

From the sublime to the druidical: changing perceptions of the prehistoric monuments of southern Anglesey in the post-medieval period

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SUMMARY: The prehistoric monuments of southern Anglesey have been interpreted in various ways over the past three centuries, as an examination of the work of antiquarians, artists, landscape designers, and other contemporary commentators reveals. During the post-medieval period, the meanings of these monuments shifted, as perceptions of the pre-Roman era changed. As embodiments of the past, megalithic monuments were embraced by Welsh historians, antiquarians and artists, in the movement to formulate a Welsh national identity. Moreover, their incorporation into landscape gardens was indicative of the extent to which they captured the contemporary imagination. Local communities, meanwhile, reacted in differing ways to the megaliths, influenced concurrently by superstition and agrarian pragmatism.

INTRODUCTION

Numerous prehistoric sites and monuments have been identified in the southern corner of Anglesey, close to the banks of the Menai Straits (Fig. 1). These include Neolithic megaliths, such as the Plas Newydd chambered tomb, Bryn yr Hen Bobl chambered cairn, Bryn Celli Ddu passage grave, Bodowyr dolmen, and Castel Bryn Gwyn, a Late Neolithic henge that was reused and modified as a defended settlement in the 1st century AD. The Plas Newydd chambered tomb is situated within the boundaries of the eponymous estate; the current residence of the Marquess and Marchioness of Anglesey. This monument does, in fact, owe its survival to its location, as it was perceived to be an interesting ‘feature’ by Humphry Repton, who contributed to the landscaping of the grounds at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries.¹ Many of Anglesey’s megalithic sites have not benefitted from such ‘enlightened’ stewardship, however, and have been destroyed since the post-medieval period.²

The *Cambrian Register* for 1796 records 30 megaliths on Anglesey,³ some of which had already collapsed or had been dismantled; others have subsequently been lost, while new sites have also been discovered.⁴ John Leland, a 16th-century English antiquary, was the first to publish observations about the burial mounds, noting their destruction in order to enclose land and construct walls. During his tour in the 1530s, he remarked that,

now stille more and more they digge stony hillockes yn theyre groundes, and with the stones of them rudely congestid they devide theyre groundes after Devonshire fascion ... In digging of these [they] digge up yn many places yerthen pottes with the mouthes turnid douneward, conteyning [*cineres et ossa mortuorum*].⁵

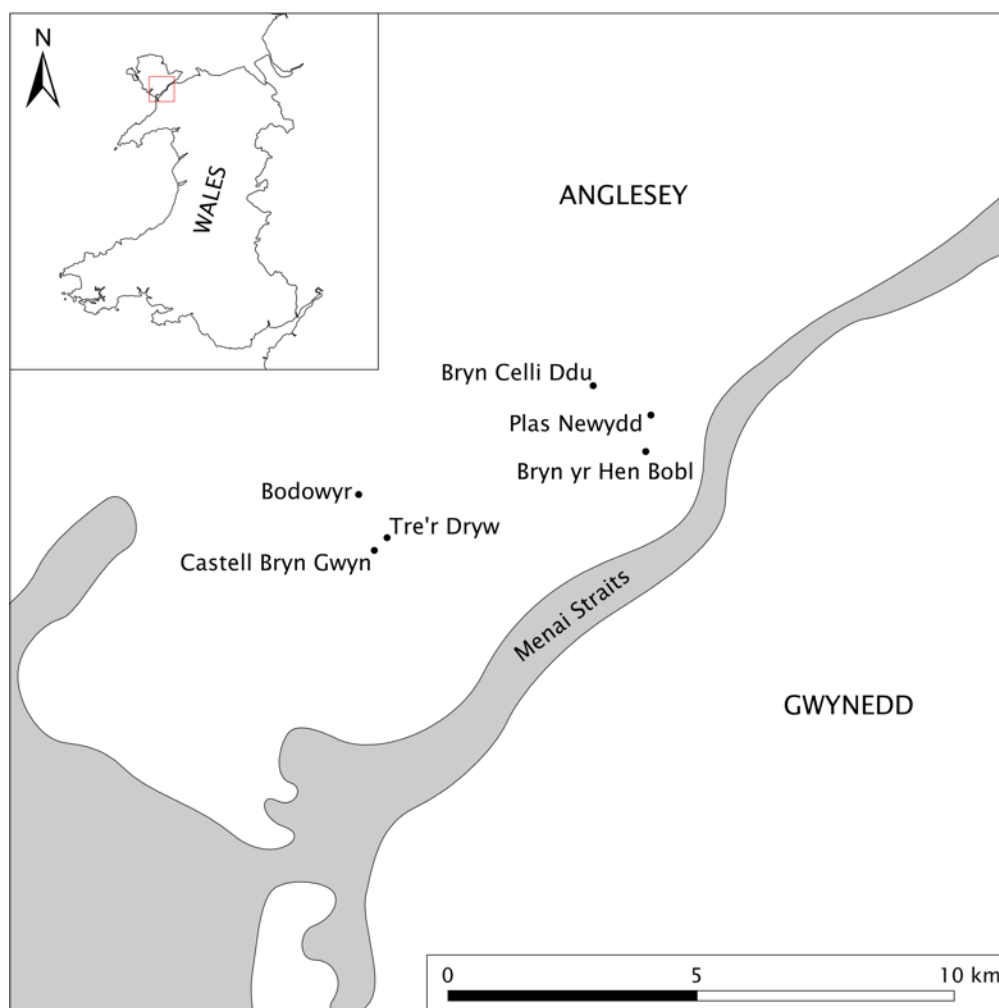


FIG. 1

Map showing the location of Anglesey and the sites referred to in the text (K. Mees).

There is a long-standing tradition of antiquarian interest in the prehistoric and Roman archaeology of southern Anglesey. Henry Rowlands, born in Llanedwen in 1655, became rector of the parish of Llanidan in the early 18th century, and wrote extensively about the ancient sites of the island in *Mona Antiqua Restaurata*, first published in 1723.⁶ In the 18th and 19th centuries, the area was frequently visited by antiquarians and ‘gentlemen tourists’, such as Thomas Pennant, the Rev. William Bingley, the Rev. John Skinner and Sir Richard Colt Hoare. Many descriptions and illustrations of the monuments survive from this period, particularly of the chambered tomb and chambered cairn within the grounds of Plas Newydd. Early archaeological investigations were undertaken by William Owen Stanley, Hugh Prichard and W. Wynn Williams, the findings of which were frequently published in the journal *Archaeologia Cambrensis*.

Although they were not correctly dated until the latter half of the 19th century, the prehistoric monuments of southern Anglesey were considered and discussed by a range of writers, artists and local observers in the post-medieval period, and their interpretations reflect the social and cultural climate of the era. It is necessary to contextualise many of these observations within the framework of the later 18th-century ‘Welsh Renaissance’ movement, which sought to forge and promote a collective identity and national history, drawing on prehistoric material culture.⁷ The development of the aesthetic ideals of the picturesque and the sublime were also key in drawing the attention of landscape designers and artists to the monuments. Moreover, ordinary people living and working around the megaliths experienced a complex and often contradictory relationship with them. This paper will explore the varying interpretations of these monuments during the post-medieval period. Following a discussion of the social and cultural significance of the megaliths for local communities and contemporary writers and artists, the descriptions and depictions of individual sites will be collated in order to assess the critical themes in the development of their interpretation. The final section will examine the incorporation of prehistoric monuments within designed landscapes, focusing on the example of the Plas Newydd estate.

In researching this paper, field visits were made to all sites mentioned in the text.

Documentary and cartographic research was carried out at the Anglesey County Record Office, the Archives and Special Collections at Bangor University, the Historic Environment Record held by the Gwynedd Archaeological Trust, the National Monuments Record of Wales, and the National Library of Wales.

SUPERSTITION AND PRAGMATISM THE RURAL LANDSCAPE

Even today, the meaning and significance of prehistoric monuments is not fully understood, and megaliths are regarded by many merely as ‘stones that have been symmetrically constructed by ancient people’.⁸ As conspicuous features in the landscape, however, megaliths and large earthworks have rarely escaped attention. In the post-medieval rural landscape of Anglesey, reactions and approaches to the monuments fluctuated between pragmatism, exemplified in the plundering of megalithic stone for building materials or the removal of monuments seen as obstacles to cultivation, and a more superstitious and reverential appropriation.

Throughout recorded history, attempts have been made to decipher, interpret and assign origins to such ancient structures. Folklore is one way in which communities attempt to comprehend their local landscape and the remains of the past it contains.⁹ Before the advent of cartographic delineation, mnemonics or ‘mental maps’ of localities may have been conceived and passed on via the oral tradition. The folklore associated with monuments demonstrates a ‘long standing vernacular curiosity in them as magical sites’,¹⁰ as throughout history, sites were invested with ‘new’ meaning and new beliefs accrued around them. As Howell has noted, the majority of Welsh country dwellers in the 18th century held a strong attachment to a coherent structure of folk beliefs.¹¹ This ‘interrelated body of unorthodox locally specific knowledge and belief’ comprised folk tales, rituals and ‘faith in the efficacy of a range of protective devices against evil in popular cures and charms’.¹² Although the interpretations of prehistory offered by folklore cannot be regarded as accurate or wholly reliable, they can provide the archaeologist with a valuable insight

into the changing meanings of monuments in different periods.¹³ Folk perceptions of monuments can be gleaned from both literary sources and the oral tradition. Medieval chroniclers and post-medieval antiquarians were the first to document traditions, practices and beliefs associated with the ‘popular antiquities’ of Britain. Leland, for example, recorded elements of what he termed ‘common fame’, reporting what ‘almost everyone in the area agreed had happened in the past’.¹⁴

One of the earliest surviving records of the folklore of megaliths in Anglesey can be attributed to Gerald of Wales, Archdeacon of Brecon, who in 1188, set out on a mission to South and North Wales alongside Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury. In the diary of his travels, *The Journey through Wales*, he discusses the curious megaliths of Anglesey, said by the local people to have special properties:

There is a stone almost in the shape of a human thigh-bone which has this extraordinary property, so often proved true by the local inhabitants, that however far away it is carried, it returns of its own accord the following night...¹⁵

This stone, also known as *Maen Morddwyd*, was said to reside in the parish of Llanidan, on the external wall of the original St. Nidan’s Church.

The very fabric of stones seemed invested with recuperative properties. As the Rev. James Brome noted in 1707 at Stonehenge, ‘if the stones be rubbed, or scraped, and water thrown upon the scrapings, they will (some say), heal any green wound or old sore’.¹⁶ The putative healing properties of megalithic sites were valued by many communities, especially by the poor in more remote areas, where medical facilities were virtually non-existent.¹⁷ In 1781, Pennant observed sick and infirm people sleeping on megaliths at Ffynnon Beuno in Caernarfonshire, while others bathed in holy wells, and then stood in a stone circle.¹⁸ In Anglesey, William Bulkeley commented in 1740 on the ‘old superstition of people of all sexes and ages going to Llanelian wakes to visit a dry skull’, and ‘scraping an old stone’¹⁹. Even in the early 19th century, Peter Roberts noted that ‘the peasantry

have an idea that the rain water which lodges in the cavities of cromlechs has a medicinal virtue for the relief of sore eyes, an idea which seems to be a vestige of ancient superstition'.²⁰

It could be argued that the Church itself used the residual superstition within communities to its advantage, and in the 17th century attempts to 'tame' the congregation by threats of petrification were not uncommon.²¹ The Carreg Lleidr standing stone, in Llandyfrydog, which has been linked to the nearby holy wells of Gybi and Seiriol, was said to represent a man who was petrified after having stolen the church bible;²² Skinner noted in 1802 that it used to be referred to as the 'thief stone'.²³ By the mid-18th century, the clergy was trying to eradicate superstition and old 'pagan' rituals, or at least to marginalise them. On Anglesey, Thomas Ellis, a parson in Holyhead, embarked upon a campaign of 'moral reform', transforming old rituals, driving all the fortune-tellers off the island and stopping the wakes.²⁴ In destroying the 'old culture', the Methodists and other dissenters attempted to devise a new Welsh way of life, which cut people away from the past.²⁵

In isolated communities in rural Anglesey, however, superstition was prevalent until at least the late 18th century; as E.J. Jones has commented, there was still a 'blind, fetish-like devotion to superstition, prejudices and customs'.²⁶ As well as being benevolent and health restoring, ancient sites also engendered respect and deference. The Early Bronze Age cairn Bedd Branwen, on the banks of the Alaw near Llanddeusant, was associated with the medieval folk tale the Mabinogion, and was said to be the tomb of Branwen, daughter of Llyr. In the 18th century, Rowlands noted that the cairn had been plundered for stone.²⁷ Even then, it was seen as perilous to deface such a 'sacred' place; as William Morris of Holyhead lamented in 1758, 'Wicked Will of Chwaen Ddu despoiled it. He never had an easy step afterwards'.²⁸ Another stone, at Frondeg near Llangaffo was once 'taken away to be employed in building a limekiln by a person in the neighbourhood', but as Skinner reports, 'nothing succeeded with him till he had again returned it to its place'.²⁹

Megaliths were feared by many, due to the unruly spirits that were thought to dwell within them. Pritchard recounts how at the end of the 18th century, attempts to excavate Llech Talmon (the site of a standing stone west of Llanbedrgoch, probably now destroyed) were abandoned after a

thunderstorm erupted on a fine summer's morning, just as work began.³⁰ The workers fled, terrified by what was seen as a 'bad omen'. Skinner also describes how workmen excavating the chamber at Bryn Celli Ddu were terrified by the sighting of a 'ghostly figure', which revealed itself as a stone pillar.³¹ The name itself, which translates as the 'Hill in the Dark Grove', has a sinister ring, and as Skinner says, 'the superstition of the common people still suppose this to be the habitation of spirits', or the 'mansion of the dead'.³²

ANTIQUARIAN PERCEPTIONS: 'DRUIDIC RUINS' IN THE LANDSCAPE

Until the latter half of the 18th century, interest in the megalithic monuments of Britain was largely confined to local folklore and customs, or to the discourses of antiquarians such as Camden, Aubrey and Stukeley. Orthodox historians initially dismissed 'Ancient British' culture as primitive, rude and barbaric, undeserved of attention in comparison with the more magnificent and noble remains of classical civilizations. By the late 18th century, however, the situation had changed, partly as a result of the 'Welsh Renaissance' movement. Concerned that many aspects of Welsh national identity – history, literature, music and language – had become atrophied, scholars and patriots 'rediscovered' all things Welsh. As Roberts wrote, the surge in interest in Welsh history resulted from the fact that the country's 'manners and customs [had] undergone a great change' for political reasons.³³ The 'modernization' of Wales provoked a reaction against the loss of an ancient, traditional and distinctive Welsh culture. This found expression in the formation of societies amongst the Welsh community in London. These revived the *Eisteddfodau*, involving and enjoying the collaboration of enthusiasts in Wales itself, thus unifying the move towards a 'national cultural revival'. As Hutton has argued,³⁴ 'in the course of the mid-18th century Druidry and Welshness began, slowly and cautiously, to draw together'.

The most original part of this movement, if not the most massive, was undoubtedly the antiquarian revival.³⁵ Welsh antiquities, such as the megaliths of Anglesey, provided the basis for the construction of a national past. Crucially, it was a remote past. In the early 18th century, Henry

Rowlands, antiquary and rector of Llanidan, wrote that his aim was to retrieve the ‘almost-lost accounts of [his] Native Country out of the deep obscurities of time and prevailing oblivion’.³⁶ He recognised the new emphasis placed on the ‘origins of nations’, and the ‘many things depending on it’, especially since ‘the neighbouring English hath so much encroach’d upon’ Welsh language and culture.³⁷ Indeed, the patriotic potential inherent in the study of Welsh antiquities was already apparent in *Mona Antiqua*. Concomitant with the search for a national identity was the rise of primitivism as a fashionable commodity within European thought, and a ‘subversive spring, welling up in the writings of Rousseau, became a flood of interest and enthusiasm for the innocent, the uncorrupted and the uncivilised’.³⁸

Antiquarian interest in ancient Britain and its religious practitioners can be identified from at least the late 16th century, in texts such as Camden’s *Britannia* (1586). The Druids emerged in the writings of early antiquaries as an ‘exciting and mysterious priesthood’.³⁹ It was only in the early 18th century, however, that the tradition ‘began to solidify’.⁴⁰ This owed much to the work of John Aubrey, who in the mid-17th century began to investigate ancient British or ‘Druidic’ monuments. His attempt to publish his antiquarian treatise, *Monumenta Britannica*, which included the essay ‘Templa Druidum’, failed to attract sufficient subscribers. Nevertheless, it had a profound influence on 18th-century antiquarians, such as William Stukeley. Aubrey was the first to attribute megaliths such as Stonehenge to the Celts, and more specifically to the Druids, an élite group that mediated between people and the gods in Britain during the Iron Age. Druids were

responsible for administering and guiding the religious life of the people, supervising ceremonies and sacrifices and divining the future from such omens as the death struggles of a sacrificial victim.⁴¹

There is little or no archaeological evidence for their presence on Anglesey.⁴² Today, as in the 18th century, the most detailed account comes from Tacitus’ report of the Roman invasion of the island led by Suetonius in AD 60.⁴³

In the early years of the 18th century, the image of the Druid ‘underwent a sea-change, from the arcane obscurantist who indulged in human sacrifice, to the sage or intellectual defending his people’s faith and honour’,⁴⁴ and there was ‘both a growing role for Druids in the British imagination and a growing awareness of them as the main figures of the earliest known period of national history’.⁴⁵ Scholars such as the deist John Tolland and Edward Llwyd, the latter of whom has been described as ‘the first great Welsh archaeologist’,⁴⁶ began to identify the Druids more closely with the Welsh. Llwyd had contributed to a revised edition of Camden’s *Britannia* in 1695, detailing Welsh megalithic monuments. He was amongst the first to develop a form of classification for the different types of stone monuments: the *carnedd*, *cromlech*, or *mein gwyr*, and the *kistvaen*.⁴⁷ He was also one of the first antiquaries to make the case for a sophisticated ‘British’ civilisation on the basis of artefactual evidence. Llwyd believed it was crucial to study evidence in the field, and refused to make additions to *Britannia* until he had visited all the counties in Wales. He also involved many ‘correspondents’, who provided detailed local knowledge on ancient sites. Llwyd appears somewhat cautious in attributing Druidic connections to cromlechs in general. He thought that they had been erected in the time of ‘Heathenism and Barbarity, but to what end, I dare not presume to conjecture’.⁴⁸ He is, however, less hesitant in one passage in the additions to *Britannia* when discussing cromlechs and stone-cists,

What use they were in the time of the Druids we must leave to further enquiry: but that they really are some of their monuments I scarce question.⁴⁹

Llwyd’s contributions to *Britannia*

had a decisive effect in encouraging the British to regard their own prehistory as something exciting and admirable in itself, rather than as an appendage to the study of the Greek and Roman worlds and always to be viewed through the eyes of the latter.⁵⁰

Druidical religion, and what was perceived to be the surviving physical evidence for it – the megaliths – were explored in great detail by Llwyd's fellow Welsh antiquary, Henry Rowlands, vicar of Llanidan. He had been one of Llwyd's correspondents on the island that he had helped reclaim, but had also undertaken his own observations of standing stones in his native Anglesey. He carried out extensive philological and antiquarian research in an attempt to substantiate his claim that Anglesey was the ancestral home of the British Druids. Drawing on Tacitus' account, he claimed that 'it may be taken for granted' that the island was their 'ancient seat'.⁵¹ He attests to the presence of 'extant remains' of Druidic settlements and places of ritual: oak groves for worship and cairns or chambered tombs for altars. His findings and theories were first published in 1723. As Hutton has noted,⁵²

it was designed to be a local case study of the most important kind, using a close reading of the textual and physical evidence for a particular county to make propositions that had relevance for the history of a whole continent.

His persuasion of the significance of a close etymological relationship between Welsh and Hebrew led him to make more fanciful claims about the antiquity of the Welsh language and its association with the Scriptures. In the search for important elements to reestablish a distinctive cultural identity, far removed from the encroachment of English language and culture, Rowlands also applied his theories to the prehistoric sites on the island. The megalithic tombs and cairns were interpreted as sites associated with the Druidic priests, whom he portrayed as learned, noble scholars, with a close relationship to the Hebrew patriarchs (Fig. 2). Rowlands' reliance on the 'impeccable authority of the Old Testament' and his linking that text to the physical remains littering his native island was, as Hutton has commented,⁵³ entirely 'in the fashion of the new antiquarian studies'. Yet Rowlands also gave the Welsh a particular relationship with ancient Druidry by suggesting that their teaching had been preserved in medieval Welsh poetry. Rowlands believed in the possibility that, once

properly collected, edited and analysed, their medieval literature might prove to contain traces of actual Druid tradition.⁵⁴



FIG. 2

Depiction of a Druid in *Mona Antiqua Restaurata* (Rowlands 1766, reproduced by courtesy of Archives and Special Collections, Bangor University).

In the latter half of the 18th century, gentleman travellers and tourists began to ‘consume’ antiquities with a voracious appetite. The re-evaluation of domestic antiquities was complemented by the emergent aesthetic preference for the picturesque and the sublime. With travel abroad curtailed during the Napoleonic Wars, many sites in Britain were ‘discovered’, visited and described. Topographical guides, recording the villages, estates, and to some extent the physical

landscape of North Wales, were prepared for the adventurous tourist. Prehistoric remains were also included, adding a cultural dimension to sparsely populated and often bleak landscapes. In his *Excursions in North Wales: A Guide to Tourists* (written in 1798), the Rev. William Bingley notes that the ‘traveller of taste (in search of grand and stupendous scenery), the naturalist and antiquary, have, in this romantic county, full scope for their respective pursuits’.⁵⁵ Bingley admires the mountains of Caernarfonshire (the ‘British Alps’), as does Thomas Pennant, who, when visiting Plas Newydd in 1781, includes a description of the view of the ‘long range of Snowdonian Alps’. Visitors were generally less than complementary about the landscape of Anglesey itself; Joseph Hucks, who visited the island with Coleridge in 1794, found it to be a ‘picture of desolation’.⁵⁶

Such guides rarely provided any new information or interpretations of the sites, relying on the same sources, chiefly Rowlands. Antiquarian perceptions regarding the sites and megaliths of Anglesey, as shaped by Rowlands, persisted into the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Pennant visited many of the druidical sites documented by Rowlands, though he freely admits it was ‘not in his power to give better account than the following of “that prodigy”’, whose work he describes as ‘an extraordinary performance’.⁵⁷ Bingley refers to the ‘cromlechs’ present on the island, rightly perceiving that they were not altars but sepulchral monuments, undoubtedly influenced by the observations of the Cornish antiquary William Borlase.⁵⁸ In his *Ten Days’ Tour* through Anglesey in 1802, the Rev. John Skinner, a Somerset antiquary, also follows closely in Rowlands’ footsteps, enthusiastically seeking out those sites that his predecessor had recorded.⁵⁹

By the 1860s, although archaeology as a discipline was still in its infancy, more extensive fieldwork was being carried out in Anglesey, by prolific figures such as W.O. Stanley. Stanley admitted ‘much remains to be done’, seeming almost apologetic for the continuing dearth of knowledge, but also optimistic that the discipline had ‘emerged from that dim age of scanty information’.⁶⁰

DEPICTIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS OF INDIVIDUAL SITES

Plas Newydd

Great emphasis was placed on the size and grandeur of the Plas Newydd chambered tomb in the 18th and 19th centuries. Rowlands describes it as a

very large [cromlech] ... standing near Plâs newydd, formerly Llwyn Moel, where it is probable one of the larger groves was. It is a double Cromlech, a larger and smaller contiguous together.⁶¹

During his visit to Anglesey in 1781, Pennant observes ‘two vast Cromlechs’ (the double chambered tomb), and claims that ‘they are the most magnificent we have, and the highest from the ground, for a middle-sized horse may easily pass under the largest’.⁶² Visiting the site in 1800, the Rev. John Evans comments that it is ‘said to be the largest monument of the kind, subsisting in the kingdom’.⁶³

A watercolour by John ‘Warwick’ Smith’s (Fig. 3), painted in 1792, depicts the Plas Newydd megalith with two figures in the foreground wearing ‘traditional’ Welsh dress: tall beaver hats and heavy tweed cloaks. The monument appears imposing, and echoes the rugged contours of Snowdon, perhaps symbolising the enduring, resilient nature of the Welsh nation and culture. In July of the same year, the artist Julius Caesar Ibbetson accompanied ‘Warwick’ Smith and Robert Fulke Greville on an extended tour of North Wales, including Anglesey. Ibbetson’s watercolour, *Costume of the Peasantry in the Island of Anglesea – behind the group, a druidical cromlech, Snowdon in the distance*, was probably composed at this time. It is attributed by Smiles⁶⁴ as a contribution to James Baker’s *Picturesque Guide through Wales and the Marches* (1794). The artist brings together elements of the present and the past as exemplars of a living tradition within British culture. Contemporary Welsh peasants in traditional dress are positioned in front of the Plas Newydd chambered tomb, linking them and the stone to Druidism and the Bards, whose sacred place and seat of learning was Snowdon.



FIG. 3

‘The Cromlech’, by John ‘Warwick’ Smith (NLW (WIAbNL) 4586787, reproduced by permission of Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru / The National Library of Wales).

Richard Tongue of Bath, who advertised himself as a ‘painter and modeller of megaliths’,⁶⁵ presented six plaster models of monuments to the British Museum in 1834. Only one, that of the Plas Newydd chambered tomb,⁶⁶ relates to his known paintings. Tongue created straightforward renderings of sites on a scale of one inch to the foot, employing one of the main means of archaeological representation of the day: the model. They were intended to preserve ‘correct data’ about the monuments, to keep a record of them for posterity.⁶⁷ fundamentally antiquarian ethics and indeed the basis of modern planning policy in the UK. Tongue gave three megalithic paintings to the British Museum, depicting Plas Newydd, Stonehenge and The Tolmen, at dawn, noon and dusk respectively.⁶⁸ They perhaps demonstrate the growing interest in the atmospheric presence of these sites.⁶⁹

The Druidic theme was perpetuated through the 19th century. In 1810, whilst touring Caernarfonshire and Anglesey, Richard Colt Hoare proclaimed that the ‘antiquary will have a rich

treat in viewing the fine British monuments behind [Plas Newydd]'.⁷⁰ In his Topographical Dictionary of Wales, Samuel Lewis describes Llanedwen as 'the principle seat of the Druidical priest-hood', where 'the arch-druid is supposed to have had for ages his chief residence'.⁷¹ In the 1849 edition, Lewis elaborates that Anglesey was a 'chief place of refuge for the Druids, when expelled from their previous abodes by the progress of the Roman arms'. Llanddaniel Fab and Llanidan is also described as 'abounding with remains indicative of its having been a scene of Druidical worship'. Plas Newydd is said to be 'beautifully situated in a portion of ancient Druidical groves'. In her 1833 account of the history of Anglesey, Angharad Llwyd refers to a description by a certain Mr Lloyd: 'In the woods of Llwyn y Moel, now called Plas Newydd, and behind the house are some remarkable druidical antiquities'. Llwyd feels that the new name for the estate 'does not well harmonise with its ancient cromlech and surrounding scenery'.⁷²

Even in the latter half of the 19th century, W.O. Stanley professes that Plas Newydd, the 'most remarkable of cromlechs in Anglesey', is situated in what was probably 'one of the larger Druidical groves'.⁷³ In an article published in the Journal of Horticulture in 1873, the following account of the area is provided:

In the time of the Druids ... stood Llwyn Moel (the Grove on the Hill) ... Without room for doubt this must be recognised as a chief rendezvous of the Druids; the cromelechs [sic.], tumuli, traditions and history here bear concurrent testimony.⁷⁴

The authors also recount that the oldest oak on the estate was previously situated close to the burial chamber, and that it 'must have lived from years nearly midway between the present and Druidic times'.⁷⁵ They then speculate that 'victims' were confined at Bryn yr Hen Bobl 'ready for sacrifice on the neighbouring cromlech', a theory reminiscent of that of Pennant at the end of the 18th century.⁷⁶

Rowlands speculates of Bryn yr Hen Bobl that some skeletons uncovered near the top of the mound seem'd to be the last [victims of the Druids] that were slaughtered there, being so near the top of the Karnedd, and not unlikely at the Romans' invasion and conquest, when people here were driven to their greatest expiations and sacrifices.⁷⁷

His depiction (Fig. 4) reflects his description of the mound as 'scarce discerned and distinguished from a mound of earth, the stones being overgrown with earth and moss, and great trees growing thick upon it'.⁷⁸

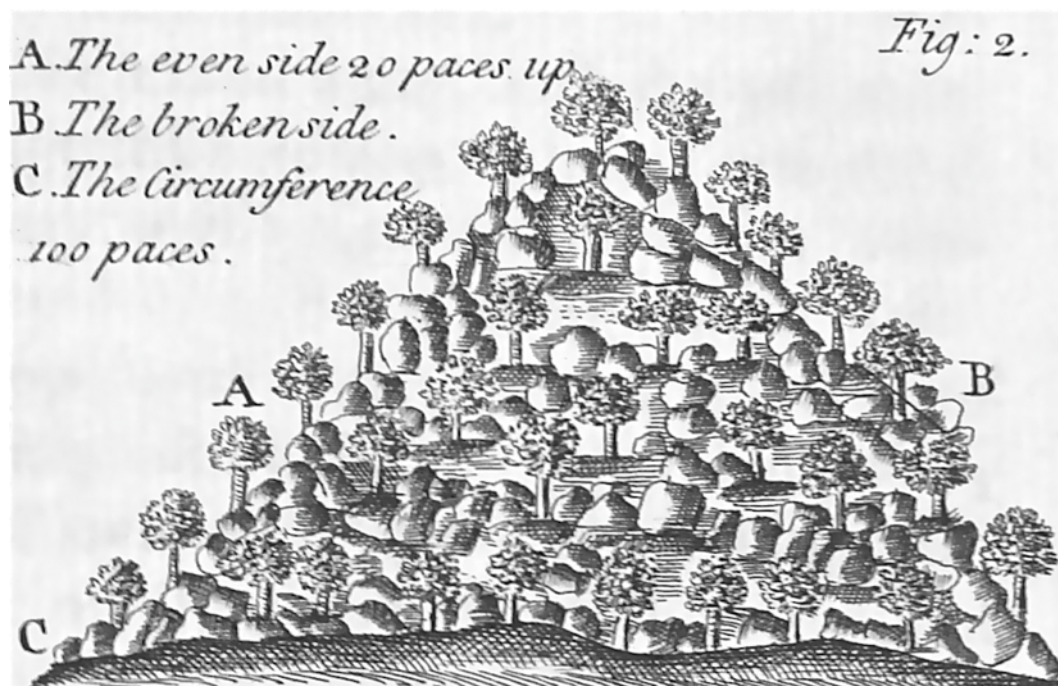


FIG. 4

Bryn yr Hen Bobl as depicted by Henry Rowlands (1766, plate VII, fig. 2, reproduced by courtesy of Archives and Special Collections, Bangor University).

Thomas Pennant postulates⁷⁹ that sacrificial victims were imprisoned in the chamber before being slaughtered on the Plas Newydd megalith, attributing the semi-circular holes in the stone at the entrance to the tomb as stocks, as they are 'of size sufficient to take the human neck'. Bingley,

who visited the site in 1798, states that it was ‘generally believed by the country people to have been a Druidical place of interment, and to have originally had some connection with the cromlech’ at Plas Newydd.⁸⁰ He recounts that it was:

first exposed by Sir Nicolas Bailey about 100 years ago; but, when the workmen had opened the entrance into the larger recess, he ordered them to discontinue their operations, as it seemed to contain nothing but bones.⁸¹

The interval of ‘100 years’ was a revision made for the 1839 edition – if Bingley’s sources were accurate, it was therefore probably dug during the 1720s or 30s; i.e. after Rowlands described it, but before Pennant’s visit. Skinner writes that he ‘examined a very large Carnedd or artificial hillock formed of loose stones, but now overgrown with turf and trees’⁸² (Fig. 5). In 1870, W.O. Stanley was the first to suggest that rather than containing the remains of a ‘great warrior’ or Druidic ‘hero who died on this spot fighting the Romans’, the mound might be the burial place for an ‘earlier race’.⁸³

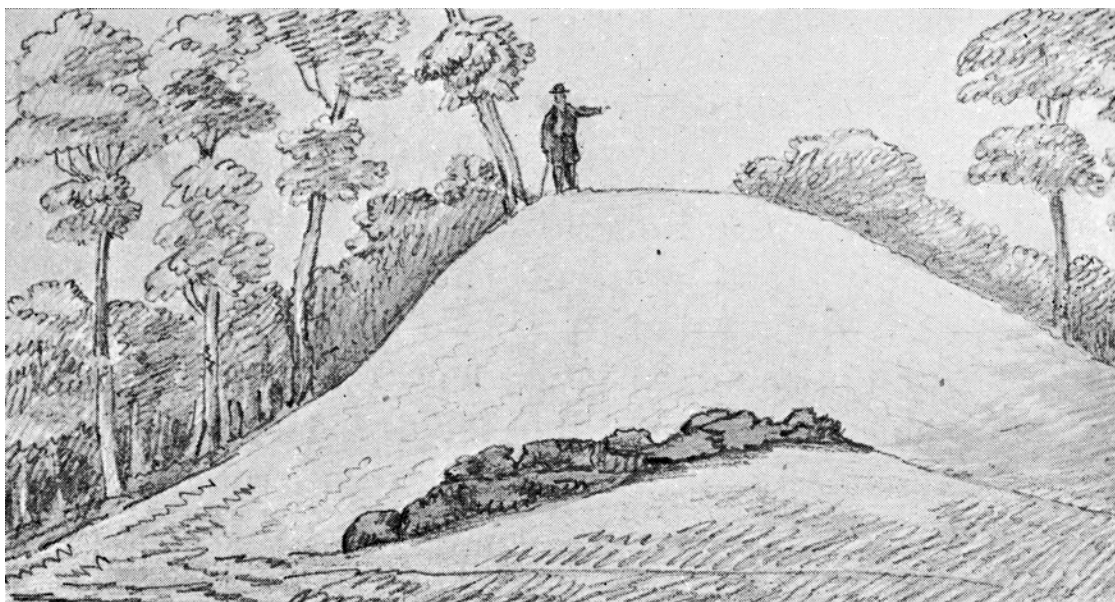


FIG. 5

Bryn yr Hen Bobl by Rev. Skinner (Skinner 1908, 18).

Descriptions and interpretations of other sites

Rowlands refers to stone having been taken away from Bryn Celli Ddu by local people for use as building material,⁸⁴ and Skinner confirms this.⁸⁵ Rowlands' illustration of the monument (Fig. 6) reveals that the mound (C) was not then covered with earth or turf. Another cairn (A) was present, if not intact. Pennant provides a lengthy description of the monument,⁸⁶ acknowledging that it was sepulchral, as it contained a 'stone bench, on which were found human bones, which fell to dust almost at a touch'. In *Archaeologia Cambrensis* in 1847, it is referred to as a 'Celtic monument', and the authors make a plea for its preservation.⁸⁷ A contemporary illustration (Fig. 7) shows the extent of its dilapidation.

Perhaps the most 'quintessential' of the Anglesey chambered tombs, Rowlands describes Bodowyr as 'a pretty Cromlech standing at the top of a hillock'.⁸⁸ He depicts it with a flat top (Fig. 8), perhaps to support his theory that it was a sacrificial altar. Skinner concurs with Rowlands with regards its appearance, commenting, 'we were gratified by the sight of a very perfect cromlech [sic.]'.⁸⁹ He argues, however, that it demonstrated that 'cromlechs were not always used (if they were at all) as altars for sacrifices', as its 'Pyramidical form is by no means adapted to this purpose' (Fig. 9).⁹⁰ According to Skinner, Bodowyr chambered tomb is also associated with 'a British princess named Bronwen who flourished in the year of the world 3105!!!!', a legend usually associated with Bedd Branwen, to the north.

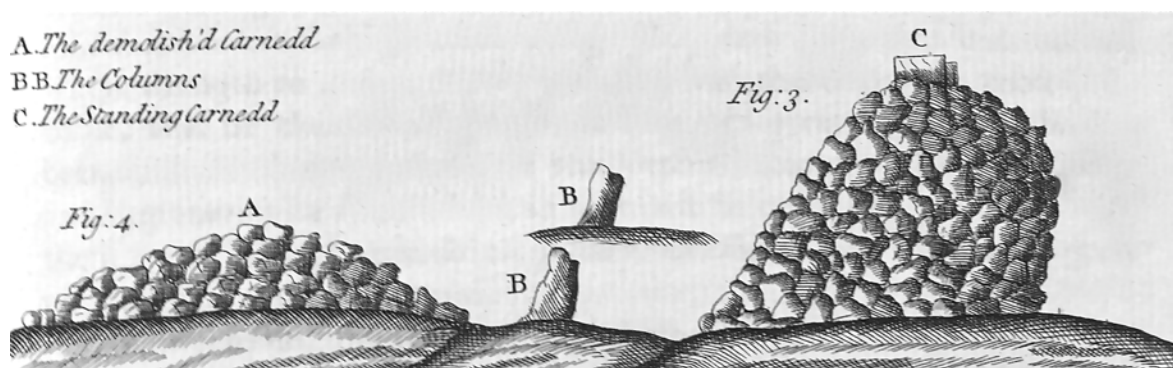


FIG. 6

Depiction of Bryn Celli Ddu by Henry Rowlands (1766, plate VII, figs. 3 & 4, reproduced by courtesy of Archives and Special Collections, Bangor University).

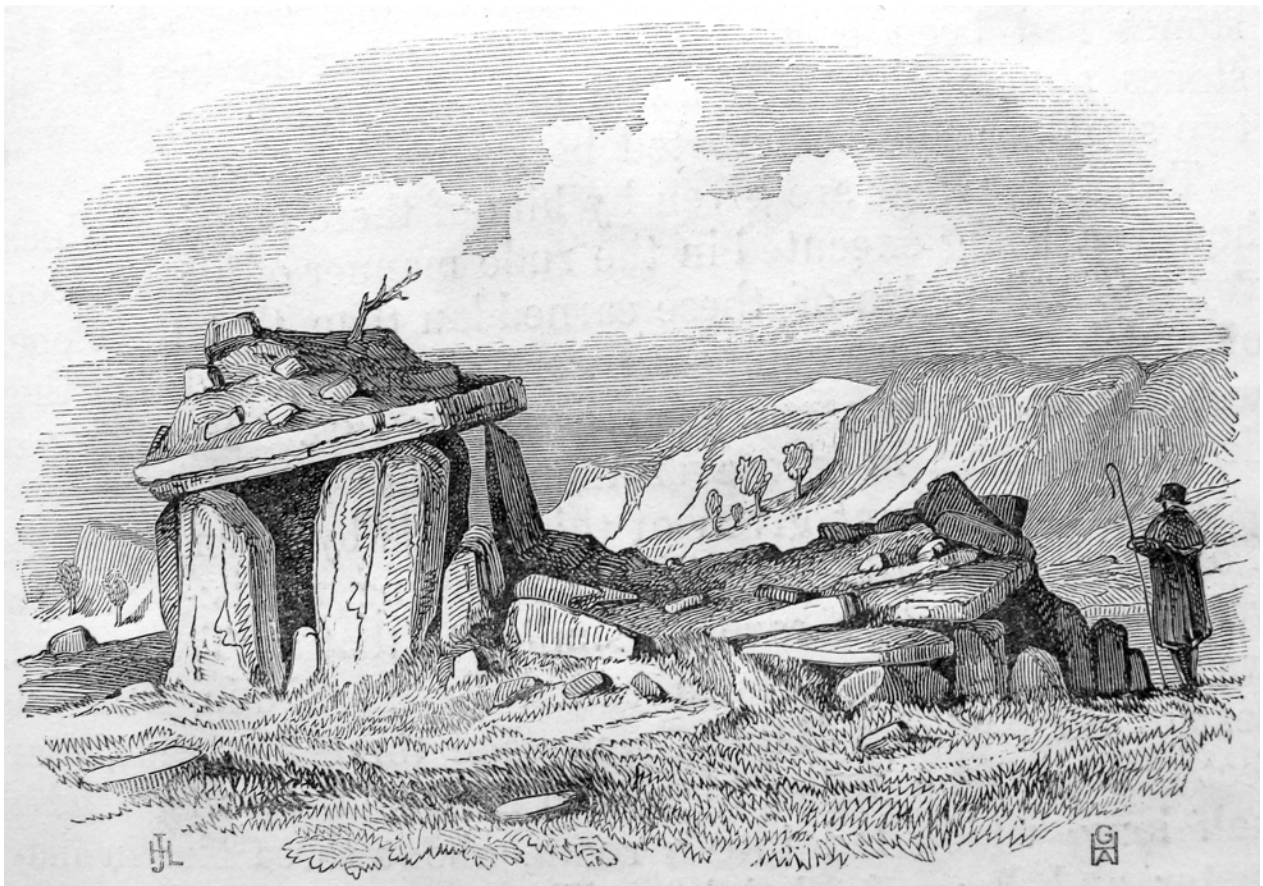


FIG. 7

‘Cromlech at Bryn Celli Ddu, Anglesey, 1847’ (Longueville-Jones & Williams 1847).

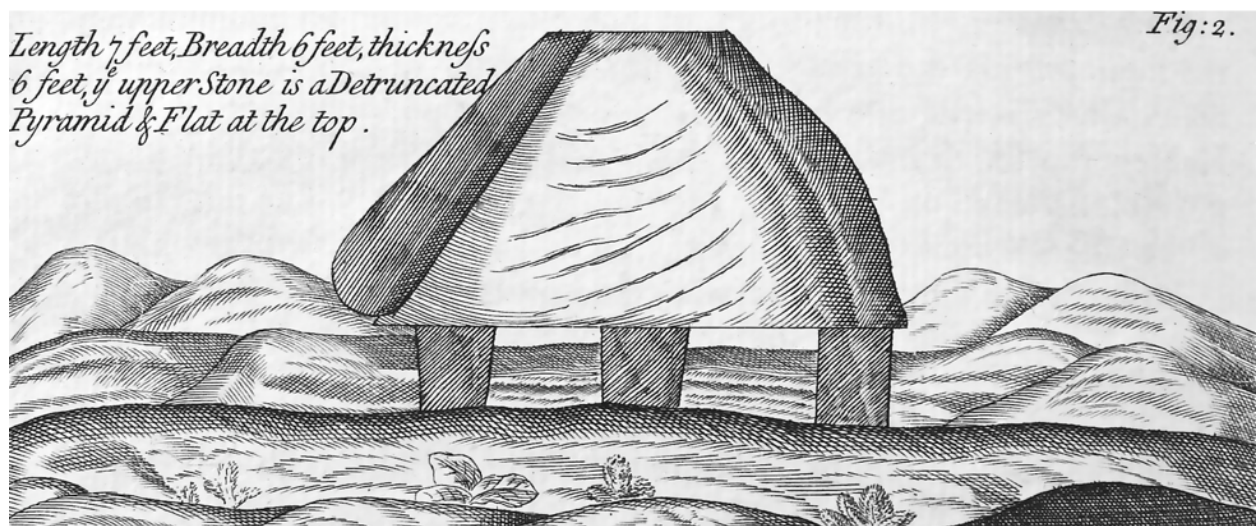


FIG. 8

Depiction of Bodowyr by Rowlands (1766, plate V, fig. 2, reproduced by courtesy of Archives and Special Collections, Bangor University).

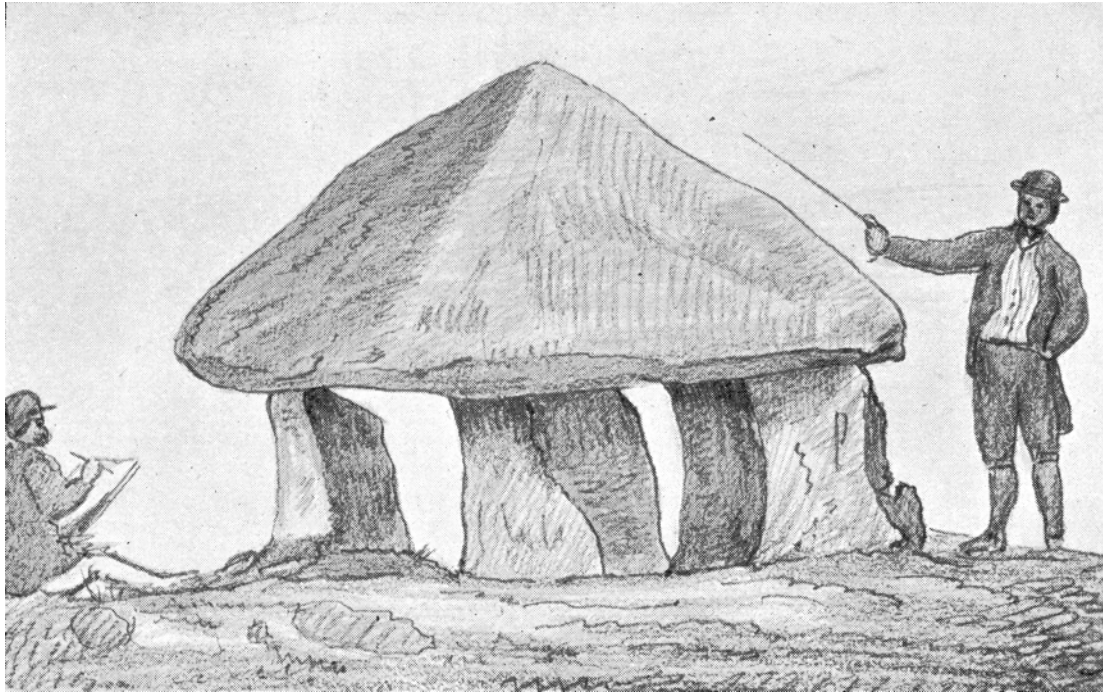


FIG. 9

Bodowyr as depicted by Rev. Skinner (Skinner 1908, 14).

Rowlands writes that Castell Bryn Gwyn contained ‘some remains of [the Arch-Druid’s] great temple and supreme tribunal, where we are told were acted the highest performances of his sacred office’.⁹¹ He suggests it was the ‘supreme consistory of the Druidish administration’ or ‘royal tribunal’, gwyn meaning fair or just. Skinner, ‘crossing a barren marshy heath’ observes the banks of a ‘circular work’, which he interprets as a ‘gymnasium or place of exercise’.⁹² He notes that was ‘referred to locally as “the Castle”’, but doubts its connection with ‘Druidical worship as Mr. Rowlands says’. He infers that it was a Roman site or prehistoric site reused in the Roman period.

A stone circle, cairn and penannular structure are depicted by Rowlands at Tre’r Dryw (Fig. 10), which he describes as the ‘head Druid’s supposed seat and mansion’.⁹³ A remarkably similar illustration of the site (Fig. 11) appeared in Stukeley’s *Itinerarium Curiosum*,⁹⁴ captioned ‘The great Temple and Grove of the Druids’.

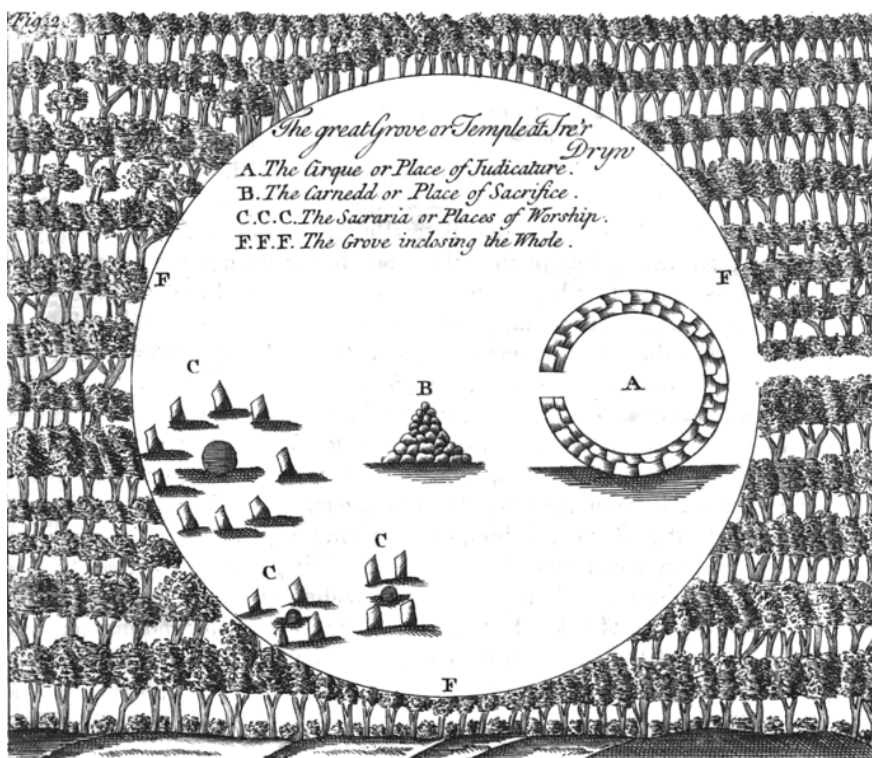


FIG. 10

Rowlands' depiction of Tre'r Dryw (1766, plate IV, reproduced by courtesy of Archives and Special Collections, Bangor University).

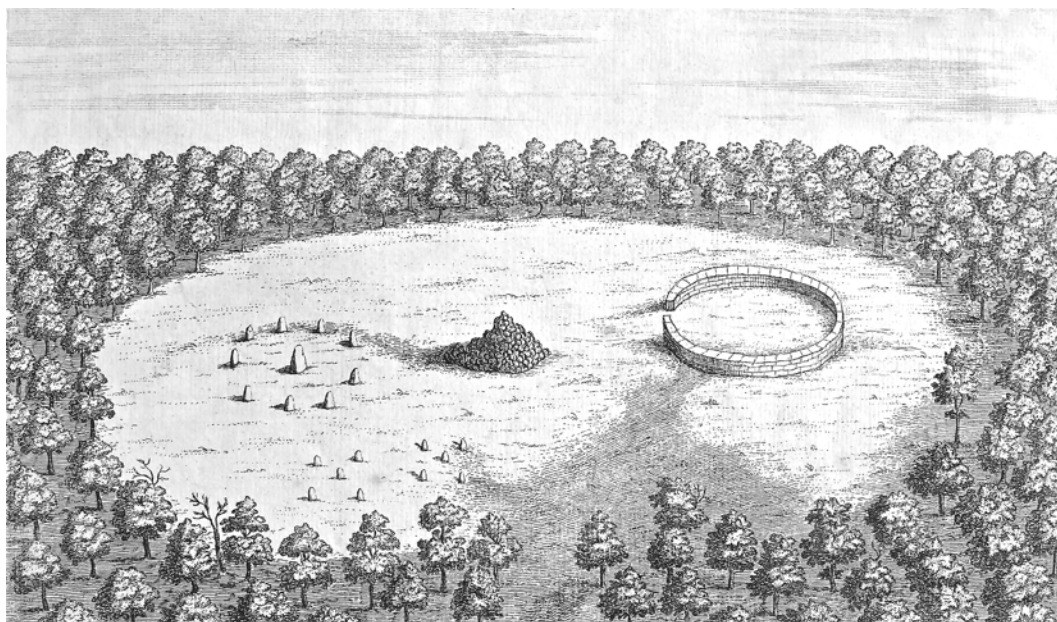


FIG. 11

Stukeley's depiction of Tre'r Dryw (Stukeley 1724, reproduced by courtesy of Anglesey County Record Office).

THE PREHISTORIC PAST IN THE DESIGNED LANDSCAPE, 1770-1815

The 18th century saw the rise of the landscape garden as a ‘symbolically ordered environment’,⁹⁵ and a newfound enthusiasm for ancient ‘relics’ was reflected by their integration into landscape schemes. Many estate owners and their landscape gardeners began to incorporate prehistoric remains, either genuine or artificial, within such settings, and Classical, Gothic or Druidic monuments were included as part of planned walks in order to encourage the contemplation of past civilisations. Prehistoric ensembles in particular were ‘empty vessels’ into which could be poured a variety of associated meanings. Ruins could raise the imagination and their presence could stand for a number of values, as reminders of the power of time and the ultimate fragility of human endeavour. They ‘satisfied the love for broken and rough surfaces, the lines softened by decay or interrupted by demolition or the accidental intrusion of shrubs and weeds’.⁹⁶ In short, ruins were the prime ingredient in any picturesque view.

Plas Newydd was one of the few landed estates in Britain to have authentic prehistoric monuments within its grounds: the eponymous chambered tomb and the Bryn yr Hen Bobl chambered cairn. Although no documentary evidence survives to shed any light on the landscape of the Plas Newydd estate prior to the late 18th century,⁹⁷ subsequent planned and executed alterations to the grounds are recorded in the estate archives.⁹⁸ After a visit to the estate of Sir Nicholas Bayly (variously Bailey, or Bayley) in 1781, Lord Lyttleton wrote that Plas Newydd was the ‘pleasantest spot in the island ... but all is yet in a rude and neglected state’.⁹⁹ He was, however, optimistic that the evergreen lawns, ‘if helped with a very little art, would together with his wood make a garden or park of the most perfect beauty’.¹⁰⁰

Sir Nicholas’ son, Henry, who held the titles Lord Paget of Beaudesert and Lord Uxbridge, had amassed a considerable fortune as a result of his involvement in the copper mining industry at Parys Mountain in northern Anglesey. In the 1790s, he employed James Wyatt and Joseph Potter to design new outbuildings and landscape the grounds of Plas Newydd.¹⁰¹ In 1797, Potter built the Gothick-style Stables, less than 100 metres from the burial chamber (Fig. 12). The building’s design

arguably echoes the chambered tomb, referencing the monument in its arched lines and in the colour of the stone, quarried from nearby ground. Colonel Peacock, a friend and neighbour of Lord Uxbridge, had also been charged with making ‘improvements’ to the park and garden in the early 1790s, and by 1792 had finished ‘the New Plantation’.¹⁰² Peacock’s alterations can be seen by comparing the earlier 1790s map with the 1798 map (see cartographic evidence, below).



FIG. 12

Plas Newydd chambered tomb from the west, with the Stables in the background (photograph, K. Mees).

The pre-eminent landscape designer of the period, Humphry Repton, was subsequently employed towards the end of the decade. He produced his Red Book for Plas Newydd¹⁰³ in 1798-9. In it, he was openly critical of the work carried out by Peacock, lamenting that he had proceeded

too hastily in grubbing down hedges and pulling down cottages, for the sake of an extent of open lawn in a situation where plantations might be encouraged to screen a bleak country, and shelter the ground from violent winds.¹⁰⁴

He encouraged the retainment of mature trees and hedges, which he refers to as ‘vegetable antiquities’,¹⁰⁵ as ‘tho this new plantation may be made, they will for a series of years be uninteresting’, resembling the stark and uninspiring Salisbury Plain.¹⁰⁶ From the text of the Red Book it is clear that Repton intended to ‘tame’ the landscape, to make it less exposed, more manageable and refined, perhaps in order to realise the potential seen by Lyttleton at the beginning of the 1780s. He redesigned the drive and planted more trees to the east of the main house, to avoid contrast between the comparative ‘magnitude’ of the Stables on their elevated side and the ‘hitherto depressed and insignificant’ aspect of the house.¹⁰⁷

Although a handful of estates, such as Plas Newydd, possessed genuine prehistoric remains, it would seem that these remains were not as sought-after as artificially contrived monuments. ‘Cromlechs’ were of particular interest in 18th-century designed landscapes, however, and it is apparent that Repton felt the Plas Newydd tomb was deserved of attention and inclusion in the garden. He wrote that the ‘rare Druidical remain is too curious to be passed in silence, in a plan which professes to show every object at Plas Newydd to the greatest advantage’.¹⁰⁸ During the mid-to late-1790s, a partial collapse of the chamber occurred. Bingley, who visited the site in 1798, noted that ‘some years ago, after some heavy rain, the [upright] at the back suddenly split, since which time it has been necessary to prop it with supporters of wood’.¹⁰⁹ Repton was sufficiently moved to comment:

I am sorry to remark that one of the supporters has been forced by violence from its bearing and a large piece of the great stone has been broken off, yet to insert a new stone or to drive in a common wedge might mislead future antiquaries, therefore I shd rather advise that the repair

be made with a wedge of marble on which the date and circumstance may be explained in something like these words:

To preserve

A Druidical Monument which is of a date before the Christian Era (this lately endangered by wanton mischief) this support is added by order of the Earl of Uxbridge in the Year of Christ 1799.¹¹⁰

This suggestion was never adopted, and it is still not clear whether the collapse occurred naturally or if it was the result of vandalism.

Although Repton appreciated the megalith, there is no evidence that he adapted or modified the existing landscape in order to render it more prominent. He was probably too conscious of the requirements of his patrons and sites to perpetuate aesthetics irrelevant to their situations.

Trees and monuments were considered highly picturesque when clad with ivy, and Repton was keen to defend its growth at Plas Newydd. Fig. 13 shows ‘the situation of the Cromlech under an ash, whose large branches are still wound with ivy’, although Repton was ‘sorry to see many very large trees had been robbed of the ivy’, which he insisted ‘forms one of the most picturesque circumstances of aged trees’.¹¹¹ The Rev. John Evans also commented c. 1800 that the monument was ‘overhung by the branches of an immensely large ash tree, whose waving branches and spreading foliage bending towards the east, forms an elegant canopy’.¹¹² Fig. 14 shows how it may have looked at the time, framed by shrubbery and adorned with creepers. Skinner also describes the tomb and its situation in picturesque language, eulogising ‘the large tree spreading its branches over the moss grown stone and the venerable wood sheltering the park’¹¹³.

Whether the Bryn yr Hen Bobl burial mound was incorporated into the designed landscape is questionable. Although the field surrounding the mound was planted with numerous trees during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, there is evidence to suggest that it lay outside the boundaries of the designed landscape, and that the land was purely agricultural. In the Tithe Apportionment for the ancient parish of Llanedwen, dated c.1840, the field, ‘Coed mawr’ (big field) is described as

‘pasture’,¹¹⁴ and the land had probably been exploited by the farm for grazing for some time. The planting may have had a functional use, possibly relating to the limekiln marked on a map from 1798 (see below).



FIG. 13

Drawing by Humphry Repton of the Plas Newydd ‘cromlech’, with the recently constructed Stables in the background, c.1798 (from private archives at Plas Newydd).



FIG. 14

‘Cromlech at Plas Newydd in Anglesey’, by Caroline Metz, reproduced by permission of Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru / National Library of Wales.

CARTOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

The estate map of c.1790 (Fig. 15) depicts Bryn yr Hen Bobl as a large round mound amid numerous trees (Fig. 16), but omits the Plas Newydd chambered tomb. The Stables had not yet been constructed.

A 1798 estate map depicts the estate just before Repton’s intervention, but after other improvements had taken place, under the supervision of Peacock. The Stables had recently been completed and from Fig. 17, it is clear that no planting yet screened them from the main house. The chambered tomb, marked ‘cromlech’, is drawn as two separate parts, and a few trees surround it. Bryn yr Hen Bobl is depicted in Fig. 18, overgrown with vegetation. Earthworks relating to a nearby limekiln are also drawn, apparently extending to the cairn.



FIG. 15

Plas Newydd estate map c.1790 (BU PN MSS Series VIII, 5011, reproduced by courtesy of Archives and Special Collections, Bangor University). Annotated by author.



FIG. 16

Extract from Plas Newydd estate map c.1790, showing Bryn yr Hen Bobl (BU PN MSS Series VIII, 5011, reproduced by courtesy of Archives and Special Collections, Bangor University).

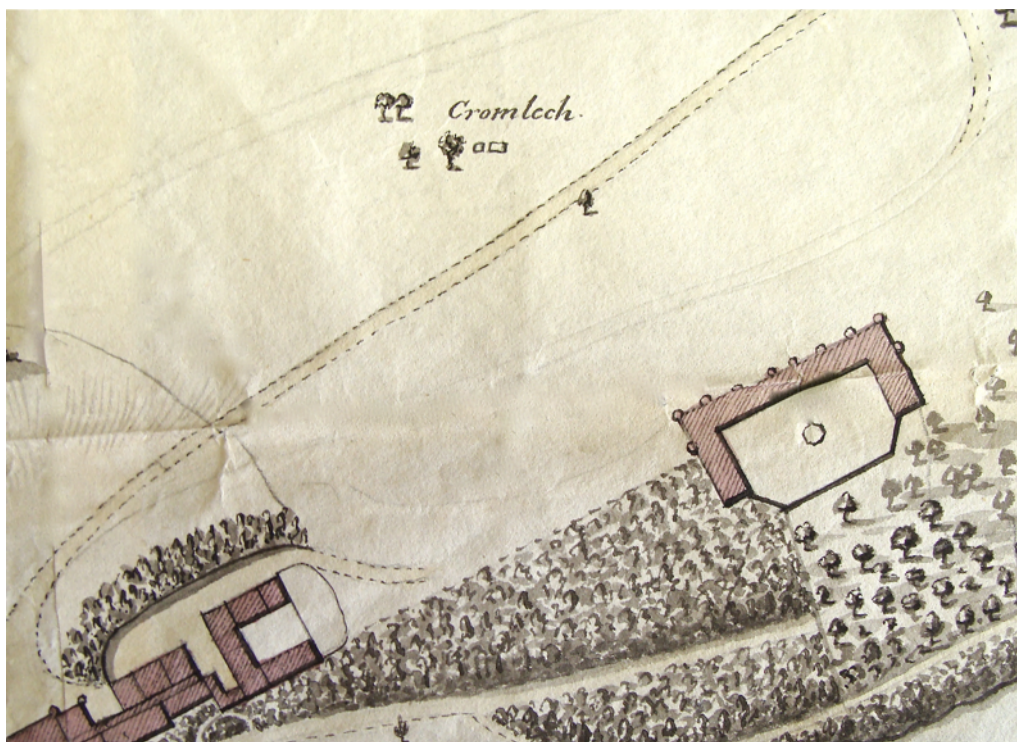


FIG. 17

Extract from map of Plas Newydd demesne, 1798 (BU PN MSS Series VIII, 5012, reproduced by courtesy of Archives and Special Collections, Bangor University). Annotated by author.



FIG. 18

Extract from map of Plas Newydd demesne, 1798 (BU PN MSS Series VIII, 5012, reproduced by courtesy of Archives and Special Collections, Bangor University).

By 1804, Repton's alterations had been made, and large-scale planting is evident to the south of the chambered tomb, which is not depicted (Fig. 19). The area around Bryn yr Hen Bobl, however, remains much the same as in 1798. By 1815 (Fig. 20), a path or driveway had been added, which ran close to the chambered tomb, perhaps to afford the visitor as closer view of the monument. This has now been re-routed to run directly to the Stables.

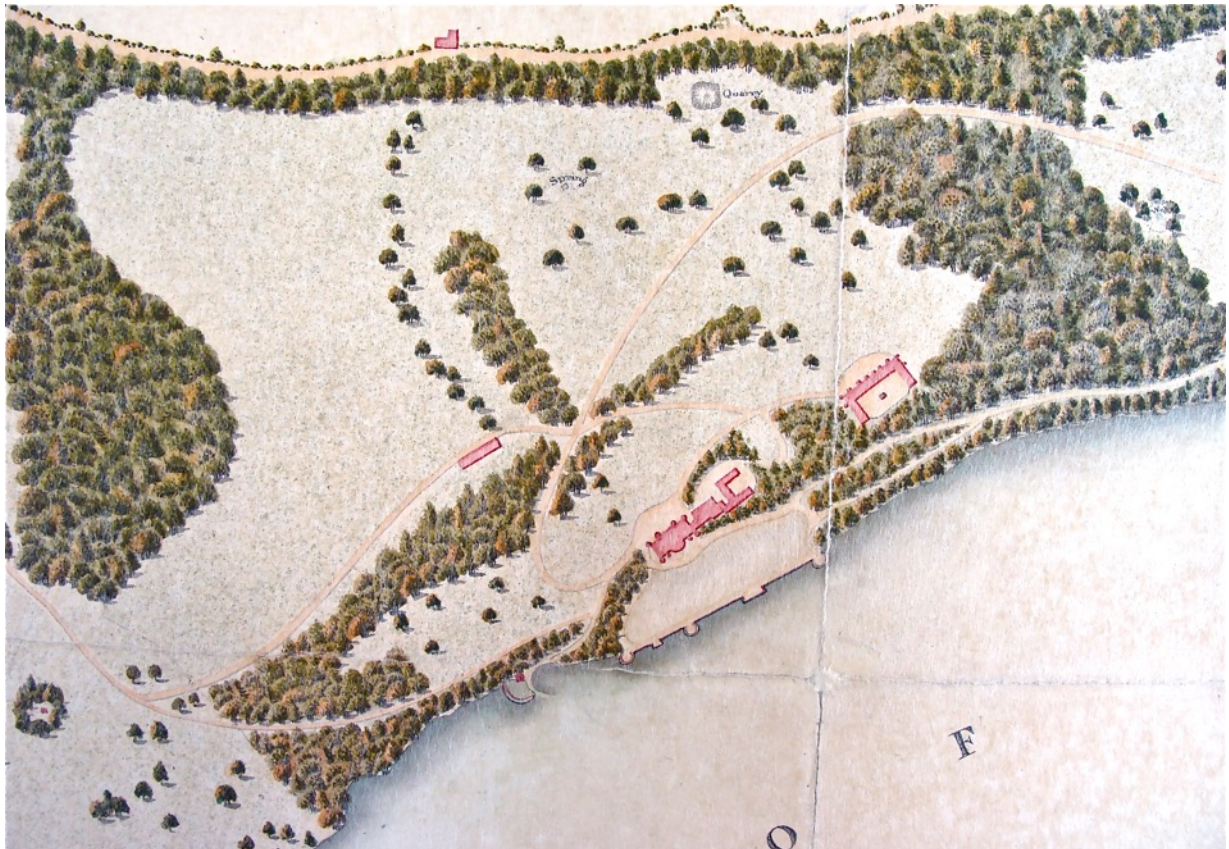


FIG. 19

Map of Plas Newydd demesne, 1804 (BU PN MSS Series VIII, 5013, reproduced by courtesy of Archives and Special Collections, Bangor University). Annotated by author.

In devising a scheme for Plas Newydd, Repton did not seek to impose the aesthetic of the picturesque in its more fanciful or extreme forms. He recognised and respected the megaliths, acknowledging their status and interest. He made no attempt to augment them with simulated artifices such as 'Druid's cells' or grottoes. They were left in isolation, not re-erected elsewhere, but

allowed to remain where they were first placed, features which pre-dated any others on the Plas Newydd estate. Nevertheless, the land surrounding the chambered tomb changed considerably, and these alterations now form additional elements in the biography of the monument and of the landscape.



FIG. 20

Map of Plas Newydd demesne, 1815 (BU PN MSS Series VIII, 5014, reproduced by courtesy of Archives and Special Collections, Bangor University).

CONCLUSION

The perceptions of Anglesey's megaliths remained fairly consistent throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries, with the theory proposed by Henry Rowlands – that the monuments were Druidical in origin – remaining virtually unchallenged for a century. This consensus created a somewhat compressed chronology with regard to the monuments' construction. The various sites were all

placed in the same category, all seemingly dating from just before the Roman invasion and associated with one specific group of people. Although the area of study was occupied during the Iron Age, there is no archaeological evidence for the construction of megaliths by Druids, or indeed for their presence.

The association of Druids with structures belonging to a much earlier period was, to some extent, the product of unsystematic practices and speculative thought. The fieldwork techniques of antiquarian investigators were of variable quality, and without a three-age system to organise prehistory into successive eras of stone, bronze and iron, they could do little more than conclude that the megaliths were pre-Roman.¹¹⁵ Notwithstanding the pioneering methods of recording and observation introduced by Stukeley, a more accurate explanation of the origins of Anglesey's megaliths was not proposed until later in the 19th century; a testament to the extent to which Druidry had captured the imagination of scholars such as Llwyd, Rowlands, and indeed Stukeley himself.

It has been shown that for the majority of the 18th- and early 19th-century observers, the chambered tombs, cairns, standing stones and henge of southern Anglesey were unambiguously Druidic or Celtic in origin; a notion that persisted through to the later 19th century. Antiquarians, keen to rescue the remote past from obscurity, 'uncovered' ancient structures. As visible and often prominent features in the landscape, the megaliths were key items of ancient material culture, which became objects for veneration in the construction of a Welsh national identity.

The re-evaluation of prehistoric monuments was also closely associated with Romanticism and a newfound imaginative approach to antiquity, combined with a more 'emotional' response to the artefact. The tangible physicality of the object offered a sensory point of reference to the past. The reappraisal of domestic antiquities was also indebted to the taste for the picturesque and the sublime. This trend augmented the value placed upon the relics of the past, as they became objects for popular consumption. No longer confined to a purely antiquarian interest, they began to figure in the tourist literature of the period. Paradoxically, these rude and simple constructions became as

worthy of interest as the remnants of Classical civilisations, worthy of appreciation because they were of ‘native’ origin. As in the use of prehistoric remains in the designed landscape of the 18th century, the megalithic structures provoked contemplation and served as *memento mori*.

In the post-medieval period and earlier, the monuments had been invested with magical and supernatural meaning. They occupied a symbolic place in the landscape, yet were often destroyed or plundered by farmers and agricultural ‘improvers’.

As a result of advances in archaeological theory and practice, we now know that the megaliths were constructed over 2,000 years before the time of the Druids, and are temporally, if not culturally, much farther removed from contemporary Welsh society. This latest chapter in the ‘life-histories’ of the monuments leads us to question whether they can still be symbolic or representative of Welsh identity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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NOTES

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- ¹ RCAHMW 2000.
- ² Smith 2004, 20-21.
- ³ Pughe 1799, 288.
- ⁴ Smith 2004, 16.
- ⁵ Toulmin-Smith 1906, 90.
- ⁶ Rowlands 1993 [1723].
- ⁷ Hutton 2009, 55.
- ⁸ Nash 2006, 33.
- ⁹ Holtorf 2000-2007.
- ¹⁰ Smiles 1994, 16.
- ¹¹ Howell 2000.
- ¹² Howell 2000, 154.
- ¹³ Gazin-Schwartz & Holtorf 1999, 5.
- ¹⁴ Woolf 2003, 358.
- ¹⁵ Gerald of Wales 1978, 187.
- ¹⁶ Bender 1998, 106.
- ¹⁷ Grinsell 1976, 16.
- ¹⁸ Jones 1992, 14.
- ¹⁹ Bulkeley 1834-60, 395
- ²⁰ Roberts 1815, 28.
- ²¹ Grinsell 1976, cited in Bender 1998, 106.
- ²² Jones 1992, 143.
- ²³ Skinner 1908, 72.
- ²⁴ Morgan 1983, 53.
- ²⁵ Morgan 1983, 54.

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- ²⁶ Jones 2002, 37.
- ²⁷ Rowlands 1993 [1723].
- ²⁸ Ramage 1987, 24.
- ²⁹ Skinner 1908, 31.
- ³⁰ Pritchard 1914.
- ³¹ Skinner 1908, 24-5.
- ³² Skinner 1908, 26-7.
- ³³ Roberts 1815, i.
- ³⁴ Hutton 2009, 148-9.
- ³⁵ Morgan 1983, 43.
- ³⁶ Rowlands 1993 [1723], x.
- ³⁷ Rowlands 1993 [1723], 38.
- ³⁸ Smiles 1994, 16.
- ³⁹ Daniel 1967, 347.
- ⁴⁰ Smiles 1994, 79.
- ⁴¹ Cunliffe 2005, 572.
- ⁴² Fitzpatrick 2007.
- ⁴³ See Chippindale 2004, 83; Pennant 1883, 12-13.
- ⁴⁴ Morgan 1983, 63.
- ⁴⁵ Hutton 2009, 85.
- ⁴⁶ Daniel 1967, 357.
- ⁴⁷ Sweet 2004, 126.
- ⁴⁸ Cited in Daniel 1967, 349.
- ⁴⁹ Daniel 1967, 350.
- ⁵⁰ Hutton 2009, 76.
- ⁵¹ Rowlands 1993 [1723], 78.

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- ⁵² Hutton 2009, 76-7.
- ⁵³ Hutton 2009, 78.
- ⁵⁴ Hutton 2009, 148.
- ⁵⁵ Bingley 1839, vii.
- ⁵⁶ Cited in Ramage 1987, 25.
- ⁵⁷ Pennant 1883, 14.
- ⁵⁸ Castleden 1992, 53.
- ⁵⁹ Skinner 1908.
- ⁶⁰ Stanley 1868.
- ⁶¹ Rowlands 1993 [1723], 94.
- ⁶² Pennant 1883, 18.
- ⁶³ Evans 1812, 282.
- ⁶⁴ Smiles 1994, 189.
- ⁶⁵ Evans 1994, 201.
- ⁶⁶ See Evans 2007, 150.
- ⁶⁷ Smiles 2005, 144.
- ⁶⁸ Evans 1994, 205.
- ⁶⁹ Evans 2000: 359.
- ⁷⁰ Thompson 1983, 265.
- ⁷¹ Lewis 1833.
- ⁷² Llwyd 2008 [1833], 118.
- ⁷³ Stanley 1871.
- ⁷⁴ Johnson & Hogg 1873, 219.
- ⁷⁵ Johnson & Hogg 1873, 219.
- ⁷⁶ Pennant 1883, 20.
- ⁷⁷ Rowlands 1993 [1723], 215.

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- ⁷⁸ Rowlands 1993 [1723], 94.
- ⁷⁹ Pennant 1883, 20.
- ⁸⁰ Bingley 1839, 70.
- ⁸¹ Bingley 1839, 70.
- ⁸² Skinner 1908, 18.
- ⁸³ Stanley 1870, 51.
- ⁸⁴ Rowlands 1993 [1723], 94.
- ⁸⁵ Skinner 1908, 25.
- ⁸⁶ Pennant 1883, 51-2.
- ⁸⁷ Longueville-Jones & Williams 1847.
- ⁸⁸ Rowlands 1993 [1723], 93.
- ⁸⁹ Skinner 1908, 15.
- ⁹⁰ Skinner 1908, 15.
- ⁹¹ Rowlands 1993 [1723], 90.
- ⁹² Skinner 1908, 12.
- ⁹³ Rowlands 1993 [1723], 84, Plate IV.
- ⁹⁴ Stukeley 1776, Figure 91.
- ⁹⁵ Smiles 1994, 194.
- ⁹⁶ Hunt 1988, 179.
- ⁹⁷ Anglesey 1991, 39.
- ⁹⁸ BU PN MSS, Series II, 2516-2537 (1814-16) and 2788-2799 (1783-92).
- ⁹⁹ Cited in Ramage 1987, 26.
- ¹⁰⁰ Cited in Ramage 1987, 26.
- ¹⁰¹ BU PN MSS, Series II, 2788-2799.
- ¹⁰² BU PN MSS, Series VII, 1136-1222.
- ¹⁰³ NLW MS 2052B.

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- ¹⁰⁴ NLW MS 2052B, 5.
- ¹⁰⁵ NLW MS 2052B, 5.
- ¹⁰⁶ NLW MS 2052B, 4.
- ¹⁰⁷ Anglesey 1991, 40.
- ¹⁰⁸ NLW MS 2052B, 16.
- ¹⁰⁹ Bingley 1839, 69.
- ¹¹⁰ NLW MS 2052B, 16.
- ¹¹¹ NLW MS 2052B, 16-17.
- ¹¹² Evans 1812, 282-3.
- ¹¹³ Skinner 1908, 21.
- ¹¹⁴ ACRO – Tithe Maps and Apportionments for the Parish of Llanedwen, c.1840
- ¹¹⁵ Chippindale 2004, 123.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACRO	Anglesey County Record Office
Antiq.	Antiquarian
Archaeol.	Archaeologia
Archaeol.	Archaeological
BU	Bangor University (Archives and Special Collections)
Cult.	Culture
Fld	Field
Hist.	History
Hortic.	Horticulture
J.	Journal
Mater.	Material
NLW	National Library of Wales
PN MSS	Plas Newydd MSS
RCAHMW	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Wales
Rev.	Review
Soc.	Society
Trans.	Transactions

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