adds Newton Nottage as belonging to the archdeacon (Lunt 1925, 323). The *Taxatio Ecclesia* of 1291 adds the prebends of Llancwm and Warthacwm (Llangwm Uchaf and Isaf), and also lists Novo Burgo (Newport), Basseleg with its chapels, Caerau and Marshfield as belonging to the chapter, Llanedeyrn, Pentyrch and Radyr as belonging to 'Land', presumably also the chapter, and Ystradowen as belonging to the chancellor. A document of 1603 also adds Eglwysilan, Pendoylan and St Lythans. Green (1907) also adds Llandogo in Gwent, and Peterston-super-Ely in Glamorgan as being prebends. Presumably these were added at a later date to increase the endowment of the chapter, but when is not known. However, Llandogo, Eglwysilan and St Lythans are also all documented in the *Book of Llandaff*, and the others must therefore be regarded as possible pre-Norman possessions. Only prebends which are not documented as Early Medieval sites have been given a rating under this heading. These are:

PRN	NAME
00045g	Basseleg
00251g	Langstone
00912g	Llangwm Isaf
00010g	Marshfield
02505g	Penrhos
00489g	Rogiet
00716m	Pentyrch
00094s	Caerau

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<sup>60</sup>There are no current dedications to St Hilary in Gwent, and Rogiet is the only church for which the medieval dedication is known to have been to this saint (Bradney 1932, 267); *Ecclesia beati Hilarii*, is moreover listed after the other Netherwent prebends, St Kynemark and Mathern. However, 'Roggiet' is listed among the ordinary churches of Netherwent in the Taxation of Norwich (Lunt 1926, 321). Were there two churches in Rogiet (in addition to Llanfihangel Rogiet which is listed separately? Is St Hilary a Normanisation of the Sant Ilien mentioned in LL233 where 'The road which leads to Sant Ilien' is noted as one of the boundaries of Llanfihangel Rogiet? Alternatively a line 'in decanatu Gronyd' might be missing and the church be St Hilary near Cowbridge, which is not listed at all by the *Taxatio* under the deanery of Gronneath where it should belong.

00637s	Llanedeyrn
00174s	Peterston-super-Ely
01208s	Radyr
00336s	St Hilary
02749s	Ystradowen

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER WORK

The results of the survey are 68 sites graded as A, of which 20 are no longer in ecclesiastical use; 31 sites graded as B, of which 18 are no longer in ecclesiastical use; 134 sites graded as C, of which 38 are no longer in ecclesiastical use; and 46 sites graded as D, of which 28 are no longer in ecclesiastical use. A summary of sites with the scored criteria for each can be found in the appendix.

Identification of sites has been strictly based on the agreed criteria, and is only as good as the criteria are appropriate. It is a sobering reflection that twelve of the sites attested in the *Book of Llandaff*, mostly as certain, failed to score under any other criterion, and for a further six the only other criterion present was a Celtic dedication. On the other hand, future circumstances could lead to the inclusion of sites which were omitted because they did not properly fulfil the criteria. This is particularly the case with Portskewett, where further development work in the vicinity of the church could identify a major Roman site where there has so far been only finds; this might propel it instantly to Grade A.

The notes attached to the churches in the following lists give an indication of the present status of the site (church in use, SAM etc). As can be seen, many of the churches are still in use, and thus afforded some protection by the faculty system. Thirty sites are scheduled. This does not include those instances where individual inscribed or decorated stones have been scheduled, the SAM number is not quoted in these cases, as it affords no protection to the surrounding area where there may be buried archaeological remains. It can be seen that on 50 sites there has been significant building work or industrial development, and any remains which have survived are likely to be very fragmented and impossible to study further by field survey. A further two sites are currently in the course of development, with programmes of archaeological mitigation in place. These should hopefully allow for elucidation of their character.

### Sites with Grade A indicators

00045g	Basseleg	Church in use; within built-up area
00243g	Bishton	Church in use
00555g	Caerleon	Church in use; within built-up area
08359g	Caerleon Mill Street	Area of site now fully developed
08358g	Caerleon Roman Gates	Area of site now fully developed
01064g	Caerwent	Church in use; within the area of SAM Mm001
03173g	Caerwent Vicarage Orchard	Area of site now fully developed
00509g	Caldicot	Church in use; within built-up area
01183g	Chepstow	Church in use; within later monastery
02468g	Dingestow	Church in use
01223g	Dixton	Church in use
01108g	Itton	Church in use
01282g	Llanarth	Church in use; possible traces of outer enclosure in surrounding area
00417g	Llanbedr	
00106g	Llandderfel	SAM Mm271
00309g	Llandegfeth	Church in use
00932g	Llandenny	Church in use
00418g	Llandevaud	Church in use
00741g	Llandogo	Church in use
00938g	Llanerthill	
01539g	Llanfaenor	
01309g	Llanfapley	Church in use
02244g	Llanfihangel Crucorney	Church in use
04912g	Llangua	Church in use
00911g	Llangwm Uchaf	Church in use

00953g	Llanishen	Church in use
01533g	Llanllwyd	
00915g	Llansoy	Church in use
01303g	Llantilio Crossenny	Church in use
01480g	Llantilio Pertholey	Church in use
00990g	Llanvaches	Church in use
02512g	Llanvetherine	Church in use
08304g	Llwynderi	
05014g	Machen	Church in use; possible traces of outer enclosure in surrounding area
01978g	Mamhole/Manmoel	
01212g	Mathern	Church in use
00466g	Merthyr Geryn	
00166g	Newport	Church in use; within built-up area
00762g	Penterry	Church in use
01198g	Pwll Meurig	
00117g	Risca	Church in use; within built-up area
02506g	Rockfield	Church in use
00774g	St Arvans	Church in use
01163g	St Kynemark	Within later monastery. Area of site now fully developed
03819g	St Maughans	Church in use
00947g	Trellech Grange	Church in use; within later grange
04209g	Wonastow	Church in use
00692m	Eglwysilan	Church in use; possible traces of outer enclosure in surrounding area
00665m	Gelligaer	Church in use; within built-up area
01663m	Merthyr Mawr	Church in use
03612s	Atlantic Trading Estate	Site has been used for military industrial puposes; no surviving information above ground level
03805s	Barry Island (St Barruc's chapel)	SAM Gm120
00094s	Caerau	
03806s	Flatholm	
00385s	Llancarfan	Church in use. <sup>61</sup>
00133s	Llandaff	Church in use; within built-up area
00075s	Llandough-juxta-Penarth	Church in use; within built-up area
00426s	Llantwit Major	Church in use; within built-up area
00738s	Monachdy near Gabalfa	Within built-up area
01208s	Radyr	Church in use; within built-up area
00173s	St Brides-super-Ely	Church in use
00002s	St Lythans	Church in use
00170	St y Nyll	
00311w	Bishopston	Church in use
00621w	Llandeilo Talybont	SAM Gm041; possible traces of outer enclosure in surrounding area
00383w	Llangyfelach	Church in use; possible traces of outer enclosure in surrounding area
00223w	Loughor	Church in use; within built-up area
00472w	Oystermouth	Church in use; within built-up area

**Sites with Grade B indicators**

01145g	Sudbrook	SAM Mm048
00367m	Cae Ffynnon	Area of site now fully developed

<sup>61</sup> Traditional site of monastery (SAM Gm075) at ST05157008 where a small excavation in 1964 revealed masonry building; RCAHMW (1976c, 17 no.827) rejects this site on the grounds that there is no specific reason or archaeological evidence for Early Medieval occupation, and favours the unusually large churchyard of the parish church of rounded plan as the monastic enclosure (at ST05127020).

02420m	Capel Brithdir	SAM Gm339
00649m	Capel Gwladys	SAM Gm309
01262m	Capel Llanillterne	Church in use
00409m	Coychurch	Church in use; within built-up area
00607m	Llantrisant	Church in use; within built-up area
00946m	Llanwynno	Church in use
00457m	Merthyr Tydfil	Church in use; within built-up area
00247m	Tithegston	
00199s	Llangan	Church in use
00386s	Llanvithyn Grange	
00295s	Llysworney	Church in use
01163w	Aberavon	Church in use; within built-up area
03253w	Baglan	Medieval church site (SAM Gm428) now a conserved ruin within churchyard which is in use
00809w	Bodvoc stone	Site visited as part of Funerary and Ritual sites survey; replica stone on site of ring cairn, which has been very badly damaged and lies at the edge of an area of forestry
01689w	Brygwyneithin	Location of site lost
00051w	Burry Holms	SAM Gm473
00552w	Clwydi Banwen	Site visited as part of Funerary and Ritual sites survey; exact location of site now lost as a result of mining and forestry
05203w	Cwrt y defaid	
00786w	Eglwys Nynnid	Area in course of development
00234w	Llan elen chapel	SAM Gm376
00058w	Llangennith	Church in use
00038w	Llanmadoc	Church in use
05101w; 0791w	Llanmihangel (St Michael's) Grange	
00103w	Llanrhidian	Church in use
00628w	Llantwit-juxta-Neath	Church in use; possible traces of outer enclosure in surrounding area
00770w	Margam	Church in use within later monastery SAM GM005
00725w	Meles Grange	Area of site now fully developed
00510w	Mynydd Gellionnen	Site visited as part of Funerary and Ritual sites survey
00945w	Upper Penhydd Grange	

#### **Sites with Grade C indicators**

01971g	Bedwellty	Church in use
00153g	Bettws (Newport)	Church in use
02466g	Bryngwyn	Church in use
08350g	Bryngwyn Grange	
02467g	Cwmcarvan	Church in use
02868g	Goetre	Church in use; possible traces of outer enclosure in surrounding area
01675g	Grosmont	Church in use; within built-up area
01086g	Kilgwrrwg	Church in use
00251g	Langstone	Church in use
01996g	Llanbadoc	Church in use
00311g	Llanddewi Fach	
03243g	Llanddewi Rhydderch	Church in use
03237g	Llanddewi Skirrid	Church in use; possible traces of outer enclosure in surrounding area
00486g	Llanfihangel Rogiet	Church in use
01782g	Llanfoist	Church in use

02501g	Llangattock Lingoed	Church in use
01506g	Llangattock Vibon Avel	Church in use
02503g	Llangattock-juxta-Usk	Church in use
02051g	Llangeview	Church in use
00860g	Llangovan	Church in use
00912g	Llangwm Isaf	Church in use
00390g	Llanhennock	Church in use
02511g	Llanhilleth	
00978g	Llanishen (St Mary's chapel)	
08351g	Llanlawrence	
00331g	Llanllowell	Church in use
02502g	Llanover	Church in use
03245g	Llansantffraed	Church in use
01737g	Llanthony	Church in use; within later monastery (SAM Mm004)
00359g	Llantrisant	Church in use
00451g	Magor	Church in use; within built-up area
00010g	Marshfield	Church in use
04456g	Michaelston-y-Fedw	Church in use; possible traces of outer enclosure in surrounding area
00082g	Mynyddislwyn	Church in use
00266g	Nash	Church in use; possible traces of outer enclosure in surrounding area
01090g	Newchurch	Church in use
01605g	Oldcastle	Church in use
01631g	Penbiddle (St John's chapel)	
02505g	Penrhos	Church in use; possible traces of outer enclosure in surrounding area
08380g	Ponthir (St Gwnog's chapel)	
08455g	Radyr Chapel	
00767g	Rogerston Grange	
01041g	Runston	SAM Mm095
01044g	Shirenewton	Church in use
01696g	Skenfrith	Church in use
00471g	St Brides Netherwent	Church in use
00017g	St Brides Wentloog	Church in use
01463g	St Dials	
02507g	Trevethin	Church in use; within built-up area
02032g	Trostrey	Church in use
02018g	Usk	Church in use
01168m	Bedwas	Church in use
00137m	Bettws (Glam)	Church in use; within built-up area
00908m	Horgrove Grange	Landscape in this area has been completely reshaped, leaving no trace of the possible curvilinear enclosure
00320m	Laleston	Church in use; within built-up area
00923m	Llandyfodwg	Church in use
00677m	Llanfabon	Church in use
00724m	Llanfedw	
00342m	Llangeinor	Church in use
00172m	Llangewydd	SAM Gm237
00910m	Llangynwyd	Church in use
00604m	Llanharan	Church in use; within built-up area
01696m	Llanharry	Church in use; within built-up area
00599m	Llantwit Fardre	Church in use; within built-up area
00438m	Llety Brongu	
00377m	Newcastle	Church in use; within built-up area
01106m	Penderyn	Church in use
04542m	Penrhys	
00716m	Pentyrch	Church in use; within built-up area

00348m	Peterston-super-montem	SAM Gm338
00325m	St Brides Major	Church in use
02567m	St Brides Minor	Church in use; within built-up area
03060m	Talygarn	Medieval church site (SAM Gm442) now a ruin within churchyard which is in use
00594m	Tarren Deusant	SAM Gm406
00440m	Vaynor	Church in use; possible traces of outer enclosure in surrounding area
00569s	Barry	Church still belongs to Church in Wales, but is not currently in use for ecclesiastical purposes; within built-up area
00574s	Cadoxton-juxta-Barry	Church in use; within built-up area
00422s	Capel	
00070s	Cogan	Church in use
00481s	Eglwysbrewis	Church still belongs to Church in Wales but currently disused
03787s	Fairwater	Within built-up area
00742s	Leckwith	
00245s	Llandough-juxta-Cowbridge	Church in use
00224s	Llandow	Church in use; possible traces of outer enclosure in surrounding area
00637s	Llanedeyrn	Church in use
01292s	Llanfrynach	Church in use
00607s	Llanishen	Church in use; within built-up area
00282s	Llanmihangel	Church in use
00214s	Llansannor	Church in use
00181s	Llanwensan	
00739s, 03801s	Llystalybont (Cibwr/Heath) Grange	Within built-up area
00738s	Llystalybont Grange	Within built-up area
00411s	Marcross	Church in use
01606s	Michaelston-le-Pit	Church in use
00229s	Monknash Grange	SAM Gm143
00164s	Pendoylan	Church in use
00174s	Peterston-super-Ely	Church in use
00525s	Porthkerry	Church in use
00803s	Roath	Church in use; within built-up area
00484s	St Athan	Church in use
00424s	St Donats	Church in use
00085s	St Fagans	Church in use
00086s	St George-super-Ely	Church in use
00336s	St Hilary	Church in use
00187s	St Mary Hill	Church in use
01272s	St Mellons	Church in use
00318s	Welsh St Donats	Church in use
02749s	Ystradowen	Church in use
01877w	Aberpergwm	Church in use; within area of later grange?
00318w	Caswell (St Peter's Chapel)	SAM Gm374
00096w	Cheriton	Church in use
00642w	Coedffranc (St Margaret's Chapel)	SAM Gm362
00904w	Court Herbert Grange	SAM Gm2079
00765w	Cryke (Capel Mair)	SAM Gm163
00701w	Glyncorrwg	Church in use; possible traces of outer enclosure in surrounding area
05258w	Grovesend	
00247w	Ilston	Church in use
00168w	Knelston	SAM Gm156
00185w	Llanddewi	Church in use; possible traces of outer enclosure in surrounding area
05263w	Llandremor	
00493w	Llangiwig	Church in use

00397w	Llansamlet	Church in use; in area of intense later industrial activity
03022w	Llanyrnwydd	Church in use; possible traces of outer enclosure in surrounding area
04538m	Llety Brongu	
05264w	Llotrog	
00299w	Oxwich	Church in use
00900w	Paviland Grange	
00327w	Pennard	Church in use; possible traces of outer enclosure in surrounding area
00288w	Pennard Burrows church	SAM Gm44
00186w	Penrice	Church in use
00182w	Port Eynon	Church in use
00107w	Reynoldston	Church in use
00409w	Swansea (St Helen's chapel)	Within built-up area
00315w	Trinity Well (St Cennydd's Chapel)	SAM Gm158

**Sites requiring further work to establish nature (Grade D)**

00019g	Coedkernew	
08353g	Dewstow	
08391g	Glencourt Farm	
08341g	Grangefield	SAM Mm205
03723g	Great Bulmore	SAM Mm176; any Early Medieval development insufficiently well located to allow for targeted work.
00770g	Howick	
00490g	Ifton	Area currently under development
00408g	Kemeys Inferior	SAM Mm174
04913g	Llanelli	Church in use
01535g	Llanfaenor (Chapel Farm)	
00352g	Llangybi	Church in use
08139g	Llanmelin	
05011g	Llanwern	Church in use
08307g	Llyncoed/Campston Grange	
08325g	Maestir Grange	
00641g	Malpas	Church in use; within built-up area
02504g	Mamhilad	Church in use
08392g	Marshfield (Vicarge House)	Interior area of site now fully developed, though boundary may remain at least partly intact
01224g	Monmouth (St Cadoc's)	Within built-up area
01013g	Penhow	Church in use
00833g	Raglan	Church in use; within built-up area
00489g	Rogiet	Church in use; possible traces of outer enclosure in surrounding area
00653g	St Aaron's chapel	
00211g	St Julians	
02509g	Tregaer	Church in use; possible traces of outer enclosure in surrounding area
04549m	Coedymwstwr	
00400m	Ewenny	Church in use; within later monastery (SAM Gm190)
00387m	Llanilid	Church in use
00215m	Newton Nottage	Church in use; within built-up area
00205m	Newton Nottage (St David's chapel)	
00248m	St Roque's chapel	SAM Gm247
02868s	Coed Nant Bran (Hen Lotre Elidon)	
01703s	Llanmaes	Church in use
02833s	Measfelin WP4 (Powisfa Dewi)	

00544s	Merthyr Dyfan	Church in use
00340s	St Mary Church	Church in use; possible traces of outer enclosure in surrounding area
00910w	Blaendulais Grange	
00911w	Blaendulais Grange	
00630w	Cadoxton-juxta-Neath	Church in use
05207w	Gellieithrim	
05290w	Glyneathrim Uchaf	
00294w	Penmaen	Church in use; possible traces of outer enclosure in surrounding area
00328w	Pennard (Bodies Acre)	
00153w	Rhossili	Church in use
00150w	Rhossili Burrows Church	SAM Gm414

The second year's programme of work is designed to refine the information available on the churches of Grade A and B, and particularly Grade D, where further information is required before these sites can be allocated to Grades A-C as appropriate. The numbers of Grade C sites preclude study within the funding arrangements already in place for Year 2. Although the aim is to visit all Grade A, B and D sites, except those church sites which have been sufficiently well examined during the Historic Churches Project, not all will profit from being visited, since in some cases sites have been completely obliterated by development (see information provided above).

Examination of air photographs might be appropriate in some cases, particularly where there might be evidence of an outer enclosure. However, geological, soil and vegetation conditions over most of the area are generally not conducive to revealing archaeological information.

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Knight, J K	1984	Sources for the early history of Mongannwg, in Savory (ed), 365-409
Knight, J K	1993	The early church in Gwent, II: The Early Medieval church, <i>Monmouthshire Antiq</i> <b>9</b> , 1-17
Knight, J K	1996	Late Roman and post-Roman Caerwent: Some evidence from metalwork, <i>Archaeol Cambrensis</i> <b>145</b> , 35-66
Knight, J K	1999	<i>The end of antiquity: Archaeology, Society and religion AD235-700</i>
Knight, J K	forthcoming	Early Medieval Gwent: Society and religion, in Gwent County History
Leach, P	2002	Excavations at St Lawrence's, Bayfield, Chepstow (draft report)
Lewis, J M	1980	A fragmentary pillar cross from Llangynwyd, Glamorgan, <i>Archaeol Cambrensis</i> <b>129</b> , 158-9
Lewis, J M and Knight, K	1973	Early Christian burials at Llanvithyn House, Glamorgan, <i>Archaeol Cambrensis</i> <b>122</b> , 147-53
Lewis, S	1849	<i>Topographical dictionary of Wales</i>
Lhuyd, E	1911	<i>Parochalia</i> (supplement to <i>Archaeol Cambrensis</i> )
Llewellyn, R W	1895	Caer-hen-eglwys or Cae'r Hen Eglwys, <i>Archaeol Cambrensis</i> <b>5 ser 12</b> , 323-5
Locock, M	1999	<i>Monmouthshire historic settlement: An archaeological survey. Part 3: The hundreds of Caldicot and Raglan</i> (GGAT unpublished report 99/010)
Merrick, R (ed B L James)	1983	<i>Morganiae archaiographia.</i> South Wales Record Society <b>1</b>
Mitchell, E H	1893	<i>Crosses of Monmouthshire</i>
Moore, D (ed)	1984	<i>Barry: The centenary book</i>
Morgan, O S	1885	Some account of the history and descent of the Lordship Marcher or county of Wentllwch, <i>Archaeol Cambrensis</i> <b>5 ser 2</b> , 257-91
Morgan, W L	1899	<i>Antiquarian survey of East Gower</i>
Morris, B	2000	<i>Gabriel Powell's survey of Gower 1764</i>
Morris, R	1989	<i>Churches in the landscape</i>
Nash-Williams, V E	1929	Topographical list of Roman remains found in South Wales, <i>Bull Board Celtic Stud</i> <b>4</b> , 246-71
Nash-Williams, V E	1939	An Early Iron Age coastal camp at Sudbrook, near the Severn Tunnel, Monmouthshire, <i>Archaeol Cambrensis</i> <b>94</b> , 42-79
Nash-Williams, V E	1946	<i>A hundred years of Welsh archaeology</i>
Nash-Williams, V E	1950	<i>The Early Christian monuments of Wales</i>
Newman, C and Newman R	forthcoming	A late and post-Roman cemetery at Atlantic Trading Estate, Barry, Vale of Glamorgan
Nicholson, H	2001	<i>The Knights Hospitaller</i>
Parkhouse, J	1988	Excavations at Biglis, South Glamorgan, in (ed), 1-64
Pearson, A and Lewis, R	2003	<i>Prehistoric funerary and ritual sites: Blaenau Gwent, Caerphilly, Cardiff, Monmouthshire, Newport, Torfaen and the Vale of Glamorgan.</i> GGAT unpublished report <b>2003/027</b>
Pierce, G O	1968	The place-names of Dinas Powys hundred
Pierce, G O	1984	Appendix II: The evidence of place names, in Savory (ed), 456-92
Pierce, G O	2000	The Welsh <i>mystwy</i> , <i>Nomina</i> <b>23</b> , 121-139
Pierce, G O	2002	<i>Place-names in Glamorgan.</i> Cardiff
Radford, C A R	1963	in Foster and Alcock (eds), 355-72
Rattue, J	1995	<i>The living stream: Holy wells in historical context</i>
RCAHMW	1976a	<i>An inventory of the ancient monuments in Glamorgan. Vol i part i: The Stone and Bronze Ages</i>

RCAHMW	1976b	<i>An inventory of the ancient monuments in Glamorgan. Vol i part ii: The Iron Age and the Roman occupation</i>
RCAHMW	1976c	<i>An inventory of the ancient monuments in Glamorgan. Vol i part iii: The Early Christian period</i>
RCAHMW	1982	<i>The Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales. Glamorgan Vol III: Medieval secular monuments. Part II: Non-defensive</i>
RCAHMW	2000	<i>The Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales. Glamorgan Vol III: Medieval secular monuments. Part Ib: The later castles</i>
Redknapp, M	1994	A pre-Norman cross from Caerwent and its context, <i>Monmouthshire Antiq</i> <b>10</b> , 1-6
Richards, M	1969	<i>Welsh administrative and territorial units</i>
Rippon, S	1996	<i>Gwent Levels: the evolution of a wetland landscape</i> CBA Res Rep <b>105</b>
Roberts, R	1997	<i>Whitton Mawr to Pentrebane: Archaeological desk-based assessment</i> (GGAT Contracts unpublished report 97/051)
Roberts, T	1992	Welsh ecclesiastical place-names and archaeology, in Edwards and Lane (eds), 41-4
Robinson, D M, (ed)	1988	<i>Biglis, Caldicot and Llandough: three Late Iron Age and Romano-British sites in southeast Wales</i> , BAR Brit Ser 188,
Robinson, G E	1894	Antiquities near Bridgend, <i>Archaeol Cambrensis</i> <b>5 ser 11</b> , 337-8
Roger, J W	1911	The stone cross slabs of South Wales and Monmouthshire, <i>T Cardiff Naturalists Soc</i> <b>44</b> , 25-64
Savory, H N (ed)	1984	<i>Glamorgan county history vol 2. Early Glamorgan: Prehistory and early history</i>
Schlesinger, A and Walls, C	1995	Excavations at Llanelen, Llanrhidian: An early church and medieval farmstead, <i>Gower</i> <b>46</b> , 58-79
Sell, S H	2001	Recent excavation and survey work at Sudbrook Camp, Portskewett, Monmouthshire, <i>Studia Celtica</i> <b>35</b> , 109-141
Shoesmith, R	1991	<i>Excavations in Chepstow 1973-1974</i>
Thomas, A and Holbrook, N	1994	Llandough, <i>Archaeol Wales</i> <b>34</b> , 67-8
Thomas, C	1972	<i>The Early Christian archaeology of north Britain</i>
Thomas, H J	1984	Castle, church and village, in Moore (ed), 57-99 (82-90)
Thomas, H J	1989	St Cadoc's Church, Cadoxton-juxta-Barry, <i>Morgannwg, J Glamorgan History</i> <b>33</b> , 73-4
Thomas, H J and Tyley, G R	1987	Merthyr Dyfan Church, <i>Morgannwg, J Glamorgan History</i> <b>31</b> , 88-89.
Tuck, M, Leaver, A and Sorrel J	2001	Abernant, <i>Archaeol Wales</i> <b>41</b> , 151-3
Visser, M	2000	<i>The geometry of love: Space, time mystery and meaning in an ordinary church</i>
Wade Evans, A W	1911	<i>Parochiale Wallicanum</i>
Wade Evans, A W	1934	<i>Welsh church origins</i>
Way A	1870	Alabaster reliquary in Caldey Island, Pembrokeshire, <i>Archaeol Cambrensis</i> <b>1 ser 4</b> , 122-140
White, L M	2000	Architecture: The first five centuries, in Esler (ed), 693-746
Williams, D H	1976	<i>White monks in Gwent and the borders</i>
Williams, D H	2001	<i>The Welsh Cistercians</i>
Williams, G J	1948	<i>Traddodiad Llenyddol Morgannwg</i>

**Table 1: Sites in Gwent**

*Churches in ecclesiastical use*

PRN	CHURCH	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	B7	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	O	Score
00045g	Basseleg	b			a		a									a			c	A
01971g	Bedwellty													c	a	a				C
00153g	Bettws														c					C
00243g	Bishton	a													a					A
02466g	Bryngwyn													c			b			C
00555g	Caerleon					b				b					c			c		A
01064g	Caerwent	a	b	a		b				b					a					A
00509g	Caldicot	a																		A
01183g	Chepstow					b													b	A
02467g	Cwmcarvan													c						C
02468g	Dingestow	a												c	b					A
01223g	Dixton	a																		A
02868g	Goetre													c						C
01675g	Grosmont													c						C
01108g	Itton	a													a					A
01086g	Kilgwrrwg													c						C
00251g	Langstone													c					b	C
01282g	Llanarth	a												c	a					A
01996g	Llanbadoc													c	c					C
03243g	Llanddewi Rhydderch														b					C
03237g	Llanddewi Skirrid													c	b					C
00309g	Llandegfeth	a		c	c									c	a	a				A
00932g	Llandenny	a												c						A
00418g	Llandevaud	c												c	a					A
00741g	Llandogo	a													a					A
04913g	Llanelli	c												c	b					D
01309g	Llanfapley	a													c					A
02244g	Llanfihangel Crucorney	b																		A
00486g	Llanfihangel Rogiet	a																		A
01782g	Llanfoist													c						C
02501g	Llangattock Lingoed														a					C
01506g	Llangattock Vibon Avel													c						C
02503g	Llangattock-juxta-Usk														a					C
02051g	Llangeview													c	c					C
00860g	Llangovan	a												c	a					A

PRN	SITE	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	B7	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	O	Score
04912g	Llangua	a																		A
00912g	Llangwm Isaf																		c	C
00911g	Llangwm Uchaf	a										c		c						A
00352g	Llangybi	c	c												a		b			D
00390g	Llanhenock													c						C
00953g	Llanishen	b												c						A
00331g	Llanllowell													c	a					C
02502g	Llanover														a					C
03245g	Llansantffraed														a					C
00915g	Llansoy	a												c	a					A
01737g	Llanthony														a				c	C
01303g	Llantilio Crossenny	b													a					A
01480g	Llantilio Pertholey	a	c												a					A
00359g	Llantrisant													c						C
00990g	Llanvaches	a												c						A
02512g	Llanvetherine	a																		A
05011g	Llanwern													c						D
05014g	Machen					c								c						A
00451g	Magor													c						C
00641g	Malpas	c												b					b	D
02504g	Mamhilad	c													c					D
00010g	Marshfield																		c	C
01212g	Mathern	b												c		a				A
04456g	Michaelston-y-Fedw													c						C
00082g	Mynyddislwyn															a				C
00266g	Nash													c						C
00166g	Newport	c			a									c					b	A
01090g	Newchurch													c						C
01605g	Oldcastle													c						C
01013g	Penhow					c														D
02505g	Penrhos													b	a				c	C
00762g	Penterry	a																		A
00833g	Raglan	c												c	c					D
00117g	Risca					b								c			b			A
02506g	Rockfield	a												c	a					A
00489g	Rogiet	c												c					c	D
01044g	Shirenewton													c						C

PRN	SITE	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	B7	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	O	Score
01696g	Skenfrith																c			C
00774g	St Arvans	a								b				c	a					A
00471g	St Brides Netherwent														a					C
00017g	St Brides Wentloog														a					C
03819g	St Maughans	a												c	a		c			A
02509g	Tregaer	c											c	c						D
00947g	Trellech Grange	a																	a	A
02507g	Trevethin														a		c			C
02032g	Trostrey														c					C
02018g	Usk					c													b	C
04209g	Wonastow	a												c	a					A

*Other sites*

PRN	SITE	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	B7	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	O	Score
08350g	Bryngwyn Grange													c					c	C
08359g	Caerleon Mill Street			a																A
08358g	Caerleon Roman Gates			a																A
03173g	Caerwent Vicarage Orchard			a																A
00019g	Coedkernew	c												c						D
08353g	Dewstow					c														D
08391g	Glencourt Farm													c		a				D
08341g	Grangefield	c														c			c	D
03723g	Great Bulmore					c				c										D
00770g	Howick	c																		D
00490g	Ifton	c																		D
00408g	Kemeys Inferior	c																		D
00417g	Llanbedr	a																		A
00311g	Llanddewi Fach													c	a					C
00106g	Llandderfel				c															A
00938g	Llanerthill	b																		A
01539g	Llanfaenor	a																		A
01535g	Llanfaenor (Chapel Farm)	c																		D
02511g	Llanhilleth													c	a					C
00978g	Llanishen, (St May's chapel)													c						C
08351g	Llanlawrence													c						C
01533g	Llanllwyd	b																		A
08139g	Llanmelin	c																		D

PRN	SITE	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	B7	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	O	Score
08304g	Llwynderi	b																		A
08307	Llyncoed/Campston Grange	c												c					c	D
08325g	Maestir Grange															a			b	D
01978g	Mamhole/Manmoel	c																	a	A
08392g	Marshfield (Vicarge House)													c						D
00466g	Merthyr Geryn	a												c		a			a	A
01224g	Monmouth (St Cadoc's)					c														D
01631g	Penbiddle (St John's chapel)													c						C
08380g	Ponthir (St Gwnog's chapel)													c						C
01198g	Pwll Meurig	b															c			A
08455g	Radyr Chapel															a				C
00767g	Rogerston Grange																b		c	C
01041g	Runston																c			C
00653g	St Aaron's chapel	c														c		c		D
01463g	St Dials																c			C
00211g	St Julians	a														a				D
01163g	St Kynemark	b													a				b	A
01145g	Sudbrook												c							B

**Table 2: Sites in Mid Glamorgan**

*Churches in ecclesiastical use*

PRN	CHURCH	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	B7	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	O	Score
01168m	Bedwas														c					C
00137m	Bettws														c					C
01262m	Capel Llanillterne										b				c					B
00409m	Coychurch									b	b			c	c		b	c		B
00692m	Eglwysilan	b												b	a	a				A
00400m	Ewenny			c						b									b	D
00665m	Gelligaer			b										c	c					A
00320m	Laleston													c	c					C
00923m	Llandyfodwg													c	b					S
00677m	Llanfabon														b					C
00342m	Llangeinor														c	b			b	C
00910m	Llangynwyd														c		c			C
00604m	Llanharan													c						C
01696m	Llanharry													c	c					C
00387m	Llanilid	c													a		c			D
00607m	Llantrisant									b				c						B
00599m	Llantwit Fardre													c	b					C
00946m	Llanwynno									b					b		b			B
01663m	Merthyr Mawr	a								b	b				c	a				A
00457m	Merthyr Tydfil										b				a	b				B
00377m	Newcastle											c								B
00215m	Newton Nottage	c	c													c	b			D
01106m	Penderyn													c	c					C
00716m	Pentyrch														c		b		c	C
00325m	St Brides Major													c	a					C
02567m	St Brides Minor														a					C
03060m	Talygarn													c		b				C
00247m	Tithegston									b					c					B
00440m	Vaynor													c	c					C

*Other sites*

PRN	SITE	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	B7	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	O	Score
00367m	Cae Ffynnoon									c										B
00649m	Capel Gwladys									b						a				B
02420m	Capel Brithdir									b	a									B
04549m	Coedymwstwr															b				D
00908m	Horgrove Grange													c					c	C
00724m	Llanfedw													c						C
00172m	Llangewydd													c					b	C
0438m	Llety Brongu															b				C
00205m	Newton Nottage (St David's chapel)	c															b			D
04542m	Penrhys																b			C
00348m	Peterston-super-montem													c						C
00248m	St Roque's chapel	c														c				D
00594m	Tarren Deusant																c			C

**Table 3: Sites in South Glamorgan**

*Churches in ecclesiastical use*

PRN	CHURCH	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	B7	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	O	Score
00569s	Barry													c						C
00574s	Cadoxton-juxta-Barry								c						b					B
00070s	Cogan													c						C
00481s	Eglwysbrewis															c				C
00385s	Llancarfan	a	b							b	b				a					A
00133s	Llandaff	a	b							c					a		b			A
00245s	Llandough-juxta-Cowbridge														b					C
00075s	Llandough-juxta-Penarth	a		a		a				a					b					A
00224s	Llandow													c			c			C
00637s	Llanedeyrn														b				c	C
01292s	Llanfrynach														b					C
00199s	Llangan									b				c	b					B
00607s	Llanishen														b					C
01703s	Llanmaes	c												c	b					D
00282s	Llanmihangel																b			C
00214s	Llansannor													c	a					C
00426s	Llantwit Major	a	b				c			a					a					A
00295s	Llysworney									b				c	c					B
00411s	Marcross																	c		C
00544s	Merthyr Dyfan				c											b	c			D
01606s	Michaelston-le-Pit													c						C
00164s	Pendoylan														c		b			C
00174s	Peterston-super-Ely																		c	C
00525s	Porthkerry														c					C
01208s	Radyr	c														a			c	A
00803s	Roath													c						C
00484s	St Athan														a		c			C
00173s	St Brides-super-Ely	a													a					A
00424s	St Donats														b					C
00085s	St Fagans														a		c			C
00086s	St George-super-Ely													c						C
00336s	St Hilary																		c	C
00002s	St Lythans	b												c	a					A
00340s	St Mary Church	b												b		c	c			D
00187s	St Mary Hill															c				C

PRN	SITE	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	B7	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	O	Score
01272s	St Mellons													c						C
00318s	Welsh St Donats														c					C
02749s	Ystradowen																		c	C

*Other sites*

PRN	SITE	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	B7	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	O	Score
03612s	Atlantic Trading Estate			a																A
00094s	Caerau					c							c	c					b	A
00422s	Capel																c			C
02868s	Coed Nant Bran (Hen Lotre Elidon)														c	b				D
03787s	Fairwater															c				C
03806s	Flatholm	c							b										b	A
00742s	Leckwith													c						C
00386s	Llanvithyn Grange								c										b	B
00181s	Llanwensan															b				C
00739s, 03801s	Llystalybont (Cibwr/Heath) Grange																		c	C
00738s	Llystalybont Grange <sup>1</sup>																		c	C
02833s	Measyfelin WP4 (Powisfa Dwi)												b		c	b				D
00738s	Monachdy near Gabalfa	c																		A
00229s	Monknash Grange <sup>2</sup>													c			b		b	C
03805s	Barry Island St Barruc's chapel)	c			b				b								c			A
00170	St y Nyll	a												c						A

<sup>1</sup> Are one or both of the two Llystalybont granges (the other belonged to Margam, see below) on the site of the Villa Greguri, called Coupalua or Pennyporth granted to Bishop Euddogwy c 680 (LL151) or the neighbouring Villa Meneich granted c 708 (LL159) (Davies 1979 100, 102-3)

<sup>2</sup> Not on the same site as the parish church.

**Table 4: Sites in West Glamorgan**

*Churches in ecclesiastical use*

PRN	CHURCH	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	B7	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	O	Score
01163w	Aberavon									b										B
01877w	Aberpergwm														c					C
03253w	Baglan										b				a					B
00311w	Bishopston	a												c	a					A
00630w	Cadoxton-juxta-Neath	c												c	b					D
00096w	Cheriton														a					C
00701w	Glyncorrgw													c						C
00247w	Ilston														b					C
00185w	Llanddewi													b	a					C
00058w	Llangennith									b				c	a				c	B
00493w	Llangiwg														c					C
00383w	Llangyfelach	c	c							b				c	a		b			A
00038w	Llanmadoc									b	c	c			a					B
00103w	Llanrhidian									b	c				a					B
00397w	Llansamlet														b					C
00628w	Llantwit-juxta-Neath									b				c	a					B
03022w	Llanyrnewydd													b						C
00223w	Loughor					b					b									A
00770w	Margam									a								b		B
00299w	Oxwich													c	a		b			c
00472w	Oystermouth					b														A
00294w	Penmaen	c												c						D
00327w	Pennard													c						C
00186w	Penrice													c						C
00182w	Port Eynon														c					C
00107w	Reynoldston																b			C
00153w	Rhossili	c																		D

*Other sites*

PRN	SITE	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	B7	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	O	Score
00910w	Blaendulais Grange									c								c		D
00911w	Blaendulais Grange?									c								c		D
00809w	Bodvoc stone												b							B
01689w	Brygwyneithin										c						b			B
00051w	Burry Holms								b											B
00318w	Caswell (St Peter's Chapel)																b			C
00552w	Clwydi Banwen										b		b							B
00642w	Coedffranc (St Margaret's Chapel)																b		c	C
00904w	Court Herbert Grange									c	c								c	B
00765w	Cryke (Capel Mair)													c			c			C
05203w	Cwrt y defaid										c								c	B
00786w	Eglwys Nynnid								a		c					a		b		B
05207w	Gellieithrim	c												b					c	D
05290w	Glyneithrim Uchaf	c												b		c				D
05258w	Grovesend													c						C
00168w	Knelston													c						C
00234w	Llan elen chapel								b											B
00621w	Llandeilo Talybont	a												b						A
05263w	Llandremor															b				C
5101w; 791w	Llanmihangel (St Michael's) Grange									b									c	B
04538m	Llety Brongu															b				C
05264w	Llotrog															b				C
00725w	Meles Grange									c	c								c	B
00510w	Mynydd Gellionnen												b							B
00900w	Paviland Grange													c					c	C
00328w	Pennard (Bodies Acre)	c																		D
00288w	Pennard Burrows church																b			C
00150w	Rhossili Burrows Church	c																		D
00409w	Swansea (St Helen's chapel)																b			C
00315w	Trinity Well (St Cennydd's Chapel)																b			C
00945w	Upper Penhydd Grange									c									c	B