

# Viking-influenced sculpture in North Wales its ornament and context

by Nancy Edwards

*In Wales stone sculpture is frequently used to identify early medieval ecclesiastical sites. This study examines the 10th- and 11th-century crosses, including three additions recorded by Edward Lhuyd, associated with Penmon (Isle of Anglesey) and Dyserth (Flints). It discusses their local context, both in the immediate vicinity of the church and as boundary and sanctuary markers, before considering their form, ornament and iconography – both Christian and Viking – which indicate that they belong to a Viking cultural milieu with contacts around and across the Irish Sea. There is increasing evidence that Penmon and Dyserth were located in areas of Viking settlement.*

Church archaeology encompasses not only the study of the above- and below-ground evidence for church buildings, their furnishings and their cemeteries, but also the archaeological study of ecclesiastical landscapes and their material remains in the broadest sense. In Wales few early medieval churches are mentioned in contemporary documents (Davies 1982, figs 49–50), there is no evidence for native stone churches before the 12th century (Edwards & Lane 1992, 7) and so far the remains of only one timber church have been excavated – on the island of Burry Holms off the Gower coast (Swansea, Glam) (RCAHMW 1976, no 812, fig 5). Indeed, many small cemetery sites, which eventually fell out of use, never had a church building and at others, such as Capel Maelog (Powys) (Britnell 1990), the church was only built in the 12th century. Against this background the identification of early medieval church sites has to be achieved by other means (Edwards & Lane 1992, 3–8). The presence of early medieval stone sculpture plays a major role in this and is often used as a *terminus ante quem* for the founding of the site, as well as in determining its status and the range of its cultural links.

The early medieval stone sculpture of Wales (Nash-Williams 1950)<sup>1</sup> is perhaps not so well known as that from Ireland, Scotland or Anglo-Saxon England. In addition to the inscribed stones of the 5th to 7th centuries, there are a variety of simple cross-carved stones and also more complex monuments including large freestanding stone crosses. Possibly the earliest of these crosses is the Pillar of Eliseg, a round-shafted cross of Mercian type dateable to the early 9th century (Nash-Williams 1950, no 182). The majority of these crosses cluster round early medieval monastic sites of some importance, while others appear to mark the extent of ecclesiastical land.

In this article I wish to examine two related groups of large freestanding stone crosses which have been found at or near the sites of Penmon (Isle of Anglesey) and Dyserth (Flints) (Fig 2). Some of these are relatively well known,

but three have only recently been discovered as illustrations in notebooks (BL Stowe MSS 1023, 1024) which were

Fig 1 Penmon 1 Face A (west). The cross is shown in its earliest known location (Reproduced by kind permission of Cadw)

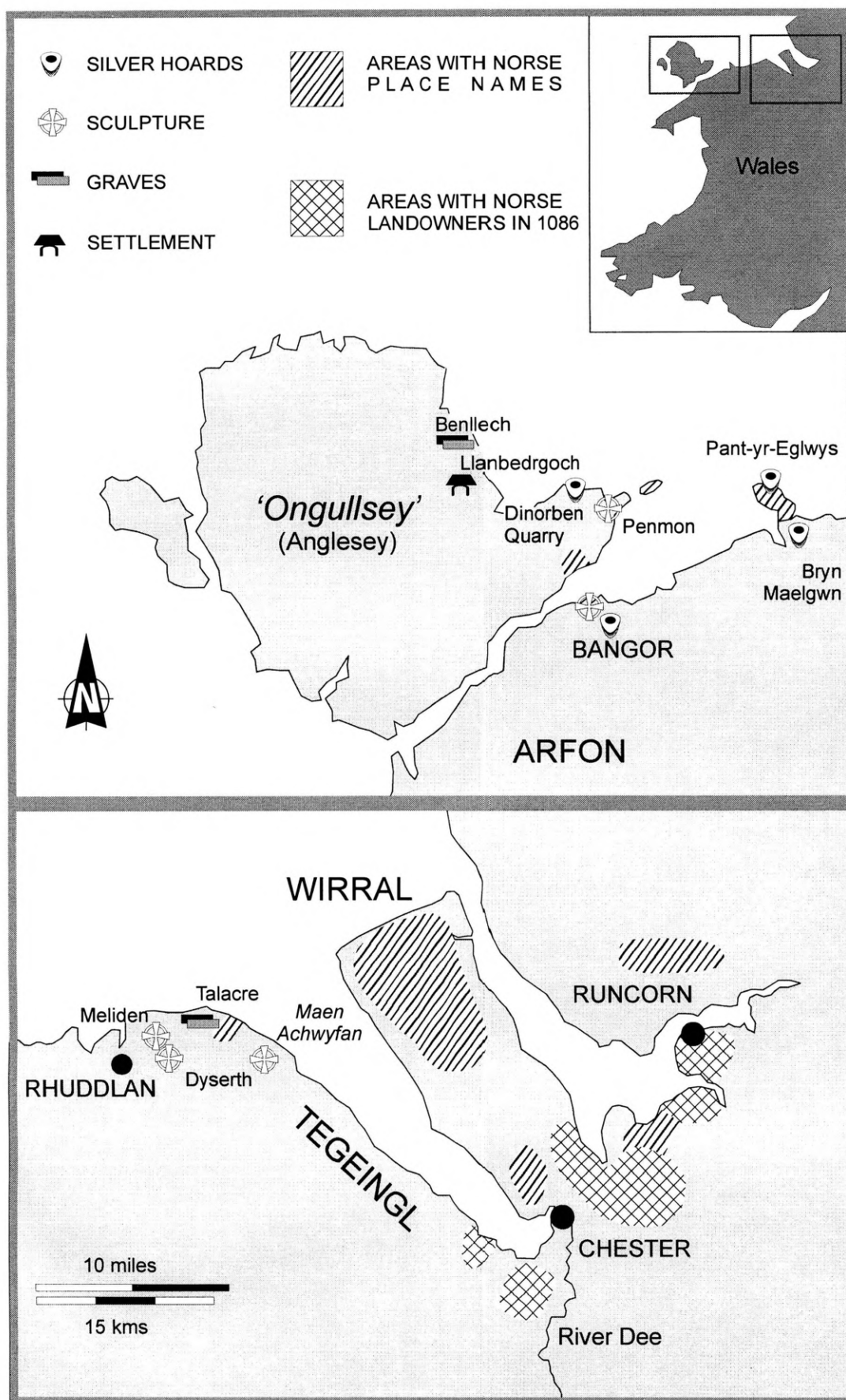


Fig 2 Map showing the locations of the crosses associated with Penmon and Dyserth and other evidence of a Viking presence in north-west and north-east Wales (after Davies 1990 with additions)

Fig 3 Penmon 1, Faces B, C, D (Photo: Jean Williamson)

copied from the lost papers of the famous Welsh antiquarian Edward Lhuyd (1660–1709) by his assistant William Jones (Briggs 1997, 204, 212). A fragment of one of these has subsequently been identified in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester. I will begin by considering the local context and function of these crosses. Aspects of their form, ornament, iconography and dating will then be examined before discussion of their broader context as evidence for Viking contacts and settlement around the Irish Sea.

### Location

The church at Penmon, dedicated to the local saint Seiriol, is first documented in 971 when it was raided by the Vikings (Jones 1952, 8, 143). It is linked with Ynys Seiriol,<sup>2</sup> an offshore island hermitage (Thorpe 1978, 190). The crosses are the only definite early medieval archaeological evidence for Penmon. According to Lhuyd Penmon 1 (Nash-Williams 1950, no 38) (Figs 1,3) was standing 'a bowshot' to the west of the monastery (BL

Stowe MS 1023 fo 99). It is not certain whether it had always been in this position (410m from the church), though an excavation in 1976 prior to movement of the cross inside the church found that it was sited at the junction of two ancient field terraces which led the excavator to suggest that it might be (Smith 1980, 103). Penmon 2 (Nash-Williams 1950, no 37) (Fig 4) and 3, the latter only recorded by Lhuyd (BL MS Stowe 1023 fo 97) (Fig 5), came to light in the vicinity of the church. Penmon 4, a plain cross which is again only recorded by Lhuyd (BL MS Stowe 1023 fo 97), stood just over 1km south-west of Penmon on or near the old parish boundary. There is also a font with similar carvings from the site (Nash-Williams 1950, no 1).

The place-name Dyserth, like the Irish *dísert*, comes from the Latin *desertum* meaning 'solitary place' and hence 'hermitage' or 'sanctuary' (*Geriadur Prifysgol Cymru* 1950–, col 1043; Royal Irish Academy 1983, col 142). The original dedication was to the Welsh saint Cwyfan (Morris 1909–11, I, 52) but at some point this was twinned and

then superseded by the Irish saint Ffraid (Bridget) (Thomas 1906–13, I, 401–2). Dyserth is first mentioned in 1086 in Domesday Book (Morgan 1978, FT2). As with Penmon, the only early medieval evidence is the sculpture. Dyserth 1 (Nash-Williams 1950, no 185) (Fig 6) was first recorded by Edward Lhuyd as standing on the south side of the church (BL Stowe MS 1023 fo 158); he also suggests that it could have functioned as a cross denoting sanctuary (Welsh: *noddfa*) (Morris 1909–11, I, 52). The base of a second cross (Nash-Williams 1950, no 186) was discovered during church restoration in 1873–75 (Westwood 1876–79, 209). A third cross (Nash-Williams 1950, no 190) (Fig 7) stands in a field some 7.3km east of Dyserth and is almost certainly *in situ* (Lhuyd 1695, 694, figs 1.1, 1.2). It is known in Welsh as *Maen Achwyfan*, originally *Maen Machwyfan*, which means ‘the stone of Cwyfan’s field’. This indicates that the cross is linked with Dyserth and this is supported by the fact that it stands on the old parish boundary between Dyserth and Whitford (Anon 1921, 408). The fourth cross, which appears to have been almost identical to *Maen Achwyfan* and may also have acted as a boundary cross, was recorded by Edward Lhuyd (BL Stowe MS 1023 fo 152) in Meliden, the parish immediately to the north of Dyserth (Fig 8). On the strength of William Jones’ sketch a fragment of the shaft of this cross may be identified in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester (Fig 9).<sup>3</sup> This was acquired by the museum in the 19th century but no record of its findspot survives. As a result it had been thought, wrongly, to have come from Chester itself (Anon 1891, 118–20).

The crosses at Penmon and Dyserth are therefore either located in the immediate vicinity of the church or at some distance away where they appear to be marking the boundary of church land. They

Fig 4 Penmon 2, Faces A, B, C, D (Photo: Jean Williamson)



possibly also indicate the extent and different degrees of sanctuary within that land (Pryce 1993, 168–72). This may be compared with the crosses marking the extent of sanctuary at St Buryan (Corn) (Cox 1911, 214–19), Hexham (Nhumbs) (Hall 1989, 426–27, 433–35) and also *termon* crosses in Ireland (Hamlin 1987, 139).

## Form

The most distinctive feature of Penmon 1 and 2, Dyserth 1, *Maen Achwyfan* and Meliden is that they have cross-heads with a continuous ring which overlies the cross-arms. They may therefore be described as circle-headed crosses. The cross within the ring has splayed arms with a central boss or roundel and the armpits are not pierced. The circle-head is a feature of Viking Age crosses and, apart from North Wales, two major regional groupings may be identified (Bailey 1980, 177–82), one in Cumbria, the other in Cheshire, with outliers in North Yorkshire, the Isle of Man (Kermode 1907, Pl 64) and Ireland (Harbison 1992, nos 5, 54, figs 43–44, 132–46). Those at Penmon, with their plain rings and projecting cross-arms, and in the case of Penmon 2 decorated armpits rather than cross-arms, do not bear any close relationship to either of the main regional groups. However, the cross-head of *Maen Achwyfan* has splayed cross-arms which do not project beyond the ring and circular cusps in the armpits. A cabled band decorating the ring is clearly visible on Face C. These features are found amongst the Cheshire group, for example, the crosses at West Kirby and Woodchurch (Allen 1893, Pls XVII, 16, 17, XV, 20). Dyserth 1 also has links with the Cheshire group. The splayed arms project beyond the ring. On Face C this is decorated with beading and can be compared with cross-heads from Bromborough and St John's Chester, some of which, like Dyserth 1, also have cusps at the top of the shaft (Allen 1893, Pl XIII; Anon 1891, 113–15; Bu'Lock 1958, 6–9). However the circle on Face A (Nash-Williams 1950, Pl XXXIII) is decorated with plaitwork in the manner of the Cumbrian crosses. Dyserth 1 also has trefoil-

Fig 5 Penmon 3 (left, centre) and Penmon 4 (right) BL Stowe MS 1023, fo 97 (Reproduced by permission of the British Library)

shaped armpits formed by placing cusps on both the cross-arms and the ring. Interestingly this feature is paralleled on some of the Cornish crosses, for example Quethiock (Langdon 1896, 398).

The shafts of Penmon 1 and 2 are rectangular in section and those of *Maen Achwyfan*, Meliden and Dyserth 1 are more slab-like; this is probably dictated by the stone. The structure of Penmon 1 is more complex than the others and there appears to be a stone missing between the cross-head and the top of the shaft (RCAHMW 1937, 123; Smith 1980, 101). There are two horizontal bands of mouldings, cabling and plaitwork on the shaft of Face C. These may be compared with a similar feature on Braddan 136 in the Isle of Man (Kermode 1907, Pl LVIII). However, although they do not project, the best comparison would seem to be with

circle-headed crosses with interlace-decorated collars Rockcliffe 1 and Bromfield 2 in Cumbria (Bailey & Cramp 1988, Ills 173–76, 539–42); there is also a collar on the Irish cross at Arboe, Co Tyrone (Harbison 1992, no 8, figs 30–410).

## Ornament

All the North Wales crosses are dominated by abstract ornament. Sometimes it is separated into different panels but in many cases the various patterns flow into each other and run the whole length of the shaft.

## Borre Ring-chain

The shaft of Penmon 1 Face A is decorated with a length of characteristically Viking Borre-style ring-chain using a double strand (Fig 1). Although Jones' drawing of Penmon 3 is poor, it seems to have a panel decorated in a similar manner at the bottom of the east face (Fig 5). It is interesting to note that although versions of the Borre-style ring-chain are found on two of the Cumbrian circle-headed crosses, Dearham 1 and Muncaster 1 (Bailey & Cramp 1988, Ills 252, 471), the chain points in the opposite direction to Penmon 1 (Bailey 1980, 217–18). In fact the Borre-style ring-chain on Penmon 1 may be compared more closely with the numerous examples on the Manx slabs and particularly with Bride 118 and Michael 126 (Kermode 1907, nos 92, 100) both of which have a double strand ring-chain decorating the length of the cross shaft.

## Plaitwork and interlace

Plaitwork and/or interlaced knotwork is a feature of all the decorated crosses connected with Penmon and Dyserth. The patterns, which are often poorly executed, are extremely limited: they consist of various types of plaitwork, triquetra knots, ringknots, patterns of interlocking loops and circles. A double or triple strand is sometimes employed. The plaitwork is too common both in Wales and elsewhere to be diagnostic. However, some of the other patterns and motifs are Viking in inspiration. For example, the double ringknots on *Maen Achwyfan* Face A

and Meliden Face A (Figs 7–8) may be compared with those on the Cumbrian circle-headed crosses Bromfield 2 and Aspatria 1 (Bailey & Cramp 1988, Ills 173, 31) and also on fragmentary (circle-head?) crosses at Lancaster and Melling (Lancs) (Bailey 1980, 181), though the last three all have the addition of pellets. There is also a similar motif on one of the small circle-headed crosses from St John's Chester (Bu'Lock 1958, fig III). The pellets in the interstices of the plaitwork on Dyserth 1 are also a Viking Age feature. The poorly executed interlocking loops on *Maen Achwyfan* Face A, which Nash-Williams suggested were a Viking feature, are similar to those on Carew and Nevern (Pembs) (Nash-Williams 1950, nos 303, 360), but less accomplished.

Fig 6 Dyserth 1, Faces C, D (Photo: Jean Williamson)

## Frets

Fret patterns are used prolifically on all faces of Penmon 2. They are simple and repetitive but well-executed despite the hardness of the stone. They consist of a variety of rectangular fret patterns made up of straight-line 'S', 'C' and 'Z' elements (Edwards 1987, 114–15) with dragon head terminals on Faces B and D (Fig 4). Those on the base of Penmon 1 Faces A and C are very weathered but appear to be similar (Figs 1, 3). There is nothing distinctively Viking about such ornament and in fact a variety of fret patterns are found on sculpture throughout Wales. Rectangular fret patterns are also found on some Irish crosses, for example the Ballyogan Cross, Graiguenamanagh (Kilkenny) and on one of the fragments from Ferns (Wexford) (Harbison 1992, nos 101, 116, figs 279, 311).

On the other monuments, in addition to square panels with diagonal frets (*Maen Achwyfan* Face C, Meliden Face C, Dyserth I Face C, Figs 6–9), there are a variety of rectangular fret patterns made up of 'T' elements, as, for example, on the shafts of Penmon 1 Face D, *Maen Achwyfan* Face D, and Meliden Face D (Allen & Anderson 1903, II, 334–35) (Figs 3, 7, 9). 'T' frets are a Viking-influenced feature and similar patterns are common on the Manx slabs, for example Jurby 103 (Kermode 1907, no 78). 'T' frets are also found on a grave cover from Lowther (7) (Cumb) (Bailey & Cramp 1988, Ill 457), a cross-shaft from Barton (Ches) (Allen 1893, Pl I) and on some of the monuments from St John's Chester (Bu'Lock 1958, fig III).

## Iconography

On Face C of Penmon 1 there is a depiction of three figures (Fig 3). The central figure is shown face on. He wears a three-quarter length cloak with a hood and a long robe. On

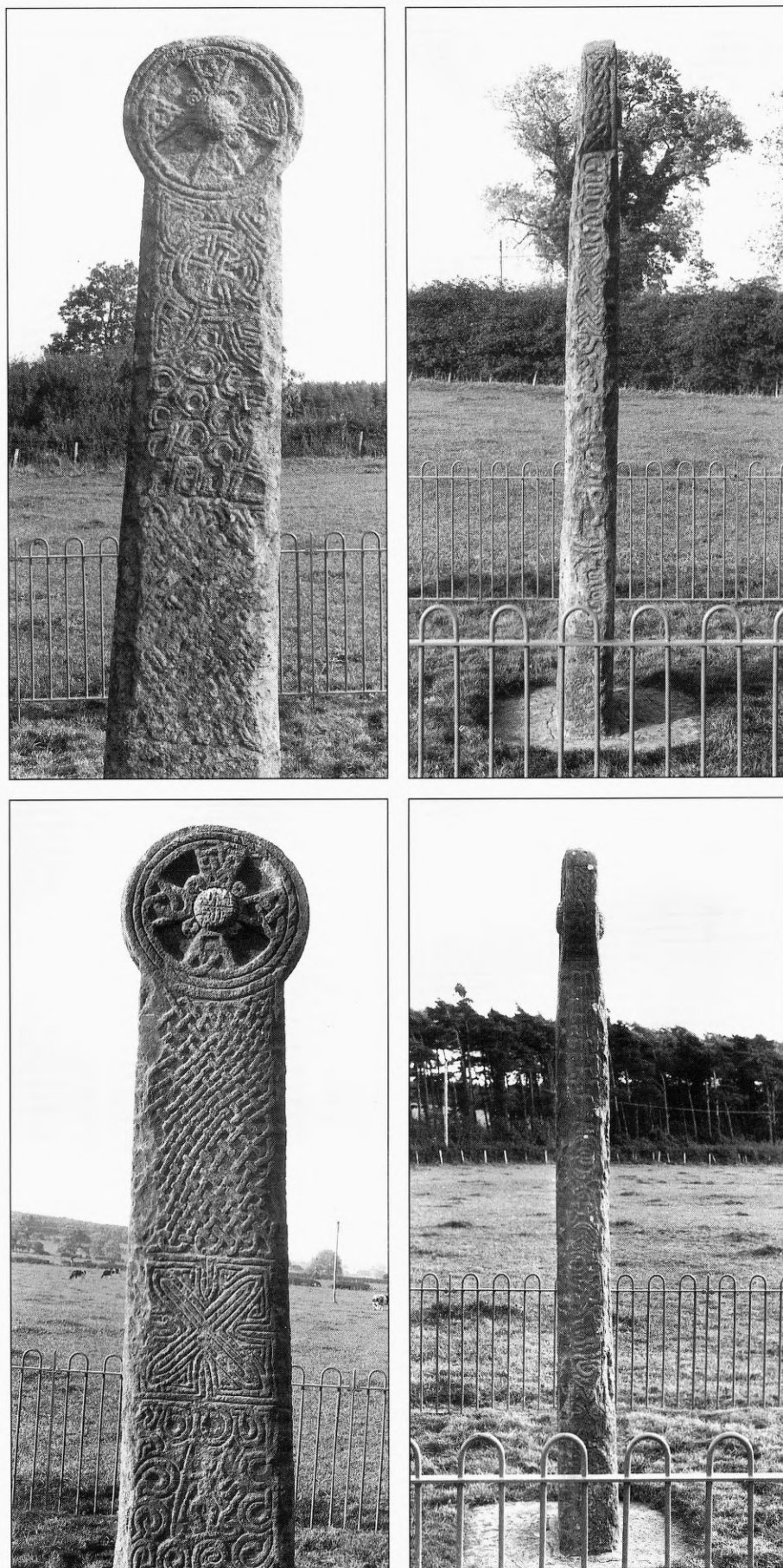


Fig 7 *Maen Achwyfan* Faces A (west), B (south), C (east), D (north) (Photo: Nancy Edwards)

beasts are clearly depicted as goats (Harbison 1992, I, 303–4, III, fig 949). In Ireland the Temptation of St Anthony is often accompanied by related scenes, notably Saints Paul and Anthony breaking bread in the desert, and these are considered important exemplars of the eremitic life (Ó Carragáin 1988, 32). If the cross once stood on a boundary the scene might also emphasise the protective function of such crosses.

There are two other figural scenes on Penmon 1 which are now so weathered that they are impossible to identify. That at the bottom of the shaft on Face C shows a horseman in profile facing right while the other, in a similar position on Face B, shows a figure with four quadrupeds, one of them inverted.

The iconography on *Maen Achwyfan* is of a very different kind. On the shaft of Face C is a naked male figure shown face on (Fig 10). He has a pointed chin, bent knees and his feet point outwards. He holds a long staff or spear in his right hand and an axe in his left. There is a sword sheath on his left hip and probably a further weapon under his right arm. To the right is a curling strand which passes beneath his feet. This is most likely to be a serpent. The rest of the panel is filled with a border of simple spiral shapes. There is a similar figure in an identical position in Jones' sketch of the shaft from Meliden (Face C) (Fig 8). On *Maen Achwyfan* Face B, which is now

Fig 8 Meliden Faces A, B, C, BL Stowe MS 1023, fo 152 (Reproduced by permission of the British Library)

either side are figures shown in profile facing him. Each has a dog-like(?) head with a pointed ear, long snout and slightly open jaw, but a human body clad in a three-quarter length cloak and a knee-length tunic. Each of the flanking figures appears to have an arm stretched across the body of the central figure. The scene may be identified as the Temptation of St Anthony as described in St Athanasius' *Life of St Anthony* when the saint was surrounded by hyenas sent by demons. This episode is relatively common on Irish sculpture, especially on the granite crosses of the Barrow Valley, such as Castledermot (Carlow). The best parallel, however, is on the Market Cross, Kells (Meath), where the figures are similarly attired to those on Penmon 1 except that Anthony has a tonsure rather than a hood and the

very weathered, a second figure may be discerned half way down the shaft (Fig 7). He is shown face on wearing a short tunic, his arms close to his body and with a sword in his right hand held across his body. There is a vertical shaft between his legs. Below are various curling strands, then two unidentifiable objects and below a quadruped, most probably a horse, shown in profile facing up the shaft. Similar animals are also shown by Jones on Meliden Face B (Fig 8).

These figural representations seem to be of Scandinavian mythological derivation. Episodes from Scandinavian mythology, for example, scenes from the Sigurd Cycle and from Ragnarok, are well known on sculpture in Viking settled areas of northern England and the Isle of Man



(Bailey 1980, 101–42; Margeson 1983). However, these are the only examples from Wales. It is therefore unfortunate that it is not possible to identify the figures on *Maen Achwyfan* or the stories from which they come. Indeed Susan Margeson (1983, 96–99) has specifically warned against making haphazard use of the literary sources to identify iconographical scenes because only a very small proportion of both have come down to us from this early period.

## Dating

The form, ornament and iconography on the crosses at Penmon and Dyserth demonstrate that they belong to a Viking milieu, and in the absence of other evidence such as inscriptions (the meaning of the letters illustrated by Jones on Meliden Face A is unclear), we are entirely dependent upon art-historical criteria for their dating. As we have seen they share the characteristic circle-head with Viking period crosses in Cumbria and Cheshire but they also draw upon a variety of other sources from coastal areas around the Irish Sea. The Borre-style ring-chain on Penmon 1 is of Manx

type and may therefore be of similar date, perhaps the mid 10th-century (Wilson 1971, 6–8; 1983, 178–83), but the iconography shows Irish influence and may be drawing upon 9th-century models. Apart from the circle-head, distinctive Viking-influenced elements do not occur on Penmon 2 and the ornament appears more native and/or Irish inspired; it may also be of 10th-century date. *Maen Achwyfan* and Meliden are so similar that they must be by the same hand and approximately contemporary. The iconography seems to be drawing on a similar Viking background to that which inspired the Manx carvings and parallels have also been drawn with Viking-influenced crosses from Chester and the Wirral. A 10th- or possibly early 11th-century date seems likely. Nash-Williams (1950, 126) dated Dyserth 1 to the 12th or 13th century because of the cusped circle-head and the poorly executed patterns. In the past the cross has also been wrongly linked with Einion, the son of a local lord who was killed in the siege of Dyserth Castle in 1261 (Lloyd 1877, 197–98) and this may also have influenced Nash-Williams' thinking. On the basis of parallels with the Cheshire crosses an 11th-century date is much more likely.

Fig 9 Fragment of the cross at Meliden now located in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, Faces, B, C, D (Reproduced by kind permission of the Grosvenor Museum, Chester)





Fig 10 *Maen Achwyfan Face C (east) detail of shaft showing Viking figural iconography (Photo: Nancy Edwards)*

### *The broader context*

In the early 10th century Viking leaders and their followers, including Hiberno-Norse and Manx elements, settled in Cumbria and western Cheshire. Their migration is mentioned in the documentary record and is well attested in the place-names as well as through sculpture and artefacts such as silver hoards and ringed pins (Wainwright 1948; Bailey 1980; Fellows-Jensen 1983, 48–50; Thacker 1987, 254–58; Graham-Campbell 1992). However archaeological evidence for their actual settlements remains elusive. It is also becoming increasingly clear that Viking contacts along the North Welsh coast were an integral part of those between Dublin, Chester and the Isle of Man, and were not as peripheral as they were once considered (Loyn 1976, 21). Indeed, it is now possible to argue that at least some permanent Viking settlement took place in Anglesey and Arfon in the north-west and Tegeingl in the north-east (Fig 2) (Davies 1990, 51–55). It is notable that the two groups of Viking-influenced crosses at Penmon and Dyserth come from these two areas where there is other significant evidence of Viking activity. Sculpture elsewhere in North Wales, apart from the cross at Corwen with its

possible runic inscription (Moon 1978, 125–26), shows little Viking influence. Anglesey, and south-east Anglesey in particular, has, in addition to the sculpture, considerable evidence for Viking settlement including place-names (Richards 1975; Jones & Roberts 1980), metalwork (Baynes 1928), a grave (Edwards 1985) and the newly-discovered Viking settlement of 10th-century date currently being excavated at Llanbedrgoch (Redknap 1994; 1995; 1996; 1997). The evidence for Viking settlement in Tegeingl is sparser – a couple of place-names and a burial (Smith 1931–33) – but it should be seen as an offshoot of that in west Cheshire and the Wirral. The secondary dedication of Dyserth to St Ffraid (Bridget) may also denote Hiberno-Norse influence. There are similar dedications to Bridget in Chester and West Kirby (Thacker 1987, 256, 258).

### *Conclusion*

In Wales the location of crosses and other stone sculpture plays a vital role in the identification of significant ecclesiastical sites such as Penmon and Dyserth. The foregoing study has sought to use a variety of different techniques – documentary, archaeological and art-historical – in order to understand not only the monuments themselves but also their broader context. Antiquarian evidence has considerable potential for the study of early medieval Welsh ecclesiastical sites and their archaeological remains as the material copied on Penmon and Dyserth from the notes of Edward Lhuyd has revealed. It has provided evidence of further crosses connected with these sites and has enabled something to be said about their siting, either adjacent to major churches or at some distance from them where it may be suggested that they mark the boundaries of ecclesiastical land and possibly sanctuary. The siting of these crosses has implications for the study of the context of early medieval sculpture elsewhere in Wales. A consideration of the form, ornament and iconography, both pagan and Christian, of the surviving crosses and antiquarian sketches of those which are no longer extant has demonstrated a range of cultural contacts around the Irish Sea including Ireland and in particular with areas of Viking settlement such as the Isle of Man, Cheshire and Cumbria in the 10th and 11th centuries. The contacts indicated by the sculpture have then been discussed in conjunction with the increasing amount of other evidence – documentary, archaeological and place-name – which has enabled the identification of areas of Viking settlement along the north Welsh coast.

*Dr Nancy Edwards is Senior Lecturer in Archaeology at University of Wales, Bangor. Her research has focussed on the ecclesiastical archaeology of early medieval Wales and Ireland c400–1100 particularly the stone sculpture.*

## Notes

1. A new corpus of early medieval inscribed stones and stone sculpture in Wales is currently being prepared by John Lewis, Mark Redknapp (Vol 1) and myself (Vols 2–3). This paper began as part of a pilot study in connection with this project and an earlier draft was read at the *Medieval Europe* conference in Brugge in October 1997.
2. The Viking name is Priestholm (Richards 1975, 55).
3. The carving on Face A has been almost totally destroyed except for a few traces of plaitwork towards the bottom. I am grateful to Dan Robinson of the Grosvenor Museum for facilitating my examination of this fragment.

## Documentary sources

British Library Stowe MSS 1023, 1024, Notebooks copied from the papers of Edward Lhuys by William Jones

## Bibliography

- Allen, J R, 1893 'The early Christian monuments of Lancashire and Cheshire', *Trans Hist Soc Lancs Ches*, 45, 1–32a
- Allen, J R & Anderson, J, 1903 *The early Christian monuments of Scotland*, 3 parts. Edinburgh
- Anon, 1891 'Report of the Holywell meeting', *Archaeol Cambrensis*, 5th ser, 8, 102–45
- Anon, 1921 'Ruthin meeting report, Maen Achwyfan', *Archaeol Cambrensis*, 76, 408–10
- Bailey, R N, 1980 *Viking Age sculpture in Northern England*. London
- Bailey, R N & Cramp, R, 1988 *The British Academy corpus of Anglo-Saxon sculpture Vol. II, Cumberland, Westmoreland and Lancashire North-of-the-Sands*. Oxford
- Baynes, E N, 1928 'Five armlets of the Viking period', *Antiq J*, 8, 359–60
- Briggs, C S, 1997 'A megalithic conundrum: the pedigree of some William Stukely illustrations', *Trivium*, 29/30, 195–212
- Britnell, W, 1990 'Capel Maelog, Llandrindod Wells, Powys: excavations 1984–7', *Med Archaeol*, 34, 27–96
- Bu'Lock, J D, 1958 'Pre-Norman crosses of West Cheshire and the Norse settlements around the Irish Sea', *Trans Lancs Ches Antiq Soc*, 68, 1–11
- Cox, J C, 1911 *The sanctuaries and sanctuary-seekers of medieval England*. London
- Davies, W, 1982 *Wales in the early middle ages*. Leicester
- Davies, W, 1990 *Patterns of power in early Wales*. Oxford
- Edwards, N, 1985 'A possible Viking grave from Benllech, Anglesey', *Trans Anglesey Antiq Soc*, 19–24
- Edwards, N, 1987 'Abstract ornament on early medieval Irish crosses: a preliminary catalogue', in M Ryan (ed), *Ireland and Insular art AD 500–1200*, 111–17. Dublin
- Edwards, N & Lane, A (eds), 1992 *The early church in Wales and the West*, Oxbow Monograph, 16
- Fell, C *et al* (eds), 1983 *The Viking Age in the Isle of Man*. London
- Fellows-Jensen, G, 1983 'Scandinavian settlement in the Isle of Man and north-west England: the place-name evidence', in C Fell *et al* (eds), 37–52
- Geriadur Prifysgol Cymru (A dictionary of the Welsh language)* 1950–. Cardiff
- Graham-Campbell, J (ed), 1992 *Viking treasure from the north west, the Cuerdale hoard in its context*. Liverpool
- Hall, D, 1989 'The sanctuary of St Cuthbert', in G Bonner *et al* (eds), *St Cuthbert, his cult and his community to AD 1200*, 425–36. Woodbridge
- Hamlin, A, 1987 'Crosses in early Ireland: the evidence of the written sources', in M Ryan (ed), *Ireland and Insular art AD 500–1200*, 138–40. Dublin
- Harbison, P, 1992 *The high crosses of Ireland*, 3 vols. Bonn
- Jones, B L & Roberts, T, 1980 'Osmund's Air: a Scandinavian place-name in Anglesey', *Bull Board Celtic Stud*, 28, 602–3
- Jones, T (ed), 1952 *Brut y Tywysogion or the Chronicle of the Princes, Peniarth MS 20 version*. Cardiff
- Kermode, P M C, 1907 *Manx crosses*. London. Reprinted Balgavies 1994
- Langdon, A G, 1896 *Old Cornish crosses*, facsimile ed 1988. Exeter
- Lhuys, E, 1695 Additions, in W Camden, *Camden's Britannia, newly translated into English: with large additions and improvements. Published by Edmund Gibson*. London
- Lloyd, J Y U, 1877 'History of the Lordship of Maelor Gymraeg or Bromfield, the Lordship of Ial or Yale, and Chirkland in the Principality of Powys Fadog', *Archaeol Cambrensis*, 4th ser, 8, 193–205
- Loyn, H R, 1976 *The Vikings in Wales*. London
- Margeson, S, 1983 'On the iconography of the Manx crosses', in C Fell *et al* (eds), 95–106
- Morgan, P (ed), 1978 *Domesday Book*, 26, Cheshire. Chichester
- Moon, R, 1978 'Viking runic inscriptions in Wales', *Archaeol Cambrensis*, 127, 124–26
- Morris, R H (ed), 1909–11 *Parochialia, being a summary of answers to 'Parochial queries in order to a geographical dictionary, etc. of Wales' issued by Edward Lhuys*, 3 vols, *Archaeol Cambrensis* supp. London
- Nash-Williams, V E, 1950 *The early Christian monuments of Wales*. Cardiff
- Ó Carragáin, E, 1988 'The meeting of Saint Paul and Saint Anthony: visual and literary uses of a eucharistic motif', in G MacNiocaill & P F Wallace (eds), *Keimelia: studies in medieval archaeology and history in memory of Tom Delaney*, 1–58. Galway
- Pryce, H, 1993 *Native law and the church in medieval Wales*. Oxford
- RCAHMW, 1937 *Anglesey*. London
- RCAHMW, 1976 *Glamorgan Vol. 1, part III The early Christian period*. Cardiff
- Redknapp, M, 1994 'Glyn, Llanbedrgoch, Anglesey', *Archaeol Wales*, 34, 58–60
- Redknapp, M, 1995 'Glyn, Llanbedrgoch, Anglesey', *Archaeol Wales*, 35, 58–59
- Redknapp, M, 1996 'Glyn, Llanbedrgoch, Anglesey', *Archaeol Wales*, 36, 81–82
- Redknapp, M, 1997 'Glyn, Llanbedrgoch', *Archaeol Wales*, 37, 94–96
- Richards, M, 1975 'Norse place-names in Wales', in B Ó Cuiv (ed), *The impact of the Scandinavian invasions on the Celtic-speaking peoples c800–1100 AD*, 51–60. Dublin
- Royal Irish Academy, 1983 *Dictionary of the Irish Language based mainly on old and middle Irish materials*. Dublin
- Smith, C, 1980 'The cross in Penmon Deer Park: excavations during its removal to the Priory Church in January 1977', *Trans Anglesey Antiq Soc*, 101–10
- Smith, G F, 1931–33 'Talacre and the Viking grave', *Proc Llandudno, Colwyn Bay & District Fld Club*, 17, 42–50
- Thacker, A T, 1987 'Anglo-Saxon Cheshire', in B E Harris (ed), *Victoria County History, A history of the County of Cheshire, Vol 2*, 237–92. Oxford
- Thomas, D R, 1906–13 *The history of the diocese of St Asaph*, 3 vols, 2nd ed. Oswestry
- Thorpe, L (ed & trans), 1978 *Gerald of Wales: The journey through Wales/The description of Wales*. Harmondsworth
- Wainwright, F T, 1948 'Ingimund's invasion', *Eng Hist Rev*, 63, 145–69

- Westwood, J O, 1876–79 *Lapidarium Waliae: The early inscribed and sculptured stones of Wales*. Oxford
- Wilson, D M, 1971 'Manx memorial stones of the Viking period', *Saga Book of Viking Soc*, 18, 1–18
- Wilson, D M, 1983 'The art of the Manx crosses of the Isle of Man', in C Fell *et al* (eds), 175–87