

HAMMERHEAD CROSSES OF THE VIKING AGE

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INTRODUCTION

This chapter will present a reconsideration of Viking Age hammerhead crosses and suggest a possible interpretation of their role in the landscapes of the British Isles. As such, its aims are threefold: to consider the definition of the hammerhead cross, to provide a corpus of twenty-three such crosses, and to propose a suggested function of the hammerhead cross. In order to achieve this, a case study on the Kilmore Cross is presented, and an argument made for hammerhead crosses to represent syncretic sculptures, the products of hybrid practice. This is expressed through the idea of common difference, which is primarily explored by an analysis of the cross of Christ and the hammer of Thor. The approach of this chapter is entirely archaeological, largely looking beyond the art historical work already undertaken on many hammerhead crosses.² At this juncture, it should be noted that this research is ongoing and therefore subject to change.³ It is hoped that this will reinvigorate discussions of hammerhead crosses in Viking Age scholarship.

BACKGROUND

In the early twentieth century, William Gershom Collingwood, in his influential *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age*, christened a certain form of pre-Norman carved stone, found only on the British Isles, as ‘hammer-head’.⁴ The hammerhead nomenclature seemingly relates explicitly to the form of the cross-head, although this is ultimately ill-defined and as such its use has become problematic.

1 The author wishes to acknowledge the generous financial assistance from The Catherine Mackichan Trust in support of certain fieldwork components of this research and to thank Dr Colleen Batey for her guidance. The author is grateful to Caroline Paterson, Linda Hodgson, and Adam Parsons for their open discussions on the Workington carved stones, and to Ross Trench-Jellicoe for the numerous helpful discussions on the Kilmore Cross and the Canticle of Habakkuk. The author also wishes to thank the two reviewers and the editorial team for their helpful comments.

2 See Bailey 1996a for an example of such work.

3 This chapter will be expanded upon in the author’s current doctoral research project.

4 Collingwood 1927, 90.

Earlier on, the hammerhead cross form had been encountered by John Stuart, as well as John Romilly Allen and Joseph Anderson,⁵ although they did not explicitly consider the hammerhead cross forms, such as those detailed on a drawing of the Kilmore Cross (Figure 1). In considering this carved stone, Allen and Anderson classified its cross form as ECMS Type No. 101A (Figure 2),⁶ which, as a Latin cross form, differs from the ‘hammer-head’ cross subsequently defined by Collingwood. The latter type is perhaps more closely associated with the Greek cross form (Figure 3), but often features an added lower arm of the same width as its upper counterpart (Figure 4).⁷ However, this is not universally the case, and the diversity of these features will be the focus of the following discussion.

Collingwood’s classification provides both the inspiration and fundamental starting point for this chapter. He suggested that the ‘hammer-head’ may have ‘evolved out of the coffin type’,⁸ or what the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* would refer to as a cross with oblong-block type arms, of AS Type A3 or – more likely – Type A10.⁹ This form can be seen on cross-head fragments from Carlisle.¹⁰ The use of ‘hammerhead’ as a nomenclature, therefore, needs to be reconsidered and redefined.

It was not until the 1980s that this form of Viking Age carved stone was granted further attention by Bailey, as he elaborated on the hammerhead cross in reference to Collingwood’s work.¹¹ This small yet revealing discussion, in which the author presents a fully articulated evolution of the hammerhead form, represents the most significant consideration of hammerhead crosses since Collingwood’s work. Despite indicating that his predecessor’s suggestions had merit, he highlights that the origin of the hammerhead cross is not clear.¹² It is noticeable that the hammerhead cross form depicted most prominently

5 Stuart 1856-1867, vol. 2, 34-35, plate 70; Allen and Anderson 1993 [1903], vol. 2, part III, 482-83, fig. 514.

6 ‘ECMS Types’ refer to those described in *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland* by Allen and Anderson 1993 [1903], vol. 2, part III, 482-83, fig. 514.

7 Bailey 1980, 182-83.

8 Collingwood 1927, 90.

9 The ‘AS Type’ refers to the types described in the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* by Cramp 1984, xvi, fig. 2.

10 See Carlisle 2 and 3 in Bailey and Cramp 1988, 85-87.

11 Bailey 1980, 182-3; 1988a, 31.

12 Bailey 1988a, 31.



Figure 1: Nineteenth-century illustration of the Kilmore Cross (Stuart 1856-1867, Plate 70).

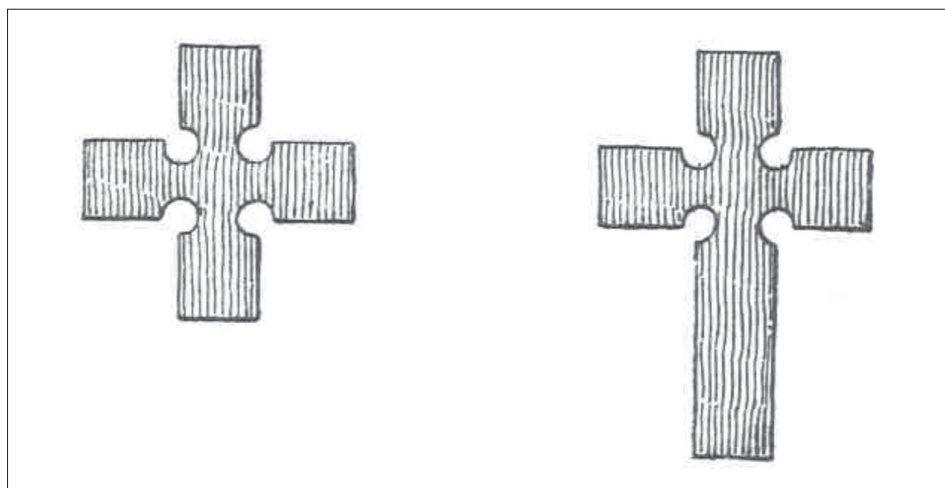


Figure 2: ECMS Type No. 101 (left) and Type No. 101A (right) cross forms (Allen and Anderson 1993 [1903], vol. 1, 51).

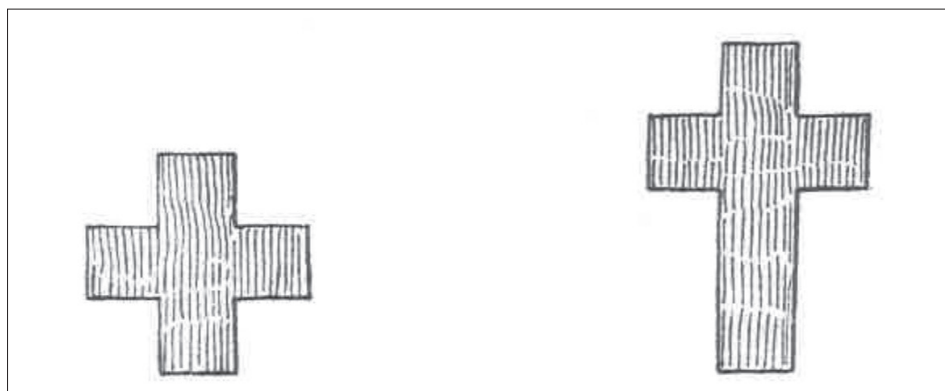


Figure 3: Greek (left) and Latin (right) cross forms (Allen and Anderson 1993 [1903], vol. 1, 46).

in the *Corpus* (AS Type A5) differs from those found elsewhere in the same series (Figures 5 and 4, respectively), which present more marked similarities to the type found in Bailey's seminal work.¹³ Ultimately, had it not been for the work of Richard Bailey and Rosemary Cramp, both independently and collectively, such idiosyncratic forms would remain obscured by more distinctive sculptural forms, such as the hogback.¹⁴

13 Bailey 1980, 182, fig. 46; 1988a, 29, fig. 6a.

14 For examples of this considerable body of published work, see Cramp 1978; Bailey 1980; Cramp 1984; Bailey and Cramp 1988.

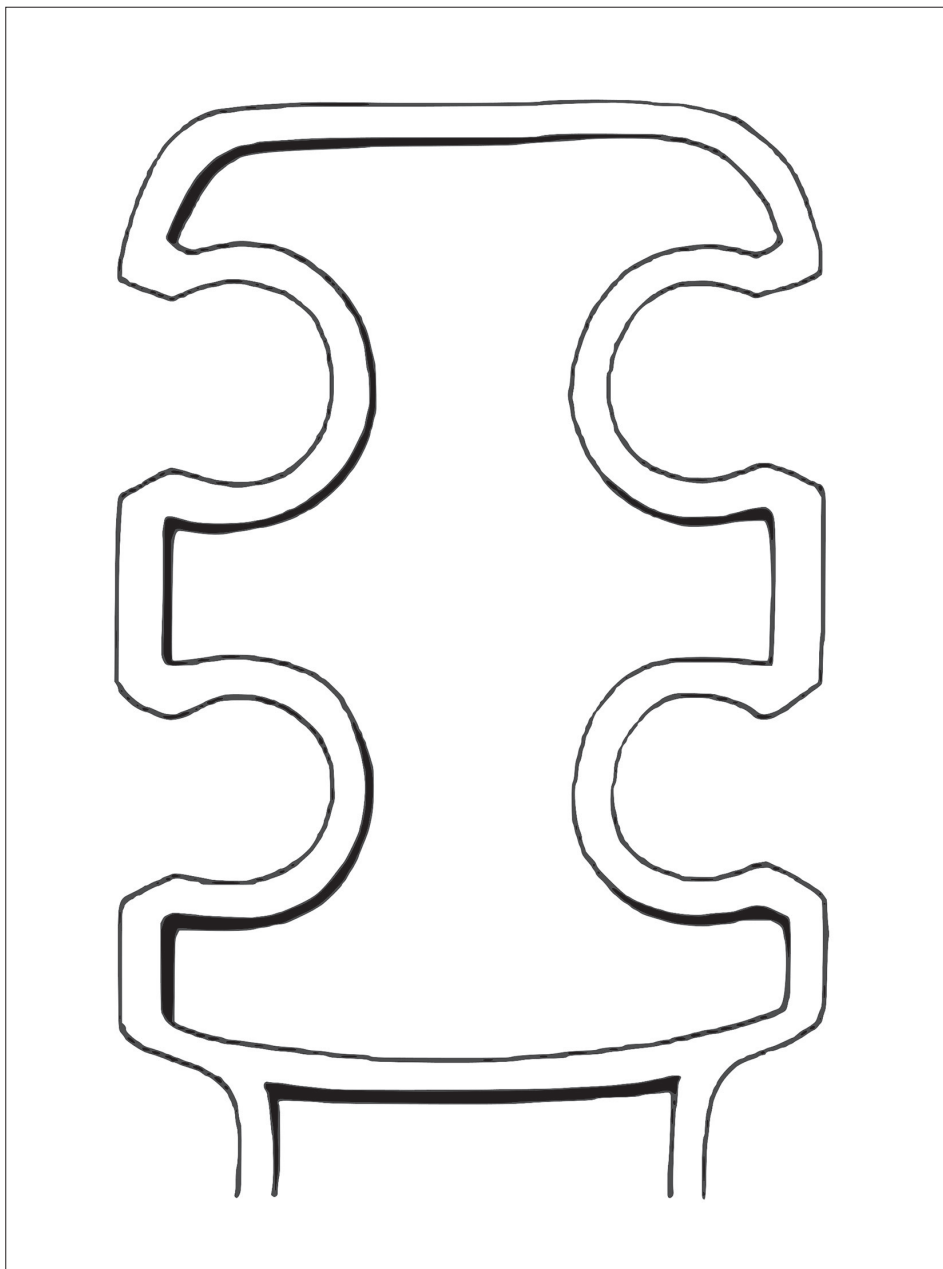


Figure 4: Illustration of the hammerhead cross form, in which the cross may be indicative of the evolved AS Type A10 (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture; drawing by Yvonne Beadnell).

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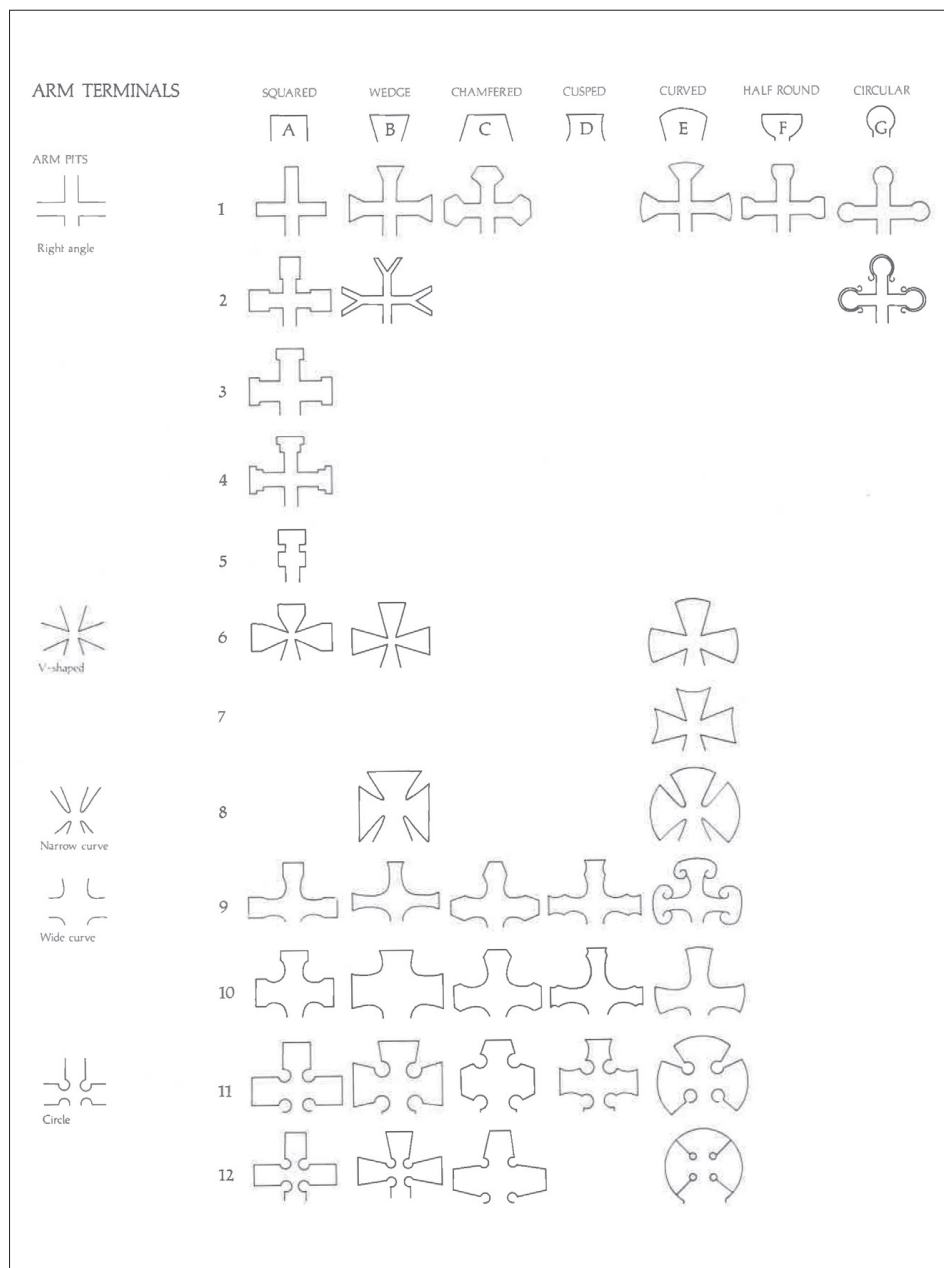


Figure 5: Schematic of cross shapes and arm types, in which the hammerhead cross is A5 (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture; drawing by Yvonne Beadnell).

NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

This brief, illustrated discussion serves to highlight the problem of defining the form of a hammerhead cross. Would a cross, for example, be considered to feature a hammerhead form when only ‘the end of the upper arm is broadened to the width of the transverse arms’ (matching AS Type A5, see Figure 5), or would it need to have both upper and lower arms expanded to the width of the transverse arms, conforming to the *Corpus*’ other illustration (see Figure 4)?¹⁵ The latter view seems to be held by B. J. N. Edwards.¹⁶ However, this may also denote the ringed hammerhead cross form, as seen at Addingham (Figure 6), or the pseudo-ringed hammerhead cross found on the figurative face of the Kilmore Cross (Figure 1). At this stage, it must be noted that Bailey, prior to the publication of the *Corpus* series, stated that ‘the upper (and often lower) arm [of the hammerhead cross form] is expanded so that it is the same width as the entire span of the lateral arms’.¹⁷ This statement is perhaps the best working definition of the hammerhead cross form.

Apart from the oft-cited Kilmore Cross from Galloway (Scotland), the publications which have thus far dealt with hammerhead crosses have focused mainly on English examples, with Scottish outliers brought in as comparanda.¹⁸ For example, in the *Corpus*, some Scottish hammerhead crosses are highlighted in reference to the hammerhead cross at Addingham in Cumbria.¹⁹ From an archaeological perspective, however, this material has not yet been fully considered and discussed. As a consequence, this chapter will consider all proposed and supposed hammerhead crosses from the British Isles, and thus will not be delimited by the modern cultural and political boundary of the Scotland-England border.

RECONSIDERING THE HAMMERHEAD CROSS

In reconsidering the hammerhead cross, the difference between those akin to AS Type A5 and those akin to a form that appears to have

15 Bailey 1988a, 29, fig. 6a, 31.

16 Edwards 1998, 92.

17 Bailey 1980, 182-83.

18 The Kilmore Cross is discussed extensively by Richard Bailey in his Whithorn Lecture. See Bailey 1996a.

19 Bailey and Cramp 1988, 45.

evolved from AS Type A10 or similar must be deliberated. Are they the same? Furthermore, the addition of a lower arm to AS Type A5 must also be considered, as it often provides symmetry to the cross shape, but also again tends to indicate a type evolved from AS Type A10. It may therefore be suggested that a cross is a hammerhead when it is either AS Type A5, A10 with upper and lower arms – the latter being optional – expanded to a similar width as its transverse arms, or a ringed version of the supposedly evolved AS Type A10. These details should also be considered in the context of the form of the carved stone, be it a free-armed cross, a cross-slab, or a recumbent, for example.

This is not an exact classification of the hammerhead cross. Rather, it has revealed that many forms may be included. This variety is demonstrated when the Kilmore, Addingham, and Middlesmoor hammerhead crosses are jointly considered (Figures 1, 6, and 10). These appear to be completely different in both form and hammerhead cross shape, yet they are all referred to as hammerhead crosses, a potentially oversimplified terminology.

With this in mind, it may be worth considering that differences may exist between what is meant by a hammerhead cross, a hammer-headed cross, and a cross with hammer-headed cross-arm terminals. The variability of the cross-heads within this terminology are best exemplified around Galloway, where the influence of the Whithorn School of carvers can be seen. These sculptures have been studied extensively by Derek Craig, who uses a broader definition of the hammer-headed form.²⁰ In order to highlight the perceived problems and allow for a reconsideration of the hammerhead cross, a preliminary corpus of material is presented in the discussion below, which should be read in conjunction with the Appendix.

HAMMERHEAD CROSSES

This section will present a summary of every Viking Age carved stone that has been, or could be, referred to as hammerhead, hammer-head, or hammer-headed, with a brief discussion on the significant points of each example. Although dating this type of material is notoriously difficult, the *Corpus* series declares that the hammerhead crosses in England are all of the tenth to eleventh centuries. This is provided on

20 Craig 1992.

an art historical basis, and it is supposed that the Scottish and Welsh material is of a similar date range. Collingwood's 'hammer-head' crosses will be presented first, followed by the remainder of the proposed corpus. All sites included in the discussion have been mapped in Figure 18.

COLLINGWOOD IDENTIFICATIONS

Collingwood has categorised seven crosses as being of a definite 'hammer-head' form.²¹ Although other instances are present in his publication, demonstrated by their illustrations in his section on 'hammer-head' crosses, these are of indiscernible fragments.²² For England, he presents six such crosses, as well as one for Scotland, the latter perhaps being the most significant in the corpus. One of the foremost examples of a hammerhead cross can be found at Addingham in Cumbria (Figure 6).²³ This ringed hammerhead cross, found standing within the churchyard, is situated in the Eden Valley, a route-way connecting Cumbria and Yorkshire during the Viking Age, and an area rich in Scandinavian place-names.²⁴ Further examples of this form of hammerhead cross, featuring expanded upper and lower arms but lacking a ring, can be found on the cross-slabs at Kilmore, Kilmory Knap, and Gargrave, as well on the recumbent cross-slab at Heysham. There are incised St Andrew's crosses found at each end of Addingham's transverse arms, a style of ornamentation popular in the Solway region during the Viking Age.²⁵

At Brigham in Cumbria, a free-armed hammerhead cross may be found, although its only remnants consist of two conjoining fragments of a cross-head (Figure 7).²⁶ These are located within the church, as are a hogback fragment and several other notable pieces of Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian carved stone.²⁷ In addition, this piece has an incised Latin cross on its face, similar to that found on the hammerhead

21 Collingwood 1927, 90-93.

22 Ibid., 93, fig. 116.

23 Bailey and Cramp 1988, 45-46, illus. 1-4.

24 See Higham 1985, 46-47; Fellows-Jensen 1985.

25 For a discussion on the significance and spread of small incised crosses as a form of ornament on Viking Age carved stones, particularly in the Solway region, see Bailey and Cramp 1988, 45.

26 Ibid., 77, illus. 148-51.

27 Ibid., 74-9, 163.

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Figure 6: Addingham, Cumbria (photo by author).



Figure 7: Bringham, Cumbria (photo by author).

cross at Middlesmoor. However, the former has terminals on the arms of its incised cross, which may depict additional hammerheads. The Bringham cross may serve to highlight an issue with Collingwood's original identification, as its minimally expanded upper arm does not really conform to the suggested form of a hammerhead cross.

A fine example of a free-armed hammerhead cross can be found at Carlisle in Cumbria (Figure 8), although it only survives as a fragmentary cross-head. As such, it cannot be determined whether this cross originally featured a lower arm.²⁸ It is acknowledged elsewhere that the cruciform ornament carved on the cross-head is one 'favoured by the spiral-scroll school', a style prevalent in Viking Age Cumbria.²⁹ A

28 Ibid., 87, illus. 214-17.

29 Ibid., 87; Bailey 1988b, 33-38.



Figure 8: Carlisle, Cumbria (photo by author).

close parallel to Carlisle, both in form and cruciform ornament, may be found in the newly discovered probable hammerhead cross-fragment from Workington.³⁰ Similarly from Cumbria, and also surviving as a fragmentary cross-head, is another free-armed hammerhead type cross from Dearham.³¹ This cross perhaps best illustrates Collingwood's suggestion that hammerhead crosses evolved out of the AS Type A3 or A10 cross form (see above). In considering its form and fragmentary nature, the Dearham cross is not a definite hammerhead cross, despite being included in the corpus.

30 See McCarthy and Paterson 2014, 131-33, fig. 8.7.

31 Bailey and Cramp 1988, 95-96, illus. 263.



Figure 9: Gargrave, Yorkshire (photo by author).

A finely executed hammerhead cross is found at Gargrave in Yorkshire (Figure 9).³² This form of cross-slab and hammerhead appears to be a

32 Coatsworth 2008, 155-56, illus. 278-81.



Figure 10: Middlesmoor, Yorkshire (photo by author).

rare find in the county, although a close parallel may be identified at Heysham in Lancashire. There are, however, three other hammerhead crosses from Yorkshire, located at Fountains Abbey, Hartlington, and Middlesmoor. This final example (Figure 10) is found in a prominent landscape location at the head of the Nidderdale, appearing isolated yet potentially significant.³³ It is a near-complete free-armed cross, with a rather similar hammerhead to that of Gargrave, although the latter has wedge-shaped arms, the lower of which is expanded. The cross face has an incised Latin cross, similar to that found on the hammerhead cross from Brigham. As this cross on the Middlesmoor piece is the only such example known to the east of the Pennines, it ultimately reflects a Cumbrian (or Solway) style in Yorkshire.³⁴ Overall, it may be suggested that the examples from Yorkshire, particularly those from Gargrave and Middlesmoor (with their ornamental characteristics of the spiral-scroll school), are local Anglian reflexes of those found in the Solway region – the supposed hammerhead heartland.³⁵ As previously stated, perhaps the most significant hammerhead cross identified by Collingwood is a cross-slab from Kilmorie in Galloway, which will be discussed as a case study below.³⁶

SUBSEQUENT IDENTIFICATIONS

The following sixteen crosses have all been noted to display hammerhead features in one form or another. Returning to Cumbria, one of the most recent hammerhead cross discoveries is Workington (Figure 11).³⁷ This fragmentary cross-head of a free-armed cross was found during an archaeological intervention, following a fire that largely destroyed St Michael's Church in 1994.³⁸ This example is akin to the Carlisle hammerhead cross, although it has a much narrower upper arm. Similar to Carlisle, it displays the cruciform ornament associated with the spiral-scroll school. There is also an example from Bromfield in Cumbria, which appears to be similar to Carlisle and Workington, although its exact type cannot be ascertained due to deterioration, and thus it is

33 Ibid., 212-13, illus. 538-40.

34 Bailey and Cramp 1988, 45.

35 See Coatsworth 2008, 156, 213.

36 Stuart 1856-1867, vol. 2, 34-35, plate 70; Allen and Anderson 1993 [1903], vol. 2, part III, 482-83, fig. 514; Collingwood 1927, 91-92; Bailey 1996a.

37 McCarthy and Paterson 2014, 131-33, fig. 8.7.

38 Ibid., 127.



Figure 11: Workington, Cumbria (photo by author).

not included in the corpus.³⁹ In considering these factors, it might be suggested that examples such as Carlisle and Workington are perhaps only probable hammerhead crosses, fitting somewhere in between AS Types A10 and A5. The final example from Cumbria comes from Walton, where only the fragmentary cross-head of a free-armed cross remains.⁴⁰ Unlike crosses like Brigham and Workington, its upper arm is expanded to the full width of its lateral arms. Significantly, the sides of these arms contain incised St Andrew's crosses, which also occur on the lateral

39 Bailey and Cramp 1988, 80, illus. 172.

40 Ibid., 153, illus. 573-6.



Figure 12: Heysham, Lancashire (photo by author).

arms of the cross from Addingham, further highlighting the use of such incised ornamentation in the Solway region during the Viking Age.

The only example from Lancashire is found on the coast at Heysham (Figure 12), where one of the finest examples of a hogback can also be found.⁴¹ The Heysham example is perhaps the only known truly recumbent hammerhead cross. It is probably emulating a free-armed analogue, and, in addition, has an equal-armed cross carved in relief on the centre of its cross-head. Parallels to this hammerhead cross form may be found at Addingham – which is ringed – and at Kilmorie and Kilmory Knap. The cross ultimately reflects the Cumbrian (or Solway) style in Lancashire during the Viking Age. The three final examples from England are all fairly recent discoveries; the first is found in Milnrow, Greater Manchester.⁴² This is a small fragment, which, despite having been discovered in 1987, has avoided the attention of the Portable Antiquities Scheme until 2009.⁴³ It appears to be a fragment of a disc-headed cross, whose cross-arm remains suggest that it may be of a hammerhead form. This supposed hammerhead cross form, prevalent

⁴¹ Bailey 2010, 201-5, illus. 526.

⁴² Richard Bailey alludes to a 'hammer-head' fragment from Milnrow [Rochdale] in the *Corpus*. Bailey 2010, 205n1, 238n1. For further information on Milnrow, see Bailey et al. 2012, 260-68.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 260.

in the Solway region, ‘adds further evidence to the case for a northward cultural orientation of the region lying to the north of the Mersey’ during the Viking Age.⁴⁴ Another intriguing hammerhead cross fragment was discovered in 1995 at Fountains Abbey in Yorkshire (Figure 13).⁴⁵ Such an incomplete example confuses the hammerhead classification, as it could be referred to as a fragmented example of a pseudo-ringed or ringed hammerhead cross, or a hammerhead cross with only an expanded upper arm. Nevertheless, should this cross have had a curved lower arm (expanded to the same width as the upper one), it is likely to have been created out of the transition between its cross-head and cross-shaft, as can be seen on the examples from Maesmynys and, perhaps, Llanbadarn Fawr, both from Wales. The Hartlington Cross is the final example from Yorkshire (Figure 14).⁴⁶ It was discovered in 2005, although it was not published in the *Corpus* due to the timing of its discovery. Through its decoration, which appears to be Hiberno-Norse influenced, this fragmentary cross-head demonstrates stylistic connections with the Solway region. In addition, its find spot is close to St Wilfrid’s Church in Burnsall, which notably houses several hogbacks and other Viking Age crosses. It may be suggested that one of the crosses from Burnsall references Thor’s hammer in its cross-arms. It is, however, more likely that this example is a reflex of the Scandinavian ring-head.⁴⁷

The two Welsh examples are perhaps the most visually distinctive of the corpus, as they are both very large. Both are pillar-crosses; Llanbadarn Fawr features a hammerhead-type cross-head, and Maesmynys exhibits a pseudo-ringed hammerhead cross type.⁴⁸ The former is the taller of the two and only appears to have an expanded upper arm, whereas the latter is more complex in its hammerhead form. Both are noted by Bailey as being a ‘variant form’ of hammerhead cross, and perhaps reflect a local preference for an Anglo-Scandinavian form of carving.⁴⁹ The form of hammerhead cross found at Maesmynys becomes even more significant when compared to the grave-cover from Spennithorne in Northern Yorkshire, with its almost ‘hammer-head’ upper arm.⁵⁰

44 Ibid., 264.

45 Coatsworth 2008, 152, illus. 256-59.

46 Yorkshire Post 2010a; 2010b.

47 See Burnsall 7 in Coatsworth 2008, 111, illus. 105-8.

48 Edwards 2007, 135-39; Redknap and Lewis 2007, 227-30.

49 Bailey 2010, 205.

50 See Spennithorne 2 in Lang 2001, 198, illus. 745.



Figure 13: Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire (photo by author).

In Scotland, there are several additions to Collingwood's original corpus of hammerhead crosses. The most northerly example is found at Kilmory Knap, Argyll.⁵¹ It is a fine hammerhead cross with expanded

51 RCAHMS 1992, 163, fig. C (2).



Figure 14: Hartlington, Yorkshire (photo by author).

upper and lower arms carved on a cross-slab. As it is located on the west coast of Scotland, which was a pivotal location on the route between the *Norðreyjar* and *Suðreyjar*, this example potentially demonstrates

a cultural connection between Argyll – in the former Gaelic Kingdom of Dál Riata – and the Solway region during the Viking Age. In South Ayrshire, a suggested hammerhead cross was discovered at Shallochwreck, also on the west coast of Scotland.⁵² This example looks noticeably different from the majority of the corpus, and as such could probably be classified as a hammerhead cross variant. The cross shape is not necessarily a hammerhead, although the terminals of the arms are expanded to form hammerheads. A similar decoration is found at Brigham, in the Latin cross incised on its cross-head. Another analogue is found at Whithorn in Galloway (Figure 15), although this example has a different expanded upper arm to its lateral arms.⁵³ In 1997, Derek Craig stated that ‘this is the only hammer-headed cross-slab known from Whithorn’.⁵⁴ However, he previously noted that two other pieces of carved stone from Whithorn might also be fragments of hammerhead crosses, although these two examples are different in form, and both exhibit a similar curved hammerhead-shaped upper arm to that found on the example from Kirkmadrine.⁵⁵ Craig also appropriately describes a runic-inscribed fragment from Whithorn as having a ‘hammer-headed cross’, although I would not necessarily classify any of these three additional Whithorn examples as hammerhead crosses.⁵⁶

At the significant chapel site of Kirkmadrine in Galloway, known for its Early Christian carved stones, a fairly complex hammerhead cross fragment is located.⁵⁷ It has a curved hammer-headed upper arm on one face, whilst the back of the slab is carved, incorporating a wedge-shaped cross superimposed on a rough saltire cross, with two small, seemingly conjoining crosses below.⁵⁸ Interestingly, however, the terminals of the arms of these two small crosses are hammerhead-shaped, much like the lateral arms of the Whithorn example. It has also been noted that another piece from Kirkmadrine appears to have a rectangular hammer-headed cross.⁵⁹ At High Auchenlarie in Galloway,

52 Foster 1958, 9-11.

53 Craig 1997, 434-36, fig. 10.107(7).

54 *Ibid.*, 435.

55 See Whithorn 33 and 34 in Craig 1992, vol. 3, 363-66 and vol. 4, plates 188c, 189a-b.

56 See Whithorn 6 in *Ibid.*, vol. 3, 302-10 and vol. 4, plate 175a-e.

57 See Kirkmadrine 5 in *Ibid.*, vol. 3, 137-38 and vol. 4, plate 136a-b.

58 *Ibid.*

59 *Ibid.*, vol. 3, 135-36 and vol. 4, plate 137a.



Figure 15: Whithorn, Galloway (photo by author).

there is a pillar stone with a crude hammerhead cross carved upon it.⁶⁰ It is part of a pair of pillar stones, possibly originally associated with a cairn, although they may have served as boundary markers.⁶¹ They do not relate to any other carved stone found in this area and are probably reused prehistoric standing stones.⁶² The next two examples, both from Galloway, are particularly similar in their hammerhead cross form, although different overall. The first, from Boghouse (Figure 16), is a wedge-shaped pillar stone carved with an excellent example of a

60 Ibid., vol. 2, 312-15 and vol. 4, plate 83a.

61 Ibid., vol. 1, 188, for a more detailed discussion on this.

62 Ibid.



Figure 16: Boghouse, Galloway (photo by author).



Figure 17: Glenluce, Galloway (photo by author).

hammerhead cross, whose upper arm is expanded, suggesting it could be classified as AS Type A5.⁶³ Its obverse face is also carved, but with a Whithorn-type cross-head.

The Barhobble example exists as two separately discovered conjoining fragments.⁶⁴ It is carved on a cross-slab, although its

63 Anderson 1927, 116-18.

64 Cormack 1995, 62-63.

hammerhead cross form is much the same as that found at Boghouse. The potential significance of the site of Barhobble in the eleventh century is discussed elsewhere, and it should be noted that a cross fragment from nearby House of Elrig (suggested below) may have also come from there.⁶⁵ The final positive example comes from Glenluce (Figure 17), also in Galloway.⁶⁶ Although fragmentary, this is a crisp example of a hammerhead cross. It appears to be a hybrid of – or intermediary between – the Whithorn School type and a hammerhead cross. As such, it is particularly significant at this location, perhaps representing a Whithorn School reaction to a Solway tradition that was predominant in Cumbria during the Viking Age.

Finally, Derek Craig suggests that a runic cross-slab from St Ninian's Cave is hammer-headed, and that fragments of crosses from Glasserton, House of Elrig, and a second from St Ninian's Cave (all from Galloway) may also have hammer-headed crosses carved on them.⁶⁷ This small list of possible fragments demonstrates the potential for the corpus to be increased beyond the twenty-three considered here.

THE KILMORIE CROSS

Perhaps the best example of a Viking Age hammerhead cross is the Kilmorie Cross from Galloway in Scotland (Figure 1).⁶⁸ For several reasons, this stone makes a good focus for a theoretical discussion, most notably due to the apparent co-existence of pagan and Christian iconographies in its many intricate carvings. It primarily demonstrates a cultural connection between Northern England and Galloway through its display of zoomorphic Anglian scrolls and plaits on one of its faces.⁶⁹ This alone attests to the importance of considering contemporary carved stones on either side of the Border. Originally, this very face would have been polychrome with a possible inserted jewel or precious glass fragment in its cross centre, and may also once have had an inscription.

65 Cormack 1995.

66 Anderson 1935, 141-42.

67 St Ninian's Cave 1 in Craig 1992, vol. 3, 239-43 and vol. 4, plate 161a-c; Glasserton 1 in *Ibid.*, vol. 3, 70-71 and vol. 4, plate 129a; House of Elrig in *Ibid.*, vol. 3, 87-88 and vol. 4, plate 122b; 'St Ninian's Cave' 18 in *Ibid.*, vol. 3, 272-72 and vol. 4, plate 168c-d.

68 Stuart 1856-1867, vol. 2, 34-35, plate 70; Allen and Anderson 1993 [1903], vol. 2, part III, 482-83 and fig. 514; Bailey 1996a.

69 Collingwood 1927, 92; Bailey 1996a.

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Figure 18: Distribution of the hammerhead cross corpus (map by author, Ordnance Survey data © Crown copyright/database right 2016).

Hence, it must have been extremely visible in the landscape. Bailey has described this cross as having a parochial ambition, or more explicitly, an awareness of its surroundings.⁷⁰ This is an apt description, as, upon fuller inspection, a figural scene of a non-Christian mythological character may be seen on one of its faces.

This carved stone is now almost unique in its discovery in this region, and perhaps it was similarly rare at the time of its creation. This begs the question of what the function of this type of sculpture would have been, particularly regarding its prominent landscape location on the west shore of Loch Ryan, near the North Channel, representing a specific interface between the Irish Sea, Solway Firth, and Firth of Clyde.

There is a substantial repertoire of iconographies and ideologies represented on the Kilmore Cross. On one face, there is a hammerhead cross, perhaps an evolved form of AS Type A10, filled with Anglian interlace. Below this, a scene – although difficult to interpret – seems to depict two intertwining drinking horns at first glance.⁷¹ This, however, may also be a reference to a scene described in the Old Latin version of the Canticle of Habakkuk. Habakkuk 3:2 reads ‘In medio duorum animalium innotesceris’ [In the midst of two animals you will be recognised].⁷² This was likely sung every Friday morning – the significance of which was emphasised by Bede – and is suggested to have been ‘intimately associated with Good Friday liturgy’.⁷³ A similar scene, although more easily discernible and preceding the Kilmore Cross, may be found on a doorjamb from Monkwearmouth, where it appears to represent ‘the concept of the recognition of Christ between two beasts’.⁷⁴ If the scene on the Kilmore Cross is a reference to the Canticle of Habakkuk, it should, therefore, be considered in conjunction with both the Crucifixion themes and pagan mythology also apparent on this cross-slab.

Below the supposed Habakkuk motif on the Kilmore Cross are three serpents, two of which are intertwined. The cross-head is separated from it by the aforementioned inscription panel. The predominant

70 Bailey 1996a.

71 See Cormack 1995, 51.

72 Ó Carragáin 1986, 384.

73 Ibid., 383-85.

74 Bailey 1996b, 38.

feature of this face is, of course, the hammerhead cross with its central hollow. Bailey suggests that, on this face, the cross is created by vines emanating from a chalice in its lower arm, which is indicative of Eucharistic imagery.⁷⁵ As such, this face is best understood as being Christian. Nevertheless, if it is accepted that the cross of Christ shares common difference with Thor's hammer motifs, it may not be as unambiguous as this. In considering the theoretical concept of common difference, a term borrowed from Richard Wilk,⁷⁶ this allows for an approach where the principal accent is placed on difference, rather than similarity. This will be expanded below.

The other face is far more ambiguous, displaying a crucified Christ set amongst a hammerhead cross, as well as a mythological figure below. Perhaps the pagan god Thor is embodied in this hammerhead cross, sharing common difference with the predominant idea of the crucified Christ being embodied in this form of cross-head. An example of this may also be seen in a silver pendant from Foss in Iceland.⁷⁷ This artefact may represent both a stylised Thor's hammer and a Christian crucifix, including an incised equal armed cross. It also displays a beast-headed terminal, which should also be considered in the context of the end-beasts found on hogbacks, themselves neither overtly Christian nor pagan. This is not an isolated manifestation of syncretic religious practice in portable antiquities. For example, a soapstone mould from Trendgaarden in Denmark perhaps also indicates religious syncretism.⁷⁸ This artefact was able to produce both a Christian cross and hammer of Thor simultaneously. In such objects, there appears to have been a recognition and consumption of differing ideologies.

In addition to the supposed pagan imagery mentioned above, the figure below the supposed different hammerhead cross may seem to represent the pagan story of Wayland the Smith, depicting a blacksmith with his tongs and anvil to one side. Two birds also appear on the other side, with an indecipherable carving below – although the latter is not represented on Stuart's drawing (Figure 1). The suggested Wayland scene may also be interpreted as a representation of the pagan Norse hero Sigurd, the son of a smith who slew the dragon Fafnir

75 Bailey 1996a.

76 Wilk 2004, 91.

77 See Graham-Campbell 1980, 156, plate 526.

78 Ibid., 128, plate 429.

and then killed his father Regin (as described in *The Lay of Fafnir*).⁷⁹ The inclusion of the two birds and the indecipherable carving are rather problematic. Putting this caveat aside, however, the following interpretation is suggested: the Christ figure in the hammerhead, which itself is supposedly imbued with connotations of Thor, is arising through a rebirth out of the legend of Sigurd, which details the destruction of evil with his famous sword, Gram. This may be an allegory for Christ now being accepted into the pagan pantheon upon the conversion of Viking Age settlers, thereby indicating the presence of a new and syncretic identity. The application of the common difference framework to this face allows for such an interpretation.

In summary, the figural face is ostensibly analogous to the themes of life, death, and rebirth apparent on the opposing face, where the Eucharistic symbolism suggests the entering of Heaven with an awaiting banquet.⁸⁰ Notably, this Eucharistic symbolism surmounts the supposed reference to a scene described in the Cantic of Habakkuk. In this, the two intertwining beasts are bookended from above by the death and rebirth themes of Christ in the cross, and from below by the serpents, which may represent the struggles of Hell or supposed release of the Devil therefrom during the Final Judgement.⁸¹ This is of course just a possible interpretation of the varied and at times confusing iconography apparent on this hammerhead cross.⁸² However, if accepted, the apparent juxtaposition of Christian motifs with pagan Norse hero imagery is particularly difficult to dismiss. This interpretation of the Kilmore Cross recognises that religious syncretism occurred during the Viking Age, resulting in the creation of accordingly syncretic carved stones. It should also be acknowledged that such syncretic carved stones would have allowed for religious syncretism to occur; this was not necessarily a one-way process. Hence, these stones are a product of hybrid practice, which is defined here as the outcome of interacting cultures and ideas, predominantly in colonial environments.⁸³ I would argue that this hybrid practice can be used as a framework to better understand and extract identities from material culture. Perhaps the

79 Craig 1991, 51; *Poetic Edda*, 157-64.

80 Bailey 1996a.

81 For a discussion on Hell and serpents, see Bailey 1980, 140-42.

82 For a discussion on the Kilmore Cross and its links with the wider world of Christian symbolism and exegesis, see Bailey 1996a.

83 See Dommelen 2005 for a further exploration of this theoretical framework.

most notable example of a manifestation of such hybrid practice can be seen in the Gosforth Cross from Cumbria.⁸⁴

In considering this interpretation of the Kilmore Cross, the carved stone would have been accessible to both pagans and Christians alike, as well as to those of a new syncretic identity. The supposed Canticle of Habakkuk reference also gives this cross a potential liturgical significance. Furthermore, if the Kilmore Cross was indeed a polychrome statement, much like the painted Jelling Stone from Denmark, it must have been a significant attribute to its landscape.⁸⁵ Questions should therefore be asked as to whether this form and type of evidently syncretic and thus differently carved stone was erected for funerary or other purposes.

HAMMERHEAD CROSSES AND HYBRID PRACTICE

The prevalence of hammerhead crosses in the landscapes of South West Scotland and Cumbria – surrounding the Solway basin (like the Hiberno-Norse areas of Yorkshire) – is hard to avoid when the evidence is considered *en masse*. The connections between them and their landscapes have yet to be fully discussed within current scholarship. This chapter aims to initiate that discussion. The juxtaposition of pagan and Christian iconographies and art, as well as hybrid practice, appears to be a conscious and deliberate effort.⁸⁶ This must also be treated as a back-and-forth process of negotiation, and not merely a conversion of one ideology to another.

Although William Cormack notably described the practices of mingling beliefs and ideologies in Galloway as ambivalent, this is not necessarily the case.⁸⁷ It may be argued that hybrid practice moves beyond mere ambivalence, particularly where common difference is as explicit as it appears on the Kilmore Cross. Moreover, it may be argued that William Cormack's view ultimately underplays the free will of the peoples present in the Solway region during the Viking Age. Hybrid practice, which is an outcome of negotiation and manifest in the creation of hammerhead crosses, is therefore a conscious strategy

84 Bailey 1980, 125-31.

85 See Graham-Campbell 2013, 15, for a painted replica of the Jelling Stone.

86 In considering this idea, Bailey discusses the 'chameleon-like way in which Scandinavian settlers adopted and adapted to the indigenous behaviour patterns of the peoples amongst whom they found themselves'. See Bailey 1996b, 84.

87 Cormack 1995, 51.

deployed to create and manage a third space, resulting in different and syncretic identities.⁸⁸ This third space may be a neutral zone of reciprocity in which each active party is mutually respected, able to trade, and, more importantly, able to take part in forthright negotiation. This is a particularly important element to consider in a period of religious conversion. In a zone of cultural interaction – such as the Solway region – this negotiation is imperative for a productive existence within the culturally rich milieu of the Viking Age.

The creation of different or syncretic carved stones, including hammerhead crosses, might therefore be a product of negotiation and consumption. Strikingly, the majority of these crosses are to be found in the Solway region. This raises the question of why this development occurred here. Perhaps it may be attributed to the area's integral bond to the Irish Sea region during the Viking Age, a landscape and seascape facilitating the interaction of numerous cultures through contact and exchange. As such, the erection of syncretic carved stones in these locations may have been the result of more than mere ambivalence, allowing hammerhead crosses to serve a functional purpose in the landscape, other than funerary.

HAMMERHEAD CROSSES AND BEACH MARKETS

In outlining a functional purpose of hammerhead crosses, I propose a potential landscape link between them and various beach markets. Such locations would have been influential in facilitating the trade of goods and wealth during the Viking Age, particularly in Scotland, where no significant Viking Age towns are known to have existed. The significance of Whithorn in Galloway should not be underestimated within the context of such towns, as archaeological evidence suggests that it would have been a thriving commercial settlement during this period.⁸⁹ Although perhaps not comparable to York or Dublin, it should be regarded as a significant nodal point within a much larger trading network of beach markets and towns, all centred on the Irish Sea region.

The hammerhead crosses found along the coasts of the Irish Sea and its surrounding waterways are perhaps indicative of a negotiated space in the landscape, and as such could be closely associated with potential beach market sites. Ultimately, they should be considered to signify a

88 See Bhabha 1990.

89 See Hill 1997.

space created for mutual, secure exchanges, as well as the negotiation and consumption of contrasting religious ideas. The hammerhead cross may perhaps serve as a symbol of this theoretical space, and not necessarily be a direct locator of such activity. Nevertheless, the proximity to waterways of each hammerhead cross should be considered when evaluating its potential relationship to the landscape.

The supposed affiliation between carved stones and trading sites is, however, not a new idea. David Stocker discussed this potential relationship in reference to tenth-century Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, whilst this link was later also discussed by David Griffiths concerning the beach market site of Meols in the Wirral.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, the proximity of hammerhead crosses to waterways has not been expressly considered until now, despite the potential of this commonly apparent relationship to identify points of access in the landscape. The majority of these crosses are found in low-lying locations, close to either a coastline, riverine route, or overland route-way. Unfortunately, it is often difficult to ascertain the original location of carved stones. Many early medieval stones appear to have been moved into churches, although I would argue that, due to their size, they are not likely to have been moved far from their original context. Whilst considering this, a possibility exists to archaeologically determine a functional relationship between the find spots of the artefacts associated with beach markets and the supposed original locations of hammerhead crosses.⁹¹

Regrettably, beach markets have proven to be elusive trade nodes on the British Isles. Considering the situation in Galloway, Luce Bay may be a perfect candidate. This bay has numerous hammerhead crosses in its general vicinity – the closest being those found at Kirkmadrine, Glenluce, Barhobble, and Boghouse. The Rhins of Galloway appears to have a spread of hammerhead crosses across it, predominantly situated close to Loch Ryan and Luce Bay. This location in Galloway has also produced numerous finds of copper-alloy artefacts, including a ringed pin, finger ring, padlock, and stick pins, as well as thirteen mixed-material stycas.⁹² At Piltanton Burn, close to Luce Bay, a silver ingot was also recently discovered.⁹³ The significance of the recent Viking hoard

90 Stocker 2000; Griffiths 2014, 40-45.

91 See Stocker 2000, 207, for a similar discussion of this theory.

92 Graham-Campbell 1995, 87; Barnes 2014.

93 Hunter 2003, 50.

found by a metal detectorist in Galloway should also be considered.⁹⁴ Overall, the sheltered nature of Luce Bay, as well as its direct connection to the Irish Sea, must have made it an ideal portage point. With the important site of Whithorn to its south-east, Luce Bay was an ideal place for a beach market.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has brought together an expanded corpus of hammerhead crosses; through their re-examination, it aims to highlight the potential for generating further research into a possible landscape relationship between hammerhead crosses and beach markets. Primarily through a consideration of the apparent common difference between the cross of Christ and hammer of Thor, it has been argued that hammerhead crosses appear to be syncretic. These carved stones are the products of hybrid practice, and are neither explicitly Christian nor pagan. It should also be pointed out that the hammerhead cross definition is far more complex than initially presented by Collingwood, as well as acknowledged that the work of Bailey is fundamental for beginning to understand the development and distribution of these crosses.

In closing, this research does not – and cannot – serve as a comprehensive study of hammerhead crosses. Instead, it is designed to present an overview of the associated research currently being undertaken. It is ultimately hoped that this interim presentation and reconsideration of hammerhead crosses will highlight the significance of this often overlooked Viking Age carved stone type, and that it should be considered to be a product of negotiation and consumption within a landscape strewn with the fragments of old, new, and otherwise contrasting religions.

APPENDIX: CATALOGUE

Borrowing from the *Corpus*' recording framework, carved stones are described by their name/location, National Grid Reference, last known current location, form, hammerhead form, AS Type, and *Corpus* number, if relevant. As these carved stones are generally well-recorded elsewhere, they will be limitedly described here, with only the noteworthy points presented. This catalogue is listed alphabetically and should be read in conjunction with the 'Hammerhead Crosses' section above.

94 Pringle 2016.

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Addingham (Cumbria, England)

NGR: NY574383.

Current Location: Churchyard, St Michael's Church, Addingham.

Form: Cross-head, part of cross-shaft.

Hammerhead form: Ringed hammerhead cross with both upper and lower arms expanded to the width of its transverse arms, all connected in the ring.

Seems to be a variant of AS Type A5, as lower arm is present.

AS Type: Cross shape – A5; Arm type – Lateral B10.

Corpus Number: Addingham 1.

Barhobble (Galloway, Scotland)

NGR: NX310494.

Current Location: Whithorn Trust.

Form: Incomplete, broken, cross-slab.

Hammerhead form: Hammerhead cross carved on a cross-slab, where its curved upper arm is expanded to the same width as its lateral arms.

AS Type: n/a, although possibly a variant of A5 and the top of its upper arm is curved and its lateral arms appear to be B10.

Corpus Number: n/a.

Boghouse (Galloway, Scotland)

NGR: NX345463.

Current Location: Whithorn Museum.

Form: Wedge-shaped pillar stone.

Hammerhead form: Latin cross face – Hammerhead cross carved on a rude pillar, where its curved upper arm is expanded to the same width as its lateral arms; Obverse face – Whithorn type cross with four bosses.

AS Type: n/a, although possibly a variant of A5. The top of its upper arm is curved and its lateral arms appear to be B10.

Corpus Number: n/a.

Brigham (Cumbria, England)

NGR: NY085309, which is *contra* to the grid reference given in the *Corpus*.

Current Location: Inside St Bridget's Church, Brigham.

Form: Part of cross-head, broken.

Hammerhead form: Free-armed hammerhead cross with its upper arm almost expanded to the width of its lateral arms.

AS Type: Cross shape – A5; Arm type – Upper A6, lateral B10.

Corpus Number: Brigham 6.

Carlisle (Cumbria, England)

NGR: NY399559, which is *contra* to the grid reference given in the *Corpus*.

Current Location: Inside Carlisle Cathedral, Carlisle.

Form: Part of cross-head.

Hammerhead form: Free-armed hammerhead cross with an upper arm expanded to the width of its lateral arms.

AS Type: Cross shape – A5; Arm type – B6.

Corpus Number: Carlisle 4.

Dearham (Cumbria, England)

NGR: NY072365.

Current Location: Inside St Mungo's Church, Dearham.

Form: Part of cross-head.

Hammerhead form: Free-armed hammerhead cross, although it appears to have a cross-head form of somewhere between AS Type A5 and A10, as the upper arm does not extend to the full width of the lateral arms.

AS Type: Cross shape – A5; Arm type – A10.

Corpus Number: Dearham 3.

Fountains Abbey (North Yorkshire [formerly West Riding of Yorkshire], England)

NGR: SE272682 (supposed original location).

Current Location: Helmsley Archaeology Storage (EH88100869).

Form: Part of cross-head.

Hammerhead form: At first sight, this appears as a pseudo-ringed hammerhead cross, although this is uncertain, being broken and therefore without a lower arm. The upper arms are expanded to the same width as its lateral arms.

AS Type: Cross shape – E12. This is questionable, however, as this example is referred to as a hammerhead form; Arm type – None provided, although its lateral arms may be referred to as a variant of B10 and E12.

Corpus Number: Fountains Abbey 1.

Gargrave (North Yorkshire [formerly West Riding of Yorkshire], England)

NGR: SD932539.

Current Location: Inside St Andrew's Church, Gargrave.

Form: Part of cross-shaft.

Hammerhead form: Hammerhead cross carved on a cross-slab, where its upper and lower arms are expanded to the same width as its transverse arms. It seems to be a variant of AS Type A5, as a lower arm is present.

AS Type: Cross shape – A5; Arm type – E10.

Corpus Number: Gargrave 1.

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Glenluce (Galloway, Scotland)

NGR: NX184586.

Current Location: Glenluce Abbey Museum.

Form: Incomplete cross-slab.

Hammerhead form: Hammerhead cross carved on a cross slab, where its upper arm is expanded to more or less the same width as its transverse arms. Although broken, it may have had a similar lower arm. The armpits of the cross are circular and almost closed, tying it to the Whithorn School.

AS Type: n/a, although it may be described as somewhere between A5 and A10.

Corpus Number: n/a.

Hartlington (North Yorkshire [formerly West Riding of Yorkshire], England)

NGR: SE039610, approximately, as find spot not published.

Current Location: Inside St Wilfrid's Church, Burnsall.

Form: Part of cross-head.

Hammerhead form: Free-armed hammerhead cross whose upper arm does not extend to the full width of the lateral arms. The presence of a lower arm is indeterminate.

AS Type: n/a, although it appears to have a cross-head form similar to A5.

Corpus Number: n/a.

Heysham (Lancashire, England)

NGR: SD411617.

Current Location: Churchyard, St Peter's Church, Heysham.

Form: Recumbent cross-slab.

Hammerhead form: Hammerhead cross carved on a recumbent cross-slab, where its upper and lower arms are expanded to the same width as its transverse arms. It seems to be a variant of AS Type A5, as a lower arm is present.

AS Type: Cross shape – A5; Arm type – None provided, although its lateral arms appear to be B10.

Corpus Number: Heysham 8.

High Auchenlarie (Galloway, Scotland)

NGR: NX536534.

Current Location: Displayed west of Kirkdale House (NX514532).

Form: Pillar Stone.

Hammerhead form: Hammerhead cross carved on a rude pillar, where its upper and lower arms are expanded to the same width as its transverse arms.

AS Type: n/a, although possibly a variant of A5, as a lower arm is also present, and the lateral arms may be described as either A10 or B11.

Corpus Number: n/a.

Kilmorie (Galloway, Scotland)

NGR: NX033658.

Current Location: Churchyard, Kirkcolm Church, Kirkcolm.

Form: Cross-slab.

Hammerhead form: Figural face – Pseudo-ringed hammerhead cross;

Obverse face – Like the Dearham hammerhead cross, this face may display a hammerhead cross representative of the suggested evolution of AS Type A10 to A5, as the upper and lower arms do not extend to the full width of the transverse arms. Nevertheless, Bailey suggests that this form is ‘intermediate between the fully-developed class and heads of the Carlisle/Lancaster type’.⁹⁵

AS Type: n/a, but see above.

Corpus Number: n/a.

Kilmory Knap (Argyll, Scotland)

NGR: NR702751.

Current Location: Inside Kilmory Knap chapel, Kilmory.

Form: Incomplete cross-slab.

Hammerhead form: Hammerhead cross carved on a cross slab, where its upper and lower arms are expanded to the same width as its transverse arms.

AS Type: n/a, although possibly a variant of A5, as a lower arm is also present.

Corpus Number: n/a.

Kirkmadrine (Galloway, Scotland)

NGR: NX080483.

Current Location: Built into the exterior wall of the chapel at Kirkmadrine.

Form: Incomplete cross-slab.

Hammerhead form: Hammerhead cross carved on a cross slab, where its upper arm is expanded to almost the same width as its lateral arms. The obverse contains two small crosses with hammerhead-shaped cross-arm terminals.

AS Type: n/a, although possibly a variant of A5, but with a curved upper arm and lateral arms of type B10.

Corpus Number: n/a.

Llanbadarn Fawr (Ceredigion, Wales)

NGR: SN599809.

Current Location: Inside St Padarn’s Church, Llanbadarn Fawr.

Form: Pillar-cross, with ‘hammer-head’.

Hammerhead form: It appears as a variant of a hammerhead cross, as it is a pillar-cross with a hammerhead type cross-head, featuring a curved upper

95 Bailey 1988a, 31.

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arm and very thick lateral arms. It may also be described as a pseudo-ringed hammerhead cross if a lower arm is imagined.

AS Type: n/a, although possibly a variant of A5 with a curved upper arm and lateral arms similar to B10.

Corpus Number: n/a, although it is catalogued as CD4 in the Welsh corpus.⁹⁶

Maesmynys (Powys, Wales)

NGR: SO013475.

Current Location: Brecknock Museum, Brecon.

Form: Pillar-cross, with 'hammer-head'.

Hammerhead form: It appears as a pseudo-ringed hammerhead cross due to the way in which the cross-shaft connects to the cross-head, implying a lower arm symmetrically opposing the upper arm. This is particularly so on the cross face (A) with a visible ring and four hollows present, whereas the obverse cross face (C) has hollows with bosses.

AS Type: n/a, although possibly a variant of A5 with a curved upper arm and B10 lateral arms, and thus similar to the form described for Llanbadarn Fawr.

Corpus Number: n/a, although catalogued as B39 in the Welsh corpus.⁹⁷

Middlesmoor (North Yorkshire [formerly West Riding of Yorkshire], England)

NGR: SE092741.

Current Location: Inside St Chad's Church, Middlesmoor.

Form: Incomplete, broken, free-armed cross and cross-shaft.

Hammerhead form: Free-armed hammerhead cross with an upper arm expanded to that of its lateral arms.

AS Type: Cross shape– A5; Arm type – Upper arm seems to be 'an exaggerated form of AS Type A10', although the lateral arms are similar to A1.⁹⁸

Corpus Number: Middlesmoor 1.

Milnrow (Greater Manchester, England)

NGR: Unknown, but possibly close to SD933131.

Current Location: Unknown.

Form: Part of cross-head.

Hammerhead form: Possibly a hammerhead cross form carved on a disc-headed cross, although this is admittedly a difficult fragment to classify.⁹⁹

AS Type: n/a, although the lateral arms may be B10, and so the fragment

⁹⁶ Edwards 2007, 135-39.

⁹⁷ Redknap and Lewis 2007, 227-30.

⁹⁸ Coatsworth 2008, 213.

⁹⁹ Bailey et al. 2012, 264.

could be a badly damaged piece of a ringed hammerhead cross. This is, however, tentative.

Corpus Number: n/a.

Shallochwreck (South Ayrshire, Scotland)

NGR: NX069773

Current Location: Hunterian Museum Collections, Glasgow (GLAHM C.1961.41).

Form: Incomplete, broken, cross-slab.

Hammerhead form: Latin cross carved on a cross-slab whose terminals of the upper and lateral arms are each expanded to the form of a hammerhead.

AS Type: n/a.

Corpus Number: n/a.

Walton (Cumbria, England)

NGR: NY522645.

Current Location: Not located, however, last known location was at St Mary's Church, Walton.

Form: Part of cross-head.

Hammerhead form: Free-armed hammerhead cross with its upper arm expanded to the width of its lateral arms.

AS Type: The *Corpus* states E10, although this may be erroneous, as this cross is more akin to A5 with possible A10 upper arms.

Corpus Number: Walton 1.

Whithorn (Galloway, Scotland)

NGR: NX444403.

Current Location: Whithorn Trust.

Form: Incomplete cross-slab.

Hammerhead form: Hammerhead cross carved on a cross slab, where its upper arm is expanded to almost the same width as its transverse arms.

AS Type: n/a, although it seems to be a slender variant of A5, but with lateral arms similar to B6.

Corpus Number: n/a.

Workington (Cumbria, England)

NGR: NX997289.

Current Location: Inside St Michael's Church, Workington.

Form: Part of cross-head.

Hammerhead form: Free-armed hammerhead cross with its upper arm expanded almost to the width of its lateral arms.

AS Type: n/a, although the cross-head appears to be somewhere between A5 and A10, whilst the lateral arms appear to be either B6 or B10.

Corpus Number: n/a.

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