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Early Medieval Burial in Gwynedd

Ymddiriedolaeth Archaeolegol Gwynedd

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Early Medieval Burial in Gwynedd

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By

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This report is an assessment of the archaeological evidence for Early Medieval burial in Gwynedd between AD 400 and AD1100 with recommendations for further assessment and conservation. The Gwynedd Archaeological Trust is grateful to Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments for grant aiding this work.

Contents

Previous work	1
Burial archaeology	3
General trends in burial practice in Late Prehistoric Britain and Ireland	3
Some characteristics of Romano-British cemeteries	6
The earliest churches and their relationship to burial	6
Glossary of terms	9
Assessment of the resource	13
General	13
Burials	15
Long cists	20
Unprotected dug graves	22
Special graves	24
Rectangular ditched features	24
Eglwysi y Bedd	26
Martyria	27
Stone Memorials	28
Inscribed memorial stones	29
Formulae and characteristics	29
Additional iconography	32
Dating	32
Distribution	33
Cross incised stones and free-standing crosses	34
Associations	35
Pre-Christian ceremonial and funerary associations	35
Pre-Christian secular associations	37
Enclosures other than later graveyards	38
Christian religious associations	39
General considerations and recommendations	46
Criteria for inclusion of sites for assessment	48
Early Medieval burials	48
Inscribed stones	49
Contextual data	51
Recommendations for conservation and further work	52

Previous work

The archaeology of early burial may, in one sense perhaps, be said to begin with those enquiring minds who sought answers to the question 'whose grave is this?' on recognising a burial monument of some past beyond living memory in their own landscape, or on hearing of the accidental discovery of burials during agricultural works or by erosion of the coastline. Among the earliest records of such curiosity is the series of *englynion* collected together in the thirteenth century Black Book of Carmarthen and later manuscripts under the title *Englynion y Beddau* (stanzas of the graves) but thought, for the most part to derive from ninth or tenth century originals. 'Whose is the grave on the hill-slope yonder?' or 'Whose is the four-sided grave with its four stones at its head?' are typical of the poet's questions. This was not an idle curiosity as another ninth or tenth century text makes clear. The green graves of the ancestors were the strength and foundation of a community. 'Y glas fyfyr, y gwaed o dan draed y gwyr: the blood under men's feet (Canu Llywarch Hen XI, 536). In answer, the graves are invariably ascribed to heroes of folk-tale or saga. It is clear, where locations can be identified, that graves from various periods of the past have aroused interest. For example, 'the grave of Dylan at Llanfeuno, where the wave roars' is clearly a reference to the Neolithic chambered tomb on the shoreline at Clynnog (the church of St. Beuno). A variety of locations are involved; at the confluence of rivers, at fords, at settlements, on hill slopes and upland locations in prominent positions (on Arfon's height, on Nantlle's height), and in the fortified places (whose is the grave in the *caerau* opposite Bryn Beddau? (the hill of the graves). A high proportion of graves are on or close to the coastline: where the wave roars, near the sea shore, where the waves buffet the land, under cover of the sea, on the Morfa (sea strand), on Morfa Dinlleu, on the shingle of Menai. On one occasion the poet 'hears a heavy wave upon the sand around the grave of Disgryrnin Disgyffeddawd'. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that these were graves exposed in the process of coastal erosion. And still we seek answers to these same questions.

Circumstantial detail suggests that the stanzas are a memory of actual rather than imagined discoveries. There are references to an oaken coffin, four-sided graves, long graves ('let him who would seek them dig in the uplands of Gwanas Gwyr', near Dolgellau), long-narrow graves, a four-sided grave with four stones at its head and, in the instance of the graves on the Morfa (Morfa Rhianedd, the sea-strand between Degannwy and Llandudno), where five burials are referred to, it would seem as though a cemetery had been uncovered.

Perhaps slightly later (fourteenth century MS; probable twelfth century redaction), but similar in style, is the poignant passage in the second branch of the *Mabinogi* describing Branwen's return from Ireland with her companions, the seven survivors, and the head of Bran. 'And they came to land at Aber Alaw in Talybolion' (Anglesey). And then they sat down and rested them. Then she looked on Ireland and the Island of the Mighty, what she might see of them. 'Alas, Son of God,' said she, 'woe is me that ever I was born: two good islands have been laid waste because of me!' And she heaved a great sign, and with that broke her heart. And a four-sided grave was made for her, and she was buried there on the bank of the Alaw', (G. Jones and Thomas Jones (trans.) *The Mabinogion*). The passage is of interest in that the location for this episode may be suggested by the local knowledge of the discovery of such a four-sided grave at the estuary of the Alaw, perhaps conditioned by a pre-existing association with Branwen. The possibility that this may be likely is enhanced by the disturbance of cist graves from within a circular enclosure known as Capel Bronwen, close to the mouth of the Alaw before 1713. Among the material disturbed was the elaborately inscribed Early Christian stone known variously as the Trescawen or Llantrisant stone (RCAHMW, *Anglesey Inventory* cix-cxiii). Again it is of circumstantial interest to recognise that the hinterland of the Alaw has provided evidence for the densest concentration of long cist burials in north west Wales.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were a time of great landscape change in parts of Gwynedd, particularly, it would seem in Anglesey where, as Leland describes, 'In time of mind men used not in Tir Mon (the land of Mon) to separate their ground, but now still more and more they dig stony hillocks in their grounds and with the stones of them rudely congested they divide their grounds after Devonshire fashion. In digging these [they] dig up in many

places earthen pots with the mouths turned downward, containing [ashes and cremated bone], (L. Toulmin Smith (ed.) *The Itinerary of John Leland*, pt. VI, vol. 3. 90). No doubt early Christian burial grounds were similarly disturbed. Scholars and men of letters now began to take a serious interest in the history, literature and antiquities of Wales. Among the most notable recorders of the archaeology of Gwynedd during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were Edward Llwyd who contributed to the revision of Camden's *Britannia*; Henry Rowlands, whose *Antiquitates Parochiales* (1710) and *Mona Antiqua Restaurata* (1723) describe and attempt to transcribe examples of early Christian inscribed stones among much else; and Lewis Morris (1701-1765). Edward Llwyd's unpublished manuscripts remain a source of otherwise unavailable detail, including, for example, the record of a now lost inscribed stone from Capel Eithin, Anglesey and the detail that the Dervori stone had, when found, been incorporated in a cist grave, among manuscripts of the 1690s (BM Stowe MSS 1023-1024).

One of the earliest reports of the disturbance of an early Christian burial ground in the course of trunk road construction is recorded at Dol Trebeddau near Pentrefoelas during work on Telford's, then new, A5 in 1819-20 (Edwards, 1992, 1). One of the graves was covered by an inscribed stone, face down (ECMW 183). Dol Trebeddau lies at the eastern extremity of Gwynedd (old county). There is a certain irony in the recognition that the most recent discovery of a long cist cemetery was made in advance of major works to the same route at its western extremity, at Ty Mawr, Holyhead, in 1999.

Edwards suggests (1992, 1) that the earliest recorded archaeological investigation of an early Christian burial ground in Wales was undertaken by Stanley at Tywyn y Capel in 1846. More recent excavations at the same site in 1985 and 1997 continue to provide new detail on sequence and chronology.

A series of notable scholars, beginning with Westwood (*Lapidaria Walliae* 1876-9) successively placed the study of early Christian inscribed stones on a secure footing. Nash-Williams' *Early Christian Monuments of Wales* (1950) remains the definitive study. This, however, is now under revision by N. Edwards. With notable exceptions, such as Stanley's work at Tywyn y Capel or Stallybrass at Clynnog in 1914, however, very little attention has been paid to the burials themselves until the last quarter of this century. Throughout Wales as a whole important excavations on early Christian burial grounds have now been undertaken, mostly under rescue conditions, at Caerwent, (1980s); Plas Gogerddan, Dyfed (1986); Caer, Bayvil, Dyfed (1979); Atlantic Trading Estate, Barry (1985); Llandough, Glamorgan (early 1990's); Capel Maelog, Powys (1985). In north-west Wales Houlder's important excavations at the earlier prehistoric ritual complex at Llandygai in 1967 identified extended inhumations in association with a special grave, defined by a square ditch. Excavations were undertaken at Arfryn, Bodedern, (R.B. White and J. Hedges in 1971 and S.I. White in 1980, and Capel Eithin, (S.I. and R.B. White 1980) both on Anglesey. Other work followed: at Bangor in 1984 and 1989, Tywyn y Capel in 1985 and 1997 and Ty Mawr, Holyhead in 1999. Together, this recent work has shed considerable new light on the context and organisation of early Medieval burial in Wales, particularly in allowing comparison with the trends revealed as a result of studies undertaken elsewhere in Britain.

Burial archaeology

The characteristics of, and background to, early Medieval burial in north west Wales.

Contexts

During the early Medieval centuries in north west Wales the burial of the dead acquired certain characteristics which are recognisable in the archaeological record. Some of these are new; others represent a continuation or modification of earlier rites. The establishment of the Christian church was a significant factor in this process. Contact with a wider Christian world and with culturally related communities closer to home were also important influences. Among these characteristics may be numbered:

1. *extended supine inhumation,*
2. *oriented burial, head to the west,*
3. *both dug and stone-lined graves with the stone-lined examples exhibiting varying degrees of complexity,*
4. *the presence of 'special' graves, visibly distinguishable within a cemetery,*
5. *barrows or cairns,*
6. *grave markers such as inscribed stones or wooden crosses, and, later cross-incised stones,*
7. *a focus or foci within the cemetery, in the vicinity of which burials cluster,*
8. *evidence of earlier ritual or burial activity on the same site,*
9. *enclosures within which the burials are placed. These may be broadly contemporary or may involve the re-use of a pre-existing enclosure.*
10. *General absence of grave-goods.*

Each of these attributes will be discussed more fully below. Firstly, it may be of value to consider the chronological background to the emergence of specifically early Christian burial and its influences. This will be undertaken with reference to the neighbouring regions of Britain where comparable or divergent general trends may be observed.

General trends in burial practice in later prehistoric Britain and Ireland

At the beginning of the first millennium BC the common burial rite throughout Britain was cremation, either within an urn or in a pit. In Ireland a ring ditch, sometimes with associated mound could define such cemeteries. Throughout Britain the new mounds of the later Bronze Age were consistently smaller than those of the earlier Bronze Age although earlier barrows could become the focus for later Bronze Age cemeteries. Inhumation is rare and the more distinctive examples would seem to display continental affinities. Consideration should also be given, in this period, to the possibility that the remains of the dead, cremated or otherwise, were committed to the waters of rivers, lakes and marshes accompanied by the large quantity of high status metalwork that has been dredged from, for example, the major river systems of southern Britain.

In Ireland cremation continued to be the preferred rite through much of the Iron Age. Such cemeteries are defined, as previously, by ring-ditch enclosures with cremations placed within the ring and covered by a low mound or placed in the encircling ditch. Small personal items such as brooches and glass beads can accompany the burials. Earlier monuments continue to provide a focus for these cemeteries as, for example, at Kiltierney, Co Fermanagh, where a passage grave of Neolithic date was 'appropriated' by enclosing it with a ditch. Iron Age cremations were then placed in the main mound. Further cremations were laid outside the ditch and covered by nineteen small mounds, ringing the monument. In another instance, the cemetery at Carrowjames comprises ten barrows, some clearly Iron Age on the site of an earlier burial focus.

On mainland Britain inhumation burial makes an appearance in a number of areas during the fifth and fourth centuries BC. Among the most significant, numerous and regionally distinctive, are the 'Arras culture' barrow burials of Yorkshire. These generally small barrows, around 9m. across, frequently occur in large cemeteries. Over 500 such burials have been recorded at Burton Fleming. The burials themselves are predominantly crouched

inhumations, lacking grave goods except for small personal items and, sometimes, joints of pork or mutton. The richest, however, are spectacularly well provided for with the dead laid out on, or among, the dismantled coach-work, wheels and fittings of carts, sometimes accompanied by the horses and horse gear too. A particularly distinctive feature of these 'Arras' barrows is the circular or, more commonly, square ditch, which encloses them. While this would appear to mark the first appearance of the square-ditched barrow on mainland Britain, the form, if not the cultural association, re-appears in north Britain and Wales in a later context.

Elsewhere there are a few indications of inhumations with cart burials, as widely spaced as Suffolk and Dorset.

Inhumations in stone cists are known from Devon and Cornwall, Scotland and perhaps Wales, at Cerrig y Drudion. Some of these could be described as cemeteries with graves arranged in rows. Other inhumation cemeteries are known: from Deal in Kent and from the tribal area of the Durotriges in the general area of Dorset in the first century BC. The Durotrigian cemeteries are small, comprising crouched inhumations in unprotected pits accompanied by a few grave goods, best exemplified by the war cemetery at Maiden Castle. The Deal cemetery is earlier, Middle Iron Age, and particularly interesting because it illustrates another facet of the recurring trends which accompany burial from later prehistory through the Roman period and into the early Medieval centuries. A Bronze Age barrow originally occupied the site. This monument of an earlier landscape determined the choice of location but the burials themselves were ranged in two groups. Each it would seem had its own focus signalled by the identification of 'special' graves, enclosed within a ditch and, perhaps, under a mound created from the spoil of the ditch. Finally, much later, Anglo-Saxon inhumation burials were made on the site.

Nevertheless, despite the clear presence of formal cemetery burial in certain regions – in Yorkshire and Kent during the Middle Iron Age, in Dorset during the Later Iron Age, for example, apart from individual high-status graves, it would appear that the majority of the population were committed to the afterlife either with little ceremony or accompanied by rites which evade the archaeological record. Articulated bodies have been recovered from disused storage pits on settlement sites and frequently part-bodies have been found. One possible explanation is that the initial rite may have involved exposure and excarnation. In north Britain, the association of fine metalwork of Late Bronze Age and Iron Age date suggested a possible context for funerary rites which are otherwise similarly largely undetectable during this period (I Ralston in Megaw and Simpson, *Introduction to British Prehistory*, 477). Nevertheless, in the north too, a few instances of formal internment are recorded most of which are late in the Iron Age. These include crouched inhumation in short cists, for example at Moredun, Midlothian, where first century AD metalwork provides a chronological context; at Kingoldrum and Airlie, Angus, in association with third/fourth century Roman glass (Ralston, 476), at Broxmouth hillfort (with third to second century bc uncalibrated radiocarbon determinations) at Dryburn Bridge palisaded enclosure (with dates spanning the Early and Middle Iron Age, - J. Close-Brooks, 'Pictish and other burials' in J.G.P. Friell and W.G. Watson, (eds), *Pictish Studies*, BAR 125 (1984)). At St. Mary on the Rock, Kirkhill, St. Andrews, six crouched burials were recorded stratified below a cemetery of long cists and predominantly extended inhumations in dug graves of the Early Medieval centuries.

During the first century BC cremation burial was re-introduced in the south east of mainland Britain, in Kent, and north of the Thames in Essex and Hertfordshire and taken up on a grand scale. The richest burials were accompanied by exotic items of high status reflecting a life, and perhaps anticipating an afterlife, of feasting, drinking and gaming. During the early Roman centuries the cremation rite permeated the new province.

Ironically, in Ireland, after centuries during which cremation predominated, it has been suggested that inhumation burial was introduced during this same period (E. O'Brien, 131). The key site is Lambay Island where a number of crouched inhumations were recorded on the shoreline in association with a sword, shield, decorated sheet bronze, brooches and a beaded torc, all of mainland British derivation and late first century AD in date. The precise chronology of crouched inhumation in Ireland is uncertain but where the practice occurs in

direct association with cremation, the proportions of inhumation to cremation appear to increase with time. The Rath of the Synods, Tara, is a key site. The first phase is represented by a small ring barrow 15m. in diameter. Five primary cremations are associated with the low mound. This barrow was subsequently modified by slight levelling and four further cremations and one crouched inhumation were inserted. Phase 2 is represented by a series of palisaded enclosures. During a third phase, two cremations and five inhumations were interred in a small area 6m. by 4m. Three of the inhumations were crouched, one was extended and the fifth was disturbed. Finally, perhaps during the fourth or fifth century AD on the basis of Roman artefacts recovered, a ring fort 83m. in diameter, enclosed by four ramparts, was constructed on the site.

In Roman Britain extended inhumation gained popularity during the second century and during the later Roman period extended supine inhumation was the dominant rite. An increasing interest in an afterlife (not necessarily Christian) may have been a contributory influence. Grave goods continued to accompany such burials but it is important to recognise that richly furnished graves are in the minority. Extended inhumation reached Ireland at this time too. A number of burials, extended inhumations with a stone at head and foot, were recorded in the early nineteenth century on the beach at Bray, Co. Wicklow. Roman coins of Trajan and Hadrian, said to have been associated with the burials as payment to the Stygian ferryman, identify the graves as pagan and of intrusive Roman derivation (E. O'Brien, 1992, 132). Extended inhumation appears to have been adopted quickly in Ireland as it was on the mainland although archaism could occur as in the case of Furness, Co. Kildare where cremation burials have been dated by radiocarbon determination to 430-580 cal AD.

Extended inhumation is seen in north Britain too in the early centuries AD. At Broxmouth, East Lothian, where crouched inhumations represent the Iron Age rite, an extended inhumation in a dug grave is dated by radiocarbon determination to the second to fourth century ad (uncalibrated). At Camelon, Stirling, two extended inhumations with spears, sword, and iron shield boss interred in a stone-lined cist are thought to be the graves of native Britons serving in a late first century AD auxiliary unit. Such a burial would seem to be in the tradition of the multiple burials in massive cists noted above. At Craigie, Angus, however, a slab-built long cist containing an extended inhumation accompanied by an iron penannular brooch may be as early as the second or third century AD.

It has been suggested that long cists began to gain popularity in Roman Britain during the 4th century. Elizabeth O'Brien has argued that this chronology might equally apply to Ireland. The spatial relationship of stone-lined graves to other forms of burial can raise intriguing questions. At Knowth, for example, around thirty inhumations have been recorded clustering around the base and in the ditch of the great Neolithic passage grave. Some are crouched burials, some are unprotected extended inhumations and a small group of four, set slightly apart from the rest, are extended inhumations in stone-lined graves. In early medieval western and north Britain, however, long cists and dug graves appear to be contemporary and both types can occur on the same site with no obvious chronological distinction.

A number of long cist cemeteries are known from north Britain. They are particularly common in the Lothians and the coastal areas of Fife but also occur in Argyll and Galloway and as far south as Berwickshire on the east coast. Long cists under square ditch barrows and stone cairns are also known from Pictland in Fife and south east Angus and in smaller numbers around the Moray Firth. The earliest available radiocarbon determinations from long cists in north Britain are of the fifth and sixth centuries (at Lundin Links, Fife, from a cemetery which also includes long cists beneath platform cairns; the Catstane, Midlothian, from a cemetery which has, as one focus, an inscribed ?fifth/sixth century stone; and at Hallowhill, Fife, from a part of the cemetery arranged in regular rows). At Hallowhill there is a strong suggestion of at least one earlier focus although the majority of the radiocarbon dated graves would appear to be of the seventh century.

It is likely that most of the long cist cemeteries of Fife and the Lothians occur in a Christian context although the process of extended inhumation in a cist is not, in itself, a defining Christian characteristic. Smith has drawn attention to the differential distribution of square-ditch barrows (to which we might add platform cairns) and Pictish Class I inscribed stones

north of the Forth, on the one hand, and long cists and early Christian inscribed stones on the other (Smith, 'The origins and development of christianity in North Britain and Southern Pictland', in J. Blair and C. Pyrah (eds.) *Church Archaeology*, CBA Res Rep 104, 19-42). Such distributions might be taken to imply an ideological stand off between pagan Picts and Christian Britons and, perhaps, increasingly Christianised Picts, in the sixth and seventh centuries. In just the same way, the elaborate and ostentatiously pagan barrow cemeteries of early seventh century Anglo-Saxon England might be seen to mark, not the last gasp of a pagan tradition, but a reaction to the encroachment of Christianity at a time which Anglo-Saxon burials of the 'final phase' were exhibiting characteristics not dissimilar to the east-west oriented extended inhumations of the British, with minimal or no grave goods (E. O'Brien and C. Roberts (1996), 60). It is virtually impossible to differentiate these final phase burials against the criteria of Christianity or Paganism.

Some characteristics of Romano-British cemeteries

Cemeteries of the Roman period may be expected wherever settlement existed (B. Jones, *An Atlas of Roman Britain*, 1990, 300). Roman forts, farms in the countryside and towns have all produced evidence of burial. The large centres of population have, understandably, produced the greatest quantity of information. Some major towns were provided with a number of burial grounds, frequently on the fringes of settlement. Roman Dorchester, for example, had several cemeteries of which the most extensively investigated is Poundbury where around 1500 burials have been excavated out of an estimated total of 2500.

As extended inhumation gained in popularity at the expense of cremation so certain features become discernible in the organisation of burial grounds, which may have relevance to our understanding of the cemeteries of the early Middle Ages. Many late Roman cemeteries display an ordered arrangement in the layout of graves. This ordering can take a number of forms.

Alignment is frequently east west, although features of the local topography can be a strong conditioning influence. Burials can be aligned on adjacent roads or tracks (as at Lankhills, Winchester, for example) or on field and property boundaries. Layout can follow linear features, head to toe, as do a series of burials along the ditched boundary of an enclosure at Poundbury or can be seen to butt up against linear boundaries (as at Lankhills). (For both these features, see the distribution of graves in the Early Medieval cemetery at Capel Eithin, Anglesey, Smith and White, 1999). A ranked arrangement in rows, side by side, is a recurring feature. Such ordering, with little overlapping, would seem to imply the use of grave markers. Grouping can occur within cemeteries, determined by association of family or the clustering of burials around one or more local foci within the cemetery. Such foci may also determine alignments in that part of the cemetery. Again these are recurring features of Early Medieval cemeteries. There may be other considerations, which give rise to groupings or clusterings too. At both Lankhills and Poundbury there is a suggestion that richer graves occur in local groups, although the reasons why this should be so are less clear (Woodward, 1992, 86-97). Other forms of segregation, which have been identified, include that of gender. At Lankhills, in a late phase of the development of the cemetery, the majority of female graves could be seen to have been buried to the west of a north-south boundary across the site. At Capel Eithin there would seem to have been a degree of segregation on the basis of age.

A particularly significant feature of such cemeteries is the presence of *mausolea* or otherwise specially marked graves. Good examples occur at both Lankhills and Poundbury. At Poundbury rectilinear masonry structures enclosing multiple burials (perhaps family groups) and square-ditched enclosures marking single graves both occur. At Lankhills rectangular ditched enclosures with an entrance to the east mark single and multiple burials, some of which were accompanied by rich artefacts. In at least two instances these special grave enclosures were cut by later burials including interments accompanied by grave goods.

The earliest churches and their relationship to burial

Among the rows of graves occupying the extensive extra mural cemeteries of late Roman Britain there are likely to have been many Christian burials. In the absence of epitaphs or

iconography it is impossible to differentiate the Christian from the Pagan. Nevertheless, certain graves were distinguished by enclosure within special structures which constituted a mausoleum for the individual or family group. In a Christian context such constructions might represent the *martyrium* or *confessio* of a local saint. In a continental context such landmarks in a cemetery would attract an accumulation of burial 'ad sanctos' in anticipation of imbuing the deceased with spiritual benefit through contiguity. Again, on the continent there are numerous examples of important churches, which developed on the site of such shrines. St. Peter's, Rome, is the classic example. Others include Xanten (*ad sanctos*), St. Denis, Paris, Trier and St. Germain, Auxerre. A different, but related, process can be seen at work at Tournai. Here, in 481, Childeric was buried, accompanied by three horse burials and much rich equipment and jewellery under a large mound on the edge of the Roman cemetery there. This grave became a focus for other burials and by the late seventh century a church had been built on the site.

Examples from late Roman Britain are more difficult to demonstrate. Blair reminds us that while many churches demonstrably overlie prehistoric and Roman monuments, the conclusions to be drawn from these associations are less straightforward. (J. Blair, *Churches in the Early English landscape*, in J. Blair and C. Pyrah (eds.), *Church Archaeology*, CBA Res Rep 104, 6-18). Nevertheless, there are hints of a comparable process. At Wells, for example a Saxon burial chapel was placed over and on the same alignment as a late or sub-Roman mausoleum in the immediate vicinity of the wells that give name to the place. The burial chapel was then incorporated in St. Mary's chapel in the tenth century immediately adjacent to the later cathedral site.

In the countryside, cemeteries may have developed along slightly different lines, but there are comparable features. Again the evidence from the rural landscape of northern and western Gaul may suggest certain trends which throw light on the evidence from Britain. A number of intrusive Merovingian cemeteries from the late fifth century onwards occupy the sites of, or occur in close proximity to, late Roman rural cemeteries (A Dierkens and P Périn, 'Death and Burial' in *The Transformation of the Roman World AD 400-900*, eds. L. Webster and M. Brown, 1997, 89). The pre-existing population, in this situation continued to use these cemeteries while gravitating towards the new foci created by the Merovingian burials. Large cemeteries developed. In some instances timber and stone funerary structures were erected (Dierkens and Périn, 1997, 93). Pagan and Christian burials could occur in the same cemetery. At Hordain (Nord, France) Frankish warrior burials and other Christian graves occupy a rectangular stone funerary chapel with pagan burials in the cemetery outside it (Dierkens and Périn, fig. 40).

During the eighth century, however, churches came to be established at villages and acquired parochial status at this time. A significant, if not immediate, effect was the abandonment of the traditional burial grounds on the periphery of settlement in response to the attractions of the new village churches. An exception to this trend occurred when private funerary chapels on pre-existing burial grounds under the patronage of a local aristocratic family, acquired the status of a parochial church thereby enhancing the prospects of continuity of use at the cemetery. We may glimpse something of the same processes at work in the rural landscape in early Medieval Britain. Mortuary structures of timber (at Plas Gogerddan, Dyfed; Capel Eithin, Anglesey; Llandygai, Gwynedd) and graves identified as 'special' – under square-ditched barrows (at Tandderwen, Clwyd) or marked by inscriptions on stone (or at least inferred to have been, as at Arfryn, Anglesey) occur among the extended inhumations in dug graves and stone-lined graves of the rural cemeteries of north Wales. *Mausolea* of this kind may have been enhanced over time by rebuilding in stone (Ardwall Isle is a classic example, A.C. Thomas, 1971, *The Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain*). Eglwysi y Bedd at Clynnog (Gwynedd), Caer Gybi (Anglesey) and possibly Llaneilian (Anglesey) may represent a further stage in the process, on the sites of major Gwynedd churches. Pennant Melangell (Powys) is another example where a significant early grave appears to have provided the inspiration for construction of a pilgrimage church in the twelfth century, complete with Romanesque shrine. The early grave has been revealed by excavation below the apse of the twelfth century church.

At Llansadwrn, the discovery, in the churchyard, of an inscribed stone commemorating 'the blessed Saturninus and his saintly wife' introduces the possibility that the present parish church was founded on a specially marked grave of the fifth or sixth century. The dedication of the church is to Sadwrn (Lat. Saturnus, dim. Saturninus). These are potentially early burial grounds, which may have continued in use. Others, such as Capel Eithin and Llandygai, did not. These latter, perhaps, represent the majority.

Elizabeth O'Brien outlines two processes that may have contributed to the abandonment of early burial grounds with the exception of instances where the veneration of a particular grave was sufficiently strong that it resulted in the construction of a church on the site. The first is the growing perception that burial in the company of Pagans was no longer appropriate in a Christian context – (*Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*, (De Martyribus, Wasserschleben, 1885, 208-9, quoted by O'Brien, 1992, 135) even though the earliest Christian burials had been made in old established traditional and familial burial grounds which inevitably incorporate the graves of pagan ancestors.

The second is the growing power of the cult of corporeal relics. The lifting, during the seventh century, of legal and ecclesiastical prohibitions on the translation of the physical remains of the dead made it legitimately possible for churches to acquire relics. Communities were encouraged to seek burial near the bones of venerated saints rather than among the bones of ancestors in traditional burial grounds. This trend became an important mechanism in attracting patronage to a church (E. O'Brien, 1992, 136) and, in time, saw the abandonment of those traditional cemeteries where the cult and shrine of a particular important individual had not developed sufficiently strongly to maintain them.

It would seem that in many areas of the western Christian world at this time, around the 8th century, an increasing organisation in the church and monopolisation of burial, was bringing with it a certain shift of focus in the liturgical landscape. This can be seen in the countryside of northern Gaul where the establishment of village churches with parochial status brings about the demise of rural cemeteries; in south-western Britain where cemeteries like Cannington, with late Roman origins and despite the development of a number of foci within the cemetery, is abandoned during the early eighth century.

In Dyfed, the distribution of early Christian inscribed stones has been seen to reflect shifts in ecclesiastical focus between the fifth and sixth centuries on the one hand and the ninth century, on the other; and in southern Pictland, Smith has seen the distinction, both functional and in terms of distributions, between Class 1 Pictish stones and Class 2 stones and later cross-slabs as one between foci of secular activity, perhaps accompanied by burial, on the one hand, and ecclesiastical centres on the other (I. Smith, 'The origins and development of Christianity in north Britain and southern Pictland', in J. Blair and C. Pyrah, (eds), *Church Archaeology*, CBA Res Rep 104, 1996, 19-37). As Smith remarks, if this were simply a chronological development, then some overlap in distribution might be anticipated. But there is a spatial shift also.

On the fringes of Pictland, the predominantly long-cist cemetery at Hallowhill, St. Andrews Fife has been argued to have been abandoned by the eighth/ninth century at about the time it is suggested that the large, dug-grave cemetery at Kirkhill, St. Andrews came into regular use in association with the church of St. Mary on the Rock, (E. Proudfoot, 'Excavations at the long cist cemetery on the Hallow Hill, St. Andrew's Fife'. 1975-7, *PSAS* 126 (1996), 387-454).

In north west Wales there is a clear typological, spatial and contextual distinction between the monuments of the earliest Medieval centuries and those of the seventh to eleventh centuries AD. Few of the identified burial grounds characteristic of this earliest phase are at locations later occupied by churches and, despite the propensity for memorial stones to be removed to a local parish church, a relatively high proportion of these memorials are first provenanced away from the sites of churches. The anonymous, cross-incised, grave markers of the seventh and later centuries, on the other hand, are almost invariably found at ecclesiastical sites.

Glossary of terms

Long cist

Stone slab-lined grave with the slabs set on edge, intended to protect and contain an extended inhumation. The term is well established in the literature and is useful as a generic description. Nevertheless, O'Brien, among others, has argued for more precision in differentiating between the various ways in which stone might be used to protect the grave (O'Brien, 1996, 160-166). Some cists have side and end slabs only, some are only partially lined in this way; some have cover slabs or lintels, some have basal slabs. A distinctive variant occurs where slabs protect the head only (head cist). Slab-lined long cists, designed to hold single, extended inhumations as distinct from the stone-lined massive cists, containing multiple inhumations, known from north Britain in the early centuries AD/BC, are represented in the burial repertoire of late Roman Britain. The practice may have begun earlier. An extended inhumation in a slab-lined long cist dating, possibly, to the second or third century AD on the strength of an association with an iron penannular brooch, is known from Craigie, Angus. The earliest available radiocarbon dates from north and west Britain, excluding the ambiguous results from a special grave at Capel Eithin, Gaerwen, Anglesey are of the fifth and sixth centuries AD.

Curvilinear church yards

Early burial grounds do not necessarily need to be enclosed. Nevertheless, there are clearly instances where burials are made within a pre-existing enclosure (Caer, Bayvil, for example) which never develops a church association. The development of burial at church sites, on the other hand, requires that the grave yard be enclosed or clearly defined for the purposes of consecration. There would appear to be no *a priori* significance in the shape of the enclosure. Nevertheless, it has been argued that curvilinear, round or oval, enclosures are a significant distinguishing characteristic of early Medieval church sites. Ann Preston Jones has shown that 37% of Cornish churches with oval enclosures are associated with the demonstrably early *Iann* place name (A. Preston-Jones, 'Decoding Cornish Churchyards' in N. Edwards and A. Lane (eds.), 1992, 104-124. Not every one of these enclosures was purpose built to define the grave yard of a church, however, and, as some early burials are known to have occupied pre-existing enclosures, so some Cornish churches can be shown to have been built, for example, within the earthworks of Iron Age rounds.

Extended inhumation

The burial of an unburnt body in the ground, laid out full length rather than crouched or flexed. In the early Medieval period such burials are almost invariably supine (face up) although occasionally prone (face down) burials occur.

Extended inhumation occurs sporadically throughout later prehistory. Iron Age extended inhumations are only capable of identification as such by association with diagnostic artefacts or other characteristic features of a particular burial rite such as is the case with some of the more elaborate burials of the mid-Iron Age Arras culture. Extended inhumation increased during the second century AD within the Roman province, replacing cremation as the dominant rite during the later Roman period. Extended inhumation is also recorded in Ireland and Britain north of the Antonine wall from the second century AD onwards.

In eastern Britain extended inhumation occurred contemporaneously with cremation from the period of the first Anglo-Saxon settlements in the fifth sometimes together in the same cemeteries. By the 'final' pagan phase of the early seventh century many Anglo-Saxon cemeteries with east-west supine extended inhumation and minimal grave goods are barely distinguishable from the presumably Christian cemeteries of the west.

Unprotected dug graves

Graves dug into the ground to contain inhumation burial. The designation is not entirely satisfactory but is commonly used to differentiate apparently simple graves from those protected by stone lining. There are, however, other ways in which the body might be protected which may or may not be detectable on excavation. These include the provision of timber lining to the hole dug, a wooden coffin or a shroud. It is unclear whether there is a

chronological distinction between dug and cist graves and both can occur on the same site (for example, at Capel Eithin, Gaerwen). However, in some areas a succession might be indicated. For example, in St. Andrew's Fife, the predominantly long cist cemetery at Hallowhill was abandoned during the eight/ninth century. Two miles away at St. Mary on the Rock, Kirk Hill, a cemetery was initiated at around this time. Where over, perhaps, as much as five centuries around 500 burials were made of which only two were cists.

Special grave

A grave distinguished within a cemetery by being marked out in some way. Such differentiation can take a number of different forms. Examples might include:

- a. a marker above the surface of the ground such as an inscribed stone bearing the name of the individual (as for example, at Arfryn, Bodedern).
- b. a barrow or cairn (as, for example, at Tan Dderwen, Clwyd and implied at Rhiw Bach).
- c. a built structure enclosing the grave. In a late Roman context this might take the form of a masonry mausoleum, often represented by a wall enclosing a rectangular area around the grave or graves. Such a structure might be roofed. At Capel Eithin and at Plas Gogerddan timber structures are indicated. These were rectangular enclosures around the grave with an entrance on the eastern side.

Special graves seem to have acted as local foci within cemeteries, attracting burial to them on the assumption, it would seem, that certain benefits accrued with propinquity. The alignment of such special graves and, more particularly, the visible structures associated with them influenced the alignment of those burials drawn to them.

Memoria, cella memoriae

A place or structure, containing the relics of a dead person of some distinction. In a strict sense a memoria is not a grave but a reliquary. However, it is likely that, in use, the term came also to mean the grave of such a person. The Welsh derivation of memoria – *myfyr* – could, by the thirteenth century, and possibly as early as the ninth or tenth century, be used interchangeably, at least poetically, with *bedd* for grave.

*Y dref wen yn ei thymyr,
ei heffras, y glas fyfyr,
y gwoed o dan droed ei gwyr*

*the white town in its bro,
its strength, the green graves,
the blood under men's feet.*

In the 17th century and, again, probably earlier, the Eglwys y Bedd at Llancilian could be referred to as Myfyr Eilian.

Martyrium

A structure housing or marking the place of burial of martyrs, or those considered to be so (Dierkens and Périn, 1997, 85). The Welsh and Cornish derivatives of *martyrium*, *merthyr* and *merther*, respectively, could and did take on the meaning of the location, which claimed to be the burial place of the saint. Nevertheless, a burial, rather than a portable relic is implied. Such *martyria* must have acted as a magnet for later burials *ad sanctos*. In Welsh and Cornish usage the grave which was venerated could be that of a locally distinguished individual and not necessarily strictly a martyr.

Square ditch barrows and rectangular platform cairns

Burials defined by rectangular ditched areas that appear to have provided the material for a low mound covering the grave.

The type derives its generic name from the ditch rather than the mound because these sites are best known from the cropmark evidence of ploughed-out examples. Occasional instances

of monuments surviving as upstanding earthworks are known, however, (for example Garbeg, Inverness; Whitebridge, Inverness).

The majority of these sites are known from southern Pictland, particularly south-east Angus and Fife with a scattering (J. Close-Brooks, 1984, 106-7; Smith, 1996, 28). Characteristic features include causeways at the corners of the ditches although at least one example has small pillar stones in this position. Where earthworks survive, external banks have also been recognised. Excavated examples have revealed extended inhumations in cists beneath the barrows (Garbeg). Ring ditch barrows can occur in the same cemetery, contiguous with the square barrows.

A possibly related class of burial monument, also found in Pictland is the platform cairn, comprising low square, rectangular or round cairns, sometimes kerbed with corner posts covering extended inhumations. The square-ditch barrows are thought to be contemporary with, and a counterpart to, the long cist cemeteries of the Fife coast and the Lothians further south. Radiocarbon dates have been obtained from cists sealed by platform cairns at Dunrobin, Sutherland (seventh to ninth century AD) and Lundin Links, Fife, (sixth to seventh century AD). Long cists without cairns also occurred in the Lundin Links cemetery providing radiocarbon determinations between the fifth and ninth centuries AD. A further link between square ditch barrows and rectangular platform cairns (other than that both can occur in association with contemporary round barrows or cairns) is that examples of both types occur in association with Class I Pictish symbol stones, perhaps, set on them.

The significance of square ditch barrows and platform cairns to the present survey is that the former can now be seen to have had a wider distribution than originally thought. Examples have recently been recorded in Dumfries and Galloway (RCAMS, 1997 *Eastern Dumfries*, 106) and a cemetery of square ditch barrows was excavated at Tan Dderwen in the Vale of Clwyd the 1980's.

Eglwys y Bedd / Capel y Bedd

A mortuary chapel associated with a church and built over the location regarded as the burial place of the saint venerated at that church. Examples include Clynnog, Llaneilian and Caergybi.

Developed cemetery

A burial ground which acquired, through time, structural elements such as a church built on the site of an earlier specially marked and venerated grave (Thomas, 1971, 51).

Undeveloped cemetery

A burial ground which was never embellished by structural elements associated with the church, although particular features concerned with the commemoration of the dead such as inscribed stones and/or otherwise distinguished 'special graves' might be present. Such cemeteries are likely to have been abandoned by the eighth or ninth centuries when, it seems, the church began to monopolise burial in consecrated precincts adjacent to church sites (Thomas, 1971, 50).

Orientation

The alignment of an extended inhumation with reference to the points of the compass.

East-west alignment with head to the west is one of the most frequently occurring alignments. It is usually associated with Christianity but was not obligatory and considerable variation can occur in what would seem to be Christian cemeteries. On the other hand east-west alignment was commonly applied in pagan contexts too. The second century extended inhumations from Bray, Co. Wicklow, accompanied by payment for the Stygian ferryman are laid out east-west with head to west. Equally, east-west is one of the more popular alignments in pagan Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemeteries although burial grounds of entirely north-south, head to south alignments also occur.

Alignment could be influenced by a number of factors. No doubt the rising sun was a conceptual and actual determinant. Beyond this the alignment of other visible graves, particularly the specially marked graves of distinguished individuals (Capel Eithin), church buildings (which did require an east-west orientation, for example, Bangor), field boundaries (Poundbury), roads, significant features in the immediate landscape such as barrows and standing stones (apparently determining the north-south alignment at Penprys Farm, Llannor, for example) all exerted their greater or lesser pull.

Grave goods

Artefacts, food offerings, even companions and animals, have, in various permutations, accompanied the dead to the grave since early prehistory. In general the inclusion of personal items in the grave is considered inappropriate to Christianity and the absence of grave goods is regarded as a potentially Christian characteristic. However, much depends on the intention behind the offering. Accompaniments can pay for or, like hobnailed boots in Roman graves, otherwise facilitate, a journey to the otherworld or they can make provision for the requirements of that afterlife, whether it be feasting or fighting. On the other hand, objects can be an indicator of status or cultural affiliation with no religious connotation. There was no prohibition on the inclusion of such symbolic objects in the grave in the early Church and, equally, and more obviously the absence of grave goods does not, in itself, imply Christianity.

Assessment of the resource

General

On the basis of the criteria discussed above it is possible to identify 47 sites where burial is documented and where there is a reasonable presumption that the burials in question were made within the early Medieval centuries, between AD400 and AD1100, or thereabouts. In addition there is the evidence of cross-incised and inscribed stones. The series of cross-incised stones provide ambiguous evidence. Some may have marked burial, others almost certainly did not. The inscribed stone series, however, provides another form of documentation in that, with the exception of a small number of specifically dedicatory formulae, the inscriptions were clearly intended to identify the grave of the person named on them. There are 49 examples of inscribed grave markers, only 6 of which duplicate the location of the possible burial sites identified on other grounds. In a small number of instances more than one stone is known from the same location, or has been removed to a new location with other stones, reducing the total number of potential individual sites by a further 8. Finally, there is the evidence, or lack of evidence, for early church sites.

Churches certainly existed in the Gwynedd landscape during the early middle ages. By the mid thirteenth century a number of major churches are recorded in the Valuation of Norwich. Architectural features at others can be dated to the twelfth century, such as Romanesque structural detail, at, for example, Penmon and Aberffraw. However, no masonry church in Gwynedd can be shown to be earlier than the twelfth century although documentary evidence suggests that some had earlier medieval precursors. Caergybi, Tywyn, Penmon and Clynnog Fawr were all hit by Viking raids in the 960's and 970's; the death of Deiniol 'of the Bangors' is recorded in the Welsh Annals under the year 584. The potential of early church sites as indicators of early medieval burial and their significance in the context of the developing relationship between the church and burial will be considered further below. It is relevant to note, however, that relatively few of the identified early burial sites which form the basis of this assessment are closely associated with, or are in the immediate vicinity of, known churches (23%). Some may predate the first churches on the site. At Llechcynfarwy, the focus for the earliest burials may have been a prominent earlier prehistoric Standing Stone that later came to be associated with the saint to whom the medieval church is dedicated.

The statistic of this relationship has less force in the case of stone memorials where, being to some extent portable, there may remain uncertainty over their original provenance. A number may genuinely have always been associated with the sites of churches. On the other hand many are known to have been moved, sometimes on more than one occasion, before finding a resting place at a local, or not so local church. This is true, for example, of the Aliortus, Senacus, Veracius, Sanctinus, Aeternus, Caelexti, Ercagni, Ferrucus, Cantiorus, Carausius and Filius Cuuris stones. Nevertheless, a distinction can be drawn between the earliest recorded provenances of cross-incised slabs of which 72% are the sites of known churches and stones inscribed with memorial formulae of which 42% are the sites of known churches. Although some inscribed stones in the present catalogue are late – the Wleder stone from Llanfihangel y Traethau is clearly twelfth century – the majority are of fifth to seventh century date, whereas the incised cross slabs, although more difficult to date, are generally thought to be of the seventh to eleventh century.

Some entries in the catalogue of sites rely on the documentary record of antiquarian observation and cannot now be verified, such as the record of bones found in the late nineteenth century in Cae Capel, Caer Gai; or of an inscribed stone and possible cists at Llech y Gwyr, Capel Curig. Others rely on the association of diagnostic place names. The coincidence of Capel Netti and Mynwent Mwrog (Mwrog's graveyard), Llanfwrog, Anglesey is suggestive but has been omitted from the badabase because there is no direct record of burial. Cae Hen Fynwent, Llanfihangel Bachellach, on the other hand, has been included because of the report of burials there. The incidence of a Capel name where no chapel survives is occasionally (as in the case of Tywyn y Capel), but not necessarily, an indication of the former presence of a church or chapel. On the other hand it can be used as an antiquarian or perceived explanation for the discovery of burial and coincides 7 times with the occurrence of burials and/or inscribed stones where no chapel may ever have existed.

Direct evidence for, or documentary record of, burial is present in 47 instances. Where information is available for the rite, this takes the form of extended inhumation in long cists or more or less simple dug graves. Cist burials predominate, but not to the extent commonly supposed. Cists occur at 29 sites and dug graves at 20. Of these, 10 sites have both stone-lined and unprotected graves. The predominance of cist burial is, perhaps, overstated, even at this level, on account of the relative ease with which cists might be identified during casual disturbance – during ploughing, for example.

Simple dug graves, particularly where bone survival is poor are unlikely to be recognised under any but the most careful conditions of observation. In fact, almost every occasion where dug burials have been identified has been accompanied by archaeological intervention of some kind. The exclusively unprotected burials at Berllan Bach, Bangor were almost impossible to detect after several careful cleanings of the subsoil surface under conditions of archaeological excavation. Cist burials, on the other hand, have been recognised during, for example, road widening (Pen y Graig, Llanrhyddlad), ploughing (Capel Eithin), boundary removal (Penprys Farm, Llannor), quarrying (Ty'n y Felin) and coastal erosion (Tywyn y Capel). Subsequent excavation and recording at Capel Eithin, Ty'n y Felin and Tywyn y Capel revealed dug graves in addition to cists. At Arfryn, Bodedern, cists had been recorded as early as 1732; the subsequent excavations in 1971 and 1982 added dug graves to the total.

The recorded cemeteries are relatively small. The largest, Arfryn, comprises 114 graves; Capel Eithin has 99, Berllan Bach, Bangor, 76, Llandygai, 50 and Ty Mawr, Holyhead, 46. Only at Ty Mawr, however, can there be reasonable certainty that the limits of the cemetery have been reached within the excavated area. Even at Ty Mawr some evidence may have been lost. Later field boundaries truncate the site. The burials cluster within the angle formed at the junction of two of these boundaries and appear to respect them. Either these later boundaries represent a remarkable perpetuation of earlier demarcations – lines which originally delimited the cemetery – or differential survival and disturbance either side of the boundaries has erased a part of the evidence. One single isolated burial to the east suggests the latter interpretation may be worthy of consideration.

It may be that individual, or small clusters, of burial associated with specific landscape features such as the Early Bronze Age burial mounds at Treiorwerth, Porth Dafarch, Merddyn Gwyn or Ty'n y Pwll, Llanddyfnan constitute complete cemeteries in themselves. On the other hand, it may be possible that they represent foci for larger groups. The extension of excavations beyond the limits of these cairns and barrows might reveal, in some instances, more extensive cemeteries.

Many cemeteries and even small groups of burial had a focus or point of reference. At Capel Eithin and Llandygai, square-ditched or trenched features, which probably supported timber superstructures, enclosed 'special' graves. At Capel Eithin this feature acted as a nucleus for one group of burials; a rectilinear cairn provided a focus for another cluster. At Bangor a peak in the orientation of burials corresponds to the alignment of the present cathedral, suggesting that although the cemetery is considerably earlier than the earliest surviving structural evidence for a church on that site (twelfth century), there may have been a predecessor sharing that alignment before the tenth century.

Ceremonial and funerary monuments of earlier prehistory are, however, among the most commonly occurring focal points in determining the location of early medieval burial. On 9 or 10 possible occasions, cairns and Early Bronze Age burials seem to provide this reference point; on 6 occasions Early Medieval burial is associated with standing stone. The series of inscribed stones, on the other hand, displays a complementary range of contexts. Few occur in direct association with burial and, of those that do, none have yet been found, in Gwynedd, in circumstances where they would have visibly identified a grave. No less than 10, however, have been recorded alongside the line of Roman roads or at the site of Roman forts.

Burials

Forty seven locations are recorded in the catalogue where burials can be shown to be present or are likely to have been present on the basis of documented observations and where there is a presumption that these burials were made during the period under review. The additional and contemporary documentation for burial provided by the series of incised grave markers and inscribed stones carrying memorial formulae will be treated separately as there are additional considerations of provenance to be taken into account. Two further instances of burial were originally included in the list but subsequently discounted as probably earlier prehistoric rather than early Medieval. These two burials were the late eighteenth century record of a long disappeared cairn containing the bones of a tall man at Bedd Gwrtheyrn, Nant Gwrtheyrn and a non-specific cist burial at Rhyddgaer, found in 1821. Although this discovery was made during the removal of part of the Iron Age-Romano British earthwork bank at Rhyddgaer, Bronze Age artefacts are known from the vicinity.

Long cists are known from 29 locations. Unprotected dug graves are known from 20 locations. There are 10 instances where both long cist and unprotected dug graves occur on the same site – although not necessarily contemporaneously.

burials summary

PRN 222 Llandygai

cists: *dug graves:* 50 *total number of graves:* 50

Extended inhumations and 'special grave' on site of Late Neolithic ceremonial complex.

PRN 382 St Edern's church NE, Nefyn

cists: *dug graves:* *total number of graves:* unknown

Burials recorded in digging a mill leat c. 1850. Their number and nature were not specified.

PRN 427 Cae Hen Fynwent, Llanfihangel Bachellaeth

cists: *dug graves:* *total number of graves:* 0

Cae Hen Fynwent, place name with reported burials

PRN 781 St Mary's abbey, Ynys Enlli

cists: many *dug graves:* *total number of graves:* many

Extended inhumations in long cists with side slabs and lintels, east-west orientation were identified in lowering the road between the farm buildings and the tower in 1875 and beneath the farm yard and adjoining houses.

PRN 941 Llech y Gwyr, Capel Curig

cists: possible *dug graves:* *total number of graves:* unknown

Inscribed stone and possible cists

PRN 1432 Friddoedd, Bangor

cists: *dug graves:* 1 complete *total number of graves:* 1

Extended inhumations and decorated 10th /11th century stone found in levelling playing field of UCNW.

PRN 1536 Cae Pen-y-maen, Ty'n-y-cae, Nefyn

cists: *dug graves:* *total number of graves:* unknown

Bones found in mound on which stood an upright stone, carrying an incised cross. Bones were also found in the surrounding field known as Cae Pen y Maen during ploughing.

PRN 1776 Porth Dafarch

cists: 2 *dug graves:* 2 *total number of graves:* 4

Extended inhumations in Early Bronze Age mounds.

PRN 1796 Yr Hen Fynwent - Mynydd Mynytho, Llanengan

cists: yes *dug graves:* unknown *total number of graves:* Many graves, several cists

Yr Hen Fynwent, place name. Many graves have been found and several cists, possibly prehistoric as funerary urns have been found within a few metres.

PRN 2001 Towyn y Capel - Trearddur Bay

cists: many *dug graves:* many *total number of graves:* many

sequence of cists and dug graves at site of later chapel

- PRN* 2028 Carreglwyd
cists: 5 *dug graves:* *total number of graves:* 5
 Long cist cemetery
- PRN* 2029 Hen Siop, Llanfaethlu
cists: a number *dug graves:* *total number of graves:* a number
 Cist burials at Hen Siop
- PRN* 2040 Pen-y-Graig, Llanrhyddlad
cists: 4 *dug graves:* *total number of graves:* 4
 Long cists disturbed during road widening.
- PRN* 2063 Arfryn, Bodedern
cists: yes *dug graves:* yes *total number of graves:* 114
 Inhumation cemetery of long cists and dug graves on site of possible prehistoric activity, some of which may have provided a focus within the later cemetery.
- PRN* 2070 Boddeiniol Farm
cists: 4 *dug graves:* *total number of graves:* 4
 Cist burials at capel Deiniol
- PRN* 2080 Llechcynfarwy
cists: yes *dug graves:* *total number of graves:* about 20
 stone-lined graves close to prominent ancient standing stone.
- PRN* 2084 Treiorwerth, Presaddfed Estate
cists: 3 *dug graves:* *total number of graves:* 3 or 4
 Long cist graves inserted into Early bronze age cairn
- PRN* 2156 Chapel Farm, Llangristiolus
cists: yes *dug graves:* *total number of graves:* a number
 A number of cists with stone sides and ends, some covered, were identified c.1769. Exact location unknown.
- PRN* 2371 Bangor, Berllan Bach
cists: *dug graves:* 76 *total number of graves:* 76
 Extended inhumations in dug graves on possible site of early monastery. The site is immediately adjacent to the later cathedral and on site of a medieval chantry.
- PRN* 2375 Penprys Farm, Llannor
cists: 1 *dug graves:* *total number of graves:* 1
 An apparent long cist containing an inhumation oriented north-south. The sides of the cist were formed from inscribed stones (Vendesetli; Iovenalis). The grave lay between two standing stones c.150m apart also aligned north-south

PRN 2557 Penmon

cists: a number **dug graves:** **total number of graves:** a number

Extended inhumations in long cists 100m west of Penmon Priory. Discovered during the clearance of ground for a quarry.

PRN 2579 Cladd-dy, Llanfaes

cists: **dug graves:** **total number of graves:** unknown

Human bones in the face of an eroding sea cliff

PRN 2680 Llangefni

cists: some **dug graves:** **total number of graves:** 30

Graves discovered in 19th century between Glan Hwfa farm and Fron, Llangefni during demolition of a boundary hedge.

PRN 2730 Capel Eithin, Llanfihangel Ysgeifiog

cists: 40 **dug graves:** 58 **total number of graves:** 99

Inhumation cemetery comprising long cist and dug graves on site of earlier prehistoric and Roman ritual and funerary site. Inscribed memorial stone possibly associated

PRN 2749 Capel Bronwen

cists: possible **dug graves:** **total number of graves:** unknown

Possible cists on site of discovery of inscribed stone

PRN 3074 Rhyddgaer, lead coffin

cists: **dug graves:** **total number of graves:** 1

Late Roman lead coffin with inscription reading CAMULORIS HOI Camulorus, here lie the bones.

PRN 3182 Llanfair-Garth-Branan, Bangor

cists: 3 **dug graves:** 16 **total number of graves:** 16

Sixteen extended inhumations, including two or three in partial cists on possible chapel site.

PRN 3530 Cefn Du Mawr, Llanrhyddlad

cists: yes **dug graves:** **total number of graves:** unknown

Long cists

PRN 3545 Peibron Farm, Amlwch

cists: many **dug graves:** **total number of graves:** many

Long cist cemetery

PRN 3606 Bay View Estate, Benllech

cists: **dug graves:** 1 **total number of graves:** 1

Inhumation burial, possibly in coffin, thought to be Viking

PRN 3608 Ty'n y Felin Quarry

cists: 3 **dug graves:** 2 **total number of graves:** 5, possible 13

Extended inhumations in long cists.

<i>PRN</i>	4009	St Tudwal's priory		
<i>cists:</i>		<i>dug graves:</i> 4	<i>total number of graves:</i>	4
Burials predating St Tudwal's Priory chapel on slightly different alignment to the chapel.				
<i>PRN</i>	4758	Llwyn dol Ithel, Talyllyn		
<i>cists:</i>		<i>dug graves:</i> yes	<i>total number of graves:</i>	5
Inhumations including at least one coffin burial containing 2 individuals.				
<i>PRN</i>	4939	Bryn Eglwys Quarry, Llanfihangel y Pennant		
<i>cists:</i>		<i>dug graves:</i>	<i>total number of graves:</i>	unknown
Anecdotal reference to burial ground				
<i>PRN</i>	5585	Rhos-y-gad Farm, Pentraeth		
<i>cists:</i>	4	<i>dug graves:</i>	<i>total number of graves:</i>	4
Extended inhumations in long cists.				
<i>PRN</i>	6119	Gorphwysfa, Llanberis		
<i>cists:</i>	yes	<i>dug graves:</i>	<i>total number of graves:</i>	7
'Long graves' at Gorphwysfa, Llanberis				
<i>PRN</i>	7022	Caer Gybi		
<i>cists:</i>	yes	<i>dug graves:</i>	<i>total number of graves:</i>	
Extended inhumations in long cists with side slabs, lintels and basal slabs, disturbed c.1832 by construction of houses to the south of the church. Eglwys y Bedd within churchyard, on site of late Roman shore fort.				
<i>PRN</i>	7031	St Rhychwyn's church, Llanrhychwyn		
<i>cists:</i>		<i>dug graves:</i>	<i>total number of graves:</i>	1
Reburial in wall of Llanrhychwyn church				
<i>PRN</i>	7240	St Hywyn's church, Aberdaron		
<i>cists:</i>		<i>dug graves:</i> yes	<i>total number of graves:</i>	0
Burials beyond the limit of present graveyard at Aberdaron, exposed after collapse of sea wall.				
<i>PRN</i>	7310	Ynys Seiriol, Penmon		
<i>cists:</i>	2	<i>dug graves:</i> 5	<i>total number of graves:</i>	7
Extended inhumations on Ynys Seiriol				
<i>PRN</i>	7313	Ty'n y Pwll, Llanddyfnan		
<i>cists:</i>		<i>dug graves:</i> 1	<i>total number of graves:</i>	1
Extended inhumation in Bronze Age barrow				
<i>PRN</i>	7315	Merddyn Gwyn, Pentraeth		
<i>cists:</i>		<i>dug graves:</i> 1	<i>total number of graves:</i>	1
Extended inhumation in Bronze Age cairn				

<i>PRN</i>	7316	Eglwysl y Bedd, Clynnog Fawr		
<i>cists:</i>	2	<i>dug graves:</i>	<i>total number of graves:</i>	numerous interments
Extended inhumations and long cists in association with Eglwys y Bedd on early church site				
<i>PRN</i>	20001	Glyn Farm, Benllech		
<i>cists:</i>		<i>dug graves:</i> 2	<i>total number of graves:</i>	2
Skeletons at Glyn, Benllech				
<i>PRN</i>	20002	Cae Capel, Caer Gai, Llanuwchllyn		
<i>cists:</i>		<i>dug graves:</i>	<i>total number of graves:</i>	
Bones found in the late 19th century in Cae Capel, Caer Gai.				
<i>PRN</i>	20003	Ty Mawr, Caer Gybi		
<i>cists:</i>	29	<i>dug graves:</i> 14	<i>total number of graves:</i>	43
Long cist cemetery on site of earlier concentric circular feature				
<i>PRN</i>	20004	Dervori cist, Penprys Farm, Llannor		
<i>cists:</i>	yes	<i>dug graves:</i>	<i>total number of graves:</i>	1
Cist burial incorporating inscribed stone (Dervori).				

Characteristics of long cists

Construction

The classic stone-lined grave has side and end slabs forming a rectangular box or cist, flat floor slabs and lintel stones as a cover. At Hallow hill, St. Andrews, Fife, Proudfoot has analysed the construction sequence. At that cemetery, where basal stones were present they would be laid first – the best to the west. Similarly the west-end slab was the first of the uprights to be set in place with the north-west and south western side slabs placed next. Where there was differentiation the westernmost slabs at the head end were better quality. The remaining side slabs were then put in place followed by the easternmost end. Packing stones were sometimes necessary between the outer sides of the upright slabs and an over-cut grave. Lintels were necessarily the last element to be put in place, after interment of the deceased. At Hallow Hill it would seem that the central stone was the first to be laid followed by an overlapping progression towards each end. A typical adult cist might measure 1.75m by c.0.38m, either rectangular or tapering, coffin-like towards the foot (east) end.

Components

Full cists with basal stones and lintels are known from the study area at Capel Eithin and Ty Mawr and recorded at Caer Gybi. Ty Mawr is yet to be published but the field record indicates a high proportion of complete cists with both floor and lintel stones in place and a full complement of side slabs. At Capel Eithin the majority of stone-lined graves were very partial cists with no floor or lintel. This is a pattern repeated at the long cist cemeteries of north-west Wales with most groups of cists exhibiting varying degrees of completeness of construction.

Basal slabs would seem to be rare and, in addition to Ty Mawr and Capel Eithin, have been recorded only at Rhos y Gad, by early nineteenth century hearsay at Caer Gybi and, possibly, at Porth Dafarch. Lintels, on the other hand, have been recorded on almost every site that long cist burials are found, where sufficient information is available to determine the cist form, although not all the cists from such sites have surviving lintels. Lintels, often close to the surface at the time of original burial, are vulnerable to damage, particularly from ploughing, and many cists may have lost their capping in this way. On the other hand, organic lids may

have been used on some stone coffins. This is documented at Whithorn where it has also been possible to postulate timber-sided graves, the sides separated and supported by stone slabs at head and foot (Hill, 1997, Whithorn and St. Ninian, 72-3). These end-stones may also have supported timber lintels. Head-stones are known from Capel Eithin and Ynys Seiriol.

Timber components are present at Ty Mawr, Capel Eithin, Porth Dafarch and possibly at Ty'n y Felin. A timber lining was identified in one of the dug graves at Berllan Bach, Bangor. The nature of the timbering, represented as charcoal, in one of the rock-cut graves at Ty'n y Felin is uncertain. At Porth Dafarch all the extended inhumations lay on deposits of charcoal, perhaps representing the board or bier on which the body may have been transported to the grave. A similar interpretation is placed on the charcoal from the 'special' grave at Capel Eithin. There it has been suggested that the board may have been re-used as a lintel, the decomposition of which caused the collapse of its components onto the floor of the grave. At Ty Mawr, a lining of smallish stones to the sides of dug graves has been shown to be the support for timber coffins. One grave from Capel Eithin, (Grave 90), might fit this category. Elsewhere, packing stones can be seen to have been used to support stone cists (at Hallow Hill, Fife) and timber-walled graves (at Whithorn).

At Llanfair Garth Branan, in a cemetery of predominantly unprotected dug graves, two or three burials were protected by the formation of a partial stone cist around the head. This is a recognised grave form classified by O'Brien as a head cist (E. O'Brien and C. Roberts, 'Archaeological Study of Church Cemeteries: past, present and future', in Blair, J. and Pyrah, C., Church Archaeology, 1996, CBA Res Report 104, 164).

<i>Burial site</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Side slab</i>	<i>Lintel</i>	<i>Floor</i>	<i>Other</i>
Penprys Farm	1	yes	yes		
Ynys Seiriol	1	yes	yes		
	1				head
Porth Dafarch	1	yes	yes		
	1	yes			possible
Clynnog	1	yes	yes		
Ty Mawr	21	yes	yes	yes	
	8			yes	
Ty'n y Felin	2	yes			
	1	yes	yes		
Treiorwerth	3	yes	yes		
Llanfair Garth Branan	3	Partial-head			
Pen y Graig	4		yes		
Bod-ddeiniol	4	yes	yes		
Rhos y Gad	3	yes	yes		
	1	yes		yes	
Capel Eithin	2	yes	yes	yes	
	6	yes		yes	
	32	yes			
	1				head
Carreglwyd	5	yes			
Hen Siop, Llanfaethlu	5	yes	yes		
Penmon	number	yes	yes		
Piebron	4	yes			
Ynys Enlli	many	yes	yes		
Llechcynfarwy	9	yes	yes		
Arfryn	unspecified	yes			
	unspecified	yes			
Chapel Farm, Llangristiolus	unspecified	yes	yes		
	unspecified	yes			

Shape and size

Most cists within the study area are rectangular. If there is any deviation from this norm it is represented by a tendency towards a narrowing at the eastern, foot, end. This is recorded, for example at Hen Siop, Llanfaethlu and is particularly pronounced in a number of instances at Ty Mawr, Holyhead. Side slabs may abut each other or they may overlap slightly. Again Ty Mawr provides the best examples. A range of size is represented, with the smaller cists apparently intended to receive the bodies of juveniles and young children. At Capel Eithin, 50% of the total measured less than 1m in length (Smith 1999, forthcoming). Only 27% were considered large enough to have accommodated adults. At this site there did seem to be some differentiation between groups of burials identified on other grounds, in the relative proportions of adults juveniles and infants. For example, Group 1, clustering around the 'special' grave, was composed, mainly, of adults (67%). Group 2, on the other hand, comprised, for the most part, juveniles and infants (82%). An explanation of the disproportionate number of juvenile and infant graves may be that areas of the cemetery, outside that excavated, contain adult graves awaiting discovery. For comparison, at the dug grave cemetery at Berllan Bach, Bangor, 62% of the interments could be considered to be adult and 38% to be juvenile or infant.

Among those long cists considered to be within the adult range there is a reasonable degree of consistency from site to site. Dimensions are not available for all sites or all graves but the following table illustrates the pattern in broad terms.

<i>Site</i>	<i>Typical adult grave</i>	
	<i>Length m.</i>	<i>width m.</i>
Capel Eithin	1.80	0.40
Arfryn	1.80	0.48
Ty Mawr	1.80	0.50
Ynys Sieriol	1.60	0.60
Tre Iorwerth	1.90	0.40
Pen y Graig	1.80	0.46
Hen Siop	1.80	0.43
Clynnog	1.75	0.57
Average	1.78	0.48

Unprotected dug graves

Sites with insufficient documentation

A number of reports of the discovery of skeletal remains are such that they have the potential to be the locations of Early Medieval burial but have insufficient documentation to confirm that this is the case. These instances are worthy of record for the purposes of site management but are unable, in the present state of knowledge, to advance our understanding of the processes, development and associations of burial during the Early Medieval centuries. These sites are retained on record on the regional Sites and Monuments Record.

Three unusual burial contexts

1. Rhyddgaer lead coffin

This item is unique in the catalogue of evidence for Early Medieval burial in the study area. Three lead plates forming part of a coffin were found in the late nineteenth century, on land recently brought into cultivation. The find spot was about 550m south-west of Rhyddgaer, a strong enclosure of about 1 acre of probably Iron Age - Romano-British date, occupying a locally elevated position.

The three fragments comprise two sides and one end of a coffin. The two long sides, truncated, survive to 1.01m long. The short end is 0.72m wide. The sheets are decorated

and carry inscriptions formed in sand moulds. The lettering appears, as cast, in reverse as a mirror image. The end panel carries an ornamental A on one side of a boss and, it is suggested, was once partnered by an omega. The side panels carry the inscription CAMULORIS H O I (for Hic Ossa iacent) with the meaning 'Here lie the bones of Camuloris'. The coffin is a late Roman form. The formula Hic iacent and the possible Christian significance of the suggested Alpha – Omega motif argue for an early Christian association, perhaps of fifth century date. It is arguable, however, whether the coffin is in its original burial context.

2. The Benllech Burial

An inhumation burial was found, in 1945, in a sand pit near the coastline. The body lay head to north or north-east and was accompanied by iron nails and a double sided bone comb. The iron nails are thought to be indicative of a coffin. A Viking context has been suggested but this is not certain as the comb is not typically Viking. The deceased was originally thought to be a young female although a subsequent analysis has suggested a male aged 60-70 years.

3. The Glyn Farm Burials

Two skeletons were identified during excavation at Glyn Farm, Benllech in 1988. One is an extended inhumation, the other is a crouched inhumation, almost overlain by the first. The context, immediately outside the stone enclosure wall of an Early Medieval settlement (sixth – tenth century AD) and lack of apparent formality in the deposition of the bodies, suggests that these burials may reflect particular circumstances which fall outside the rites of cemetery burial.

Inhumation cemeteries

Individual extended inhumations occur in unprotected, dug graves, inserted into burial mounds of the early Bronze Age at Merddyn Gwyn, Pentraeth and Ty'n y Pwll, Llanddyfnan. These, except for the absence of cists, are comparable to the burials at Porth Dafarch and Treiorwerth. Their particular interest lies in the context of their associations with visible monuments of earlier prehistory and they will be considered further in this respect.

Major inhumation cemeteries of dug graves are known from Berllan Bach, Bangor (76 graves), Capel Eithin (98 graves of which 58 are dug) and Llandygai (50 graves). At Capel Eithin, the cemetery was discovered through the displacement of lintel stones during ploughing. Only subsequently were the dug graves identified. At Berllan Bach the almost imperceptible soil discolouration, which revealed the presence of dug graves, would never have been recognised under any conditions other than the archaeological assessment that preceded the total redevelopment of the site. Similarly, on excavation at Capel Eithin, the complexity of the cemetery was revealed both in terms of the variety of interment practices and in the organisation of the cemetery around different focal points including a 'special grave' defined by its enclosing rectangular timber structure. At Capel Eithin the special grave itself was a standard long cist. At Llandygai all burials were unprotected dug graves. One, however, lay centrally within the rectangular foundation slot of a timber structure of broadly comparable dimensions and form to the Capel Eithin feature.

While dug graves might be generally referred to as unprotected to differentiate them from stone-lined graves, there is, inevitably, an element of complexity in the apparently simple distinction. Timber lining, for example, has been recognised at Berllan Bach and at Ty Mawr. At Ty Mawr stone packing (rather than slabs) appears to have been employed to support such lining, as was the case at Whithorn. Similarly, head stones (in conjunction with footstones, at Whithorn) might be used in otherwise simple dug graves as internal strengtheners and support for timber sides and lintels. Such headstones are known at Ynys Seiriol and at Capel Eithin.

At Ty Mawr, and at Capel Eithin, where dug graves lie alongside cist burials there is no obviously apparent chronological distinction between the two constructional types. At Tywyn y Capel, on the other hand, recent excavations have been able to demonstrate a chronological progression through the deep stratigraphic sequence of wind blown sand and stabilisation. Cist burials are present at the base of the sequence in contexts broadly datable

to the sixth to ninth centuries AD. After a resurgence of sand-blow, unprotected dug-graves became the norm, still on the same alignment as the cists, until the onset of a second phase of stabilisation. It would appear that a change in dug grave alignment at about this time, between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, might coincide with the construction of the first masonry chapel on the site.

Less clear of certain interpretation are the sequences outside the early 'chancel' on Ynys Seiriol and the 'oratory' structure with the Eglwys y Bedd at Clynnog. Both relate to the relationship between cist burial and unprotected inhumation but more directly concern the role and status of special graves and will be discussed under that heading.

Special Graves

When a whirlwind hath blown the dust of the Churchyard into the Church, and the man sweeps out the dust of the Church into the Churchyard, who will undertake to sift those dusts and to pronounce, this is the Patrician, this is the noble flour, and this the yeomanly, this the Plebeian bran?

The concept of a special grave is not unique to early Christianity. Some of the most easily recognisable graves of this category are solidly within the Roman tradition. At late Roman cemeteries such as Lankhills and Poundbury (see above) the special, marked, graves or mausolea of certain individuals, or graves of families, within rectangular masonry or timber structures, are ideologically neutral. They are inspired more by considerations of wealth, display and social grouping than by particular veneration for an individual in a religious sense. Similarly, outside the Roman tradition, men and women sought fitting memorials of their life. Beowulf, that man most eager for fame, understood this when he commanded Wiglaf to build his barrow on the headland, 'high, wide and visible from afar to all seafarers ... so that ocean travellers shall afterwards call it Beowulf's barrow'.

There are, however, degrees of specialness. At the most ostentatious level, Knight reminds us of the Praetorian Prefect, Syagrius', tomb at Lyon, in a chapel in its own park with an attendant on-call (J. K. Knight, 1999, *The End of Antiquity*, 72). At another level there were simple grave markers. These must certainly have existed, as consistent alignments of graves in some cemeteries indicate. Upright stones, one of them displaced, associated with rock cut graves at Ty'n y Felin, were thought to be markers. The form of tongued cross, incised in outline on stones such as those from Llangaffo are equally reminders that many grave markers would have been wooden crosses inserted into the ground.

During the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries in particular, and continuing to develop through later centuries, a series of inscribed stones carrying memorial formulae were employed to identify the individual in certain graves. If that individual was perceived to be worthy of particular veneration, then no doubt his gravestone would permit the identification of the focus of that veneration. Such adulation appears not to have developed spontaneously, however. As with most things it would seem to require the patronage of a wealthy or influential man. In Gaul it is possible to detect the hand of bishops and the secular authorities at work in stimulating the veneration of 'martyrs' and the cult of their relics. On the continent the process can see the development and enhancement of a relatively simple shrine or mausoleum, perhaps archaeologically indistinguishable from similar mausolea in a cemetery, into a progressively grand edifice under episcopal patronage. A stage in the process might very well involve the translation of relics to a new church (Knight 1999, 70-1).

In north-west Wales, three principal types of special grave can be recognised with early Medieval associations.

1. Rectangular ditched features

The principal characteristics of these features are:

- a. the use of a dug trench to define an area, rectilinear in ground plan around an existing grave or within which a grave may be set;

b. the presence of a grave within the enclosed area so defined and on the same alignment as one of the axes of the rectilinear feature;

c. the presence or absence of an entrance, or break, through one of the sides of the enclosure; typically the eastern side near the foot of the grave.

There are two sites in the study area at which rectangular ditched features occur; Capel Eithin, Llanfihangel Ysgeifiog, and Llandygai. These elements are known from other sites in Wales, each time with a slight variation on the theme. They occur in Dyfed, at Plas Gogerddan, where three complete or partial examples were recorded and at Tandderwen, Clwyd where nine examples were recorded. The points of similarity and the principal differences between these features both at the same site, and in comparison with other sites, are as follows.

- All are rectilinear, dug features.
- All have at least one, east-west oriented, extended inhumation within the enclosed area. Tandderwen has one centrally sited in each of eight features; the ninth has three graves in a row. Plas Gogerddan would appear to have two-in-a-line in each of the three features although with an additional grave alongside the central grave, in one instance. Capel Eithin has one centrally placed, one alongside the central grave and to the south of it and a third in the entrance gap. Llandygai has one central grave.
- All are broadly comparable sizes and shapes. The biggest variation is across the range of all nine features at Tandderwen. Here the largest feature is c.7.7m square. Those occupying the middle of the size range at Tandderwen are c.4m square. This compares with features 5m by 2.8m and 4m by 2.8m at Plas Gogerddan; 4.2m by 3.6m at Llandygai and 3.25m square at Capel Eithin.
- The Capel Eithin, Plas Gogerddan and two of the Tandderwen enclosures have gaps across the ditch on the east side. Six of the Tandderwen enclosures do not; neither does the Llandygai feature.
- The Capel Eithin, Llandygai and Plas Gogerddan features have all been interpreted as the foundation trenches for timber structures. This perception is enhanced at Capel Eithin by the surfacing of the interior of the putative structure with clay (suggesting that it might also have been roofed) and by the presence of a grave across the 'entrance causeway'. At Plas Gogerddan, there is the suggestion of two post-holes flanking the putative entrance gap on the best-preserved example. At Tandderwen, on the other hand, the excavator has convincingly argued that the ditches are quarries for internal mounds over the graves. The cemetery occupies the location of an Early Bronze Age ring ditch cemetery. One large ring ditch is exactly enclosed by a square ditched feature as though the later cemetery had appropriated the earlier prehistoric funerary monument. This implies that a mound still survived as a landscape feature on the site, lending support to the suggestion that the remaining ditches also enclosed mounds.
- Possibly circumstantially, all four cemeteries are located on the sites of early prehistoric ritual and/or funerary activity.

On this interpretation it is necessary to accept that, while square ditched barrows and rectangular timber features both enhance the status of the grave or graves they mark, they, nevertheless, represent two distinct monument types. Square ditched barrows are known from Pictland during this period, where some have seen their distribution at the interface with the increasing prevalence of long cist cemeteries, and their association with early Christianity, in Fife and the Lothians, as a pagan cultural statement in reaction. This must leave the interpretation of the Llandygai enclosure, with no clear entrance gap through what is, admittedly, the foundation level, in an uncertain middle ground between the two monument types. The publication of the excavation may provide a solution.

The Capel Eithin special grave and timber structure, on the other hand, would seem to derive from a late Roman tradition of cemetery enhancement. It should be said, moreover, that there is nothing inherently Christian about any of these features and the temptation to interpret them as shrines, in that sense, rather than the mausolea of prestigious individuals, while possible, requires corroboration.

2. Eglwys (Eglwysi, pl.) y Bedd

These are churches built over the graves, or supposed graves of the saints commemorated at those localities.

A specially marked grave, if recognised as that of a saint or martyr, might be enhanced and embellished. The stimulus and impetus for such a process would come from wealthy patrons and from the church rather than through popular devotion. There could be significant advantages to a church in its association with a prestigious saint. Although such developments were taking place on the continent during the fifth century the popular appeal of the cult of relics appears not to have taken hold in Britain and Ireland until the seventh century. It would seem that during the seventh century, and later, the powerful attraction of a saint's protection encouraged burial 'ad sanctos' rather than in the traditional burial grounds where communities had laid their dead to rest for generations and where previous generations of pagans might also lie.

It was possible for churches to be built on the site of the grave of a saint if the location of that grave was known, or believed to be known. In this context 'saint' would mean a locally venerated individual. It was equally possible for the relics of a saint to be translated to an existing church. The patronage of important secular lords might very well provide a context for the continuing use of traditional burial grounds. In these instances an estate chapel built over the identified grave of a particularly significant individual could provide a focus within that burial ground away from the major ecclesiastical centres.

There are *egwysi y bedd* at three locations within the study area. There are also indications of *martyria* and *memoria* at 3 others.

a. Clynnog (Eglwys y Bedd)

Clynnog Fawr was reputedly founded by Beuno in the early seventh century. The monastery vied with Bangor for importance during the Early Middle Ages. Clynnog was raided by Vikings in 978. The Eglwys y Bedd (St. Beuno's Chapel) is detached from the main body of the present fifteenth and sixteenth century church and lies on a different alignment. Excavations in 1913, within the sixteenth century structure which now constitutes St. Beuno's Chapel, revealed early features beneath a nineteenth century slate floor. These comprise: the drystone foundations of a rectangular structure aligned east-west, 5.5m x 3m internally; paved surfaces including a path leading to the west wall of the rectangular structure; intermittent stretches of walling defining a possible rectangular area approximately 10.25m long, west-east, which may have enclosed the first rectangular structure; extended inhumations, head to west, against the eastern external wall of the rectangular structure; one partial and one complete long cist, oriented east-west (empty) with side slabs and cover slabs and one short cist containing charcoal and burnt clay.

The uncisted inhumations appear to be contemporary with the use of the small rectangular structure representing the earliest surviving 'shrine' on the site. The long cists may be contemporary with its use or predate it.

b. Llanelilian (Eglwys y Bedd)

The fourteenth century Record of Caernarfon identifies Llanelilian as a clas community. No burial evidence survives from the Early Medieval period and the present church is largely fifteenth century. The west tower, however, survives from the twelfth century church. A detached chapel, called St. Eilian's Chapel, stands at the south-eastern corner of the church on a different alignment to that of the rest of the church in much the same way, although in a different position, as St. Beuno's chapel does at Clynnog. The association of the chapel with Eilian's name, its alignment and its separation from the main church suggest that this is

another Eglwys y Bedd. The suggestion finds support in the survival of the designation Myfyr Eilian, applied to the chapel, into the post-Medieval period. *Myfyr* is a derivation of Latin *memoria* carrying the meaning of a place or structure where the relics of a distinguished individual are kept. A looser application of the word, in use in the middle ages, carried the meaning, grave. Thus: 'the grave or relics of Eilian'.

c. Caer Gybi (Eglwys y Bedd)

Caer Gybi is traditionally associated with St. Cybi who is said to have founded a monastic community there with land granted by Maelgwn in the sixth century. Caergybi was raided by Vikings in 961.

The present Late Medieval church sits within the stone walled enclosure of a small late Roman coastal base. Extended inhumations in long cists were disturbed during building works to the south of the church in 1832. Also within the churchyard enclosure is a small detached church, truncated, its chancel demolished, on the south side of the church, close to the south wall of the Roman fort. The alignment is slightly skewed with that of the main church. The building is traditionally known as Llan y Gwyddel (the Irishman's church) or Eglwys y Bedd. It was reported by Angharad Llwyd in 1832 that, during the demolition of the chancel, a stone coffin containing bones was removed, reputed to be a shrine (A. Llwyd, *A History of the Island of Mona*, 1832, 205).

d. Ynys Seiriol

The early structures in the sequence of buildings which stood to the east of the surviving twelfth century tower on Ynys Seiriol cannot be considered to be an Eglwys y Bedd in the strict sense. Nevertheless, there is an intriguing quality to them. The small square masonry structure appears to have been built as a chancel to a church pre-dating the Romanesque tower, although it stood long enough to be incorporated in it. Excavations in 1896 identified a single burial inserted into a rock-cut depression centrally within this chancel. There was barely enough room and knees had to be bent to fit.

Six further burials were recorded immediately to the east. Two lay, one on top of the other, in a stone lined and covered cist. A third lay to the south with a slab at the head but no cist. A fourth lay to the south of the third and the fifth and sixth burials further east. The alignment of the grave in the chancel was east-west in line with the structure; those outside it were aligned west-south-west/east-north-east.

The early chancel is very small indeed and has the look of a shrine. A later, extended chancel replaced it, while the Romanesque tower remained in use.

Martyria

Two Anglesey place names and one site on the mainland retain the element *merthyr*, which is derived from the Latin *martyrium*. A *martyrium* is, strictly speaking, the structure housing, or marking, the burial place of martyrs (or, more commonly, venerated and locally distinguished individuals). In other words a *merthyr* claims to be the location of the grave of a saint in similar fashion to an Eglwys y Bedd.

At **Llangaffo**, formerly Merthyr Caffo, there is one of the largest assemblages of cross-incised burial markers (of seventh to tenth century date) within the study area. There is also a cross-head from a wheel-head cross and a fragment of a cross-shaft of tenth to eleventh century date. An incised memorial stone of seventh to eighth century date was recovered nearby at Fron Deg and is now housed in the present church.

The second site, **Llanfeirian**, Anglesey, in similar fashion to Llangaffo, was originally known as Merthyr Meirion.

The third site refers to **Criccieth** where the township in the fourteenth century still bore the designation 'Merthyr'.

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The early structures in the sequence of buildings which stood to the east of the surviving twelfth century tower on Ynys Seiriol cannot be considered to be an Eglwys y Bedd in the strict sense. Nevertheless, there is an intriguing quality to them. The small square masonry structure appears to have been built as a chancel to a church pre-dating the Romanesque tower, although it stood long enough to be incorporated in it. Excavations in 1896 identified a single burial inserted into a rock-cut depression centrally within this chancel. There was barely enough room and knees had to be bent to fit.

Six further burials were recorded immediately to the east. Two lay, one on top of the other, in a stone lined and covered cist. A third lay to the south with a slab at the head but no cist. A fourth lay to the south of the third and the fifth and sixth burials further east. The alignment of the grave in the chancel was east-west in line with the structure; those outside it were aligned west-south-west/east-north-east.

The early chancel is very small indeed and has the look of a shrine. A later, extended chancel replaced it, while the Romanesque tower remained in use.

Martyria

Two Anglesey place names and one site on the mainland retain the element *merthyr*, which is derived from the Latin *martyrium*. A *martyrium* is, strictly speaking, the structure housing, or marking, the burial place of martyrs (or, more commonly, venerated and locally distinguished individuals). In other words a *merthyr* claims to be the location of the grave of a saint in similar fashion to an Eglwys y Bedd.

At **Llangaffo**, formerly Merthyr Caffo, there is one of the largest assemblages of cross-incised burial markers (of seventh to tenth century date) within the study area. There is also a cross-head from a wheel-head cross and a fragment of a cross-shaft of tenth to eleventh century date. An incised memorial stone of seventh to eighth century date was recovered nearby at Fron Deg and is now housed in the present church.

The second site, **Llanfeirian**, Anglesey, in similar fashion to Llangaffo, was originally known as Merthyr Meirion.

The third site refers to **Criccieth** where the township in the fourteenth century still bore the designation 'Merthyr'.

Stone Memorials

There are, within the study area, c.95 stone monuments dateable to the period c. AD 400 to AD 1100 which may be taken to be indicative of burial or related to the sites of burial. These include inscribed stone memorials, crosses incised on stone without inscription and free-standing crosses. These monuments have been the subject of detailed study by a number of scholars. The comprehensive catalogue compiled by Nash-Williams and published in 1950 remains, however, the definitive classification and starting point for their study (V. E. Nash-Williams, *Early Christian Monuments of Wales*, 1950). Nash-Williams' classification proposed three groupings for the corpus of stones with an additional fourth catch-all group to include transitional Romanesque monuments of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. It is the monuments of the first three groups that concern us here.

Group 1 comprises rough pillar stones and slabs in their natural state or only roughly prepared; carrying inscriptions in Latin or Ogam or bilingually both; and with a meaning that can generally be understood to be funerary or memorial. Nash-Williams assigned a fifth century to seventh century date to these stones.

Group 1 similarly comprises unshaped or roughly shaped pillar stones and slabs carrying an incised or lightly carved cross. In general, these stones do not carry an inscription. Nash-Williams assigned a seventh to ninth century date bracket to these stones.

Group 2 comprises free-standing sculptured crosses and cross slabs which, by their decoration and other stylistic associations, might be assigned to the ninth to eleventh centuries. Some carry inscriptions, which identify the crosses as tombstones or personal memorials.

The system has great value in its simplicity. Nevertheless, there are some inevitable inconsistencies. As Nash-Williams himself recognised, the cross-decorated Group 2 includes both gravestones and memorials and boundary stones and landmarks as well as praying stations within its compass. Some stones may be dateable with reference to *in situ* grave-markers in Merovingian cemeteries of the seventh century (J. Knight, 1999, 17 177-9); others, by association with accompanying inscriptions, for example. Nevertheless, the majority, particularly the simpler form of cross, are essentially undateable. The RCAHMW Glamorgan Inventory has attempted to introduce a degree of differentiation by distinguishing pillar stones with crosses from cross-inscribed recumbent grave slabs (RCAHMW, Glamorgan vol 3, *The Early Christian Period* (1976)). Similarly, some inscribed memorial stones of Group 1 have crosses and chi-rho monograms, as fifth to seventh century continental memorials carried a range of crosses and eucharistic symbols (Knight, 1999, 108). While it would seem in general, that the commemoration of the individual, by name, familial association, status and sometimes by trade, was a feature of the early stones, whether sometimes accompanied by the symbol of the cross or not, by the seventh and eighth centuries, simple cross-marked stones would seem to represent a sufficient memorial. Even so, the occasional inscribed tribute continued to be made, fulsome as was Cadfan's at Llangadwaladr in the seventh century, or poignant, for the family of Ceinrwy at Tywyn in the eighth century. It is difficult not to see memorials like that to Wleder, at Llanfihangel y Traethau in the twelfth century, as a continuation, in essence of the Group 1 series.

For the purposes of the present catalogue, the essential grouping of Nash-Williams has been retained, with only minor modifications and the addition of more recent discoveries. Nevertheless, one is conscious of the complexity of the data and the current fluidity with regard to dating, particularly at the more recent limits of the conventional schemes (Dark, 1992. 51-61).

Inscribed memorial stones, fifth century to seventh century with some later additions (Group 1)

There are 48 stones that fall within this category in the study area. All but one are inscribed in Latin. The exception is the Tywyn stone, which is possibly the earliest documented instance of written Welsh. One of the Latin stones is bilingual with an ogam (Irish) equivalent on one edge of the stone. All of the stones would appear to have been intended to stand upright. The formulae of the inscriptions vary in content and length from one single word, the name of the deceased, to 32 words, embodying perhaps biblical and literary references. Nevertheless, they can all be understood as funerary, memorial formulae. In that sense the stones are indicative of burial. A problem arises, however, in that while some stones may stand *in situ* and it may be possible to establish early provenances, for others a number are known to have been moved. This question will be addressed below.

Formulae and characteristics

The characteristic stone is an elongated pillar stone or slab, taller than it is broad and generally, but not invariably, thinner from front to back than it is broad across the face. A very great range of dimensions are encountered from the diminutive Equestri stone at Llandanwg (0.41m by 0.13m) to the tallest of the early series, the Cunogusi stone, Llanfaelog, at 2m by 0.84m. If we are to include the later inscribed memorials – Wleder's stone at Llanfihangel Y Traethau (twelfth century) and Ceinrwy stone from Tywyn (eighth century) – then both these tall, slender stones match Cunogusus' monolith, in height if not in bulk. Of the early stones, however, Cunogusus' is rare in that it still stands its ground on a low rise outside Pencarnisiog. Its full extent, partly buried, is greater still.

The majority of the inscriptions have been carved on the stones in a way that requires them to be read in a vertical direction from top to bottom. Eleven inscriptions (excluding the debatable *D M Barrecti Carantei* stone) run horizontally from left to right, accounting for 23% of the total.

Comparisons have been drawn between the horizontally disposed inscriptions and the layout of classical Roman funerary memorials (Nash-Williams, 1950, 7). A possible derivation from, or influence by, Roman milestones has also been considered (Knight, 1999, 137). A horizontal layout has, consequently, been taken to be one possible indicator of an early date in the series. A preference for a vertical layout, on the other hand, has been seen to be either a matter of convenience on the long, thin slabs available, or required, as an adequate marker, or a direct consequence of the use of ogam as an inscriptional medium (Nash-Williams, 1950, 7-8).

Ogam requires a baseline against, or across which, the groups of short-notched strokes that constitute an alphabet, can be set. The edge of a tall stone provides such a datum. Ogam, inscribed on stone, conventionally reads up the left-hand edge and, if necessary, continues down the right hand edge. Theoretically then, on a bilingual memorial, a vertical Latin inscription running vertically down the face of the stone, could be seen as a continuation and translation of an Irish ogam primary text running vertically up the left hand side. Such an explanation would require that ogam stones be assigned a primary place in the insular inscriptional series or at least an influential role in the development of that series. In support of this view it may be observed that ogam does not translate the full range of conventional Latin formulae but is confined to the identification of an individual by name (in the genitive) or by name and descent. Certain Latin formulae, on the other hand, appear to reflect this style with or without the presence of ogam equivalents on the same stone. Examples in north-west Wales include:

PRN 136, Llystyn Gwyn, Bryncir

ICORIGAS (ogam)	ICORI FILIVS POTENTINI (Latin)
(The stone) of Icorix.	(The stone) of Icorius, son of Potentinus

PRN 6893, Arfryn, Bodedern

ERCAGNI (Latin)
(The stone) of Ercagnos

PRN 2375, Penprys Farm, Llannor

IOVENALI FILI ETERNI

(The stone) of Iovenalis son of Eternus

Knight has proposed the primary existence of a commemorative tradition of Irish derivation, using ogam and concerned with the name and descent of the individual, onto which Christian Latin formulae were grafted and assimilated (Knight, 1992, 45-50).

Only one ogam inscribed stone is known from the study area, PRN 136. It is potentially late in the series, incorporating a half-uncial 's' in the Latin inscription. It is an unusual stone, carrying a horizontal inscription crammed into one corner, adjacent to the ogam at the top of the right hand side. It cannot be considered to be typical in its layout, although the formulae are a standard bilingual type.

The remainder of the inscriptions, are, with the exception of the eighth century Tywyn stone, exclusively Latin. The majority of them, nevertheless, appear to reflect the influence of an Irish/ogam layout. The horizontal inscriptions have no clear chronological significance but almost certainly do reflect the influence of continental Christian memorials, as do the formulae themselves.

During the early centuries of Christianity in the Western Empire, the memorial formulae of Christian epitaphs were hardly distinguishable from those of contemporary pagans. This was equally true of their burials. During the fourth century, with Christianity widespread, certain recurring components of particular Christian epitaphs may be discerned. These included, in addition to the traditional name and age of the deceased, verbal phrases indicating that the individual had died on a certain day or was buried or 'lies here'. Adverbial phrases indicating that the person was 'at peace' might be added.

By the early fifth century such statements introduce an epitaph. Examples are recorded in southern and western Gaul, becoming more elaborate during the fifth and sixth centuries. Knight (1999, 107-8) charts the development which includes, for example:

Hic iacet ...; Hic Requiescit ...; In Huc Locu Requivit ... (Lyon early fifth century)

Hic Requiescit In Pace ... (St. Romain d'Albon, Drome, Late fifth century)

In Hunc Tomulo Requiescit In Pace ... (Isere, early seventh century).

Crosses, chi-rho monograms and Eucharistic symbols often accompany the inscriptions (Knight, 1999, 108).

Two principal forms of Latin inscription are known from north west Wales. The first is represented by the name of the individual, on its own, or accompanied by filiation and/or status. The second form is represented by the inclusion of a verbal phrase stating that the person 'lies here' (*Hic iacet*), with varying degrees of elaboration.

The simple name type

This type occurs 17 times. Most frequently the name is in the genitive case implying possession so that 'the stone of' should be understood before the individual's name. Occasionally, the name occurs in the nominative case, as a label for the grave, or with *Hic iacet* (her he lies), understood.

A distinction may be made between those nominative forms, which correspond to Christian Roman usage and those genitive forms which, Nash-Williams has argued, are a translation of the ogam formula, particularly when accompanied by filiation (Nash-Williams, 1950, 2-8).

Examples include:

PRN 6893, Arfryn, Bodedern

ERCAGNI ; (The stone) of Ercagnos

PRN 6895, Ceilwart, Barmouth

CAELEXTI MONEDO RIGI : (The stone) of Caelestos, King of the Mountains

PRN 3103, Llanfaglan

FILI LOVERNII ANATEMORI : (The stone) of Anatemorus, son of Lovernius

PRN 4555, Tyddyn Holland, Bodafon

SANCTINUS SACERDOS IN P[ACE] : Sanctinus the Priest (he lies here) in Peace

PRN 3005, Llangadwaladr

CATAMANUS REX SAPIENTISIMUS OPINATISIMUS OMNIUM REGUM : Cadfan the King, most wise and illustrious of all kings (lies here).

The Hic iacet (He/she lies here) type

This type occurs 22 times and a further 4 times as *iacit*. The grammatically correct *Hic iacet* occurs only three times. In every other instance the vulgar Latin *Hic iacit* is used. This form also occurs in Gaul during the fifth century. The formula, and its variations such as *hic in tumulo iacit*, is clearly derived from continental Christian usage and most probably from southern or western Gaul during the fifth century and later. Eight of these inscriptions display the name in the nominative with no indication of filiation. There are apparently only 2 others in Wales which do likewise (Nash-Williams, 1950, 8-9). Five of the eight are horizontally disposed inscriptions. Taking all these features together – *Hic iacit*, name in the nominative, absence of filiation and horizontal inscription – these four must be among the closest to the continental exemplars.

The genitive case of the name occurs in association with *Hic iacit/Hic iacet* on 12 stones. Nine stones combine *Hic iacit* or *iacit* with filiation. About 17 inscriptions using *Hic iacit*, do so with the inscription running horizontally.

The simplest of the inscriptions of this form comprise the deceased's name followed by *Hic iacit*. This group also includes the most complex, giving supplementary detail on family, place or origin, religious persuasion and status. Examples include:

1. Name in nominative plus Hic iacit

PRN 1202, Capel Anelog, Llyn

VERACIVS PBR HIC IACIT : Veracius the priest. He lies here.

2. Name in genitive plus Hic iacet

PRN 10010, Penprys Farm, Lannor

DERVORI HIC IACET : (The stone) of Dervorus. He lies here.

3. Name in nominative or genitive plus filiation

PRN 1299, Treflys

IACONVS FILI MINI IACIT : Iaconus, son of Minus. He lies (here).

PRN 1246, Llangian, Llyn

MELI MEDICI FILI MARTINI IACIT : (The stone) of Melus the doctor, son of Martinus. He lies (here).

More complex examples include:

PRN 1615, Trawsfynydd

PORIVS HIC IN TVMVLO IACIT HOMO (X)PIANVS FVIT : Porius lies here in the tomb. He was a Christian man.

PRN 3729, Rhiw Bach, Ffestiniog

CARAVSIVS HIC IACIT IN HOC CONGERIES LAPIDVM : Carausius lies here in this heap of stones.

PRN 3731, Beddau Gwyr Ardudwy, Ffestiniog

CANTIORI HIC IACIT VENEDOTIS CIVE FVIT (C)ONSOBRINO MAGLI
MAGISTRATI : (The stone of) Cantorius. He lies here. He was a Gwynedd man; a cousin of
Maglus the Magistrate.

PRN 2207, Capel Bronwen, Llanfachraeth

...IVA SANCTISSIMA MVLIER HIC IACIT QVE FVIT AMATISSI CONIVX BIVATIGI
FAMVLVS DI SACERDOS ET VASSO PAVLINI ANDOCO GNATIONE ET OMNIUM CIVIUM
ADQUAE PARENTUM EXEMPLA ET MORIBUS DISCIPLINA AC SAPIENTIAE AVRO E
LAPIDIBUS : ...iva, a most holy lady, lies here, who was the very beloved wife of
Bivatigirnus, servant of God, priest and disciple of Paulinus, by race a man of Angers and an
example to all his fellow citizens and relatives both in character, rule of life and wisdom, which
is better than gold and gems.

Other components of epitaphs represented on the north west Wales series which echo
continental usage include: REQUIESCAT IN PACE (Rest In Peace) on a late stone at
Heneglwys (PRN 2135) and a possible variant at **Llansadwrn (PRN 2644)** and NOMINE (by
the name of) at **Llandanwg (PRN 4077)**.

Additional iconography

Symbolic decorations are a feature of Italian and Gallic early Christian funerary inscriptions.
These are not confined to the addition of crosses but include chalices, vine scrolls, doves and
representations of the deceased. The present catalogue includes 5 stones bearing crosses.
Two are chi-rho monogrammatic crosses at the heads of inscriptions, from Rhiw Bach
(Carausius stone) and Treflys (Iaconus stone), of fifth to sixth century and sixth century dates
respectively. The third is a plain cross with slightly expanding arms above an extravagant
testimonial to Cadfan, King of Gwynedd, in the early seventh century. A fourth stone, of
eighth century date, from Tywyn has plain crosses at the heads of two separate but related
inscriptions on each of four sides of the stone. The fifth memorial is the long slender
monument from Llanfihangel Y Traethau. Of twelfth century date, this stone lies strictly
outside the limits of the study, but has been included because it might be seen to stand in
direct line of descent from the memorials under consideration. The inscription,
commemorating Wleder, mother of Odeleu who (we are told) first built the church of
Llanfihangel Y Traethau in the time of Owain, the King, is prefaced by a simple cross.

It would appear, on the basis of comparable evidence elsewhere in Wales (Nash-Williams,
1950, 15-16), that there is a chronological distinction between the use of monogrammatic
crosses in the earlier period and the appearance of true crosses on stones from the seventh
century onwards.

Dating

Dating the inscribed stone series relies on the evidence of epigraphy, style of formulae, site
association and historical association. The ogam inscribed series throughout Wales as a
whole may include examples of the earliest stones associated with vertical inscriptions. The
single ogam from the present study area is, however, likely to be relatively late in the series.

1. Epigraphic considerations

The script of the Latin inscribed stones, for the most part, is derived from provincial
monumental alphabets lacking the rigid uniformity of the classical period, capable of
borrowing from cursive or book hands and of assimilating characteristics of Graeco-Roman
style as well as those of the provinces (Nash-Williams, 1950, 10-11). Greek letter forms,
already current on some monuments in Italy and Gaul, such as angle-bar A's and forked
serifs are prominent, for example, on the Senacus and Veracius stones from Capel Anelog,
Llyn.

Other classically derived inscriptional characteristics such as contractions, with contraction
marks, ligatures and punctuation between words are also apparent. A fully developed half-
uncial book hand had become established by the sixth century and the inclusion of half-uncial
letter forms, mixed with capitals on inscriptions may be dated to the sixth and early seventh
centuries in the British series.

2. Formulae

The recurrence of a structured memorial formula using HIC IACET in southern and western Gaul during the first half of the fifth century, becoming increasingly elaborate during the sixth century allows the possibility of a fifth century date for the start of the British series with the more complex epitaphs appearing during the sixth century. The epigraphic, miniscule, book-hand style of the Heneglwys stone (PRN 2315), coupled with the archaic formula employed, indicates how long certain memorial formulae might persist. The Heneglwys stone might conceivably be as late as the twelfth century.

3. Site association

The association of inscribed stones with archaeologically dated contexts on particular sites is a potential, rather than actual dating indicator at the present time. Nevertheless, 4 stones in the series under consideration have been recorded in association with long cists. A fifth stone is reputed to have come, originally, from the site of another early Medieval burial ground (see below). A sixth stone, from Doltrebeddau, Pentrefoelas was also recorded in direct association with long cists. Five out of six of these stones appear to have been re-used, in secondary positions, in the construction of the cists in question. The implication, therefore, is that the burials post date the stones. Good quality dating information from similar contexts would provide an important benchmark in establishing a chronology for the stones.

4. Historical association

The epitaphs inscribed on the stones, we must presume, commemorate real people. Two names are reliably documented from other sources. The first is Justinus who is referred to in the phrase 'In tempore Justinii consulis' added, horizontally, at the base of a vertically cut memorial to the son of Avitorius (PRN 3732). This is an example of the common Roman dating indicator, by which holders of the ordinary consulate gave their names to the year in which they held it. Flavius Justinus held the office in 540 and was the second to last Imperial subject to do so. Basilus, the last consul, gave his name to the year 541 (A.H.M Jones, *The later Roman Empire 284-602*, 1964, 532-3). Some areas, for a number of years, continued to date by reference to these benchmarks. Lyon chose Justinus, for example (Knight, 1995, 109). The best we might be able to make of the Avitorius stone is to recognise that the secondary inscription cannot have been added earlier than 540 but may have been added some years after that date by someone who was aware of the continuing significance of Justinus' name as a dating indicator in southern Gaul.

The second historical association is the occurrence of Cadfan's name (CATAMANVS) on the stone from Llangadwaladr. Cadfan, king of Gwynedd was the son of Iago ap Beli who died in 613 and the father of Cadwallon who succeeded him and was killed by Oswald of Bernicia in 633. Cadfan's memorial, therefore, might be dated to the 620's. The half-uncial script and plain, rather than monogrammatic, cross are characteristic features of the monument.

Distribution

There are three main concentrations of Group 1, inscribed stones throughout Wales. The principal concentration is on the south-west peninsula of Dyfed, between the Teifi and the Tywi. There is a second concentration on the fringes of the Brecon Beacons between the head waters of the Usk and Merthyr Tydfil. The third great concentration is in the north, in the area of the ancient Kingdom of Gwynedd and principally on the island of Anglesey, the Llyn peninsula and in northern Meirionydd. More particularly, in north-west Wales, there is no general correlation between the incidence of inscribed stones and the distribution of burial locations identified against other criteria. There are, however, specific instances of inscribed stones having been recorded in direct association with long cists.

On Anglesey, the stones occur across the central part of the island, filling out the distribution represented by early burials. On the mainland the overall impression is of a generally coastal location or, where inland, an association with established route ways, particularly the lines taken by Roman roads.

Cross-incised stones of seventh century and later date (Group 2) and free-standing crosses of tenth/eleventh century date (Group 3)

The catalogue includes 36 examples of cross-incised stones and 8 examples of free standing crosses or cross fragments. In addition there is a font in St. Seiriol's church, Penmon, which re-uses a cross base thought to have come from one of the free standing crosses. There are also four decorated fragments of stone from Bangor, of similar date to the crosses.

1. Cross incised stones

The cross-incised series incorporates a number of monuments of different function. These include grave-markers, memorials, boundary stones and territorial markers as well as praying stations. Some, such as the outline cross grave-markers from Llangaffo and Llangeinwen are sufficiently distinctive to be identifiable functionally and, broadly chronologically. Others are of less certain date and of a range of possible functions. Maen Beuno is documented to have stood at Glan Beuno on the Gwyrfaï. A charter of Clynnog Fawr, confirmed by Edward IV refers to a stone (not necessarily the same one) used to mark land which had been donated to the monastery. The stone with crosses incised on it at Bwlch y Groes (The Pass of the Cross), a name recorded in the fourteenth century, stood on the boundary between Penmachno and Dolwyddelan (PRN 3734). Other references to crosses as territorial markers, as distinct from boundary stones, confirm these as possible functions for the stones (A.D. Carr, *Medieval Anglesey*, 1982, 93).

Some of the crosses extending down the north western coast of Llyn may be associated with pilgrim routes to Ynys Enlli. The ring-cross at Maen Y Bardd, Rowen, stands alongside an old upland route way, possibly prehistoric, and followed by the line of the Roman road from Caerhun to Segontium.

Crosses might also be used to Christianise pagan monuments. St. Sampson of Dol is reputed to have cut a cross on a prehistoric standing stone in Cornwall (T. Taylor, *The Life of St. Sampson of Dol*, 1925, cited by Knight, 1999, 177). The cross-incised stone from Ty'n y Cae, Nefyn, is reputed to have been a maen hir or standing stone, erect on a mound in which bones had been found. Intriguingly, this stone also stood on a boundary – between Pistyll and Nefyn parishes.

Those cross-incised stones that are identifiable as grave markers have now become anonymous. They very rarely record the name of an individual, his or her status and associations, in the way in which the Group 1 stones do. The rare examples of such personal memorials, prefaced by incised crosses, at Tywyn and Llanfihangel Y Traethau, are best seen as a continuation or development of the Group 1 tradition. Furthermore, the cross-incised grave-markers of Group 2 are invariably recorded at the sites of later churches. They are rarely *in situ* but do attest the likelihood of an early ecclesiastical presence at that location. The groups of stone from Llangaffo and Llangeinwen suggest a tradition of stone cutting at these sites under ecclesiastical patronage.

The significance of the inclusion of this, generally miscellaneous, group of stones in the catalogue is primarily for the light it casts on the locations of ecclesiastical activity during the seventh to eleventh century and secondarily for the evidence it presents in respect of a possible shift in the foci of burial during the period under review.

2. Free standing crosses

The relatively small number of free-standing crosses of the tenth and eleventh centuries and decorated stone fragments of broadly the same period have been included in the catalogue for the purpose of amplifying the evidence for ecclesiastical activity represented by the cross-incised series.

Associations

The wider associations of sites where Early Medieval burial might be presumed have been recorded. These associations provide some degree of context for the burials and some might be thought to have materially influenced or determined the location of burial. The range of association will be considered under the following categories:

- Pre-Christian : ceremonial and funerary
- Pre-Christian : secular
- Enclosures other than later church graveyards
- Christian religious

1. Pre-Christian : Ceremonial and funerary associations

There is one instance where early Medieval burial occurs on the site of a major complex of later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age ceremonial and funerary monuments. This is Llandygai, where 50 extended inhumations, including one marked by a square ditched enclosure, overlies the silted ditches of a late Neolithic cursus. Domestic activity of the later Neolithic and Iron Age and Romano-British periods is also known from the site. There is no evidence that either of the two large henges or the cursus or ring ditches survived as visible earthworks to provide a focus for Early Medieval burial and the alignment of these later burials appears to pay no regard to the earlier monuments. Nevertheless, it is difficult to completely disregard the possibility that some tangible reminder of the previous significance of the site remained – a low mound or standing stone, long since removed, perhaps.

There are three principal categories of monument or activity associated with pre-Christian ceremonial and burial at which Early Medieval burials have been recorded. These include ceremonial enclosures and related monuments; post settings and standing stones; and cairns, barrows, short cists and cremations, predominantly of the earlier Bronze Age.

At 6 possible locations, standing stones may still have stood at the time Early Medieval burials were interred. At **Cae Pen Y Maen, Nefyn (PRN 1536)** a cross-incised stone, referred to above, once stood on a mound, within which bones are said to have been found. The stone was known as a 'maen hir' and may have been Christianised by the addition of a cross. Bones have also been recorded in the field around the mound. At **Llechcynfarwy (St. Cynfarwy's slab)** a large standing stone once stood on a prominent local rise (**PRN 2080**). This may have provided a focus for the adjacent cemetery of long cists. The stone came to be associated with the local saint. Lewis Morris, in the early eighteenth century, records a similarly named 'Llech Edern' near the site of the **Arfryn** long cist and dug grave cemetery (**PRN 2063**). At Arfryn, however, there is, in a grave free area of the cemetery, a complex of postholes, gullies and pits, radio-carbon dated to the later prehistoric period, which has suggested, to the excavator, a possible on-site focus. At **Capel Eithin**, another locally elevated location, the excavations identified a number of individual foci across the inhumation cemetery. One of these has recently been interpreted as a possible earlier prehistoric post-setting. It has tentatively been suggested that one large pit in this setting may have held a standing stone.

Standing stones were recognised at **Porth Dafarch**, Holy Island. It is probable, however, that Early Bronze Age barrows were the magnet for Early Medieval burial at that location.

Perhaps the most intriguing site where Early Medieval burial is associated with standing stones is **Penprys Farm, Llannor**, on the Llyn peninsula. The two stones stand 150m apart on a north-south alignment on land of Tir Gwyn farm. A long cist was discovered during the removal of a hedge in a field called Cae Maen Hir. The cist was also aligned north-south and the two long sides were formed from inscribed stones (**Iovenalis; Vendesetlis PRN 2375**). An earlier record of a similar discovery of a cist on Penprys Farm also involved the use of an inscribed stone in a secondary position in the cist (**Dervori PRN 20004**).

The most commonly occurring association of Early Medieval burial with monuments of earlier prehistory is the co-incidence of extended inhumation and barrows or cairns of the Early Bronze Age. Instances occur at:

- **Gorphwysfa, Llanberis (PRN 6119)** where seven or eight 'long graves' are said to have been destroyed when the road below Gorphwysfa was built. Early Bronze Age cairns are recorded in the immediate vicinity.
- **Merddyn Gwyn, Pentraeth (PRN 7315)** where an extended inhumation was inserted to some depth through cairn material covering a crouched Beaker grave and secondary Early Bronze Age burials.
- **Porth Dafarch, Holy Island (PRN 1776)** where four extended inhumations, two in cists and two in unprotected graves, were inserted into two of three original Early Bronze Age mounds. The mounds, associated with Beaker and Early Bronze Age pottery must once have been prominent landmarks at the head of a coastal inlet. One or two, standing stones stood nearby. They had already been damaged, however, by the establishment of a stone-walled hut circle settlement on the site in the Romano-British period.
- **Treiorwerth, Presaddfed Estate, Anglesey (PRN 2084)**. At least three long cists were dug into the clay capping of an Early Bronze Age stone cairn. The location is a prominent one with extensive views, although the cairn itself was never very large. Around 12 urned and unurned cremations are associated with the Early Bronze Age phase of the cairn.
- **Ty Mawr, Caer Gybi (PRN 2003)**. Again the location is a low and gentle rise but, nevertheless, locally elevated. A concentrically circled ditched feature of more than one phase occupied the highest point. It was very probably a barrow of the Early Bronze Age. Although, in recent times, levelled flat, there are indications that pre-modern field boundaries kinked around the possible obstruction it presented. An extended inhumation cemetery of 54 graves, mostly well made long cists, lay adjacent and encroached upon this feature.
- **Ty'n y Pwll, Llanddyfnan (PRN 7313)**. An extended inhumation was inserted, east-west, among a heap of stones, into the north-eastern edge of a barrow of the Early Bronze Age. The earlier burials included a cremation in a cist and a number of urned cremations. This mound was the fourth in a curving line of five extending eastwards over 800m from a standing stone at Ty'n Llan, Llanddyfnan.
- **Capel Eithin, Llanfihangel Ysgeifiog (PRN 2730)**. A total of 90 inhumations were interred here, mostly in dug graves but many in long cists. Excavations in the 1980s identified a number of burial foci, including a contemporary special grave marked by a rectangular structure. The excavation report suggests that a putative, and now lost, standing stone may have provided one such nucleus. Another group of burials clusters near a compact concentration of Early Bronze Age cremations, mostly in urns. Although no indication of a mound survives, it is difficult to believe that there never was one, particularly as two cremations of the Late Bronze Age were added to the group on the north edge of the cluster, centuries after the first burials. To the south of the inhumation cemetery, a circular stone bank, 25m in diameter, encloses a small rectangular masonry structure. These features are associated with Roman period artefacts and small-scale metalworking. A rural shrine of the Romano-British period would not be inconsistent with the structural or metal-working evidence. Finally, a rectangular, kerbed cairn, 7.5m by 4m, of uncertain stratigraphical association provides a clear focus for another group of burials. One wonders whether such a structure, modelled out of the Roman period bank, and surviving long enough to condition the alignment of later field banks, might not be post-Roman and comparable to the square, 'platform' cairns, of Pictland (J. Close-Brooks, 'Pictish and other burials' in J.G.P. Friell and W.G. Watson, (eds), *Pictish Studies*, BAR 125 (1984).

Additionally, reference has already been made to the mound at Cae Pen y Maen, Ty'n y Cae, Nefyn and the possibility that the mound and its standing stone are early. A short cist containing charcoal was among the earliest graves in the sequence beneath the later **Eglwys y Bedd at Clynnog (PRN 7316)**. Finally, several cists have been recorded, but their character not specified, at **Hen Fynwent (the Old Burial Ground), Mynytho**. Prehistoric funerary urns are said to have been found nearby (PRN 1796).

2. Pre-Christian : Secular associations

Early Medieval burial has been recorded at locations that had previously seen earlier domestic, or at least secular, occupation. At **Llandygai**, a major centre of earlier prehistoric ritual, domestic occupation was also recorded in the Late Neolithic period and, perhaps of more relevance to the present discussion, during the Late Iron Age and into the Romano-British period. A focus of settlement appears to have been the northernmost of the two henges. It is conceivable then, but cannot be demonstrated, that the ostensibly Early Medieval cemetery at Llandygai could have some relationship to a continuity of settlement in the area of the northern henge. At **Capel Eithin** there would also appear to have been some domestic activity in the later Neolithic period. One interpretation of the later evidence from Capel Eithin would see the Roman period masonry structure as a signal station. An alternative view, raised above, would suggest that it might have been a Romano-British shrine. The former presence of a signal station on the site is unlikely to have influenced the development of the post-Roman cemetery, although the existence of a shrine may have done.

At **Porth Dafarch** a Romano-British hut-circle settlement was established at the head of an indented bay where Bronze Age barrows had previously made their mark on the landscape. It is perhaps more likely that the inhumation burials represent a phase of activity drawn to the numerous sites of earlier prehistory than that they have an association with the Romano-British settlement.

Two Roman forts were later to become the locations of Early Medieval burial, **Caer Gai** and **Caer Gybi**. The evidence at the late first century to second century auxiliary base of Gaer Gai is less strong. It rests on a field name, immediately to the south of the fort, known in the seventeenth century as Cae'r Capelau, 'the field of the chapels' and the nineteenth century record that bones were dug up in this field. There is also the association of an inscribed stone of Group 1, commemorating Salvianus Burgocavi, perhaps to be read 'Salvianus of Burgo Cavus' (that is, Caer Gai), found at Caer Gai. It is conceivable that the old military base became a focus for late and post-Roman settlement, accompanied by burial. A nineteenth century plan of the area shows what would seem to be a no longer visible outer enclosure beyond the walls of the fort itself.

The presumably disposable asset of a disused military base at **Caergybi** is traditionally said to have been in the gift of Maelgwn Gwynedd who, in the early sixth century, reputedly granted the site to Cybi to establish a religious house (**PRN 7022**). Extended inhumations in full long cists are recorded from the immediate vicinity of the site in 1832-3 (A. Llwyd, *A History of the Island of Mona*, 1833). The fourteenth century Eglwys y Bedd is said to have developed on the site of the saint's grave. The donation of old military sites to prominent churchmen for their own use is paralleled elsewhere. King Sigeberht of East Anglia granted the Late Roman shore fort of Burgh Castle to the Irish cleric Fursa in the 630s (Bede, HE III, 19).

There is another category of secular association that concerns, not settlement, but the recurring incidence of inscribed memorial stones and, occasionally cross-marked stones, along route ways, particularly those following the lines of the Roman road system. It is of significance to note, however, that in the uncompromising terrain of upland Snowdonia, Roman roads may have followed long-established pre-existing routes. The stones in question, and their locations, include:

Route from Pen Llystyn to Segontium

PRN 136 ICORI FILIVS POTENTINI and ogam ICORIGAS
Llystyn Gwyn Farm, north of Pen Llystyn Fort, Bryncir

Route from Canovium to Segontium

PRN 368 DINOCONSVODICO ON...
Madryn Farm, Aber, 500m east of Aber. Re-used and inverted Roman milestone.

Route from Bryn y Gefeiliau to Tomen y Mur

PRN 3729 +CARAVSIVS HIC IACIT IN HOC CONGERIES LAPIDUM
Rhiw Bach quarry, Penmachno. Originally found in association with burial.

PRN 10015 FERRVCI HIC IACIT
Beddau Gwyr Ardudwy, Llan Ffestiniog, north of Tomen y Mur

PRN 3731 CANTIORI HIC IACIT VENEDOTIS CIVE FVIT (C)ONSOBRINO MAGLI
MAGISTRATI
Beddau Gwyr Ardudwy, Llan Ffestiniog, north of Tomen y Mur

Tomen y Mur Fort, Trawsfynydd

PRN 5096 D M BARRECTI CARANTEI
From the fort at Tomen y Mur. The inscription runs vertically downwards. The Dis Manibus invocation is pagan but continued to be used in continental contexts. Not certainly early Christian.

Route from Tomen y Mur to Brithdir

PRN 1615 PORIVS HIC IN TVMVLO IACIT HOMO PIANVS FVIT
South of tomen y Mur in a field called Maes y Bedd, close to Llech Idris.

PRN 5095 RIGELLA HI... FILIA TVN... CC...
South of Tomen y Mur, close to the crossing of the Afon Prysor at Bryn Goleu, Trawsfynydd.

Route from Brithdir to Caer Gai

PRN 4136 MEDI...
East of Brithdir at Pont Helygog.

Caer Gai Fort, Llanuwchllyn

PRN 4253 HEC IACET SALVIANVS BVRGOCABI FILIVS CVPETIAN
From the fort at Caer Gai, recorded in the seventeenth century.

Additionally a cross-incised stone of Group 2 is known from the same route system. This is the **Maen y Bardd** stone (**PRN 1430**). The Group 2 stones may perform a function of Christian protection or, perhaps, in the case of Maen y Bardd, offer an opportunity for prayer in gratitude after a steep climb from the Conwy Valley.

The Group 1 stones, on the other hand, though they stand on prominent route ways, have not been put there to comfort the traveller. After the manner of Beowulf's requirement, they advertise the status of the man, his lineage and his connexions: - a man of Gwynedd and a cousin of Maglos the Magistrate, for example, or Salvianus, from Caer Gai, son of Cupetianus - 'as a reminder of me to my people ... so that travellers shall afterwards name it...' Bedd Porius ... or whatever it might be.

3. Enclosures other than later church graveyards

Heather James has discussed the relevance of early enclosures, particularly former fortifications, in determining the location of burial (H. James, *Early Medieval cemeteries in Wales*, in N. Edwards and A. Lane (eds.) *The Early Church in Wales and the West*, Oxbow Monograph 16, 1992, 94-6). Examples may be cited from outside Wales, at Trohoughton, Dumfries and Galloway, for example. Preston-Jones has similarly considered the way in which pre-existing earthworks, 'rounds', may have been re-occupied as the sites of churches in Early Medieval Cornwall (A. Preston-Jones, 'Decoding Cornish Churchyards', in N. Edwards and A. Lane, (eds.), 1992, 114-5). In north-west Wales there are 9 instances where Early Medieval burial has been recorded on the site of, or in the immediate vicinity of, potentially early enclosures.

At **Capel Eithin**, the relatively small area enclosed by a stone bank may have defined the temenos of a Romano-British shrine. The bank itself may have been modified in the construction of a rectangular cairn, which became the focus of burial. These are possibilities but have not been demonstrated. The recorded Early Medieval cemetery lies almost exclusively outside the circuit of the enclosure, although the former presence of such a shrine

may have been a determining influence in the development of the cemetery. Three burials occur within the ring. Two of these could be interpreted as part of the cluster focussing on the rectilinear cairn. The third (pit 90), is unusual. It is larger than other burials on the site and of different construction and has been excluded from the general analysis of the cemetery evidence in the published report (G.H. Smith, 1999, forthcoming). It may, as the excavation report implies, best be seen as contemporary with the Roman period enclosure and masonry structure.

At **Llandygai**, burials occur in close proximity to two large henge monuments but do not utilise their circuits as convenient enclosures for burial. Rather, one of the henges appears to have been appropriated for settlement in the later prehistoric and Romano-British period. Elucidation of the relationship of the ceremonial enclosures to Early Medieval burial at Llandygai must await the publication of the excavation report.

At **Rhyddgaer (PRN 3074)**, a rectilinear enclosure of possible late prehistoric - Romano-British date is known, on a locally elevated position, some 500m from the find spot of an inscribed lead coffin. There is no evidence, however, of a direct relationship between the two sites.

At **Arfryn, Bodedern (PRN 2063)** a large inhumation cemetery of both dug and long cist burials was excavated between 1971 and 1982. An enclosure ditch was identified, radiocarbon determinations from which suggested an Early Medieval date for at least one phase of its use. The precise relationship of this ditch to the cemetery must await final publication of the excavation report.

At **Glyn, Benllech (PRN 20001)** skeletons have been recovered during excavation from immediately outside the dry stone enclosure of an Early Medieval settlement. The circumstances, in which an extended inhumation almost overlies a crouched inhumation, do not suggest formal burial. The relationship of this incidence of burial to the settlement enclosure, therefore, is not entirely clear.

At **Capel Bronwen (PRN 2749)** an inscribed stone was recovered in the eighteenth century, in circumstances which suggest the possibility of the disturbance of cist burials. The location is a much-denuded circular earthwork, known locally as Capel Bronwen, close to the southern bank of the Alaw, near its estuary.

At **Berllan Bach, Bangor (PRN 2371)** 76 graves were identified during excavations in advance of town centre redevelopment. This cemetery lies within what would appear to be a large oval area of land, the demarcation of which is perpetuated by post-Medieval boundaries. It has been suggested that this delineation represents the original precinct of the early monastery of Bangor. The name 'Bangor', in translation, means the strengthening upper member of a timber fence and, by extension, enclosure. Thirty metres to the west, an arc of a curvilinear enclosure, represented by the trench for a timber fence was excavated. Radiocarbon determination suggested a date in the sixth to eighth century AD calibrated range for this feature.

Burial evidence is indicated at the two Roman forts of **Caer Gai and Caer Gybi**. These have been considered above in the context of pre-Christian secular associations. At Caer Gai, any relationship between the possible evidence for burial and the fort enclosure would seem to be in the potential for continuing associated settlement at the fort. At Caer Gybi, on the other hand, it is inherently likely that the surviving walls of the late-Roman coastal base, which continue to define the churchyard at Caer Gybi in the present day, would have provided a convenient definition for the early monastic establishment there.

4. Christian religious associations

There are three principal categories of association represented in the catalogue. The first is the association of inscribed and cross-incised stones with direct evidence of burial. The second is the association of inscribed and cross-incised stones with the sites of later churches, and the third is the association of Early Medieval burial with the sites of later churches. These relationships are presented in tabular form below.

stones: church and burial associations

<i>Stone name</i>	<i>PRN</i>	<i>group 1</i>	<i>group 2</i>	<i>group 3</i>	<i>burial</i>	<i>church</i>
Iovenalis stone, Penprys Farm, Llannor	2375	group 1			yes	
Llantrisant stone, Capel Bronwen	2207	group 1			yes	
Dervori stone, Penprys Farm, Llannor	10010	group 1			yes	
Ercagni stone, Arfryn, Bodedern	6893	group 1			yes	
Devorigi stone, Capel Eithin, Llanfihangel Ysgeifiog	7306	group 1			yes	
Vendesetli stone, Penprys Farm, Llannor	2375	group 1			yes	
Carausius stone, Rhiwbach Quarry, Penmachno	3729	group 1			yes	
Salvianus stone, Caer Gai, Llanuwchllyn	4253	group 1			yes	
Meli Medici stone, Llangian	1246	group 1				yes
Equestri stone, Llandanwg	4077	group 1				yes
Figulini stone, Holy Cross church, Llannor	439	group 1				yes
Avitorius stone, Penmachno	3732	group 1				yes
Maccudecceti stone, Penrhos Lligwy	2122	group 1				yes
M stone, Llanaelhaearn	1568	group 1				yes
Aliortus stone, Llanaelhaearn	1564	group 1				yes
Melitus stone, Llanaelhaearn	1563	group 1				yes
Cavo stone, Llanfor	3204	group 1				yes
Filius Ev... stone, Heneglwys	2135	group 1				yes
Iaconus stone, Treflys	1299	group 1				yes
Wleder stone, Llanfihangel-y-Traethau	2289	Group 1				yes
Lovernii stone, Llanfaglan	3103	group 1				yes
Saturninus stone, Llansadwrn	2644	group 1				yes
Catamanus stone, Llangadwaladr	3005	group 1				yes
Culidori stone, Llangefni	2673	group 1				yes
Ingenuus stone, Llandanwg	4780	group 1				yes
Oria stone, Penmachno	3730	group 1				yes
St Cadfan's church, Tywyn	4798	group 1				yes
Pascentius stone, Tywyn	4799	group 1				yes
Salvian stone, Llanydawddwy	4952	group 1				yes
Filius cuiris stone, Fron Deg, Newborough	2606	group 1				
Mailis stone, Pen Seri Bach, Llanfaelog	3033	group 1				
Porius stone, Trawsfynydd	1615	group 1				
Ferrucus, Beddau Gwyr Ardudwy, Ffestiniog	10015	group 1				

Icori stone, Llystyn Gwyn, Bryncir	136	group 1		
Medi stone, Pont Helygog, Brithdir	4136	group 1		
Aeternus stone, Barmouth beach	6897	group 1		
Sanctinus stone, Tyddyn Holland, Bodafon	4555	group 1		
Rigella stone, Bryn Golau, Trawsfynydd	5095	group 1		
Barrectus stone, Tomen y Mur, Maentwrog	5096	group 1		
Conbarrus stone, Chwaen Wen, Llantrisant	2075	group 1		
Cunogusi stone, Bodfeddan, Llanfaelog	2749	group 1		
Soris stone, Capel Heilyn, Trefollwyn	2668	group 1		
Caelexti stone, Ceilwart Isaf, Barmouth beach	6895	group 1		
Cantiorus stone, Penmachno	3731	group 1		
Veracius stone, Capel Anelog, Anelog	1202	group 1		
Senacus stone, Capel Anelog	1571	group 1		
Ettorigi stone, Llanbabo, Llanol	2750	group 1		
Cunalipus stone, Gesail Gyfarch, Penmorfa	189	group 1		
Dinocons stone, Madryn Farm, Aber	368	group 1		
Ynys Enlli stone,	1588	group 2	yes	yes
Esillimeriguelio stone, Ynys Enlli	3628	group 2	yes	yes
Ty'n y Cae stone, Nefyn	1536	group 2	yes	
St Catherine's church stone,, Llanfaes	6982	group 2		yes
Llanegryn stone	4918	group 2		yes
Llanfihangel-Tre'r-Beirdd stone,	2189	group 2		yes
Llangaffo NW18 stone	2611	group 2		yes
Llanaelhaearn NW88,	10016	group 2		yes
St Michael's church stone, Penrhos Lligwy	10001	group 2		yes
Heneglwys stone	10000	group 2		yes
Llangeinwen NW31 stone	2636	group 2		yes
Llangeinwen NW30 stone	2635	group 2		yes
Llangeinwen NW29 stone	2634	group 2		yes
Llangeinwen NW28 stone	2633	group 2		yes
Llangaffo NW24 stone	2617	group 2		yes
Llangaffo NW23 stone	2616	group 2		yes
Llangaffo NW22 stone	2615	group 2		yes
Llangaffo NW19 stone	2612	group 2		yes
Llangaffo NW17 stone	2610	group 2		yes
Bwiche y Groes stone, Dolwyddelan	3734	group 2		yes
Penmachno NW104a	3733	group 2		yes

Llangaffo NW20 stone	2613	group 2		yes
Llanbadrig stone	3059	group 2		yes
Llanfihangel Ysgeifiog 2 stone	3700	group 2		yes
Llandanwg stone,	2911	group 2		yes
Llangwnnadi stone, Llangwnnadi	3641	group 2		yes
Llangybi stone,	2773	group 2		yes
Clynnog Fawr stone, Clynnog Fawr	2762	group 2		
Bryn y Paderau, Towyn	10011	group 2		
Maen Beuno, Bontnewydd	10019	group 2		
Maen y Bardd stone, Rowen	1430	group 2		
Croes Faen, Tywyn	1738	group 2		
Cefn Coch stone, Llangybi	1307	group 2		
Nefyn	10009	group 2		
Ty Mawr stone, Nefyn	1276	group 2		
Craig y Pandy stone, Tregarth	10018	group 2		
Bangor NW80a	10006	group 3	yes	yes
Bangor NW81	10017	group 3	yes	yes
Bangor NW 79	10005	group 3	yes	yes
St Seiriol's church deer park cross, PenmonNW38	2543	group 3	yes	yes
St Seiriol's church 2 stone NW37, Penmon	2552	group 3	yes	yes
Friddoedd stone, Bangor	1432	group 3	yes	
Llanfihangel Ysgeifiog stone	10003	group 3		yes
St Mary's church stone, Llanfair-Mathafarn-Eithaf	3615	group 3		yes
Llangaffo NW 14 stone	2607	group 3		yes
Llangaffo NW16 stone	2609	group 3		yes
Llangaffo NW15 stone	2608	group 3		yes
Llanfachraith stone, Llanfachraith	2050	group 3		yes
Llech y Gwyr stone	941			
Bryn Eglwys Quarry stone, Llanfihangel y Pennant	4939			
Llechwedd Hafod stone, Penmachno	4642			

burials: stones and church associations

<i>burials name</i>	<i>PRN</i>	<i>cists</i>	<i>dug graves</i>	<i>Stones group 1</i>	<i>Stones group 2</i>	<i>Stones group 3</i>	<i>church</i>
Capel Eithin, Llanfihangel Ysgeifiog	2730	yes	yes	yes			
Dervori cist	20004	yes		yes			
Cae Capel, Caer Gai	20002			yes			
Capel Bronwen	2749	yes		yes			
Penprys Farm, Llannor	2375	yes		yes			
Arfryn, Bodedern	2063	yes	yes	yes			
St Mary's abbey, Ynys Enlli	781	yes			yes		yes
Cae Pen-y-maen, Ty'n-y-cae, Nefyn	1536				yes		
Penmon	2557	yes				yes	yes
Friddoedd burials	1432		yes			yes	
Llechcynfarwy	2080	yes					yes
Towyn y Capel - Trearddur Bay	2001	yes	yes				yes
St Tudwal's priory	4009		yes				yes
St Hywyn's church, Aberdaron	7240		yes				yes
Capel y Bedd, Clynnog Fawr	7316	yes	yes				yes
Llanfair-Garth-Branan, burials	3182	yes	yes				yes
St Rhychwyn's church, Llanrhychwyn	7031						yes
Caer Gybi	7022	yes					yes
Bangor, Berllan Bach	2371		yes				yes
Chapel Farm, Llangristiolus	2156	yes					
Treiorwerth, Presaddfed Estate	2084	yes					
Pen-y-Graig, Llanrhyddlad	2040	yes					
Hen Siop, Llanfaethlu	2029	yes					
Carreglwyd	2028	yes					
Porth Dafarch	1776	yes	yes				
Llech y Gwyr cists	941	yes					
Rhyddgaer, lead coffin	3074						
St Edern's church NE, Nefyn	382						
Yr Hen Fynwent - Mynydd Mynytho, Llanengan	1796	yes	yes				
Ynys Seriol, Penmon	7310	yes	yes				
Glyn Farm, Benllech	20001		yes				
Ty Mawr, Caer Gybi	20003	yes	yes				
Merddyn Gwyn, Pentraeth	7315		yes				

Ty'n y Pwll, Llanddyfnan	7313		yes
Gorphwysfa, Llanberis	6119	yes	
Rhos-y-gad Farm, Pentraeth	5585	yes	
Cefn Du Mawr	3530	yes	
Cae Hen Fynwent, Llanfihangel Bachellaeth	427		
Cladd-dy, Llanfaes	2579		
Bryn Eglwys Quarry	4939		
Llwyn dol Ithel, Talyllyn	4758		yes
Bay View Estate, Benllech	3606		yes
Boddeiniol Farm	2070	yes	
Peibron Farm, Amlwch	3545	yes	
Llandygai	222		yes
Llangefni	2680	yes	
Ty'n y Felin Quarry	3608	yes	yes

a and b. Inscribed and cross-incised stones and their relationship to burial and to the sites of later churches.

Forty-eight inscribed stones of Group 1 are recorded in the catalogue. The twelfth century, Llanfihangel y Traethau stone, has been excluded from this aspect of the analysis. Of these, 8 stones are directly associated with a record of burial in distinction to the presumption of burial which we may infer from the inscriptions on the stones. In no instance does the coincidence of stone and burial occur at the site of a known church. At Caer Gai and Rhiwbach we have antiquarian references to bones having been found. At Capel Bronwen there is an early eighteenth century reference to the disturbance of stones which sound like cists may have been moved. At Capel Eithin the Devorigi stone is said to have come from the site which later produced evidence for an extensive dug grave and long cist cemetery.

At Arfryn, Bodedern and Penprys Farm, Llannor, the evidence is more specific. At both sites inscribed stones have been used as components in the construction of cists. At Arfryn the ERCAGNI stone was placed, face down as a lintel to a cist; at Penprys farm, two stones, commemorating separate individuals, were used as the side slabs of a long cist containing the bones of one person. There can be no question, in this instance that this represents secondary use. A second burial was found at Penprys Farm some years earlier. Llwyd, in the late eighteenth century, records a stone, inscribed DERVORI, as 'one of three or four, found underground, in the form of the graves at Llechgynfarwy'. That is to say, we appear to have at Penprys Farm, two instances of long cists formed from re-used Group 1 inscribed stones.

In one of the few other instances of inscribed stones having been found in association with burial, at a field called Trebeddau, Pentrefoelas, the stone of BROHOMAGLOS was recorded, face down, re-used as a lintel on a long cist. By way of comparison, in the north of Scotland, a small number of Pictish symbol stones of Class 1 have been recorded in association with round and rectangular stone platform cairns. At Dunrobin, Sutherland, an example of such a cairn was excavated by Joanna Close-Brooks in 1977. In 1854 a second symbol stone had been found nearby, re-used as the capstone of a long cist (J. Close-Brooks, 1984, 97-102).

c. The association of Early Medieval burial with the sites of later churches

There are 47 locations where earlier Medieval burial is recorded independently of the evidence of inscribed stones. In 11 instances (23% of the total) such burials occur at, or very

close to, the sites of later churches. Chronologically the burials predate the earliest surviving structural evidence for churches on these sites. Nevertheless, it is probable that early ecclesiastical establishments existed at, for example, Ynys Seiriol, Clynnog, Bangor and Caer Gybi and possible that they did so elsewhere, at Aberdaron and Penmon, for example.

At some locations the evidence for early burial may predate the establishment of a church by a significant interval. It has been noted that long cists at Llechcynfarwy occur beyond the current limits of the church graveyard. It would also seem that the long cists recorded at Caer Gybi in 1832-3 lay outside the southern limits of the Roman walls, which enclose the church and graveyard at that site.

A distinction can be observed between the proportion of group 1 stones first recorded at the sites of later churches and the numbers of Group 2 and Group 3 stones with ecclesiastical associations. Twenty Group 1 stones fall within this category (42% of the Group 1 total) while 26 stones of Group 2 (72% of the total) and 11 Group 3 stones (92% of the total) have associations with church sites. There is obvious imprecision in this statistic in that a number of Group 1 stones may have been moved to the sites of parish churches from their original locations at any time after the establishment of a church. This removal is documented in a number of examples and has been discussed above. Similarly, there are instances where the earliest recorded provenance of a stone is close enough to the site of a later church to suggest a relationship, albeit a sequential one. Nevertheless, questions remain as to why some burials, such as the long cists at Llechcynfarwy, for example, and some stones, such as the Aliortus stone, originally from Gardd y Sant, near the church of Llanaelhaearn, occur close to but not at the sites of those later churches.

Equally, some stones of Group 2 were never intended to decorate churchyards or mark their graveyards. Some were clearly territorial and boundary markers and stations on well-travelled routes. Nevertheless, as a matter of degree, it is clear that significantly fewer inscribed stones of Group 1 are associated with the locations of a developing ecclesiastical network while those of Group 2, and particularly Group 3, are associated in that way.

General considerations and recommendations

The first point which requires to be made is that there is very little about the nature of the burial sites under review which has specifically Christian connotations. Neither extended inhumation, east-west orientation, stone-lined graves, 'special' graves or the general absence of grave goods is a necessarily Christian indicator. There are, of course, overtly Christian messages transmitted by some of the inscribed stones. The chi-rho monograms on the Carausius and Iaconus stones, for example, and the cross at the head of the Cadfan stone at Llangadwaladr are, at the same time, unmistakably Christian and considered to be original. It should be remembered, however, that crosses can be shown to have been added, secondarily, to Group 1 inscribed stones in south Wales. If the reading 'Christianus' is accepted on the Porius stone then, this too is a Christian epitaph. Similarly, but less conclusively, the *Hic jacet* formula and its derivations is borrowed from the Roman Christian memorial formulae of fifth and sixth century Gaul. Not all the Group 1 stones, however, fall within these categories and those with vertical name in the genitive, with or without filiation, are likely to have been influenced by an entirely separate commemorative tradition, of not specifically Christian character, and perhaps of Irish derivation. The emphasis, on these stones is on the associations of kindred (cf. Knight 1992, 49-50).

The second point concerns the cultural and chronological influences present in these burial grounds. In this respect, two principal traditions are apparent, and two quite distinct locational contexts. If there is little specifically Christian in the character of the burials then there is little diagnostically Medieval about the organisation of the cemeteries. The compositional background is to be found in the cemeteries of Late Roman Britain. There are burials in neat rows (as, for example, at Poundbury, Dorset), there are head to toe burials at Capel Eithin, as there are, again, at Poundbury, following the line of a physical demarcation or butting up perpendicular to such a boundary. East-west orientation is common in Late Roman cemeteries. There are special graves, earth dug, rectangular foundations to support timber structures or masonry mausolea. At Lankhills, such constructions have an entrance on the eastern side as at Capel Eithin and Plas Gogerddan. At Poundbury the enclosures appear to be complete as at Llandygai.

On the other hand, certain locational preferences seem to have been arrived at by virtue of the existence of a monument of considerable antiquity as a landmark on the site. These seem not to be indiscriminate choices. There is a strong bias towards ceremonial and funerary monuments of the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Ages. Burial mounds of the Early Bronze Age are particularly well represented but standing stones may also have been seen as appropriate signifiers. It is difficult to accept these associations as the continuity of ancestral burial grounds. Admittedly there is Later Bronze Age cremation at Capel Eithin, Iron Age and Roman secular settlement at Porth Dafarch and Llandygai and a possible Romano-British shrine at Capel Eithin. Nevertheless, it would require that the evidence for the disposal of the remains of the dead be virtually undetectable archaeologically during the entire intervening period to support this argument. Rather, these are new burials drawn to old monuments of significance. Knight cites the instance of the erection of an inscribed stone commemorating Similinus Tovichacus adjacent to two mounds on the crest of a ridge at Bryn y Beddau, Clocaenog. The mounds, probably thought to be ancient burials, are in fact, natural (Knight, 1999, 140-1).

This is not a new phenomenon, either in seeking the grave of a remote past as an appropriate place for burial or in mistaking natural features for such a grave. In the 1970's, for example, an excavation in the Vale of Clwyd confirmed a supposed Early Bronze Age cairn to be a natural glacial mound. This had not stopped a community in the Early Bronze Age from inserting 'secondary' burials into the mound. At Deal, in Kent, Iron Age inhumations were made adjacent to an Early Bronze Age barrow. Centuries later the barrow continued to act as a magnet for Anglo-Saxon burials; so no cultural continuity there.

During the Early Medieval centuries, however, there does seem to be a significant trend towards an identification with monuments of a more ancient past or towards the re-establishment of visibly archaic traditions in the burial rite. The re-use or, more correctly, the appropriation of ancient burial mounds might be seen as an attempt to consolidate the

territorial claims of a community whose legitimacy was a little fragile, - incomers, perhaps. In this respect the suggested links with Pictish square-ditch barrows claimed at Tan Dderwen might be worth revisiting from the perspective of the assimilation of the large ring-ditch mound there into the cemetery. Another way of approaching the same evidence for the re-use of early ceremonial sites might be to see this activity as a cultural and philosophical statement; a visible association with a traditional past in the face of change. This has been suggested as an explanation for the large, rich barrow cemeteries of early seventh century Anglo-Saxon England. Far from representing the logical last gasp of the pagan tradition, they are seen as a demonstration of the traditional values of aristocratic paganism against the flow tide of Christianity. A similar explanation has been proposed for the emergence of Pictish square-ditch barrows, the distribution of which, together with Class 1 symbol stones, neatly defines the interface with early Christianity in southern Pictland when plotted against the distribution of long-cist cemeteries (I. Smith, 1996, 27-29, Fig.2.5). For this argument, Smith takes long-cist cemeteries to represent Christian burial. The distribution of early cemeteries and of inscribed stones of Group 1 is of considerable interest. It is particularly significant that proportionally few burials or stones are associated with the sites of later churches. Stones may have been brought within churches or churchyards at any date later than their erection. Of those burials which can be associated with churches, the sites are, for the most part, those major churches of Gwynedd which are documented as being in existence before the twelfth century. There would seem, then to be at least two distinct contexts within which cemeteries, in the period under review, developed.

The first is represented by the majority; those burial grounds which, whether they were Christian, pagan or mixed, were never associated with a church. The second is represented by burial grounds at or close to the sites of the principal early churches of north west Wales, some of which claimed to have been early foundations and were certainly in existence before the end of the eleventh century. It is likely that, during the early period, during the fifth and sixth centuries, these churches, which include Bangor, Clynnog, Caer Gybi, Penmon and Ynys Seriol, Aberdaron and Ynys Enlli, and Tywyn, represented the essential nuclei of ecclesiastical organisation. During the seventh and eighth centuries the differentiation between churchyard burial and non-churchyard burial was eroded. Those early cemeteries which continued to attract burial had, almost certainly, been provided with a church. The recognition of the specially marked grave of a locally important and venerated person on the site would have facilitated this development. Important landowners may have made provision for churches on their own land. As the network of ecclesiastical organisation became stronger so the attractions of churchyard burial, 'with the graves of the martyrs' ad sanctos, saw the abandonment of cemeteries of early period type which had not developed an ecclesiastical association.

Criteria for inclusion of sites and for assessment.

1. *Early Medieval burials (predating the earliest recorded stone churches in the twelfth century)*

Entries may represent the location of potentially early Medieval burial rather than demonstrable sites. Christianity is a consideration but is not an essential criterion. For example: the burial from Benllech (PRN 3606) is almost certainly early medieval on the association of the double-sided comb. It may be Viking and pagan, on the strength of the north-south orientation, but need not be as a number of factors can influence orientation (see the long cist from Cae Maen Hir (PRN 2375) which may derive its north-south orientation from its setting between two earlier prehistoric standing stones, aligned north-south. Equally, early burials in the sequence may not be capable of differentiation in respect of their religious affinities.

- a. **extended inhumation in dug graves:** became a regular component of cemetery burial during the second century AD. Earlier examples are known but are rare and are only identifiable by accompanying grave goods or belong to a specialised group (e.g. extended inhumations with elaborate accompaniment among the predominantly crouched inhumations of the Arras, Yorks, group).
- b. **extended inhumation in long cists:** long cist burial gained popularity in Roman Britain during the fourth century. Outside the Roman province the earliest radiocarbon dated graves are of the fifth and sixth centuries although some may be earlier (e.g. Craigie, Angus, accompanied by an iron penannular brooch, possible second/third century; Camelon, Stirling, late first century, see above). Again, potentially early examples in the series can only be identified as such by accompanying grave goods or by unusual characteristics. The Camelon cist held two extended inhumations and the burial may be influenced by the northern massive cist tradition.

Factors which enhance the significance of recognised sites include:

- Large sample capable of permitting the determination of trends such as groupings of orientation, pathology, sex, age, stature, etc., and statistical information on grave size.
- Environmental conditions conducive to the survival of bone or organic remains, or both.
- More than one grave type present, for example, dug graves and cist burials and/or different types of cist burial.
- Presence of a 'special' grave, particularly if associated with other burials on the site

- c. **Datable association:** These can include radiocarbon associations (as for example, at Tywyn y Capel where the long cist phase has seventh century association and the dug grave phase has twelfth century associations);

Enhancement factors include:

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

- d. **Circumstantial association:** (as, for example, at Ffriddoedd, Bangor, where a decorated tenth century stone was found in apparent association with the burials, or at Capel Eithin, where an inscribed stone, now lost, is reputed to have come from the site).

- e. **Artefact association:** (as, for example, at Benllech, where a double-sided bone comb occurred in the grave).
- f. **Documentary or inscriptional association:** (For example, where a strong documented tradition attests the burial of a Saint in a particular location, as is the case with Beuno at Clynnog; or where an early inscription appears to mark a burial as is the case of Carausius 'in this mound of stones' at Rhiwbach).

Enhancement factors include:

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

2. *Inscribed stones and cross-incised stones.*

It cannot be demonstrated that all the inscribed stones of Nash-Williams Group 1 marked burials but it must be a presumption that many of them did (see Glossary). However, not all the stones are now in their original location. A distinction must be made between those that appear to be *in situ* and those that have certainly been moved, either at an early period to the vicinity of a church or more recently for conservation purposes. Sometimes the original location can be established (the Carausius Stone at Rhiwbach, now in Penmachno Church, for example, or the Senacus and Veracius Stones at Capel Anelog, moved to Cefn Amwlch, now in the church at Aberdaron) and it is clearly the original location that is significant in this context. There may be debate concerning the details of the chronology of these stones but all fall within the chronological range of this survey.

The cross-incised series of Nash-Williams Group 2 incorporates a number of monuments of different function including:

- grave-markers,
- memorials,
- boundary stones
- territorial markers
- praying stations.

Outline cross grave-markers are distinctive. Other stones are of less certain date and of a range of possible functions. Contexts, such as a location on a recognised or documented boundary, or alongside important routeways may aid identification of function. Some of the crosses extending down the north western coast of Llyn may be associated with pilgrim routes to Ynys Enlli. Some crosses may be incised on pagan monuments to Christianise them. Rarely, monuments of this class may be inscribed. The rare examples of personal memorials, prefaced by incised crosses, at Tywyn and Llanfihangel Y Traethau, are best seen as a continuation or development of the Group 1 tradition. The significance of the inclusion of this, generally miscellaneous, group of stones in the catalogue is primarily for the light it casts on the locations of ecclesiastical activity during the seventh to eleventh century.

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

- Provenance: If a stone is known or presumed to stand *in situ* in its original location then the significance of this association is very greatly enhanced.
- If documentary evidence survives detailing the original provenance of a stone then the significance of this association is enhanced.
- Association: If a stone is associated with a cemetery of the early period then the significance of this association is very greatly enhanced.

- If a stone of Group 1 is associated with the site of a church and this is believed to be its original provenance then the significance of this association is greatly enhanced.
- If a stone is directly associated with an earlier prehistoric ritual and funerary context then the significance of this association is greatly enhanced.

3. Locational associations

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

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

Contextual Data

Certain categories of data were recorded in the desktop stage of this assessment and during field visits which provide contextual information for the records. The categories of data were recorded in the following fields :

- *PRN*
 - *Site name*
 - *NGR*
 - *Archaeological status (conservation status, SAM, SSSI, etc.)*
 - *Topography*
 - *Aspect*
 - *Altitude*
 - *Present land use*
 - *Threat*
 - *Pre-Christian ceremonial funerary*
 - *Pre-Christian secular*
 - *Enclosures*
 - *Church association*
-
- PRN, Site Name and NGR are indexing fields.
 - Archaeological Status, Present land use and Threat are fields useful for management purposes.
 - Pre-Christian, etc., are associative fields, which are relevant to the potential significance of the monument and its interpretation.
 - Topography, Aspect and Altitude are fields relevant to the geographical context of the monument. Of these, the relevance of aspect and altitude is, at the present time, uncertain. Topography, however, may have been a significant determinant in the location of early burial sites. The impression was gained, during field visits, that local topography, particularly the category of locally prominent rise, may be a significant recurring feature of the siting of early burial grounds. There may be a relationship with the preferred locations of earlier prehistoric ritual and funerary monuments and the attraction of such landmarks in respect of Early Medieval burial. This has yet to be demonstrated statistically, however. Nevertheless, in considering the significance of monuments against their identifying criteria, a topographic location on a locally prominent rise would, provisionally enhance that significance.

Recommendations for conservation and further work

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

There are considerable difficulties regarding the conservation of this resource.

Burial sites

The locations of burial in this period are rarely visible above the surface of the ground as many other monument classes are. They are unlikely to have been enclosed within defined graveyard boundaries unless a later church developed on the same site. In these instances the graveyard will not necessarily be commensurate with the extent of early burial (see, for example, Llechcynfarwy PRN 2080).

The identification of early burial grounds has almost invariably been at the point of disturbance or destruction rather than through archaeological fieldwork of antiquarian observation. In those instances where new sites have been first discovered through archaeological excavation, this has, in each case been incidental to work on either the visible structure of an ecclesiastical site (St. Tudwal's Priory, Eglwys y Bedd, Clynnog; Ynys Seiriol); on settlements (Porth Dafarch; Glyn, Benllech); visible monuments of the Early Bronze Age (Treiorwerth; Ty'n y Pwll, Llanddyfnan) or through assessment in the advance of development (Berllan Bach, Bangor; Ty Mawr, Caergybi). The following table identifies the processes which have led to the identification of sites.

Building works or related development	10	
Road works and railways	7	
Field clearance and boundary removal	7	
Archaeological research excavation	7	3 ecclesiastical; 2 settlement; 2 EBA burials
Quarrying	4	
Ploughing	4	
Coastal erosion	3	
Peat digging	1	
Reported (unspecified)	4	

While the processes of discovery have invariably led to destruction, the removal of the evidence will not necessarily be complete in each case. A difficulty arises in identifying the surviving limits of burial grounds where there is no surface indication.

Many inscribed stones of Group 1 have been removed from their original provenance and are now either within churches or churchyards, in museum collections or have the benefit of statutory protection. However, while the inscribed monuments are intrinsically significant for their epigraphic and social detail, that significance is greatly enhanced by contextual information. Many of the original provenances of the stones have now been lost. Any opportunity for recovering locational and contextual detail in respect of these provenances would add significantly to the resource.

In view of the almost universal incidence of inadvertent damage or destruction to the Early Medieval burial grounds of north west Wales and given the difficulties of identifying such sites in advance of destruction it may be necessary to develop conservation tools alongside the provision of statutory protection. The dissemination of information and the raising of public awareness, on the character of these monuments and their particular significance in informing our understanding of the social changes taking place during the formative centuries of the kingdom of Gwynedd, may be one way forward.

Recommendation 1

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

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

The following sites suggest themselves as candidates for this approach.

1.	Llechcynfarwy	PRN2080
2.	Pen y Graig, Llanrhyddlad	PRN2040
3.	Hen Siop, Llanfaethlu	PRN2029
4.	Carreglwyd	PRN2028
5.	Rhos y Gad, Pentraeth	PRN5585
6.	Piebron Farm, Amlwch	PRN 3545
7.	Tyn y Felin Quarry	PRN 3608

Recommendation 2

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

The following sites suggest themselves for assessment.

1.	Ty'n y Pwll, Llanddyfnan	PRN 7313
2.	Treiorwerth, Presaddfed Estate	PRN 2084

Recommendation 3

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

The following site is recommended for assessment through documentary research, targeted aerial photography under the right conditions of crop growth and, possible, remote sensing survey and targeted assessment excavation.

Cae Maen Hir, Penprys Farm Llannor PRN2375: Iovenalis and Vendesetli stones at site of cist burial.

Recommendation 4

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

- (a) Encouragement of the full publication of the two important Early Medieval cemeteries at Llandygai (excavated 1967) and Arfryn, Bodedern (excavated 1971 and 1982).
- (b) The publication of an information and management booklet in Cadw's 'Caring For...' series.

Recommendation 5

The development of early churches before the appearance of the first surviving masonry churches in the twelfth century, and their role in burial, is clearly of great significance in respect of our understanding of the period in general and Early Medieval burial grounds in particular. An assessment of potentially early church sites was outside the scope of the present study. Nevertheless the following criteria might provide a starting point in identifying such sites. Consideration might be given to encouraging an assessment of this component of the resource as a logical progression of the present study.

Early Churches pre-1200 (criteria for identification).

The earliest identifiable stone churches in the survey area (indeed throughout Wales) were built in the twelfth century. An unknown number will have earlier origins, perhaps in stone, more likely in timber. The purpose of this table is to identify those churches with potentially early (pre-twelfth century origins) as the possible locations of early Christian burial grounds. Such sites may be particularly significant in that they have the potential to elucidate certain key questions concerning the emergence of churches (perhaps on the sites of early burial grounds) and the abandonment of undeveloped burial grounds during the early Middle Ages.

a. **Documentary evidence**

Churches may be mentioned in early sources, for example, Bangor is referred to in *Annales Cambriae sub anno* 584. Caer Gybi, Penmon, Bangor, Clynnog an Tywyn were all raided by Vikings between 961 and 1073. Less directly Penmon, Clynnog and Ynys Enlli are referred to by the biographer of Gruffydd ap Cynan (d.c.1130) as having benefited from his will. Church valuations such as the Valuation of Norwich (1254) and the Taxation of Pope Nicholas (1291) are an indication of the major churches already in existence by the second half of the thirteenth century.

b. **Stone monuments**

Inscribed stones (Nash-Williams Group 1), cross-incised stones (Nash-Williams Group 2) and free-standing crosses of tenth/eleventh century date (Nash-Williams Group 3) in association with later churches are all indicators of the potential significance of such sites in the early Middle Ages. As in the case of burial, however, it is important to differentiate between those monuments that are *in situ* and those which have been brought to the church for safekeeping or some other reason. For example, Llangaffo has an early Christian inscribed stone, cross-incised grave markers and a wheel-headed cross fragment. There is no reason to doubt the association of the cross-incised stones and the wheel-headed cross. The Class I inscribed stone, on the other hand, was brought to the church from the nearby farm of Fron Deg. Again, the cross-incised boulder within the Eglwys y Bedd at Clynnog is believed to have originally stood by the Gwyrfaï at Glan Beuno.

c. **Curvilinear enclosures**

Arguments have been developed which suggest that curvilinear enclosure can be (but is not invariably) a feature of the early Christian church. Ann Preston-Jones (Edwards & Lane, 1992) has shown that a significant proportion of Cornish churchyards with an oval enclosure are associated with the demonstrably early *lann* place name (see Glossary). Curvilinear enclosure should not be taken in isolation but the degree of curvilinearity should be recorded at those sites where other qualifying criteria apply.

d. **Place names**

Tomos Roberts has discussed a number of place names which may be significant in identifying locations associated with the early church. Some of these are particular to burial (Roberts, in Edwards and Lane, 1992). As Welsh is a living language, certain Welsh elements were not fossilised in time in the way that, for example, *lann* was in Cornwall.

1. Merthyr: from Latin *martyrium* strictly, the shrine which housed the grave of a martyr (see Glossary) (Dierkens and Périn, 1997). In Cornwall this meaning could extend to the shrine of a locally popular Saint (Preston-Jones 1992) and no doubt this became the Welsh usage too. There is an implication, nevertheless, that a

burial is commemorated. Examples from north west Wales include Merthyr Caffo (Llangaffo) and Merthyr Meirion (Llanfeirian) (Roberts 1992).

2. Myfyr: from Latin *memoria*, a place containing the relics of rather than the grave of, a distinguished person (Dierkens and Périn 1997). Myfyr could be used in Welsh to mean grave (*glas fyfyr*, Canu llywarch Hen, *op.cit.*) (Roberts 1992). Examples include Myfyr Eilian to describe the Eglwys y Bedd attached to the church of Llaneilian.
3. Llan: strictly, an enclosure and still used in compound words with this meaning, for example, *corlan* (sheepfold), *perllan* (orchard), etc. More particularly *llan* came to mean an enclosure around a church and, unlike the cognate *lann* in Cornish (and, possibly, *lann* in Breton) *llan* continued to be used in place-name formation for centuries. Some *llan* names are undoubtedly very early. However, *llan*, often carrying the meaning 'church' came to replace, and thereby obscure, some early names, or to be used as an alternative, for example, Llangaffo for Merthyr Caffo; Llanrhos for Eglwys Rhos, etc.
4. Eglwys: from Latin *ecclesia*, church. Variants occur in some Anglo Saxon areas (for example, Eccleston, Cheshire) where the usage is thought to reflect Anglo-Saxon contact with British Christian communities; in Cornwall as *eglos* and in north Britain *eccles* where the usage may represent the presence of some of the earliest Christian churches. Eglwys is the common current usage in Wales today for church but is not common in place names (Roberts, 1992, 42). Roberts has, therefore, argued that 'some names containing eglwys may relate to very old Christian centres' (Roberts, 1992, 42).

Potentially important occurrences include Eglwys Rhos, between Deganwy and Llandudno, where Rhos is the name of the cantref; Eglwys Ail (Llangadwaladr), first recorded in 1254. Both Eglwys Ail and Eglwys Rhos have been traditionally and/or circumstantially associated with the respective early Medieval 'royal' sites of Aberffraw and Deganwy. Hen Eglwys, Anglesey, is referred to in 'the Stanzas of the Graves' as the location of Corbre's graveyard. The manuscript is thirteenth century, the context may be earlier.

5. Capel (chapel), *mynwent* (graveyard), *bedd* (grave) are all in current use, in Welsh, with these meanings. Unless there is additional corroboration of date (for example, Mynwent Corbre) they are not, in themselves an indication of antiquity. Nevertheless, such names can be useful indicators, applied to early and abandoned, landscape features, of the existence of actual or supposed burial sites (for example Mynwent y Llwyn, an apparently artificial mound and possible early church site in Malltraeth marsh; Capel Eithin, site of early medieval long cist and dug grave cemetery; Trebeddau, Pentrefoelas, cist cemetery).

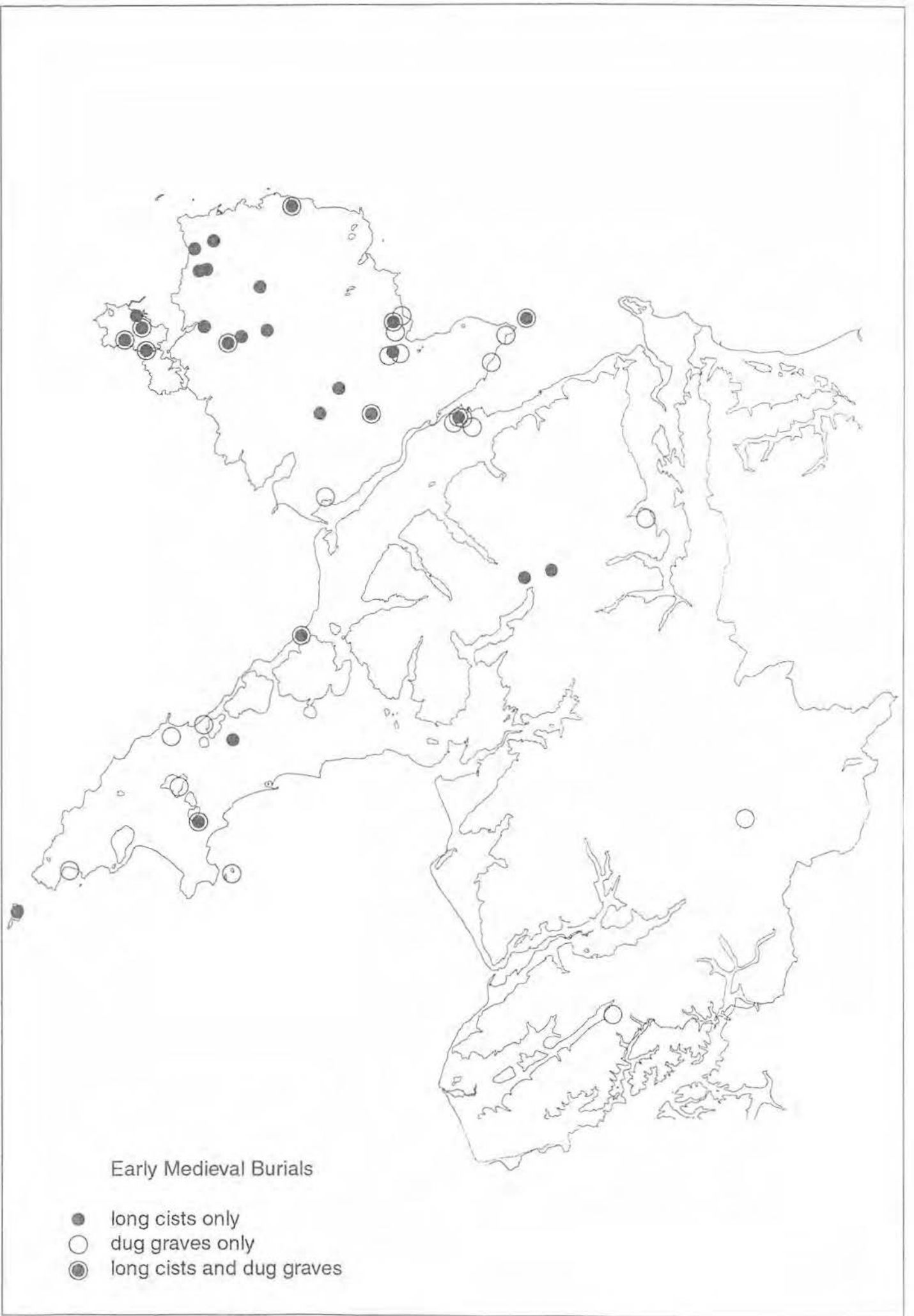
e. Dedications to 'Celtic' saints.

Dedications to Celtic saints are potentially useful indicators of early church sites but are more likely to reflect the sphere of influence of a major foundation associated with the cult of a particular saint in the tenth to twelfth centuries rather than earlier (Edwards 1996). Equally, the presence of a holy well can be an indicator of antiquity, particularly if the well has magical or prophetic qualities which may suggest an original Christian appropriation of a pagan cult site. Examples might be found at Ynys Llanddwyn and Llangelynnin. Dedications and the presence of holy wells should be recorded on the database but are not, in themselves, a criterion for inclusion.

f. Multiple churches

The presence of multiple churches on the same site may represent a reflection of an earlier organisation at an important ecclesiastical site. Each church or chapel would

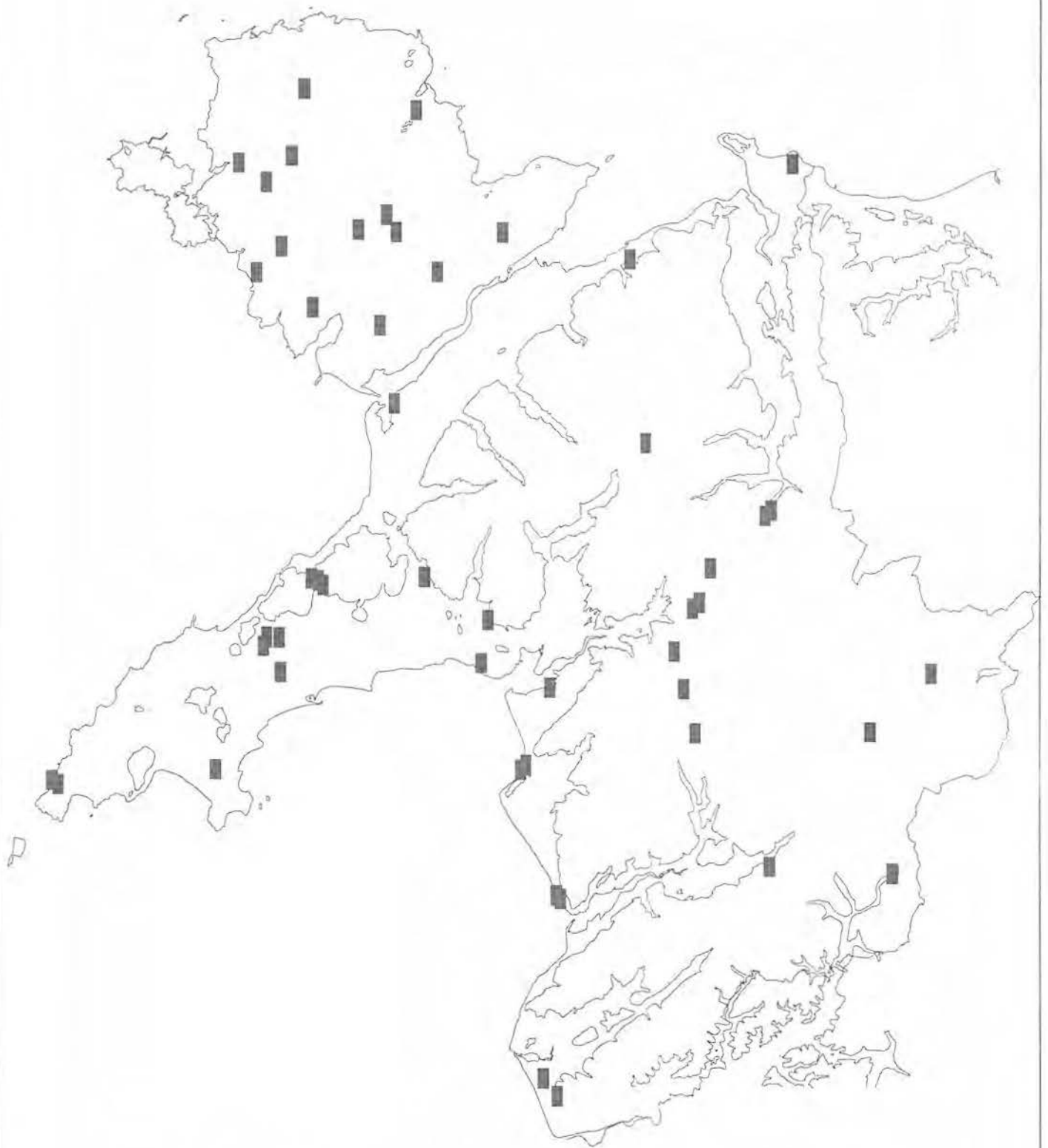
originally have performed a separate function (Edwards and Lane, 1992, 7). The survival of mortuary churches (eqlwysi y bedd) at Clynnog, Caergybi and Llanellian and records of a chantry (Capel Gorfw) at Bangor are examples.





Early Medieval Burials

- Inscribed stones: Group 1
- + Cross-incised stones: Group 2
- ⊕ Free standing crosses and related stones: Group 3



Early Medieval Burials

- Inscribed stones: Group 1



Early Medieval Burials

- + Cross-incised stones: Group 2



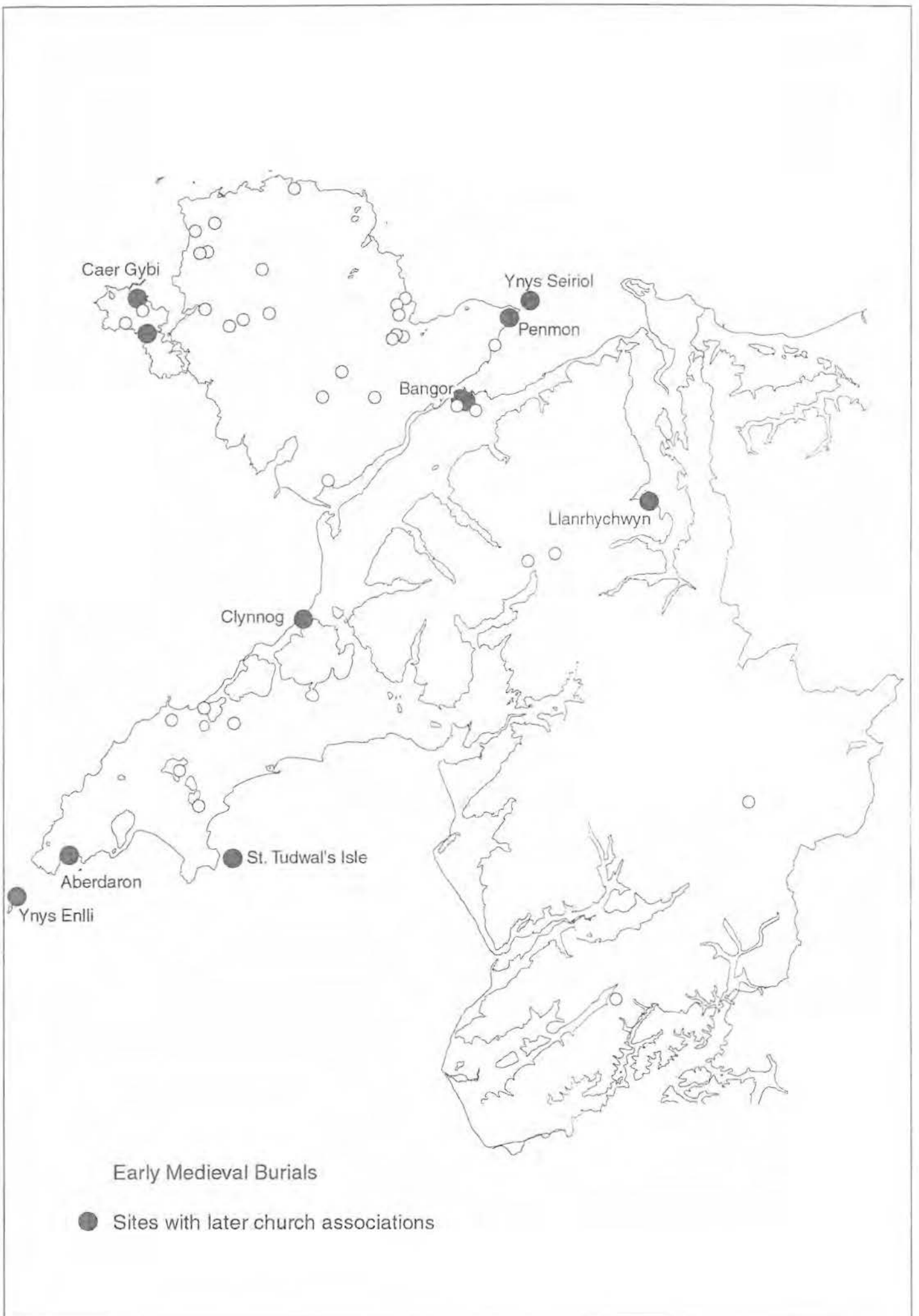
Early Medieval Burials

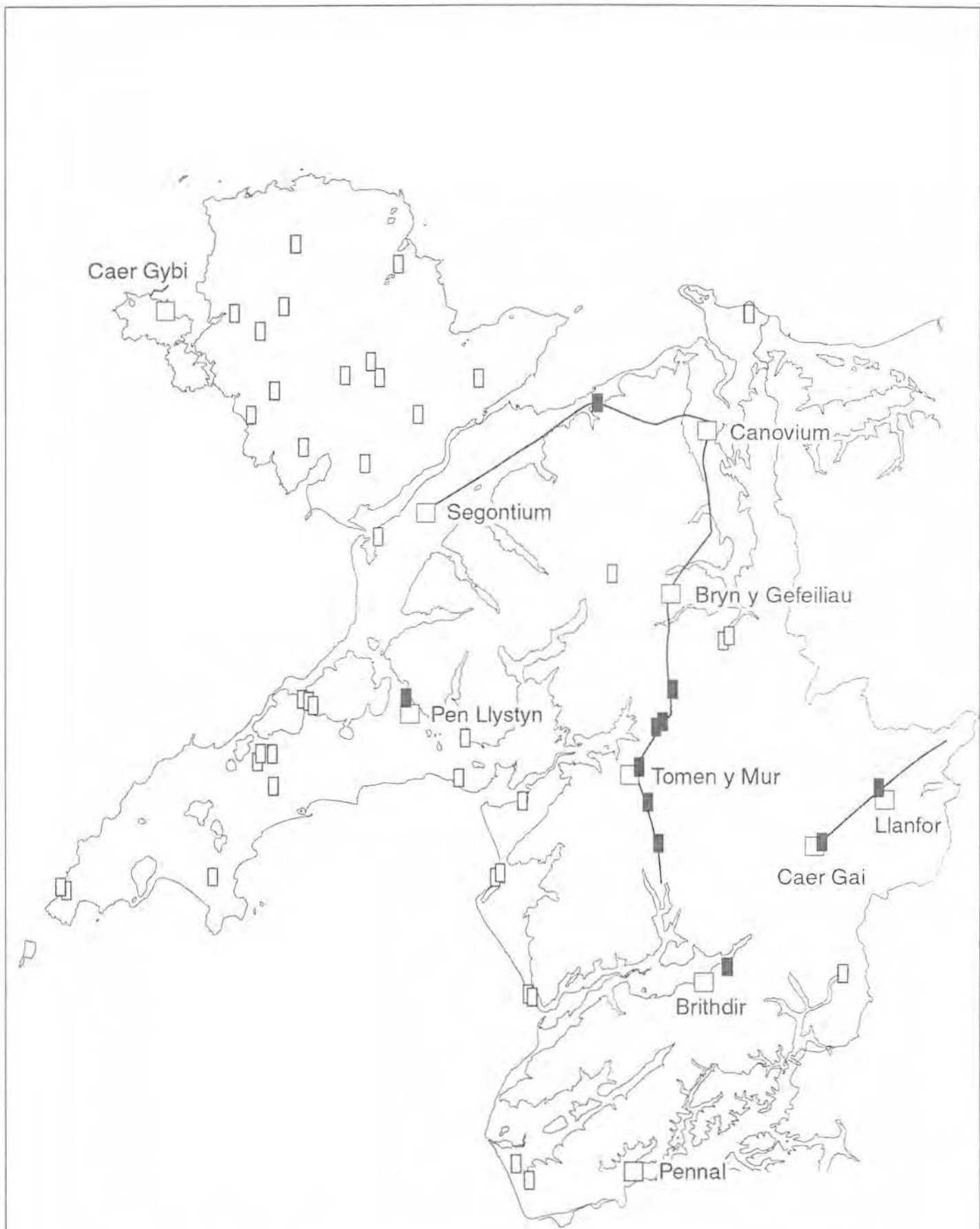
- ⊕ Free standing crosses and related stones: Group 3



Early Medieval Burials

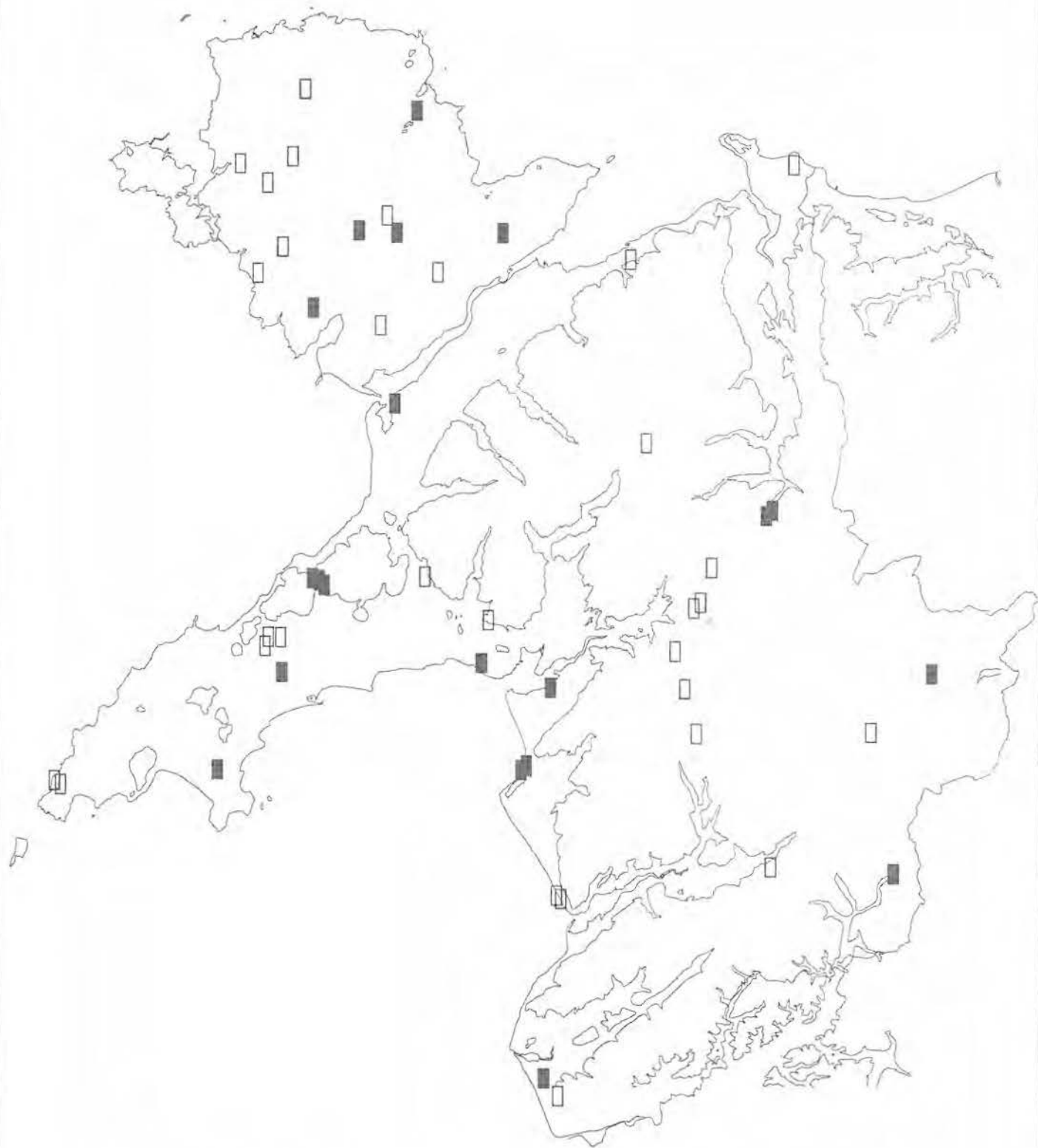
Sites with prehistoric ritual and funerary associations





Early Medieval Burials

■ Inscribed stones: Group 1 and the Roman road network



Early Medieval Burials

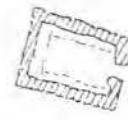
- Inscribed stones: Group 1 with church associations

Roman temples and mausolea, special graves and early churches

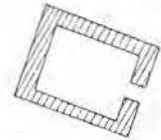
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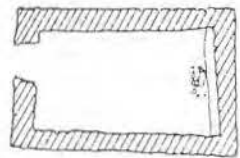
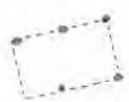
Capel Eithin



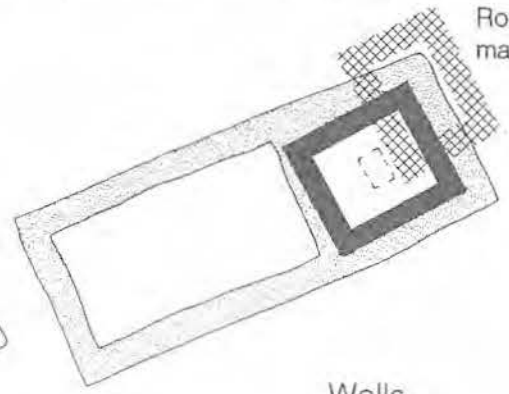
Lamyatt Beacon



Brean Down



Ardwall



Roman mausoleum

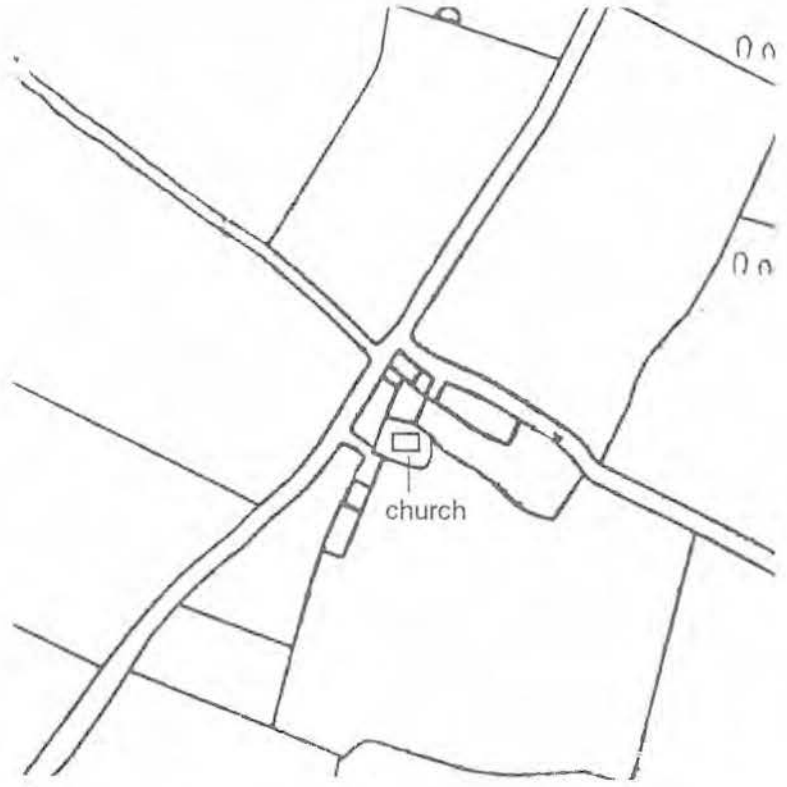
well

well

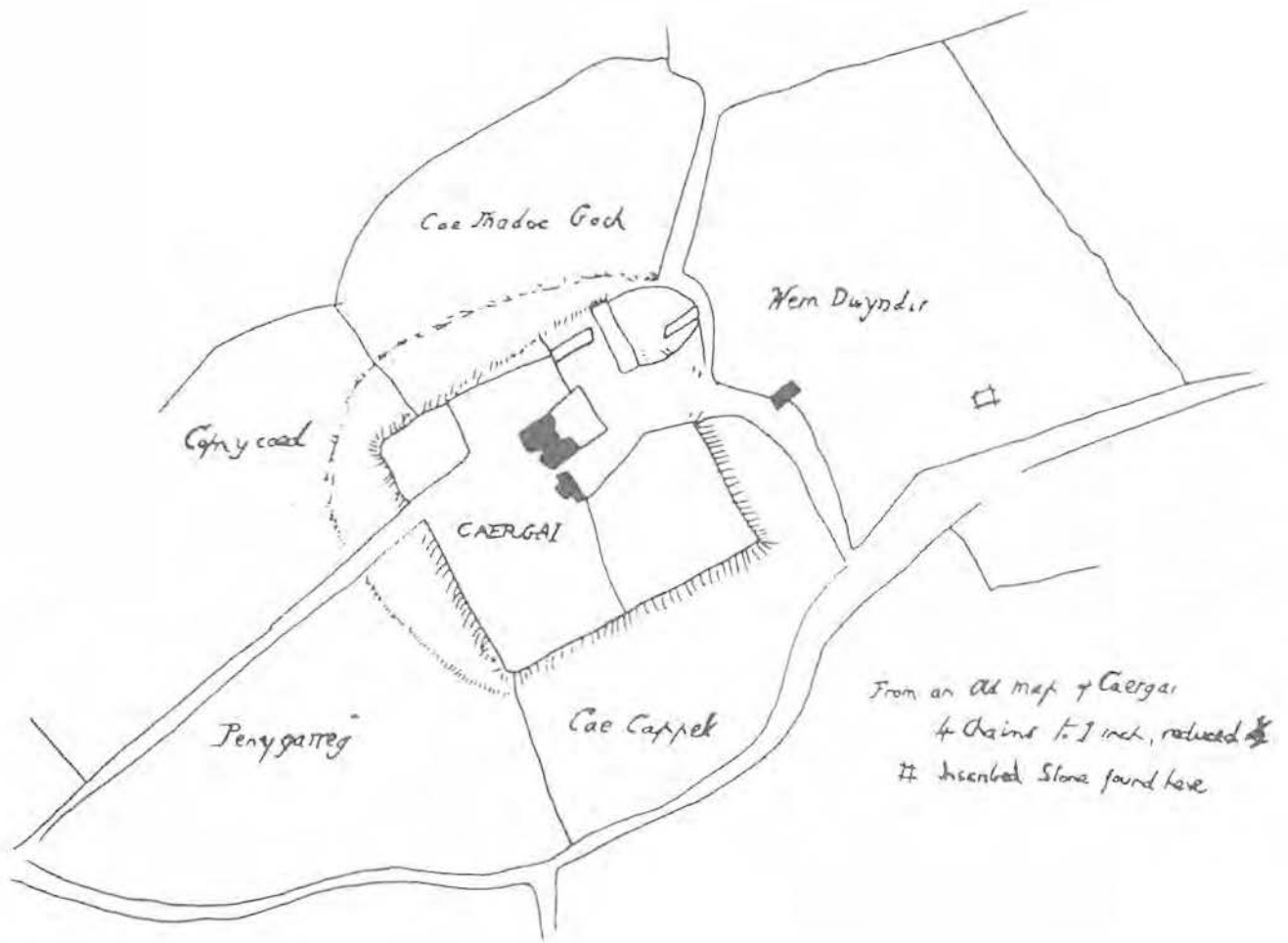
Wells

(after Woodward)

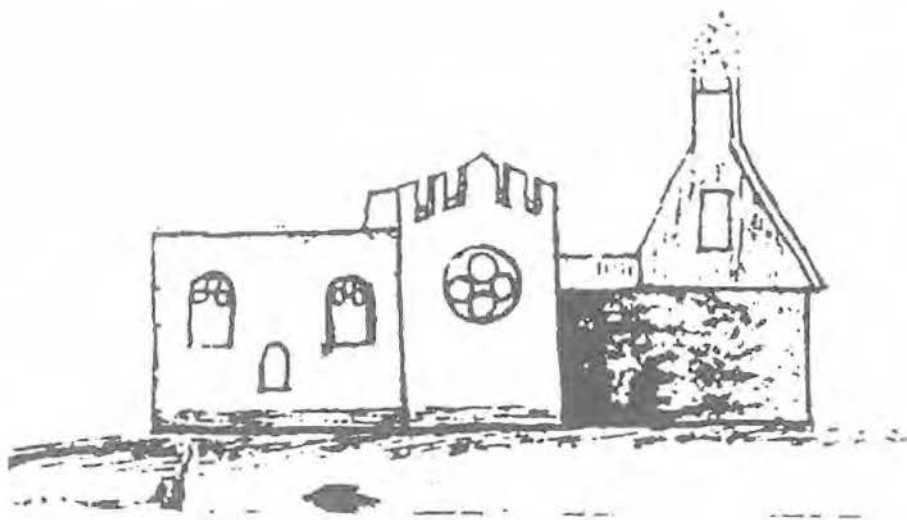
Llechcynfarwy today and Llechcynfarwy in the early 18th century (Lewis Morris' plan) when Maen Llechcynfarwy still stood.



The original location of the standing stone has long been forgotten and has been mistakenly thought to have stood near the cross roads on the west side of the road. Cist burials have been recorded in the plot to the west of the church, marked A and in the adjacent plot to the south. They were disturbed by quarrying in the southern plot and by road works in plot A.



Possible Early Christian activity at two Roman forts. Antiquarian drawings of Caer Gai (top), showing an outer enclosure around the fort, no longer visible, and Cae Cappel (Capelau) where bones are reported to have been found during ploughing; and Caerybi (bottom), in the early 18th century, showing the Eglwys y Bedd before demolition of the chancel.

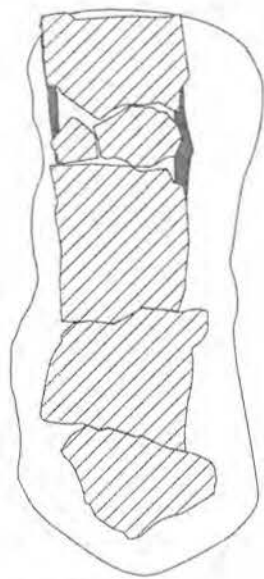




Two excavated Anglesey cemeteries. Ty Mawr, Holy Island, (top); and Arfryn, Bodedern. (bottom)



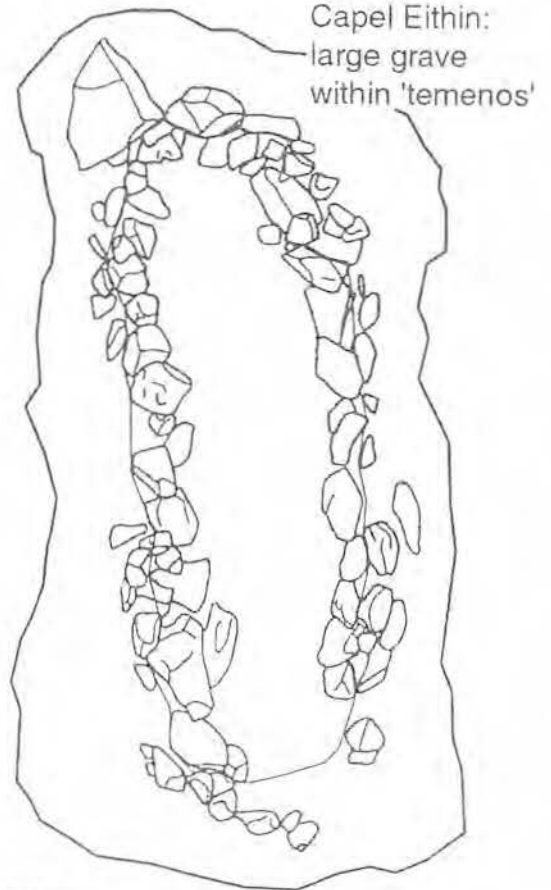
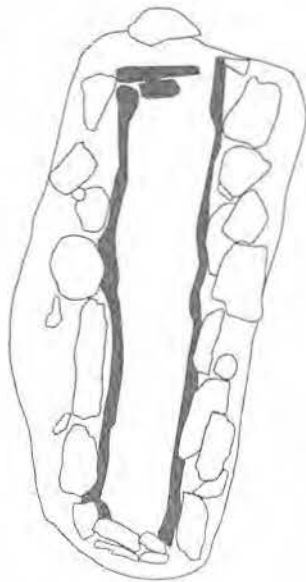
Various grave types: Ty Mawr and Capel Eithin



Ty Mawr:
full cist with lintel stones and floor



Ty Mawr:
coffin burial



Capel Eithin:
large grave
within 'temenos'

0 1m

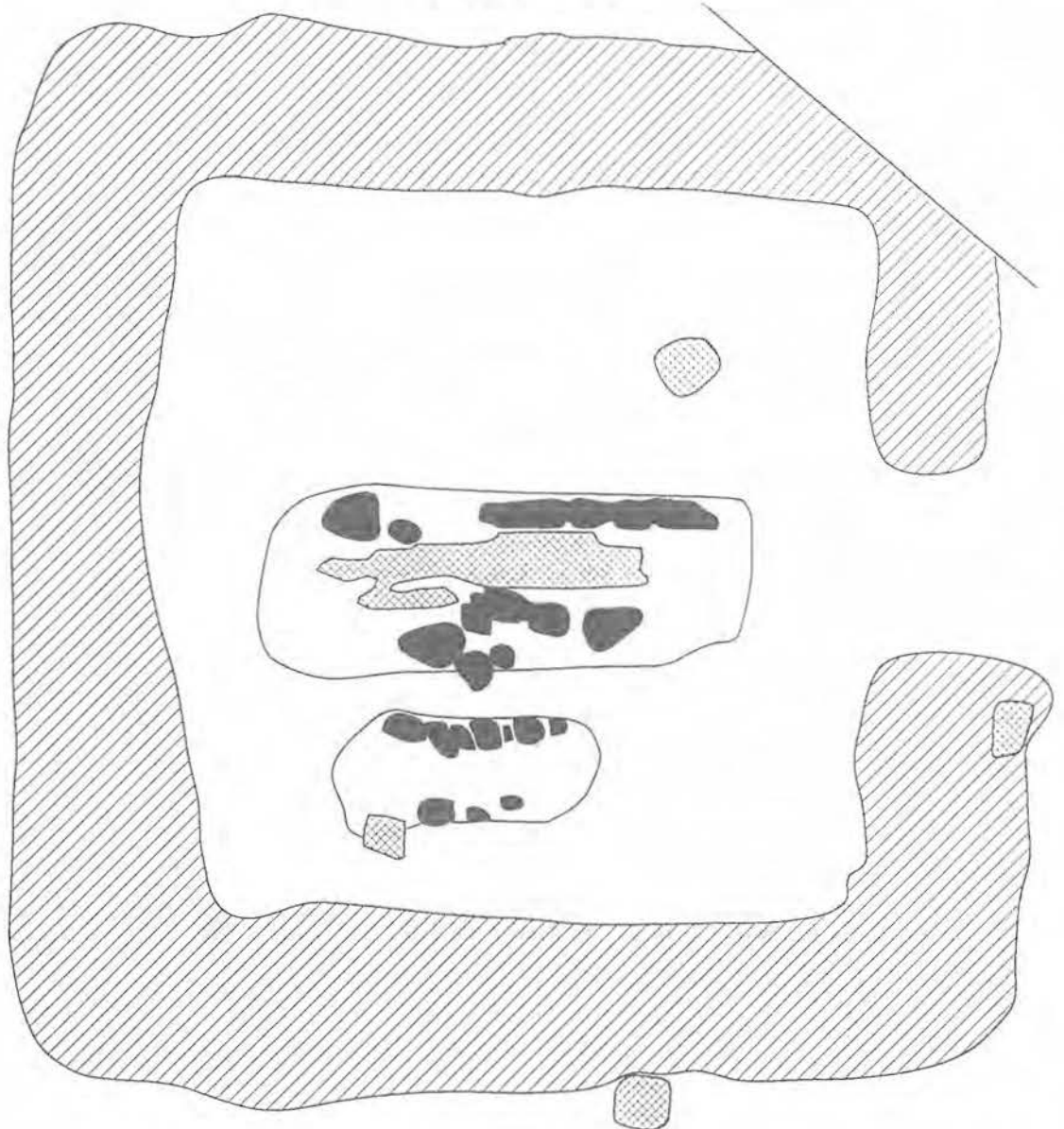
Capel Eithin: special grave



Capel Eithin:
cist with floor

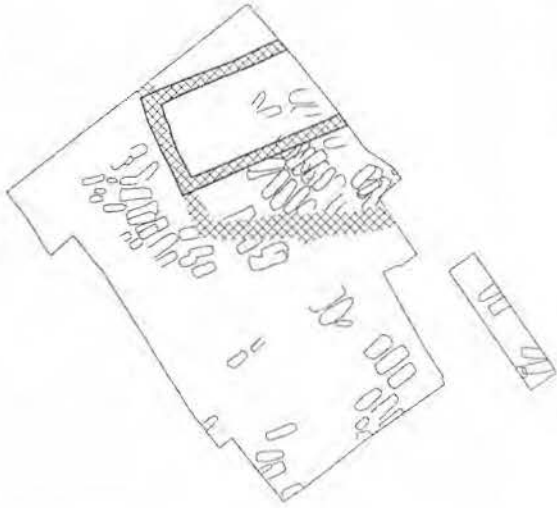


Capel Eithin:
cist with lintels



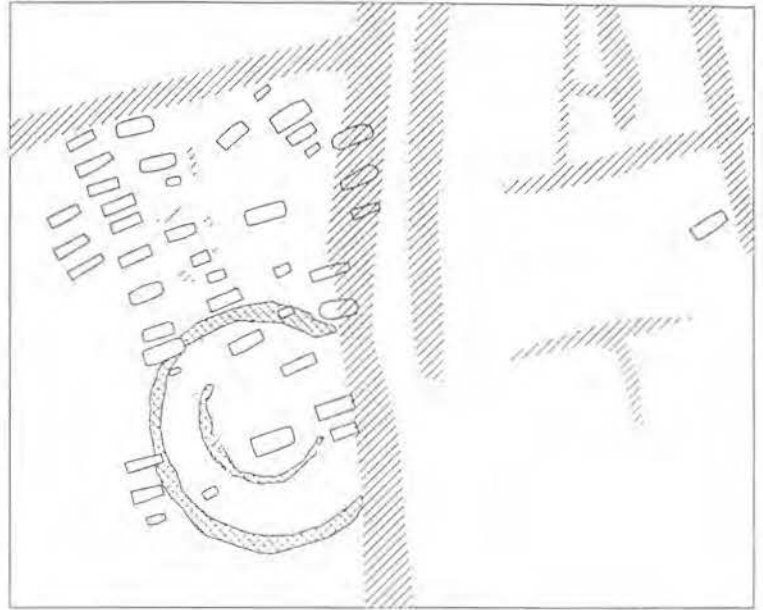
Bangor

showing Early Christian graves cut by ninth-century boundary and overlain by Medieval chapel



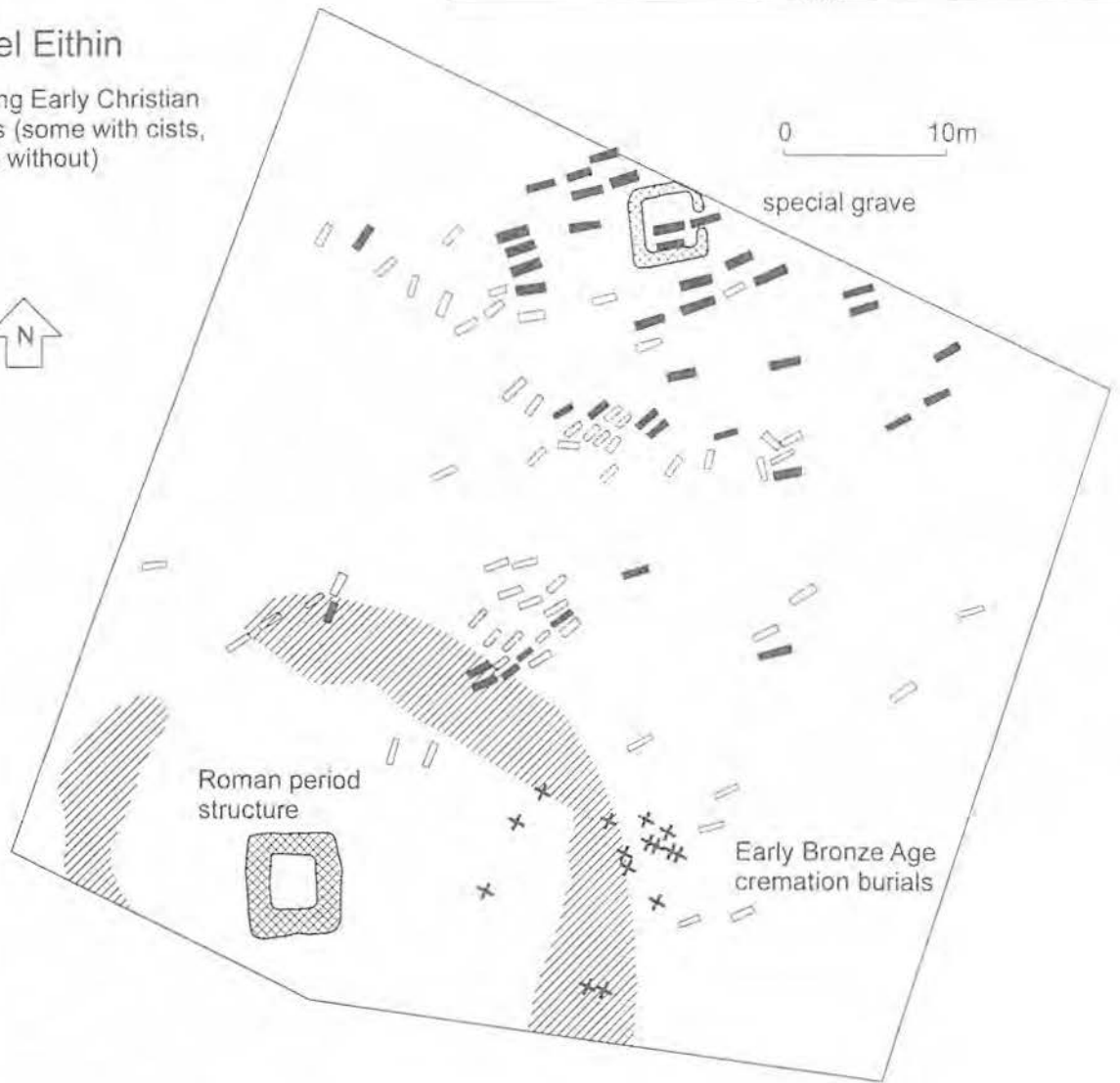
Ty Mawr, Holy Island

showing graves abutting and overlying a probable early prehistoric, concentric-circle feature



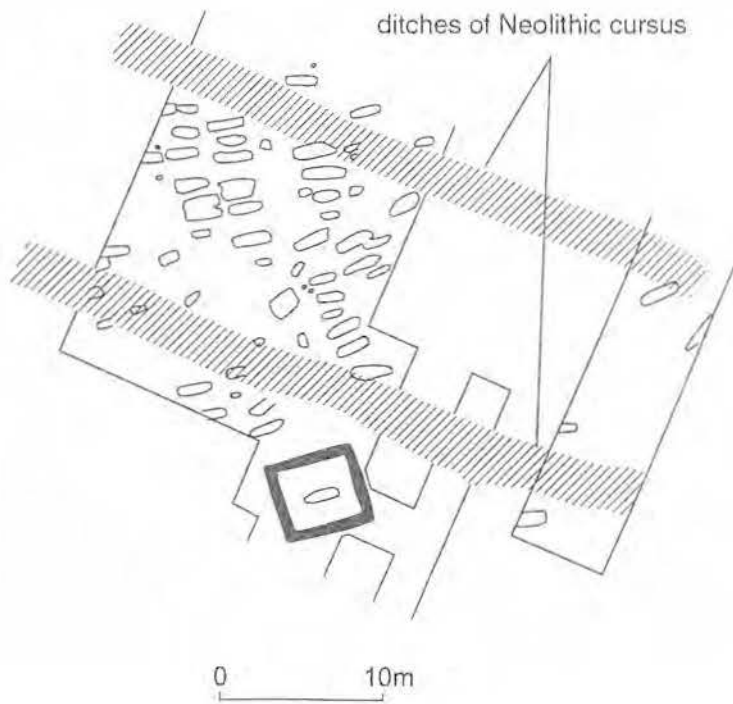
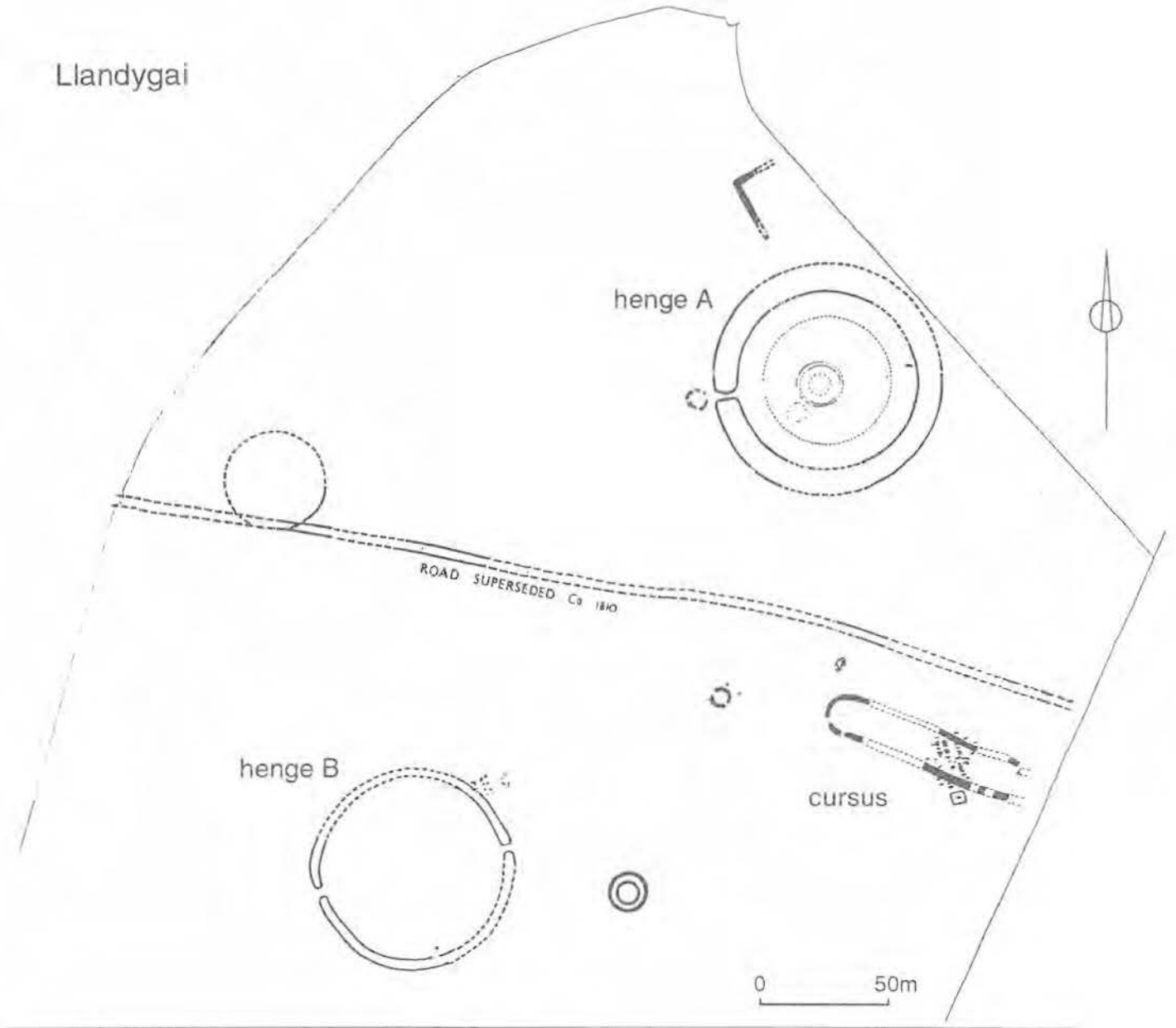
Capel Eithin

showing Early Christian graves (some with cists, others without)

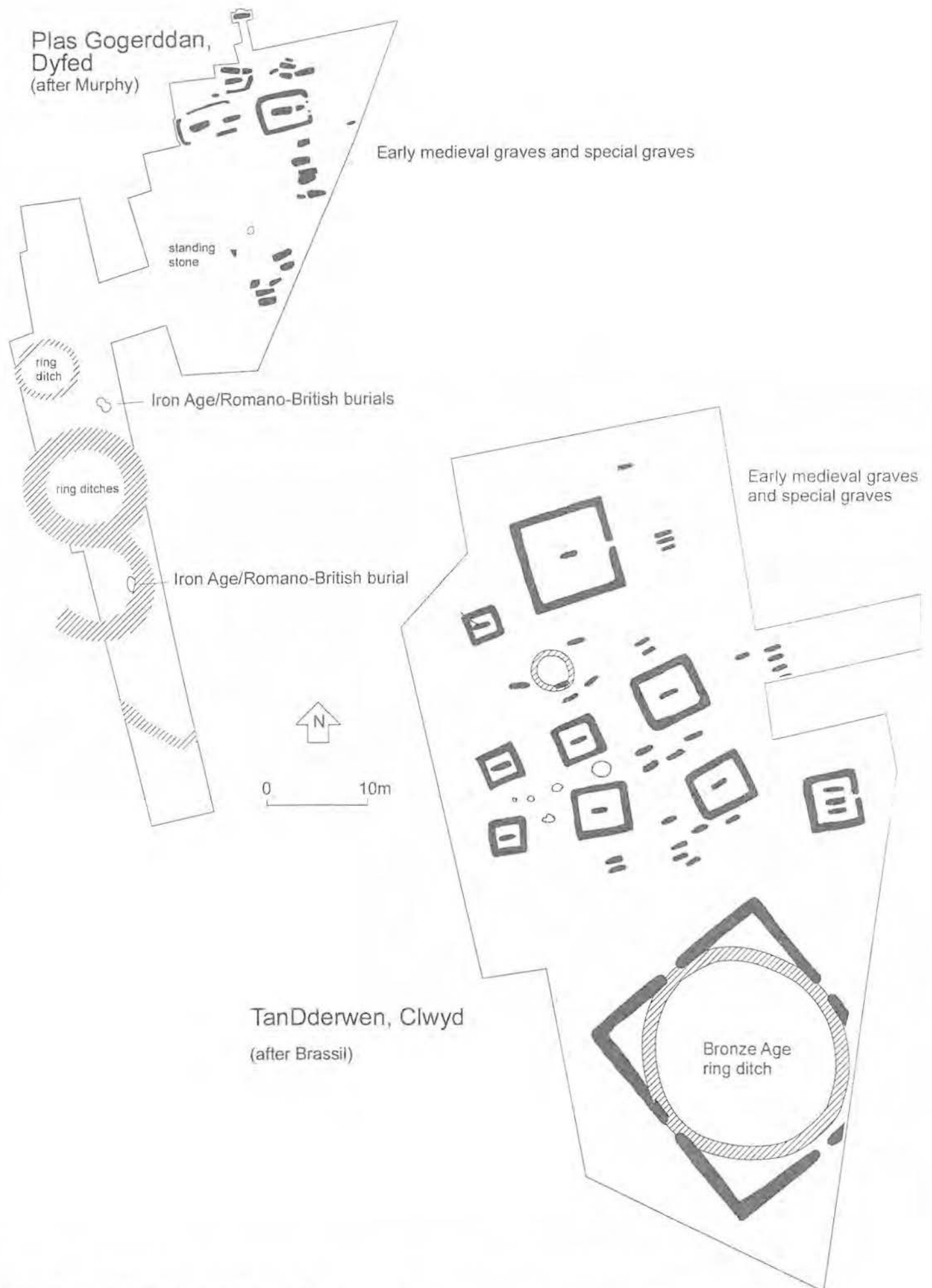


A selection of Early Christian cemeteries in Gwynedd, showing the relationship of burials to special graves and the association of the cemeteries to earlier prehistoric burial and ritual activity

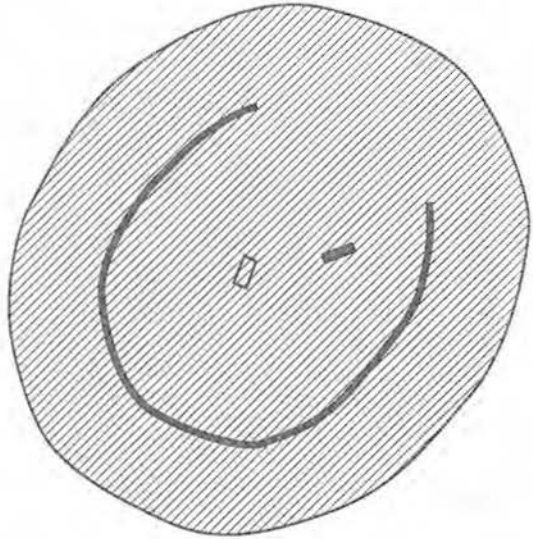
Llandygai



(after Houlder)

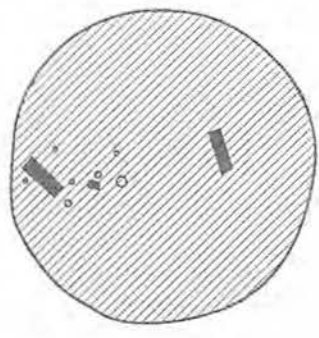


Early Medieval burials from Dyfed and Clwyd showing earlier Bronze Age, Iron Age and Romano-British burial associations and a complexity of grave types including 'special' graves

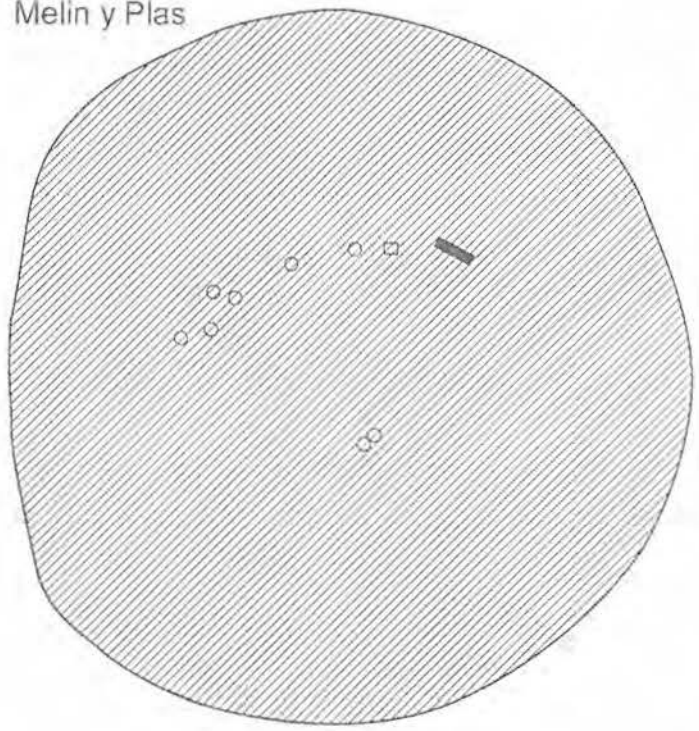


Merddyn Gwyn

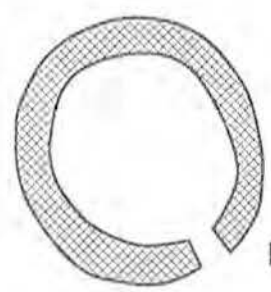
Treiorwerth



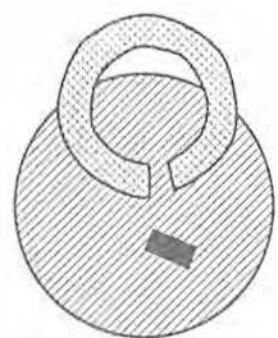
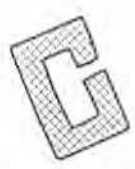
Melin y Plas



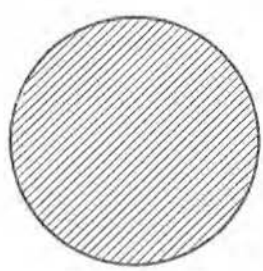
Early Bronze Age Barrows and cairns and Early Medieval burial on Anglesey



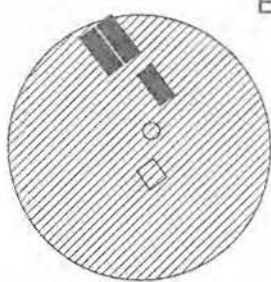
Romano-British settlement



Porth Dafarch



Early Bronze Age barrows



ANTIOPHICIKIT
RENE DOTIS CME PAT
ONSORANO
MASLI
MAGISTRAT-

PRN
3732

MAILS-

PRN
3033

ЦАСТАНАМУР
МУСТАРИЕНТИ
МУРОДИНАТОРИ
УР ОМНИУДАМУС
У ИМ

PRN 3005

HIC BEATVS.
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ME LUMEDIKI
FILII MARTINI
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GNATIONEE TOMNI
VICIMMADQAE
PARENTMEXEMPL
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TIAE

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2207

AVROE
LAPIDIBV
S

SENACVS
PRSB.
HIC IACIT
CANNITV
DNEM
FRATRVN

PRN 1571

VERACNS
PBR
HIC
IACIT

PRN
1202

PLANTOR
INTEPE
IVSTI
CON

PRN
3732

Early Medieval burials catalogue

burial site name:	Llandygai				
PRN	222	Eastings:	5950	Northings:	7105
total number of graves:	50	cists:		dug graves:	50
pre-Christian ceremonial, funerary associations:	henge monuments, cursus, ring ditches, cremations in pits present				
pre-Christian secular associations:	Neolithic structures, Beaker pottery, Iron Age roundhouse, Romano-British domestic activity				
enclosures other than later church graveyards:	Neolithic henges adjacent				
Christian church / burial associations:					

Description:

Extended inhumations and 'special grave' on site of Late Neolithic ceremonial complex.

A complex of cropmark features was recorded and excavated at Llandygai in advance of the construction of an industrial estate. The major prehistoric features investigated include 2 henge monuments of c.80 and 90 m external diameter and c.250 m apart and the western end of a cursus c.18 m wide and at least 300 m long. Ring ditches, Beaker pottery possible Neolithic structures, and cremation burials in pits were also recorded in the vicinity of the large ceremonial monuments. Settlement, focussed on a timber roundhouse within the northernmost of the 2 henges, is argued to be of Iron Age date and was succeeded by further activity in the Romano-British period.

A cemetery of at least 50 oriented east-west extended inhumations was established across the ditches and former mound of the Neolithic cursus. The excavator claims that 'the long forgotten cursus' was 'already quite levelled' although it is possible that some residual mound provided a focus. The graves however were not aligned on the cursus and are closer to true east-west than the Neolithic monument. At the edge of the excavated area and just outside the line of the southern cursus ditch, a square-ditched enclosure marked a special grave.

It is not clear how far the cemetery extended beyond the limits of excavation. The graves were dug; there were no cists visible but of the nine graves excavated, one provided evidence of a coffin or timber lining.

burial site name:	St Ederm's church NE, Nefyn				
PRN	382	Eastings:	2800	Northings:	3975
total number of graves:	unknown	cists:		dug graves:	
pre-Christian ceremonial, funerary associations:					
pre-Christian secular associations:					
enclosures other than later church graveyards:					
Christian church / burial associations:					

Description:

When a mill leat was dug c. 1850 at this location (known as 'cae newydd' in the Tithe Award) burials were found. Their number and nature were not specified.

burial site name: **Cae Hen Fynwent, Llanfihangel Bachellaeth**

PRN **427** Eastings: 2880 Northings: 3497

total number of graves: 0 cists: dug graves:

pre-Christian ceremonial,
funerary associations:

pre-Christian secular
associations:

enclosures other than
later church
graveyards:

Christian church /
burial associations:

Description:
Place name with reported burials

burial site name: **St Mary's abbey, Ynys Enlli**

PRN **781** Eastings: 1200 Northings: 2217

total number of graves: many cists: many dug graves:

pre-Christian ceremonial,
funerary associations:

pre-Christian secular
associations:

enclosures other than
later church
graveyards:

Christian church /
burial associations: Abbey and early monastery on same site; incised cross slab.

Description:
Maany burials have been found to the south, east and west of the abbey ruin. Extended inhumations in long cists with side slabs and lintels, east-west orientation were identified in lowering the road between the farm buildings and the tower in 1875. Graves were also identified beneath the farm yard and adjoining houses and when foundations were dug opposite the west front of the tower.

burial site name:

Llech y Gwyr, Capel Curig

PRN

941

Eastings:

6778

Northings:

5660

total number of graves:

unknown

cists: possible

dug graves:

pre-Christian ceremonial,
funerary associations:

pre-Christian secular
associations:

enclosures other than
later church
graveyards:

Christian church /
burial associations:

Inscribed stone, possible

Description:

Llech y Gwyr is a large stone said to have been standing in the mid 19th century at the head of Nant y Gwryd on the farm of Dyffryn. Crew associates this stone with one described by Edward Llwyd as: 'Karreg y Dadler yn agos at Gappel Kirig a Lhythrenneu arni'. 'Carreg y Dadler, close to Capel Curig with letters on it.'

The stone from Dyffryn was taken to the Inn at Capel Curig. One account describes large slates on their end in the ground with lettering on one of them. Crew takes these to be a reference to cist burials.

burial site name:

Friddoedd, Bangor

PRN

1432

Eastings:

5715

Northings:

7188

total number of graves:

1

cists:

dug graves: 1 complete

pre-Christian ceremonial,
funerary associations:

pre-Christian secular
associations:

enclosures other than
later church
graveyards:

Christian church /
burial associations:

10th -11th century decorated stone

Description:

Burials were found in levelling playing field of UCNW. A number of bones were uncovered including one complete burial. This was an extended inhumation, head to west, orientation a few degrees north of east. Iron fragments including nails and shells were found with the body.

A decorated stone was found at the same time. This is a fragmentary block of local sandstone decorated with a plain 'battlement' pattern with serpent head and tail terminals inside a rectangular panel

burial site name: **Cae Pen-y-maen, Ty'n-y-cae, Nefyn**

PRN **1536** Eastings: 3120 Northings: 4100

total number of graves: unknown cists: dug graves:

pre-Christian ceremonial, funerary associations: possible prehistoric mound with standing stone on the mound

pre-Christian secular associations:

enclosures other than later church graveyards:

Christian church / burial associations: cross-incised stone

Description:

Bones found in mound on which stood an upright stone, described as a maen hir, carrying an incised cross. Bones were also found in the surrounding field known as Cae Pen y Maen during ploughing. The stone stood on the boundary between Pistyll and Nefyn parish.

burial site name: **Porth Dafarch**

PRN **1776** Eastings: 2339 Northings: 8005

total number of graves: 4 cists: 2 dug graves: 2

pre-Christian ceremonial, funerary associations: Three Bronze Age barrows with urn burials, standing stone(s)

pre-Christian secular associations: Romano-British roundhouses

enclosures other than later church graveyards:

Christian church / burial associations:

Description:

Porth Dafarch is a deeply indented bay on the west side of Holy Island. Excavations in 1848 and 1876 by W O Stanley revealed a sequence of settlement and funerary use of the site from the end of the third millennium BC to the early Middle Ages.

Three burial mounds associated with Beaker and early Bronze Age pottery must have been prominent land marks at the head of the bay. One, or perhaps, two standing stones further distinguished these burials. The mounds were disturbed during the Romano-British period when stone-walled round houses were built over the site. Roman pottery, a tankard handle, a fine zoomorphic penannular brooch and fragments of other rings were found in association.

Four extended inhumations were uncovered, apparently inserted into the earlier Bronze Age mounds. One long-cist with side slabs and overlapping lintels, aligned west-north-west by east-south-east was dug into the easternmost of the mounds. A second long cist, with side slabs and perhaps a floor, aligned north-north-west by south-south-east, and two extended inhumations in dug graves on the same alignment, had been placed in the central mound. There was evidence for a considerable amount of charcoal beneath all the bodies which, perhaps, represents the former presence of planks or timber grave lining. The site has been partially destroyed by road construction

burial site name: **Yr Hen Fynwent - Mynydd Mynytho, Llanengan**

PRN **1796** Eastings: 3070 Northings: 3120

total number of graves: Many graves, several cists cists: yes dug graves: unknown

pre-Christian ceremonial, funerary associations: Funerary urns found within a few metres

pre-Christian secular associations:

enclosures other than later church graveyards:

Christian church / burial associations:

Description:

Yr Hen Fynwent, place name. Many graves have been found and several cists, possibly prehistoric as funerary urns have been found within a few metres.

burial site name: **Towyn y Capel - Trearddur Bay**

PRN **2001** Eastings: 2564 Northings: 7902

total number of graves: many cists: many dug graves: many

pre-Christian ceremonial, funerary associations:

pre-Christian secular associations:

enclosures other than later church graveyards:

Christian church / burial associations: medieval chapel

Description:

Towyn y Capel is an eroding sand-hill on the coastline of Holy Island at Trearddur Bay. A chapel stood on the mound. The first reference dates from 1562 and was in ruins by the mid-eighteenth century. The chapel was partly standing in the mid-nineteenth century but has since completely disappeared. Human bones are frequently exposed by storms, as are cists.

Excavation in 1997 (Davidson, 'Excavations at Towyn y Capel, Trearddur Bay, Anglesey, in 1997', TAAS) identified two prominent stratigraphic divisions within the mound represented by dark stabilised turf lines in the layers of accumulated sand. Cist burials were recorded in the deposits sealed beneath the cover turf line although at least one cist had been inserted through that turf line. At least two phases of unprotected dug graves were inserted into the deposits between the two turf lines. At least one of the dug graves from the later of these two phases appeared to have been inserted through the upper turf line. The dug graves seem to have been identified by marker stones on the surface. Two principal alignments were identified across the series of burial. One, shared by the cist burials and the first phase of dug burial, centres on c.66° East of North. The other, shared by the second phase of dug burials, centres on 39° East of North. A radiocarbon determination from one of the cist burials provided a calibrated date of 555-885 at 95% probability. A determination from the second phase of dug graves provided a calibrated date of 1030-1220 at 95% probability.

It is the excavator's interpretation that the shift in alignment observed during the latest recorded phase of dug grave interment may be a reflection of a new focus for the cemetery, perhaps the construction of the first masonry chapel. In the meantime, between the insertion of the long cists and the postulated construction of the masonry chapel, the burial rite had changed from long cist to dug grave while at the same time retaining the original alignment.

An 8th/9th century penannular brooch is recorded from the beach close to the mound.

burial site name: **Carreglwyd**

PRN **2028** Eastings: 3101 Northings: 8719

total number of graves: 5 cists: 5 dug graves:

pre-Christian ceremonial,
funerary associations:

pre-Christian secular
associations:

enclosures other than
later church
graveyards:

Christian church /
burial associations:

Description:

Five extended inhumations found during the making of a road at the lodge entrance to Carreglwyd. Long cists with side slabs but no lintels. East-west orientation.

burial site name: **Hen Siop, Llanfaethlu**

PRN **2029** Eastings: 3193 Northings: 8729

total number of graves: a number cists: a number dug graves:

pre-Christian ceremonial,
funerary associations:

pre-Christian secular
associations:

enclosures other than
later church
graveyards:

Christian church /
burial associations:

Description:

Several cists were found while removing a fence in a field on the land of Hen Siop. Subsequent excavation in 1894 uncovered 4 or 5 stone lined graves. The cist had side slabs and lintels but no floor slabs. Lengths varied between 1.5m and 1.8m by about 0.43m. Some cists narrowed towards the foot. Orientation is east-west. A number of other graves had previously been found nearby, and ploughing in the adjacent field had frequently turned up large stones near the surface.

burial site name: **Pen-y-Graig, Llanrhyddlad**

PRN **2040** Eastings: 3050 Northings: 8944

total number of graves: 4 cists: 4 dug graves:

pre-Christian ceremonial,
funerary associations:

pre-Christian secular
associations:

enclosures other than
later church
graveyards:

Christian church /
burial associations:

Description:

Four long cists disturbed during road widening. Stone slabs at ends and sides and lintels; length 1.8m, width 0.46m at head, narrowing to 0.25m at foot; north-east to south-west and east-west orientations. Two of the graves totally destroyed; boundary wall between the road and field built over the other two.

burial site name: **Arfryn, Bodedern**

PRN **2063** Eastings: 3415 Northings: 8000

total number of graves: 114 cists: yes dug graves: yes

pre-Christian ceremonial,
funerary associations: A complex of postholes, gullies and pits of possible prehistoric date. Llech Edern, possible standing stone.

pre-Christian secular
associations:

enclosures other than
later church
graveyards: enclosure ditch

Christian church /
burial associations: inscribed stone; Eglwys Edern place name.

Description:

Cemetery of 114 extended inhumations comprising both long cists and unprotected dug graves revealed following reports of structures destroyed during levelling on the site. There is an enclosure ditch (C14 for fill CAR-1556 1340+-60), elucidation of the precise relationship of which to the grave sequence awaits the publication of the excavation report. A central, grave free, 'focal' area of post settings was identified and may be of prehistoric origin (C14 CAR-1557 3000+-70). A 1.5m wide walled cist was capped by an inscribed stone (Ercagni) lying face downwards. Cists were reported by Lewis Morris c.1732 about half a mile from the church, as was a stone called Llech Edern. The site is reputed to be the traditional site of Eglwys Edern.

burial site name: **Boddeiniol Farm**

PRN **2070** Eastings: 3730 Northings: 8570

total number of graves: 4 cists: 4 dug graves:

pre-Christian ceremonial, funerary associations:

pre-Christian secular associations:

enclosures other than later church graveyards:

Christian church / burial associations: Capel deiniol place name

Description:

According to Skinner (1908) four cist burials were found at Boddeiniol Farm, all with stone sides and lids. This is also the location of Capel Deiniol

burial site name: **Llechcynfarwy**

PRN **2080** Eastings: 3810 Northings: 8108

total number of graves: about 20 cists: yes dug graves:

pre-Christian ceremonial, funerary associations: Standing stone

pre-Christian secular associations:

enclosures other than later church graveyards:

Christian church / burial associations: St Cynfarwy's church

Description:

In 1695, 8 or 9 cist graves were recorded during digging for stone at Llechcynfarwy. In 1926 several stone-lined graves were found in clearing the bank between a paddock and the Trefor road. The paddock lay between the churchyard and the road and had been given with the intention that it should be used as an extension to the churchyard. Graves could also be seen in the line of the road before it was resurfaced and tarred. The sites of the two discoveries can be seen to be contiguous, occupying the small plot flanked by the churchyard on the east, the road on the west and the property known as The Mount on the north, on the one hand, and the small disused quarry adjacent to Fron, immediately to the south on the other hand. The majority of cists shared the same alignment: nw-se. These graves appear to have had side slabs and lintels. One grave was aligned wsw-ene and while defined by side slabs was not clearly provided with lintels. The location is a prominent local rise once occupied by a stone standing 2.75m high, popularly known as Maen Llechcynfarwy - the stone of Llechcynfarwy- although Llechcynfarwy, itself, translates as the stone or slab of Cynfarwy

burial site name: **Treiorwerth, Presaddfed Estate**

PRN **2084** Eastings: 3543 Northings: 8050

total number of graves: 3 or 4 cists: 3 dug graves:

pre-Christian ceremonial, funerary associations: Early Bronze Age cairn with cremations

pre-Christian secular associations:

enclosures other than later church graveyards:

Christian church / burial associations:

Description:

Three long cist burials, and one possible fourth, inserted into clay capping of stone cairn. The original cairn was the repository of c.12 urned and unurned cremation burials of which at least 2 were secondary. The cairn was relatively small, 13.5m diameter and c.1m high but occupied a prominent position on a rocky ridge, commanding extensive views, particularly west towards Holy Island. The three recognisable cists were of similar construction but differed in size, degree of survival and orientation, although all fell within the e-w to nw-se arc of the compass. All were provided with side slabs and lintel stone but no floor slabs. Two were of similar dimensions: c1.9m by 0.4m; the third measured c.0.6m by 0.25m.

burial site name: **Chapel Farm, Llangristiolus**

PRN **2156** Eastings: 4350 Northings: 7250

total number of graves: a number cists: yes dug graves:

pre-Christian ceremonial, funerary associations:

pre-Christian secular associations:

enclosures other than later church graveyards:

Christian church / burial associations:

Description:

An entry in The Gentlemans Magazine 1829 described a number of graves containing human bone having been discovered c.1769. The cists had stone sides and ends and some were covered. Exact location unknown. The name of the farm, Chapel Farm, on which the discovery was made may be significant. It may, however, refer to the proximity of the local non-conformist chapel, Capel Horeb. Chapel Farm is at the edge of a locally prominent, low rise.

burial site name:	Bangor, Berllan Bach		
PRN	2371	Eastings: 5814	Northings: 7210
total number of graves:	76	cists:	dug graves: 76
pre-Christian ceremonial, funerary associations:			
pre-Christian secular associations:			
enclosures other than later church graveyards:	7th century curvilinear enclosure adjacent		
Christian church / burial associations:	Immediately adjacent to later cathedral and on site of medieval chantry.		

Description:

Excavations in the centre of Bangor between 1981 and 1989 identified 76 graves. All were extended inhumations in dug graves, oriented within the spectrum north-east – south-west to east-west, with heads to the west. Very little bone survived; soil stains of bodies were recognised in a few instances. Several of the graves cut other graves. In one instance the presence of charcoal suggests a possible timber lining to the grave. The cemetery was overlain and disturbed by boundary ditches or fences of the 10th century (C14) and 13th century (pottery); a chantry of the cathedral, Capel Gorfyw (15th century or earlier) which later became a tithe barn; early 19th century housing; a garden for the vicars of Bangor; a car park and, most recently an underground car park for a shopping centre which has completely destroyed the site.

The burials lie 60m east of the present cathedral in an area bounded by an oval enceinte of some antiquity and thought to define the original monastic enclosure of Bangor.

burial site name:	Penprys Farm, Llannor		
PRN	2375	Eastings: 3438	Northings: 3920
total number of graves:	1	cists: 1	dug graves:
pre-Christian ceremonial, funerary associations:	Standing stones (two)		
pre-Christian secular associations:			
enclosures other than later church graveyards:			
Christian church / burial associations:	Inscribed stones		

Description:

An inhumation burial contained within a long cist was discovered in pulling down a hedge, under which the grave lay. The cist was oriented north-south, accounts differ as to whether the feet were at north or south. The two side slabs of the cist carried inscriptions. The cist was completed with a head stone and foot stone and covered by two flat stones.

The grave lay between two standing stones c.150m apart also aligned north-south in a field called Cae Maen Hir on land of Tir Gwyn farm close to a cottage by the name of Beudy'r Mynydd

Inscription 1 VENDESETLI : suggested association with Gwynhoedl, but uncertain.

Inscription 2 IOVENALI FILI / ETERNI HIC IACIT: The stone of Iovenalis, son of Eternus, he lies here.

burial site name:	Penmon		
PRN	2557	Eastings: 6293	Northings: 8072
total number of graves:	a number	cists: a number	dug graves:
pre-Christian ceremonial, funerary associations:			
pre-Christian secular associations:			
enclosures other than later church graveyards:			
Christian church / burial associations:	Penmon priory within 100m		
Description:			
A number of oriented east-west extended inhumations in cists with side slabs, covering slabs, but no basal slabs; closely packed and arranged head to foot, in Dinmor Park, 100m west of Penmon Priory Church. Uncovered in 1847 during the clearance of ground for a quarry and removed to Priory Church yard.			

burial site name:	Cladd-dy, Llanfaes		
PRN	2579	Eastings: 6120	Northings: 7760
total number of graves:	unknown	cists:	dug graves:
pre-Christian ceremonial, funerary associations:			
pre-Christian secular associations:			
enclosures other than later church graveyards:			
Christian church / burial associations:	Franciscan friary within 00m		
Description:			
Human bones in some quantity have been recorded, before 1855, exposed in the face of an eroding clay sea cliff. The location has been associated with an early medieval battle fought in the area. Field name evidence suggests that the adjacent field was the site of a clafdy (leper house) associated with the 12th/13th llys of Llanfaes.			

burial site name:

Llangefni

PRN

2680

Eastings:

4573

Northings:

7531

total number of graves:

30

cists: some

dug graves:

pre-Christian ceremonial,
funerary associations:

pre-Christian secular
associations:

enclosures other than
later church
graveyards:

Christian church /
burial associations:

Description:

About 30 graves were found c.1829 when demolishing a boundary hedge between Glan Hwfa farm and Fron. Location no longer identifiable.

burial site name:	Capel Eithin, Llanfihangel Ysgeifiog		
PRN	2730	Eastings: 4900	Northings: 7270
total number of graves:	99	cists: 40	dug graves: 58
pre-Christian ceremonial, funerary associations:	Possible standing stone; early and late bronze age cremations; Roman masonry structure with enclosing bank		
pre-Christian secular associations:	Neolithic domestic activity; Roman metalworking		
enclosures other than later church graveyards:	possible enclosure indicated by alignments of graves		
Christian church / burial associations:	Inscribed stone		

Description:

Inhumation cemetery of 99 burials comprising 40 with stone lining and 58 dug graves. The site is a locally prominent rise commanding extensive views.

One cist burial was enclosed within a square ditched feature interpreted as a timber roofed structure with an entrance in the eastern side. The majority of stone-lined graves are partial cists with no floor stones although full cists and floor and lintel stones occur in a few examples. A typical adult grave might measure 1.8m by 0.4m (27%). Graves between 1.0m and 1.6m were considered to be those of juveniles (23%) and small graves, less than 1.0m long, accounting for 50% of the total, were considered to be the graves of children. Orientations ranged from north-south to approximately east-west. The majority lay within the spectrum 50 deg east of north to 89 deg east of north (68%). Groupings within the cemetery can be suggested on the basis of orientation and the identification of certain foci. In fact orientation may be determined more by alignment on these foci than by adherence to strict east-west considerations. One small group appears to be aligned on the location of the Bronze age cremation burials, suggesting that some marker, a cairn perhaps, survived as a visible landmark. Another might, just possibly, cluster in the vicinity of the putative standing stone. A third group, more clearly defined, appears to focus on the rectilinear cairn - both north and south of it. Two further groups exhibit linearity: one, swinging in an arc across the northern part of the area with graves, for the most part, perpendicular to this curve; the other, a small group, end to end along the line of the outer edge of the Roman period bank. The final group comprises those aligned on, and clustered around, the special grave marked by its rectangular timber memoria.

Radiocarbon determinations from a timber plank in the special grave gave ambivalent calibrated ranges between the 1st century AD and the 11th century AD.

The site was previously the location of earlier prehistoric ritual and funerary activity represented by a possible Neolithic timber horseshoe shaped setting and standing stone, early and late bronze age cremation burials, and a Roman rectangular masonry structure and enclosing bank. Each of these features may have persisted to influence the location of, and orientation within, the inhumation cemetery.

burial site name: **Capel Bronwen**

PRN **2749** Eastings: 3100 Northings: 8150

total number of graves: unknown cists: possible dug graves:

pre-Christian ceremonial, funerary associations:

pre-Christian secular associations:

enclosures other than later church graveyards: circular earthwork

Christian church / burial associations: inscribed stone: Capel Bronwen place name

Description:
 Circular earthwork; site of the discovery of the Llantrisant inscribed stone and the disturbance of possible cists in the 18th century. The site is known as Capel Bronwen.

burial site name: **Rhyddgaer, lead coffin**

PRN **3074** Eastings: 4410 Northings: 6390

total number of graves: 1 cists: dug graves:

pre-Christian ceremonial, funerary associations: Cist burial of uncertain date 550m to north-east. Bronze Age axe and spearheads found in the area

pre-Christian secular associations: Roman coins found in the area

enclosures other than later church graveyards: Iron Age - Romano-British enclosure 550m to north-east

Christian church / burial associations:

Description:
 A lead coffin in three fragments from land brought into cultivation in the 19th century 550m south-west of Rhuddgaer, a possible Iron Age and Romano-British enclosed farm. The coffin was found amongst stones but had been disturbed. An inscription, reversed, occurs on both long sides. (-) CAMULORIS HOI Camulorus, here lie the bones. The coffin is a late Roman form, probably Christian.

burial site name: **Llanfair-Garth-Branan, Bangor**

PRN **3182** Eastings: 5805 Northings: 7220

total number of graves: 16 cists: 3 dug graves: 16

pre-Christian ceremonial,
funerary associations:

pre-Christian secular
associations:

enclosures other than
later church
graveyards:

Christian church /
burial associations: Possible chapel; Later cathedral adjacent, early inhumation cemetery adjacent

Description:

Sixteen extended inhumations including two or three in partial cists protecting the head and one under a mass of stones in close proximity to a small rectangular building 'of good rubble masonry set in earth and clay'. The structure, which has been associated with the church of Llanfair Garth Brannan, was aligned east-west.

burial site name: **Cefn Du Mawr, Llanrhyddlad**

PRN **3530** Eastings: 3248 Northings: 9020

total number of graves: 0 cists: yes dug graves:

pre-Christian ceremonial,
funerary associations:

pre-Christian secular
associations:

enclosures other than
later church
graveyards:

Christian church /
burial associations:

Description:

Graves similar to those found at Hen Siop, Llanfaethlu, were found at Cefn Du Mawr, Llanrhyddlad. That is, they were long cists. The place name Rhyd y Beddau lies 500m to east.

burial site name: **Peibron Farm, Amlwch**

PRN **3545** Eastings: **4055** Northings: **9379**

total number of graves: many cists: many dug graves:

pre-Christian ceremonial,
funerary associations:

pre-Christian secular
associations:

enclosures other than
later church
graveyards:

Christian church /
burial associations:

Description:
Described in 1866 as an extensive cemetery. Long cists were visible in 1937 and in 1968 when four were counted. The cists lie on the line of a farm track used by agricultural vehicles and are periodically exposed as a result of erosion of the surface.

burial site name: **Bay View Estate, Benllech**

PRN **3606** Eastings: **5216** Northings: **8248**

total number of graves: 1 cists: dug graves: 1

pre-Christian ceremonial,
funerary associations:

pre-Christian secular
associations:

enclosures other than
later church
graveyards:

Christian church /
burial associations:

Description:
An inhumation burial, head to north or north-east, accompanied by iron nails and a double-side bone comb. The iron nails are thought to be indicative of a coffin. A Viking context has been suggested but this is not certain, the comb is not typically Viking. The deceased was originally thought to be a young female, a second analysis suggests a male aged 60-70 years.

burial site name: **Ty'n y Felin Quarry**

PRN **3608** Eastings: **5128** Northings: **8192**

total number of graves: **5, possible 13** cists: **3** dug graves: **2**

pre-Christian ceremonial, funerary associations:

pre-Christian secular associations:

enclosures other than later church graveyards:

Christian church / burial associations:

Description:

Five burials uncovered during the extension of a quarry at Tyn y Felin, Llanddyfnan. All are extended inhumations, head to west. Orientations range from south-west – north-east to east-west. Two of the graves have side and end slabs but no cover. A third has partial side slabs and partial cover slabs. A fourth is rock cut with a basal layer of loose limestone above which were fragments of sandstone, apparently burnt and traces of charcoal. An upright stone stood towards the head of the fourth grave, possible as a marker. A fifth grave was rock cut with a possible marker displaced.

burial site name: **St Tudwal's priory**

PRN **4009** Eastings: **3421** Northings: **2591**

total number of graves: **4** cists: dug graves: **4**

pre-Christian ceremonial, funerary associations: **Neolithic - bronze age occupation**

pre-Christian secular associations: **Roman pottery**

enclosures other than later church graveyards:

Christian church / burial associations: **St Tudwal's Priory**

Description:

Four burials which predate the 14th century chapel, on slightly different alignment.

burial site name:

PRN Eastings: Northings:

total number of graves: cists: dug graves:

pre-Christian ceremonial,
funerary associations:

pre-Christian secular
associations:

enclosures other than
later church
graveyards:

Christian church /
burial associations:

Description:

A wooden coffin containing 2 bodies and at least 3 other burials found while digging turves on a turbarry called Mawnog Ystradgwyn, in 1685, near Maes y Pandy at Llwyn Dol Ithel, perhaps at about 400mOD

burial site name:

PRN Eastings: Northings:

total number of graves: cists: dug graves:

pre-Christian ceremonial,
funerary associations:

pre-Christian secular
associations:

enclosures other than
later church
graveyards:

Christian church /
burial associations:

Description:

A small enclosure reputed to be a burial ground was disturbed during quarrying operations c 1859. Inscribed stones of uncertain character are said to have been found in the area. Stones associated with the alleged burial ground were removed to an adjacent location 40m to the west at the time a quarry shaft was driven through the site.

burial site name:	Rhos-y-gad Farm, Pentraeth		
PRN	5585	Eastings: 5119	Northings: 7890
total number of graves:	4	cists: 4	dug graves:
pre-Christian ceremonial, funerary associations:	Ty'n y Pwll-Llanddyfnan barrow cemetery 450m to south-west		
pre-Christian secular associations:			
enclosures other than later church graveyards:	Earthwork at Llanbedrgoch church 1000m to north		
Christian church / burial associations:	Other burials in field to south-west and between Rhos y Gad and Llanbedrgoch church. Murddyn Gwyn burials 900m to north-east; Ty'n y Pwll long cist 450m to south-west.		

Description:

Four long cists exposed on edge of quarry after one had been disturbed during digging for gravel in 1903. The burials were extended inhumations oriented east-west with heads to west. Three cists had side slabs and cover slabs; the fourth had side slabs and base slabs. The field name is Bryn y Cyrff (Field of the Corpses). Other graves are said to have been found in the field to the south west.

burial site name:	Gorphwysfa, Llanberis		
PRN	6119	Eastings: 6170	Northings: 6555
total number of graves:	7	cists: yes	dug graves:
pre-Christian ceremonial, funerary associations:	Early Bronze Age cairns		
pre-Christian secular associations:			
enclosures other than later church graveyards:			
Christian church / burial associations:			

Description:

Seven or eight long graves are said to have been destroyed when the road was built below Gorphwysfa on the Llanberis side. The location is a saddle between the rising ground of Snowdon on the south west and the Glyderau on the north.

burial site name: **Caer Gybi**

PRN **7022** Eastings: **3470** Northings: **6283**

total number of graves: cists: **yes** dug graves:

pre-Christian ceremonial,
funerary associations:

pre-Christian secular
associations:

enclosures other than
later church
graveyards: Roman shore fort

Christian church /
burial associations: Holy well (St Cybi's well, now lost) nearby; Eglwys y Bedd (14th century); St Cybi's church

Description:

Extended inhumations in long-cists with side slabs, lintels and burial slabs, recorded by Angharad Llwyd from conversations with masons and others, c.1832. The burials were disturbed during the digging of foundations for houses to the south of the church under construction in 1832-3. Bones survived but were fragile.

Caer Gybi is traditionally associated with St. Cybi who is said to have founded a monastic community there with land granted by Maelgwn. The churchyard sits on top of a steep rock cliff which once dropped 5m to the shoreline. The former shoreline is now made-up ground. The churchyard wall is largely an original 3-sided, rectangular, free-standing masonry wall of the late Roman period, provided with projecting bastions at each corner. The walls stand 4m in height, 1.5m thick and enclose 0.32ha. Projecting spur walls carried the defence to the shore to provide a protected beaching for boats.

Caer Gybi was raided by Vikings in 961. A silver penny of late 10th century date was found inside the churchyard in 1952 (Dolley M & Knight J K 1970, 80-81).

The earliest architectural evidence is of the 12th century (stones with chevrons re-set in the wall of the south transept), although the church mainly dates from a massive rebuilding carried out between 1480 and 1520. There is a second church within the cemetery, Eglwys y Bedd, comprising a nave and narrower chancel of the early 14th century (now demolished) which may have marked the site of the saints grave.

burial site name: **St Rhychwyn's church, Llanrhychwyn**

PRN **7031** Eastings: **7748** Northings: **6161**

total number of graves: **1** cists: dug graves:

pre-Christian ceremonial,
funerary associations:

pre-Christian secular
associations:

enclosures other than
later church
graveyards:

Christian church /
burial associations: Llanrhychwyn church

Description:

In the 1920s the bones of a young person were discovered built into the south wall of the sanctuary. A setting of stones on the inside of this wall appeared to mark the spot. It has been suggested that this burial may represent a particularly revered individual reburied when the wall was built.

burial site name: **St Hywyn's church, Aberdaron**

PRN **7240** Eastings: **1732** Northings: **2637**

total number of graves: **0** cists: **0** dug graves: **yes**

pre-Christian ceremonial, funerary associations:

pre-Christian secular associations:

enclosures other than later church graveyards:

Christian church / burial associations: **Aberdaron church on same site**

Description:
 Displaced bones exposed after collapse of sea wall suggests that burials once extended further seaward than the present sea-defence. Date uncertain.

burial site name: **Ynys Seiriol, Penmon**

PRN **7310** Eastings: **6520** Northings: **3220**

total number of graves: **7** cists: **2** dug graves: **5**

pre-Christian ceremonial, funerary associations:

pre-Christian secular associations:

enclosures other than later church graveyards:

Christian church / burial associations:

Description:
 Extended inhumations were recognised during excavations in 1896 within the area to the east of the Romanesque tower on Ynys Seiriol. One burial was placed in a rock-cut depression within a square masonry construction, 3m x 3m externally. This building had a barrel vaulted ceiling and steeply pitched roof. The internal dimensions at 1.6m x 1.4m were barely large enough to contain the body which was laid centrally, extended, head west, but with knees bent. The structure probably served as a chancel for a church pre-dating the Romanesque tower but was later incorporated in it.

Six further burials were recorded immediately to the east. Two lay, one on top of the other, in a stone-lined and covered cist. A third lay to the south with a slab at the head but no cist, a fourth to the south of the third and the fifth and sixth burials further east. The alignment of the grave in the chancel was east-west in line with the structure; those outside were aligned west-south-west – east-north-east.

A later chancel replaced the small early chancel while the Romanesque tower remained in use.

burial site name: **Ty'n y Pwll, Llanddyfnan**

PRN **7313** Eastings: **5089** Northings: **7846**

total number of graves: **1** cists: **0** dug graves: **1**

pre-Christian ceremonial, funerary associations: **Bronze age barrows**

pre-Christian secular associations:

enclosures other than later church graveyards:

Christian church / burial associations:

Description:

Five early Bronze Age barrows extend in a curving line eastwards from the standing stone at Ty'n Llan, Llanddyfnan over a distance of 800m. The fourth and fifth of these mounds have been excavated. One (the easternmost), contained a crouched inhumation in an small chamber. The other contained a number of urned cremations and a cist containing a cremation. On the north-eastern edge of this barrow, an extended inhumation had been placed, oriented, feet to the east, among a heap of stones.

burial site name: **Merddyn Gwyn, Pentraeth**

PRN **7315** Eastings: **5210** Northings: **7885**

total number of graves: **1** cists: **0** dug graves: **1**

pre-Christian ceremonial, funerary associations: **Beaker burial with cairn**

pre-Christian secular associations:

enclosures other than later church graveyards:

Christian church / burial associations:

Description:

An original limestone cairn covering a crouched inhumation accompanied by a Beaker was enlarged and further burials added, still within the early Bronze Age. Later still an extended inhumation, oriented east-north-east - west-south-west was placed in the cairn. This inhumation was dug into the underlying subsoil and 2.8m through the depth of the cairn. A considerable amount of disturbance to the cairn appears to have been effected to insert this burial.

burial site name: Eglwysl y Bedd, Clynnog Fawr

PRN 7316 Eastings: 4144 Northings: 4959

total number of graves: numerous interments cists: 3 dug graves:

pre-Christian ceremonial, funerary associations: short cist, charcoal and burnt clay

pre-Christian secular associations:

enclosures other than later church graveyards:

Christian church / burial associations: St Beuno's church; later mortuary chapel

Description:

The monastery at Clynnog was reputedly founded in the early 7th century by Beuno. In Gwynedd it ranked in importance with Bangor during the early Middle Ages. The monastery was raided by Norse vikings in 978. The grave of the saint is traditionally thought to lie within a mortuary chapel (Eglwys y Bedd) detached from the main body of the present church.

Excavation in 1913, within the 16th century mortuary chapel revealed early features beneath a 19th century slate floor. These comprise: the drystone foundations of a rectangular structure aligned east-west, 5.5m x 3m internally; paved surfaces including a path leading to the west wall of the rectangular structure; intermittent stretches of walling defining a possible rectangular area approximately 10.25m long west-east which may have enclosed the first structure; extended inhumations, head to west, against the eastern external wall of the rectangular structure; one partial and one complete long cist, oriented east-west (empty) with side slabs and cover slabs and one short cist containing charcoal and burnt clay.

The uncisted inhumations appear to be contemporary with the use of the small rectangular structure; the long cists may be contemporary with its use or pre-date it.

burial site name: Glyn Farm, Benllech

PRN 20001 Eastings: 5160 Northings: 8091

total number of graves: 2 cists: dug graves: 2

pre-Christian ceremonial, funerary associations:

pre-Christian secular associations:

enclosures other than later church graveyards: Drystone defensive enclosure

Christian church / burial associations:

Description:

Two skeletons found during excavation at Glyn in 1998. One extended inhumation almost overlying a crouched inhumation.

burial site name:	Cae Capel, Caer Gai, Llanuwchllyn		
PRN	20002	Eastings: 8780	Northings: 3135
total number of graves:		cists:	dug graves:
pre-Christian ceremonial, funerary associations:			
pre-Christian secular associations:	Roman auxiliary fort		
enclosures other than later church graveyards:	Roman fort and possible later pre-Christian enclosure		
Christian church / burial associations:	Inscribed stone, Cae Capel / Caer Cappelau place name.		
Description:			
<p>A plan of Caer Gai, drawn before 1885, shows the field name Cae Cappel immediately south of the fort. This was apparently known as Cae'r Capelau - the field of the chapels - in the 17th century, where there was a chapel or two in former times' and 'where a paved surface is revealed when the field is dug'. These structures may relate to the vicus of the Roman fort, nevertheless, bones were recorded as having been found in this field towards the end of the 19th century. Up until this time it had been possible to postulate an irregular outer enclosure beyond the line of the fort wall on the north western side.</p>			

burial site name:	Ty Mawr, Caer Gybi		
PRN	20003	Eastings: 2518	Northings: 8134
total number of graves:	43	cists:	dug graves: 14
pre-Christian ceremonial, funerary associations:	Concentric circular feature at highest point of rise		
pre-Christian secular associations:			
enclosures other than later church graveyards:			
Christian church / burial associations:			
Description:			
<p>Extended inhumation cemetery of 54 graves comprising long cists, a number complete with slabs, lintels and basal slabs, unprotected dug graves, dug graves with timber coffins and stone-lined graves which may have supported timber lining or timber lintels. A typical adult grave is about 2m long by 0.65m wide. Orientation is generally about 70° East of North, with extremes at 51° and 84°. The site is on a low and gentle rise. There is evidence for Neolithic occupation in the form of worked stone tools and manufacturing waste. More importantly for the later history of the site, the highest point on the rise was occupied by a concentric circular feature of which the first phase was very probably a barrow of the Early Bronze Age delimited by a quarry ditch of 12m internal diameter. This feature may have provided a focus for the later cemetery. There is some order to the rows of graves, which is disrupted at the point where some graves encroach upon it. There is even a slight suggestion that the limits of the inner circle are respected by all but one of the graves. This could, alternatively, be a reflection of the surviving height of the mound near its centre. The burials, with the exception of one outlier to the east, appear to respect a delineation perpetuated by the boundaries of a later field system, unless, as appears more likely, graves have been lost through differential erosion on the further sides of these boundaries.</p>			

burial site name: **Dervori cist, Penprys Farm, Llannor**

PRN **20004** Eastings: **3440** Northings: **3980**

total number of graves: **1** cists: **yes** dug graves:

pre-Christian ceremonial,
funerary associations:

pre-Christian secular
associations:

enclosures other than
later church
graveyards:

Christian church /
burial associations: **Inscribed stone**

Description:

Lhuyd (late 18th century) describes the Dervori stone as 'one of 3 or 4 found underground (in the form of the graves at Llechgynfarwy) at Penprys in Llannor' - that is, it formed part of a cist. It is unclear whether this stone was associated with the cist burial that included the Vundesetli and Iovenalis stones which were also found on Penprys farm.

inscribed memorial stones catalogue

name: Icori stone, Llystyn Gwyn, Bryncir
PRN: **Eastings:** **Northings:**
type: inscribed stone
classification: group 1
date: 6th century
Inscription: ICORI FILIVS / POTENTI / NI and Ogam ICORIGAS

reading: The stone of Icorix, son of Potentinus.

Description:

Rectangular slab with ogam and Latin inscriptions. The Latin inscription runs in three lines horizontally; the ogam inscription runs vertically upwards along the upper right hand side of the stone. Found by a gateway c.1901 and set up as a gatepost.

name: Cunalipus stone, Gesail Gyfarch, Penmorfa
PRN: **Eastings:** **Northings:**
type: inscribed stone
classification: group 1
date: 6th century
Inscription: FILI CVNALIPI / CVNACI IACIT / BECCVRI

reading: The stone of Cunacus son of Cunalipus ... he lies ... of Beccurus

Description:

Latin inscription in three lines running vertically downwards.

name: Dinoconsuodicus stone, Madryn Farm, Aber

PRN **Eastings:** **Northings:**

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 5th-6th century

Inscription: DI / NO / CON / SVO / DIC / O / ON

reading: ... Dinoconsuodicus On,...

Description:

Elongated stone, originally in use as a Roman milestone (AD262) but truncated at the top, inverted and reused to carry a Latin inscription, on one side, in seven short horizontal lines. Although re-used, the stone was found very close to the presumed line of the Roman road from Canovium to Segontium. The location is 550m from the site of the medieval llys at Aber.

name: Figulini stone, Holy Cross church, Llannor

PRN **Eastings:** **Northings:**

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 6th century

Inscription: FIGVLINI FILI / LOCVLITI / HIC IACIT

reading: The stone of Figulinus, son of Loculitus. He lies here.

Description:

Latin inscription in three line running vertically downwards. Now inside church porch but damaged by gate hanger holes in face.

name: **Llech y Gwyr stone, Capel Curig**

PRN Eastings: Northings:

type: inscribed stone

classification: not specified

date: not specified

Inscription:

reading:

Description:

Large stone said to have been standing in the mid 19th century at the head of Nant y Gwryd on the farm of Dyffryn. Crew associates this stone with one described by Edward Llwyd as: 'Karreg y Dadler yn agos at Gappel Kirig a Lhythrenneu arni'. 'Carreg y Dadler, close to Capel Curig with letters on it.'

The stone from Dyffryn was taken to the Inn at Capel Curig. One account describes large slates on their end in the ground with lettering on one of them. Crew takes these to be a reference to cist burials.

name: **Veracius stone, Capel Anelog, Anelog**

PRN Eastings: Northings:

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 5th-6th century

Inscription: **VERACIVS / PBR / HIC / IACIT**

reading: Veracius the priest lies here

Description:

Latin inscription in four lines running horizontally. Distinctive capitals with serifs and angle-bar A. Found at Capel Anelog, removed first to Cefn Amwlch house and now in Aberdaron church. Mary Chitty records that the findspot was a shallow valley at the head of Afon Saint, below a shallow plateau at this location.

name: Meli Medici stone, Llangian
PRN **Eastings:** **Northings:**
type: inscribed stone
classification: group 1
date: 5th-6th century
Inscription: MELI MEDICI / FILI MARTINI / IACIT

reading: The stone of Melus the doctor, son of Martinus. He lies (here).

Description:

Rectangular stone. Latin inscription in three lines running vertically downwards. In Llangian churchyard

name: Iaconus stone, Treflys
PRN **Eastings:** **Northings:**
type: inscribed stone
classification: group 1
date: 6th century
Inscription: + IACONVS FILI MINI / IACIT

reading: Iaconus, son of Minus lies here

Description:

Elongated quadrangular stone. Cross-rho with serifed cross at beginning of Latin inscription in two lines running downwards. Found in foundations of former churchyard wall.

name: **Melitus stone, Llanaelhaearn**

PRN Eastings: Northings:

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 5th-6th century

Inscription: **MELITV**

reading: The stone of Melitus

Description:

Upright stone; Latin inscription running vertically downwards.

name: **Aliortus stone, Llanaelhaearn**

PRN Eastings: Northings:

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 5th-6th century

Inscription: **ALIORTVS ELMETIACO / HIC IACET**

reading: Aliortus of Elfed lies here

Description:

Rectangular slab with Latin inscription in two lines running vertically downwards.

name: **M stone, Llanaelhaearn**

PRN Eastings: Northings:

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 5th-6th century

Inscription: **M**

reading: M

Description:

Stone inscribed with capital letter M; possibly part of a fuller inscription. Now built into churchyard wall on external face at south-west.

name: **Senacus stone, Capel Anelog**

PRN Eastings: Northings:

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 5th-6th century

Inscription: **SENACVS / PRSB. / HIC IACIT / CVM MULTIV / DNEM / FRATRVM**

reading: Senacus the priest lies here with a multitude of brethren.

Description:

Latin inscription in six lines running horizontally. Distinctive capitals with serifs, angle-bar A's, ligatures and contraction mark. Found at Capel Anelog, removed first to Cefn Amwlch house and now in Aberdaron church. Mary Chitty records that the findspot was a shallow valley at the head of Afon Saint, below a shallow plateau at this location.

name: Porius stone, Trawsfynydd

PRN **Eastings:** **Northings:**

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 5th-6th century

Inscription: PORIVS / HIC IN TVMVLO IACIT / HOMO PLANVS FVIT

reading: Porius lies here in the tomb. He was a Christian man

Description:

Irregular stone with latin inscription in three lines, apparently running horizontally. The reading of PLANVS is disputed. Lhuyd (late 17th century) read RIANUS. Lewis Morris' reading (1742) gives PIANUS. Others postulate a X (chi) before the P with a contraction mark above, giving a chi and rho followed by IANUS (XPIANUS) read as Christianus. The original sit is likely to have been close to the line of the roman road south from Tomen y Mur. Lluyd recorded the stone in a field called Maes y Bedd, within two fields of Llech Idris.

name: Conbarrus stone, Chwaen Wen, Llantrisant

PRN **Eastings:** **Northings:**

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 6th century

Inscription: ...O...BARRVS / CO...BURRI / ...IC IACIT

reading: Conbarrus, (? son) of Conburrus, lies here

Description:

Stone formerly at Chwaen Wen House, Llantrisant in 1728. Latin inscription in ?three lines.

name: Maccudecceti stone, Penrhos Lligwy
PRN **Eastings:** **Northings:**
type: inscribed stone
classification: group 1
date: 6th century
Inscription: HIC IACIT / MACCVDEC CETI

reading: The stone of Maccudeccetus, here he lies

Description:

Elongated slab carrying Latin inscription in two lines running vertically downwards. The script includes half uncial e's. The stone formerly stood in the churchyard close to the SW end of the church.

name: Filius Ev... stone, Heneglwys
PRN **Eastings:** **Northings:**
type: inscribed stone
classification: group 1
date: 7th-12th century
Inscription: [F]ILIVS . EV... / [... A]NIMA . REQVIES[CAT . / IN .PAC]E

reading: (?), son of Ev... (lies here. May his) soul rest in peace

Description:

Inscribed stone carrying a Latin inscription in three lines mixing capitals and miniscules. Found while taking down old church in c.1845. Broken at both ends.

name: Llantrisant stone, Capel Bronwen

PRN **Eastings:** **Northings:**

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 6th century

Inscription: IVA / SANCTISSI / MA MVLIER / HIC IACIT QVE / FVIT AMATI / SSI
CONIVX BI / VATIGI FAMVLVS / DI SACERDOS ET VAS / SO PAVLINI
ANDOCO / GNATIONE ET OMNI / VM CIVIVM ADQVAE / PARENTVM
EXEMPL / A ET MORIBUS DIS / CIPLINA AC SAPIEN / TIAE / AVRO E /
LAPIDIBUS

reading: ...iva, a most holy lady, lies here, who was the very beloved wife of
Bivatig(irrus), servant of God, priest, and disciple of Paulinus, by race an
Andocian, and an example to all his fellow citizens and relatives both in
character, rule of life and wisdom which is better than gold and gems.

Description:

The stone, now damaged, was found at the ruin of Capel Bronwen early in 18th century. In 1802 it was located by Skinner at Ty'n Rhosydd (SH372821) being used as a chopping block, having previously been used as a gate post. It was moved to Trescawen several years before 1870 and in 1965 was taken to Bangor Museum. The most elaborate early inscription in Gwynedd.

name: Wleder stone, Llanfihangel-y-Traethau

PRN **Eastings:** **Northings:**

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 12th century

Inscription: +HI EST SEPVLCRV WLEDER MATIS / ODELEV QI PIMV EDIFICAV /
HANC ECLA / IN TEPR EWINI REG

reading: Here is the tomb of Wleder, the mother of Odeleu, who first built this church
in the time of King Owain

Description:

Latin inscription in four lines, one on each face of a quadrangular pillar stone, running vertically downwards. The inscription is important for the letter forms characteristic of the transition from Romanesque to Gothic and for the reference to King Owain, which fixes the date of at least one phase of the church of Llanfihangel y Traethau and also the inscription. There are numerous contractions and the expanded text reads (after Nash Williams) Hic est sepulchrum Wleder, matris Odeleu qui primum edificavit hanc ecclesiam in tempore Ewini Regis. Probably close to original location.

name: Iovenalis stone, Penprys Farm, Llannor
PRN Eastings: Northings:
type: inscribed stone
classification: group 1
date: 6th century
Inscription: IOVENALI FILI / ETERNI HIC IACIT

reading: The stone of Iovenalis, son of Eternus

Description:

Stone re-used to form one side of an apparent long cist containing an inhumation oriented north-south. Both side slabs of the cist carried inscriptions, the other being the Vendesetlus stone. The cist was completed with a head stone and foot stone and covered by two flat stones. The grave lay between two standing stones c.150m apart also aligned north-south in a field called Cae Maen Hir on land of Tir Gwyn farm close to a cottage by the name of Beudy'r Mynydd.

name: Vendesetli stone, Penprys Farm, Llannor
PRN Eastings: Northings:
type: inscribed stone
classification: group 1
date: 5th-6th century
Inscription: VENDESETLI

reading: The stone of Vendesetlus

Description:

Latin inscription of one line running vertically downwards. Stone re-used to form one side of a north-south long cist grave of which the Iovenalis stone forms the other. Vendesetlus is thought to be cognate with the local saint Gwynhoedl's name. The grave lay between two standing stones c.150m apart also aligned north-south in a field called Cae Maen Hir on land of Tir Gwyn farm close to a cottage by the name of Beudy'r Mynydd.

name: **Filius cuuris stone, Fron Deg, Newborough**

PRN Eastings: Northings:

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 7th-9th century

Inscription: **VS / NIN / FILIUS / CUURIS / CINI ERE / XIT / HUNC / LAPI / DEM**

reading: ...us..., son of Curis Cini, erected this stone.

Description:

Latin inscription in ten lines reading horizontally. Found at Fron Deg farm where it served as a gate post. Now in Llangaffo church.

name: **Saturninus stone, Llansadwrn**

PRN Eastings: Northings:

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 6th century

Inscription: **HIC BEAT... / SATVRNINVS SE.../ IACIT.ET SVA SA... / CONIUX . PA.../...**

reading: Here lies buried the blessed priest Saturninus and his saintly wife. Peace be with you.

Description:

Rough slab found in the churchyard while digging a grave some time before 1742. Conjectural readings by Williams gives: HIC BEATUS SACERDOS SATURNINUS SEPULCRO IACIT. ET SUA SANCTA CONIUX. PAX VOBISCUM. The slab is now truncated on the two long sides and one short side.

name: Soris stone, Capel Heilyn, Trefollwyn
PRN **Eastings:** **Northings:**
type: inscribed stone
classification: group 1
date: 5th-6th century
Inscription: ...IACIT/...SORIS

reading: Here lies...of Soris (or here she lies, wife of ...)

Description:

Broken stone, seen before 1765 by Rowlands in the churchyard of Capel Heilyn, now lost. Latin inscription in two lines reading vertically downwards. A field 350m south of Trefollwyn is known as Cae Capel; a field 250m to the north of Cae Capel, called Cae Neuadd revealed a square foundation of stones, packed with lime, when it was ploughed.

name: Culidori stone, Llangefni
PRN **Eastings:** **Northings:**
type: inscribed stone
classification: group 1
date: 5th-6th century
Inscription: CVLIDORI / IACIT / ET ORVVITE / MVLIERI / SECVNDI / FILIVS

reading: The grave of Culidor, here he lies, and of his wife Orvita, the son of Secundus

Description:

Roughly squared slab with incised zig-zag pattern between parallel lines above inscription. The third and fourth lines appear to be a later insertion commemorating the deceased's wife. Knight suggests that FILIVS originally occupied the third line but was erased and transferred to the 6th line to make way for the secondary epitaph. Found in pulling down the old church in 1824

name: Cunogusi stone, Bodfeddan, Llanfaelog

PRN: **Eastings:** **Northings:**

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 5th-6th century

Inscription: CUNOGUSI / HIC IACIT

reading: The stone of Cunogusus, he lies here

Description:

Upright block of triangular cross section with Latin inscription running vertically downwards on north face of stone. The named individual, Cunogusus, is thought to have given his name to that of the medieval township, Conysiog. The stone occupies a locally prominent rise. It now stands adjacent to a modern field wall alongside a road, on the edge of a small quarry hollow with large blocks of comparable stone lying nearby; some split by drilling. There is an elongated depression on top of stone and cup-like depression on east face. The latter has been likened to an artificial cup mark with the suggestion that the stone may be a prehistoric standing stone in situ. The depressions on the surface of the stone are likely to be natural, however.

name: Ettorigi stone, Llanbabo, Llanol

PRN: **Eastings:** **Northings:**

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 5th-6th century

Inscription: ETTORIGI H[IC IACIT]

reading: (The stone) of Ettorix. He lies here

Description:

Upper part of stone with Latin inscription in one line reading vertically downwards. Formerly in field by track leading to Llanol Farm. According to Skinner (1908, 57 & 70) the rest of the stone was lay c. 90m away

name: **Catamanus stone, Llangadwaladr**

PRN Eastings: Northings:

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 7th century

Inscription: **+ CATAMANUS / REX SAPIENTISI / MUS OPINATISIM / US OMNIUM
REG / UM**

reading: Cadfan the king, most wise and illustrious of all kings

Description:

Rectangular stone carrying a Latin inscription, in five lines, running vertically downwards, preceded by a cross with expanded arms and head and a knobbed foot. The lettering mixes capitals and half uncials. The commemoration is to Cadfan, king of Gwynedd from 615 to about 625. The dedication of the church where the stone is located is to Cadwaladr, grandson of Cadfan and king in Gwynedd from 634 to 664. An alternative name for the church was Eglwys Ail (wattle church). The stone was formerly in use as a lintel to the south door of the parish church.

name: **Mailis stone, Pen Seri Bach, Llanfaelog**

PRN Eastings: Northings:

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 5th-6th century

Inscription: **MAILISI**

reading: (The stone) of Mailis

Description:

Rectangular block of stone, inscribed with Latin inscription in one line reading downwards. In use as the lintel of a window in a barn in 1802, now relocated in corresponding position in the wall of a barn at Pen Seri Bach. It had been found in a field near by to the north of Llanfaelog towards Afon Cigyll - Llain Wen at SH356746.

name: Lovernii stone, Llanfaglan

PRN **Eastings:** **Northings:**

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 5th-6th century

Inscription: **FILI LOVERNII / ANATEMORI**

reading: The stone of Anatemorus, son of Lovernius

Description:

Rectangular incised panel on rectangular slab containing Latin inscription in two lines. Now used as lintel of a doorway. Originally upright stone with inscription to be read vertically downwards.

name: Cavo stone, Llanfor

PRN **Eastings:** **Northings:**

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 5th-6th century

Inscription: **CAVO SENIARGII**

reading: The stone of Cavus Seniargius

Description:

Elongated stone with Latin inscription in one line running vertically downwards. Now in Llanfor church.

name: Carausius stone, Rhiwbach Quarry, Penmachno

PRN: **Eastings:** **Northings:**

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 5th-6th century

Inscription: + CARAVSIVS / HIC IACIT / IN HOC CON / GERIES LA / PIDVM

reading: Carausius lies here in this heap of stones

Description:

Rectangular slab with cross-rho above Latin inscription in five lines running horizontally. Originally found in association with burial at Rhiw Bach quarry, alongside the Roman road leading north from Tomen y Mur. It was subsequently moved to Penmachno church where it lay on a heap of stones in the churchyard.

name: Oria stone, Penmachno

PRN: **Eastings:** **Northings:**

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 5th-6th century

Inscription: ...ORIA IC IACIT

reading: ...oria lies here

Description:

Long thin stone with fragmentary Latin inscription in one line running vertically downwards. Found during demolition of the former church in the 19th century. This old church was itself one of two churches which stood within the churchyard prior to the reformation.

name: Cantiorus stone, Penmachno

PRN: **Eastings:** **Northings:**

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 5th-6th century

inscription: CANTIORI HIC IACIT / VENEDOTIS CIVE FVIT / ONSOBRINO / MALI /
MAGISTRATI

reading: The stone of Cantiorus, he lies here. He was a citizen of Venedos, a cousin of the magistrate Maglos

Description:

Elongated quadrangular block with Latin inscription in five lines reading vertically downwards. The inscription is worked in two techniques. Line one, 'the stone of Cantiorus, he lies here,' is incised. The remainder, a gloss on Cantiorus, is pecked and carries over onto the adjacent face of the stone. The two elements may not, therefore, be contemporary. The 'Venedos' of the inscription is the earliest documented reference to the territorial area of Gwynedd. The stone is reported to have been brought from Beddau Gwyr Ardudwy, in which case it may have stood alongside the Roman road. There is a persistent tradition that burials lay on the hillside north and south of Nant Llyn y Morwynion. Other than the traditional tale concerning the burial of the 'Men of Ardudwy' the earliest documentary references date to the 17th century and all refer to grave mounds, about 30 in number, in combination with some arrangement of upright stones as grave markers. Late 17th century accounts refer to stones removed from Beddau Gwyr Ardudwy to mend walls in Ffestiniog churchyard. Late 19th century references acknowledge that nearly all the stones had been removed to be built into a nearby wall. About 20 low mounds are still visible on the hillside. None, however, has produced evidence of actual burial and the results of the excavation of one mound in 1990 suggested that they might be temporary peat stacks. It is probable that there were burials at Beddau Gwyr Ardudwy, however, represented by the record of two inscribed stones (Cantiorus and Ferrucus) having originally stood there. The Roman road running north from Tomen y Mur towards Dolwyddelan and the Llugwy valley crosses Nant Llyn y Morwynion at this point, confirmed by excavation in 1990, and the inscribed stones may have commemorated burials along its route.

name: Avitorius stone, Penmachno

PRN: **Eastings:** **Northings:**

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 6th century

Inscription: FILI AVITORI / IN TEPO ... / IVSTI ... / CON ...

reading: The stone of ... son of Avitorius. In the time of Justinus the Consul

Description:

Broken elongated stone with Latin inscription in one surviving line running vertically downwards above a horizontal inscription in three lines. Justinus was consul in 540 and was, together with Basilius, consul in 541, the last Roman consul whose name was used in the West as a dating indicator. Their names continued to be used as dating benchmarks in some areas of Gaul for some time. Justinus' name is restricted to the area around Lyon and the Penmachno stone may indicate some contact with that stone during the second half of the 7th century, the epigraphist copying a common consular dating formula rather than precisely dating the stone.

name: Equestri stone, Llandanwg

PRN: **Eastings:** **Northings:**

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 6th century

Inscription: EQVESTRI NOMINE

reading: The stone of he who is named Equester

Description:

Small elongated stone with Latin inscription in one line running vertically downwards.

name: Medi stone, Pont Helygog, Brithdir

PRN: **Eastings:** **Northings:**

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 5th-6th century

Inscription: **MEDI ...**

reading: The stone of Medi ...

Description:

Inscribed stone carrying fragmentary Latin inscription. Found among the rubble of a wall close to the line of the Roman road between Brithdir and Caer Gai.

name: Salvianus stone, Caer Gai, Llanuwchllyn

PRN: **Eastings:** **Northings:**

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 5th-6th century

Inscription: **HEC IACET SALVIANVS BVRGOCAVI FILIVS CVPETIAN**

reading: Here lies Salvianus Burgocavus, son of Cupetianus

Description:

The reading of the inscription is known from a 17th century record. The stone was dug up at Caer Gai. Burgocavus, if the reading is correct, may translate Caer Gai. Caer Gai was a Roman auxiliary fort of the late 1st and 2nd centuries, perhaps replacing the large campaign fort at Llanfor 7.5km to the north-east. Bones were recorded as having been found towards the end of the 19th century in the field immediately south of the fort known as Cae'r Capelau / Cae Capel.

name: Sanctinus stone, Tyddyn Holland, Bodafon

PRN **Eastings:** **Northings:**

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 5th-6th century

Inscription: SANCT / INVS / SACER... / IN P...

reading: Sanctinus the priest, in peace

Description:

Latin inscription in four lines running horizontally. Found in the highway by Tyddyn Holland, between Bodafon and Rhiw Leding, Llandudno.

name: Ingenuus stone, Llandanwg

PRN **Eastings:** **Northings:**

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 5th-6th century

Inscription: INGENUI / IARRI / HIC IACIT

reading: The stone of Ingenuus Iarrus. He lies here

Description:

Long narrow slab with Latin inscription in three lines running vertically downwards.

name: St Cadfan's church, Tywyn

PRN: **Eastings:** **Northings:**

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 8th century

Inscription: + CENGRUI CIMALTED GU / ADGAN / ANT ERUNC DU BUT MARCIAU / (MC ERTRI) + CUN BEN CELEN / TRICET NITANAM / (MORTCIC PETUAR)

reading: Ceinrwy wife of Addian, close to Bud, Meirchiaw (a memorial of the three).
Cun, wife of Celyn: grief and loss remain (a memorial of four).

Description:

Previously used as a gate post at Bodfalog in a field close to the road about half a mile from Tywyn. Lewis (1833,2) stated it was called St Cadfan's stone and formerly stood erect in the churchyard covering the remains of the saint. Long thin slab with lettering on all four sides, downwards on three side and upwards on one side. The translation has been variously discussed but is generally agreed to be one of the earliest surviving instances on stone of the Welsh language. Two separate epitaphs, each with a footnote, are represented. Each occupies two side of the stone and each is preceded by an incised barred cross.

name: Pascentius stone, Tywyn

PRN: **Eastings:** **Northings:**

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 5th-6th century

Inscription: PASCENT

reading: (The stone of) Pascentius

Description:

Latin inscription in one line with angle bar A and reversed E. Recorded in the late 18th century but now lost.

name: Salvian stone, Llanymawddwy

PRN: **Eastings:** **Northings:**

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 6th century

Inscription: FILIAE SALVIANI / HIC IACIT VE...NAIE / UXSOR TIGIRNICI / ET FILIE
EIUS ONERATI / ...CIT RIGOHENE / ...OCETI /...ACI

reading: The stone of the daughter of Salvianus. Here she lies, the... wife of Tigirnicus and his daughter ... of Oneratus ... Rigohene ...

Description:

Squat pillar stone, broken. Latin inscription in seven lines running vertically downwards. The later parts of the inscription are mostly lost. The burial stone of a Salvianus is recorded at Caer Gai, Llanuwchllyn (No 191, PRN 4253). This stone was in a stone wall near Llanymawddwy churchyard in 1746.

name: Rigella stone, Bryn Golau, Trawsfynydd

PRN: **Eastings:** **Northings:**

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 6th-7th century

Inscription: RIGELLA HI ... / FILIA TVN...CC...

reading: Rigella lies here, the daughter of Tuncctatocus

Description:

Small flat slab with Latin inscription in two lines. Found on field wall, probably as a clearance stone after ploughing an adjacent field. The location is close to the line of the Roman road 400 yd west north-west of Bryn Goleu. The Roman road is thought to have crossed the Afon Prysor close by. The broken stone fragment is a small flat slab of undressed local shale.

name: Barrectus stone, Tomen y Mur, Maentwrog

PRN **Eastings:** **Northings:**

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 5th century

Inscription: D M / BARRECTI / CARANTEI

reading: To the divine shades of Barrectus Caranteus

Description:

Latin inscription in three lines, Nash-Williams suggests, running vertically downwards. Dis Manibus is a pagan formula that continued to be used in continental Christian contexts but is otherwise unknown in Wales. The stone may be either Christian or pagan. From Tomen y Mur, now lost.

name: Ercagni stone, Arfryn, Bodedern

PRN **Eastings:** **Northings:**

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 5th-6th century

Inscription: ERCAGNI

reading: (The grave of) Ercagnos (Welsh: Erchan)

Description:

Elongated stone, narrowing towards the top, carrying a Latin inscription running vertically downwards. The inscription begins near the top of the stone, occupying the upper portion. The stone was found during the excavation of a cemetery of 114 extended inhumations comprising both long cists and unprotected dug graves. A central, grave free, 'focal' area of post settings was identified and may be of prehistoric origin. There is also an enclosure ditch, elucidation of the precise relationship of which to the grave sequence awaits the publication of the excavation report. The inscribed stone lay, face downwards, as a cover to a 1.5m wide walled cist. A stone, called Llech Edern, was reported in the immediate vicinity by Lewis Morris c.1732. The site is reputed to be the traditional site of Eglwys Edern.

name: **Caelexti stone, Ceilwart Isaf, Barmouth beach**

PRN Eastings: Northings:

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 5th-6th century

Inscription: **CAELEXTI / MONEDO / RIGI**

reading: The stone of Caelestis Monedorigis

Description:

Latin inscription in three lines running horizontally. Partly defaced by weathering. Originally, according to Lewis Morris, lying in the sand, c. 30m below high water, where a small brook from (Beilwart farm) Ceilwart Isaf farm ran down. Later used as a footbridge over the brook, it is now in Llanaber church. Another stone was formerly known from the same location but, in Lewis Morris' day, was lost beneath the sand.

name: **Aeternus stone, Barmouth beach**

PRN Eastings: Northings:

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 5th-6th century

Inscription: **AETERN/ ET / AETERN**

reading: The stone of Aeternus and Aeterna

Description:

Irregular elongated stone with Latin inscription in three lines running horizontally. Originally found under the sand of Barmouth beach some 6m below high water mark, the stone is now in Llanaber church. Possibly the same location as the Caelexti stone.

name: **Devorigi stone, Capel Eithin, Llanfihangel Ysgeifiog**

PRN Eastings: Northings:

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 6th century

Inscription: **DEVORIGI**

reading: The stone of Devorix

Description:

Elongated block, narrowing towards upper end (on the assumption that it was originally set upright with the broad end in the ground). Latin inscription running vertically downwards. The stone is described by Lhuyd's correspondent in 1698 as coming from Capel Eithin in the parish of Llanfihangel Ysgeifiog. Broken and moved to Llangefni county school in 1920's; now lost.

name: **Dervori stone, Penprys Farm, Llannor**

PRN Eastings: Northings:

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 5th-6th century

Inscription: **DERVORI HIC IACET**

reading: The stone of Dervorus, he lies here

Description:

Latin inscription in one line running vertically downwards. Lhuyd's correspondent describes it as 'one of 3 or 4 found under ground (in the form of the graves at Llechgynfarwy)' - that is, as part of a cist. According to Hubner (1876) this stone was once over a stable.

name: **Ferrucus stone, Beddau Gwyr Ardudwy, Ffestiniog**

PRN Eastings: Northings:

type: inscribed stone

classification: group 1

date: 5th-6th century

Inscription: **FERRUCI HIC IACIT**

reading: The stone of Ferrucus, here he lies

Description:

Latin inscription, apparently in a single line. The stone was observed in the wall of Llan Ffestiniog churchyard in 1694. Edward Lhuyd had previously been made aware that amongst stones brought from Beddau Gwyr Ardudwy to mend walls at Llan Ffestiniog churchyard, c 1682, was one small slab (0.6m x 0.45m) with an inscription. His informant claimed that the Ferrucus stone was that slab.

appendix: bibliographic references

PRN	burial site	reference	Page number
222	Llandygai	Houlder C 1967	58-60
222	Llandygai	Houlder C 1968	216-221
222	Llandygai	Edwards N & Lane A (eds) 1992	92
222	Llandygai	RCAHMW 1964 (new entries)	126
382	St Edern's church NE, Nefyn	RCAHMW 1964	33
427	Cae Hen Fynwent, Llanfihangel Bachellaeth	RCAHMW 1964	53
781	St Mary's abbey, Ynys Enlli	Chitty M 1992	
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781	St Mary's abbey, Ynys Enlli	Hubner A 1876	50
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1536	Cae Pen-y-maen, Ty'n-y-cae, Nefyn	RCAHMW 1964	85
1536	Cae Pen-y-maen, Ty'n-y-cae, Nefyn	Owen E 1896	170-171
1776	Porth Dafarch	Lynch F 1991	128-130,191
1776	Porth Dafarch	O'Neil B H 1940	65-74
1776	Porth Dafarch	Stanley W O 1878	22-38
1776	Porth Dafarch	RCAHMW 1937	28
1796	Yr Hen Fynwent - Mynydd Mynytho, Llanengan	William E	501-502
1796	Yr Hen Fynwent - Mynydd Mynytho, Llanengan	Peris 1874	87-88
2001	Towyn y Capel - Trearddur Bay	RCAHMW 1937	22
2001	Towyn y Capel - Trearddur Bay	Baynes E N 1928	61-67
2001	Towyn y Capel - Trearddur Bay	Boyle S D 1985	15-21
2001	Towyn y Capel - Trearddur Bay	Thomas W B 1937	183
2001	Towyn y Capel - Trearddur Bay	Baynes E N 1921	57-64
2001	Towyn y Capel - Trearddur Bay	Smith L T (ed) 1906	131
2001	Towyn y Capel - Trearddur Bay	Thomas W B 1938	90
2001	Towyn y Capel - Trearddur Bay	Cathraill W 1828	36,38-39
2028	Carreglwyd	Stanley W O 1868	255-256
2029	Hen Siop, Llanfaethlu	Baynes E N 1935	189-190
2029	Hen Siop, Llanfaethlu	Griffiths J L 1895	229-232

PRN	burial site	reference	Page number
2040	Pen-y-Graig, Llanrhyddlad	Baynes E N 1935	189-190
2063	Arfryn, Bodedern	Edwards N & Lane A (eds) 1992	96
2070	Boddeiniol Farm	Skinner Rev J 1908	71
2070	Boddeiniol Farm	Baynes E N 1920	35
2080	Llechcynfarwy	Lunt W E (ed) 1926	193
2080	Llechcynfarwy	Davidson A 1997	113
2080	Llechcynfarwy	Jones Rev H L 1862	116-117
2080	Llechcynfarwy	Baynes E N 1935	189-190
2080	Llechcynfarwy	Anon 1928	96
2080	Llechcynfarwy	Clarke M L 1961a	66
2080	Llechcynfarwy	Baring-Gould S & Fisher J 1908	243
2080	Llechcynfarwy	RCAHMW 1937	116
2084	Treiorwerth, Presaddfed Estate	Barnwell E L 1873	195-197
2084	Treiorwerth, Presaddfed Estate	Lynch F 1971	11-77
2084	Treiorwerth, Presaddfed Estate	Lynch F 1991	181-183
2084	Treiorwerth, Presaddfed Estate	Lynch F 1968	5
2371	Bangor, Berllan Bach	Longley D 1995	52-70
2371	Bangor, Berllan Bach	RCAHMW 1960a	1-9
2371	Bangor, Berllan Bach	Lunt W E (ed) 1926	169
2371	Bangor, Berllan Bach	Edwards N & Lane A (eds) 1992	100-101
2375	Penprys Farm, Llannor	Radford C A R 1955	8-9
2375	Penprys Farm, Llannor	Jones Parry T L D 1847	201-204
2375	Penprys Farm, Llannor	Nash-Williams V E 1950	89
2375	Penprys Farm, Llannor	Hubner A 1876	49
2375	Penprys Farm, Llannor	RCAHMW 1964	82-83
2375	Penprys Farm, Llannor	Nash-Williams V E 1935	73-74
2375	Penprys Farm, Llannor	Breese C E 1925	385387
2375	Penprys Farm, Llannor	Anon 1859	234
2557	Penmon	Lunt W E (ed) 1926	195
2557	Penmon	Hughes H & North H L 1924	1-17
2557	Penmon	Holme G G 1930	54-59
2557	Penmon	7054,2345,2543,2552	18-30
2557	Penmon	Clarke M L 1961a	66
2557	Penmon	Ellis Rev P C 1855	36
2557	Penmon	Glynne Sir S R 1900	105-106
2557	Penmon	Davidson A 1997	117
2557	Penmon	Snowdonia Nat Park Society 1984	287-288
2557	Penmon	RCAHMW 1937	119--123
2557	Penmon	Anon 1847	180-181
2557	Penmon	RCAHMW 1937	119-123

PRN	burial site	reference	Page number
2557	Penmon	Smith C 1980	101-110
2557	Penmon	Pennant T 1781	259
2557	Penmon	Nash-Williams V E 1950	65-67
2557	Penmon	Jones Rev H L 1849a	44-60,128-134
2557	Penmon	Jones Rev H L 1848a	143-146
2557	Penmon	Holme G G 1924	3-32
2730	Capel Eithin, Llanfihangel Ysgeifiog	RCAHMW 1937	84
2730	Capel Eithin, Llanfihangel Ysgeifiog	Smith G 1998	127-144
2730	Capel Eithin, Llanfihangel Ysgeifiog	Sims-Williams P 1998	1-4
2730	Capel Eithin, Llanfihangel Ysgeifiog	White R 1970a	10-13
2730	Capel Eithin, Llanfihangel Ysgeifiog	Baynes E N 1920	38
2730	Capel Eithin, Llanfihangel Ysgeifiog	Hughes H O 1928	94
2730	Capel Eithin, Llanfihangel Ysgeifiog	Edwards N & Lane A (eds) 1992	98
2730	Capel Eithin, Llanfihangel Ysgeifiog	Youngs S M & Clark J 1982	226-227
2730	Capel Eithin, Llanfihangel Ysgeifiog	White S 1981	15-27
2749	Capel Bronwen	Skinner Rev J 1908	54
2749	Capel Bronwen	White R 1970a	3-8
2749	Capel Bronwen	Baynes E N 1920	40
2749	Capel Bronwen	Williams I 1937	cix-cxiii
2749	Capel Bronwen	Nash-Williams V E 1950	63
3074	Rhyddgaer, lead coffin	White R 1970a	Appendix II
3074	Rhyddgaer, lead coffin	Williams W W 1878	136-140
3074	Rhyddgaer, lead coffin	Williams I 1937	cxvi
3074	Rhyddgaer, lead coffin	Radford C A R 1937	cvi
3074	Rhyddgaer, lead coffin	Rowlands Rev S H 1849	315-317
3074	Rhyddgaer, lead coffin	Nash-Williams V E 1935	66
3182	Llanfair-Garth-Branan, Bangor	Hughes H H 1925	432-436
3182	Llanfair-Garth-Branan, Bangor	Hughes H H 1924	395-396
3182	Llanfair-Garth-Branan, Bangor	RCAHMW 1960a	10-12
3182	Llanfair-Garth-Branan, Bangor	RCAHMW 1960a	10-12
3182	Llanfair-Garth-Branan, Bangor	Alcock L 1964	12
3182	Llanfair-Garth-Branan, Bangor	White R B 1972	246-247
3545	Peibron Farm, Amlwch	RCAHMW 1937	38
3545	Peibron Farm, Amlwch	Williams W W 1876	105
3606	Bay View Estate, Benllech	Edwards N 1985	19-24
3606	Bay View Estate, Benllech	Wayte Dr D M 1993	1-2
3606	Bay View Estate, Benllech	Williams I 1945	21-22
3606	Bay View Estate, Benllech	Edwards N 1984	60
3608	Ty'n y Felin Quarry	Cave A J E 1956	19-21
3608	Ty'n y Felin Quarry	Johns C N 1956	11-18

PRN	burial site	reference	Page number
3608	Ty'n y Felin Quarry	E G W & C N J 1954	100-101
4009	St Tudwal's priory	Lunt W E (ed) 1926	190
4009	St Tudwal's priory	RCAHMW 1964	48-50
4009	St Tudwal's priory	Hague D B 1961	9
4758	Llwyn dol Ithel, Talyllyn	Lhwyd E 1909	6-7
4758	Llwyn dol Ithel, Talyllyn	RCAHMW 1921	165
4939	Bryn Eglwys Quarry, Llanfihangel y Pennant	L 1855	275-276
4939	Bryn Eglwys Quarry, Llanfihangel y Pennant	RCAHMW 1921	114-115
7031	St Rhychwyn's church, Llanrhychwyn	Hughes H & North H L 1924	113-127
7031	St Rhychwyn's church, Llanrhychwyn	Snowdonia Nat Park Society 1984	291-292
7031	St Rhychwyn's church, Llanrhychwyn	Higgins M A 1929	337-338
7031	St Rhychwyn's church, Llanrhychwyn	RCAHMW 1956	156-159
7031	St Rhychwyn's church, Llanrhychwyn	Lunt W E (ed) 1926	192
7031	St Rhychwyn's church, Llanrhychwyn	Davidson A 1997	253
7031	St Rhychwyn's church, Llanrhychwyn	Evans A O 1931	78-83
7031	St Rhychwyn's church, Llanrhychwyn	Glynne Sir S R 1900	317-318
7031	St Rhychwyn's church, Llanrhychwyn	Hughes H H 1927	113-127
7240	St Hywyn's church, Aberdaron	Pennant T 1781	205
7240	St Hywyn's church, Aberdaron	Glynne Sir S R 1900	169-170
7240	St Hywyn's church, Aberdaron	Jones A 1910	135
7240	St Hywyn's church, Aberdaron	Lloyd J E 1911	237
7240	St Hywyn's church, Aberdaron	Radford C A R 1955	7
7240	St Hywyn's church, Aberdaron	Elliss W J 1950	5-35
7240	St Hywyn's church, Aberdaron	Lunt W E (ed) 1926	190
7240	St Hywyn's church, Aberdaron	Hall E H 1952	306-307
7240	St Hywyn's church, Aberdaron	Jones Rev H L 1849b	27-35
7240	St Hywyn's church, Aberdaron	Palmer A N 1886	194-196
7240	St Hywyn's church, Aberdaron	RCAHMW 1964	1-2
7240	St Hywyn's church, Aberdaron	Knowles D & Hadcock N R 1953	356
7240	St Hywyn's church, Aberdaron	Gwyn Dr D, Dutton L A 1996	37
7240	St Hywyn's church, Aberdaron	Davidson A 1997	137
7310	Ynys Seriol, Penmon	RCAHMW 1937	141-144
7310	Ynys Seriol, Penmon	Hughes H 1901	85-108
7310	Ynys Seriol, Penmon	Hughes H 1935	40-46
7310	Ynys Seriol, Penmon	Thompson D J 1986	49
7310	Ynys Seriol, Penmon	Edwards N 1984	60-61
7316	Eglwysl y Bedd, Clynnog Fawr	Evans A O 1931	68-107
7316	Eglwysl y Bedd, Clynnog Fawr	Hughes H & North H L 1924	262-278
7316	Eglwysl y Bedd, Clynnog Fawr	Stallybrass B 1914	271-296
7316	Eglwysl y Bedd, Clynnog Fawr	Nash-Williams V E 1950	85-88

PRN	burial site	reference	Page number
7316	Eglwysl y Bedd, Clynnog Fawr	Jones T 1952	9
7316	Eglwysl y Bedd, Clynnog Fawr	Jones Rev H L 1849b	118-121
7316	Eglwysl y Bedd, Clynnog Fawr	Palmer A N 1886	186-197
7316	Eglwysl y Bedd, Clynnog Fawr	Jones Rev H L 1848b	246-257
7316	Eglwysl y Bedd, Clynnog Fawr	Butler L A S 1966	98-106
7316	Eglwysl y Bedd, Clynnog Fawr	Glynne Sir S R 1900	174-177
7316	Eglwysl y Bedd, Clynnog Fawr	Carr A D 1982	274-275
7316	Eglwysl y Bedd, Clynnog Fawr	Pennant T 1781	217-218
7316	Eglwysl y Bedd, Clynnog Fawr	Hooton E A 1914	294-296
7316	Eglwysl y Bedd, Clynnog Fawr	Lewis S 1833	CLY
7316	Eglwysl y Bedd, Clynnog Fawr	Davidson A 1997	155
7316	Eglwysl y Bedd, Clynnog Fawr	Snowdonia Nat Park Society 1984	300-301
7316	Eglwysl y Bedd, Clynnog Fawr	RCAHMW 1960a	36-42
20002	Cae Capel, Caer Gai, Llanuwchllyn	Hubner A 1876	46
20002	Cae Capel, Caer Gai, Llanuwchllyn	Vaughan R 1850	204
20002	Cae Capel, Caer Gai, Llanuwchllyn	Nash-Williams V E 1950	170
20004	Dervori cist, Penprys Farm, Llannor	Jones Parry T L D 1847	201-204
20004	Dervori cist, Penprys Farm, Llannor	Nash-Williams V E 1950	89
20004	Dervori cist, Penprys Farm, Llannor	Radford C A R 1955	8-9
20004	Dervori cist, Penprys Farm, Llannor	Breese C E 1925	385387
20004	Dervori cist, Penprys Farm, Llannor	Hubner A 1876	49
20004	Dervori cist, Penprys Farm, Llannor	RCAHMW 1964	82-83
20004	Dervori cist, Penprys Farm, Llannor	Nash-Williams V E 1935	73-74
20004	Dervori cist, Penprys Farm, Llannor	Anon 1859	234

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