

Identify and assess the extent of Norse activity and its impact on Wales between the ninth and twelfth centuries?

By Matthew Charles Cowley

1700561



Figure 1: Image of The Smalls sword guard replica, placed upon a replica pattern-welded Viking sword blade, both forged by Master Bladesmith Frank Craddock in 1994, at the bequest of the National Museum and Galleries of Wales, Cardiff. Located at St Fagans National Museum of History, Archaeology and Numismatics, 94.40H. Information taken from Redknapp, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 85-87. Image taken from Amguedda Cymru - Museum Wales, 'Viking Sword (Replica)' [Accessed: 28 September 2022].

Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of a M.A. in Medieval Studies,

University of Wales Trinity Saint David, September 2022

Master's Degrees by Examination and Dissertation

Declaration Form

1. This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Name.....Matthew Charles Cowley.....

Date 30-09-2022.....

2. This dissertation is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MA Medieval Studies.....

Name...Matthew Charles Cowley.....

Date ...30-09-2022.....

3. This dissertation is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated.

Other sources are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit references.

A bibliography is appended.

Name.....Matthew Charles Cowley.....

Date: 30-09-2022.....

4. I hereby give consent for my dissertation, if accepted, to be available for photocopying, inter- library loan, and for deposit in the University's digital repository

Name..... Matthew Charles Cowley

Date.....30-09-2022.....

Supervisor's Declaration.

I am satisfied that this work is the result of the student's own efforts.

Signed:

Date:

Contents Page

Title Page.....	Page 1
Content Page.....	Page 3
Abstract.....	Page 4
Acknowledgement.....	Page 5
Standardised List of Abbreviations – Sources.....	Page 6
Standardised List of Abbreviations – Terminology.....	Page 7
List of Figures.....	Page 8
Introduction.....	Page 12
Chapter 1: Raiding.....	Page 24
Chapter 2: Trading.....	Page 40
Chapter 3: Settling.....	Page 56
Conclusion.....	Page 72
Bibliography.....	Page 77
Appendix 1	Page 92
Appendix 2	Page 96
Appendix 3	Page 99

Abstract

This dissertation aims to provide an up-to-date examination of the Vikings in Wales, as scholarship has often focused on the country's 'Celtic' past, with the most recent publication solely dedicated to Scandinavian activity in Wales dating to the last decade. Given Wales's location at the centre of the British Isles, it is surprising that there does not seem to be any significant Norse impact on the country, despite their extensive exploits in England, Ireland, and the Hebrides. As such, contemporary material must be examined in order to identify and assess the extent of this impact, and to see if Wales was truly left alone by the Norse, or if the evidence is there under the surface. This can be achieved by examining the raiding and trading exploits of the Norse in Wales and establishing whether there are instances of Scandinavian settlement.

Primary material has demonstrated that the Norse were very active in Wales, undertaking countless raids on the region, but also providing trading opportunities for the natives of the country. This has included pockets of small-scale Scandinavian settlement, particularly on Anglesey and around the south coast, but this seems relatively short-lived and had little long-term impact. It is their importance as mercenaries to the Welsh however that is the Norsemen's greatest impact, as the Welsh seem to have employed the Norse more so than the Anglo-Saxons or the Irish, requiring the aid to resist external pressures. Given this, it is clear that the Norse had a significant impact on Wales, being very active in and around the country, which is why Scandinavian activity on Wales cannot be ignored and must be further explored.

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank my family and friends who have helped and supported me throughout this dissertation, whether it be believing in me, reading my drafts, or providing feedback. I would also like to give a special thanks to Professor Jane Cartwright for answering any questions I had, offering advice on my initial ideas, and giving feedback on my early drafts. I'd also like to thank Professor Cartwright for putting me in contact with David Parsons, an expert on Welsh place names. I had an enlightening discussion with David regarding Scandinavian placenames in Wales, so an additional thank you to him for taking the time to meet with me. Finally, I must give thanks to Mark Redknap, the leading scholar concerning the Vikings in Wales, for his many publications regarding this topic, all of which have been vital to the completion of this dissertation.

Standardised List of Abbreviations - Sources

Note to Reader: The first mention of the abbreviated primary material within the text will use their full title, with subsequent mentions then using the abbreviated forms below.

ASC: Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 9th to 12th Century, ed. and trans. By Garmansway, G.N. in Garmansway, G.N. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. (London: J.M. Dent Ltd. 1992 [1953]).

ByT: Brut y Tywysogion

Brut y Tywysogion, ed. and trans. By Williams, J. in *Brut y Tywysogion; or, The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales*, ed. By Williams J. (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1860). Accessed from HaithiTrust, ‘Brut y Tywysogion; or, The Chronicle of the Princes [A.D. 681-1282], Edited by John Williams. Published by the Authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty’s Treasury, under the direction of the Master of the Roles’, *HaithiTrust Digital Library* (2008) <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044081110702&view=1up&seq=1&skin=2021>> [Accessed: 3 July 2022].

GPC Online: Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru: A Dictionary of the Welsh Language

University of Wales Trinity Saint David, *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru: A Dictionary of the Welsh Language* (1964) <<https://welsh-dictionary.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html>> [Accessed: 1 August 2022].

HGK: Historia Gruffud vab Kenan

Historia Gruffud vab Kenan, 12th Century. ed. and trans. By Evans, D. S. in Evans, D. S. *Historia Gruffud Vab Kenan*. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1978).

VGC: Vita Griffini Filii Conani

‘Vita Griffini Filii Conani’, 12th Century. ed. and trans. By Russell, P. in Russell, P. *Vita Griffini Filii Conani: The Medieval Latin Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan*. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005).

Standardised List of Abbreviations – Terminology

c. : Circa

d, : Died

DNA: deoxyribonucleic acid

I: Irish

L: Latin

ON: Old Norse

r. : Ruled

W: Welsh

List of Figures

Figure 1:	Image of The Smalls sword guard replica, placed upon a replica pattern-welded Viking sword blade, both forged by Master Bladesmith Frank Craddock in 1994, at the bequest of the National Museum and Galleries of Wales, Cardiff. Located at St Fagans National Museum of History, Archaeology and Numismatics, 94.40H. Information taken from Mark Redknap, <i>Vikings in Wales: An Archaeological Quest</i> . (Cardiff: National Museum and Galleries of Wales, 2000), pp. 85-87. Image taken from Amguedda Cymru - Museum Wales, 'Viking Sword (Replica)', <i>Collections Online</i> (1994) < https://museum.wales/collections/online/object/078e42ce-00c9-3eba-8f65-732925486710/?_gl=16orzua_gaMTA4ODkyMjY0Ni4xNjY0MzY3ODM4_ga_Q4211BYX1VMTY2NDM2NzgZOC4xLjAuMTY2NDM2NzgZOC4wLjAuMA.. > [Accessed: 28 September 2022].	Page 1
Figure 2	Map of Medieval Wales showing the rough borders of the major (in bold) and minor Welsh Kingdoms. The orange dashed line represents the divide of north and south Wales used in this study, with the mouth of the River Dyfi (also highlighted) being the point of division. This will be discussed in the text below. Taken from Jordi Roqué, <i>Map of Medieval Wales</i> [Digital Map JPEG] (2008) < https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Medieval_Wales.JPG > [Accessed: 28 September 2022].	Page 12
Figure 3	One possible route of how Peniarth 434 may derive from the original Latin through a different Welsh text. Taken from Paul Russell, 'Introduction', in Paul Russell (ed.) <i>Vita Griffini Filii Conani: The Medieval Latin Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan</i> . (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005), pp. 1-51 (p. 31).	Page 15
Figure 4	Another possible route of how Peniarth 434 may derive from the original Latin. Taken from Paul Russell, 'Introduction', in Paul Russell (ed.) <i>Vita Griffini Filii Conani: The Medieval Latin Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan</i> . (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005), pp. 1-51 (p. 32).	Page 16
Figure 5	Bar chart representing the frequency of hostilities recorded in the annals, and who said hostilities were undertaken by. The 'phases' correspond to the 'Three Viking Ages' outlined in the dissertation. Taken from Mark Redknap, <i>Vikings in Wales: An Archaeological Quest</i> . (Cardiff: National Museum and Galleries of Wales, 2000), p. 30.	Page 29
Figure 6	Map showing the initial trade route between Dublin and Chester (left) and the later trade route between Dublin and Bristol (right). Taken from Claire Holmes and Keith Lilley, <i>Medieval Swansea: Viking Swansea</i> (2014) < https://www.medievalswansea.ac.uk/en/context/viking-swansea/ > [Accessed: 24 July 2022].	Page 40
Figure 7	Sketch of the glass bead unearthed at Hen Gastell in the 1991-1992 excavations. Scale, 1:1. Taken from P.F. Wilkinson, and others, 'Excavations at Hen Gastell, Briton Ferry, West Glamorgan, 1991-92', <i>Medieval Archaeology</i> , 39 (1995), pp. 1-50 (p. 23) <DOI: https://doi.org/10.5284/1000320 >.	Page 43
Figure 8	The Hiberno-Norse ringed pins from Caerwent (top) and Portskewett (bottom). The one from Caerwent is the only known example of a knobbed ringed pin in Wales. The surviving length is 126mm, and is located at Newport Museum & Art Gallery; NPTMG: D2.250. The Portskewett one is 154.5mm long and is located at Newport Museum & Art Gallery; NPTMG 92.16. Images and information taken from Mark Redknap, <i>Vikings in Wales: An Archaeological Quest</i> . (Cardiff: National Museum and Galleries of Wales, 2000), pp. 31&82.	Page 44

Figure 9	Image of the five Hiberno-Norse armrings found at Red Wharf Bay, Anglesey. St Fagons Museum of History, Archaeology and Numismatics, 28.215/8. Image taken from Amguedda Cymru - Museum Wales, 'Early Medieval Silver Arm Rings', <i>Collections Online</i> (2004) < https://museum.wales/collections/online/object/b69ff21c-2af4-37b5-aadb-767a1ca8c813/Early-Medieval-silver-arm-ring/?field0=string&value0=viking&field1=with_images&value1=1&page=5&index=50 > [Accessed: 28 September 2022].	Page 46
Figure 10	Image of the original sword guard find from The Smalls (top) and a diagram of the <i>Urnes</i> style present on the guard (bottom). Figure 1 depicts the replica guard. Located at St Fagans National Museum of History, Archaeology and Numismatics, 94.57H. Image taken from Amguedda Cymru - Museum Wales, 'Viking Copper Alloy Sword Guard', <i>Collections Online</i> (1992) < https://museum.wales/collections/online/object/d34b155c-3661-3323-841c-53aeea42623b/Viking-copper-alloy-sword-guard/ > [Accessed: 29 September 2022].	Page 46
Figure 11	Image of the larger Penmon cross (left) and a sketch of its Borre style design (right). Taken from Mark Redknap, <i>Vikings in Wales: An Archaeological Quest</i> . (Cardiff: National Museum and Galleries of Wales, 2000), p. 89.	Page 52
Figure 12	Image of the smaller Penmon cross. Taken from Mark Redknap, <i>Vikings in Wales: An Archaeological Quest</i> . (Cardiff: National Museum and Galleries of Wales, 2000), p. 90.	Page 53
Figure 13	Image of Viking Age house plans. Plan 1 is <i>Building 1</i> , Llanbedrgoch, Plan 2 is from Viking Dublin, Plan 3 is from Scandinavian Hedeby in southern Denmark, and Plan 4 is from Anglo-Scandinavian York. Taken from Mark Redknap, <i>Vikings in Wales: An Archaeological Quest</i> . (Cardiff: National Museum and Galleries of Wales, 2000), p. 76.	Page 57
Figure 14	A map of Wales demonstrating those placenames in Wales that have Scandinavian elements. The locations have been grouped depended on whether they are a coastal location (the orange circles) or a settlement name (the red squares). The red line marked with 'Z1' represents the areas of Pembrokeshire where the native population has a higher percentage of the A gene in their DNA compared to the rest of Wales. Those areas within the line marked with 'Z2' are the exceptions to these higher levels in Pembrokeshire. This will be discussed in more detail on pages 67-68. Map and information taken from Mark Redknap, <i>Vikings in Wales: An Archaeological Quest</i> . (Cardiff: National Museum and Galleries of Wales, 2000), pp. 20-24.	Page 65
Figure 15	Diagrams of the possible layouts of Hiberno-Norse towns. The pink represents the likely parameters of the Norse town, the blue represents the river, and the black represents likely streets. From top down, the diagrams are of Swansea, Limerick, Waterford, and Dublin. Taken from Claire Holmes and Keith Lilley, <i>Medieval Swansea: Viking Swansea</i> (2014) < https://www.medievalswansea.ac.uk/en/context/viking-swansea/ > [Accessed: 30 September 2020].	Page 69
Figure 16	Map of possible waystations along the south coast of Wales (red circles). The yellow circle is where the modern village of Llandawke is located. Taken from Claire Holmes and Keith Lilley, <i>Medieval Swansea: Viking Swansea</i> (2014) < https://www.medievalswansea.ac.uk/en/context/viking-swansea/ > [Accessed: 30 September 2020]. Llandawke added using information from Alexander G. Moffat, 'Palnatoki in Wales', in <i>Saga Book of the Viking Club</i> , Volume III, ed. By F.T. Norris. (London, 1903), pp. 163-173 (pp. 163-173). Accessed from Viking Society for Northern Research, <i>The Saga-Book Archives: Volume III (1902-1904)</i> (2021)	Page 71

<<https://vsnr.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Saga-Book-III.pdf>> [Accessed: 30 September 2022].

Figure Appx 1.1:	Map of Wales showing places mentioned within the VGC, including the locations of many of Gruffudd ap Cynan's battles. Taken from Paul Russell, 'Introduction', in Paul Russell (ed.) <i>Vita Griffini Filii Conani: The Medieval Latin Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan</i> . (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005), pp. 1-51 (p. 51).	Page 92
Figure Appx 1.2:	Timeline of the Viking Age in Wales, divided between north and south. The dashed lines represent events outside of Wales but had an impact on the country. Compiled by Matthew Cowley on Microsoft PowerPoint, using the work of Mark Redknap, <i>Vikings in Wales: An Archaeological Quest</i> . (Cardiff: National Museum and Galleries of Wales, 2000), pp. 4-103, and others outlined in the Bibliography.	Page 93
Figure Appx 1.3:	Replica of Figure Appx 1.2, except only contain events within Wales and has been divided into the three 'phases' of Viking activity in Wales. Compiled by Matthew Cowley on Microsoft PowerPoint, using the work of Mark Redknap, <i>Vikings in Wales: An Archaeological Quest</i> . (Cardiff: National Museum and Galleries of Wales, 2000), pp. 4-103, and others outlined in the Bibliography.	Page 94
Figure Appx 1.4:	Timeline of Viking events between AD 768 – 1103. The events have been divided by whether they relate to Wales, the British Isles, or the Continent. Taken from Mark Redknap, <i>Vikings in Wales: An Archaeological Quest</i> . (Cardiff: National Museum and Galleries of Wales, 2000), p. 117.	Page 95
Figure Appx 2.1:	Map of Wales marked with the locations of the coin/silver hoards mentioned above (the large symbols), and the singular coin finds as well (the smaller symbols). The circles represent those finds dating to c.795-895, the squares represent those dating to c. 895-965, and the triangles represent those dating to c. 965-1066. Map and content taken from Mark Redknap, 'Viking-Age Settlement in Wales, Some Recent Advances', <i>Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion</i> , 12 (2006), pp. 5-35 (pp. 14-35).	Page 98
Figure Appx 3.1:	Map of Viking and Medieval Swansea. It is the areas in dark blue that likely represent the area of Scandinavian settlement, with this possibly extending more northwards before the Norman castle was built on the site. Taken from Claire Holmes and Keith Lilley, <i>Medieval Swansea: Viking Swansea</i> (2014) < https://www.medievalswansea.ac.uk/en/context/viking-swansea/ > [Accessed: 30 September 2020].	Page 99

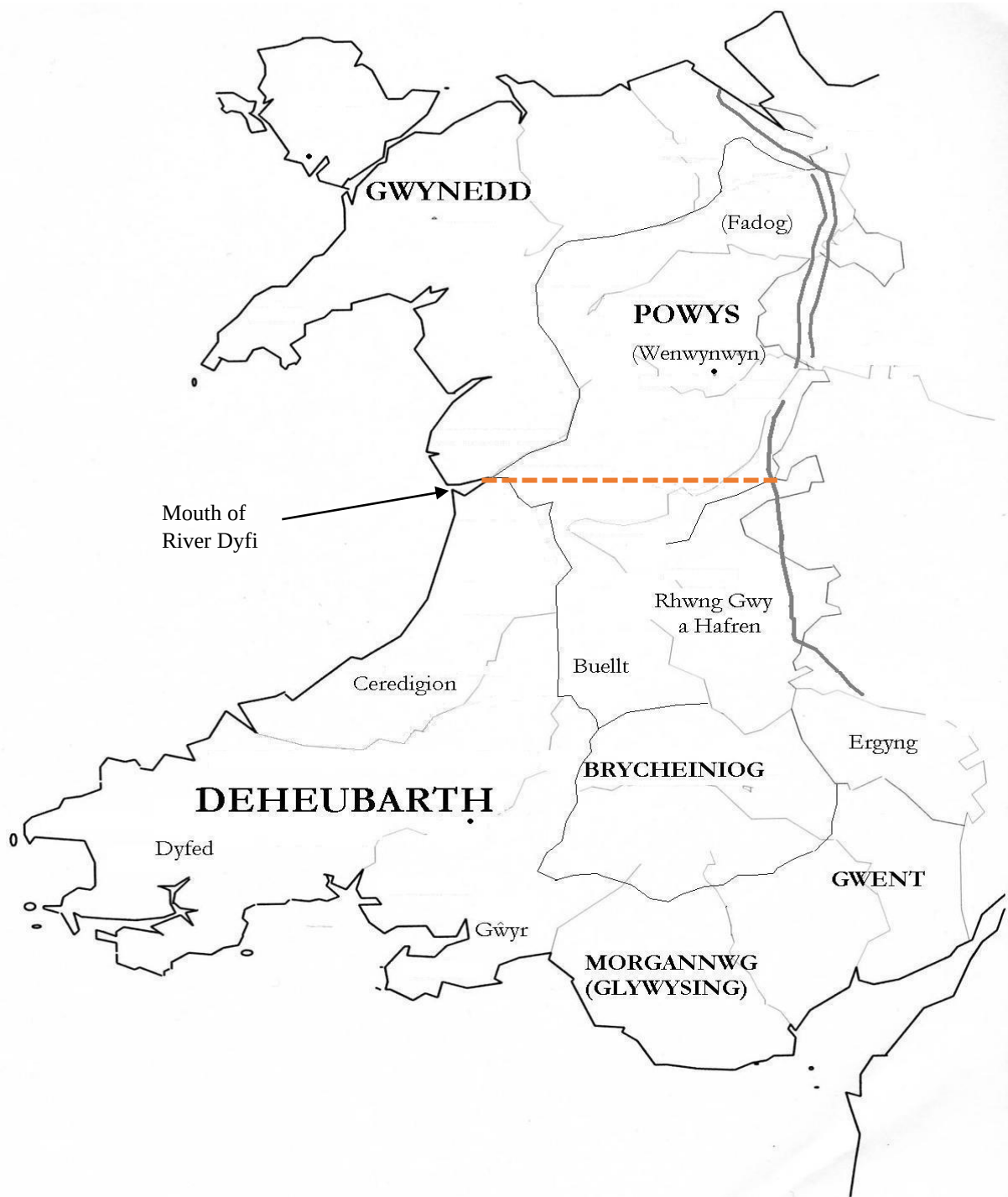


Figure 2: Map of Medieval Wales showing the rough borders of the major (**in bold**) and minor Welsh Kingdoms. The orange dashed line represents the divide of north and south Wales used in this study, with the mouth of the River Dyfi (also highlighted) being the point of division. This will be discussed in the text below. Taken from Jordi Roqué, *Map of Medieval Wales* [Digital Map JPEG] (2008) <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Medieval_Wales.JPG> [Accessed: 28 September 2022].

Introduction

Between the ninth and the twelfth century, the coasts of Europe were ravaged by a northern fury that emerged from Scandinavia. The Vikings, as they are known in popular culture, are famed for their fearlessness in battle, their mercantile nature, and their extravagant voyages across the known world, but it is their brutal raids that are the most striking aspect of their history.¹ The ‘Viking Age’ in Britain is commonly seen in a very Anglocentric way, with the period beginning with the Northman’s attack on Portland in 789, and concluding with the death of Harald Hardrada at Stanford Bridge in 1066,² yet these events are not the only means of defining the Viking period.³ Of all the areas of Britain where the Vikings were active, one has attracted significantly less scholarship than the rest. This area is, of course, Wales.⁴ Given its geographical location, it is illogical to surmise that the Vikings completely ignored the peninsula despite their dominion over the surrounding Irish Sea. As such, a re-evaluation of Norse activity in Wales between the years 800 to 1199 is required to determine the extent of Viking influence and activity on the country.⁵

This timeframe has been selected as it encompasses the key dates of Viking activity in the Irish Sea, from the first attacks and the establishment of Hiberno-Norse towns during the early ninth century through to the Norman conquest of Dublin and the final recorded raids

¹ Thomas Williams, *Viking Britain: A History*. (London: William Collins, 2017), pp. xv-xix.

² *ibid*, pp. 1-5 & 342-343.

³ Jayne Carroll, Stephen H. Harrison and Gareth Williams, *The Vikings in Britain and Ireland*. (London: The British Museum Press, 2014), pp. 8-10.

⁴ Claire Holmes and Keith Lilley, *Medieval Swansea: Viking Swansea* (2014) <<https://www.medievalswansea.ac.uk/en/context/viking-swansea/>> [Accessed: 16 May 2022]. For scholarship exploring an overview of Viking activity in the British Isles, please see Carroll, Harrison and Williams, *The Vikings in Britain and Ireland*. For specific scholarship exploring Viking activity in England, please see Williams, *Viking Britain*, and James Graham-Campbell, and others (ed.), *Vikings and the Danelaw: Select Papers from the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Viking Congress*. (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001), while for scholarship on Viking Ireland, please see Anne-Christine Larsen (ed.), *The Vikings in Ireland*. (Roskilde: The Viking Ship Museum, 2001). Please see James Graham-Campbell and Colleen E. Batey, *Vikings in Scotland: An Archaeological Survey*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998)., for scholarship on Viking Scotland.

⁵ Mark Redknap, ‘Viking-Age Settlement in Wales, Some Recent Advances’, *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 12 (2006), pp. 5-35 (p. 16).

during the late twelfth century.⁶ Likewise, these dates also correspond to the three distinctive phases of Viking activity in Wales as proposed by Professor Henry Loyn; the ‘First Viking Age’ in Wales fell between the years 800 and 950, encompassing the reigns of the famous Welsh rulers, Rhodri Mawr (r. c. 844 – 878) and Hywel Dda (r. 942 – 950), and is commonly seen as a period of sporadic and unfocused attacks by the Norse.⁷ However, the frequency of these attacks sharply declined in Hywel Dda’s reign thanks to his cooperation with the powerful House of Wessex,⁸ the only Anglo-Saxon kingdom to resist Danish conquest.⁹ Following Hywel’s death in 950, the intensity of Viking activity increased with raids on holy sites and settlements becoming more commonplace, before again, subsiding slightly during the reign of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn (r. 1039 – 1063). The Norman Conquest acts as the end of the ‘Second Viking Age’ and the start of the Third, which follows the ventures of Gruffudd ap Cynan (r. 1100-1137), until his death in the mid-twelfth century.¹⁰

Although the term ‘Viking’ will be used in this study due to its synonymous use in both scholarly and non-academic work, and refusing to do so would therefore be nonsensical, the term ‘Norse’ will take preference throughout since it is used to identify all Scandinavians during this period, rather than simply those who partook in piracy.¹¹ The other and more significant reason for this choice is that this term can also relate to the hybrid-cultures that formed following Norse integration around the areas where they settled.¹² For instance, the Norse settlers who established Dublin developed, through intermarriage with the Irish populous, into the Hiberno-Norse, while the Anglo-Saxons under the Danelaw in England

⁶ John Haywood, *The Penguin Historical Atlas of the Vikings*. (London: Penguin Books, 1995), pp. 126-131.

⁷ Henry Loyn, *The Vikings in Wales*. (London: The Viking Society of Northern Research, 1976), pp. 4-8.

⁸ *ibid.*

⁹ Haywood, *The Penguin Historical Atlas of the Vikings*, pp. 62-71.

¹⁰ Loyn, *The Vikings in Wales*, pp. 4-8.

¹¹ One interpretation of the origin of the term ‘Viking’ comes from the Norse verb ‘*a vikingr*’, meaning to go raiding or partake in piracy. For more information regarding the etymology of this word, see René Chartrand, and others. *The Vikings*. (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2016), pp. 12-14.

¹² Thomas DuBois, *Nordic Religions in the Viking Age*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), pp. 20-21.

developed into an independent Anglo-Scandinavian culture that shared aspects from its two ‘parent’ cultures.¹³ The exception to this however are the descendants of the Norse who settled around Rouen and developed into the famous Norman culture,¹⁴ as Norman advances into Wales have been well documented in secondary scholarship, so they will be largely excluded from this study, except in circumstances where their activity directly relates to the Norsemen.¹⁵

Further to the overall and primary aim of this study, there are also several secondary objectives that will help answer our primary objective. These secondary aims focus on the more comparative aspects of this study, with attention paid to the different levels of Norse activity between north and south Wales, a divide that uses the mouth of the River Dyfi as its boundary due to being the rough medieval border between Gwynedd and Ceredigion (see Figure 2).¹⁶ Similarly, the extent of Norse settlement within Wales will also be examined, which will help complete the final aim of providing an up-to-date account of Scandinavian activity in Wales. This final aim is imperative to the overall study as the Viking history of Wales has often been ignored in modern scholarship in favour of the country’s Celtic past,¹⁷ with the most recent published material dedicated to Viking Wales dating to the last decade.¹⁸ The reason for this lack of scholarly interest seems to derive from a perceived lack of contemporary Welsh literature relating to the Norsemen, yet, as this study will demonstrate,¹⁹

¹³ Julien D. Richards, *The Vikings: A Very Short Introduction*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 63-65 & 77-78.

¹⁴ Lars Brownworth, *The Normans: From Raiders to Kings*. (London: Crux Publishing Limited, 2014), pp. 2-17.

¹⁵ For more information regarding the Norman conquest of Wales, see R.R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063 – 1415*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987 [2006]), pp. 24-287.

¹⁶ Huw Pryce, *The Acts of Welsh Rulers: 1120 – 1283*. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005), p. 21.

¹⁷ Holmes and Lilley, *Viking Swansea*, [Accessed: 16 May 2022].

¹⁸ The most recent publication solely dedicated to Viking activity in Wales is Mark Redknap, *Vikings in Wales: An Archaeological Quest*. (Cardiff: National Museums & Galleries of Wales, 2000), pp. 4-116. There is Roseanne Hedley, *Cambrai Scandinavica? A Reappraisal of the Evidence of Viking Influence in Wales: 800 – 1100*. (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Swansea University, 2018), but as this is an unpublished thesis, it is not being counted in this instance).

¹⁹ Holmes and Lilley, *Viking Swansea*, [Accessed: 16 May 2022].

the evidence is there under the surface.²⁰ To identify this, it is necessary to familiarise oneself with contemporary terminology for the Norsemen. For instance, Latin texts often use terminology such as ‘Northmen’ (L: *Nordmanni*), ‘Danes’ (L: *Dani*), ‘pirates’ (L: *piratae*), and ‘heathens’ (L: *pagani*) to refer to them, while the Welsh sources share a similar approach to the Irish, commonly referencing the Vikings as ‘foreigners’ (W: *gint*, I: *gaill*), ‘pagans’ (W: *pagoniaid*), or ‘gentiles’ (W: *Kenedloed*, I: *genti*).²¹ The Welsh texts also use *Normanyeit* [Norsemen], and *Llychlynwyr*, meaning ‘people of the fjords’, to refer to the Norse.²²

Our primary written material comes in a variety of forms, ranging from biographical *Lives* of kings through to annalistic records and international histories. One of the most fascinating however is the *Vita Griffini Filii Conani* [Latin Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan],²³ which focuses on the life of the twelfth century King of Gwynedd and was likely composed sometime after 1137, during the reign of his son and successor, Owain Gwynedd, as it included content regarding Gruffudd’s death. Given this, the *VGC* has often been viewed as a text focused on legitimising Gruffudd’s kingship and that of his descendants, so it understandably praises its protagonists whilst vilifying their opponents.²⁴ However, this text

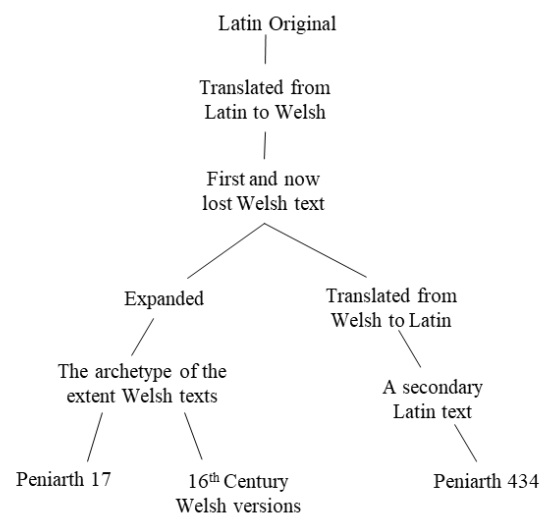


Figure 3: One possible route of how Peniarth 434 may derive from the original Latin through a different Welsh text. Taken from Russel, ‘Introduction’, p. 31.

²⁰ Redknap, ‘Viking-Age Settlement in Wales’, p. 5.

²¹ Carroll, Harrison and Williams, *The Vikings in Britain and Ireland*, pp. 7-8.

²² Mark Redknap, *Vikings in Wales: An Archaeological Quest*. (Cardiff: National Museum and Galleries of Wales, 2000), pp. 5-7.

²³ *Vita Griffini Filii Conani*, 12th Century. ed. and trans. By Paul Russell, in Paul Russell, *Vita Griffini Filii Conani: The Medieval Latin Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan*. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005), pp. 53-177.

²⁴ Paul Russell, ‘Introduction’, in *Vita Griffini Filii Conani: The Medieval Latin Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan*, ed. By Paul Russell. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005), pp. 1-51 (pp. 46-49).

has only survived in two medieval manuscripts, a Middle Welsh fragmentary version that Prof. Simon Evans used, alongside supplementary sixteenth-century copies, to create his ground-breaking translation,²⁵ the *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* [The History of Gruffudd ap Cynan],²⁶ and a heavily annotated and corrected Latin version found in *Peniarth MS 434*.²⁷ Both versions are believed to be copies and translations of a now lost Latin original,²⁸ due to references such as “the place in Welsh Gwaed Erw, or the Bloody Fields”, where the Welsh name of a location is explicitly specified.²⁹ This would not be necessary in a text originally written in Welsh, but is perfectly reasonable in one in another language, which, alongside the consensus that most *Lives* in the twelfth century would be in Latin, indicates that Latin was likely the original language of this text.³⁰ Additionally, Russell has argued that the *VGC* is closer in form to the original Latin text than the translation of the *HGK*, suggesting that either the surviving Latin version is a translation of a Welsh translation of the original (see Figure

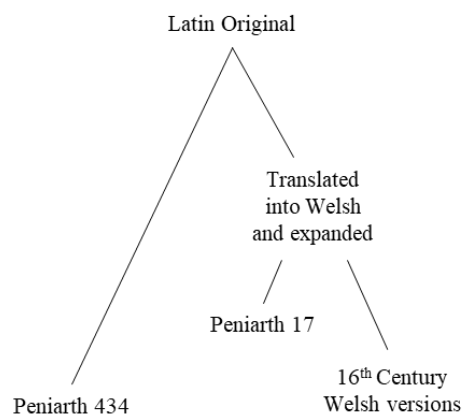


Figure 4: Another possible route of how Peniarth 434 may derive from the original Latin. Taken from Russel, ‘Introduction’, p. 32.

3), or, more likely given how there is no evidence for translating Welsh into Latin between the thirteenth- and sixteenth-centuries, that the Latin version in Peniarth MS 434 is a direct copy of the original Latin text (see Figure 4).³¹ Assuming this, it is likely that the Latin original was composed at St David’s as it uses terminology characteristic of work from the

²⁵ Russell, ‘Introduction’, pp. 1-2.

²⁶ *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*, 12th Century ed. and trans. By D. Simon Evans, in D. Simon Evans, *Historia Gruffudd Vab Kenan*. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1978), pp. 1-453.

²⁷ Russell, ‘Introduction’, pp. 1-2.

²⁸ *ibid*, pp. 1-16.

²⁹ *HGK*, pp. ccxxvii-20.

³⁰ Russell, ‘Introduction’, pp. 15-16.

³¹ For Russell’s full argument and reasoning for this, please see Russell, ‘Introduction’, pp. 25-47.

monastery in the twelfth century.³² This would explain why the *VGC* is less specifically focused on Gwynedd compared to the Welsh version, and also discusses Gruffudd's actions in Ireland, rather than just Wales, as is the case in the *HGK*. Due to this, the *VGC* has been used in this dissertation over the *HGK*.³³

Additionally, annalistic material will also be a major source used, with the Welsh *Brut y Tywysogion* [*Chronicle of the Princes*] and the *Annales Cambriae* forming the backbone of this work. The former of these is an expanded collection of entries dating from 682 to the death of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in 1282, suggesting that its earliest information is based on earlier works, and that the surviving versions we have from *Peniarth 20*, a fourteenth century manuscript, and the *Red Book of Hergest* are later copies of a lost original. Due to the text's repeated references to Strata Florida, it has often been perceived that the original text was likely created here.³⁴ However, one thing to note is that there are multiple discrepancies within the *ByT*'s dating of events when compared to other contemporary accounts, as seen with its record for 1037, where it states that "Iago, King of Gwynedd, was slain",³⁵ yet the Irish material all date Iago's death to 1039.³⁶ As such, it is likely that most entries from the *ByT* are recorded two years prior to when they actually occurred.

³² According to Russell, 'Introduction', pp. 43-45., on all but one occasion, the *VGC* uses the terms '*Cambri*' and '*Cambria*', instead of '*Wallensis*' and '*Wallia*', when referring to Wales and the Welsh. This is associated with twelfth century St David's, according to Huw Pryce, 'British or Welsh?', *The English History Review*, 116 (2001), pp. 775-801 (pp. 775-801).

³³ Russell, 'Introduction', pp. 34-46.

³⁴ The National Library of Wales, *Chronicle of the Princes* (2022) <<https://www.library.wales/discover/digital-gallery/manuscripts/the-middle-ages/chronicle-of-the-princes#?c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=-287%2C-155%2C2563%2C3093>> [Accessed: 14 September 2022].

³⁵ *Brut y Tywysogion*, ed. and trans. By John Williams ab Ithel, in *Brut y Tywysogion; or, The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales*, ed. By John Williams ab Ithel. (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1860), pp. 38-39. Accessed from HaithiTrust, 'Brut y Tywysogion; or, The Chronicle of the Princes [A.D. 681-1282], Edited by John Williams. Published by the Authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls', *HaithiTrust Digital Library* (2008) <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044081110702&view=1up&seq=1&skin=2021>> [Accessed: 5 July 2022].

³⁶ *The Annals of Ulster*, ed. and trans. By Pádraig Banbury and Stephen Beechinor, p. 447. From 'The Annals of Ulster', *The Corpus of Electronic Texts: A Project of University College Cork* (2000) <<https://celt.ucc.ie/published/T100001A/index.html>> [Accessed: 18 September 2022].

Similarly, the *Annales Cambriae* is the overall name of four sets of Latin annals that have been compiled together to create a continuous source containing entries from 444 to 1288.³⁷ As the first of these was composed around 1100 and outlines events up until 954, it will be the primary one used here, with the remaining sets, compiled in the late-thirteenth century at Strata Florida, St David's, and Whitland, supplementing this information.³⁸ Due to this, it is clear that the *Annales Cambriae*'s content was compiled by different religious houses at different times under different political constraints and opinions, which offers a refreshing outlook on the period as the source is not made by the same individual, whose internalised opinions would be supplanted onto the work.³⁹ However, as all four sets likely originate in Deheubarth, with much of their information focusing on the South, the information they offer is not necessarily as impartial and applicable to the whole of Wales as initially perceived.⁴⁰

Furthermore, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* will also be used,⁴¹ as this is the first attempt in England to provide a systematic yearly record of events, beginning around 890, likely during the reign of Alfred the Great, with additions being made until the 1150s.⁴² Intriguingly though, rather than being written in Latin, as was common, the seven extant manuscripts that comprise the ASC are all composed in the English language.⁴³ Furthermore, it may be more appropriate to refer to this text as the 'West-Saxon Chronicle' rather than 'Anglo-Saxon', as it is written from the perspective of Wessex,⁴⁴ the kingdom that eventually 'liberated'

³⁷ *Annales Cambriae*, ed. and trans. By James Ingram, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. (London: Everyman Press, 1912). Accessed from Fordham University, 'Medieval Sourcebook: The Annals Cambriae (Annals of Wales)', *Internet Medieval Sourcebook* (2021) <<https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/annalescambriae.asp>> [Accessed: 22 July 2022].

³⁸ Kathryn Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades: c. 1095-1291*. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011), p. 17.

³⁹ Kathleen Hughes, 'The Welsh Latin Chronicles, *Annales Cambriae* and Related Texts', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 59 (1973), pp. 233-258 (p. 256).

⁴⁰ Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, pp. 17-18.

⁴¹ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 9th to 12th Century, ed. and trans. By G.N. Garmanway, in *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. By G.N. Garmanway. (London: J.M. Dent Ltd. 1992 [1953]), p. 1-88.

⁴² British Library, 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: 11th Century', *British Library: Learning English Timeline* (1999) <<https://www.bl.uk/learning/timeline/item126532.html>> [Accessed: 18 September 2022].

⁴³ Pauline Stafford, *After Alfred: Anglo-Saxon Chronicles & Chroniclers, 900 – 1150*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 1-6.

⁴⁴ Judith Jesch, *Women in the Viking Age*. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1991), pp. 85-88.

Northumbria, Mercia, and East Anglia from the Norsemen to establish England.⁴⁵ Given this, its content obviously contains a regional bias atop a national one, resulting in Wessex being portrayed in an extremely positive and ‘heroic’ light compared to elsewhere.⁴⁶ However, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* can still be of use for this dissertation given Wessex’s geographical and political ties with Wales.⁴⁷

Additionally, the Irish annalistic material of the *Annals of Ulster*,⁴⁸ *Loch Ce*,⁴⁹ and *Tigernach*, which all use vernacular Irish alongside Latin script, will also provide information regarding Norse activity in Wales.⁵⁰ This is because parts of Ireland remained under significant Norse influence for much of the period, with Norse still being spoken in parts of Dublin upon the Norman’s arrival in 1170. This demonstrates how intertwined the culture was with the identity of the town and why Irish material will be used here.⁵¹ Given how all three annals share significant similarities in language and content, it has commonly been accepted that the *Annals of Ulster*, which survives in a sixteenth-century manuscript, is the most senior of these sources, as the *Annals of Tigernach* and the *Annals of Loch Ce* seem to be based upon, or at least share an ancestor with, this source. Therefore, the *Annals of Ulster* will be the primary Irish annal used in this dissertation.⁵²

Irrespective of where an annalistic account originated, the key is that they were composed by those on the receiving end of the Norsemen’s actions. It is at the centres of literacy of the age,

⁴⁵ Haywood, *The Penguin Historical Atlas of the Vikings*, pp. 62-71.

⁴⁶ Jesch, *Women in the Viking Age*, pp. 85-88.

⁴⁷ Loyn, *The Vikings in Wales*, pp. 4-8.

⁴⁸ *The Annals of Ulster*, ed. and trans. By Banbury and Beechinor [Accessed: 18 September 2022].

⁴⁹ *The Annals of Loch Ce*, ed. and trans. By William M. Hennessy. From Marianne. McDonald, ‘Annals of Loch Ce’, *The Corpus of Electronic Texts: A Project of University College Cork* (2008) <<https://celt.ucc.ie/published/T100010A/index.html>> [Accessed: 18 September 2022].

⁵⁰ *The Annals of Tigernach*, ed. and trans. By Gearóid Mac Niocaill. From Emer Purcell, and Donnchad Ó Corráin, ‘Annals of Tigernach’, *The Corpus of Electronic Texts: A Project of University College Cork* (2010) <<https://celt.ucc.ie/published/T100002A/index.html>> [Accessed: 18 September 2022].

⁵¹ Philip Parker, *The Northmen’s Fury: A History of the Viking World*. (London: Vintage, 2015), p. 324.

⁵² For the full debate regarding the origin of the Irish material and how they relate to one another, please see Nicholas Evans, *The Present and the Past in Medieval Irish Chronicles*. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), pp. 1-9.

monastic sites, that these annals were compiled, yet these locations were also often undefended and laden with valuables, making them obvious targets for the Vikings. As such, the individuals composing these works had, whether directly or indirectly, a negative experience of the Norse, something that often comes across in their writings.⁵³ Similarly, the focus in annalistic records is often placed on significant political and military events, meaning this material often offers a distinctively violent and one-sided view of the Norsemen that only reinforces their negative reputation. However, the annals are still incredibly useful for details regarding the Viking's raiding, as it is only the emotion surrounding events that this underlying prejudice affects, with the recorded events themselves still occurring. As such, despite the likelihood of some exaggeration at the hands of the scribe, annalistic material is still a useful source in understanding Welsh-Norse relations.⁵⁴

The final group of written material to be examined is the Icelandic Sagas, a generalised term for the series of prose works composed in Iceland during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Despite being transcribed at this later date, many of these stories had been passed down orally over the generations, so their content is commonly set during these earlier times, making them a useful written source composed by the Norsemen, or at least their descendants.⁵⁵ The main sagas used in this dissertation will be Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla* [Chronicle of the Kings of Norway], a large history of the Norwegian kings that includes individual sagas on Harald Fairhair (r. c. 872 – 930) through to Magnus Erlingson (r. 1163 – 1184),⁵⁶ the *Orkneyinga Saga*, which details the history of the earldom of Orkney and the Orkney-men,⁵⁷

⁵³ Martin J. Dougherty, *The Golden Age of the Vikings: A History of the Norse People*. 2nd edition. (London: Amber Books Ltd., 2017), pp. 8 & 90-92.

⁵⁴ Jesch, *Women in the Viking Age*, pp. 85-88.

⁵⁵ Haywood, *The Penguin Historical Atlas of the Vikings*, pp. 94-95.

⁵⁶ Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla of The Chronicle of the Kings of Norway*, c. 1179 – 1241. ed. and trans. By Douglas B. Killings, and David Widger. From Project Gutenberg, *Heimskringla or The Chronicle of the Kings of Norway, by Snorri Sturluson* (2013) <<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/598/598-h/598-h.htm>> [Accessed: 19 July 2022].

⁵⁷ *The Orkneyinga Saga*, 13th Century, trans. By Jon A. Hjalalin and Gilbert Goudie, ed. By Joseph Anderson. In Joseph Anderson, *The Orkneyinga Saga*. (Edinburgh: James Thin, The Mercat Press, 1981), pp. 1-201.

the *Saga of Burnt Njal*,⁵⁸ and finally the *Jómsvíkinga Saga*, which recounts the rise and fall of the semi-legendary group of furiously pagan mercenaries operating in the tenth and early-eleventh century.⁵⁹ As all four of these were likely commissioned to praise contemporary rulers or their ancestors, their material likely contains elements of exaggeration.⁶⁰ However, within an Icelandic context, oral testimony has often been viewed as a strong and reliable record, as any fabrication regarding the achievements of a work's patron would be viewed as mockery rather than praise. As such, the sagas are a largely reliable source that can be used to understand the relations between the Norse and the native Welsh.⁶¹

In this dissertation, the extent of Norse activity on Wales will be evaluated through an assessment of contemporary material in relation to three distinct topics, each of which will make up a chapter in this study and corresponds to the three stages of Norse contact at the archaeologically significant site of Llanbedrgoch on Anglesey, as proposed by Mark Redknap.⁶² These aspects conform to the overall groupings of 'raiding', 'trading', and 'settling', and following an individual chapter on each theme, an overall conclusion will be reached on the degree of Norse activity on Wales during the outlined period.⁶³

The first chapter will be focused on assessing the extent of Norse incursions into Wales, both in terms of small scale hit and run raids through to larger pitched battles. Our first concrete account of a Norse raid on Wales dates to 852, with subsequent raids occurring relatively

⁵⁸ *The Story of Burnt Njal*, 13th Century, ed. and trans. By George Webbe Dasent, in George Webbe Dasent, *The Story of Burnt Njal From the Icelandic of the Njal's Saga*. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1900), p. Chapter CLVIII: Of Flosi and Kari. From Project Gutenberg, *The Story of Burnt Njal From the Icelandic of the Njal's Saga* (2016) <<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/17919/17919-h/17919-h.htm>> [Accessed: 14 August].

⁵⁹ *The Jómsvíkinga Saga*, 13th Century, ed. and trans. By N.F. Blake, in N.F. Blake, *The Saga of the Jomsvikings*. (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1962), pp. 1-46.

⁶⁰ Haywood, *The Penguin Historical Atlas of the Vikings*, pp. 94-95.

⁶¹ Judy Quinn, 'From Orality to Literacy in Medieval Iceland', in *Old Icelandic Literature and Society*, ed. By Margaret Clunies Ross. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 30-60 (p. 50).

⁶² Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 74.

⁶³ Haywood, *The Penguin Historical Atlas of the Vikings*, pp. 10-39.

consistently up until the end of the twelfth century. Most of these were simply hit and run events, where our only record that they even occurred is “x location was sacked”, but there are occasions where the Norse met stubborn resistance, resulting in a pitched engagement with the native forces, as seen by the various entries in the annals.⁶⁴

Continuing from this, the second chapter will analyse the more mercantile aspects of the Norse, and how their trade connections interacted with Wales, which lay at the mid-point of the key Viking trade routes between Ireland and England.⁶⁵ Due to the nature of this topic, the key evidence comes from material finds such as coin hoards and stray archaeological artefacts, with those that have distinctive Norse qualities indicating the sort of trade the Norse undertook with the inhabitants of Wales.⁶⁶ However, this chapter will also analyse the extent of human and cultural trade between Wales and the Norse world. The former of these can be split into two further sub-groupings, in the form of the medieval slave trade and mercenary work.⁶⁷ The Vikings were famed for establishing an important and profitable slave market around the Irish Sea, with Dublin being a major hub for this activity, and even after the Norman Conquest, some places, such as Wales, continued this trade until slavery was no longer widely practised and socially accepted in the twelfth century.⁶⁸ Likewise, mercenary work was also a common occurrence for the Norse in the period, with many warriors fighting for pay in the services of another, including under native Welsh rulers.⁶⁹ The final portion of this chapter will be dedicated to the trading of ideas rather than physical goods, and will assess how much Norse culture infiltrated aspects of Welsh society. This will be achieved

⁶⁴ Tom Ridd, *The Vikings in Wales: In Wales Series*. (Cardiff: The Principality Publishing Company, 1967), pp. 5-33.

⁶⁵ Holmes and Lilley, *Viking Swansea*, [Accessed: 15 May 2020].

⁶⁶ Redknap, ‘Viking-Age Settlement in Wales’, pp. 13-35.

⁶⁷ It is important to disassociate the term slavery with the seventeenth-century practice for the purposes of this study, as the purchasing of individuals during the Medieval period was commonplace and had little to do with the racial elements. For more information, please see William D. Philips Jr., *Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), pp. 145-160.

⁶⁸ Erik I. Bromberg, ‘Wales and the Medieval Slave Trade’, *Speculum*, 17.2 (April, 1942), pp. 263-269 (pp. 263-269) <<https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/stable/2856369?sid=primo&origin=crossref&seq=1>> [Accessed: 11 May 2022].

⁶⁹ B.G. Charles, *Old Norse Relations with Wales*. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1934), pp. 49–50.

using written, archaeological, and structural evidence, including the various Norse stone monuments scattered around the Welsh peninsula.⁷⁰ Following this, it will be possible to ascertain the extent of Norse trading connections in medieval Wales.

Finally, this dissertation will conclude with a chapter examining the extent of Norse settlement in Wales, using a combination of written, archaeological, onomastic, and genetic evidence.⁷¹ Material such as the *VGC*⁷² and the Icelandic Sagas make up our written evidence for settlement,⁷³ while the excavations at Llanbedrgoch,⁷⁴ and a comparisons of possible Norse sites in Wales with those in Ireland, will constitute our archaeological material.⁷⁵ Onomastic evidence, that is to say, evidence provided by the etymology of place names, is also an excellent source for identifying possible non-native settlements in a given area, as different cultures have their own naming conventions for towns or locations. As such, placenames with distinctive elements from a non-native culture can indicate the presence of an invading influence.⁷⁶ The final portion will focus on evidence preserved in DNA; yet as this is a humanities MA, rather than a scientific one, the extent of any detailed analysis regarding this will be limited.⁷⁷ As such, genetic evidence will only be used to substantiate the written, archaeological, and onomastic evidence for Scandinavian settlement in Wales. Following an examination of these chapters, an overall conclusion will assess the extent of Norse activity in Wales between the ninth and twelfth Century and summarise the main findings.

⁷⁰ Davies, *The Age of Conquest*, p. 11.

⁷¹ Haywood, *The Penguin Historical Atlas of the Vikings*, pp. 62-79.

⁷² *VGC*, pp. 53-177.

⁷³ Haywood, *The Penguin Historical Atlas of the Vikings*, pp. 94-95.

⁷⁴ Redknap, 'Viking-Age Settlement in Wales', pp. 18-35.

⁷⁵ Patrick F. Wallace, 'The Archaeological Identity of the Hiberno-Norse Town', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 112 (1992), pp. 35-66 (pp. 37-64) <<https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/stable/25509021?seq=1>> [Accessed: 16 May 2022].

⁷⁶ Carroll, Harrison and Williams, *The Vikings in Britain and Ireland*, p. 40.

⁷⁷ For more information regarding DNA, please see Carroll, Harrison and Williams, *The Vikings in Britain and Ireland*, pp. 129-130.

Chapter 1: Raiding

“Eight hundred and fifty [852] was the year of Christ and Cyngen was strangled by the Pagans”.⁷⁸

This entry in the *ByT*, is our first concrete account of a Viking raid on the Welsh peninsular and is characteristic of countless entries in the contemporary records. However, apart from the death of an individual named Cyngen, very little about this event is actually known.⁷⁹ What is interesting though about this attack compared to those elsewhere in the British Isles is how long into the ‘Viking Age’ it took before this first raid on Wales occurred, as it is roughly fifty years after the first raids in England (789 at Portland), Ireland (795 at Rathlin Island), and Scotland (795 at the Isle of Iona).⁸⁰ The reason for this delayed involvement in Wales by the Norse, especially given the areas geographical proximity to its neighbours, is as perplexing as it is unclear, yet is very much a consistent theme up until the end of the ‘First Viking Age’. This ‘backwash’ of Viking activity, as it has been described by the likes of Redknap, seems to have been a result of Norse attention directed elsewhere, whether it be in Ireland, where the *longphort* (a naval encampment) of Dublin was established in 841, or England, with the actions of the Great Heathen Army in the mid-ninth century.⁸¹ Despite this delay, the death of Cyngen was only the first of many Viking incursion into Wales, with Mona (Anglesey) being “ravaged by the black Pagans [*Mon y gan y kenhedloed duon*]” in 853.⁸² The distinction here of the ‘black [*duon*] pagans’ is intriguing and likely shares a similar meaning to that of the Irish material, whereby the term is used to also denote something that is ‘new’, so the source could be referring to how the raiders who

⁷⁸ *ByT*, pp. 12-13 [Accessed: 3 July 2022].

⁷⁹ Ridd, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 6-12. Some have attributed the burning of St David’s in 810 to be the first Viking attack on Wales, however, as this event is not specifically recorded as being caused by the Gentiles, the murder of Cyngen in 852 will still be the marker for the first Norse raid on Wales. For more information regarding this, please see Hobson, ‘The Vikings in Medieval Welsh Literature’, [Accessed: 23 July 2022].

⁸⁰ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 28-29.

⁸¹ *ibid.*

⁸² *ByT*, pp. 12-70 [Accessed: 30 June 2022].

attacked Mona where a newer group, at least compared to those who had killed Cyngen.⁸³ Given how this is based on an Irish interpretation however, which may not be wholly applicable to Wales, it is more logical to follow an argument based on the interpretation of the GPC Online that the term for ‘black’ [W: *Du/Duon*] can also mean ‘wicked’ or ‘villainous’.⁸⁴ Considering the term is used when describing devastating raids or acts of exploitation by the Norse, actions that can certainly be described as ‘wicked’ or ‘villainous’ from a native perspective, this interpretation is certainly plausible.⁸⁵

Further to this, there was little respite for the inhabitants of Wales from this northern fury, who relentlessly sacked religious centres and towns for much of the next three centuries. In the north, where the raiders commonly came from the Norse settlements of Man and the Isles [Hebrides],⁸⁶ Anglesey and its surrounding area was understandably a common target given its proximity to these Norse settlements,⁸⁷ with “the sons of Abloec [Olaf] devastate[ing] Caergybi [Holyhead] and Lleyn” in 959 [961],⁸⁸ while a decade later, the church of Penmon was sacked.⁸⁹ This latter attack is attributed in the *ByT* to the Manx Norseman Magnus Haraldson,⁹⁰ who alongside his brother Gudrød, was very active around Anglesey during the third-quarter of the tenth century.⁹¹ However, of the two, it is Gudrød who seems to have been more damaging to Wales, at least based on the *ByT*’s accounts, as he is recorded in 970, 979, and 981, as sacking Mona, Lleyn and Mona, and Dyfed and Menevia [St David’s],

⁸³ For more information regarding the reasoning and meaning being the term ‘black’ and ‘white’ when used in conjunction with the term ‘foreigners’, please see, Kim Hjardar and Vegard Vike, *Vikings at War*. (Oxford: Casemate Publishers, 2016), pp. 222-224.

⁸⁴ University of Wales Trinity Saint David, ‘Du’ *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru: A Dictionary of the Welsh Language* (1964) <<https://welsh-dictionary.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html>> [Accessed: 30 June 2022].

⁸⁵ *ByT*, pp. 12-13 [Accessed: 30 June 2022].

⁸⁶ Davies, *The Age of Conquest*, p. 10.

⁸⁷ Redknap, ‘Viking-Age Settlement in Wales’, p. 16.

⁸⁸ *ByT*, pp. 24-25 [Accessed: 30 June 2022].

⁸⁹ Ridd, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 12.

⁹⁰ *ByT*, pp. 24-25 [Accessed: 2 July 2022].

⁹¹ Hjardar and Vike, *Vikings at War*, pp. 206-213.

respectively.⁹² His impact on Anglesey is even to the extent that in 986, the *ByT* records that “Godfrey, son of Harold, with the black host, devastated the isle of Mona and two-thousand men were blinded”.⁹³ If the destruction caused by Gudrød was not impactful enough, the blinding of likely a significant portion of the island’s population would have undercut the potential agricultural workforce, possibly leading to starvation or further misfortunes for the peoples of Anglesey.⁹⁴

Similarly, south Wales was equally subjected to a multitude of Norse incursions, although to a higher frequency compared to the north. For instance, in 988 alone, the Vikings attacked Llanbadarn Fawr (near Aberystwyth), Llandudoch (in Cardigan), Llantwit Major, and Llancarfan (both in Glamorgan),⁹⁵ a series of rapid attacks that would likely have devastated the monastic network of south Wales.⁹⁶ The intensity of these attacks is further evident by an analysis of St David’s, which was sacked by the Norsemen eleven times between 967 and 1091.⁹⁷ Although this does provide inference regarding the wealth of St David’s during the period, as the Vikings would not have sacked the church if it had not sufficiently recovered its wealth from their previous attack,⁹⁸ the prevalence of these attacks on the site must have still been detrimental to its wealth and population.⁹⁹ Furthermore, as in north Wales, the south was also subjected to the wrath of two Norse brothers, although it seems to have fared better than its northern counterpart. As the final act of the ‘first phase’, the Jarls Othar [Ohtar] and Harald [Hroald] arrived in south Wales from Brittany alongside

⁹² *ByT*, pp. 24-29 [Accessed: 2 July 2022].

⁹³ *ibid*, pp. 28-31 [Accessed: 2 July 2022].

⁹⁴ Irena Metzler, *A Social History of Disability in the Middle Ages: Cultural Considerations of Physical Impairment*. (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 15-16.

⁹⁵ Ridd, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 26.

⁹⁶ Jemma Bezant, ‘Travel and Communication’, in *Monastic Wales: New Approaches*, ed. By Janet Burton and Karen Stöber. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013), pp. 133-146 (pp. 134-139).

⁹⁷ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 43.

⁹⁸ Catherine Cubitt, ‘The Institutional Church’, in *A Companion to the Early Middle Ages: Britain and Ireland, c. 500 – c.1100 (Blackwell Companions to British History)*, ed. By Pauline Stafford. (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, A John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., Publication, 2013), pp. 376-394 (pp. 379-385).

⁹⁹ Hobson, ‘The Vikings in Medieval Welsh Literature’, [Accessed: 23 July 2022].

an army that ravaged the area.¹⁰⁰ The impact of Othar is evident from the *Annales Cambriae* and the *ByT*, which state that “Other comes”¹⁰¹ and “Othar came to the island of Britain” respectively.¹⁰² Both instances imply that this individual, or more likely his reputation, was widely known by his contemporaries, given how only his first name is provided, suggesting that his exploits were infamous and notoriously memorable, something that is unsurprising considering Othar captured Bishop Cyfeiliog of Llandaff during this expedition.¹⁰³

Understandably, these raids had a significant impact on the inhabitants of Wales, ranging from psychological, political, and economic consequences that emerged from the disruption to communities, and even kingdoms, that these attacks caused. For instance, contemporary records account on two occasions, once in 999 and again in 1080, that the bishopric of St David’s was left vacant following a Norse raid,¹⁰⁴ which would not only leave any survivors grieving the loss of their loved ones and companions, but the loss of such significant individuals, in the form of a spiritual leader and guide, would have been massively detrimental to the monastic and secular community of the area.¹⁰⁵ Additionally, the murder of these bishops in their own dwelling would have added insult to injury, further instilling fear into the hearts of the local communities that even God could not protect one of His shepherds within his own home.¹⁰⁶

This psychological impact is further reinforced by the frequent attacks on Anglesey, which is attributed as being the political and economic heartland of the northern Welsh kingdom of Gwynedd in the ninth and tenth centuries.¹⁰⁷ This was even to the extent that in 968,

¹⁰⁰ Loyn, *The Vikings in Wales*, pp. 7-8.

¹⁰¹ *Annales Cambriae*, ed. and trans. By Ingram [Accessed: 22 July 2022].

¹⁰² *ByT*, pp. 18-19 [Accessed: 30 June 2022].

¹⁰³ Loyn, *The Vikings in Wales*, pp. 7-8.

¹⁰⁴ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 42.

¹⁰⁵ Barry J. Lewis, ‘Vikings to Normans, c. 800 – c.1070’, in *A History of Christianity in Wales*, ed. By Barry J. Lewis, and others. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2022), pp. 72-96 (pp. 73-74).

¹⁰⁶ Jeff J. Tyler, *Lord of the Sacred City: The Episcopus Exclusus in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany*. (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 26-29.

¹⁰⁷ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 46.

Aberffraw, the royal court, or *llys*, of Gwynedd, was sacked by the Norsemen, an event that would have had similar psychological repercussions to the sacking of prominent churches.¹⁰⁸ This is because, in the minds of the local community, if their ruler could not defend his own court against an opposing force, then how could they be expected to protect any of their subjects? As such, Viking raids on Wales, as elsewhere, not only had an initial impact which dissipated, but also had the potential to cause major political upheaval and instability for the local elite.¹⁰⁹

The fear and danger that this northern menace caused is also evident with the construction of minor defences at various coastal locations, such as at Llanbedrgoch on Anglesey, which added a 2.2m wide dry-stone wall and expanded the enclosing ditch, during the ninth century.¹¹⁰ However, what was surprising regarding Llanbedrgoch is the fact that during excavations undertaken in the 1990's, the bodies of five individuals were found just outside the defensive perimeter of the site. Due to their north-south orientation, rather than being buried on the east-west alignment universal of Christian burials, it has often been believed that these were native victims of a Viking raid,¹¹¹ a concept further supported by radiocarbon dating.¹¹² Three of these five individuals had been interred independently, with the remaining two, a male likely in his late 20s or early 30s, and an adolescent child, sharing a grave, with the former being thrown atop the latter. Further to this, the unusual placement of this adult's hands has been interpreted that they were bound behind his back while the killing blow was struck, in comparison to one of the independently interred individuals, a male likely aged

¹⁰⁸ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 46. Aberffraw was also viewed as one of the three tribal thrones of Britain, adding to the site's significance. For more information on the concept of the 'Triads of the Island of Britain', please see Robin Melrose, *Warriors and Wilderness in Medieval Britain: From Arthur and Beowulf to Sir Gawain and Robin Hood*. (Jefferson: McFarland & Company Inc. Press, 2017), pp. 54-55.

¹⁰⁹ Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 18-30.

¹¹⁰ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 45-71.

¹¹¹ Redknap, 'Viking-Age Settlement in Wales', pp. 26-27.

¹¹² A form of radiocarbon dating, known as *Accelerated Mass Spectrometry*, was used on these individuals to ascertain with a 95% possibility that death occurred between 770-970, with this being 68% probably that it occurred between 790-890. For more information, please see Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 72-73.

between 35-45, who had his hands bound in front of him.¹¹³ Both indicate that these individuals were executed, implying capture before a brutal death, yet it is not certain that their deaths were caused by the Norsemen, as the Saxons and the Welsh themselves were equally known for undertaking raiding expeditions, as evident by Figure 5.¹¹⁴ Intra-Welsh raiding was a way of life for the rulers of the medieval Welsh kingdoms, providing a way to seize loot and devastate the property of their rivals, crippling them and preventing retaliation.¹¹⁵ Such an event can be seen in 1047, when Gruffudd ap Llywelyn (r. 1039 – 1063/4) “devastated the Vale of Tywi and Dyfed” in response to the men of these areas betraying and slaughtering his war-band, although similar entries are littered throughout the Welsh material¹¹⁶ As such, this slaughter at Llanbedrgoch cannot be conclusively attributed to the Norsemen, and thanks to scientific advancements, evidence is now indicating that these

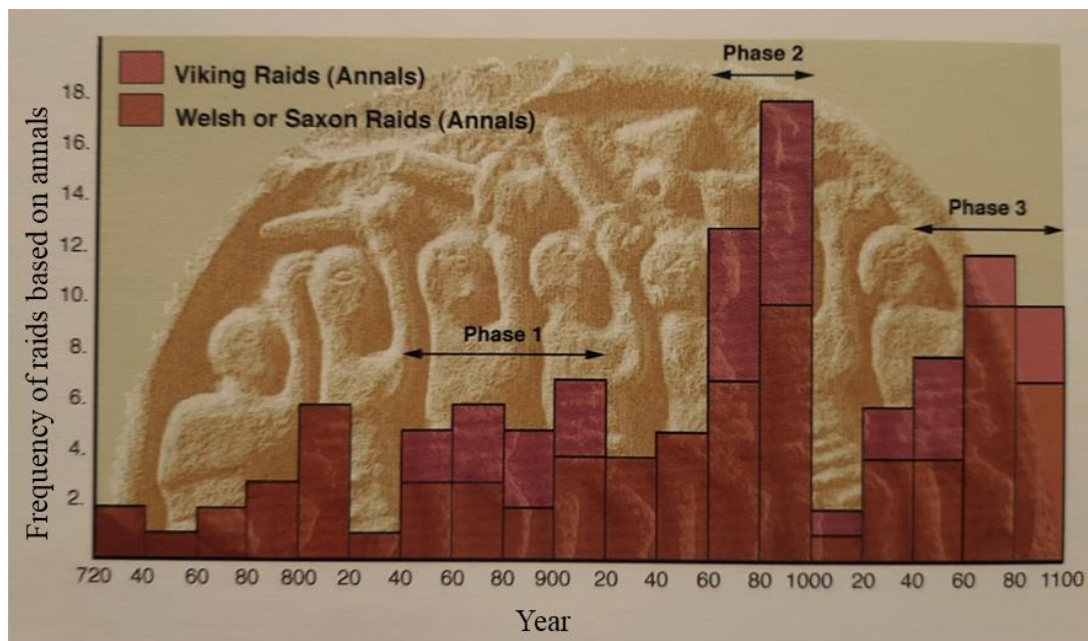


Figure 5: Bar chart representing the frequency of hostilities recorded in the annals, and who said hostilities were undertaken by. The ‘phases’ correspond to the ‘Three Viking Ages’ outlined in the dissertation. Taken from Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 30.

¹¹³ Redknap, ‘Viking-Age Settlement in Wales’, pp. 26-27.

¹¹⁴ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 28-73.

¹¹⁵ David Stephenson, *Medieval Wales: c. 1050 – 1332, Centuries of Ambiguity*. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019), p. 47.

¹¹⁶ *ByT*, pp. 42-43 [Accessed: 16 July 2022].

are instead the graves of Scandinavians,¹¹⁷ likely a consequence of an unsuccessful raid by the Vikings.¹¹⁸

The third and final phase of raiding in Wales is entwined with events leading up to the Norman Conquest of Wales and the rise of Gruffudd ap Cynan to the throne of Gwynedd.¹¹⁹ It is Gruffudd's role in these raids that is intriguing, as although he ascended to the kingship of north Wales, he was born and raised in the Norse settlement of Dublin. His claim to the Welsh throne was through his paternal heritage, as although the kingship of his father, Cynan ap Iago, is debated, the kingship of his grandfather, Iago ab Idwal, is not.¹²⁰ It is this Iago, who ruled Gwynedd until his death in 1039, who seems to have been the more well-known individual according to the sources, with the *ByT* referring to Gruffudd as “grandson of Iago” rather than the more common patronymic name of an individuals' father.¹²¹ The importance of Iago, and by proxy, Gruffudd ap Cynan, is further evident in the Irish *Annals of Ulster*, which records the deaths of five Welsh rulers.¹²² This includes Rhodri Mawr, Hywel Dda, and Gruffudd ap Llywelyn, all of whom are famed as prominent rulers of large areas of Wales, while a fourth is Gruffudd ap Llywelyn's father, Llywelyn ap Seisyll (r. c.1018 – 1023). It is the final Welshmen mentioned that of particular interest, as it is none other than “Iago, King of the Welsh” himself.¹²³ Despite being given the same title as the other Welsh rulers in the Irish material, Iago is the least famous and prominent of them, a fascinating inclusion that indicates that Iago, and likely his descendants, were well-known in Ireland. Furthermore, Gruffudd ap Cynan's paternal roots were not the only heritage that linked him to kingship, as he was also the great-grandson of King Sigtrygg Silkbeard of Dublin (r. c.989

¹¹⁷ Williams, *Viking Britain*, p. 244.

¹¹⁸ Carroll, Harrison and Williams, *The Vikings in Britain and Ireland*, pp. 23-24.

¹¹⁹ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 50.

¹²⁰ David Moore, ‘Gruffudd ap Cynan and the Medieval Welsh Polity’, in *Gruffudd ap Cynan: A Collaborative Biography*, ed. By K.L. Maund. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1996), pp. 1-60 (pp. 3-4).

¹²¹ *ByT*, pp. 50-51 [Accessed: 16 July 2022].

¹²² *The Annals of Ulster*, ed. and trans. By Banbury and Beechinor, pp. 333-501 [Accessed: 6 July 2022].

¹²³ *ibid*, p. 461 [Accessed: 6 July 2022].

– 1036) through his maternal side, meaning he was a direct descendent of the powerful Hiberno-Norse Kings of Dublin.¹²⁴

According to the sources, Gruffudd followed in the footsteps of his maternal line, at least initially, as for roughly the first half of his life, he was very much an opportunist pirate, undertaking various raids against Wales.¹²⁵ The most famous of these occurred in the reign of King William I of England (r. 1066 – 1087), and is recorded in the near contemporary *Life of St Gwynllyw*,¹²⁶ which states:

“Gruffudd, king of Gwynedd.... sailed to the Orkney Islands.... [and] incited many of the islanders towards the practice of piracy, to death-bringing gain and invasion. And so being mischievously assembled and excited, and twenty-four ships being manned from the assembled invaders, they sailed under Gruffudd’s command through the Irish sea.... [where] the iniquitous pirates, seeing that the church of Saint Gwynllyw was barred, reckoning that precious articles were inside for safety and protection, broke the bar, and after breaking as violators entered. Whatever precious and useful thing was found; they took.... The ships were under canvas, but the sails could not face the winds for their raging violence.... [causing] the whole fleet [to be] overwhelmed.... [only] two [ships] escaped and were able to avoid the danger. For king Gruffudd owned them, who had been present only; he, however, wasted not, nor even willed to be participant in the robbery, nor even entered the church, but waited on the shore with his companions for the coming of the pirates.”¹²⁷

The most noticeable comment the source makes is Gruffudd’s role in orchestrating the attack, raising the Orkneymen specifically for the “practice of piracy”,¹²⁸ indicating that undertaking a raid on Wales with these men was always his intention. Even though the source attempts to

¹²⁴ David E. Thornton, ‘The Genealogy of Gruffudd ap Cynan’, in *Gruffudd ap Cynan: A Collaborative Biography*, ed. By K.L. Maund. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1996), pp. 79-108 (p. 89).

¹²⁵ Davies, *The Age of Conquest*, p.33.

¹²⁶ Moore, ‘Gruffudd ap Cynan and the Medieval Welsh Polity’, pp. 9-24.

¹²⁷ *The Life of St Gwynllyw*, 12th Century, in ‘Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae [The Lives and Genealogies of the Welsh Saints]’, trans. By Thomas Jones, ed. By A.W. Wade-Evans. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1944), p. Section 12. From Celtic Literature Collective, ‘The Life of St Gwynllyw’ (2020) <<http://www.ancienttexts.org/library/celtic/ctexts/gwynllyw.html>> [Accessed: 6 July 2022].

¹²⁸ *ibid*, p. Section 12 [Accessed: 6 July 2022].

counter this claim by pleading Gruffudd's innocence, stressing he did not partake in the horrid attack itself, which is why his ships were spared the wrath of St Gwynllyw's storm, the fact that the actions of an army are the responsibility of their leader, alongside the *Life*'s clear indication that Gruffudd initially gathered the forces, the responsibility of the attack falls on him.¹²⁹ As such, here we have a concrete account of Gruffudd ap Cynan, an individual of biological Norse descent, who partook in a series of seaborne attack, or, in other words, who went *a vikingr*!¹³⁰

However, the Vikings were not always successful with their raids, often experiencing stiff resistance from the local populous. Within the first phase, the main stalwart against Viking incursions, particularly in north Wales, was Rhodri Mawr, who took to the field against the Danes on many an occasion. The first of these seems to have occurred on Anglesey in 855, where the *Annals of Ulster* recount that "Horm [Gormr], chief of the dark foreigners, was killed by Rhodri, son of Merfyn, King of Wales".¹³¹ However, Rhodri was not always victorious against the Norse, and sometimes, the resulting fallout caused by defeat was more damaging than the battle itself. This was certainly the case in 877, where the *ByT* records that "the action on Sunday took place in Mona [Anglesey]".¹³² The Sunday Battle, as this event is known, occurred between the Norse and the men of Gwynedd, and resulted in Rhodri fleeing to Ireland in fear of his life. This demonstrates how, when they were engaged in the open field, the Norse were not just a petty nuisance to the areas they attacked, but a significant political threat that had the potential to dethrone kings and destabilise entire

¹²⁹ Sean Davies, *War and Society in Medieval Wales: 633 – 1283: Welsh Military Institutions*. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014), pp. 31-219.

¹³⁰ Carroll, Harrison and Williams, *The Vikings in Britain and Ireland*, pp. 6-7.

¹³¹ *The Annals of Ulster*, ed. and trans. By Banbury and Beechinor, p. 315 [Accessed: 12 July 2022].

¹³² *ByT*, pp. 14-15 [Accessed: 12 July 2022].

regions.¹³³ Furthermore, since the battle occurred on a Sunday, with this being the identifying factor, it was probably instigated by the pagan Vikings, who likely aimed to exploit their Christian enemy's unpreparedness by attacking on the Lord's Day,¹³⁴ doing similar at York in 867.¹³⁵ Whatever the exact reason for a Welsh defeat here, it is certain that "Rhodri, Son of Merfyn, King of the Britons, came in flight from the dark foreigners to Ireland" following the battle,¹³⁶ where he remained for a year before returning to Wales,¹³⁷ where, the *Annals of Ulster* continues to say, he "was killed by the Saxons".¹³⁸ As such, it could be claimed that this battle with the Vikings on Anglesey did not just cost Rhodri a year away from Gwynedd, but it eventually costed him his life.

Although most Norse forces came from the west of Wales, it was not unheard of for forces operating in England to travel over Wales's eastern border to raid or seek refuge.¹³⁹ Such an event occurred in 893, when a Viking force was besieged for three-weeks by an allied Welsh and Saxon army at Buttington village, likely located on the banks of the River Severn in modern-day Montgomeryshire.¹⁴⁰ This joint Anglo-Welsh army demonstrates how the Vikings could act as the common enemy that permitted alliances to be formed, which in turn set the potential groundwork for instances of further co-operation and integration.¹⁴¹

Following their defeat at Buttington and return to East Anglia, the Danes attempted to besiege Chester, but were again repelled by the Anglo-Saxon forces, this time being forced

¹³³ Ridd, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 15.

¹³⁴ Davies, *War and Society in Medieval Wales*, p. 249.

¹³⁵ This would not have been the first time that the Norse had used Christian festivities to gain the upper hand prior to a battle, as the Great Heathen Army did similar in AD 867, where they specifically attacked and captured the city of York, England, while the local population celebrated All Saint's Day. For more information, please see Paul Chrystal, *Secret York*. (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2014), pp. 18-84.

¹³⁶ *The Annals of Ulster*, ed. and trans. By Banbury and Beechinor, p. 333 [Accessed: 13 July 2022].

¹³⁷ Davies, *War and Society in Medieval Wales*, p. 116.

¹³⁸ *The Annals of Ulster*, ed. and trans. By Banbury and Beechinor, p. 333 [Accessed: 12 July 2022].

¹³⁹ Davies, *The Age of Conquest*, p.11.

¹⁴⁰ Other locations in Gloucestershire have also been proposed for the site of Buttington, but as Redknap argues, the site in Montgomeryshire is the most convincing. For more information regarding this, please see Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 32-35.

¹⁴¹ *ibid*, pp. 32-40.

into Wales in order to raid supplies.¹⁴² The *Annals Cambriae* records that in 895, “the Northmen came and laid waste Lloegr and Brycheiniog and Gwent and Gwynllwygiog”,¹⁴³ whilst the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records the outcome of these attacks, stating that the Danes “were unable to remain there [Wales] because they had been deprived of both the cattle and corn which had been plundered”.¹⁴⁴ Although there is no reference to any pitched conflict between the Danes and the Welsh at this time, the Vikings are unlikely to have given up their looted supplies voluntarily, so it is plausible that they were defeated by the Welsh in battle, an event that caused them to retreat back to East Anglia for a second time in the space of a year.¹⁴⁵

Continuing from this, despite most engagements taking place within the northern and western parts of Wales, they were not exclusive to these areas, as the inhabitants of south Wales also put-up resistance against the Norsemen. The accounts of two such battles have remained in the Welsh sources, one dating to before the stability of Hywel Dda’s reign in 906, while the other is dated to 1042.¹⁴⁶ Both the *Annals Cambriae* and the *ByT* refer to the former of these events, stating that the battle of “Dinmeir took place.... and Menevia [St David’s]¹⁴⁷ was destroyed”.¹⁴⁸ As with most entries within contemporary annals, little is known about the specific detail of the battle itself, but the fact that St David’s was sacked following the conflict suggests the Norse were victorious, as the Welsh would have prevented this if they were not defeated. As such, this event likely had similar repercussions to any of the abovementioned raids on the bishopric.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴² Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 32-37.

¹⁴³ *Annales Cambriae*, ed. and trans. By Ingram [Accessed: 15 July 2022].

¹⁴⁴ *ASC*, p. 88.

¹⁴⁵ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 32-40.

¹⁴⁶ Davies, *War and Society in Medieval Wales*, pp. 116-117.

¹⁴⁷ The *Annals Cambriae*’s entry reads “the battle of Dinmeir and Mynyw was broken”. Mynyw and Menevia are both names for St David’s. In *Annales Cambriae*, ed. and trans. By Ingram [Accessed: 15 July 2022].

¹⁴⁸ *ByT*, pp. 18-19 [Accessed: 15 July 2022].

¹⁴⁹ Davies, *War and Society in Medieval Wales*, pp. 116-117.

Furthermore, only the *ByT* mentions the second of these battles in south Wales, recording that “one thousand and forty [1040] was the year of Christ when the battle of Pwll Dyfach took place, and there Howel [Hywel ab Edwin, d. 1044] vanquished the pagans who were ravaging Dyfed”.¹⁵⁰ However, unlike the battle in 906, the entry for Pwll Dyfach is more detailed, allowing historians to ascertain that a Viking force was operational around modern-day Pembrokeshire in the late-1030’s/early-1040’s, and that it was likely caught by Hywel whilst undertaking a raid, given how the Vikings were unlikely to have made landfall if not to sack the area of Pwll Dyfach.¹⁵¹ Both of these examples demonstrate the importance of victory in battle, as it had the possibility of reclaiming stolen loot from a raiding army, but defeat for the defenders left their territory open to more raid and the effects that that had on the area and its people.

Pitched encounters within the ‘Third Viking Age’ exclusively relate to the exploits of Gruffudd ap Cynan, whose first attempt to claim the throne of Gwynedd from the ‘usurpers’ Cynwrig ap Rhiwallon and Trahaearn ap Caradog occurred in 1075 with the Battle of Bloody Acre. The altercation’s name alone demonstrates the brutality of this conflict, with Gruffudd, alongside his Hiberno-Norse, Welsh, and Norman allies, gaining a significant victory over the usurpers, killing Cynwrig while leaving Trahaearn on the run.¹⁵² However, Gruffudd was not so lucky a second time, as when he met Trahaearn’s forces again at Bron-yr-Ewr, his defeat forced him back to Ireland.¹⁵³ Despite these setbacks, Gruffudd continued in his efforts to achieve his goal, and his decisive victory at the Battle of Mynydd Carn in 1081 ended the threat of Trahaearn ap Caradog, as well as two other prominent opponents, Meilyr ap Rhiwallon and the ruler of Morgannwg, Caradog ap Gruffudd.¹⁵⁴ However, in doing so,

¹⁵⁰ *ByT*, pp. 40-41 [Accessed: 18 July 2022].

¹⁵¹ Davies, *War and Society in Medieval Wales*, pp. 117-118.

¹⁵² Ridd, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 32-35.

¹⁵³ *ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 51.

Gruffudd enabled the Normans to make significant advances into north Wales, resulting in his own imprisonment by the Earl of Chester in the late 1080's.¹⁵⁵

In the Summer of 1098, the final significant battle leading to Gruffudd's ascension to the throne occurred in the form of the Battle of Anglesey Sounds (also known as the Battle of Menai Straits). This saw a Norwegian fleet headed by King Magnus 'Barefoot' of Norway (r. 1093 – 1103) appeared off the coast of Anglesey and engage with the Normans led by Earl Hugh of Shrewsbury and Earl Hugh of Chester.¹⁵⁶ Contemporary material provides a useful but mixed explanation of the reasoning for and aftermath of the battle, with the *VGC* suggesting that Magnus's intentions were friendly, at least initially. It attributes Magnus's involvement on Anglesey to the King beginning to "share [in] their [the Welshmen's] grief and become[ing] angry", after being "told through guides what island this was, who was its king, how great the slaughter was happening there, how terrible was the persecution, and who the perpetrators of such a cruel massacre were".¹⁵⁷ However, this account that Magnus was only moved out of the goodness of his heart to help the oppressed Welsh against the tyrannical Normans is hard to believe, especially based on other material, although it does make sense given this source's bias towards Gruffudd.¹⁵⁸ Despite the *VGC*'s claims, it was certainly no illusion to other contemporaries that Magnus' arrival on Anglesey was for his own personal gain, with the *Orkneying Saga*¹⁵⁹ and the *Heimskringla* both stating that Magnus conquered Anglesey following the battle.¹⁶⁰ The *ByT* also echoes this sentiment that Magnus' 'aid' was only to secure his own overlordship of Anglesey, recounting that

¹⁵⁵ Ridd, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 35-37.

¹⁵⁶ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 50.

¹⁵⁷ *VGC*, pp. 82-83.

¹⁵⁸ Russell, 'Introduction', pp. 1-4.

¹⁵⁹ *The Orkneying Saga*, trans. By Hjaltalin and Goudie, ed. By Anderso, pp. 54-55.

¹⁶⁰ Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, ed. and trans. By Killings, and Widger [Accessed: 19 July 2022].

“Magnus, King of Germany,¹⁶¹ came, accompanied by some of his ships, as far as Mona, hoping to be enabled to take possession of the countries of the Britons”.¹⁶² That said however, the *ByT* follows the above statement with:

“When King Magnus had heard of the frequent designs of the French to devastate the whole country, and reduce it to nothing, he hastened to attack them....and then King Magnus with sudden determination, left the borders of the country”.¹⁶³

This seems to suggest a similar idea to that outlined in the *VGC*, whereby it is Magnus’s sympathy for the peoples of Wales that result in his intervention on Anglesey, especially given is sudden exit following the engagement. However, his desire to restrict Norman devastation could equally be explained by the King not wanting to inherit through conquest a barren and infertile land, which still supports the *ByT*’s original accusation.¹⁶⁴ Despite a mixture of accusations regarding Magnus’s intentions for engaging the Normans on Anglesey, the sources agree that Earl Hugh of Shrewsbury was killed during the skirmish, the significance of which cannot be understate. Although Gruffudd ap Cynan did not partake in this battle, having been forced back to Ireland prior to the engagement, the outcome greatly benefited him, permitting his return to Anglesey and the opportunity to consolidate his hold on the kingdom Gwynedd, which was secure by 1114.¹⁶⁵ As such, without this battle and the intervention of the Norse, the dynastic line of Gruffudd would not have ascended to the throne of Gwynedd, meaning that the famous Welsh rulers of Owain Gwynedd (r. 1137 – 1170) and Llywelyn the Great (r. 1173 – 1240), Gruffudd’s son and great-grandson respectively, would not have become Princes of Wales.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶¹ The *ByT* and other Welsh material commonly uses ‘Germania’ to represent Norway, which has been translated by Williams here to be Germany. For more information, please see *ByT*, pp. 60-63 [Accessed: 20 July 2022].

¹⁶² *ByT*, pp. 60-63 [Accessed: 20 July 2022].

¹⁶³ *ibid.* [Accessed: 20 July 2022].

¹⁶⁴ *ibid.* [Accessed: 20 July 2022].

¹⁶⁵ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 50.

¹⁶⁶ Stephenson, *Medieval Wales*, pp. xxiv-xxv.

As evident with all the above, Norse attacks on Wales, as elsewhere, were frequent and impactful events that affected all aspects of medieval life. Through raids or the resulting pitched engagements, these events had the potential to have a significant social, political, and psychological impact on the native population, whether it be caused by the ransacking of important religious and secular sites, the murders of prominent leaders, the destabilisation of regions, or the carrying away of both valuables and people alike.¹⁶⁷ As shown, both north and south Wales suffered from Norse raids, but it is clear that in the North, raiding was concentrated to and around Anglesey, while in the south, the distribution of sites attacked was greater.¹⁶⁸ The fact that within contemporary Welsh annals, the Normans are only mentioned three times before 1093, while the Norseman are discussed significantly more, demonstrates who the immediate threat was in the eyes of the natives, which goes to show how the Norse were a very real and ever-present threat between the ninth and twelfth centuries.¹⁶⁹ However, compared to elsewhere in the British Isles, Wales suffered lightly from Scandinavian incursions, and as terrifying as this Norse threat was, it was nothing new to the Welsh, as seen through the account of native looting.¹⁷⁰ Whether it be the sacking of land, the slaughter and imprisonment of people, or the devastation of churches, these actions not only came from raiders overseas, but from native Welsh rulers engaged in conflict with one another.¹⁷¹ Likewise, without the involvement of the Norse, the dynasty of Gruffudd ap Cynan would never have come to power and the significant Norman foothold on Gwynedd would have remained strong and unwavering, likely leading to north Wales being brought under English rule almost two centuries earlier than it was. As such, it is certainly undeniable that Norse

¹⁶⁷ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 28-54.

¹⁶⁸ Loyn, *The Vikings in Wales*, pp. 5-17.

¹⁶⁹ Davies, *The Age of Conquest*, p. 32.

¹⁷⁰ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 43.

¹⁷¹ Stephenson, *Medieval Wales*, pp. 47-49.

raids had a major impact on Wales during the period, however, it is not an exclusively negative one, as some positive political advances from a native perspective did occur following altercations with the Norsemen.¹⁷²

¹⁷² Stephenson, *Medieval Wales*, pp. xxiv-xxv.

Chapter 2: Trading

Although the raiding elements of the Vikings are their most famous aspect, they were also prolific traders, establishing a diverse and extensive network that stretched from Baghdad in the East through to Iceland and Greenland in the far West.¹⁷³ Given the extent of this network, the British Isles obviously played a role in it, with two of the main trading centres being Jorvik [York] in England and Dublin in Ireland, although other towns also played major roles in the Scandinavian trade.¹⁷⁴ It is the network between Dublin and Chester/Bristol that is of interest to this dissertation, as the Irish Sea acted as the main highway of trade between the Hiberno-Norse west and the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Danish east.¹⁷⁵ Due to the nature of Norse sailors to hug the coast wherever possible, using prominent coastal landmarks as navigational points,¹⁷⁶ they were brought into close contact with the north coast of Wales when traveling between Dublin and Chester, and the western and southern coasts once Bristol overtook Chester as the main trading port during later centuries (see Figure 6).¹⁷⁷

As with elsewhere, the Norse quickly came to dominate these sea routes, an idea reinforced by the names of numerous coastal features around Wales that have Scandinavian placename elements.¹⁷⁸ Many of these denote islands and islets,¹⁷⁹ containing

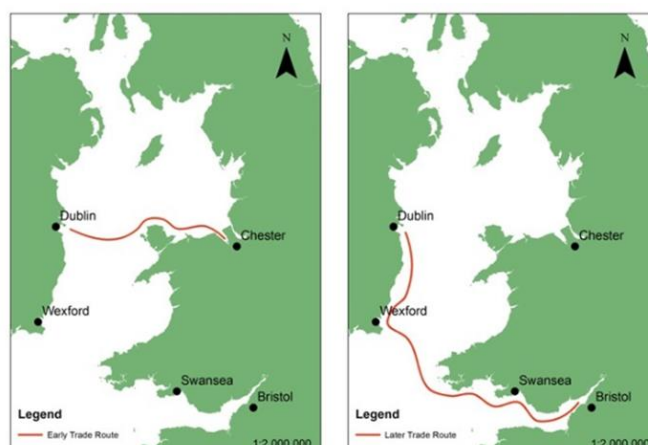


Figure 6: Map showing the initial trade route between Dublin and Chester (left) and the later trade route between Dublin and Bristol (right). Taken from Holmes and Lilley *Viking Swansea* [Accessed: 24 July 2022].

¹⁷³ Haywood, *The Penguin Historical Atlas of the Vikings*, pp. 38-39.

¹⁷⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ Holmes and Lilley, *Viking Swansea* [Accessed: 24 July 2022].

¹⁷⁶ Haywood, *The Penguin Historical Atlas of the Vikings*, pp. 40-41.

¹⁷⁷ Holmes and Lilley, *Viking Swansea* [Accessed: 24 July 2022].

¹⁷⁸ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 20&60.

the elements of *-ey*, and *-holm*, with Priestholm off Anglesey and Bardsey Island off the Llŷn peninsular reflecting this in north Wales,¹⁸⁰ while Ramsey [ON name *Hrafns* ' -ey], Caldey [ON for Cold Island], Grassholm [ON: *Gres* [grass]-holm], Skokholm [ON: *Stokkr* [pole]-holm], and Gateholm [ON: *Geit* [goat]-holm], all demonstrate this in the South.¹⁸¹ Likewise, the Skerries [from ON *sker*, meaning 'isolated rock'] and Piscar representing various rock formations off Anglesey, demonstrating how Welsh nautical landmarks also contain Norse names, an idea further seen by the headland of Ormes Head coming from the ON for snake [*örmr*]. It is the south coast however that has the greater percentage of Norse-named nautical points, such as the Stacks [from ON *stakkr* meaning 'pillar-shaped rock'] and Skomer [ON: *Skálm* [side of a cleft]-ey], to name a few.¹⁸² It is likely that these nautical landmarks were simply navigational points or warnings to aid the countless Scandinavian sailors operational in the Irish Sea, so the fact that these names have become the norm for such locations demonstrates Norse influence over this area.¹⁸³

Given this dominance, it is unsurprising that most archaeological finds relating to the Norse, in particular coin hoards, have been found near to the coast.¹⁸⁴ There is a large amount of speculation within scholarship regarding the reasoning for depositing coin hoards,¹⁸⁵ with some arguing that they are related to times of war and unrest, where an individual buried their

¹⁷⁹ Ridd, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 38.

¹⁸⁰ Haywood, *The Penguin Historical Atlas of the Vikings*, pp. 78-79.

¹⁸¹ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 19-21.

¹⁸² Flat Holm and Steep Holm are also examples of Norse named islands around Wales, with the Saxons calling these as *Bradán Relice* [broad burial-place] and *Steapan Relice* [steep burial-place] respectively. The fact that the Norse names for these islands replaced their Saxon counterparts in common script suggests a strong Scandinavian influence over these places, possibly linked to the extensive trade routes between Bristol and the Northern World. For more information, please see Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 19-64. See Figure 14 below for a list of Norse-named nautical points in south Wales.

¹⁸³ David A. Pretty, *Anglesey: The Concise History*. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005), p. 13.

¹⁸⁴ Loyn, *The Vikings in Wales*, pp. 14-15.

¹⁸⁵ Jacek Gruszczyński, *Viking Silver, Hoards and Containers: The Archaeological and Historical Context of Viking-Age Silver Coin Deposits in the Baltic C. 800 – 1050*. (London: Routledge, 2019), pp.17-21.

personal wealth to protect it.¹⁸⁶ As such, hoards such as this would be expected to contain an array of random coins as well as other valuable items.¹⁸⁷ Alternatively, other scholars have suggested that these hoards represent the savings of local tradesmen or those who had accumulated sufficient wealth, in effect acting as ‘safety-deposit boxes’ for said individuals.¹⁸⁸ Given this, these hoards were likely situated within or nearby settlements, permitting easy access to their owners in case any deposits or withdrawals were required, and suggests times of increased wealth and prosperity for these tradesmen, who were able to comfortably take valuables out of circulation, before reintroducing them as and when required. It is highly likely though that both explanations can offer an insight into the contemporary reasoning for depositing silver hoards, as whether it began as a hastily buried way to protect wealth or had been a savings assemblage slowly building up over time, the key element that both interpretations share is that the owner failed to return to their hoard and reclaim their wealth.¹⁸⁹

Given the proximity of Wales to the Scandinavian trading network, as well as the fact that the Welsh were not known for being prominent traders during the period,¹⁹⁰ any coin hoards unearthed in the country are likely a result of Norse involvement, irrespective of whether it was deposited by a Scandinavian operating in Wales, a native Welshmen who had engaged with Norse traders, or an individual who was trying to protect their wealth from a Viking raid.¹⁹¹ In total, eleven coin hoards relating to the period have been discovered in Wales to date,¹⁹² including the hoards discovered at Minchin Hole near Swansea and Llanbedrgoch on

¹⁸⁶ Sture Bolin, *Fynden av Romerska Mynt i det Fria Germanien: Studier i Romersk och Äldre Germansk Historia*. (Lund: C.W. Lindströms Bokhandel, 1926), pp. 197-207. As quoted in Gruszczynski, *Viking Silver, Hoards and Containers*, pp.17-21.

¹⁸⁷ Gruszczynski, *Viking Silver, Hoards and Containers*, p.18.

¹⁸⁸ Brita Malmer, *Mynt och Människor: Vikingatidens Silverskatter Berättar*. (Stockholm: Rabén & Sjögren, 1968), pp. 6-10. As quoted in Gruszczynski, *Viking Silver, Hoards and Containers*, pp.17-21.

¹⁸⁹ Gruszczynski, *Viking Silver, Hoards and Containers*, pp.18-19.

¹⁹⁰ Holmes and Lilley, *Viking Swansea* [Accessed: 25 July 2022].

¹⁹¹ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 61-63.

¹⁹² Richards, *The Vikings*, p. 82.



Figure 7: Sketch of the glass bead unearthed at Hen Gastell in the 1991-1992 excavations. Scale, 1:1. Taken from Wilkinson, and others, 'Excavations at Hen Gastell, p. 23 <DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5284/1000320>>.

Anglesey, both dating to around 850.¹⁹³ These are of immense interest as they both contain Carolingian coins that had made their way directly to the Irish Sea from Western Frankia [France]. This demonstrates that there was trade occurring between the Carolingian world, Ireland, and Wales prior to mid-ninth century, indicating that Norse trade with Wales likely predated their raiding expeditions against the country.¹⁹⁴

Similarly, another pair of hoards deposited around the first half of the eleventh century at Bryn Maelgwyn and Drwsdangoed in Gwynedd are equally significant as they contained coins relating to England's Viking King, Cnut the Great (r. 1016 – 1035).¹⁹⁵ Although most hoards in Wales seem to have consisted of silver imported into the country, Redknap suggests that the one at Bryn Maelgwyn contained Norse loot rather than the savings of a local tradesman, given the range of items discovered, including 204 coins.¹⁹⁶ Finally, the northern Welsh town of Bangor has been home to two more significant coin hoards, both of which date to the tenth century and demonstrate the extensive trade network that Norse interaction brought to Wales.¹⁹⁷ The earlier of these, dating to c. 925, was discovered in 1894 to the east of the town's High Street,¹⁹⁸ and contained a total of thirteen coins, eight of which were English relating to the various Anglo-Saxon and Norse kingdoms, while the remaining five coins were Kufic that could be dated to around 912. Both sets of coins are typical of a Norse hoard, containing examples from all over the Viking's world, including the Middle East, the

¹⁹³ Redknap, 'Viking-Age Settlement in Wales', p. 34.

¹⁹⁴ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 29-62.

¹⁹⁵ Redknap, 'Viking-Age Settlement in Wales', p. 34.

¹⁹⁶ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 48-62.

¹⁹⁷ Redknap, 'Viking-Age Settlement in Wales', p. 34.

¹⁹⁸ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 14-17.



Figure 8: The Hiberno-Norse ringed pins from Caerwent (top) and Portskewett (bottom). The one from Caerwent is the only known example of a knobbed ringed pin in Wales. The surviving length is 126mm, and is located at Newport Museum & Art Gallery; NPTMG: D2.250. The Portskewett one is 154.5mm long and is located at Newport Museum & Art Gallery; NPTMG 92.16. Images and information taken from Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 31&82.

Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, and Scandinavian York, which demonstrates the extent of the trade network that Wales became part of through contact with the Norse.¹⁹⁹

Unfortunately, the other hoard, which was discovered in 1845, has now been lost, but, based on illustrations published in 1846, it was likely deposited between c.

959 and 975 considering it contained coins relating to King Edgar. Despite this, the fact that two assemblages have been unearthed in the same area suggests that Bangor may have had a significant role in the wider Dublin-Chester trade route, possibly due to the town's proximity to Anglesey.²⁰⁰

In addition to coin hoards, excavated artefacts also provide evidence of extensive Norse trade with Wales.²⁰¹ Many of these have been found independently of each, including the likes of a glass bead at Hen Gastell near Swansea, and two ringed pins in Monmouthshire, one from Caerwent,²⁰² and the other from Portskewett.²⁰³ All three examples are consistent with other Hiberno-Norse and Scandinavian examples,²⁰⁴ as the bead is characteristic of the 'string bead' style, which is decorated with a twisted cable (see Figure 7),²⁰⁵ while the ringed pins, despite originating in Ireland, were quickly adopted by the Norse.²⁰⁶ The examples here

¹⁹⁹ Loyn, *The Vikings in Wales*, p. 14.

²⁰⁰ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 14-17.

²⁰¹ For more information regarding isolated coin finds, please see Loyn, *The Vikings in Wales*, pp. 14-15. For a list of isolated coin finds within Wales, please see Redknap, 'Viking-Age Settlement in Wales', p. 34.

²⁰² Richards, *The Vikings*, p. 82.

²⁰³ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 82.

²⁰⁴ Mark Redknap, 'St David's and a New Link to the Hiberno-Norse World', in *St David of Wales: Cult, Church, and Nation*, ed. By J. Wyn Evans and Jonathon M. Wooding. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 84-89 (pp. 85-89).

²⁰⁵ P.F. Wilkinson, and others, 'Excavations at Hen Gastell, Briton Ferry, West Glamorgan, 1991-92', *Medieval Archaeology*, 39 (1995), pp. 1-50 (pp. 22-23) <DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5284/1000320>>.

²⁰⁶ Redknap, 'Viking-Age Settlement in Wales', pp. 13-15.

likely date to around the ninth or tenth century (see Figure 8),²⁰⁷ and their presence suggest that said items were either crafted in Wales by an individual familiar with Norse styles, or, more likely, were imported into Wales from the wider Norse world.²⁰⁸

Continuing from this, excavations at Llanbedrgoch have unearthed a number of significant finds that indicate the site was a possible trading centre on Anglesey during the late-ninth and early-tenth centuries.²⁰⁹ For instance, nineteen lead weights and nine fragments of hack-silver have been discovered that indicates heavy Norse involvement at this prominent trading centre.²¹⁰ Hack-silver was a distinctively Norse form of bullion used within the period that consisted of, as the name suggests, hacked up pieces of silver, usually from brooches, coins, or other valuables,²¹¹ which would be valued by its weight.²¹² In conjunction with the lead weights, the presence of such items indicates that this distinctively Norse concept was being used as an active form of commerce at Llanbedrgoch around the start of the tenth century, which means that there must have been significant Norse trade with the site, possibly with Hiberno-Norse tradesmen operational in the area as well. As demonstrated, the excavations at Llanbedrgoch have unearthed a multitude of finds, more than doubling the number of Viking Age artefacts previously known in Wales, which indicates the prominence of this location as a centre of trade for the Norse.²¹³

²⁰⁷ Redknap, 'St David's and a New Link to the Hiberno-Norse World', p. 87.

²⁰⁸ Redknap, 'Viking-Age Settlement in Wales', pp. 13-15.

²⁰⁹ This correspondence to Redknap's second stage of Norse contact with Anglesey. For more information, see Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 74.

²¹⁰ Richards, *The Vikings*, p. 83.

²¹¹ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 107.

²¹² Raymond I. Page, *Chronicles of the Vikings: Records, Memorials, and Myth*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998 [2002]), p. 148.

²¹³ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 70-82.

However, some of the most spectacular finds have actually been discovered off the Welsh coast, particularly at Red Wharf Bay, the large natural harbour situated a kilometre from Llanbedrgoch,²¹⁴ and at The Smalls, a series of partially exposed basalt rocks located thirteen kilometres west of Grassholm off the coast of Pembrokeshire.²¹⁵ The former

of these was a set of five impressive Hiberno-Norse arm-rings discovered in the late-nineteenth century (see Figure 9), and are connected to the famous Cuerdale hoard,²¹⁶ which consisted of around 8,600 items.²¹⁷ As both of these were likely deposited around 905, and are believed to be linked to the exploits of Ingimund on Anglesey in 902/903, it is likely that



Figure 9: Image of the five Hiberno-Norse armrings found at Red Wharf Bay, Anglesey. St Fagons Museum of History, Archaeology and Numismatics, 28.215/8. Image taken from Amguedda Cymru - Museum Wales, 'Early Medieval Silver Arm Rings' [Accessed: 28 September 2022].



Figure 10: Image of the original sword guard find from The Smalls (top) and a diagram of the *Urnes* style present on the guard (bottom). Figure 1 depicts the replica guard. Located at St Fagans National Museum of History, Archaeology and Numismatics, 94.57H. Image taken from Amguedda Cymru - Museum Wales, 'Viking Copper Alloy Sword Guard' [Accessed: 29 September 2022].

these items were brought over to the island from Dublin during the mass exodus of Norsemen from the town.²¹⁸

Similarly, the richly decorated brass sword guard that was discovered 11m below surface at The Smalls in 1991 also demonstrates distinctively Norse characteristics, as it is decorated by a pair of stylised beasts interwoven with one another in the *Urnes* style of Norse artwork, which was

²¹⁴ Richards, *The Vikings*, p. 83.

²¹⁵ Redknapp, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 58-59.

²¹⁶ *ibid*, p. 62.

²¹⁷ Jane Kershaw, 'Viking-Age Silver in North-West England: Hoards and Single Finds', in *In Search of Vikings: Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Scandinavian Heritage of North-West England*, ed. By Stephen E. Harding, David Griffiths, and Elizabeth Royles. (London: CRC Press, 2015), pp. 149-164 (pp. 150-153).

²¹⁸ Mark Redknapp, 'The Vikings in Wales', in *The Viking World*, ed. By Stefan Brink and Neil Price. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), pp. 401-410 (p. 405).

popular during to the first quarter of the twelfth century (see Figure 10).²¹⁹ Strips of silver wire and an etched cross-hatchings pattern have been used to create a contrasting background that these beasts were laid upon, something that is a more Irish technique, indicating, due to the merging of the two styles, that this guard had been commissioned in Ireland.²²⁰ Given that the guard was discovered at such a hazardous location for maritime transport, it is almost certain that the ship carrying this item capsized while it was making its way around the south Welsh coast. It is unclear though where the intended destination of the ship and its cargo was, but Bristol or any port in south Wales are the most likely contenders. This not only reiterates the trade connections between Ireland, England, and Wales during the early twelfth century, and how the Welsh coast was still used as a major route between the British and Irish mainland, but it also indicates that Norse artistic tastes were prominent in the area.²²¹

Material trade was not the only reason for commerce between the Norse and the Welsh worlds however, as the trade in human lives was equally prominent and profitable, on both sides of the Irish Sea. Given how profitable this trade was, it is understandable why some scholars have attributed the reason for Norse activity in Wales to the acquisition of slaves, with raiding providing the dominant force of achieving this.²²² For instance, King Edward the Elder of Wessex paid a £40 ransom to the Norseman Othar to rescue captured Bishop of Llandaff, Cyfeiliog, from being sold into slavery, following the raid in 915.²²³ This event not only lined the pockets of this Norseman, but also reinforces the connection between south Wales and Wessex.²²⁴ Furthermore, the *ByT* records in 988/989 that the King of Dyfed, “Maradudd, son of Owain [d. c. 999], paid to the black Pagans a tribute of a penny for each

²¹⁹ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 54-59.

²²⁰ *ibid*, p. 55.

²²¹ Holmes and Lilley, *Viking Swansea* [Accessed: 30 July 2022].

²²² For more information on the incentive of slaves as the reason for Viking raiding on Wales, please see Ridd, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 29-31.

²²³ Ridd, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 30.

²²⁴ Loyn, *The Vikings in Wales*, pp. 4-8.

person”,²²⁵ and although there is no record of the total amount paid, the fact that mention of the event makes its way into the *ByT* suggests it was no small fee. As such, when the Welsh were the victims of slavery, the activity of the Norsemen understandably had a negative economic and social impact on the area, however, the Welsh were not always the victims.²²⁶

Through continuous interaction with the Norse, the Welsh began to understand the value of the trade and quickly became dealers and promoters of it, even to the extent that laws were implemented to outline the rights of slaves.²²⁷ The best example of this is within the Laws of Hywel Dda, a thirteenth century document containing content dating back to the tenth century,²²⁸ which state, regarding the three types of people who receives *sarhead* [compensation for insult]²²⁹ but not *galanas* [compensation for murder],²³⁰ that “the third is a bondman, there is no *galanas* for him; only payment of his worth to his master, like the worth of a beast”.²³¹ Not only does the demotion of slaves to the status of livestock become apparent in the laws, but the fact that these laws were implemented during the tenth century indicates that the Welsh interest in slaves, which only became more apparent through interaction with the Norse markets, was already well-cemented by this point.²³²

This is further reinforced in contemporary accounts where the Welsh themselves would raid rival territories for slaves to sell at the Norse markets, as seen in 1121,²³³ where Cadwalader and Owain, the sons of Gruffudd ap Cynan, raided the Welsh kingdom of Meirionydd and

²²⁵ *ByT*, pp. 30-31 [Accessed: 31 July 2022].

²²⁶ Loyn, *The Vikings in Wales*, pp. 5-7.

²²⁷ Bromberg, ‘Wales and the Medieval Slave Trade’, pp. 263-265 [Accessed: 1 August 2022].

²²⁸ Tim Clarkson, ‘Celts’ in *The Historical Encyclopaedia of World Slavery: Volume 1, A – K*, ed. By Junius P. Rodriguez. (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 1997), pp. 135-136 (p. 136).

²²⁹ University of Wales Trinity Saint David, ‘Sarhaed’ *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru: A Dictionary of the Welsh Language* (1964) <<https://welsh-dictionary.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html>> [Accessed: 1 August 2022].

²³⁰ University of Wales Trinity Saint David, ‘Galanas’ *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru: A Dictionary of the Welsh Language* (1964) <<https://welsh-dictionary.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html>> [Accessed: 1 August 2022].

²³¹ Hywel Dda, *The Laws of Hywel Dda*, 13th Century, ed. and trans. By Aneurin Owen, in Aneurin Owen, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales; Comprising Laws Supposed to be Enacted by Howel the Good, modified by subsequent regulations under the native princes prior to the conquest of Edward the First: and Anomalous Laws, consisting principally of institutions which by the Statue of Ruddlan were admitted to continue in force: With an English Translation of the Welsh Text*. Volume 1. (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1841), p. 599.

²³² Bromberg, ‘Wales and the Medieval Slave Trade’, pp. 263-266 [Accessed: 1 August 2022].

²³³ Redknapp, ‘Viking-Age Settlement in Wales’, p. 33.

“took out of it all the men of the country, and all their property with them into Lleyrn”.²³⁴

Given the lack of emotive language within this extract, whether it be surprise or disapproval from the author(s) regarding the actions of Gruffudd’s sons, it indicates that intra-Welsh slave raiding was a common and accepted occurrence within the period, even into the 12th century.

Likewise, the individuals enslaved during these raids were not always sold at the markets of Bristol or Dublin for a profit, but were offered to the Norse by the native leaders in exchange for military aid.²³⁵ Such occurred in around 1087/088, where it is said that Rhys ap Tewdwr, the deposed King of Deheubarth, paid a significant number of Welsh prisoners to the Hiberno-Norse warriors who had helped him reclaim his throne, in effect selling said captives into slavery.²³⁶ Likewise, the *VGC* recounts that the Hiberno-Norse fleet who betrayed Gruffudd ap Cynan in 1098 prior to the Battle of Anglesey Sounds were offered slaves as payment by the Earl of Chester, who had requested this betrayal in the first place.²³⁷ The source states that “Hugh had lavishly promised them [the Norse] a very generous share of the men, women, slaves, and girls, a fine reward for treachery”, but then reveals that he “had gathered from every part [of his domain, (including much of north Wales)] all the toothless hags, the hump-backed, lame, one-eyed, fat, and weak, [and] he offered them to the Danes in payment”, who on seeing “this wretched band of prisoners, raised anchor and took to the open sea”.²³⁸ Although the purpose of this extract is to demonstrate the deceptive nature of the Normans, it does provide an important insight into the slave trade in Wales, not only indicating how powerful an incentive a payment in slaves was for the Norse, but also offering

²³⁴ *ByT*, pp. 150-151 [Accessed: 5 August 2022].

²³⁵ Holmes and Lilley, *Viking Swansea* [Accessed: 6 August 2022].

²³⁶ Redknap, ‘Viking-Age Settlement in Wales’, p. 47. The contemporary record of this account comes from the *Annales Cambriae*, ed. By John Williams ab Ithel, *Annales Cambriae*. (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1860), p. 28., which states in Latin that “*Ingentem censum captivorum gentilibus et Scotis Res filius Teudar tradidit*”, which roughly translates to “Rhys, son of Tewdar, handed over a large number of captives to the Gentiles and Scots [Irish]”. This is compared to the *ByT*’s account that “an immense sum of money” was given, rather than slaves. *ByT*, pp. 52-53 [Accessed: 6 August 2022].

²³⁷ *VGC*, pp. 82-85.

²³⁸ *ibid*.

a contemporary view of who was, and was not, good slave material and a positive investment.²³⁹ The impact that Norse trade connections had on Wales cannot be understated, as it was through interaction with the Norse that the Welsh were introduced to the commercial opportunities offered by the slave trade, a trait that continued into the twelfth century.

As already seen by the Hiberno-Norse mercenaries who joined Gruffudd ap Cynan in his attempts to claim the throne of Gwynedd, undertaking military service in exchange for payment was nothing new to the Norse, and can be seen as another form of trading.²⁴⁰ Gruffudd was not the only Welsh ruler to employ Norse military services however, as Hywel ab Edwin, despite defeated the Vikings in 1042,²⁴¹ gathering a Hiberno-Norse fleet in 1044 with the intent of bringing about “the devastation of south Wales”.²⁴² Unfortunately for Hywel, his Norse following were defeated at Aber Tywi by Gruffudd ap Llywelyn’s forces, an event that cost Hywel his life.²⁴³ Despite this, the account demonstrates a predominant reason for why the Welsh sort the aid of Norse mercenaries, in that it was when they needed support against a militarily superior power. B.G. Charles emphasises this by suggesting that the Welsh alone were unable to defeat the Anglo-Saxons or Anglo-Normans in the field, but they could with the aid of the Norsemen, who were better equipped and more familiar with battle.²⁴⁴ Although powerful Welshmen could certainly hold their own against their eastern neighbours, as evident with Gruffudd ap Llywelyn’s conflict with the Saxons,²⁴⁵ the multiple instances where Welsh princes and exiles travelled to Ireland in search of protection and aid

²³⁹ Bromberg, ‘Wales and the Medieval Slave Trade’, pp. 263-269 [Accessed: 31 July 2022].

²⁴⁰ Redknap, ‘Viking-Age Settlement in Wales’, pp. 49-51.

²⁴¹ Davies, *War and Society in Medieval Wales*, p. 117.

²⁴² *ByT*, pp. 40-41 [Accessed: 14 July 2022].

²⁴³ Davies, *War and Society in Medieval Wales*, p. 117.

²⁴⁴ Charles, *Old Norse Relations with Wales*, pp. 49-50.

²⁴⁵ Davies, *War and Society in Medieval Wales*, p. 118.

indicates that for many, Norse mercenaries were a viable and often necessary source of support.²⁴⁶

The pinnacle example of the importance of Norse mercenaries to the Welsh however comes from the mid-tenth century prophetic poem, the *Armes Prydein Vawr* [The Great Prophecy of Britain], which fantasises about a great alliance amongst the Britons to defeat the Anglo-Saxons and expel them from Britain.²⁴⁷ Alongside the Britons, the Scots and the Irish, the poem also proclaims that “the foreigners of Dublin will stand with us [the Welsh]”,²⁴⁸ a clear indication that the Norse were considered a useful ally to this alliance, even over a century prior to when it becomes the norm.²⁴⁹ Based on this, the Norse, particularly in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, were a key source of aid and mercenaries to the Welsh, giving native rulers a chance to assert their claims over disputed land and resist invasion from their neighbours.²⁵⁰

As a result of this interaction between the Norse and the Welsh, it is unsurprising that elements from the former culture crossed over into that of the latter. This cross-cultural trading is evident in several forms, ranging from artistic and architectural designs through to social changes, as already seen by the Welsh promotion of the medieval slave trade.²⁵¹ For instance, Gerald of Wales, in his *Descriptio Kambriae*, argues that the choral and part singing in Wales is very similar to that of northern England.²⁵² According to Gerald:

“The English in general do not adopt this mode of singing, but only those of the northern countries, [so] I [Gerald] believe that it was from the Danes and Norwegians,

²⁴⁶ Welsh princes are recorded as seeking refuge across the Irish Sea in 1138, 1144, 1157, 1173, and 1193. For more information, please see Davies, *The Age of Conquest*, p. 10.

²⁴⁷ Williams, *Viking Britain*, p. 283.

²⁴⁸ Taliesin, *Armes Prydein Vawr*, 10th Century. trans. By R. Bromwich, ed. By Ifor Williams, in Ifor Williams, *Armes Prydein: The Prophecy of Britain from the Book of Taliesin (Medieval & Modern Welsh)*. (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1972), pp. v-11.

²⁴⁹ Ridd, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 31.

²⁵⁰ Redknap, ‘Viking-Age Settlement in Wales’, p. 49.

²⁵¹ Bromberg, ‘Wales and the Medieval Slave Trade’, pp. 263-269 [Accessed: 8 August 2022].

²⁵² Loyn, *The Vikings in Wales*, pp. 21-22.

by whom these parts of the island were more frequently invaded, and held longer under their dominion, that the natives contracted their mode of singing as well as speaking”.²⁵³

Although this extract clearly refers to northern England, Gerald is comparing the English form to that of Wales, preceding the above with “the inhabitants [of northern England] make use of the same kind of symphonious harmony [that the Welsh use]”.²⁵⁴ Due to the close political and commercial ties between the Hiberno-Norse world and Wales, especially in the north following the kingship of Gruffudd ap Cynan, who likely never truly divorced himself from his Norse roots, it is likely that a military conquest was not required to transfer elements of the Norse culture to the native Welsh, as was the case in England.²⁵⁵ As such, Gerald’s claim linking Welsh choral singing to the Norse a plausible one.²⁵⁶

Furthermore, elements of Norse culture are also evident within architectural monuments around Wales, predominantly near coastal locations. On Anglesey, for instance, there are the remains of two the tenth century stone crosses at Penmon Priory that contain elements of Hiberno-Norse origin.²⁵⁷ The larger of these (see Figure 11) has suffered significant weather damage over the years,²⁵⁸ but its distinctly Scandinavian *Borre* style design, which resembles a plaited ribbon with a symmetrical



Figure 11: Image of the larger Penmon cross (left) and a sketch of its *Borre* style design (right). Taken from Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 89.

²⁵³ Geraldus Cambrensis, *Descriptio Kambriae*, 12th Century, ed. and trans. By David Price (London: J.M. Dent, 1912), p. 175. From Project Gutenberg, *The Description of Wales, By Gerald of Wales* (2015) <<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/1092/1092-h/1092-h.htm>> [Accessed: 8 August 2022].

²⁵⁴ *ibid*, p. 175 [Accessed: 8 August 2022].

²⁵⁵ Redknap, ‘Viking-Age Settlement in Wales’, p. 9.

²⁵⁶ Judith Jesch, ‘Norse Historical Traditions and the Historia Gruffudd vab Kenan: Magnús Berœttr and Haraldr Hárfragi’, in *Gruffudd ap Cynan: A Collaborative Biography*, ed. By K.L. Maund. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1996), pp. 117-147 (p. 147).

²⁵⁷ Davies, *The Age of Conquest*, p. 11.

²⁵⁸ Terry Breverton, *Wales’ 1000 Best Heritage Sites*. (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2013), p. 41.



Figure 12: Image of the smaller Penmon cross. Taken from Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 90.

interlaced pattern,²⁵⁹ is still faintly visible.²⁶⁰ The other cross however (see Figure 12) consists of a wide rectangular shaft, adorned with an Irish-styled fret pattern, leading up to an ‘eared’ circle head which is Scandinavian in influence. This demonstrates a blending of Irish and Nordic artforms. As such, both crosses show Anglesey’s deep cultural connections with its Hiberno-Norse neighbours and the wider Scandinavian worlds, even at this early date.²⁶¹

Likewise, Nordic influence is also evidence along the western and southern coasts of Wales, although more sporadically placed compared to the north. These include the stone crosses at Nevern, Carew, and a fragment of one at St David’s, all of which are in Pembrokeshire, and have elements of Norse origin like those at Penmon.²⁶² However, the most noticeable example is the singular hogback stone found at the pre-Norman church of Llandewi Aber-arth in Ceredigion. Hogback stones are a distinctively Anglo-Scandinavian form of tombstone, originating around the tenth century and quickly spreading to other Scandinavian areas in Britain, that was carved to resemble a contemporary house.²⁶³ The one at Llandewi Aber-arth, which is 620mm long and likely dates to the tenth or eleventh century, is the only one of its kind to be found in Wales, and the fact it was found in central Wales, albeit on the coast,²⁶⁴ makes it even more intriguing given how this area experienced limited Norse interaction compared to the north and south of the country.²⁶⁵ Considering that almost all hogback stones are not found *in situ*, with many being used in the construction of later buildings, it is highly likely that the one at Llandewi Aber-

²⁵⁹ Kirsten Wolf, *Daily Life of the Vikings*. (London: Greenwood Press, 2004), p. 98.

²⁶⁰ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 88-93.

²⁶¹ *ibid*, 89-107.

²⁶² Loyn, *The Vikings in Wales*, pp. 14-15.

²⁶³ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 99.

²⁶⁴ *ibid*.

²⁶⁵ Redknap, ‘Viking-Age Settlement in Wales’, pp. 5-18.

arth was moved from its original location.²⁶⁶ However, as transporting stone more than a few miles by animal was expensive,²⁶⁷ it is likely that the original site was within Wales, indicating the presence of a Norseman nearby, or a Welshman being influenced by elements of Scandinavian culture and style.²⁶⁸

The Norse evidently had a profound and decisive impact on Wales, incorporating the area into their extensive trade empire that brought in large quantities of wealth and exotic items to its people, whether it be Carolingian franks or Arabic Kufic. As well as material goods, the Norse connections also brought an understanding of the profitable slave trade into Wales and an opportunity to embrace it, turning the Welsh from solely victims of slavery into practitioners of it.²⁶⁹ Similarly, this interaction between the two cultures led to Hiberno-Norse artistic and architectural styles becoming integrated and popular with the natives of Wales, as seen by stone monuments and archaeological finds, such as The Smalls sword guard and decorated jewellery.²⁷⁰ Nevertheless, the concentration of finds on Anglesey has led some to suggest that a Cambro-Norse identity began to develop on the island during the tenth and eleventh century, so the stone monuments may be a product of this merged identity.²⁷¹ However, by far the most important and impactful role that Norse trade had on Wales was their work as mercenaries. As demonstrated, the use of Norse mercenaries by native rulers provided the Welsh with a chance to stand their ground against invaders from England, whether Anglo-Saxon or Norman, or more powerful native princes, without which they would likely have been conquered by these parties.²⁷² Although not always successful, as

²⁶⁶ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 99.

²⁶⁷ Colin M. Bristow, 'The Geology of the Building and Decorative Stones of Cornwall, UK', in *Stone in Historic Buildings: Characteristics and Performance*, ed. By J. Cassar, and others. (Bath: The Geological Society Publishing House, 2014), pp. 93-120 (p. 95).

²⁶⁸ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 80-99.

²⁶⁹ *ibid*, pp. 19-64.

²⁷⁰ Loyn, *The Vikings in Wales*, pp. 14-15.

²⁷¹ Redknap, 'Viking-Age Settlement in Wales', p. 30.

²⁷² Ridd, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 31.

evident in 1044,²⁷³ the repeated occasions where native Welshmen sort out the Norse for military aid demonstrates how important they were to the rulers of Wales, as well as to Welsh independence as a whole.²⁷⁴

²⁷³ Davies, *War and Society in Medieval Wales*, p. 117.

²⁷⁴ Davies, *The Age of Conquest*, p. 10.

Chapter 3: Settling

Due to the trade routes between Ireland and England that ran along the north and south coasts of Wales, various havens, or waystations, were likely established along these routes to provide respite, safety, or repairs for trade ships during their travels. It is many of these waystations, usually located in naturally protected harbours, that may have developed into minor Scandinavian settlements and trade centres in Wales, particularly on Anglesey, around Pembrokeshire, and along the south Welsh coast.²⁷⁵ However, to identify possible waystation-turned-settlement sites, a combination of written, archaeological, and onomastic evidence must be used.

Annalistic references to Norse overlordship and conquest of Anglesey are evident within the *Annals Cambriae* and the *ByT*, with the former recording that Ingimund “took Maes Osfeilion” on his arrival in 902,²⁷⁶ while the latter states that the brothers Gudrød and Magnus Haraldson “subjugated the whole island [Anglesey]” in their 970s/980s campaigns.²⁷⁷ Either venture could have established a minor Scandinavian settlement on the island, with it possible that an already existing settlement or waystation was taken over to facilitate this. Given the location of Llanbedrgoch by the natural harbour of Red Wharf Bay, and the presence of a forge and clenched nails at the site, the latter of which were used to repair Norse ships, it is likely that the site was used as a waystation sometime during its life, which stretched from the seventh to the tenth centuries.²⁷⁸ Due to this, a significant Norse presence is likely at the site, with the excavated remains of five tenth century buildings reinforcing this. Three of these use the ‘sill-beam’ construction method, whereby a stone foundation is used to support vertical struts, and have a ‘sunken-floor’, meaning the floor was

²⁷⁵ Holmes and Lilley, *Viking Swansea* [Accessed: 12 August 2022].

²⁷⁶ *Annales Cambriae*, ed. and trans. By Ingram [Accessed: 12 August 2022].

²⁷⁷ *ByT*, pp. 24-25 [Accessed: 12 July 2022].

²⁷⁸ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 57-83.

dug out so the lower portion of the building was below surface level.²⁷⁹ Both of these are characteristic of Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon building styles,²⁸⁰ with ‘sunken-floors’ being the second most common form of Hiberno-Norse building types.²⁸¹ Additionally, *Building 1* contains the remnants of a central hearth and a slightly raised bench area towards the sides and back of the house, a fundamental characteristic of Scandinavian buildings. As such, there certainly seems to be Hiberno-Norse influence at Llanbedrgoch, especially since *Building 1* looks similar to other Norse buildings, as demonstrated by Figure 13.²⁸² However, there are acute differences between the buildings at Llanbedrgoch and those of other Norse sites, notably in the positioning of entranceways and internal roof supports, suggesting possible native influences. However, the style and shape of buildings does not always represent a culture, as these choices may be down to the availability of resources in the area rather than anything else. That said, the presence of some Scandinavian structural characteristics reinforces the extensive Norse influence over Anglesey, with said influence likely coming from a direct Norse presence at the site.²⁸³

Similarly, the *VGC* also recounts that Gruffudd’s maternal grandfather, Olaf

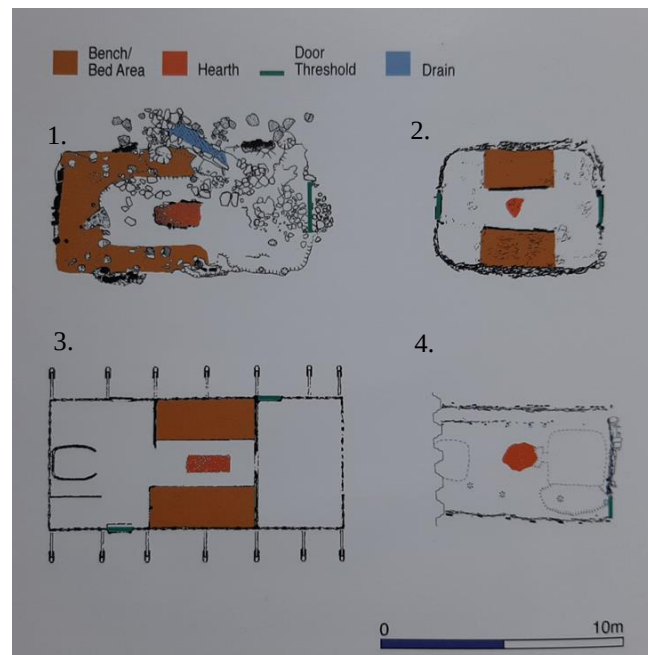


Figure 13: Image of Viking Age house plans. Plan 1 is *Building 1*, Llanbedrgoch, Plan 2 is from Viking Dublin, Plan 3 is from Scandinavian Hedeby in southern Denmark, and Plan 4 is from Anglo-Scandinavian York. Taken from Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 76.

²⁷⁹ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 75-79.

²⁸⁰ Richards, *The Vikings*, p. 83.

²⁸¹ Wallace, ‘The Archaeological Identity of the Hiberno-Norse Town’, pp. 55-56 [Accessed: 10 September 2022].

²⁸² Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 75-79.

²⁸³ *ibid.*

Sigtryggsson, was the:

“King of Dublin and of a fifth part of Ireland, of the Isle of Man.... [and] several other islands in as much as he was regarded as King of Denmark, of Galloway, of Arran, of Anglesey and of Gwynedd, where he built a castle which is as strong as possible with its ditch and rampart, part of which are still visible, and used to be called Castle of Olaf, though in Welsh it is called *Bon y Dom*.”²⁸⁴

It is the references to Olaf’s castle that provide the most convincing evidence for Scandinavian settlement during this time, as there are two reasons why an individual would construct a defensive fortification, notably to protect an area from external threats, such as an invading army, or, as seen by the Normans in Wales a century later, to assert physical authority and dominance over the inhabitants of a local area.²⁸⁵ Either reason demonstrates Scandinavian settlement and dominion over north Wales, as the former indicates the presence of a Norse settlement that the castle was intended to protect, while the latter suggests that the castle was built to suppress local resistance against Hiberno-Norse rule. As such, the establishment of Olaf’s Castle strongly indicates Scandinavian overlordship in northern Wales.²⁸⁶ However, the exact location of *Bon y Dom* has yet to be identified in the archaeological record,²⁸⁷ which has led some to suggest that the author’s claims regarding Olaf’s kingship are simply a way to provide legitimacy to Gruffudd’s claim, who, based on the VGC’s assertion, descended from the rulers of Gwynedd on both his paternal and maternal sides.²⁸⁸ However, just because the site has not been identified as yet, it does not mean that the source’s account is incorrect or unreliable, as new archaeological discoveries

²⁸⁴ VGC, pp. 54-55.

²⁸⁵ Davies, *The Age of Conquest*, p. 89.

²⁸⁵ *ibid*, p. 33.

²⁸⁶ Moore, ‘Gruffudd ap Cynan and the Medieval Welsh Polity’, pp. 27-28.

²⁸⁷ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 43.

²⁸⁸ Thornton, ‘The Genealogy of Gruffudd ap Cynan’, pp. 86-89.

occur regularly, which is why the VGC's claims regarding *Bon y Dom* and its Norse origins must be considered.²⁸⁹

Our most explicit reference to Norse settlement in Wales however comes from the *Jómsvíkinga Saga* and concerns Pálnatóki [also written as Pálnatóke, Pálna-Tóki, and Pálna Tóki], the group's first leader and a figure who has often been seen as legendary and mythological.²⁹⁰ The saga recounts that:

“At that time Wales [written in the saga as *Bretland*] was ruled by an earl names Stefnir, who had a wise and popular daughter called Álof. Pálna-Tóki landed there with his ships and intended to ravage Earl Stefnir's kingdom. When they heard of this, Álof and Björn the Welshmen [*Björn hinn brezki*] who was her counsellor decided to invite him to a banquet and to bestow great honour to him.... At the banquet, Pálna-Tóki asked for Álof's hand [in marriage] and the suit was readily granted. The banquet was immediately transformed into a wedding feast, and thereupon Stefnir created Pálna-Tóki an earl and gave him half of his kingdom, the rest of which would fall to him on Stefnir's death.”²⁹¹

Following his marriage, Pálnatóki remained in *Bretland* for roughly a year before returning to Denmark with his wife, leaving Björn the Welshmen in charge of his estates.²⁹² There are several details that can be extracted from this text, however, it has often been disregarded as a fictitious tale that includes little evidence to indicate that the Iclander writing this saga eight-hundred years ago was using *Bretland* to explicitly refer to Wales, as the term, according to Redknap, is believed to also mean ‘a distant land about which little is known’.²⁹³ Despite this, there is sufficient evidence to say that the Icelandic *Bretland* is a reference to Wales, as we know there were strong links between England and Iceland in the twelfth century, with

²⁸⁹ Until the excavations at Llanbedrgoch, many aspects of Scandinavian involvement with Anglesey were not known, including the possibility of settlement, as the site more than doubled our Viking-Age artefacts found in Wales. For more information, please see Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 43-82.

²⁹⁰ *ibid*, pp. 12-13.

²⁹¹ *The Jómsvíkinga Saga*, ed. and trans. By Blake, pp. 10-11.

²⁹² *ibid*.

²⁹³ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 12-13.

various members of the Icelandic Church studying in England during the period.²⁹⁴ This means that Icelanders would have been familiar with the geography of the British Isles, which, combined with references to *Bretland* in other saga material, strongly suggests that this place and Wales were one in the same. For example, the *Saga of Burnt Njal* states that the Norsemen Kari, on reaching Dover from Normandy, “sailed west, round *Bretland*, and so north, through Scotland’s Firth”, clearly demonstrating that *Bretland* was located west of England and needed to be sailed round to reach Scotland, both characteristics Wales undoubtedly fulfils.²⁹⁵ Due to this, it is almost certain that to the Icelanders of the twelfth century, *Bretland* was indeed their word for Wales.²⁹⁶

Although there is no definitive location as to where Stefnir and Pálnatóki’s settlement was, it can be narrowed down by looking at their descendants.²⁹⁷ According to the saga, Pálnatóki and Álof had one son together called Aki, and despite leaving Wales upon Álof’s death, Pálnatóki is said to have granted half of his Welsh lands to his grandson, Vagn, and the other half to Björn the Welshmen.²⁹⁸ The references to Björn are significant as the epithet of ‘the Welshmen’ strongly implies that this individual was born in Wales, likely to Norse parents given his name.²⁹⁹ As the role of counsellor would not be granted to a child, it indicates that there was at least a decade old Norse settlement in Wales sometime in the tenth century where Björn was born.³⁰⁰ This may have been in Stefnir’s territory, which from the names of

²⁹⁴ Such as Thorlak Thorhallsson, the Bishop of Skalholt between 1178 and 1193. Please see Kay Brainerd Slocum, *The Cult of Thomas Becket: History and Historiography through Eight Centuries*. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), pp. 67 – 89.

²⁹⁵ *The Story of Burnt Njal*, ed. and trans. By Webbe Dasent, p. Chapter CLVIII [Accessed: 14 August].

²⁹⁶ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 12-13

²⁹⁷ Alexander G. Moffat, ‘Pálnatoki in Wales’, in *Saga Book of the Viking Club*, Volume III, ed. By F.T. Norris. (London, 1903), pp. 163-173 (pp. 164-173). Accessed from Viking Society for Northern Research, *The Saga-Book Archives: Volume III (1902-1904)* (2021) <<https://vsnr.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Saga-Book-III.pdf>> [Accessed: 13 August 2022].

²⁹⁸ *The Jónsvíkinga Saga*, ed. and trans. By Blake, pp. 10-43.

²⁹⁹ Moffat, ‘Pálnatoki in Wales’, pp. 164-169 [Accessed: 14 August 2022].

³⁰⁰ The age of maturity for a male in Viking-Age Iceland seems to have been at the latest sixteen years old, suggesting that a Norse settlement in Wales had been present for around this long. This is according to William R. Short, *Icelanders in the Viking Age: The People of the Sagas*. (London: McFarland & Company, Inc, Publishers, 2010), pp. 63-64.

Pálnatóki's descendants, is possibly located around the estuaries of the River Tâf and the River Tywi, an area home to two small villages in the form of Llansteffan and Llandawke.³⁰¹ The latter of these, Alexander Moffat argues, is the most telling evidence of the saga's legitimacy, as 'awke' cannot be related to any Welsh term, but is extremely similar to the Norse name of Aki, Pálnatóki's son,³⁰² while 'Llan' was originally used to infer an enclosure of land before evolving to mean a parish church.³⁰³ As such, it is possible that Llandawke literary means 'Aki's enclosure', indicating the presence of a local landowner by this name. Moffat also links Llansteffan to the land Stefnir held sway over, using the same logic as before,³⁰⁴ but it has commonly been viewed that Llansteffan was named for its founder, Ystyffan, a sixth-century local saint.³⁰⁵ However, the similarity between Ystyffan, Steffan, and Stefnir bodes the question as to whether Llansteffan was 'Stefnir's enclosure' for a period of the tenth century.³⁰⁶ Due to this, it seems likely that, if the saga's account is truthful, then Pálnatóki's Welsh territories were likely situated near to the estuaries of the River Tâf and River Tywi, a location that would fit into the wider network of proposed waystations linking the southern Welsh coast.³⁰⁷

This leads us to the final question of whether the *Jómsvíkinga Saga* is a truthful and reliable source. Although it has been commonly viewed as fictitious, other accounts do seem to indicate the existence of Pálnatóki by mentioning the figure.³⁰⁸ This includes the *Gesta*

³⁰¹ Moffat, 'Palnatoki in Wales', pp. 169-170 [Accessed: 14 August 2022].

³⁰² *ibid.* [Accessed: 14 August 2022].

³⁰³ Thomas Morgan, *The Place-Names of Wales*. 2nd Edition. (Newport: John E. Southall, 1912), pp. 30-32.

³⁰⁴ Moffat, 'Palnatoki in Wales', pp. 169-170 [Accessed: 14 August 2022].

³⁰⁵ Morgan, *The Place-Names of Wales*, pp. 109-111.

³⁰⁶ Moffat furthers his argument by suggesting Peuliniog, a northern part of Cantref Gwarthaf, means Paul's land, suggesting the land of Pálnatóki. This have been omitted from this dissertation however, as Peuliniog is situated a significant distance from Llandawke, which would mean that Pálnatóki must have controlled a large area of Pembrokeshire, something that would appear in contemporary accounts if this was the case. For more information, please see Moffat, 'Palnatoki in Wales', pp. 165-172 [Accessed: 14 August 2022].

³⁰⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 163-172 [Accessed: 14 August 2022].

³⁰⁸ Alison Finlay and Þórdís Edda Jóhannesdóttir, 'Introduction', in *The Saga of the Jómsvíkings: A Translation with Full Introduction*, ed. By Alison Finlay and Þórdís Edda Jóhannesdóttir. (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications: Western Michigan University, 2018), pp. 1-66 (pp. 11-12).

*Danorum*³⁰⁹ and the *Compendiosa Regum Daniæ Historia*,³¹⁰ the respective works of Saxo Grammaticus and Sven Aggesen, two twelfth century Danish historians.³¹¹ Similarly, the Icelandic *Eyrbyggja Saga*,³¹² composed around the same time as the *Jómsvíkinga Saga*, also mentions Pálnatóki, but does not provide any explanation of who he is, indicating that he was a well-known figure or character to the twelfth century Icelanders.³¹³ As such, it is likely that Pálnatóki was known to the Scandinavians from earlier oral accounts, indicating that even if the character is fictitious, he was not created solely for the transcription of this saga. As outlined in the introduction however, oral testimony was viewed as a reliable source of information for the Icelanders, so Pálnatóki's existence in them seems to suggest the figure existed.³¹⁴

Other potential waystations, and by extension, possible locations of Scandinavian settlement, along the Welsh coasts can be ascertained using onomastic evidence. The etymology of placenames can be a very valuable resource for historians when it comes to indicating the extent of Norse settlement, however, they must be used warily, as they do not conclusively prove the settlement of said culture in an area. This is because it is equally likely that Scandinavian placenames were given to locations due to Norse overlordship, as it is that Scandinavian words naturally entered the 'native' language through their settlement and

³⁰⁹ Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, Late-12th to Early-13th Century, ed. and trans. By Oliver Elton, in Oliver Elton, *The Nine Books of the Danish History of Saxo Grammaticus*. (New York: Norroena Society, 1905). From Project Gutenberg, ed. By Douglas B. Killings, *The Danish History: Books I – IX by Saxo Grammaticus (Saxo the Learned)* (2013) <<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/1150/1150-h/1150-h.htm>> [Accessed: 17 August 2022].

³¹⁰ Sven Aggesen, *Compendiosa Regum Daniæ Historia*, 12th Century, ed. and trans. By Eric Christiansen, in Eric Christiansen, *Works of Sven Aggesen: Twelfth-Century Danish Historian*. (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 1992), pp. 48-74. Accessed from Viking Society for Northern Research, *Works of Sven Aggesen: Twelfth-Century Danish Historian* (2022) <<https://vsnr.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Sven.pdf>> [Accessed: 17 August 2022].

³¹¹ Finlay and Jóhannesdóttir, 'Introduction', pp. 11-12.

³¹² *Eyrbyggja Saga*, 13th Century, ed. and trans. By William Morris and Eiríkr Magnússon, in William Morris and Eiríkr Magnússon, *The Story of the Ere-Dwellers (Eyrbyggja Saga) with The Story of the Heath-Slayers (Heiðarvígja Saga) as Appendix*. (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1892), pp. 3-186 (p. 75).

³¹³ Finlay and Jóhannesdóttir, 'Introduction', pp. 11-12.

³¹⁴ Quinn, 'From Orality to Literacy in Medieval Iceland', p. 50.

³¹⁴ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 74.

constant interaction within the local area. Despite this, onomastic evidence is still a valuable resource as it indicates the presence, even if only limited, of Norse control and influence at a location, and the frequency of Norse placenames in some areas can only have been the result of consistent Norse influence from a vast density of Norse-speakers, rather than the presence of a few powerful Norsemen in control of the area.³¹⁵

Placenames themselves commonly consist of two main elements, the first is usually either the landowner's name (personal) or a notable characteristic of the location (topographical), while the second is a descriptor of the site. Unsurprisingly, Norse coastal placename elements are the most common in Wales, with many already being outlined in Chapter 2.³¹⁶ Even Anglesey itself is believed derive from a Norse name in the form of *Önguls-ey*, literally meaning Öngul's Island, although the historical identity of this Öngul has yet to be identified.³¹⁷ That said however, the name's significance is more due to its popularity rather than its origins, as Anglesey has become the commonly accepted name for the island in English, likely due to being easier to pronounce for the Anglo-Scandinavians and Normans,³¹⁸ rather than its traditional native name of *Ynys Môn*, a trend that is equally apparent with the likes of Bardsey [W: *Ynys Enlli*] and Ormes Head [W: *Pen Y Gogarth*].³¹⁹ The reason for Anglesey's Norse name has been attributed to its repeated contact with the Norse world through the previously discussed raids and outright conquest of the island, which likely lead to some Scandinavian settlement there.³²⁰ Although Gruffudd ap Cynan's rule has also been put forward for establishing the name, the ASC uses Anglesey when describing events in 1098,³²¹ meaning the name was well-established by this point. As such, Gruffudd's connections with the Norse likely reinforced this Scandinavian placename rather than being

³¹⁵ Carroll, Harrison and Williams, *The Vikings in Britain and Ireland*, pp. 40-43.

³¹⁶ Haywood, *The Penguin Historical Atlas of the Vikings*, pp. 38-79.

³¹⁷ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 19-46.

³¹⁸ Loyn, *The Vikings in Wales*, p. 19.

³¹⁹ *ibid*, p. 10.

³²⁰ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 19.

³²¹ ASC, p. 234.

responsible for it, so without the Norse, the English names of various Welsh islands would not exist.³²²

By far the highest concentration of Norse placenames in Wales though is around the Pembrokeshire coasts, both in terms of nautical islands and evidence of Scandinavian settlement (see Figure 14). It is the Welsh mainland that provides our best evidence for this, as the Scandinavian elements of *-wick*, meaning bay, and *-ford*, meaning fjord, can be identified in various placenames along the coast of this area.³²³ Some of the most prominent of these include Milford Haven [ON: *melr* [sandbank]-*fjörðr*] and Fishguard [ON: *Fiskigarðr* [encloser for catching or keeping fish]] on the south and north coasts of Pembrokeshire respectively, and Swansea, likely originating Sveinn's -ey [Svein's Island].³²⁴ All of these are significant Scandinavian placenames in southern Wales, however, they have often been attributed to post-conquest developments with the influx of Anglo-Saxons settling in the area under the Normans.³²⁵ This is certainly the case for some placenames in Pembrokeshire, such as Haraldston, Furzton, and Yerboston, which incorporate the Anglo-Saxon suffix of '-tun' alongside Norse names.³²⁶ However, contemporary written and archaeological evidence, alongside DNA, and the fact that Scandinavian placenames do not exclusively conform to the natural Anglo-Welsh linguistic boarder, does not necessarily support this idea and suggests the presence of Scandinavians in the area, particularly around the Milford, Fishguard, and Swansea, prior to the Norman conquest.³²⁷

³²² Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 19-46.

³²³ Haywood, *The Penguin Historical Atlas of the Vikings*, pp. 78-79.

³²⁴ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 19-21.

³²⁵ Gillian Fellow-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Place-Names of the Irish Sea Province', in *Viking Treasure from the North-West: The Cuerdale Hoard in its Context*, ed. By James Graham-Campbell. (Liverpool: The National Museum & Galleries on Merseyside, Occasional Papers 5, 1992), pp. 31-40 (pp. 31-40).

³²⁶ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 20-21.

³²⁷ Loyn, *The Vikings in Wales*, pp. 8-10.



Figure 14: A map of Wales demonstrating those placenames in Wales that have Scandinavian elements. The locations have been grouped depended on whether they are a coastal location (the orange circles) or a settlement name (the red squares). The red line marked with 'Z1' represents the areas of Pembrokeshire where the native population has a higher percentage of the A gene in their DNA compared to the rest of Wales. Those areas within the line marked with 'Z2' are the exceptions to these higher levels in Pembrokeshire. This will be discussed in more detail on pages 67-68. Map and information taken from Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 20-24.

Although unnamed in the primary material, it is highly likely that Milford Haven was used as a refuge for the Norse on several occasions, such as in 914, when Othar and his men, after facing starvation on Steep Holm, fled to Dyfed before eventually traveling to Ireland.³²⁸

Given the sites location on the southern coast of Pembrokeshire, it would be one of the final points in Wales reached while following the coast from Steep Holm to Ireland,³²⁹ as seen by the forces of the Norman Marcher Lord Richard ‘Strongbow’ launching from this point for the Norman invasion of Ireland.³³⁰ All of this, combined with the town’s Norse name, makes it an extremely logical location for where Othar arrived in Dyfed, either establishing the site himself or adopting the waystation as a refuge, both of which indicate Scandinavian settlement.³³¹

Furthermore, archaeological excavations at Newton, Llanstadwell, have unearthed evidence of agricultural production around Milford Haven dating to between the eighth and tenth centuries.³³² Among other finds, archaeologists discovered the upper stone of rotary quern similar in form, date, and style to those found at Llanbedrgoch, as well as two corn drying pits, the content of which were used to ascertain, through radiocarbon dating, the period of use. Pits such as these were a staple of agricultural production in western Britain, with it necessary for harvested corn to be dried out prior to storage.³³³ The presence of such items indicates a local settlement nearby around the eighth and tenth century that both operated and benefited from the production of corn,³³⁴ the storage of which suggests that the settlement

³²⁸ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 30.

³²⁹ Holmes and Lilley, *Viking Swansea*, [Accessed: 25 August 2020].

³³⁰ Conor Kostick, *Strongbow: The Norman Invasion of Ireland*. (Dublin: The O’Brien Press, 2013), pp. 141-144.

³³¹ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 19-31.

³³² Redknap, ‘Viking-Age Settlement in Wales’, p. 16.

³³³ For more information regarding the Newton excavations, please see Pete Crane, *Excavations at Newton, Llanstadwell, Pembrokeshire: Draft Report 2004/73*. (Llandeilo: Dyfed Archaeological Trust Ltd., 2004), pp. 7-31 <https://coflein.gov.uk/media/30/461/cap544_058.pdf> [Accessed: 25 August 2022].

³³⁴ Redknap, ‘Viking-Age Settlement in Wales’, p. 16.

was permanent as supplies needed to be stored for the winter.³³⁵ Given its proximity to Milford and its dating to when the Norse were active, it is possible that the agricultural services that these drying pits offered were used by the Norse inhabitants of Milford, indicating a Scandinavian presence at the site distinct from later Anglo-Norman developments.³³⁶

Scandinavian settlement in Pembrokeshire is further reinforced by DNA, which provides an insight into the genetic heritage of an individual passed down from parents to children. This is particularly the case with two segments in the form of the Y-chromosome and mitochondrial DNA.³³⁷ The former of these only appears in males and is copied from father to son, creating a direct and identical genetic trail that can be traced back countless male generations, while the latter is the female equivalent, passed down from a mother to her children, although only subsequent female generations can pass on the gene. Through time, minor mutations in DNA can occur, causing divergent forms in the above-mentioned segments at points known as markers. Said points can be used to broadly group Y-chromosomes and mitochondrial DNA together by characteristics specific to a group of people from a certain area, providing a glimpse into the genetic heritage of the modern population and offering an insight into the movements and origins of our ancestors.³³⁸

Based upon information gathered by the National Blood Transfusion Service,³³⁹ various studies have highlighted the higher frequency of A genes within Pembrokeshire's indigenous population, with some pointing to levels of a 33.6% higher occurrence in this area's populous compared to elsewhere in Wales.³⁴⁰ Occurrences of this level are only matched by areas in Scandinavia, which strongly indicates a Scandinavian heritage for many of Pembrokeshire's

³³⁵ P.S Langeslag, *Seasons in the Literature of the Medieval North*. (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2015), p. 20.

³³⁶ Redknap, 'Viking-Age Settlement in Wales', p. 16.

³³⁷ Carroll, Harrison and Williams, *The Vikings in Britain and Ireland*, pp. 129-130.

³³⁸ *ibid.*

³³⁹ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 24.

³⁴⁰ Holmes and Lilley, *Viking Swansea*, [Accessed: 26 August 2020].

natives, an idea in line with significant levels of Norse settlement and intermarriage in the area. Interestingly however, it is north Pembrokeshire that displays these higher levels rather than the south, which means the area around Milford is excluded while the territory of Fishguard is not (see Figure 14). As such, it could be claimed that this information completely discredits the above examination regarding Milford's Norse origins, yet this is not the case as DNA evidence is subject to natural selection, and these higher levels of A genes do not appear in other places where one would expect to find them, such as on Anglesey or in Normandy.³⁴¹ Although DNA analysis is an incredibly useful tool in understanding the movement of peoples of the past, it must be used in conjunction with archaeological, written, and onomastic evidence, which is why sites such as Fishguard, with its Norse name and supporting DNA evidence, can be seen as a small Scandinavian settlement on the northern coasts of Pembrokeshire.³⁴²

Finally, by comparing early Swansea to Hiberno-Norse towns, such as Dublin, it is possible to identify whether the town has Scandinavian ancestry, as if Swansea started its life as a waystation, then it likely would have been established by Hiberno-Norse traders operating the southern trade route.³⁴³ This can be achieved as Viking-Age towns, at least based off those in Ireland, all share certain characteristics, which can be described as distinctively Hiberno-Norse, so by examining and comparing these with Swansea, it is possible to see if they share a similar heritage. For instance, all those in Ireland overlooked local estuaries from higher ground, exploiting the natural defences of the area, while also creating access for ships by rivers or sea. Further still, extensive levels of planning seem to have been used within Hiberno-Norse towns, as they were divided by streets and laneways that followed the natural contours of the site, with post-and-wattle boundary fences subsequently dividing these

³⁴¹ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 24.

³⁴² Carroll, Harrison and Williams, *The Vikings in Britain and Ireland*, pp. 129-130.

³⁴³ Holmes and Lilley, *Viking Swansea*, [Accessed: 30 August 2020].

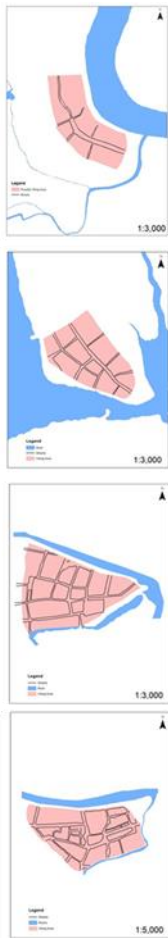


Figure 15: Diagrams of the possible layouts of Hiberno-Norse towns. The pink represents the likely parameters of the Norse town, the blue represents the river, and the black represents likely streets. From top down, the diagrams are of Swansea, Limerick, Waterford, and Dublin. Taken from Holmes and Lilley, *Viking Swansea*, [Accessed: 30 September 2020].

divisions into individual plots of land which ranged in size and shape.³⁴⁴ By comparison, Anglo-Saxon towns placed less focus on the defensive properties of a location for their sites, many of which were expanded from earlier Roman settlements, and were commonly set out in a grid pattern of equally divided plots.³⁴⁵ Based on the work of the City Witness Project, which has used ‘plan analysis’,³⁴⁶ an approach whereby variations in the layout of a town’s streets and building plots can be used to identify phases of urban development at the site, it is clear that Swansea conforms more to the Hiberno-Norse style of towns rather than Anglo-Saxon.³⁴⁷ Swansea’s location on raised ground close to the large and navigable River Tawe, which likely flowed more westerly in period offering a possible reason for the town’s ‘island-ship’,³⁴⁸ highlights its locational similarities with its Norse

counterparts, whilst its main street conform to the natural shape of the land, hence why Holmes and Lilley perfectly summarise that Swansea’s “layout does not look out of place among the Hiberno-Norse towns” (see Figure 15).³⁴⁹ Given all of the above, it is highly likely that the town’s origins were Norse, starting out as a small waystation, featuring its natural harbour, used by Norse traders

³⁴⁴ Wallace, ‘The Archaeological Identity of the Hiberno-Norse Town’, pp. 35-47 [Accessed: 30 August 2022].

³⁴⁵ *ibid*, pp. 39-47 [Accessed: 30 August 2022].

³⁴⁶ Holmes and Lilley, *Viking Swansea*, [Accessed: 30 August 2020].

³⁴⁷ Keith Lilley, *Medieval Swansea: Blog: Locating Viking Swansea* (2016) <<https://www.medievalswansea.ac.uk/en/blog/keith-wip/index.html>> [Accessed: 30 August 2022].

³⁴⁸ According to A. Mawer, *Problems of Place-Name Study: Three Lectures Delivered at King’s College under the Auspices of the University of London*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014 [1929]), p. 47., the term island in the period likely also referred to an area of land that stood out above surrounding marshland or low, lying land. As the course of the river Tawe was significantly altered in the 1840’s due to industrial developments occurring at Swansea, it is possible that the area was waterlogged in the Medieval period, giving rise to the ‘island’ part of Swansea’s name. For more information, please see Gareth Dean and Keith Lilley, *Medieval Swansea: Mapping Medieval Swansea* (2014) <<https://www.medievalswansea.ac.uk/en/mapping-medieval-swansea/index.html>> [Accessed: 9 September 2022].

³⁴⁹ Holmes and Lilley, *Viking Swansea*, [Accessed: 31 August 2020].

while competing in the Ireland-Bristol trade route, before developing into a town during the tenth and eleventh century. Perhaps the most striking piece of evidence of the town's existence prior to the Norman arrival though is the fact that the Anglo-Normans felt it necessary to conquer the site, indicating that the location's name and regional importance were well established by c. 1100.³⁵⁰

The above has demonstrated how, despite no clear indication of large-scale Scandinavian takeover, there is information to suggest that some smaller enclaves of Scandinavian settlement did occur around the coasts of Wales. Much of this information relates to the idea of waystations used for safety in naval travel, with the possible location of many of these being identified using written, archaeological, and onomastic evidence.³⁵¹ All three forms of evidence have indicated that Anglesey was brought under the domain of the Norse, whether by the likes of Olaf or Gudrød, for much of the period, and it is at Llanbedrgoch that Hiberno-Norse settlement seems the most concrete, given the number of finds at the site.³⁵² It is also here that our best evidence for a new and emerging Cambro-Norse culture appears, with native practices and styles blending with those of the incoming Norse, as evident in the building styles present at the site. This also likely led to a continuous connection to the Norse world on Anglesey, even when the island had been reclaimed by native rulers.³⁵³

Anglesey is the only location in north Wales where there is a hint of Scandinavian settlement, yet, as was the case with Viking raiding, the distribution is far greater in south Wales. As before, much of our content suggesting possible waystations and small-scale settlement

³⁵⁰ Holmes and Lilley, *Viking Swansea*, [Accessed: 31 August 2020].

³⁵¹ *ibid.* [Accessed: 31 August 2020].

³⁵² Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 43-85.

³⁵³ Redknap, 'Viking-Age Settlement in Wales', pp. 11-16.

originates as written or onomastic evidence, with our most striking example coming from the *Jómsvíkinga Saga*. Despite the fictitious labelling this source has often been subjected to, there is certainly evidence to indicate some truth in the tale, especially when compared to other materials, which have also demonstrated the meaning of the term *Bretland*. Given this, the proposed location of Llandawke does fit nicely into the chain of proposed waystations (see Figure 16), acting as a mid-point to the Carmarthenshire Bay stretch, with Fishguard and Milford Haven to its west and Swansea to the east.³⁵⁴ Although these latter locations have often been cited as post-conquest developments, their placement in the above chain alongside written and archaeological evidence has indicated that this may not be the case, especially with the addition of Scandinavian DNA that is unlikely to have been caused by post-conquest settlement. As such, although the evidence is small and circumstantial when looked at independently, when it is used in conjunction with one another, a picture starts to form that indicates pockets of small-scale Norse settlement around the south coast of Wales, particularly Pembrokeshire, and larger and more concrete settlement in the North on Anglesey.³⁵⁵

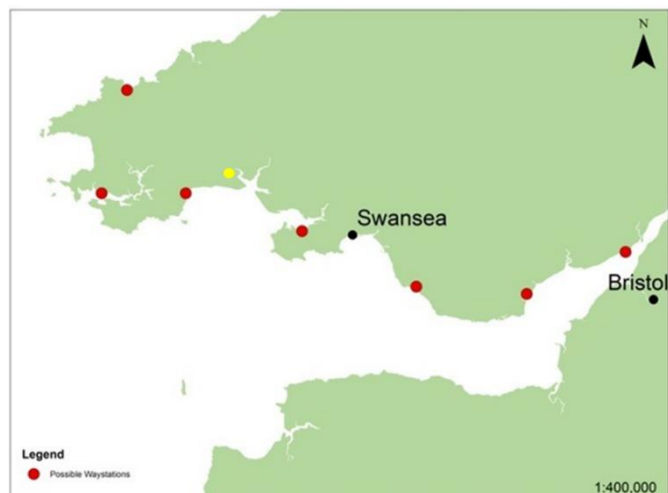


Figure 16: Map of possible waystations along the south coast of Wales (red circles). The yellow circle is where the modern village of Llandawke is located. Taken from Holmes and Lilley, *Viking Swansea*, [Accessed: 30 September 2020]. Llandawke added using information from Moffat, 'Palnatoki in Wales', pp. 163-170 [Accessed: 20 September 2022].

³⁵⁴ Moffat, 'Palnatoki in Wales', pp. 169-170 [Accessed: 20 September 2022].

³⁵⁵ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 24-85.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this dissertation has demonstrated that, despite the limited recent scholarship in the field, the Norse were heavily involved in Wales, with the extent of Norse activity between the ninth and twelfth centuries being identified, and the impact that their actions had on the people and politics of Wales has been examined. This has permitted the fulfilment of the outlined objectives, notably assessing the extent and impact that the Norse had on Wales, identifying whether they were more involved with the North or the South, discussing the possible instances of Scandinavian settlement in the area, and providing an up-to-date record of Norse-Welsh interaction.³⁵⁶ Despite beginning roughly fifty years after the ‘Viking Age’ elsewhere in Britain, the Welsh ‘Viking Age’ was still as active as the others and has been divided into three ages corresponding to lulls in activity, notably during the reign of Hywel Dda, Gruffudd ap Llywelyn, and the death of Gruffudd ap Cynan. The actions of the Norse have been grouped based on the three phases of activity at Llanbedrgoch, or in other words, into raiding, trading, and settling.³⁵⁷

The first chapter outlined the instances of Viking raiding in relation to Wales, starting from the first hit-and-run attack that resulted in the death of Cyngen in 852, and continuing through to the twelfth century.³⁵⁸ These attacks were frequent after this initial strike, only quietening down during the lulls of Viking activity, and were focused on Anglesey and, to a wider distribution, the south coast.³⁵⁹ These raids caused a major psychological impact on the Welsh, particularly when a raid resulted in the death of an important local leader, as occurred twice at St David’s, or an important regional site was sacked, as seen with Aberffraw in 968, which would have been on top of the emotional fear caused by their arrival, and the political,

³⁵⁶ Holmes and Lilley, *Viking Swansea*, [Accessed: 31 August 2020].

³⁵⁷ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 4-74.

³⁵⁸ *ibid*, pp. 16-25.

³⁵⁹ Loyn, *The Vikings in Wales*, pp. 3-22.

economic, and social consequences that followed. However, it has been shown that the Welsh were not averse to partaking in raids themselves, with this simply being one form of Welsh warfare in the period. As such, the extent of the impact of Norse raids on Wales is lessened slightly as it was nothing new for the Welsh, who likely suffered the same fear and outcomes irrespective of whether it was caused by Danes, Saxons, or native Welshmen.³⁶⁰ Furthermore, pitched encounters involving the Norse and the Welsh have also been shown to be highly impactful, with victory enabling the Welsh to reclaim stolen goods, while defeat often caused the looting of more sites and, in severe cases, the deaths of significant leaders. The final phase of Scandinavian involvement with Wales is linked to Gruffudd ap Cynan, the twelfth century King of Gwynedd of biological Hiberno-Norse descent who was very much a raider in his early years and as such can be called a Viking. His importance cannot be understated, as his attempts inadvertently helped pave the way for Norman dominion over north Wales, and it was through the actions of the Norse again, notably Magnus Barefoot at the Battle of Anglesey Sounds, that the North was restored to the line of Rhodri Mawr. As such, without the involvement of the Norse, Gruffudd's line would not have ruled and been able to put up stern resistance against English advances in the late-twelfth and thirteenth centuries.³⁶¹ It is for these reasons that although Welsh churches suffered less compared to their British contemporaries, Norse raiding activities still had an extensive impact on the Welsh.³⁶²

The second chapter then discussed evidence regarding Scandinavian trading with Wales, primarily focusing on the North and South coasts that were part of the Dublin-Chester/Bristol trade route.³⁶³ As outlined, several coin hoards have been discovered in Wales, and although there is debate over what exactly these represent, they are clearly connected to the Norse, either being buried due to the threat of a Scandinavian force or bolstered with profits of Norse

³⁶⁰ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 28-46.

³⁶¹ *ibid*, pp. 28-52.

³⁶² *ibid*, p. 43.

³⁶³ Holmes and Lilley, *Viking Swansea*, [Accessed: 31 August 2020].

trading. Likewise, the Welsh involvement in these Scandinavian trade routes brought them into contact, although indirectly, with mainland Europe and the Middle East, as demonstrated by the Carolingian coins and Arab Kufic unearthed in Wales, and this region was not only a passive observer of this trade, but an active participant in it, given the number of distinctively Hiberno-Norse finds discovered.³⁶⁴ It is likely that many in Wales profited from this interaction with the Norse world, with local leaders likely recognising the economic potential that Scandinavian interaction had, resulting in a positive impact on Wales by the Norse based on material trade.³⁶⁵ However, the trade of material goods was not the only trade occurring across the Irish Sea, as the slave trade was also an extremely prominent and profitable venture. Understandably, those Welshmen on the receiving end of Viking slave raids had a negative experience of the Norse, yet as demonstrated, many natives embraced the trade, becoming active participants of it, thanks to their interactions with the Norse. Although one cannot conclude whether the medieval slave trade had a positive or negative impact on Wales, the fact that it became a prominent and long-lasting activity in the country, to the extent that laws were implemented outlining the compensation for slaves, demonstrates the extensive impact that Norse interaction had on Welsh culture.³⁶⁶ This is further reinforced by the various stone monuments that litter the Welsh coasts that contain Hiberno-Norse artistic styles. By far the most impactful aspect of Norse-Welsh trading though comes down to the Scandinavian's work as mercenaries for the Welsh princes. As demonstrated, the Welsh often required Norse aid against invading Anglo-Saxons, Normans, or more powerful native rulers, as seen during the respective ventures of Gruffudd ap Cynan and Hywel ab Edwin. Due to the multitude of occasions when Welsh exiles fled to Ireland or Man in search of aid, it is clear how important Norse mercenaries were to the Welsh, without whom the Welsh would likely

³⁶⁴ Loyn, *The Vikings in Wales*, pp. 3-22.

³⁶⁵ *ibid*, p. 19.

³⁶⁶ Bromberg, 'Wales and the Medieval Slave Trade', pp. 263-269 [Accessed: 31 July 2022].

have succumbed to invaders from England prior to the thirteenth century. As such, Norse trade had an extensive positive impact on Wales and its people.³⁶⁷

The final chapter identified likely instances of Scandinavian settlement in Wales, which is primarily focused on potential waystations around Anglesey, Pembrokeshire, and the South coast.³⁶⁸ Written, archaeological, and onomastic evidence has been used to postulate the locations of these sites, with Llanbedrgoch on Anglesey likely having a significant Hiberno-Norse community based on the finds and structural styles at the site. However, these structural styles are not wholly Norse, but contain more native elements, suggesting the existence of a distinct Cambro-Norse culture emerging at the site, and likely over Anglesey as a whole, especially since the island was likely under complete Norse control for portions of the period.³⁶⁹ Furthermore, the *Jómsvíkinga Saga* is our most explicit written reference to Norse settlement in Wales, with the area around Llandawke and Llansteffan possibly being the home of such settlement given their similarities in name to Pálmatóki's family, and although Pálmatóki has often been seen as fictitious, this dissertation has demonstrated that there is likely some truth to the tale.³⁷⁰ Elsewhere in south Wales, it is likely that Fishguard, Milford, and Swansea were all Norse waystations and settlement sites, containing distinctively Norse placename elements that likely predate the Norman conquest, as reinforced by supplementary excavations and DNA analysis.³⁷¹ Based on the evidence, which must be used in conjunction with one another, Scandinavian settlement in Wales is far more likely along the South coast than it is anywhere else, with Anglesey being the only exception to this. As such, Norse settlement was not extensive, and its most impactful element was the establishment of a few prominent sites, such as Swansea, and the naming of various islands

³⁶⁷ Davies, *War and Society in Medieval Wales*, pp. 117-118.

³⁶⁸ Holmes and Lilley, *Viking Swansea*, [Accessed: 31 August 2020].

³⁶⁹ Redknap, 'Viking-Age Settlement in Wales', pp. 11-16.

³⁷⁰ Moffat, 'Palmatoki in Wales', pp. 163-170 [Accessed: 20 September 2022].

³⁷¹ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 24-52.

and nautical points that have become the commonly accepted names for these locations.³⁷²

However, as Scandinavian settlement did not have any long-lasting impact on Wales, such as introducing words to the native Welsh language, its impact is significantly lessened.³⁷³

Overall, this dissertation has demonstrated that there was significant Norse involvement in Wales between the ninth and the twelfth centuries, with extensive and highly impactful consequences. Although the Norse are commonly viewed negatively, and this was certainly the case in some instances where they had a negative impact on the population, for the most part, the impact of the Norse on Wales was a positive one.³⁷⁴ It is their trading connections with Wales that had the greatest impact on the country, as this provided multiple opportunities for native Welshmen to profit from an extensive series of networks, as well as offering military service against native opposition, something that was paramount to the survival of Welsh independence.³⁷⁵ Similarly, evidence has shown that south Wales experienced slightly higher levels of Norse activity, including some of our best evidence of possible Scandinavian settlement, with only Anglesey in the North matching it. This has provided an up-to-date analysis of Norse involvement within Wales but has only scratched the surface of this vast and largely unexplored topic, something that I hope is explored more fully with future discoveries.³⁷⁶

³⁷² Loyn, *The Vikings in Wales*, p. 19.

³⁷³ Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 103.

³⁷⁴ *ibid.*

³⁷⁵ Davies, *The Age of Conquest*, pp. 10-16.

³⁷⁶ Loyn, *The Vikings in Wales*, pp. 19-21.

Bibliography

Manuscript and Archival Sources

Aberystwyth

National Library of Wales

NLW MS 6680B

Aberystwyth

National Library of Wales

Peniarth Collection

Peniarth MS 20

Aberystwyth

National Library of Wales

Peniarth Collection

Peniarth MS 28

Aberystwyth

National Library of Wales

Peniarth Collection

Peniarth MS 256

Aberystwyth

National Library of Wales

Peniarth Collection

Peniarth MS 434

Cambridge

Corpus Christi

MS 454

Dublin

Trinity College Library

MS 1282

Dublin

Trinity College Library

MS 1293

London

The British Library

Additional 4784

London

The British Library

Additional 4789

London

The British Library

Additional 4792

London

The British Museum

Cotton MS Domitian A.1

London

The British Museum

Cotton MS Vespasian A xiv

London

The British Library

MS Harleian 3858

London

The British Library

MS Harleian 3859

Oxford

Bodleian Library

Jesus College MS. 111

The Red Book of Hergest

Oxford

Bodleian Library

Rawlinson B 488

Oxford

Bodleian Library

Rawlinson B 489

Oxford

Bodleian Library

Rawlinson B 502

Primary Sources

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 9th to 12th Century, ed. and trans. By Garmansway, G.N. in Garmansway, G.N. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. (London: J.M. Dent Ltd. 1992 [1953]).

Annales Cambriae, ed. and trans. By Ingram, J. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. (London: Everyman Press, 1912). Accessed from Fordham University, 'Medieval Sourcebook: The Annals Cambriae (Annals of Wales)', *Internet Medieval Sourcebook* (2021) <<https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/annalescambriae.asp>> [Accessed: 14 July 2022].

Annales Cambriae, ed. By Williams J. *Annales Cambriae*. (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1860).

The Annals of Loch Ce, ed. and trans. By Hennessy, W.M. From McDonald, M. ‘Annals of Loch Ce’, *The Corpus of Electronic Texts: A Project of University College Cork* (2008) <<https://celt.ucc.ie/published/T100010A/index.html>> [Accessed: 15 July 2022].

The Annals of Tigernach, ed. and trans. By Niocaill, G.M. From Purcell, E., and Ó Corráin, D. ‘Annals of Tigernach’, *The Corpus of Electronic Texts: A Project of University College Cork* (2010) <<https://celt.ucc.ie/published/T100002A/index.html>> [Accessed: 15 July 2022].

The Annals of Ulster, ed. and trans. By Banbury P. and Beechinor, S. From ‘The Annals of Ulster’, *The Corpus of Electronic Texts: A Project of University College Cork* (2000) <<https://celt.ucc.ie/published/T100001A/index.html>> [Accessed: 29 May 2022].

Brut y Tywysogion, ed. and trans. By Williams, J. in *Brut y Tywysogion; or, The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales*, ed. By Williams J. (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1860). Accessed from HaithiTrust, ‘Brut y Tywysogion; or, The Chronicle of the Princes [A.D. 681-1282], Edited by John Williams. Published by the Authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty’s Treasury, under the direction of the Master of the Roles’, *HaithiTrust Digital Library* (2008) <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044081110702&view=1up&seq=1&skin=2021>> [Accessed: 3 July 2022].

Eyrbyggja Saga, 13th Century, ed. and trans. By Morris W. and Magnússon, E. in Morris, W. and Magnússon, E. *The Story of the Ere-Dwellers (Eyrbyggja Saga) with The Story of the Heath-Slayers (Heiðarvígja Saga) as Appendix*. (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1892), pp. 3-186.

Geraldus Cambrensis, *Descriptio Kambriae*, 12th Century, ed. and trans. By Price, D. (London: J.M. Dent, 1912), p. 200. From Project Gutenberg, *The Description of Wales, By Gerald of Wales* (2015) <<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/1092/1092-h/1092-h.htm>> [Accessed: 7 August 2022].

Historia Gruffud vab Kenan, 12th Century, ed. and trans. By Evans, D. S. in Evans, D. S. *Historia Gruffud Vab Kenan*. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1978).

Hywel Dda, *The Laws of Hywel Dda*, 13th Century, ed. and trans. By Owen, A. in Owen, A. *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales; Comprising Laws Supposed to be Enacted by Howel the Good, modified by subsequent regulations under the native princes prior to the conquest of Edward the First: and Anomalous Laws, consisting principally of institutions which by the*

Statue of Ruddlan were admitted to continue in force: With an English Translation of the Welsh Text. Volume 1. (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1841).

The Life of St Gwynllyw, 12th Century, in ‘*Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae* [The Lives and Genealogies of the Welsh Saints]’, trans. By Jones, T. ed. By Wade-Evans, A.W. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1944). From Celtic Literature Collective, ‘The Life of St Gwynllyw’ (2020) <<http://www.ancienttexts.org/library/celtic/ctexts/gwynllyw.html>> [Accessed: 6 July 2022].

John Asser, *Asser’s Life of Alfred*, trans. and ed. By Cook, A.S. in *Asser’s Life of Alfred* (London: Ginn and Company, 1906). From Project Gutenberg, ‘Asser’s Life of Alfred, by John Asser’ (2020) <<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/63384/63384-h/63384-h.htm>> [Accessed: 5 July 2022].

The Jómsvíkinga Saga, 13th Century, ed. and trans. By Blake, N.F. In Blake, N.F. *The Saga of the Jomsvikings*. (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1962).

The Orkneyinga Saga, 13th Century, trans. By Hjaltalin, J.A. and Goudie, G. ed. By Anderson, J. In Anderson, J. *The Orkneyinga Saga*. (Edinburgh: James Thin, The Mercat Press, 1981).

Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, Late-12th to Early-13th Century, ed. and trans. By Elton, O. in Elton, O. *The Nine Books of the Danish History of Saxo Grammaticus*. (New York: Norroena Society, 1905). From Project Gutenberg, ed. By Killings, D.B. *The Danish History: Books I – IX by Saxo Grammaticus (Saxo the Learned)* (2013) <<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/1150/1150-h/1150-h.htm>> [Accessed: 17 August 2022].

Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla of The Chronicle of the Kings of Norway*, c. 1179 – 1241. ed. and trans. By Killings, D.B. and Widger, D. From Project Gutenberg, *Heimskringla or The Chronicle of the Kings of Norway, by Snorri Sturluson* (2013) <<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/598/598-h/598-h.htm>> [Accessed: 19 July 2022].

The Story of Burnt Njal, 13th Century, ed. and trans. By Dasent, G.W. in Dasent, G.W. *The Story of Burnt Njal From the Icelandic of the Njal’s Saga*. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1900). From Project Gutenberg, *The Story of Burnt Njal From the Icelandic of the Njal’s Saga* (2016) <<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/17919/17919-h/17919-h.htm>> [Accessed: 14 August 2022].

Sven Aggesen, *Compendiosa Regum Daniæ Historia*, 12th Century, ed. and trans. By Christiansen, E. in Christiansen, E. *Works of Sven Aggesen: Twelfth-Century Danish Historian*. (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 1992). Accessed from Viking Society for Northern Research, *Works of Sven Aggesen: Twelfth-Century Danish Historian* (2022) <<https://vsnr.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Sven.pdf>> [Accessed: 17 August 2022].

Taliesin, *Armes Prydein Vawr*, 10th Century. trans. By Bromwich, R. ed. By Williams, I. in Williams, I. *Armes Prydein: The Prophecy of Britain from the Book of Taliesin (Medieval & Modern Welsh)*. (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1972).

‘Vita Griffini Filii Conani’, 12th Century. ed. and trans. By Russell, P. in Russell, P. *Vita Griffini Filii Conani: The Medieval Latin Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan*. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005).

Secondary Sources

Abels, R. *Alfred the Great: War, Kingship, and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England*. (London: Routledge, 2013 [1998]).

Barker, P.S. *Milford Haven Through Time*. (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2013).

Baxter, S. ‘The Earls of Mercia and their Commended Men in the Mid Eleventh Century’, in Gillingham, J. (ed.) *Anglo-Norman Studies XXIII: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2000*. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001), pp. 23-46.

Bezant, J. ‘Travel and Communication’, in Burton, J. and Stöber, K. (ed.) *Monastic Wales: New Approaches*. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013), pp. 133-146.

Bolin, S. *Fyndnen av Romerska Mynt i det Fria Germanien: Studier i Romersk och Äldre Germask Historia*. (Lund: C.W. Lindströms Bokhandel, 1926). As quoted in Gruszczynski, J. *Viking Silver, Hoards and Containers: The Archaeological and Historical Context of Viking-Age Silver Coin Deposits in the Baltic C. 800 – 1050*. (London: Routledge, 2019), p. 17-21.

Brevertton, T. *Wales’ 1000 Best Heritage Sites*. (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2013).

Bristow, C.M. ‘The Geology of the Building and Decorative Stones of Cornwall, UK’, in Cassar, J. and others (ed.). *Stone in Historic Buildings: Characteristics and Performance*. (Bath: The Geological Society Publishing House, 2014), pp. 93-120.

Brownworth, L. *The Normans: From Raiders to Kings*. (London: Crux Publishing Limited, 2014).

Caerwyn Williams, J.E. 'Meilyr Brydydd and Gruffudd ap Cynan', in Maund K.L. (ed.) *Gruffudd ap Cynan: A Collaborative Biography*. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1996), pp. 165-186.

Carroll, J. Harrison, S.H. and Williams, G. *The Vikings in Britain and Ireland*. (London: The British Museum Press, 2014).

Charles, B.G. *Old Norse Relations with Wales*. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press Board, 1934).

Chartrand, R. and others. *The Vikings*. (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2016).

Chrystal, P. *Secret York*. (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2014).

Clarkson, T. 'Celts' in Rodriguez, J.P. (ed.) *The Historical Encyclopaedia of World Slavery: Volume 1, A – K*. (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 1997), pp. 135-136.

Crouch, D. *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain: 1000 – 1300*. (London: Routledge, 1992).

Cubitt, C. 'The Institutional Church', in Stafford, P. (ed.) *A Companion to the Early Middle Ages: Britain and Ireland, c. 500 – c.1100 (Blackwell Companions to British History)*.

(Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, A John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., Publication, 2013), pp. 376-394.

Davies, J. *A History of Wales*. (London: Penguin Books, 1993).

Davies, R.R. *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063 – 1415*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987 [2006]).

Davies, S. *War and Society in Medieval Wales: 633 – 1283: Welsh Military Institutions*. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014).

Davies, W. 'Vikings', in Davies, W. *Patterns of Power in Early Wales: O'Donnell Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 48-60.

Dougherty, M.J. *The Golden Age of the Vikings: A History of the Norse People*. 2nd edition. (London: Amber Books Ltd., 2017).

Downham, C. *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland: The Dynasty of Ivarr to A.D. 1014*. (Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press, 2008).

DuBois, T. *Nordic Religions in the Viking Age*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).

Evans, N. *The Present and the Past in Medieval Irish Chronicles*. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010).

Ewing, T. *Viking Myths: Stories of the Norse Gods and Goddesses*. (Burrington: Welkin Books, 2014).

Fellow-Jensen, G. 'Scandinavian Place-Names of the Irish Sea Province', in Graham-Campbell, J. *Viking Treasure from the North-West: The Cuerdale Hoard in its Context*. (Liverpool: The National Museum & Galleries on Merseyside, Occasional Papers 5, 1992), pp. 31-40.

Finlay A. and Jóhannesdóttir, Þ.E. 'Introduction', in Finlay, A. and Jóhannesdóttir, Þ.E. (ed.) *The Saga of the Jómsvikings: A Translation with Full Introduction*. (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications: Western Michigan University, 2018), pp. 1-66.

Forte, A. Oram, R.D. and Pedersen, F. *Viking Empires*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Gillingham J. and Griffiths, R.A. *Medieval Britain: A Very Short Introduction*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Graham-Campbell, J. and Batey, C.E. *Vikings in Scotland: An Archaeological Survey*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998).

Graham-Campbell, J. and others. (ed.) *Vikings and the Danelaw: Select Papers from the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Viking Congress*. (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001).

Gramich, K. 'Introduction', in Gramich, K. (ed. and trans.) *The Works of Gwerful Mechain: A Broadview Anthology of British Literature Edition*. (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2018), pp. 7 – 19.

Gruszczyński, J. *Viking Silver, Hoards and Containers: The Archaeological and Historical Context of Viking-Age Silver Coin Deposits in the Baltic C. 800 – 1050*. (London: Routledge, 2019).

Haywood, J. *The Penguin Historical Atlas of the Vikings*. (London: Penguin Books, 1995).

- Hedley, R. *Cambrai Scandinavica? A Reappraisal of the Evidence of Viking Influence in Wales: 800 – 1100*. (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Swansea University, 2018).
- Hjardar K. and Vike, V. *Vikings at War*. (Oxford: Casemate Publishers, 2016).
- Holm, P. ‘Viking Dublin and the City-State Concept: Parameters and Significance of the Hiberno-Norse Settlement’, in Hansen, M.H. (ed.) *A Comparative Study of Thirty City-State Cultures: An Investigation Conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre*. (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 2000), pp. 251 – 262.
- Hrdina, Y. *Die Wikinger in Wales [The Vikings in Wales]*. (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Vienna, 2011) <<https://phaidra.univie.ac.at/open/o:1277332>> [Accessed: 24 August 2022].
- Hughes, K. ‘The Welsh Latin Chronicles, Annales Cambriae and Related Texts’, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 59 (1973), pp. 233-258.
- Hurlock, K. *Wales and the Crusades: c. 1095-1291*. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011).
- Jesch, J. ‘Norse Historical Traditions and the Historia Grufudd vab Kenan: Magnús Berætttr and Haraldr Hárfragi’, in Maund, K.M. (ed.) *Gruffudd ap Cynan: A Collaborative Biography*. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1996), pp. 117-147.
- Jesch, J. *Women in the Viking Age*. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1991).
- Johnson, R.C. *Viking Age Dublin*. (Dublin: Townhouse Publishers, 2004).
- Jones, R.L. and Keen, D.H. *Pleistocene Environments in the British Isles*. (Berlin: Springer Science & Business Media, 1993).
- Kershaw, J. ‘Viking-Age Silver in North-West England: Hoards and Single Finds’, in Harding, S.E., Griffiths, D. and Royles, E. *In Search of Vikings: Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Scandinavian Heritage of North-West England*. (London: CRC Press, 2015), pp. 149-164.
- Kostick, C. *Strongbow: The Norman Invasion of Ireland*. (Dublin: The O’Brien Press, 2013).
- Langeslag, P.S. *Seasons in the Literature of the Medieval North*. (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2015).
- Larsen, A. (ed.) *The Vikings in Ireland*. (Roskilde: The Viking Ship Museum, 2001).

Lawson, M.K. *Cnut: England's Viking King 1016 – 1035*. (Stroud: The History Press, 2016 [1993]).

Lewis, B.J. 'Vikings to Normans, c. 800 – c.1070', in Lewis, B.J. and others (ed.) *A History of Christianity in Wales*, ed. By Barry J. Lewis, and others. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2022), pp. 72-96.

Longley, D. 'The Excavation of Castell, Porth Trefadog, a Coastal Promontory Fort in North Wales', *Medieval Archaeology*, 35 (1991), pp. 64-85.

Loyn, H. *The Vikings in Wales*. (London: The Viking Society of Northern Research, 1976).

Lyon, T. *Forms of Poetry*. (Pittsburgh: TeaLemon Publications, 2004).

MacCallum, K. *Memories from Pembroke Docks*. (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2014).

Malmer, B. *Mynt och Människor: Vikingatidens Silverskatter Berättar*. (Stockholm: Rabén & Sjögren, 1968). As quoted in Gruszczyński, J. *Viking Silver, Hoards and Containers: The Archaeological and Historical Context of Viking-Age Silver Coin Deposits in the Baltic C. 800 – 1050*. (London: Routledge, 2019), p. 17-21.

Mawer, A. *Problems of Place-Name Study: Three Lectures Delivered at King's College under the Auspices of the University of London*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014 [1929]).

McCarthy, C. *Marriage in Medieval England: Law, Literature, and Practice*. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004).

Melrose, R. *Warriors and Wilderness in Medieval Britain: From Arthur and Beowulf to Sir Gawain and Robin Hood*. (Jefferson: McFarland & Company Inc. Press, 2017).

Metzler, I. *A Social History of Disability in the Middle Ages: Cultural Considerations of Physical Impairment*. (London: Routledge, 2013).

Moore, D. 'Gruffudd ap Cynan and the Medieval Welsh Polity', in Maund, K.L. (ed.) *Gruffudd ap Cynan: A Collaborative Biography*. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1996), pp. 1-60.

Morgan, T. *The Place-Names of Wales*. 2nd Edition. (Newport: John E. Southall, 1912).

Müller, N. *Agents in Early Welsh and Early Irish*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

- Page, R.I. *Chronicles of the Vikings: Records, Memorials, and Myth*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998 [2002]).
- Parker, P. *The Northmen's Fury: A History of the Viking World*. (London: Vintage, 2015).
- Philips Jr., W.D. *Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).
- Pretty, D.A. *Anglesey: The Concise History*. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005).
- Pryce, H. *The Acts of Welsh Rulers: 1120 – 1283*. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005).
- Pryce, H. 'British or Welsh?', *The English History Review*, 116 (2001), pp. 775-801.
- Quinn, J. 'From Orality to Literacy in Medieval Iceland', in Clunies Ross, M. (ed.) *Old Icelandic Literature and Society*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 30-60.
- Redknap, M. 'St David's and a New Link to the Hiberno-Norse World', in Wyn Evans, J. and Wooding, J.M. (ed.) *St David of Wales: Cult, Church, and Nation*. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 84-89.
- Redknap, M. 'Viking-Age Settlement in Wales, Some Recent Advances', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 12 (2006), pp. 5 – 35.
- Redknap, M. 'The Vikings in Wales', in Brink, S. and Price, N. (ed.) *The Viking World* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), pp. 401-410.
- Redknap, M. *Vikings in Wales: An Archaeological Quest*. (Cardiff: National Museums & Galleries of Wales, 2000).
- Reynolds, S. *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).
- Richards, J.D. *The Vikings: A Very Short Introduction*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- Ridd, T. *The Vikings in Wales: In Wales Series*. (Cardiff: The Principality Publishing Company, 1967).
- Ross, M.C. *A History of Old Norse Poetry and Poetics*. (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2005).
- Russell, P. 'Introduction', in Russell, P. (ed.) *Vita Griffini Filii Conani: The Medieval Latin Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan*. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005), pp. 1-51.

Short, W.R. *Icelanders in the Viking Age: The People of the Sagas*. (London: McFarland & Company, Inc, Publishers, 2010).

Sigurðsson, G. *The Medieval Icelandic Saga and Oral Tradition: A Discourse on Method*. English trans. By Jones, N. (Publication of the Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature) 2. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004).

Slocum, K.B. *The Cult of Thomas Becket: History and Historiography through Eight Centuries*. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019).

Stafford, P. *After Alfred: Anglo-Saxon Chronicles & Chroniclers, 900 – 1150*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

Stephenson, D. *Medieval Wales: c. 1050 – 1332, Centuries of Ambiguity*. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019).

Sundqvist, O. *An Arena for Higher Power: Ceremonial Buildings and Religious Strategies for Rulership in Late Iron Age Scandinavia*. (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

Thornton, D.E. ‘The Genealogy of Gruffudd ap Cynan’, in Maund, K.L. (ed.) *Gruffudd ap Cynan: A Collaborative Biography*. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1996), pp. 79-108.

Tyler, J.J. *Lord of the Sacred City: The Episcopus Exclusus in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany*. (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

Ullidtz, P. *1016: The Danish Conquest of England*. (Copenhagen: Books of Demand GmbH, 2014).

Venning, T. *An Alternative History of Britain: The Anglo-Saxon Age*. (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2013).

Williams, T. *Viking Britain: A History*. (London: William Collins, 2017).

Wiseman, H.M. *The Arthur Fought: The Matter of Britain, 378 – 634 A.D.* (Raleigh: Lulu Press, 2019).

Wolf, K. *Daily Life of the Vikings*. (London: Greenwood Press, 2004).

Electronic Sources

British Library, 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: 11th Century', *British Library: Learning English Timeline* (1999) <<https://www.bl.uk/learning/timeline/item126532.html>> [Accessed: 18 September 2022].

Bromberg, E.I. 'Wales and the Medieval Slave Trade', *Speculum*, 17.2 (April, 1942), pp. 263 – 269 <<https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/stable/2856369?sid=primo&origin=crossref&seq=1>> [Accessed: 11 May 2022].

Crane, P. *Excavations at Newton, Llanstadwell, Pembrokeshire: Draft Report 2004/73*. (Llandeilo: Dyfed Archaeological Trust Ltd., 2004), pp. 7-31 <https://coflein.gov.uk/media/30/461/cap544_058.pdf> [Accessed: 25 August 2022].

Dean G. and Lilley, K. *Medieval Swansea: Mapping Medieval Swansea* (2014) <<https://www.medievalswansea.ac.uk/en/mapping-medieval-swansea/index.html>> [Accessed: 9 September 2022].

Hobson, L. 'The Vikings in Medieval Welsh Literature', *The National Library of Wales Blog* (2020) <<https://blog.library.wales/vikings/>> [Accessed: 14 May 2022].

Holmes, C. and Lilley, K. *Medieval Swansea: Viking Swansea* (2014) <<https://www.medievalswansea.ac.uk/en/context/viking-swansea/>> [Accessed: 5 May 2022].

Lilley, K. *Medieval Swansea: Blog: Locating Viking Swansea* (2016) <<https://www.medievalswansea.ac.uk/en/blog/keith-wip/index.html>> [Accessed: 30 August 2022].

Moffat, A.G. 'Palnatoki in Wales', in Norris F.T. (ed.) *Saga Book of the Viking Club*, Volume III. (London, 1903), pp. 163-173. Accessed from Viking Society for Northern Research, *The Saga-Book Archives: Volume III (1902-1904)* (2021) <<https://vsnr.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Saga-Book-III.pdf>> [Accessed: 13 August 2022].

The National Library of Wales, *Chronicle of the Princes* (2022) <<https://www.library.wales/discover/digital-gallery/manuscripts/the-middle-ages/chronicle-of-the-princes#?c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=-287%2C-155%2C2563%2C3093>> [Accessed: 14 September 2022].

Sheeman, J., Stummann Hansen, S., and Ó Corráin, D. 'A Viking Age Maritime Haven: A Reassessment of the Island Settlement at Beginish, Co. Kerry', *The Journal of Irish Archaeology*, 10 (2001), pp. 93-119 <https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/stable/30001672#metadata_info_tab_contents> [Accessed: 25 September 2022].

University of Wales Trinity Saint David, 'Du' *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru: A Dictionary of the Welsh Language* (1964) <<https://welsh-dictionary.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html>> [Accessed: 30 June 2022].

University of Wales Trinity Saint David, 'Galanas' *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru: A Dictionary of the Welsh Language* (1964) <<https://welsh-dictionary.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html>> [Accessed: 1 August 2022].

University of Wales Trinity Saint David, 'Sarhaed' *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru: A Dictionary of the Welsh Language* (1964) <<https://welsh-dictionary.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html>> [Accessed: 1 August 2022].

Wallace, P.F. 'The Archaeological Identity of the Hiberno-Norse Town', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 112 (1992), pp. 35 – 66 <<https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/stable/25509021?seq=1>> [Accessed: 16 May 2022].

Wilkinson, P.F. and others, 'Excavations at Hen Gastell, Briton Ferry, West Glamorgan, 1991-92', *Medieval Archaeology*, 39 (1995), pp. 1-50 <DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5284/1000320>>.

Visual Sources

Amguedda Cymru - Museum Wales, 'Early Medieval Silver Arm Rings', *Collections Online* (2004) <https://museum.wales/collections/online/object/b69ff21c-2af4-37b5-aadb-767a1ca8c813/Early-Medieval-silver-arm-ring/?field0=string&value0=viking&field1=with_images&value1=1&page=5&index=50> [Accessed: 28 September 2022].

Amguedda Cymru - Museum Wales, 'Viking Copper Alloy Sword Guard', *Collections Online* (1992) <<https://museum.wales/collections/online/object/d34b155c-3661-3323-841c-53aeea42623b/Viking-copper-alloy-sword-guard/>> [Accessed: 29 September 2022].

Amguedda Cymru - Museum Wales, 'Viking Sword (Replica)', *Collections Online* (1994)
<https://museum.wales/collections/online/object/078e42ce-00c9-3eba-8f65-732925486710/?_gl=16orzua_gaMTA4ODkyMjY0Ni4xNjY0MzY3ODM4_ga_Q4211BYX1VMTY2NDM2NzgZOC4xLjAuMTY2NDM2NzgZOC4wLjAuMA..> [Accessed: 28 September 2022].

Newport Museum & Art Gallery; NPTMG: D2.250. Taken from Mark Redknap, *Vikings in Wales: An Archaeological Quest*. (Cardiff: National Museum and Galleries of Wales, 2000), pp. 31.

Newport Museum & Art Gallery; NPTMG 92.16. Taken from Mark Redknap, *Vikings in Wales: An Archaeological Quest*. (Cardiff: National Museum and Galleries of Wales, 2000), pp. 82.

Roqué, J. *Map of Medieval Wales* [Digital Map JPEG] (2008)
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Medieval_Wales.JPG> [Accessed: 28 September 2022].

Appendix 1 – Raiding

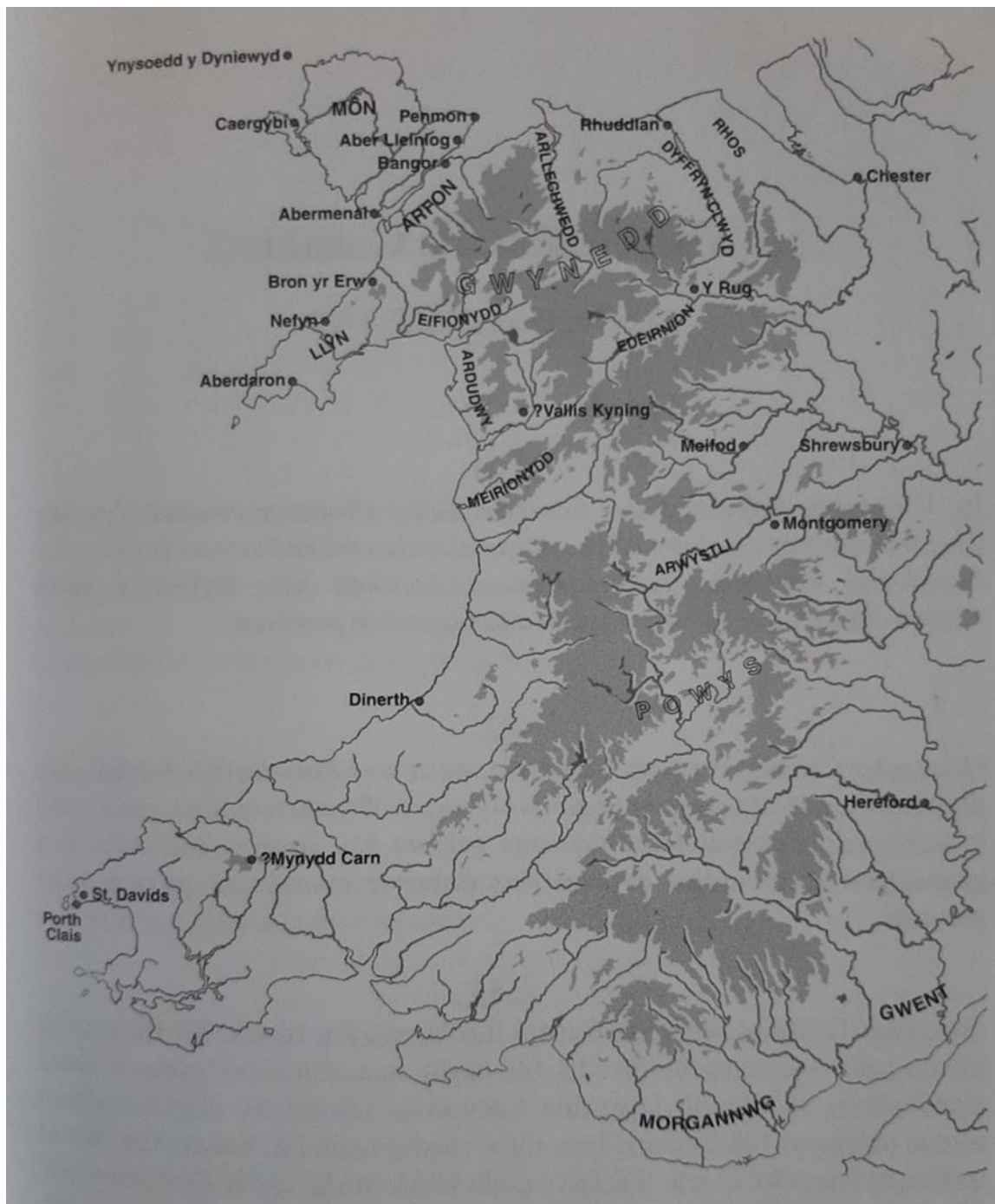


Figure Appx 1.1: Map of Wales showing places mentioned within the VGC, including the locations of many of Gruffudd ap Cynan's battles. Taken from Russel, 'Introduction', p. 51.

NORTH

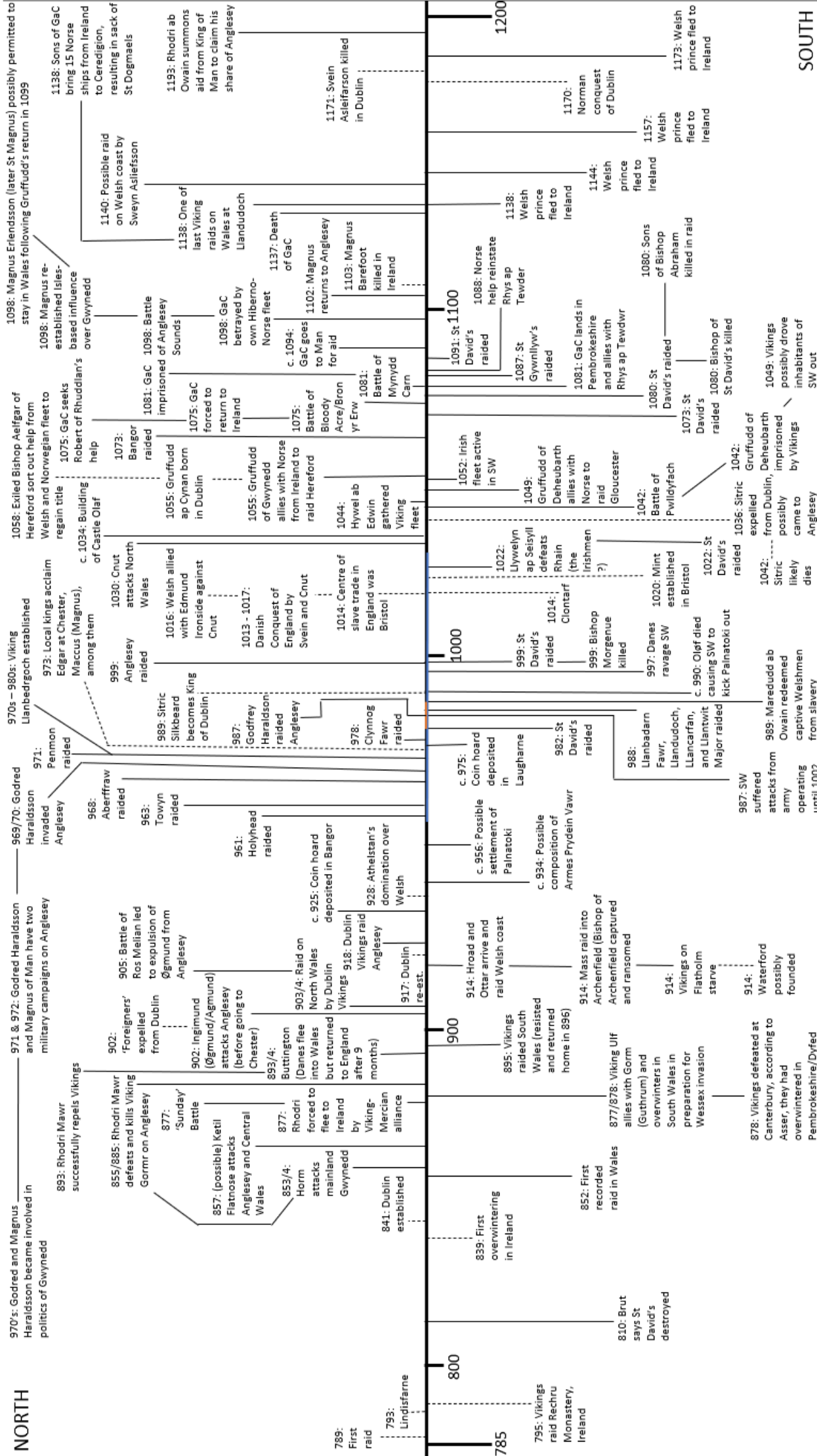


Figure Appx 1.2: Timeline of the Viking Age in Wales, divided between north and south. The dashed lines represent events outside of Wales but had an impact on the country. Compiled by Matthew Cowley on Microsoft PowerPoint, using the work of Redknapp, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 4-103, and others outlined in the Bibliography.

NORTH

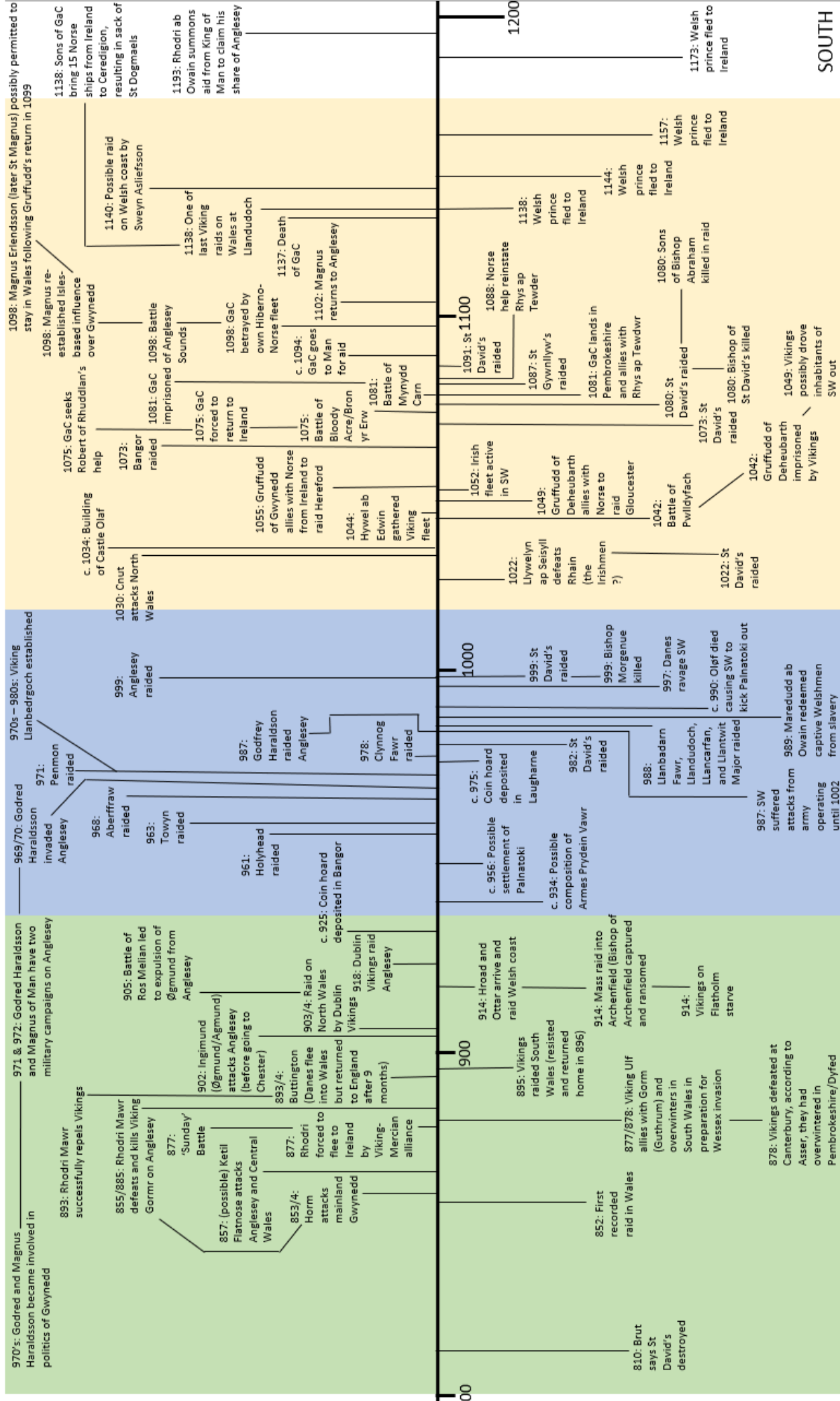


Figure Appx 1.3: Replica of Figure Appx 1.2, except only contain events within Wales and has been divided into the three 'phases' of Viking activity in Wales Compiled by Matthew Cowley on Microsoft PowerPoint, using the work of Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, pp. 4-103, and others outlined in the Bibliography.

The Vikings: events AD 768-1103

Date	Vikings in Wales	Britain & Ireland	Continent
800		793 Lindisfarne sacked 795 First recorded Viking raid on monastery on Iona 830s Escalating Viking raids on England 840s Viking Dublin founded	768 Charlemagne joint king of Franks 799 Vikings in Brittany 800 Charlemagne (768-814) crowned Holy Roman Emperor 814-40 Louis the Pious 834 Oseberg ship (built c. 820) burial 834-37 Vikings attack Dorestad 843 Treaty of Verdun (Carolingian Empire divided) 840-77 Charles the Bald 859 Danish fleet enters Mediterranean and raids North African coast.
850	844-77 Rhodri Mawr rules Gwynedd 852 Pagans kill Cyngen of Powys 856 Cyngen, last king of Powys, dies on pilgrimage to Rome 878 Viking fleet overwinters in Dyfed	865 Viking Great Army winters in England 869 King Edmund killed by Vikings 871-99 Alfred the Great	885-86 Vikings besiege Paris c. 900 Gokstad ship burial
900	893 Battle of Buttington 903 Ingimund expelled from Anglesey 914 Viking fleet from Brittany ravages south Wales 920-50 Hywel Dda rules Gwynedd 921 Foundation of Cledemutha	917 Vikings recapture Dublin 920 Edward gains control of Northumbria from Vikings 937 Battle of Brunanburh	911 Rollo settles in Neustria (in an area later known as Normandy) 914-36 Vikings occupy Brittany
950	961, 963, 967, 971 Viking raids on monasteries at Caer Gybi, Tywyn, St David's, Penmon	954 Eirik Bloodaxe, last Viking king of York, killed at Stainmore	962 Otto I of Saxony (936-73) crowned Emperor
1000	988 St Dogmaels, Llanbadarn Fawr, Llantwit Major and Llancarfan raided 998 Bishop of St David's murdered	973 Submission to King Edgar on River Dee 980s New wave of Viking attacks on England	
1050	1039-63 Gruffudd ap Llywelyn 1062 Rhuddlan destroyed	1013 Svein Forkbeard's conquest of England 1014 Brian Borama and Mael Sechnaill defeat Dublin Vikings and allies at battle of Clontarf 1016-35 Cnut rules England 1055 Hereford sacked by Gruffudd ap Llywelyn 1066 Harald Hardruler, king of Norway, killed at Stamford Bridge 1066 Harold defeated at Hastings 1068 Bristol raided	Figure Appx 1.4: Timeline of Viking events between AD 768 - 1103. The events have been divided by whether they relate to Wales, the British Isles, or the Continent. Taken from Redknap, <i>Vikings in Wales</i> , p. 117.
1100	1073, 1080, 1089, 1091 St David's sacked 1098 Battle of the Menai Straits 1137 Gruffudd ap Cynan buried at Bangor	1085 Danish invasion of England abandoned 1103 Magnús Barelegs, king of Norway, killed during expedition to Ireland	1096 First Crusade launched by Pope Urban II

Appendix 2 – Trading

Summery List of Silver Hoards Found in Wales

The following has all been taken from Redknap, *Vikings in Wales*, p. 105. The current location of these hoards (in brackets below) is based on their location in 2000 when the book was published.

1. Minchin Hole, Gower, Swansea. Deposited c. 850. (Swansea Museum).
2. Llanbedrgoch, Anglesey. Deposited c. 850. (National Museum & Gallery, Cardiff).
3. Red Wharf Bay silver armlets, Anglesey. Deposited c. 905 (National Museum & Gallery, Cardiff).
4. Bangor, 'Midland Bank', High Street, Gwynedd. Deposited c. 925 (Bangor Museum & Art Gallery, loaned to National Museum & Gallery, Cardiff).
5. Bangor, 'Senior Vicar's Garden', Gwynedd. Deposited c. 970 (missing).
6. Laugharne, Carmarthenshire. Deposited c. 975 (private collection).
7. Near Monmouth, Monmouthshire. Deposited 990s (missing).
8. Penrice, Gower, Swansea. Deposited c. 1008 (location unknown).
9. Drwsdangoed, Gwynedd. Deposited c. 1030 (location unknown).
10. Bryn Maelgwyn, Conwy. Deposited c. 1024 (National Museum & Gallery, Cardiff).
11. Pant-yr-eglwys, near Llandudno, Conwy. Deposited 1020s (National Museum & Gallery, Cardiff).

Summery List of Singular Coin Finds Found in Wales

The following has all been taken from Redknap, 'Viking-Age Settlement in Wales', pp. 34-35.

c. 795 – 895

Segontium (Eanred, 810-841)

Llanbedrgoch (Cynethryth, 787-792) (Wigmund, c. 837-854)

Harlech area (Burhtwulf, 840-852)

Caerleon (Burgred, 852-874)

Caernarfon (Pepin II, 839-852)

c. 895 – 965

Laugharne (Athelstan, 924-939)

Colwinston (Athelstan, 924-939)

Monknash (Athelstan, 924-939)

Caerwent (Edmund, 939-946)

Llanbedrgoch (Edmund, 939-946)

St David's (Eadred, 946-955)

Llanbedrgoch (Eadred, 955-959)

c. 965 – 1066

Rhos Fawr, Anglesey (Eadgar, 959-975)

Bardsey Island (Eadgar, 959-975)

Caer Gybi, Holyhead (Edward the Martyr, 975-978)

Llancarfan (Aethelred II, 978-1016)

Caerwent (Aethelred II, 978-1016)

Llancarfan (Aethelred II, 978-1016)

St Lythans (Aethelred II, 978-1016)

Sully Moors (Aethelred II, 978-1016)

Caernarfon (Cnut, 1016-1035)

Caerwent (Harthacnut, 1040-1042)

Rhuddlan (Edward the Confessor, 1042-1066)

Harlech area (Edward the Confessor, 1042-1066)

St David's (Harold II, 1066)

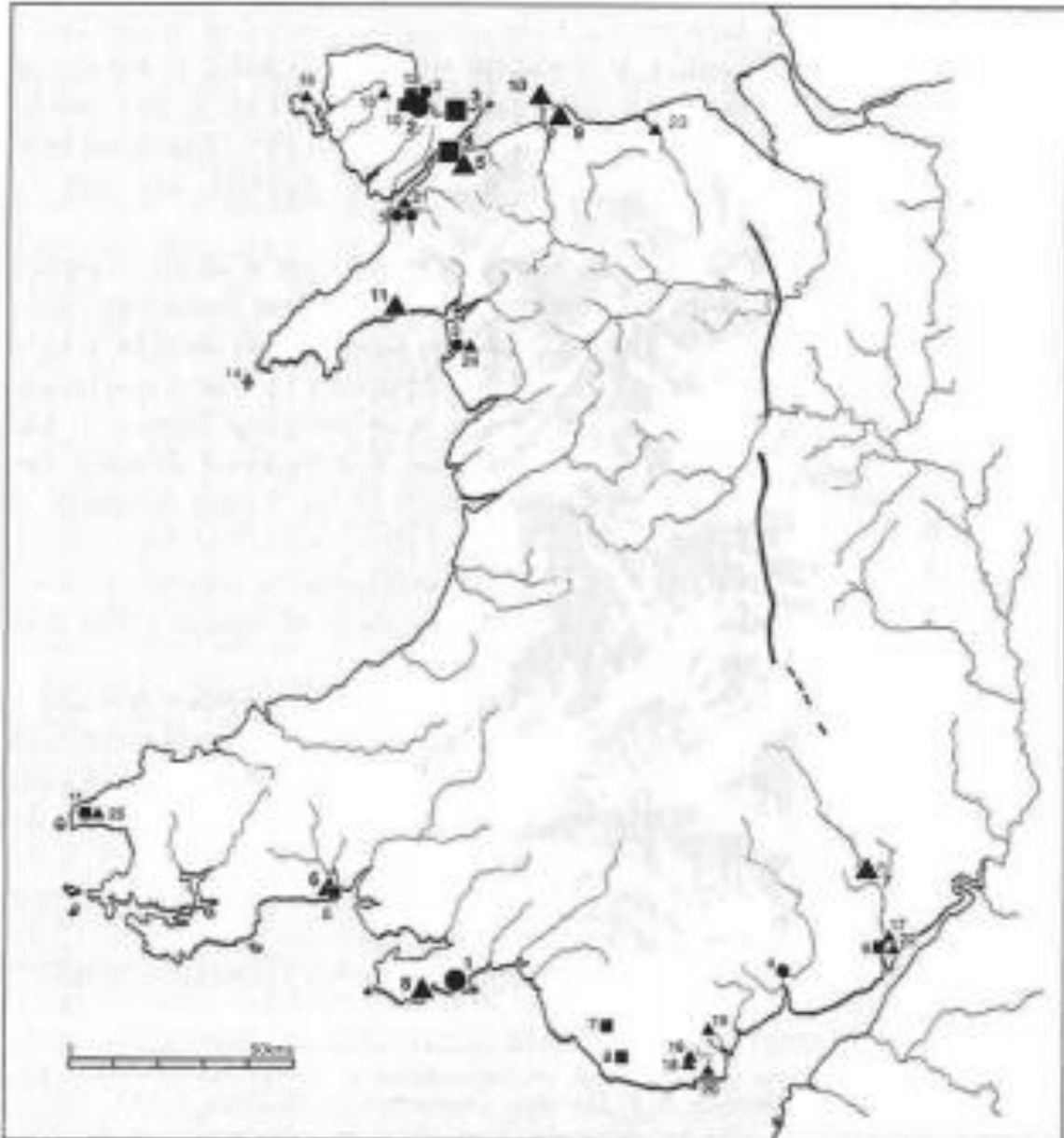


Figure Appx 2.1: Map of Wales marked with the locations of the coin/silver hoards mentioned above (the large symbols), and the singular coin finds as well (the smaller symbols). The circles represent those finds dating to c.795-895, the squares represent those dating to c. 895-965, and the triangles represent those dating to c. 965-1066. Map and content taken from Redknap, 'Viking Age Settlement in Wales', pp. 14-35.

Appendix 3 – Settling



Figure Appx 3.1: Map of Viking and Medieval Swansea. It is the areas in dark blue that likely represent the area of Scandinavian settlement, with this possibly extending more northwards before the Norman castle was built on the site. Taken from Holmes and Lilley, *Viking Swansea*, [Accessed: 30 September 2020].