

Chapter 6 Pre-Norman Crosses of West Cheshire and the Norse Settlements around the Irish Sea

J. D. BU'LOCK

Reprinted from

Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society 68 (1958), 1–11.

In his original article Bu'lock set out to explore the distribution and significance of a particular style of stone carving, the ring-headed cross. He traced parallels in Celtic art and in later Norman work. This edited version of his article omits some details that are not specifically relevant to Wirral, so that the main conclusions are given prominence. Sub-headings are editorial, and some of the more obscure references have been silently omitted.

Viking Age carvings in Cheshire

Despite some intermingling (mainly in and around the Kingdom of York), the two Scandinavian elements in Britain — Danish and Norse-Irish — remained somewhat localized and distinct, a fact which is clearly brought out by the distribution of Viking Age carvings in Cheshire. These fall into two sharply-differentiated groups, distinct both in style and regional distribution and each with different affinities outside the county. The eastern part of Cheshire is dominated by the round-shaft crosses of Mercian derivation, which we shall not consider here, save to point out that this group had its immediate origin in the Peak District¹ and that in Cheshire its distribution, though easterly, excludes the area of (rather sparse) Danish settlement.²

It is with the second, western, group that we shall be concerned here; it comprises carvings from Chester and the Wirral, and though some individual pieces have been described and the group itself occasionally referred to, the assembly has never been subjected to detailed analysis. Though the surviving remains are largely fragmentary, the designs of the originals were not unpleasing, and moreover the origins of the group are an interesting testimony of the Viking settlement in Cheshire. Some account of their historical background is therefore desirable.

Historical background

In the late ninth century there began an emigration from the Norse settlements in Ireland, ascribable partly to the general expansion in Viking culture and partly to successful military operations by the Irish. The emigrants included elements of Irish and mixed descent and some at least were nominal Christians. Such

¹ T. D. Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art* (London, 1940), chapter 7.

² Compare G. Barnes, 'The evidence of place-names for the Scandinavian settlements in Cheshire', *TLCAS* 63 (1952–3), 131–155, at p. 131.

emigrants reached Iceland about 900, as described in the *Landnámabók*; others settled in the Isle of Man at about the same time and were erecting crosses there before 930.³ Studies of place-names, and of personal names and institutions surviving the Conquest, show that similar settlements took place along the Irish Sea coast from the Solway to the Wirral (or even to Anglesey). The history of one such settlement is told in Welsh and Irish annals, which tell how a mixed group driven from Dublin in 902 reached the Chester area after trying to settle in north Wales; the account implies that by 907 the Norse settlement near Chester was substantial.⁴ The churches of St Bridget and St Olave in Chester, and the recorded institutions of the city, illustrate the importance of the Norse contribution to the tenth-century expansion of Chester. Equally, amongst the small finds from Hoylake on the sea-coast, published in 1863 by the Rev. A. Hume⁵ or preserved in the Potter Collection at the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, numerous objects attest a substantial Norse-Irish influx, the earliest dating from the ninth century and the series continuing into post-Conquest times. Though evidence for similarly intensive settlement in north Wales is lacking, the records show that it was attempted (and the Irish immigrants might have been most easily absorbed), whilst a string of coastal place-names from Flintshire to Anglesey are reminders of Norse navigation. Also the evidence of the group of crosses we are about to consider lends colour to an otherwise unreliable notice⁶ of Norse-Irish inmates at the monastery of Penmon in Anglesey.

Ring-headed crosses

The crosses we are concerned with are of the 'ring-headed' type, which can be distinguished from commoner types of wheel-headed crosses in having a continuous ring carried right round the arms of the cross, without a break. The origins of the wheel-headed crosses generally have often been discussed, but the ring-headed variant, which appears late in pre-Norman times, is best described by W. G. Collingwood⁷ and, more recently, by V. E. Nash-Williams.⁸ An attempt at a complete list of the type is made in the appendix to this paper, and references to all the examples mentioned below will be found there. A second list enumerates related carvings of similar or later date from the Chester area. The distribution of the crosses listed is shown in the maps, figs 6.1 and 6.2.

³ H. Shetelig, 'The Viking graves' in H. Shetelig, ed., *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland*, 6 parts (Oslo, 1954), VI, 65–112, at p. 105. See also M. Olsen, 'Runic inscriptions in Great Britain, Ireland and The Isle of Man', *ibid* VI, 151–234, at p. 223; and Shetelig, 'Manx crosses — relating to Great Britain and Norway', *Saga-Book of the Viking Society* 9 (1925), 253–74, at p. 253.

⁴ F. T. Wainwright, 'North-west Mercia', *THSLC* 94 (1942), 3–55 (chapter 3 above).

⁵ *Ancient Meols* (London, 1863).

⁶ *Iolo MSS*, 125; for other Scandinavian settlements in Anglesey, cf. *Brut y Saeson*, s.a. 969; *Aberpergum Brut*, s.a. 968–71.

⁷ *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age* (London, 1927), p. 141 ff.

⁸ *Early Christian Monuments of Wales* (Cardiff, 1950), pp. 32, 128.

As will be seen from these maps the occurrence of the ring-headed crosses is, with one exception, confined to the coastal lowlands of Cumberland, Cheshire, Flintshire and Anglesey. This geographical unity is however susceptible to further analysis, and features on which such analysis can be based are conveniently illustrated (fig. 6.3) by a cross-head from St John's, Chester, which shows all of them, viz. (a) the continuous *ring*, (b) projections representing the ends of the arms (*ears*), (c) *bosses* in the spandril, (d) projecting *lugs* near the neck of the cross. The spandril is seldom pierced, though often deeply recessed. The most important classifying features are the spandril bosses, which as we shall see mark the second stage in the development of the ring-head. The lugs are a feature which certain ring-heads share with some other crosses, in Cornwall, Ireland, and elsewhere.

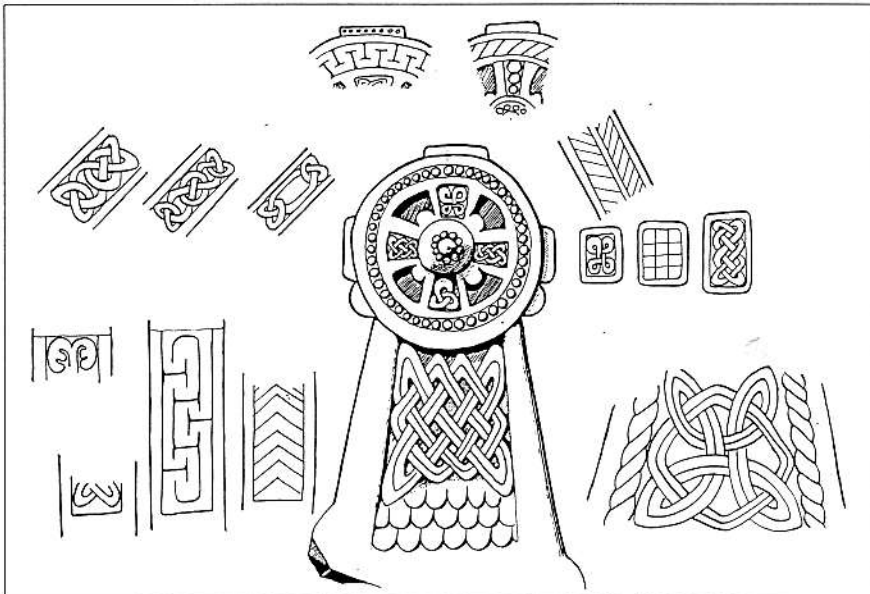


Fig. 6.3: Composite figure showing standard form and decoration of crosses from the St John's workshop.

The Cumberland type

The earliest development of the ring-headed cross seems to have taken place, as a local modification of the widespread wheel-head idea, in the Viking settlements of Cumberland. Most of the surviving examples are adequately described and here it will be sufficient to note some details of their design and decoration. The Cumberland crosses all have 'ears' and the unbroken ring is often decorated with two- or three-strand interlace. At Muncaster, Dearham and Aspatria the crosses are carved in one piece, with tapering and slab-like shafts, whilst at Rockcliff and Bromfield the shafts are more nearly square in section and are given a composite appearance by broad offsets. The decoration throughout is typically Norse. At Muncaster we have the vertebral or ring-chain pattern (cf. fig. 6.4) that is typically Viking and which came into vogue around the Irish Sea in the first half of the tenth century; at Dearham this pattern occurs in an extended and elaborated

form. Animals in the Jellinge style and highly elaborate ring-knots are part of the repertoire as at Rockcliffe and Aspatria.

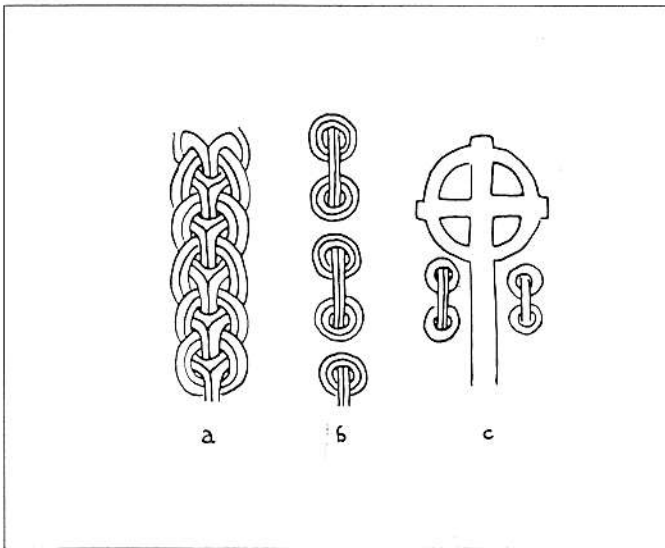


Fig. 6.4: Devolution of the ring-chain or original pattern.

- (a) Original form, Penmon, early tenth century.
- (b) 'Cartwheel' pattern, West Kirby 'hogsback', early eleventh century.
- (c) Isolated 'cartwheels' and outline cross, Diserth cross-base, twelfth-thirteenth centuries.

With this Cumberland group are to be associated a number of crosses attesting the diffusion of the ring-headed cross in the Norse area. There are no certain examples of ring-heads in the county of Lancashire, though in the north, at Melling (Lonsdale) and Lancaster, there are cross-shafts somewhat similar to one at Aspatria which did have such a head. At Gargrave in the West Riding, on the river Aire, a ring-head of Cumberland type survives to mark an important route eastwards to the Scandinavian kingdom of York. The coastal route is marked by ring-headed crosses of Cumberland type in Cheshire and Anglesey: the Cheshire example is considered below, whilst in Anglesey the tradition is represented by the earlier of two ring-headed crosses at the ancient monastic site of Penmon (next to the Norse-named Priestholm). This Penmon cross has a fine display of vertebral pattern (fig. 6.4) on one face of its tall shaft, the other face being panelled in Celtic style with scenes which include an Irish version of St Anthony's temptation.

In Cheshire the primary diffusion of the Cumberland type is represented only by one battered fragment, but this has extra importance since it is all that remains to attest the pattern from which vigorous local development started. The

Bromborough fragment is the remains of an 'eared' cross-head with pellets around the ring (as at Gargrave) and illegible carvings on the arms; some kind of central boss has been hacked away. Collingwood suggested that the crosses at Rockcliff, Bromfield, Gargrave, Bromborough and Penmon were all the work of one itinerant mason; if so, then he was more versatile than some of his successors, but the suggestion serves to emphasize the point that these crosses are roughly contemporary and that they illustrate a process of diffusion from Cumberland.

The St John's school

Whether there were other crosses of this type in Cheshire is not known, but the model was apparently taken up and developed by a vigorous local school of stonemasons working in the Chester area. From the concentration of crosses found there, including two unfinished pieces, it seems likely that they worked at the collegiate church of St John's and may well have been attached to it, using stone from the adjacent quarry between the present church and the Dee. However their products are also found at the seaward end of the Wirral, an area where the intensity of Norse settlement is attested by the evidence already noted. The main innovation of the St John's school was an addition to the Cumberland type of cross of bosses between the arms. Such bosses are known earlier, e.g. on the seventh century pectoral cross of St Cuthbert⁹ (their relationship to the earliest stages in the development of the wheel-headed cross has been recently discussed, but is not in question here); they are also not infrequent on Irish crosses, e.g. on that of Muiredach at Monasterboice,¹⁰ and in the latter country we may probably trace the origin of their employment at Chester.

Though the application of spandril bosses to the 'eared' type of cross can be held to define the St John's group, the major surviving works of this school are also standardized in other respects, so that the typical products can be illustrated by the composite drawing in fig.6.3. The ring of the cross-head may be decorated with a series of bosses, as on the earlier Bromborough and Gargrave crosses, or alternatively with cables or a T-fret. The arms usually bear trefoil knots but occasionally quatrefoil knots, simple interlace, or a row of bosses are used; there is usually a large central boss, sometimes surrounded by smaller ones. The edges of the ring-head, and the ends of the 'ears', are decorated in a similar style, with cables, pellets, and simple knots. The crosses are usually, like some of the Cumberland group, monolithic slabs, and the remains of four of the tapering shafts survive. The upper parts all have a panel of interlace or an angular version of the ring-knot. On the only complete cross, and on the lower part of another shaft, the undressed foot that was buried in the ground can be seen, and on the fronts of these examples, within a cable moulding, the interlace surmounts a block of tegular pattern imitating the side view of a roofed tomb — such a 'hogsback' as was in fact found at West Kirby. There is a similar representation on the Doorty Cross at Kilfenora in County Clare. Thus these crosses combine

⁹ R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, 'The pectoral cross', in C. F. Battiscombe, ed., *The Relics of Saint Cuthbert* (Oxford, 1956), pp. 308–25.

¹⁰ F. Henry, *Irish Art* (London, 1940), pp. 77–8.

in one monument features of the two contemporary types of tomb-stone — recumbent and upright. The sides of these slab-like shafts are decorated with versions of the T-fret, with interlace, with chevrons, or (possibly) some kind of scroll. However such slab-crosses were not the only products of this workshop. The presence of sockets beneath the cross-head from Hilbre, and the thickness of another from West Kirby, suggest that composite crosses with taller, more ambitious shafts were also produced, and from St John's itself came part of one such shaft, untapered, 6" thick and perhaps 15" wide, with angular double-beaded interlace on the back, a double ring-twist on the edge, and a figure-composition on the front which can perhaps be identified as part of a crucifixion (fig. 6.5).

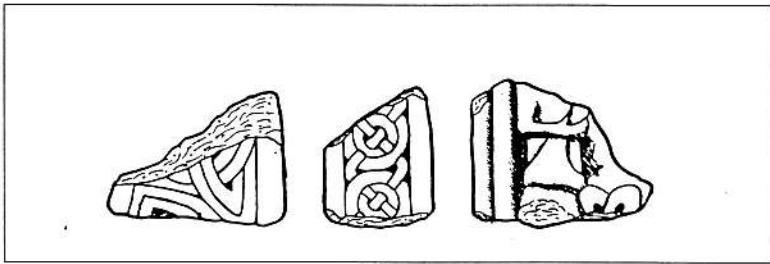


Fig. 6.5: Shaft-fragment from St John's, now lost.

A feature of two of the St John's crosses deserving some attention is the presence of 'lugs' projecting from the lower part of the cross-head. Such lugs occur on a wheel-headed cross at Bilton (West Riding),¹¹ but are commonest in Cornwall, where Langdon described 28 examples.¹² Of these only a few can be dated by their decoration, but these all belong to the eleventh century or later (two, at Eastbourne and Penzance, have panels of dots, one at Scorrier has chevrons in false relief, and one at Phillack has exceedingly angular interlace). Related 'lugs' also appear on the cross at Diserth in Flintshire, which is recognizably a very late derivative from the Cheshire school. It would therefore appear that the indirect connection between the Cornish and Cumberland crosses postulated, must post-date the development of the St John's school in the early eleventh century. But the ultimate origin and significance of these 'lugs' are obscure.

The St John's masons were not alone in developing further the Anglo-Norse ring-headed cross. The work of another group is seen in four pieces from Neston, the remains of monuments similar in shape to the Chester slab-crosses. One fragment is part of a head, outlined in cable-moulding and with triquetra knots both on the arms and between them; on another cross the ring of the head was filled with a stepped fret. The chief novelty of the Neston group is the occurrence, together with knots, interlace, and the ring-twist, of figure-subjects;

¹¹ Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses*, fig. 149 (a-c).

¹² A. G. Langdon, *Old Cornish Crosses* (Truro, 1896), p. 354.

on the back of one cross two men fight with knives, and on the front a robed priest, bearing a book-satchel, elevates the chalice at Mass whilst a winged figure hovers above. On another shaft-fragment, edged with cable-mouldings and the ring-twist, are two mounted riders fighting with long spears. The thirteenth-century appearance of this scene in the published drawing is not entirely borne by the stone itself, and in fact the same subject appears, in a different style, on the Norse cross at Gosforth.¹³

Another variation is embodied in the finest and best-preserved of all the ring-headed crosses, the Maen Achwyfan in Flintshire, a tall monolithic shaft carrying a ring-head which lacks 'ears' but has prominent spandril bosses. This cross is well-described elsewhere, but is mentioned here because at least one other cross was made to a very similar pattern and once stood in Chester. This is now represented by a fragment in the Grosvenor Museum, bearing the remains of interlace and diaper panels on one face and looped scrolls and double T-frets on the edges. The detailed layout of these motifs is so closely similar to that of corresponding decorations on the Maen Achwyfan that there can be no doubt that both came from the same hands and that Chester has lost at least one monument of some magnificence. The Maen Achwyfan itself betrays its mixed ancestry not only by the ring-head but by the use in its decoration of Norse ring-knots and other motifs together with Irish-derived scenes of men and animals, whilst the arrangement of the panelled decoration is typically Celtic. Another lost Cheshire cross which may have been similar was the one at Wallasey, destroyed in the seventeenth century, which was apparently a monolith standing twelve feet high and covered with (according to a contemporary writer) 'curious cuttings'.

Though the St John's crosses were so standardized as to seem almost mass-produced, even simpler versions of the ring-headed cross were made available to Cheshire customers as the eleventh century wore on. Recumbent grave-slabs from Hilbre and Chester (near St John's) show recognizable variants of the form; the bosses are conspicuous on the Hilbre example and on the Chester slab (fig. 6.6) the 'ears' are clearly depicted. To the same period belong some very plain ring-headed crosses from Chester and Woodchurch. The Chester examples represent the ultimate activity of the St John's school, using inferior stone; both are 'eared' ring-heads without spandril bosses and the faces are quite plain save for the sunken spaces between the arms. One is unfinished, the other has crudely faceted squares in Norman style on the arm-ends. The Woodchurch cross-head lacks even the 'ears' but the ring is picked out by an incised circle. In the ultimate simplification, of course, all distinctive features are lost and a simple cross within a circle remains. Such a motif, variously rendered or elaborated, in fact appears within the Anglo-Norse area of Cheshire, at West Kirby, Bromborough, Frodsham, and elsewhere, but these examples are not readily distinguishable from an independent (and earlier) line of development which culminated in the twelfth to thirteenth century grave-slabs with foliate crosses, common all over the country.

¹³ Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses*, fig. 184.

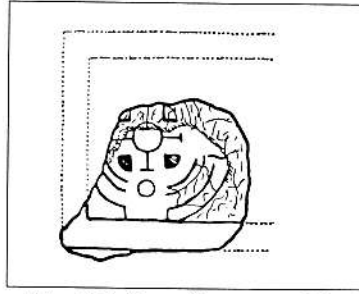


Fig. 6.6: Part of a grave-slab from near St John's.

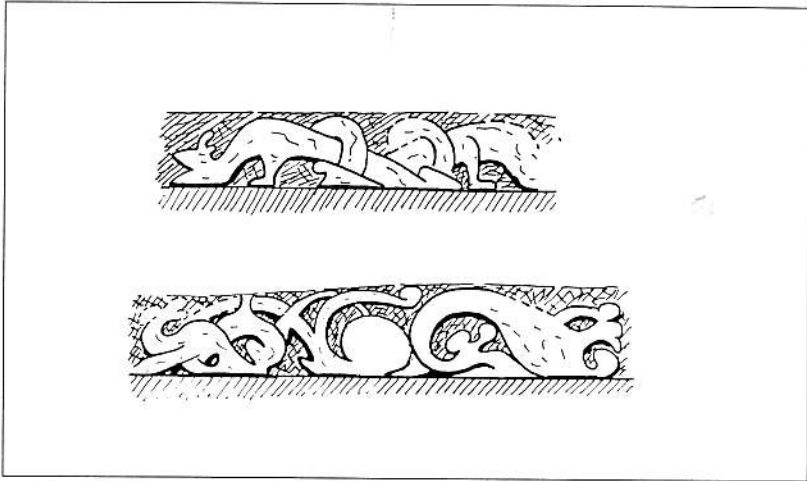


Fig. 6.7: Decoration of a string-course on the north-wall of St John's church, apparently now inverted and not in its original position (sketch).

The Post-Conquest tradition

In north Wales the tradition of the ring-headed cross lingered on at least as late as the date of the carving of the Diserth cross¹⁴ which is an 'eared' ring-head (the ring is of circles on one side and interlace on the other) with vestigial 'lugs'. The shaft has panels of crude diaper and bungled interlace. The trefoil cusps of the spandrils and the crudity of the decoration indicate a late date, yet even on this cross and on the associated base can be seen traces of the Viking ring-chain motif. On the eleventh century hogback at West Kirby this had been debased

¹⁴ Nash-Williams, *Early Christian Monuments*, nos 185-6.

to a running pattern of rings linked by bars; on the Diserth cross these 'cartwheels' appear as single motifs together with simply-linked rings (fig. 6.4).

But it would be wrong to suppose that after the Conquest the skills of the Anglo-Norse masons were wholly dissipated in a degenerating series of conservative monuments. In the vast expansion of church-building in stone their work was somewhat swamped by new models and, initially, new masons, but here and there amongst the standardized decoration of the Norman pattern-books we can find, all over England, minor details deriving much from pre-Conquest tradition. Eventually these details became the disciplined barbarism of developed Romanesque that is seen, for example, at Southwell Minster; in Chester it can be seen in some of the surviving decoration of the Norman church that replaced the earlier buildings at St John's. One might see something of it in the treatment of acanthus foliage there, but it appears most distinctly in a frieze of elongated monsters (fig. 6.7) and, less accessible to view, a badly-weathered capital covered with irregular interlace in the Urnes style, the last phase of Scandinavian art in England.

Our study has thus covered several centuries, at the beginning of which we were able to relate the west Cheshire crosses to the developing complex of Norse-Irish settlements in Britain. In comparison with the Danelaw, these Norse settlements figure little in contemporary accounts (though their existence determined much of the English strategy in the tenth-century Danish wars), so that the evidence of the crosses is a useful supplement to our knowledge of these colonies. It adds more detail to our knowledge of trade and intercourse within the triangle Cumberland-Anglesey-York, and in this respect can be compared with, for example, the distribution of contemporary hoards of coins and bullion. To the non-specialist it adds some 'flesh and blood' to monuments which suffer as much from ignorance as from indifference. It also raises some problems; for example, what other evidence suggests special contacts between our area and Cornwall in the eleventh century? Again, why is the distribution of these crosses in Cumberland restricted to the narrow coastal strip, though Norse place-names extend far inland? Was it that only in the oldest settlements on the best land did piety coincide with prosperity? Why are there, apparently, no comparable crosses in the Norse areas of Lancashire — does this reflect only the availability of suitable stone, or did the development of these crosses require contact between Irish Christians amongst the settlers and the strong Celtic population-element surviving in Cumberland and the Wirral?

But finally, beyond all these problems, let us remember that these stones, whether today they are preserved in museums, or exposed to the weather, cared for, or piled in some neglected corner of a church, were the memorials and testimonies of men, and these were our ancestors.

Acknowledgement

The use of the British Museum Index of pre-Norman sculpture, in which most of the above-mentioned monuments are recorded, is gratefully acknowledged.

Appendix
List of Ring-headed Crosses

CLASS A. Cumberland type, with 'ears'. Map, fig. 6.1.

No	Description	Reference
1	Muncaster (Cu). Shaft only, with ring-chain.	1 fig. 182
2	Muncaster (Cu). Head only, interlace on ring.	1 fig. 182
3	High Aikton (Cu). Head (from Bromfield?).	2
4	Dearham (Cu). Monolith; head with interlace on ring and arms, shaft with developed ring-chain.	1 fig. 185
5	Gilcrux (Cu). 'Head like Dearham'.	1
6	Aspatria (Cu). Slab-shaft with interlace, ring-twist, circular knot, and Jellinge beast; part of head with interlace on ring.	1 fig. 178
7	Rockcliff (Cu). Head with interlace on ring; shaft with offsets, with Jellinge beasts and interlace.	1 fig. 178
8	Bromfield (Cu). Shaft only (cf. A3), like A7 with circular knotwork.	1 fig. 159
9	Gargrave (WRY). Head only, ring with pellets.	1 fig. 156b
10	Bromborough (Ch). Head only, ring with pellets.	3 pl. 13 (1, 2)
11	Penmon (deerpark) (An). Composite; shaft with ring-chain, frets, interlace, figures in panels, etc; separate decorated base and head.	4 no. 38
12	Penmon (church) (An). Monolith; head with knots between arms and on sides; shaft with panels of angular knots and animal-headed frets.	4 no. 37

Notes. Collingwood (ref. 1) ascribes A7–A11 to one mason. A12 is a later derivative (?local, from A11). For shafts like A6 in Lancashire, cf. H. Taylor, 'The ancient crosses of Lancashire: the hundred of Lonsdale', *TLCAS* 21 (1903), 1–110 (Lancaster 5, Melling A).

CLASS B. Chester type, as A with spandril bosses. Map, fig. 6.2.

No	Description	Reference
1	Chester, St John's church. Complete (2 pieces); triquetra on cross-arms, interlace and tegulae on shaft, T-fret on edges.	5 no. 1
2	Chester, St John's church. Head and part of shaft; cable on ring and edge of head, triquetra on arms and ends of ears, interlace and T-fret on shaft.	5 no. 2
3	Chester, St John's church.. Head (lugs) and part of shaft; pellets on ring and bosses, knots or pellets on arms, knots on edge and ends of ears, interlace, ring-knot and (?) scroll on shaft.	5 no. 3
4	Chester, St John's church. Head (lugs); pellets on ring and bosses, knots on arms and ends of ears.	-
5	Chester, St John's church. Part of shaft; ring-knot on back, interlace and tegulae within cable on front, chevrons and (?) interlace on edges.	-
6	Chester, St John's church. Part of untapered shaft; knotwork, ring-twist and figure subjects. Now lost.	Above, fig. 6.5
7	Chester, near St John's. Part of head, in Chester Museum.	-
8	Hilbre Is. (Ch). Head; T-fret on ring, knots on arms and ends of ears, sockets for separate shaft. In Chester Museum.	6 no. 1
9	West Kirby (Ch). Head (2 pieces); cable on ring, knots on arms.	3 pl. 17 no. 16
10	West Kirby (Ch.) Part of head; multiple cable on ring, knots on arms.	3 pl. 17 no. 17

Notes. All probably from one workshop; cf. fig. 6.4.

CLASS C. Maen Achwyfan type, as B without ears.

No	Description	Reference
1	Whitford (Flints). Monolith; head with cable on ring, knots on arms, interlace on edge; shaft with interlace and diaper panels, ring-knots, looped scrolls, frets, linked rings, figures.	4 no. 190
2	Chester. Part of shaft with interlace, diaper and scrolls, like C1 and by same mason. In Chester Museum.	5

CLASS D. Related and later pieces (in West Cheshire only).

No	Description	Reference
1	Neston. Part of ring-head; cable outline, knots between arms.	3 pl. 16 no. 12
2	Neston. Part of tapered shaft; cable edge and irregular interlace.	3 pl. 16 no. 12
3	Neston. Tapered shaft (2 pieces); angel above priest on front, fighting men above knot on back, ring-twist, T-fret and cable on edges.	3 pl. 16 no. 10-11
4	Neston. Part of tapered shaft; fighting horsemen on front, ring-twist on edge.	3 pl. 17 no. 15
5	Bromborough. Parts of composite untapered shaft with interlace on all sides (3 pieces, 1 now lost). Other pieces include fragments of base with Z-fret, several now lost.	3 pl. 13 and BM index
6	West Kirby. Part of square shaft (?); knots on all sides, cable edges.	6 no. 5
7	West Kirby. Part of shaft (?); interlace and fret round panel on front, lattice on edge.	6 no. 4
8	West Kirby. Recumbent 'hogsback'; interlace, tegulae and linked rings ('cartwheels')	6 no. 6
9	Chester (St John's). Fragments with interlace now lost	BM index
10	Chester (St John's). Unfinished eared ring-head, plain and without spandril bosses.	-
11	Chester (St John's). Plain head like D10, with faceted squares on arm-ends.	-
12	Woodchurch. Plain ring-head with grooved ring.	3 pl. 15 no. 20
13	West Kirby. Grave-slab; cross in circle and chevrons in false relief.	6 no. 9
14	Hilbre Is. Grave-slab; double-ringed cross, bosses within arms; chevrons in false-relief. At West Kirby.	6 no. 7
15	Chester (St John's). Grave-slab; cross in circle, now lost.	BM index
16	Chester (nr. St John's). Grave-slab; incised ringed cross with ears. In Chester Museum.	Above, fig. 6.6
17	Bromborough. Round-ended slab; cross in circle in false relief. Now lost.	3 pl. 13 no. 4
18	Frodsham. Grave-slab; cross in circle.	-

Notes. D1-D9 are roughly contemporary with B and C; D10-12 are later forms of class B; D13-18 show the survival of the ringed head. Some carvings often described as Saxon but actually of Norman date and with little affinity to earlier local work are specifically omitted, notably remains at Acton, Bruera, Chester Cathedral, and Frodsham, and also several fonts.

References for the Appendix

1. W. G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age* (London, 1927).
2. W. G. Collingwood, *Victoria County History of Cumberland*, I, 275.
3. J. Romilly Allen, 'The early Christian monuments of Lancashire and Cheshire', *THSLC* 45 (1893), 1-32.
4. V. E. Nash-Williams, *Early Christian Monuments of Wales* (Cardiff, 1950).
5. [H. Taylor], 'Crosses at St. John's church and at Grosvenor Museum, Chester', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* N.S. 8 (1891), 113-15, 119-20.
6. W. G. Collingwood in John Brownbill, ed., *West Kirby & Hilbre. A Parochial History* (Liverpool, 1928), pp. 14-26 (see also below, chapter 7).