NEITHER SCOTLAND NOR ENGLAND: MIDDLE BRITAIN, C.850-1150

Neil McGuigan

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews

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Neil McGuigan

University of
St Andrews

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews

26-01-2015

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THESIS ABSTRACT

Neither Scotland nor England: Middle Britain, c.850–1150

In and around the 870s, Britain was transformed dramatically by the campaigns and settlements of the Great Army and its allies. Some pre-existing political communities suffered less than others, and in hindsight the process helped Scotland and England achieve their later positions. By the twelfth century, the rulers of these countries had partitioned the former kingdom of Northumbria.

This thesis is about what happened in the intervening period, the fate of Northumbria’s political structures, and how the settlement that defined Britain for the remainder of the Middle Ages came about. Modern reconstructions of the era have tended to be limited in scope and based on unreliable post-1100 sources. The aim is to use contemporary material to overcome such limitations, and reach positive conclusions that will make more sense of the evidence and make the region easier to understand for a wider audience, particularly in regard to its shadowy polities and ecclesiastical structures.

After an overview of the most important evidence, two chapters will review Northumbria’s alleged dissolution, testing existing historiographic beliefs (based largely on Anglo-Norman-era evidence) about the fate of the monarchy, political community, and episcopate. The impact and nature of ‘Southenglish’ hegemony on the region’s political communities will be the focus of the fourth chapter, while the fifth will look at evidence for the expansion of Scottish political power. The sixth chapter will try to draw positive conclusions about the episcopate, leaving the final chapter to look in more detail at the institutions that produced the final settlement.

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Abbreviations

AA	*Archaeologia Aeliana: Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity* (Newcastle, 1904–)
AASY	R. A. Hall, et al. (eds), *Aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian York*, The Archaeology of York 8, Anglo-Scandinavian York (York, 2004)
ABA	Alfred of Beverley, *Annales*, ed. T. Hearne (Oxford, 1716)
Aberdeen Brev.	*Legends of Scottish Saints: Readings, Hymns and Prayers for the Commemorations of Scottish Saints in the Aberdeen Breviary*, ed. and trans. A. Macquarrie (Dublin, 2012)
AClon	*The Annals of Clonmacnoise, being Annals of Ireland from the Earliest Period to A.D. 1408 / Translated into English A.D. 1627 by Conell Mageoghagan*, ed. D. Murphy (London, 1896)
Acta Sanctorum	J. Bolland, J. Carnandet, G. Henschenius and L. M. Rigollot, *Acta Sanctorum quotquot Toto Orbe Coluntur vel a Catholicis Scriptoribus Celebrantur quae ex Latinis & Graecis, Aliarumque Gentium Antiquis Monumentis*, 68 vols (Antwerp and Brussels, 1643–1925)
Æthelweard	Æthelweard , *Chronicon*, ed. and trans. A. Campbell (London, 1962)
AFM	*Annala Rioghachta Eireann: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland / by the Four masters, from the Earliest Period to the Year 1616 ; Edited from MSS. in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy and of Trinity College, Dublin*, ed. and trans. M. O'Clery, 6 vols (Dublin, 1851), cited by year. Final letter on url marks volumes one to six by letters A through F hence A above ending vol. I.
AI	*Annals of Inisfallen (MS Rawlinson B. 503)*, ed. and trans. S. Mac Airt (Dublin, 1944), cited by year.

Alba	E. J. Cowan and R. A. Mcdonald (eds), *Alba: Celtic Scotland in the Medieval Era* (Edinburgh, 2005)
ALC	*The Annals of Loch Cé: A Chronicle of Irish Affairs from A.D.1014 to A.D.1590*, ed. and trans. W. M. Hennessy, 2 vols, RS 54 (London, 1871), cited by year.
ALD	*Annales Lindisfarnenses et Dunelmenses*, ed. W. Levison, 'Die "Annales Lindisfarnenses et Dunelmenses" kritisch untersucht und neu herausgegeben', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 17 (1961), 478–89
AND	D. Rollason, M. Harvey, and M. Prestwich (eds), *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093–1193* (Woodbridge, 1994)
Anderson, *Kings and Kingship*	M. O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*, rev. edn (Edinburgh, 1980)
Anglo-Saxon Writs	*Anglo-Saxon Writs*, ed. F. E. Harmer, 2nd edn (Stamford, 1989)
ANS	*Anglo-Norman Studies: Proceedings of the Battle Conference* (Woodbridge, 1983–), previously *Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies* (Ipswich, 1979–1982)
Armstrong et al., *PNC*	A. M. Armstrong, A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton, and B. Dickins, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, 3 vols, EPNS 20–22 (Cambridge, 1950–1952)
ASC	*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Translation*, ed. D. Whitelock (London, 1961). Also cited by year, by manuscript; for MS A, J. Bately (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition. Volume 3, MS A* (Woodbridge, 1986); for MS B, S.Taylor (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition. Volume 4, MS B* (Cambridge, 1983); for MS C, K. O'Brien O'Keefe (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition. Volume 5, MS. C* (Cambridge, 2001); for MS D, G. P Cubbin (ed.), *The The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition. Vol. 6, MS*

	D (Woodbridge, 1996); for MS E, S. Irvine (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition. Volume 7*, MS E (Cambridge, 2004). The edited Old English text is also published online, at the *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: An Electronic Edition* (*2007*): <<http://asc.jebbo.co.uk>> For reasons of accessibility and convenience, the above was often used for the text.
ASE	*Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1972–)
ASH	P. G. B. McNeill and H. L. MacQueen (eds), with A. Lyons, *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707* (Edinburgh, 1996)
ASR	*Anglo-Scottish Relations, 1174–1328: Some Selected Documents*, ed. and trans. E. L. G. Stones (Oxford, 1970)
Asser	*Asser's Life of King Alfred: Together with the Annals of Saint Neots Erroneously Ascribed to Asser*, ed. W. H. Stevenson (Oxford, 1904)
AT	*The Annals of Tigernach*, ed. W. Stokes, *Revue Celtique* 16–18 (1895–1897), cited by year.
AU	*The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, ed. and trans. S. Mac Airt and G. Mac Niocaill (Dublin, 1983), cited by year.
BEASE	M. Lapidge ; with J. Blair, S. Keynes, and D. Scragg, *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1999)
Berchán	*The Prophecy of Berchán,* ed. and trans. B. T. Hudson, *Prophecy of Berchán : Irish and Scottish High-Kings of the Early Middle Ages* (Westport, 1996)
Barlow, *DJP*	F. Barlow, *Durham Jurisdictional Peculiars* (London, 1950)
Barrow, *ANE*	G. W. S. Barrow, *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History / The Ford Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford in Hilary Term 1977* (Oxford, 1980)
Barrow, *Kingdom*	G. W. S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots: Government,*

	Church and Society from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth century, 2nd edn (Edinburgh, 2003)
Barrow, *SNMA*	G. W. S. Barrow, *Scotland and Its Neighbours in the Middle Ages* (London, 1982)
BB	*Boldon Book: Northumberland and Durham*, ed. D. Austin, DBP 35 (Chicester, 1982)
BDDAB	A. Williams, A. P. Smyth, and D. P. Kirby (eds), *A Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain: England, Scotland and Wales, c. 500–c.1050* (London, 1991)
Blair, ‘Handlist’	J. Blair, ‘A Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Saints’, in A. Thacker and R. Sharpe (eds), *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* (Oxford, 2002), 495–565
Blunt et al., *Coinage*	C. E. Blunt, B. H. I. H. Stewart, and C. S. S. Lyon, *Coinage in Tenth-Century England: From Edward the Elder to Edgar’s Reform* (Oxford, 1989)
BNJ	*The British Numismatic Journal and Proceedings of the British Numismatic Society* (London, 1903–)
Border Liberties	M. L. Holford and K. J. Stringer (eds), *Border Liberties and Loyalties: North-East England, c.1200–c.1400* (Edinburgh, 2010)
Byrhtferth	*Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine*, ed. and trans. M. Lapidge (Oxford, 2009)
Campbell, *Anglo-Saxon State*	J. Campbell, *The Anglo-Saxon State* (London, 2000)
CAN	*Chroniques Anglo-Normandes: Recueil d'Extraits et d'Écrits Relatifs à l'Histoire de Normandie et d'Angleterre pendant les XIe et XIIe Siècles*, ed. F. Michel, 2 vols (Rouen, 1836)
CB	*Continuatio Bedae,* edd. and trans. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969), 573–77
CCC	G. Bonner, D. Rollason and C. Stancliffe (eds), *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community* (Woodbridge, 1989)

CCCC 139	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 139
CDI	*The Charters of King David I: The Written Acts of David I King of Scots, 1124–53, and of His Son Henry, Earl of Northumberland, 1139–52*, ed. G. W. S. Barrow (Woodbridge, 1999)
CDS	*Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London*, ed. J. Bain, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1881–1888)
CELT	*Corpus of Electronic Texts : Documents of Ireland*, University College Cork : <<http://celt.ucc.ie/publishd.html>>
Celt and Saxon	N. K. Chadwick et al. (eds), *Celt and Saxon: Studies in the Early British Border* (Cambridge, 1963)
CGH	*Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*, ed. M. A. O'Brien (Dublin, 1962)
CGSH	*Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*, ed. P. Ó Riain (Dublin, 1985)
Chron. 957	*Chronicle of 957,* in *Sym. Op.*, II, 91–95
Chron. BP	*Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis / The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I A.D 1169–1192 Known Commonly Under the Name of Benedict of Peterborough*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, RS 49 (London, 1867)
Chron. Fantosme	Jordan Fantosme, *Chronique de la Guerre entre les Anglois et les Écossois*, ed. and trans. R. C. Johnston, *Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle* (Oxford, 1981)
Chron. Fordun	John of Fordun, *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, ed. W. F. Skene, Historians of Scotland 1 (Edinburgh, 1871)
Chron. Holyrood	*Chronicle of Holyrood*, ed. M. O. Anderson; notes by A. O. Anderson (Edinburgh, 1938)
Chron. Wyntoun	Andrew of Wyntoun, *The Original Chronicle of Scotland: Printed on Parallel Pages from the Cottonian and Wemyss*

	MSS., with the Variants of the Other Texts, ed. F. J. Amours, 6 vols, Scottish Text Society Publications 1st Series vols 50, 53, 54, 56, 57, 63 (Edinburgh, 1903–1914)
CKA	*Chronicle of the Kings of Alba*, ed. and trans. B. T. Hudson, ‘The Scottish Chronicle’, *SHR* 77 (October, 1998), 129–61, at 148–61
CMD	*Cronica Monasterii Dunelmensis*, ed. H. H. E. Craster, ‘The Red Book of Durham’, *EHR* 40 (1925), 504–32, at 523–29
Coinage-Northumbria	D. M. Metcalf (ed.), *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria: The Tenth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History*, BAR British Series 180 (Oxford, 1987)
Conchubranus	‘Part 1’, being ‘The Life of Saint Monenna by Conchubranus: Part 1’, *Seanchas Ardmhacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society* 9 (1979), 250–273; ‘Part 2’, being *Seanchas Ardmhacha* 10 (1981), 117-141; ‘Part 3’, being ibid., 426–454
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Cowan and Easson, *MRH*	I. B. Cowan and D. E. Easson, *Medieval Scottish Religious Houses: Scotland, With an Appendix on the Isle of Man*, 2nd edn (London,1976)
CPS	*Chronicles of the Picts, Chronicles of the Scots : and Other Early Memorials of Scottish History*, ed. W. F. Skene (Edinburgh, 1867)
CS	*Chronicum Scotorum: A Chronicle of Irish Affairs, from the Earliest Times to A.D. 1135, with a Supplement Containing the Events from 1141 to 1150*, ed. and trans. W. M. Hennessy, RS 46 (London, 1866) , cited by year
CSHR	*Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, 4 vols , RS 82 (London, 1884–1889)
Cult of Saints	S. Boardman and E. Williamson (eds), *The Cult of Saints and*

	the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland (Woodbridge, 2010)
Cult of Swithun	*The Cult of Swithun*, ed. M. Lapidge, with contributions by J. Crook, R. Deshman, and S. Rankin, Winchester Studies 4.ii (Oxford, 2003)
Cuth. Virt.	Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de Admirandis Beati Cuthberti Virtutibus*, ed. J. Raine, SS 1 (London, 1835)
DB	*Domesday Book: A Complete Translation*, ed. A. Williams and G. H. Martin, Alecto Historical Editions (London, 2003)
DBP	*Domesday Book: A Survey of the Counties of England / Liber de Wintonia Compiled by Direction of King William I*, gen. ed. J. Morris, 38 vols (1974–1992)
DB York.	*Domesday Book: Yorkshire*, edd. and trans. M. L. Faull and M. Stinson, 2 vols, DBP 30 (Chicester, 1986)
DEC	*Durham Episcopal Charters, 1071–1152*, ed. H. S. Offler, SS 179 (Gateshead, 1968)
Deer Not.	*Deer Notitiae*, ed. R. Ó Maolalaigh, trans. K. Forsyth, T. Clancy, and D. Broun, in K. Forsyth, D. Broun, and T. Clancy, 'The Property Records: Text and Translation', in *Deer Studies*, 136–43
Deer Studies	K. Forsyth (ed.), *Studies on the Book of Deer* (Dublin, 2008)
Descriptio	*Descriptio Status Ecclesie Lindisfarnensis et Dunelmi*, ed. and trans. D. Rollason, *LDE*, 258–65
Dialogus de Scaccario	Richard fitzNigel, *Dialogus de Scaccario: The Dialogue of the Exchequer*, ed. and trans. E. Amt (Oxford, 2007)
DLV	D. Rollason and L. Rollason (eds), *Durham Liber Vitae: London, British Library, MS Cotton Domitian A.VII: Edition and Digital Facsimile with Introduction, Codicological, Prosopographical and Linguistic Commentary, and Indexes*, 3 vols (London, 2007)
DNPB	*De Northumbria post Britannos*, ed. and trans. N. McGuigan, 'Ælla and the Descendants of Ivar: Politics and Legend in the

	Viking Age’, *NH 52* (2015), 20–34, at 32–34
DOD	*De Obsessione Dunelmi*, in *Sym. Op.*, I, 215–20
DOSC	*De Ortu Sancti Cuthberti*, in *Miscellanea Biographica*, 63–87
Downham, *Viking Kings*	C. Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland: The Dynasty of Ívarr to A.D. 1014* (Edinburgh, 2007)
DPI	Gerald of Wales, *De Principis Instructione*, ed. G. F. Warner, in J. S. Brewer (ed.), *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, 8 vols, RS 21 (London, 1891), VIII, 1–329
DPSA	*De Primo Saxonum Adventu*, in *Sym. Op.*, II, 365–84
DSCA	Reimann of Metz, *De S. Cadroe Abbate*, ed. J. Bolland and G. Henschenius, *Acta Sanctorum*, Martius, I (Antwerp, 1668), 469–81
DSEH	Richard of Hexham, *De Statu et Ecclesiae Hagustaldensis*, in *Priory of Hexham*, I, 1–62
Duncan, *Kingship*	A. A. M. Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots, 842–1292: Succession and Independence* (Edinburgh, 2002)
Duncan, *Scotland*	A. A. M. Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom,* Edinburgh History of Scotland 1 (Edinburgh, 1992)
Dunfermline Reg.	*Registrum de Dunfermelyn: Liber Cartarum Abbatie Benedictine S. S. Trinitatis et B. Margarete Regine de Dunfermelyn*, ed. C. Innes, Bannatyne Club 74 (Edinburgh, 1842)
East Lothian Trans.	*Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society* (1924–)
ECNE	C. R. Hart (ed.), *The Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands* (Leicester, 1975)
Edgar	D. Scragg (ed.), *Edgar King of the English, 959–975: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2008)
Edward the Elder	N. J. Higham and D. H. Hill (eds), *Edward the Elder, 899–924* (London, 2001)
EEA, V	*English Episcopal Acta V: York, 1070–1154*, ed. J. E. Burton

	(Oxford, 1998)
EEA, xxx	*English Episcopal Acta 30: Carlisle, 1133–1292*, ed. D. M. Smith (Oxford, 2005)
EEL	*Early English Laws*: << http://www.earlyenglishlaws.ac.uk>>
EER	*Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. and trans. A. Campbell with S.Keynes (Cambridge, 1998)
EHD, i	*English Historical Documents / Volume I, c.500–1042*, ed. D. Whitelock, 2nd edn (London, 1979)
EHD, ii	*English Historical Documents / Volume II, c. 1042–1189*, edd. D. C. Douglas and G. W. Greenaway, 2nd edn (London, 1981)
Ekwall, *EPN*	E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th edn (Oxford, 1960)
Ekwall, *PNL*	E. Ekwall, *The Place Names of Lancashire* (Manchester, 1922)
EME	*Early Medieval Europe* (Harlow, 1992–)
English Sheriffs	J. A. Green (ed.), *English Sheriffs to 1154*, Public Record Office Handbooks 24 (London, 1990)
Ep. Lists, i–ii	R. I. Page, 'Anglo-Saxon Episcopal Lists, Parts I & II', *NMS 9* (1965), 71–95
Ep. Lists, iii	R. I. Page, 'Anglo-Saxon Episcopal Lists, Part III', *NMS* 10 (1966), 2–24
EPNS	English Place-Name Society
ESC	*Early Scottish Charters Prior to A.D. 1153*, ed. A. C. Lawrie (Glasgow, 1905)
ESSH	*Early Sources of Scottish History, A.D. 500 to 1286*, ed. A. O. Anderson, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1922), reprinted with corrections, ed. M. Anderson (Stamford, 1990)
FAI	*Fragmentary Annals of Ireland*, ed. and trans. J. Newlon Radner (Dublin, 1978).
FA-Aug.	*The Augustinian's St Andrews Foundation Account*, ed. and trans. S. Taylor, *PNF*, III, 600–15

FAB	*St Andrews Foundation Account B*, ed. and trans. S. Taylor, *PNF*, III, 567–79
Fasti Dunelm.	D. S. Boutflower (ed.), *Fasti Dunelmenses: A Record of the Beneficed Clergy of the Diocese of Durham down to the Dissolution of the Monastic and Collegiate Churches*, SS 139 (Durham, 1926)
Fasti EA, II	J. Le Neve (ed.), *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1066–1300 II: Monastic Cathedrals (Northern and Southern Provinces)* (London, 1971)
Fasti EA, VI	D. E. Greenway (ed.), *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1066–1300 VI: York* (London, 1999)
Fasti ES	D. E. R. Watt and A. L. Murray (eds), *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae Medii Aevi ad Annum 1638*, rev. edn (Edinburgh, 2003)
Félire Óengusso	*Félire Óengusso*, ed. and trans. W. Stokes (London, 1905)
Fergus	Guillaume le Clerc, *Roman de Fergus*, ed. W. Frescolin (Philadelphia, 1983)
Fraser, *Caledonia-Pictland*	J. E. Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland: Scotland to 795*, The New Edinburgh History of Scotland 1 (Edinburgh, 2009)
Gaimar	Geffrei Gaimar, *Estoire des Engleis / History of the English*, ed. and trans. I. Short (Oxford, 2009)
Gesetze der Angelsachsen	*Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. F. Liebermann, 3 vols (Halle, 1903–1916)
Glanvill	Ranulf de Glanville, *Tractatus de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Regni Anglie*, ed. and trans. G. D. G. Hall, with M. T. Clanchy, *The Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Realm of England Commonly Called Glanvill* (Oxford, 1993)
Glasgow Reg.	*Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis: Munimenta Ecclesie Metropolitane Glasguensis a Sede Restaurata Seculo Ineunte XII ad Reformatam Religionem*, ed. C. Innes, Bannatyne Club 75 / Maitland Club 61, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1843)

GLL	R. D. Oram and G. P. Stell (eds), *Galloway: Land and Lordship* (Edinburgh, 1991)
GPA	William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom, with R. M. Thomson, 2 vols (Oxford, 2007)
GRA	William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum,* ed. R.A.B. Mynors, with R.M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, vol. I (Oxford, 1998)
Gransden, *HW*	A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 2 vols (London, 1996)
Grið	*Grið*, ed. F. Lieberman, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I, 470–73
Hart, *Danelaw*	C. R. Hart, *The Danelaw* (London, 1992)
Hart, *Learning and Culture*, I	C. R. Hart, *Learning and Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England and the Influence of Ramsey Abbey on the Major English Monastic School: The New Curriculum in Monastic Schools* (Lewiston, 2003)
Hart, *Learning and Culture*, II	C. R. Hart, *Learning and Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England and the Influence of Ramsey Abbey on the Major English Monastic School: a Survey of the Development of Mathematical, Medical, and Scientific Studies in England Before the Norman Conquest*, 2 bks (Lewiston, 2003)
Havelock	*The Lay of Havelock*, ed. S. H. A. Shepherd, *Middle English Romances: Authoritative Texts, Sources and Background Criticism* (New York, 1995), 3–74
HBC	E. B. Fryde, et al. (eds), *Handbook of British Chronology*, 3rd edn (London, 1986)
HCY	*The Historians of the Church of York and Its Archbishops*, ed. J. Raine, 3 vols, RS 71 (London, 1879–94)
HE	Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, edd. and trans. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969)
Hedley, *NF*	W. P. Hedley, *Northumberland Families*, 2 vols (Newcastle,

	1968–1970)
HEE	Hugh the Chantor*, Historia Ecclesie Eboracensis*, ed. and trans. C. Johnson (London, 1961)
Hexham Provosts	*De Prepositis Haugustaldensis*, in *Priory of Hexham*, I, Appendix, pp. vii–viii
HH	Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. and trans. D. Greenway (Oxford, 1996)
HN	*A History of Northumberland / Issued under the Direction of the Northumberland County History Committee*, 15 vols (Newcastle, 1893–1940); vols I–II, by E. Bateson ; vol. III, by A. B. Hinds vols IV–VII, by J. C. Hodgson; vols VIII–X, by H.H.E. Craster ; vol. XI, by K. H. Vickers ; vols XI–XV, by M. H. Dodds.
Holyrood Liber	*Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis: Munimenta Ecclesie Sancte Crucis de Edwinesburg*, ed. C. Innes, Bannatyne Club 70 (Edinburgh, 1840)
Hodgson, *Northumberland*	J. Hodgson and J. Hodgson-Hinde, *History of Northumberland*, 3 vols (Newcastle, 1820–1858)
HR1	*Historia Regum* ‘Part 1’, ed. and trans. C. Hart, *Byrhtferth’s Northumbrian Chronicle: An Edition and Translation of the Old English and Latin Annals*, Early Chronicles of England 1 (Lewiston, 2006), 2–233
HR2	*Historia Regum*, ‘Part 2’, in *Sym. Op.*, II, 95–283
HRB	Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, ed. M. D. Reeve and trans. N. Wright, Arthurian Studies 69 (Woodbridge, 2007)
HSC	*Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, ed. T. J. South, Anglo-Saxon Texts 3 (Cambridge, 2002)
Hudson, *VKCP*	B. T. Hudson, *Viking Pirates and Christian Princes: Dynasty, Religion and Empire in the North Atlantic* (Oxford, 2005)
Inchaffray Chrs	*Charters, Bulls and Other Documents relating to the Abbey of Inchaffray Chiefly from the Originals in the Charter Chest of*

	the Earl of Kinnoull, edd. W. A. Lindsay, J. Dowden, and J. M. Thomson, Publications of the Scottish History Society 1st Ser. 56 (Edinburgh, 1908)
Inchcolm Chrs	*Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm*, edd. D. E. Easson and A. Macdonald, Publications of the Scottish History Society 3rd Ser. 32 (Edinburgh, 1938)
IR	*Innes Review* (Edinburgh, 1950–)
Jackson, *Gaelic Notes*	K. H. Jackson, *The Gaelic Notes in the 'Book of Deer'* (Cambridge, 1972)
JMH	*Journal of Medieval History* (Oxford, 1975–)
JSNS	*Journal of Scottish Name Studies* (Ceann Drochaid, 2007–)
JW	*Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed. and trans. R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk, *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, 3 vols, (Oxford, 1995–1998), only vols II and III published
Kapelle, *NCN*	W. E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North: The Region and its Transformation, 1000–1135* (London, 1979)
KCC	S. Taylor (ed.), *Kings, Clerics and Chronicles in Scotland, 500–1297: Essays in Honour of Marjory Ogilvie Anderson on the Occasion of Her Ninetieth Birthday* (Dublin, 2000)
Keynes, *Atlas*	S. Keynes, *An Atlas of Attestations in Anglo-Saxon Charters, c. 670–1066. I, Tables* (xxx), ASNC Guides, Texts, and Studies 5 draft edn (Cambridge, 2002)
Laws (At)	*The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, ed. and trans. F.L. Attenborough (Cambridge, 1922)
Laws (Ro)	*The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I*, ed. and trans .A. J. Robertson (Cambridge, 1925)
Lebor Bretnach	*Lebor Bretnach*, ed. and trans. J. H. Todd, *Leabhar Breathnach Annso Sis: The Irish version of the Historia Britonum of Nennius* (Dublin, 1848), rev. draft edn, online at CELT.
Leges Henrici Primi	*Leges Henrici Primi*, ed. and trans. L. J. Downer (Oxford, 1972)

Leges Scocie	*Leges Scocie*, ed. and trans. A. Taylor, ‘*Leges Scocie* and the Lawcodes of David I, William the Lion and Alexander II’, *SHR* 88 (2009), 207–88, at 250–88
Liber Eliensis	*Liber Eliensis*, ed. E. O. Blake (London, 1962)
Medieval Scotland	A. Grant and K. Stringer (eds), *Medieval Scotland: Crown, Lordship and Community: Essays Presented to G. W. S. Barrow* (Edinburgh, 1998)
Medieval State	J. R. Maddicott and D. M. Palliser (eds), *The Medieval State: Essays Presented to James Campbell* (London, 2000)
Meehan, *HWSD*	B. Meehan, *A Reconsideration of the Historical Works Associated with Symeon of Durham: Manuscripts, Texts, and Influences* (PhD dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1979)
Melrose Liber	*Liber Sancte Marie de Melros: Munimenta Vetustiora Monasterii Cisterciensis de Melros*, ed. C. Innes, Bannatyne Club 56 (Edinburgh, 1837)
Miscellanea Biographica	*Miscellanea Biographica*, ed. J. Raine, SS 8 (London, 1838)
Morris, *Marriage and Murder*	C. J. Morris, *Marriage and Murder in Eleventh-Century Northumbria: A Study of 'De Obsessione Dunelmi',* Borthwick Papers 82 (York, 1992)
Newbattle Reg.	*Registrum S. Marie de Neubotle: Abbacie Cisterciensis Beate Virginis de Neubotle Chartarium Vetus Accedit Appendix Cartarum Originalium, 1140–1528*, ed. C. Innes, Bannatyne Club 89 (Edinburgh, 1849)
NH	*Northern History: A Review of the History of the North of England* (Leeds, 1966–)
NHI, ix.2	T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, and F. J. Byrne (eds), *A New History of Ireland. Vol. 9, Maps, Genealogies, Lists. A Companion to Irish History. Part 2* (Oxford, 1984)
Nicolaisen, *SPN*	W. F. H. Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, new edn (Edinburgh, 2001)
Ninian and Kentigern	*Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern: Compiled in the Twelfth*

	Century, Edited from the Best MSS, ed. and trans. A. P. Forbes, Historians of Scotland 5 (Edinburgh, 1874)
NLA	*Nova Legenda Anglie: As Collected by John of Tynemouth, John Capgrave and Others, and First Printed, with New Lives, by Wynkyn de Worde, A.D. MDXVI, Now Re-Edited with Fresh Material from MS. and Printed Sources*, ed. C. Horstman, 2 vols (Oxford, 1901)
NMS	*Nottingham Mediaeval Studies* (Nottingham, 1957–)
Norman Expansion	K. J. Stringer and A. Jotischky (eds), *Norman Expansion: Connections, Continuities and Contrasts* (Farnham, 2013)
North Berwick Carte	*Carte Monialium de Northberwic: Prioratus Cisterciensis B. Marie de Northberwic Munimenta Vetusta Que Supersunt*, ed. C. Innes, Bannatyne Club 84 (Edinburgh, 1847)
Northern Chrs	*Charters of Northern Houses*, ed. D. A. Woodman, Anglo-Saxon Charters 16 (Oxford, 2012)
OCCC 157	Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 157
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004–),cited by entry: << http://www.oxforddnb.com>>
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary Online: The Definitive Guide to the English Language* (Oxford, ongoing), cited by entry: <<http://www.oed.com>>
OE Miscellany	*An Old English Miscellany Containing a Bestiary, Kentish Sermons, Proverbs of Alfred, Religious Poems of the Thirteenth Century: From Manuscripts in the British Museum, Bodleian Library, Jesus College Library, etc*, ed. R. Morris, Early English Text Society 49 (London, 1872)
Offler, *North*	H. S. Offler, *North of the Tees: Studies in Medieval British History*, edd. A. J. Piper and A. I. Doyle, Variorium Collected Studies Series (Aldershot, 1996)
Orkneyinga Saga	*Orkneyinga Saga*, ed. G. Vigfusson, *Icelandic Sagas and Other*

	*Historical Documents Relating to the Settlements and Descents of the Northmen on the British Isle*s, 4 vols , RS 88 (London, 1887–1894), I, 1–221
OSA	*Statistical Account of Scotland*, 20 vols (Edinburgh, 1791–1799)
OV	Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, 6 vols (Oxford, 1969–1980)
Paisley Reg.	*Registrum Monasterii de Passelet: Cartas Privilegia Conventiones Aliaque Munimenta Complectens a Domo Fundata A.D. MCLXIII usque ad A.D.* MDXXIX, ed. C. Innes, Maitland Club 17 (Edinburgh, 1877)
PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy* (1905–)
Phythian-Adams, *Cumbrians*	C. Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians: A Study in British Provincial Origins, A.D. 400–1120* (Aldershot, 2006)
Pipe Roll I	*The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Thirty First Year of the Reign of King Henry I, Michaelmas 1130 (Pipe Roll 1)*, ed. and trans. J. A. Green, Publications of the Pipe Roll Society 95 (London, 2012)
PSAS	*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1855–)
Priory of Hexham	*The Priory of Hexham*, ed. J. Raine, 2 vols, SS 44, 46 (Durham, 1864–1865)
Ragman Rolls	*Instrumenta Publica Sive Processus Super Fidelitatibus Et Homagiis Scotorum Domino Regi Angliae Factis, A.D. 1291–1296*, ed. Thomas Thomson, Bannatyne Club 47 (Edinburgh, 1834)
RCD	D. Broun (ed.), *The Reality behind Charter Diplomatic in Anglo-Norman Britain* (Glasgow, 2011)
Red Book	*The Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. H. Hall, 3 vols, RS 99 (London, 1896)

Regiam Maj.	*Regiam Majestatem and Quoniam Attachiamenta : Based on the Text of Sir John Skene*, ed. and trans. T. M. Cooper, Stair Society 11 (Edinburgh, 1947)
Relatio de Standardo	Aelred of Rievaulx, *Relatio de Standardo*, in *CSHR*, III, 181–99
RHC	Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols, RS 51 (1868–1871)
RMS	*Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, edd. J. B. Paul, J. H. Stevenson, W. K. Dickson, and J. M. Thomson, 8 vols (Edinburgh, 1882–1914)
Roberts, *LDM*	B. K. Roberts, *Landscapes, Documents and Maps: Villages in Northern England and Beyond, AD 900–1250* (Oxford, 2008)
Rollason, *Northumbria*	D. Rollason, *Northumbria, 500–1100* (Cambridge, 2003)
RRAN	*Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066–1165*, 4 vols (Oxford, 1913–1969); vol. I, ed. H.W.C. Davis with R.J. Whitwell; vol II, edd. C. Johnson and H. A. Cronne; vols III–IV, edd. H.A. Cronne and R.H.C. Davis
RRS, I	*Regesta Regum Scotorum*, vol. i, ed. G. W. S. Barrow, *The Acts of Malcolm IV King of Scots, 1153–1165 : Together with Scottish Royal Acts Prior to 1153 Not Included in Sir Archibald Lawrie's 'Early Scottish Charters'* (Edinburgh, 1960)
RRS, II	*Regesta Regum Scotorum*, vol. ii, ed. G. W. S. Barrow with W. W. Scott, *The Acts of William I, King of Scots, 1165–1214* (Edinburgh, 1971)
RRS, V	*Regesta Regum Scotorum*, vol. v, ed. A. A. M. Duncan, *The Acts of Robert I, 1306–29* (Edinburgh, 1987)
RS	Rolls Series (Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores or The Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages)
RW	Roger of Wendover, *Chronica, sive, Flores Historiarum*, ed. H.O. Coxe, 5 vols (London, 1841–44)

SAEC	*Scottish Annals from English Chronicles, A.D. 500 to 1286*, ed. A. O. Anderson (Edinburgh, 1908), repr. with corrections, ed. M. Anderson (Stamford, 1991)
Saga-Book	*Saga-Book of the Viking Society for Northern Research* (London, 1892–)
St Andrews Liber	*Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia: E Registro Ipso in Archivis Baronum de Panmure Hodie Asservato*, ed. T. Thomson, Bannatyne Club 69 (Edinburgh, 1841)
St Bees Reg.	*The Register of the Priory of St. Bees*, ed. J. Wilson, SS 126 (Durham, 1915)
St Neots Annals	*The Annals of St. Neots, with, Vita Prima Sancti Neoti*, ed. D. N. Dumville and M. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition. Vol.17* (Cambridge, 1985)
Sawyer	P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters : An Annotated List and Bibliography* (London, 1968), revised, updated and expanded by S. Kelly, R. Rushforth and others, *Electronic Sawyer*: <<http://www.esawyer.org.uk/searchfiles/index.html>>
Scotia Pontificia	*Scotia Pontificia: Papal Letters to Scotland Before the Pontificate of Innocent III*, ed. R. Somerville (Oxford, 1982)
Scotichronicon	Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon*, gen. ed. D. E. R. Watt, 9 vols (Aberdeen, 1989–1998); vols I–III, edd. and trans. J. MacQueen and W. MacQueen (III with D. E. R. Watt); vol. IV, ed. and trans. D. J. Corner et al.; vol. V, edd. and trans. S. Taylor, and D. E. R. Watt, with B. Scott; vol. VI, edd. and trans. N. F. Shead and W. B. Stevenson; vol. VII, edd. and trans. A. B. Scott, and D. E. R. Watt, with U. Morét; vol. VIII, ed. and trans. D. E. R. Watt; vol. ix, edd. and trans. D. E. R. Watt, A. Borthwick, et al.
Scottish Sheriffs	N. H. Reid and G. W. S. Barrow (eds), *The Sheriffs of Scotland: An Interim List to c.1306* (St Andrews, 2002)
SDAB	B. E. Crawford (ed.), *Scotland in Dark Age Britain* (St Andrews,

	1996)
SEH	Aelred of Rievaulx, *De Sanctis Ecclesiae Haugustaldensis*, ed. Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, II, 173–203
Secgan	*Secgan be þam Godes Sanctum* and *Notationes de Sanctis*, ed. F. Liebermann , *Die Heiligen Englands: Angelsächsisch und Lateinisch* (Hannover, 1889), 9–20
SGS	*Scottish Gaelic Studies* (Aberdeen, 1926–)
SHR	*The Scottish Historical Review* (Edinburgh, 1903–)
Skene, *Celtic Scotland*	W. F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland: A History of Ancient Alban*, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1886–90)
SLASS	M.L. Faull (ed.), *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement* (Oxford, 1984)
Smith, *PNW*	A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of Westmorland*, 2 vols, EPNS 42–43 (Cambridge, 1966–1967)
Spes Scotorum	D. Broun and T. O. Clancy (eds), *Spes Scotorum: Hope of Scots/ Saint Columba, Iona and Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1999)
SRN	*Series Regum Northymbrensium*, *Sym. Op.*, II, 389–93
SS	Publications of the Surtees Society
Stenton, *ASE*	F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 1971)
Sym. Col.	*Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanea*, ed. J. Hodgson-Hinde, SS 51 (Durham, 1868)
Sym. Op.	*Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia,* ed. T. Arnold, 2 vols, RS 75 (1882–85)
Symeon	D. Rollason (ed.), *Symeon of Durham: Historian of Durham and the North*, Studies in North-Eastern History 1 (Stamford, 1998)
TAASDM	*Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland* (Durham, 1863–1982)
Taylor, *PNF*	S. Taylor, *The Place-Names of Fife*, 5 vols (Donington, 2006–2013)
TCWAAS	*Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland*

	Antiquarian and Archaeological Society (1876–)
TDGNHAS	*Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* (Dumfries, 1862–)
Tenth-Century Studies	D. Parsons (ed.), *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia* (London, 1975)
THES	*The Times Higher Education Supplement* (London, Oct. 15 1971–)
TLP	*The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, ed. W. Stokes, 2 vols, Rolls Series 89 (London, 1887)
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (London, 1871–)
TSES	*Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society* (Aberdeen, 1903–1965)
TT	*The Triumph Tree : Scotland's Earliest Poetry, 550–1350*, ed. T. O. Clancy, trans and notes G. Márkus, J. P. Clancy, T. O. Clancy, P. Bibire, and J. Jesch (Edinburgh, 1998)
Two Lives	*Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert,* ed. and trans. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1950)
UPN	S. Taylor (ed.), *The Use of Place-Names* (Edinburgh, 1999)
VA	*Vita Sancti Cuthberti Anonyma*, in *Two Lives*, 60–139
VCH	*The Victoria History of the Counties of England* (1901–)
Vikings and the Danelaw	J. Graham-Campbell, R. Hall, J. Jesch and D. N. Parsons (eds), *Vikings and the Danelaw: Select Papers from the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Viking Congress, Nottingham and York, 21st-30th August 1997* (Oxford, 2001)
Vita Ædwardi Regis	*Vita Ædwardi Regis Qui apud Westmonasterium Requiescit*, ed. and trans. F. Barlow, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1992)
VBB	Geoffrey Grossus, *Vita Beati Bernardi Fundatoris Congregationis de Tironio in Gallia,* ed. J. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, clxxii (Paris, 1854), cols 1363–1446
VKI	*Vita Kentegerni Imperfecta Auctore Ignoto*, in *Ninian and*

	Kentigern, 123–23, 243–52
VMA	*Vita et Miracula S. Æbbe Virginis*, ed. and trans. R. Bartlett, *The Miracles of St Æbbe of Coldingham and St Margaret of Scotland* (Oxford, 2003), 2–67
VMM	Geoffrey of Burton, *Life and Miracles of St. Modwenna*, ed. and trans. R. Bartlett (Oxford, 2002)
VP	Bede, *Vita Sancti Cuthberti Prosaica*, in *Two Lives*, 141–307
VPWC	*Vita et Passio Waldevi Comitis*, in *CAN*, 99–142
VSK	Jocelin of Furness, *Vita Sancti Kentegerni*, in *Ninian and Kentigern*, 29–133, 159–242
VSM	*Vita Sanctae Margaritae Reginae*, in *Sym. Col.*, 234–54
VSN	Aelred of Rievaulx, *Vita Sancti Niniani*, in *Ninian and Kentigern*, 3–26, 137–57
VSOE	*Vita Sancti Oswaldi Episcopi*, in *Byrhtferth*, 2–203
VSOR	Reginald of Durham, *Vita Sancti Oswaldi Regis et Martyris*, in *Sym. Op.*, I, 326–85 (without third book)
VSW	Jocelin of Furness, *Vita Sancti Waldevi*, ed. and trans. G.J. McFadden
Wallingford	*The Chronicle Attributed to John of Wallingford*, ed. R. Vaughan, Camden Miscellany XXI (London, 1958), 1–67
Watson, *CPNS*	W. J. Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1926), repr. with corrigenda, addenda and intro by S. Taylor (Edinburgh, 2004)
Whitelock, 'Dealings'	D. Whitelock,'The Dealings of the Kings of England with Northumbria', in P. Clemoes (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxons* (London, 1959), 70–88
WmP	William of Poitiers, Gesta *Guillelmi*, ed. and trans. R. H. C. Davis and M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1998)
Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*	A. Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba: 789 to 1070* (Edinburgh, 2007)

Introduction

Historians in Anglo-Norman times were aware of the early English ‘petty kingdoms’. They knew realms like Northumbria had come to be absorbed by the unitary English kingdom, though they were not necessarily in agreement about how this had happened. In Northumbria’s case, the battle of York and death of Ælla attracted attention. After its entry s.a. 867 in the annals of John of Worcester, a scribe added a note claiming that here ‘the kings of Northumbria came to an end’ (*defecerunt reges Norðanhymbrorum*).[1] This perspective was shared by the genealogist behind *De Northumbria post Britannos*, who presented Ælla as Northumbria’s last king and his grandson Eadwulf as its first earl.[2] There were other theories, however. William of Malmesbury held that Northumbria had been conquered by King Ecgberht of Wessex in the 820s, though he had to acknowledge that frequently the former kingdom came to fall under the rule of ‘rebels’ and ‘barbarians’ in subsequent centuries.[3] Symeon of Durham believed that the kingdom had been taken under West Saxon rule in the late ninth century, the era of Guthred and Ælfred.[4] Henry of Huntingdon, on the other hand, suggested that the kingdom had ended following the death of Erik, son of Harold, during the reign of the English king Eadred (r. 946–955).[5] Henry’s view was the same as the author(s) of a dedicated tract about the foundation of the Northumbrian earldom.[6] A subsequent elaboration of the same tradition echoed the point in the strongest of language: ‘From that time Northumbria has endured the yoke of the *Suthangli*, and has lamented ever since the loss of her own kings and ancient liberty (*Ex quo tempore passa est iugum Suthanglorum Northimbria*, *et rege proprio et antiqua libertate adhuc queritur caruisse*).[7]

From the late seventh until the late ninth century Northumbria appears to have been part of a stable political equilibrium that also included its largest English and Celtic neighbours, most notably the Verturian, West Saxon, and Mercian kingdoms. By the middle of the twelfth century 'Northumbria' had come to be conceptually reduced to a Southumbrian-controlled 'shire' of territory around Bamburgh and Corbridge; its former extent, stretching from Forth and Clyde firths to the Peak district and Humber estuary, had become a fading memory for most Englishmen. Yet, its former glory could not have been forgotten by the creators of the various English narrative histories in the era. The most significant source for early English Christianity was a Northumbrian monk, Bede. Bede forced every historian of England to view the country's Christian 'golden age' through Northumbrian eyes, and glimpse an otherwise lost political order. Nonetheless, only a small number of details of how Bede's kingdom disappeared were understood accurately in the twelfth century.

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[1] OCCC 157, 289; *JW*, ɪɪ, 282–83.

[2] See *DNPB*.

[3] *GRA*, 106–09: i.72–73, 148–49: i.105, 180–81: ii.120, 184–85: ii.121.5–6, 212–13: ii.134, 206–07: ii.131.3–131.4, 212–13: ii.134.1–134.4.

[4] *LDE*, 128–29: ii.14; taken from *HSC*, 52–65 (especially c.18–19, 21, 25).

[5] *HH*, 334–35.

[6] *HR2*, 196–99; *RHC*, ɪ, 57–59.

[7] *Wallingford*, 49.

This thesis is about Northumbria and the other regions lying between the nascent kingdoms of England and Scotland in this intervening period. Now mired in considerable darkness, the two and a half centuries following the conquests and settlement of Scandinavians in the late ninth century were, whatever else, times of political reconfiguration. In hindsight, the old equilibrium was being replaced by a new one, and the familiar nations of later centuries were 'coming of age'. Having obtained the terminological identities familiar today, by the tenth century 'England' and 'Scotland' had outgrown the Gewissen and the Verturian 'tribal polities' in which they had originated. The Mac Ailpín rulers north of the Forth, probably descendants of the Dalriadan king Áedán mac Gabráin, had established a monopoly of the Pictish kingship in the early tenth century and had become significant players across the Insular World. Far to the south the descendants of Ecgberht, the Ecgberhting 'kings of the English Saxons', had won an even greater position, having dramatically spread beyond their territorial heartland in Wessex and Kent in the aftermath of the ninth-century Viking invasions under the leadership of King Ælfred 'the Great'.

After the death of Mercia's Ecgberhting queen in 918, the indirect West Saxon control of the rump of Mercia that had begun in the late ninth century gave way to direct rule by King Ælfred's son Edward the Elder. Edward's own sons Æthelstan, Edmund, and Eadred all used the title 'king of the English' (*rex Anglorum*) as well as other titles asserting domination over their neighbours, who included the successors of the 'Danish' conquerors of East Anglia and eastern Mercia, the Britons, and the Northumbrians; and after gaining control of the metropolitan site of York, the Ecgberhting monarchs could claim to be overlords of the former Roman province of Britain. During Eadred's reign the Uí Ímair, leaders of Anglo-Scandinavian England and arguably the last serious threat to England's territorial shape, ceased to rule in eastern Britain. In their place came West Saxon authority over the Anglo-Scandinavian towns, a dominion exercised sometimes directly and sometimes through ealdormen. Further to the north, their control of territory was almost never more than ideological until the Anglo-Norman era. In this zone lay a number of independent and semi-independent political communities, among the attested being *Na Renna*, the *Gall-Gaidel*, the *Westmoringas*, as well as more famous communities of Strathclyde and the polity centred on Bamburgh. Further north still, political instability seems to have brought the Scots into regions south of the Forth, if only periodically.

In the following work the term 'Middle Britain' is preferred to 'Northumbria' because, as will become evident in chapter two in particular, identifying 'Northumbria' after 900 is not straightforward; or rather, the Northumbria that exists is sufficiently distinct from the classical Northumbria of Bede to make usage of the name, at best, confusing. As will be increasingly clear in chapters three and four, the surviving evidence makes Northumbrian territories and those of some neighbouring regions impossible to distinguish. 'Middle Britain' also draws attention to a negative imprint. The imprint is itself important because historiographic attention and scholarly resources have, quite understandably, gravitated towards the 'national' realms, Scotland and England. Both of these are ancestral to modern political units with populations ideologically invested in the production and shape of origin narratives. National histories of Scotland and England have wide reading audiences, and attract willing publishing patrons meaning that, by default, the 'historical dead ends' are unlikely ever to attract the same resources.

This is not to say that the region has lacked modern scholarship. Indeed, it has been relatively well served as far as West European regions go. In recent decades Scandinavian-settled regions have attracted a great deal of academic attention, addressing a variety of archaeological, literary, prosopographic, and chronological problems. The Britons of the north have retained their perennial attractiveness for historians, the north-west of England in particular attracting a recent upsurge in research. Neither have the 'English of the North' escaped interest. Richard Fletcher's *Bloodfeud*, centring on rivalry between two

Northumbrian families in the eleventh century, earned reviews in national newspapers. Fletcher, however, was not particularly concerned with detailed source work, and in lacking such a concern he has hardly been alone. The point is important because modern approaches to historical evidence have, to a large extent, come to by-pass much earlier scholarship, including that upon which Fletcher and others have relied.

The finest overarching studies of England's relationship with the region have probably been Dorothy Whitelock's short 1959 essay 'Dealings of the Kings of England with Northumbria', and twenty years later William Kapelle's *Norman Conquest of the North*. In the same timeframe, understanding of Scotland's relationship with the region has probably been shaped most by G. W. S. Barrow's work 'the Anglo-Scottish Border' and 'The Scots and the North of England'.[8] All of these treated this era and its source material fairly lightly, if only because of the short space that they were able to devote. More than any other sub-region, our understanding of the area between the Tyne and the Forth has been reliant on Anglo-Norman–era or even later evidence. It is true that archaeologists and place-name experts have fleshed out some of the era with new data and insights, but the skeleton built from Anglo-Norman accounts of the twelfth century is still largely in place. Northumbria's leading historian over the past decades, David Rollason, produced a summary account of the period ultimately deriving from such sources; as accomplished as that work was overall, its view of our era is unlikely to have surprised his nineteenth-century predecessors James Raine and John Hodgson.[9]

Modern historiography benefits from large numbers of anthropological, archaeological, and other interdisciplinary insights that were less accessible to earlier historians. However, the central problem is essentially that framed by Dumville in 1987. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century historians trying to understand the period were guided chiefly by the most visible and charismatic texts.[10] Early historians of northern England and Scotland were drawn most of all to large, well-presented narrative histories such as those attributed to John of Fordun and Symeon of Durham. In doing so they were, according to Dumville's archaeological metaphor, 'treasure-hunting' where instead they should have been 'excavating'. The idea is an obvious and unproblematic one: that early evidence and incidental detail are more reliable sources of information about the past than late or rationalized narrative. While the best evidence often happens to be transmitted through later sources, where early evidence can be isolated it should take priority in a modern reconstruction—even if the result is surprising; perhaps especially when the result is surprising. The same principle guides the modern judge privileging the early 'police statement' over later, more organized accounts; the historian, however, does not have to deal with any prudent criminals who keep silent until the evidence against them is more firmly understood. Even though our source authors often did have royal judges in mind when creating their accounts, they were not trying to trick modern historians.

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[8] Kapelle, *NCN*; Whitelock, 'Dealings', 70–88; Barrow, *Kingdom*, 112–47. G. Molyneaux, *The Formation of the English Kingdom in the Tenth Century* (Oxford, 2015), contains many important ideas about this region too, but unfortunately was published after the submission of this thesis and not fully exploited.

[9] Rollason, *Northumbria,* chapter 7.

[10] D. N. Dumville, 'Textual Archaeology and Northumbrian History Subsequent to Bede', in *Coinage-Northumbria*, 43–55, at 43; see also H. E. Pagan, 'Northumbrian Numismatic Chronology in the Ninth Century', *BNJ* 38 (1969), 1–15, and C. S. S. Lyon, 'Ninth-Century Northumbrian Chronology', in *Coinage-Northumbria*, 27–41.

In terms of grand picture, these approaches are best exemplified by the recent monographs of James E. Fraser and Alex Woolf in the New Edinburgh History of Scotland series.[11] If neglect of the region had not been obvious before, Alex Woolf's *From Pictland to Alba* red-flagged the Tyne-Forth region and exposed how important very late evidence, particularly Symeon of Durham, has been for even the basic picture of the era's political geography. Unfortunately for the region in question, Woolf's study was devoted specifically to Scotland and his 'excursus' [Rollason] into this thesis's principal zone of interest did not have the scope to tackle the necessary level of detail. Rollason, the leading expert on Symeon's writings, pointed this out. Rollason also acknowledged the existence of such issues, and stressed that this approach 'calls for a more detailed critique of his [Symeon's] work'.[12]

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There is then nothing original about the intent of this thesis: it is simply to provide a more detailed critique of such sources and their insights, and draw out new conclusions about the topic. Its job is merely to put the necessary labour into an extended study of this specific region and period. This involves, principally, an understanding of sources involved.

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[11] Fraser, *Caledonia-Pictland*, 1–11.

[12] A. Woolf, 'Review of *Northumbria, 500–1100*', *SHR* 86 (2007), 132–34; D. Rollason, 'Review of *From Pictland to Alba, 789–1070*', *EHR* 125 (2010), 670–71.

Therefore, in the first chapter I will outline the most critical literary sources for the topic. This will not be exhaustive. Certain literary sources and types of sources come up over and over again, while others (and additional types of evidence such as place-names, personal-names, archaeology, coinage) will come up later as relevant. I will survey recurring source material, create an overview framework, and introduce key problems. As difficult as the sources for this era and region might be, the challenge they pose has been made much easier by a large amount of modern, high-quality scholarship, particularly the work of Rollason himself, as well as Craster, Blair, Meehan, South, and many others.

We will move on to chapters exploring the dissolution of the pre-867 political equilibrium, focusing on Northumbria. Chapter two will use contemporary or near-contemporary Irish and English literary evidence, in conjunction with place-name distributions, to provide a more reliable outline of Northumbria's political community or communities in the aftermath of the Great Army's settlement in the 870s. Chapter three, using episcopal lists and charter attestations, will try to do the same for the kingdom's episcopate. Most especially, I want to find out whether or not the traditional picture of ninth-century fragmentation and the movement of the body of St Cuthbert can be verified in what today would be recognized as reliable evidence. It goes without saying that the 'dissolution' process is critical to how the subsequent period is understood. Chapter four will attempt to understand some of the basics about the region's political communities as far as the Norman Conquest, taking advantage of earlier discussion and testing more of the Anglo-Norman evidence usually employed. One particular focus will be the 'Northumbrian Earldom Foundation Legend', attested in two related groups of post-1100 sources, which claimed that the rulers of England had divided the Northumbrian realm into two earldoms, before its subsequent reunification by the Bamburgh line. We will examine the most reliable evidence to see, once again, if such an account can be verified, and we will look at political communities more generally and their relationship to the growth of the Ecgberhting dominion.

Subsequently, attention will turn north to the Scots, and the evidence for Scottish activity south of the Forth. Much twentieth-century historiography accepted a deep past for the presence of the Scottish kingdom south of the Forth, including early–Viking-Age control of Strathclyde and Lothian. Although more recent historians have moved away from this type of view, former conclusions have still contributed to wider understanding of the region in this era, and so it is important to get to grips with what the literary evidence can really tell us here. We will then attempt to make some positive suggestions about the episcopate of the era, particularly for its period of best documentation in the mid-to-late eleventh century when the Normans are conquering the region. Finally, there will be an attempt to get to grips with the detail of Scottish and Southumbrian English state structures and how their establishment, politically speaking, brought 'Middle Britain' to an end.

It should be noted that the following study is one of named polities and communities and the limits of what we can say about them; arguments will not very often stray beyond literary evidence. Other useful sources of insight about the period, most importantly that of archaeology, do not provide a significant object of this dissertation's attention. One of the aims of the thesis is to show archaeologists and the broader, interested scholarly community, that they have greater room to freely interpret their evidence than has often been thought. Indeed, the limitations of the literary material mean that archaeology (along with place-names) could, ultimately, be our main source for understanding the period.

1. Key Sources

This section is designed to provide a picture of the key sources. It is not an exhaustive survey of all the sources used; its purpose instead is to give an overview of those used throughout the thesis which, were they to be considered on an *ad hoc* basis, would create distraction and repetition. Neither does this section provide the final word on the sources covered. Certain issue-specific problems, ones that arise for particular texts, form an integral part of arguments developed later.

1.1 'Northern' Sources

1.1.1 *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*

One of the most important literary sources is *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*. The *Historia* might be called a 'charter narrative', a text arranging a religious house's procurements in narrative sequence in accordance with a chronology widely understood by its author and intended audience. This type of historical writing was similar to, if not influenced by, the Norman *pancartes* particularly common late in the reign of William the Conqueror.[13] *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* survives in three manuscripts, all from the twelfth century or later, and is a 'record' of estates granted to, or stolen from, the house of St Cuthbert. The Viking-Age material *Historia* contains is usually accorded a great deal of authority, perhaps the chief reason for the text's historiographic prominence. *Historia* appears to be 'Northumbrian' in origin; much of its content is unique, and a suggested tenth-century date of composition has in the past been authoritative. Proponents of the tenth-century date had recognized that the *Historia* contains post–tenth-century material, but classified the latter as 'interpolation' or 'late'. Craster had explicitly set out this case in 1954, building upon earlier thoughts from Hodgson-Hinde.[14] Craster's central observation was that one of the three extant manuscripts of the text (Cambridge University Library Ff. 27) ended with King Edmund's visit to St Cuthbert's church, while the other manuscripts terminated in the reign of Cnut (r. 1016–35).[15] Perhaps shorn of a few 'interpolations', he suggested, the text could be understood as 'originally' ending with Edmund's visit; afterwards, another writer continued it, interpolating chapters 14–19 to commemorate King Alfred.[16] Such an ‘interpolation’ had been a necessary component of the theory because the author betrayed his knowledge of the battle of Assandun (1016) by confusing it with the battle of Ethandun (878), while the miracle itself seemed to be influenced by the late–tenth-century *Vita Prima Sancti Neoti*.[17]

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[13] E. Van Houts, 'Historical Writing', in C. Harper-Bill and E. Van Houts (eds), *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World* (Woodbridge, 2002), 103–22, at 117; and D. Bates *The Acta of William I (1066–1087)*(Oxford, 1998), 22–30 for more detail.

[14] Hodgson-Hinde, *Sym. Col.*, xxxv–xxxviii.

[15] Craster, E., 'The Patrimony of St. Cuthbert', *EHR* 69, 177–99, at 177.

Craster’s view brought comfort to historians looking for a reliable window on Viking-Age Northumbria, but it was arguably too complex to be intrinsically likely. Subsequently, Luisella Simpson showed how the ‘interpolated’ passage fitted stylistically with the remainder of the text.[18] At best the whole *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* must have been rewritten at the point the ‘interpolation’ was made, presumably sometime after Cnut’s grant, which would likely place it no earlier than the 1020s or 1030s. The most recent editor of the text, Ted South, argued for a post-Cnut eleventh-century date and in doing so was given the weighty backing of David Rollason. South exposed numerous flaws in Craster’s argument and made Craster’s position untenable, at least without substantial modification.[19] Even if the text were in reality as Craster had said, existing evidence does not support it.[20]

If *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* as a unity can be dated, it has to be after Cnut’s reign, perhaps as late as the Anglo-Norman era. Its clear purpose was to advance a case for property rights respected by the sources of power, namely those able to grant or remove rights or influence that process, e.g. the king, his court, the populace, and so on. Such efforts would be most necessary and meaningful in English society of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Foreign conquerors were confiscating and redistributing land, and native property rights were frequently being challenged and lost to nobles and institutions of Continental origin (or even sometimes to their more adaptable native rivals). It was a time when the social and political order was being revolutionized more generally. The process created a surfeit of charter histories and other historical writing by mother churches trying to demonstrate the authority of their rights and privileges. *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* fits in well with such a context and with similar charter histories composed elsewhere in England, for instance, *Hemming's Cartulary* and *Liber Eliensis*.[21]

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[16] Craster, ‘Patrimony’, 177–78.

[17] L. Simpson, ‘The King Alfred/St Cuthbert Episode in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*’, in *CCC*, 397–411, at 410.

[18] Simpson, ‘King Alfred Episode’, 397–411.

[19] Rollason, *LDE*, lxxii–lxxiii; South, *HSC*, 27–36.

[20] Cf. S. Crumplin, *Rewriting History in the Cult of St Cuthbert* (PhD dissertation, University of St Andrews, 2006), 34–43.

Historia de Sancto Cuthberto's treatment of the estate of Billingham may serve to highlight this context. *The Historia* lays out separate facts substantiating Durham's right to the estate: Billingham was founded by Bishop Ecgred (c. 9), but was stolen by King Ælla (c. 10); however Bishop Cuthheard (c. 22) still had possession of it (several decades later by modern reconstruction), giving it away to one Ælfred son of Brihtwulf. *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* was claiming two overlapping losses for one property. As far as Anglo-Norman legal challenges might have been concerned, the cumulative effect of this 'kitchen sink approach' would have reinforced the authority of the church's claim; but for modern historians these should be considered as contradictory and taken to reveal the speculative, wishful, or even tendentious nature of the evidence. It is of course entirely possible that both claims are true, and that its intermediate restoration is simply an unfortunate omission; but this involves conjecturing specific records of actual losses or grants. These are unlikely here, and elsewhere the author shows that he will reproduce written grants when available to him. Helpfully, we also know in this case that Billingham was the object of royal interference; according to *Libellus de Exordio* (for this source, see below):

> [R]ex ipse Willelmus sanctum confessorem et illius ecclesiam in magna semper ueneratione habuit, et regiis muneribus honorauit, terrarum quoque illius possessiones augmentauit. Nam et Billingham quam olim ab Ecgredo episcopo conditam sancto Cuthberto diximus, quam uiolentia malignorum abstulerat.
>
> 'King William himself held the confessor and his church in great veneration, honoured it with royal gifts and landed possessions. For he restored to the church Billingham, which had formerly been founded for St Cuthbert by Bishop Ecgred (as we said) but which had been taken away by the violence of evil men'.[22]

William I's 'restoration' of Billingham shows that it had not been in Durham's possession up to that point. We might also be at liberty to deduce that the Cuthbertine community had been challenging people who were believed, in some way, the successors of both Ælfred son of Brihtwulf and King Ælla.

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[21] See South, *HSC*, 12–14; see also, M. Brett, 'John of Worcester and His Contemporaries', in R. H. C. Davis, and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (eds), *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1981), 101–26, at 101–04. For text of *Hemming's Cartulary*, see *Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesiæ Wigorniensis*, ed. T. Hearne (Oxford, 1723); for *Liber Eliensis*, see Blake, *LE*, and translation by J. Fairweather, *Liber Eliensis* (Woodbridge, 2005).

[22] *LDE*, 198–99: iii.20.

As another example, Cuthbert had granted territory around Gainford to Eadred son of Ricsige in the time of Edward the Elder, but this was ‘lost’ by the church because of the family’s subjugation to the Scandinavian ruler Rognvald (*Regenwaldus*) after the Battle of Corbridge (918). The victorious Rognvald, however, proceeded to regrant the estate to Eadred’s two sons.[23] Gainford was ‘returned’ to Cuthbert much later than Billingham, and did not actually fall under Durham’s control until the era of Bishop Hugh Puiset (†1195), having been under the de Balliol family since the reign of William the Conqueror.[24] These ‘lost’ areas were in the twelfth century grouped in the wapentake of Sadberge, an exclave of the county of Northumberland containing the Balliol lordship of Barnard Castle (which included Gainford) and de Brus lordship of Hartness (as well as the old Northumbrian minster of Hartlepool); it suited the contemporary church of Durham to believe that these areas lay outside Cuthbert’s dominion because they had been stolen by Rognvald and his vikings.[25] Similarly Warkworth, allegedly given by King Ceolwulf, was an estate held as part of the earldom of Northumberland and its church was given, like other earldom churches, to Carlisle by Henry I.[26] Put simply, the numerous legendary land grants cannot be read directly as proof, or even good evidence, of historic land grants. They are only evidence that, around the time of compilation, Durham’s establishment were asserting a legal or moral claim to these territories.

However it would be a mistake to allow the momentum of historiography to distort our interpretation of the source material. Craster’s theory is imperfect as a general explanation, but that does not make *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* a worthless source for the Viking Age. As both *Hemming’s Cartulary* and *Liber Eliensis* illustrate, charter historians of the Anglo-Norman era did seek out and utilize available evidence from written and oral sources. In Durham’s case, such sources were in shorter supply, but we cannot doubt their existence. The chief reassurance of this is *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*’s own failings as a compilation. Among the the most serious signs of the narrator’s incompetence is making the seventh-century Cuthbert himself the direct predecessor of Bishop Ecgred, who held office in the ninth century. The compiler believed that Cuthbert (†687) was a contemporary of King Ceolwulf (reigned 729–737) and was succeeded directly by the ninth-century bishop (chs 7 and 8). Although *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* used, perhaps indirectly, Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and the early *vitae* of Cuthbert, the narrator did not understand the chronology well enough to realise how much time lay between Cuthbert's life and the ninth century. Similarly, the aforementioned confusion between eleventh-century Assandun and ninth-century Ethandun undermines the narrator's competence even for eleventh-century history, and points to an incoming Anglo-Norman trying to work from (perhaps a mixture of) oral and (perhaps second-hand) written sources. By the time of its compilation Assandun was already far back in time, distant enough to be confused with the ninth-century battle.

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[23] *HSC*, 62–63: c.24.
[24] South, *HSC*, 113.
[25] M. Holford, ‘Durham: History, Culture and Identity’, in *Border Liberties*, 17–57, at 43.
[26] *HSC*, 48–49: c.8, 50–51: c.10.

So when the same source talks about the Battle of Corbridge and successfully synchronizes several rulers and nobles of that era, we can be sure that there was, somehow, access to earlier material. In the case of Corbridge and its participants, we are able to check the details from other reliable sources. Encouragingly, *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*'s chapter 33 appears to be independently confirmed from early, perhaps late–tenth-century, material.[27] Charters purporting to be issued by King Æthelred and Styr son of Ulf appear to be based on authentic exemplars, while the similarity of a grant attributed to Earl Northman in chapter 31 with *notitiae* found in Durham's *Liber Vitae* may suggest that similar *notitiae* could have provided the source for some of *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*'s alleged later-tenth- and early–eleventh-century grants.[28] The trouble for the historian is that when we are given unique information, the very cases where the *Historia* would be of most service, the verification cannot be done. *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*'s treatment of the Chester-le-Street migration and even, indeed, the basic chronology of Cuthbertine bishops, can be counted as unverified unless some access to other earlier or independent material can be demonstrated. If *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* or its framework is indeed a significant source for Anglo-Norman episcopal lists, annals and chronicles, then much of the derivative modern account is little more than well-polished repetition of speculation by the first generation of Norman incomers to Northumbria. This is a topic that will be the focus of chapter three.

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[27] See section 3.2.4.

[28] *DLV*, I, 140; cf. *HSC*, 66–69: c.29–31, with discussion at 112–13.

1.1.2 *Cronica Monasterii Dunelmensis*

Craster believed that he could identify a very early Durham chronicle terminating in the time of William I, thought to have been written into the margins of a book on the altar of Durham Cathedral. It is preserved in an appendix to a chronicle overseen by Prior John Wessington (†1451). It also survives in a notarial instrument of 1433. By comparing these and related material (e.g. Durham-related chronicle marginalia added to the Latin 'Brut chronicle' in London, BL Cotton Julius D iv, as well as Thomas Rudbourne's *Historia Major*, and the *Brevis Relatio*), Craster offered a fuller reconstruction of the early chronicle's text.[29] *Cronica Monasterii Dunelmensis* was probably completed in the time of William de St Calais (bp. 1081–96). If you believe that *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* was earlier than this date, as Craster did, you could read the *Cronica* (as Craster did) to be 'borrowing' from *Historia*. Admittedly a relationship is undeniable: the *Cronica* shares the idiosyncratic chronological [in]competence of *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, with its early narrative moving swiftly from the era of Ceolwulf to Halfdan.[30] Synchronizing its grants with specific English kings,like *Historia* it is a charter narrative 'recording' estates given to Cuthbert. However the differences tend to indicate that the chronological framework of the *Cronica*, if not its detail, is earlier than that of *Historia* (see chapter 3.2.4). In either case, the text is potentially a very important one. It contains revealing information about pre-Norman Cuthbertine history, but insights from it have been under-utilized in part because of modern reliance on accounts developed after 1100. Again, this issue will be explored more in chapter three.

1.1.3 *Annales Lindisfarnenses et Dunelmenses* and *Libellus de Exordio*

In the first third of the twelfth century, a series of historical works were produced that came to be attributed to Symeon of Durham. Some of these attributions have been rejected by more recent historians, including *Historia Regum* and *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*—though Symeon's authorship of *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* cannot be ruled out, especially as its earliest recension (in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 596) was written in a hand identified as

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[29] E. Craster, 'The Red Book of Durham', *EHR* 40 (1925), 504–32, at 519–23; A. J. Piper, 'The Historical Interests of the Monks of Durham', in *Symeon of Durham*, 301–32, at 305–06, 308–10.

[30] Craster, 'Red Book', 523–29 for reconstructed text, and 519–23 and 529–32 for discussion; cf. the printed version of the 1433 instrument in *Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres*, ed. J. Raine (London, 1839), ccxxviii–ccxxxvi.

Symeon's.[31] Symeon was probably one of the French monks who arrived in Durham in the late eleventh century, and two other works were very likely written by Symeon: *Annales Lindisfarnenses et Dunelmenses* and *Libellus de Exordio*. The *Annales Lindisfarnenses et Dunelmenses* appear to be an intermediate stage between *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* and the more thoroughly polished *Libellus de Exordio*. These annals were entered into margins of a manuscript of paschal tables (Glasgow University Library, MS Hunterian 85) by the same hand identified as Symeon's.[32] It is a fuller attempt to integrate Durham's history with those of England and Christendom, key dates of numerous bishops being placed within a wider set relating to English kings, popes, and German emperors. Many of the dates given for the bishops have no earlier authority, and the historian can only guess whether or not such dates are more than well-informed speculation.

Libellus de Exordio, written in four books, is the most full of all the narrative histories produced by the Anglo-Norman Cuthbertine corporation. The account of the church has been expanded from the base of the *Annales* and *Historia*, with many earlier imperfections fixed and holes filled. The *Libellus* appears to have been completed, or at least part of it must have been completed, before 1115, the death of Prior Turgot; and cannot date earlier than the translation of Cuthbert of 29 August, 1104.[33] Subsequent treatments of Cuthbertine history almost always followed the Symeonic account. Thanks undoubtedly to the large number of manuscripts and to its superior presentation, it has been the most influential source for modern reconstructions of Cuthbertine history. However, as an independent source most of the text is not particularly useful for the era prior to the Norman Conquest. On the other hand, for the church of Symeon's own era it is unrivalled and, among much else, contains a great deal incidental, orally-derived information taken from living native Northumbrians.

1.1.4 Minor Tracts

Despite the attractiveness of Symeon's narrative, the most useful Anglo-Norman 'Northumbrian' sources are, very often, small independent tracts. Perhaps the most famous is *De Obsessione Dunelmi*, 'On the Siege of Durham', found in one manuscript, Cambridge,

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[31] M. Gullick, 'The Scribes of the Durham Cantor's Book', in *AND*, 97–101 and 'The Hand of Symeon of Durham', in *Symeon*, 14–31, at 15, 24; supported by South, *HSC*, 15.

[32] Gullick, 'Hand of Symeon', 17–18, 29.

[33] Rollason, *LDE*, p. xlii.

Corpus Christi College, MS 139 [hereafter CCCC 139]. Like *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, *De Obsessione Dunelmi* 'facilitates' attempts to gain ownership of territorial resources, here the estates of Barmpton and Skirningham that were allegedly seized by one Ælfsige 'of the Tees' (*Eilsi de Teise*). The central claim is that these properties had been part of an honour given by Bishop Ealdhun to his daughter Ecgfrida, which as a whole had originally consisted of six townships between the Wear and the Tees: Barmpton, Skirningham, Elton, Carlton, School Aycliffe, and Monk Heselden. Although given to Cuthbert when Ecgfrida became a nun, three marriages and those of her descendants produced numerous claims on all the estates. By the end of the text we learn that the Cuthbertine corporation possessed Elton, Carlton, School Aycliffe, and Monk Heselden, and that Ælfsige held Barmpton and Skirningham (owing to the claims of his wife), exposing the tract's true purpose. Its principal value is the genealogical and political information used both in explanation of how these properties were transmitted and in asides that were written either because the author was genuinely interested or because they provided verisimilitude.

Another useful tract is *Libellus de Regibus Saxonicis* (Hinde) or *De Primo Saxonum Adventu* (Arnold). This is a collection of English royal genealogies and episcopal lists, but also contains a sub-tract on Northumbria entitled *De Northymbrorum Comitibus*. The collection was probably compiled at Durham, certainly during the reign of Henry I and the episcopate of Ranulf Flambard, who complete their respective royal and episcopal lists; a date of 1122x1129 is the likely range.[34] There are at least four manuscript witnesses.[35] *De Northymbrorum Comitibus* contains important information about the ruling dynasty of northern Northumbria, derived from an earlier, though probably not significantly earlier, account; *De Northymbrorum Comitibus*' description is related to 'interpolations' contained in related Anglo-Latin annals, *Historia Regum*, Alfred of Beverley, and Roger of Howden (see below, 1.2.2).[36] Other important interpolations were made into the same annals, including a description of the diocese of Lindisfarne (see Appendix III.b) as well as numerous supplementary comments in Anglo-Norman–era annals.[37] *De Primo Saxonum Adventu* and its chronicle relatives contain a list of Viking-Age earls; however, an alternative list can be found in *De Northumbria post Britannos*, a small tract on the history of Northumbria that was reproduced for a collection of historical material thought relevant to Scotland and the 'Great Cause', c. 1300. *De Northumbria post Britannos* has a genealogy of Earl Waltheof, father of David I's only wife Matilda, presenting male-and female-line ancestors as kings and earls of the Northumbrians.[38]

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[34] See Thornton, D. E., 'Edgar and the Eight kings, AD 973', *EME* 10 (2003), 49–79, at 60–61, and n. 37; Rollason, *LDE*, p. lxxix.

[35] BL, Cotton, MS Caligula A. VIII; BL, Cotton, MS Domitian VIII; Oxford, Magdalen College, lat. MS 53; and Durham Cathedral, MS B.ii.35; *Sym. Col.*, 202–15 where Hodgson-Hinde used the BL Caligula and the Magdalen mss, whereas Arnold, *Sym. Op.*, II, 366–84, used the Domitian MS; for this, see Offler, *North*, I, 11, 22, n. 23.

[36] *HR2*, 196–99; *ABA*, 132–33; *RHC*, I, 57–59.

1.2 English National Chronicles

1.2.1 Anglo-Saxon Annals

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* [hereafter *ASC*] involves multiple manuscripts, with five principal 'variants' labelled by sigla A, B, C, D, and E. The Southumbrian core of these annals has provided the basic framework for English history of the ninth, tenth and early eleventh centuries, so that what it includes, omits, whom it glorifies, and so on, have been internalized and re-externalized by the dominant modern historians. It is usually thought that its common stock had been completed by 892 (dating based on Asser), with several subsequent bursts of continuation. The first post-892 'continuation' covers 893–96, and the second 897–914. There is another continuation for 915–20, but only in MS A. A 'second instalment' [Gransden] relates to 925–975; although there are relatively few annals here, poems about the battle of Brunanburh (937) and the capture of the Five Boroughs by Edmund of Wessex (942) compensate somewhat.[39] Manuscripts C, D, and E share a group of annals 983–1022 written retrospectively at some point in the 1020s.

For northern history, MSS D and E are especially important. MS E was written in one hand at Peterborough Abbey as far as 1121; then contemporaneously up to 1154. It shares innovations with D but with some significant variants. The earliest hand of MS D is from the mid eleventh century, with continuations later in the century as far as 1079 (plus a twelfth-century notice relating to the death of Óengus of Moray, 1130). Both D and E include Northumbrian annals (as well as some rewriting) covering the era from 60 BC onwards, and the content suggests an underlying, but lost, northern source. Entries common to both D and E, or showing signs of having the same ancestor, were in existence in the early-to-mid 1000s. In the middle of the eleventh century the D annalist added important, back-dated entries relating to various matters, including successions of bishops.[40]

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[37] *HR2*, 101–02 [=s.a. 854]; *RHC*, I, 44–45 [=s.a. 883].

[38] See *DNPB*, 33.

[39] Whitelock, *ASC*, pp. xi–viii, Gransden, *HW*, I, 34–41 (ibid., I, 40, for quote); *EHD, I*, 109–25, 145–46; S. Keynes, 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', in *BEASE*, s.v..

1.2.2 Anglo-Latin Annals

Vernacular annals are complemented by Latin annalistic compilations. The base of the Latin compilations appears to be taken from vernacular annals, and only language differentiates most of them from the *ASC* continuum. As with the Irish annals (see below) much scholarship has gone into formulating phylogenetic theories for English annal traditions; in the case of English annals, a feature of historiographic culture is to seek or assign authorship to Latin but not to vernacular versions. Despite the anonymous nature of the annal 'genre', many of the Latin annals are known to modern scholars by the name of some high-ranked ecclesiastic, often the name of the man responsible for the latest 'continuation' appended to the particular tradition. Important Anglo-Latin annals include the 'Asserian Annals' (embedded in Asser's *Life of Alfred*), *Historia Regum* 'part 1', Æthelweard's *Chronicon*, the chronicle attributed to John of Worcester, *Historia Regum* 'part 2', the *Chronicle of Melrose*, the work of Alfred of Beverley, the annals of Roger of Howden, and the St Albans chronicles (Roger of Wendover, Matthew Paris and so on), as well as various texts marginal to this study, like the *Ramsey Annals* and the *Annals of St Neots*.

The earliest extant Anglo-Latin annals are those attributed to Asser —that is, if the date of 893 accepted by most scholars is correct—though the matter has been subject to a long-running controversy, fuelled in part by reliance on modern transcriptions that predate the destruction of the original Asser manuscript in the eighteenth century.[41] The next oldest set of Anglo-Latin annals, the *Chronicon* of Æthelweard, attracts no such controversies. It is a Latin translation of a lost variant of the annals in *ASC*. The work terminates in 975, and was probably finished before 983. Its chief interest lies in the last of its four books, which contains unique and valuable information about the politics of the tenth century. It is unclear to what extent book iv is Æthelweard's or an independent continuation that Æthelweard translated and edited.[42]

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[40] For discussion, see Whitelock, *ASC*, xix–xix, Gransden, *HW*, I, c. 3, as well as the introductions to relevant Cambridge *ASC* collaborative editions; cf. Hart, *Learning and Culture*, I, 313, n. 20.

[41] On the one side, there is V. H. Galbraith, *Introduction to the Study of History* (London, 1964), 88–128; A. Smyth, *King Alfred the Great* (Oxford, 1995); idem, *The Medieval Life of King Alfred the Great* (Basingstoke, 2002); Hart, *Learning and Culture*, II, 91–117; and then S. Keynes, 'On the Authenticity of Asser's Life of King Alfred', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 47 (1996), 529–51; R. Abels, '*The Medieval Life of King Alfred the Great* by Alfred P. Smyth', *Albion* 36 (2004), 86–88; for a summary of some of the issues as they stood in 1995, see S. Targett, 'Alf, the Cinder Fella', *THES* (8 December 1995); other contributions in *THES* include Keynes, 'It is Authentic' (8 December 1995), M. Lapidge, 'A King of Monkish Fable' (8 March 1996), Smyth, 'King Alfred's Issue Carries on Burning' (29 March 1996); both sides have put the issue down to personalities at different stages, with Keynes and Lapidge putting the survival of scepticism down to V. H. Galbraith's 'prestige as a medieval historian' (*Alfred the Great* (London, 1983), 50) and Smyth attributing the opposite to the power of Whitelock and her followers (Smyth, *King Alfred the Great*, 154, and *Medieval Life*, xv–xvi).

In CCCC 139 lies *Historia Regum* 'part 1' [hereafter *Historia Regum 1*]. *Historia Regum 1* is a set of Northumbrian annals (like those added to *ASC* MSS DE) prefaced by an origin legend of the Kentish kings, a Northumbrian king-list, and Bedan material. Its Northumbrian annals appear to terminate, at least for some decades, in 802, and are followed by a version of the Asserian annals. Altogether, both groups of annals and their surrounding content, under the schema devised by Peter Hunter Blair, have been classified as the 'first five sections' of what was once believed to have been a larger single work in CCCC 139, *Historia Regum*. In recent historiography, there is some agreement that a major section of *Historia Regum 1* was in existence by c. 1000, with 'authorship' (i.e. compilation, additions and rewriting) assigned to Byrhtferth of Ramsey.[43] It is important to note that the Northumbrian annals in CCCC 139 begin again in 888, and go as far as 957.[44] This resumption, the *Chronicle of 957*, could also be treated as a separate text—and was treated as such by Cyril Hart, who omitted it from his edition. Ending with a reflective note about Edward the Confessor and containing Symeonic additions, the *Chronicle of 957* is not a Viking-Age composition; nonetheless, its annals appear to be drawn from a lost source similar to what was used by *Roger of Wendover* and *ASC* MS E, either a set of Northumbrian annals or at least another Northumbrian version of *ASC*.[45]

Historia Regum 'part 2' [hereafter *Historia Regum 2*] is arranged to follow the *Chronicle of 957*, but its annals commence back in the 850s. *Historia Regum 2* is very similar to the annal set known as *Chronicon ex Chronicis* (nowadays attributed to John of Worcester), but has some additions made from Anglo-Norman Durham sources in the twelfth century. The 'fullest' form of *Historia Regum 2* is the CCCC 139 version printed in Arnold, which extends to 1129; allegedly 'abbreviated' versions of the same text terminate a decade before, while there is a very similar text in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Nouv. Acq. Lat. 692, taking the work to 1153.[46] Byrhtferth's 'authorship' has also been proposed for the pre–eleventh-century portion of *Chronicon ex Chronicis*; Cyril Hart would also make Byrhtferth author of *Historia Regum 1* and the *Annals of St Neots*.[47] Hart explained the similarities of all three by arguing that Byrhtferth authored three different chronicles at different times (what he calls the, 'Worcester', 'Northumbrian' and 'East Anglian' chronicles). Such specific explanation of these similarities cannot be verified however, and indeed no more than differing subsequent fates is necessary to explain the differences to the 'common' material which was allegedly produced or mediated by Byrhtferth.[48] Links between *Chronicon ex Chronicis* and *Historia Regum 2* continue up until 1120, which means that *Historia Regum 2* is, in essence, a recension of *Chronicon ex Chronicis* and thus an important guide to what interested the Durham or northern clergy who transformed it into the *Historia Regum 2* exemplar.[49] In lieu of a systematic re-examination of these sources, it is also economical and sensible to accept that the version of these annals preserved in *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene* or Roger of Howden's *Chronica* is derived from the *Historia Regum 2* exemplar (or a very similar manuscript). Roger, who completed the *Chronica* in its surviving form, was the hereditary *persona* of Howden in Yorkshire. This was the location of the body of St Osana, sister of King Osred (†716). Howden in Roger's day was under Durham overlordship and formed the centre of Durham's 'franchise' in southern Yorkshire.[50] Roger of Howden's *Chronica*, finished around 1201, preserves similar (and not necessarily inferior) annals to

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[42] Campbell, *Æthelweard*, pp. ix–xxxvii, S. Miller, 'Æthelweard', in *BEASE*, s.v..

[43] P. H. Blair, 'Some Observations on the *Historia Regum* attributed to Symeon of Durham', in *Celt and Saxon*, 63–118; M. Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth of Ramsey and the Early Sections of the *Historia Regum*', *ASE* 10 (1981), 97–122, at 118–122 et passim; Hart, *Learning and Culture*, ı, 473–88; Hart, *HR1*, passim.

[44] The scheme comes down to Blair, 'Some Observations', 76–77ff..

[45] See also W. S. Angus, 'The Annals for the Tenth Century in Symeon of Durham's *Historia Regum*', *The Durham University Journal* 22 (1939–40), 213–29; and Blair, 'Some Observations', 104–06.

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[46] An unprinted 'abbreviation' of this exemplar as far as 1119 also appears to have been in existence at Durham in the 1120s, as evidenced by Liège, Bibliothèque Universitaire, MS 369C, and BL, Cotton Caligula A.vii. For these 'abbreviations' see Meehan, *HWSD,* 125–52; see also Brett, 'John of Worcester', 118–21, D., Baker, 'Scissors and Paste', *Studies in Church History* 11 (1975), 83–123, and Darlington and McGurk, *JW*, II, lxxi; for the Paris text resembling *HR* and its John of Hexham 'continuation', see Meehan, *HWSD,* 121–24, and Offler, *North*, XI, 152–54.

[47] C. Hart, 'The Early Section of the Worcester Chronicle', *JMH* 9 (1983), 251–315; C. Hart, *Byrhtferth's East Anglian Chronicle* (Lewiston, NY, 2006), passim; Lapidge, *Oswald and Ecgwine*, pp. xlii–xlii, who is much less confident.

[48] Lapidge, *Oswald and Ecgwine*, pp. xxxix–xliv; Darlington and McGurk, *JW*, II, lxxix–lxxx.

[49] Darlington and McGurk, *JW*, II, p. lxxiii.

[50] For this franchise, see Barlow, *DJP*, 53–115; for Roger, see J. Gillingham, 'Writing the Biography of Roger of Howden', in D. Bates et al. (eds), *Writing Medieval Biography, 750–1250* (Woodbridge, 2006), 207–20, F. Barlow, 'Notes and Documents', *EHR* 65 (1950), 352–60.

Historia Regum 2 as far as 1121. An annal collection common to *Historia Regum 2* and Roger of Howden's *Chronica*, as well as that that of the *Chronicle of Melrose* and (in abbreviated form) the *Annals* of Ælfred of Beverley, is likely to have originated in Durham earlier in the twelfth century.[51] *Historia Regum 2* and Roger of Howden's *Chronica*, along with *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, were part of one larger tradition. Its progenitor was a multi-authored annal compilation extending much later than Byrhtferth, including tenth- and eleventh-century *ASC* annals as well as the text shared with Marianus Scotus, Norman annals, and the *Historia Novorum* of Eadmer.[52]

In the thirteenth century, St Albans Abbey produced a series of large universal chronicles. Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris wrote valuable accounts of their own time, but prefaced their works with annalistic and legendary material going back into the Early Middle Ages. The *Flores Historiarum* of Roger [hereafter referred to as *Roger of Wendover*] is the earliest known version of this; a forerunner may have drawn this material together, but for practical purposes *Roger of Wendover* and any earlier compilation are the same. *Roger of Wendover* draws on a variety of sources, including Radulf Diceto, some variant of *Historia Regum 2* (possibly Roger of Howden's *Chronica*), and Henry of Huntingdon. Notably, *Roger of Wendover* contains very old and credible Northumbrian annals, incorporating material attested in the *Chronicle of 957* and omitted by *Historia Regum 2* (like s.a. 941, the burning of Tyninghame), as well as unique annals, among which is an obituary of King Rædwulf, s.a. 844. Unknown from other texts, Rædwulf is attested in coins. The annal, along with the *Chronicle of 957* and the sources of the Northumbrian entries in the *ASC* MSS DE texts, suggests that the Northumbrian annal tradition may have continued after the early ninth century. St Albans had possessed, since the late eleventh century, overlordship of the monastery of Oswine at Tynemouth, set up by Earl Robert de Mowbray as a counter-weight to Durham. Sadly, if a lost Tynemouth source had been available, use of Roger of Howden's *Chronica* (or other *Historia-Regum-2*–like annals) mean that *Roger of Wendover* cannot be used to correct Durham additions. Material that is clearly legendary is also used by *Roger of Wendover*, meaning that distinct information needs to be verified from elsewhere (as with Raedwulf's coinage) to be regarded as reliable. In the case of totally unique information, the historian must be content with informed uncertainty. As an example, *Roger of Wendover*'s version of the *ASC* common annal s.a. 946, which relates the authority given by King Edmund to Máel-Coluim [I] over *Cumbra land*, uniquely claims that Edmund blinded 'the two sons of *Dunmail*' (*duobus filiis Dunmail*).[53]

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[51] Darlington and McGurk, *JW*, II, p. lxxi, Gransden, *HW*, I, 212, 225–26.

[52] For an illustration of the relationships, see Brett, 'John of Worcester', 109; see also Darlington and McGurk, *JW*, II, pp. lxxix–lxxxi for composition history.

1.2.3 Chronicle Narrative

The St Albans tradition was one product of a 'golden age' of Anglo-Latin writing in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The age fashioned a systematized chronology of English history, with many resource-rich compilers drawing together earlier English annals but frequently departing from obvious annalistic structure by greater use of episodic narrative. In doing so, use of lost sources is sometimes suggested. Tenth-century digressions in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum* appear to draw on such a lost source.[54] Similarly the St Albans historical miscellany attributed to John of Wallingford [hereafter *Wallingford*], completed between 1247 and 1258, produces unique material relating to the tenth century, and contains in many places a strong Northumbrian perspective unlikely to originate in St Albans. Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*, a work complete by 1154, utilized a series of annals very similar to *ASC* MS E but attests important traditions about the family of Earl Siward derived from a non-extant source.[55] Significant too is Geoffrey Gaimar's 1130s French translation of a similar set of annals, known as the *L'Estoire des Engleis*. This text includes much legendary material relating to the East Midlands. It is instructive about Geoffrey's own era, but there are also multiple unique pieces of information relating to Viking-Age and Anglo-Norman 'Middle Britain'. In all these cases there are serious usability issues and information they offer requires very specific scrutiny.

1.2.4 Sagas and Saint Lives

Long episodic digressions centring on the deeds of past secular leaders were also included in *Cronica Monasterii Dunelmensis*, *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, *Libellus de Exordio*, and many of the northern tracts. Other texts are almost entirely devoted to such episodes, and some of these have potential significance. Examples include the *Gesta Antecessorum*

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[53] *RW*, I, 398; form corrected by H. R.Luard, *Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora*, RS 57, 7 vols (1872–84), I, 455.

[54] *GRA,* 206–09: ii.131, 212–23: ii.134–135.

[55] Greenway, *HH*, pp. lxxxv–cvii, for discussion of Henry's sources; C. E. Wright, *The Cultivation of Saga in Anglo-Saxon England* (Edinburgh, 1939), 127–29, 135–37, who classifies these extracts as '*disjecta membra'* of a lost saga about the Northumbrian earl.

Comitis Waldevi, the *Narratio de Uxore Aernulfi*, and the *Lay of Havelok*. Their detail cannot be given much authority for earlier periods. This low credibility has unfairly marginized their value for the 'Anglo-Norman era' that produced them, for which they are very informative. Insights like this can also, potentially, be extended back into the Viking Age. For instance, the importance of Ivar and Olaf Cúaran in the Anglo-Norman Danelaw cannot be dismissed as a historical accident, and may offer understanding of the region's Viking-Age politics. The benefits and problems with sources like that are much the same, depending on date, as hagiographies. At one end are near-contemporary and highly-informative examples like *Vita Ædwardi Regis* and *Vita S. Oswaldi*; at the other, Jocelin of Furness' *Vita S. Kentegerni* contains very little useable information about preceding eras while being significant for other reasons (here the twelfth-century Church in northern Britain).

1.3 Charters

Charters will also be important for this thesis. These are documents that record acknowledgements, confirmations, grants and renunciations of particular rights, almost always made by a bearer of power and authority, most of all by a king. The recipient of extant charters is usually an ecclesiastical corporation or a 'secular' *antecessor* of the former; these institutions preserve this type of document to promote or safeguard their rights. Such institutions will also preserve writs that benefit them, orders sent out by a potentate to subordinates. The economic and political power of these documents encouraged forgery and tampering, so the detail of particular charters is often up for question; anachronisms in diplomatic style and in content expose fakes, but if a motivated and historically-informed ecclesiastic were to have tampered with a little detail in the body, there are not many decisive means of detecting the alteration without an original. Many charters contain subscriptions, lists of powerful figures [claimed to be] present at and bearing witness to the accompanying public act. Witness lists can also be interfered with or forged, but this is usually obvious; and the survival of large numbers of witness lists from different archives means that lists are almost always either very secure or noticeably worthless.[56]

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[56] Keynes, *Atlas*, passim.

1.4 Legal Texts

For the political and social institutions of the English people as a whole, one of the most valuable types of evidence is the legal text. These sources tend to be either royal legislation or ecclesiastical legalistic scholarship, or a mixture of both. The bulk of legal texts are groups of edicts issued or authorised by kings, and have survived because they were preserved by religious houses. Most West Saxon monarchs after the time of Ælfred have groups of these edicts preserved in their name. As a proportion of surviving legal material, very little relates to Northumbria or even 'Middle Britain'; but in total enough survives to make these texts a valuable provider of historical understanding. For instance, King Edgar's 'Wihtbordesstan Code' (i.e. *IV Edgar*) offers one of the earliest insights into how the southern English kings controlled their newly acquired Northumbrian and Danelaw territory.[57] There are also ecclesiastical tracts that contain important information about the north of England. A 'Compilation on Status' attributed to Wulfstan, Archbishop of York, contains a sub-tract generally referred to as *Norðleoda Laga*. This appears to have preserved reliable detail about Northumbrian and Anglo-Danish society of c. 1000, particularly in regard to status. The *Northumbrian Priests' Law* and two tracts on sanctuary, also plausibly associated with the archbishop, purport to describe the role of the Church in Northumbrian society.[58] Writings like these are often as much normative as descriptive; and when dealing with unique sources, lack of context inhibits the ability of the historian to apply what they offer to other data or even to make reliable judgments about usability. Their applicability to peoples beyond Yorkshire and the Danelaw is also uncertain.

1.5 *Notitiae Dignitatum*

In addition to the above, ecclesiastical institutions produced and preserved large numbers of lists that summarised the past in ways distinct from annals: *Notitia Dignitatum*, including king-lists, episcopal lists, lists of admistrative units, and so forth. One example, *De Primo Saxonum Adventu*, has already been discussed. Houses with large collections of pre-Conquest charters (like Worcester) are connected with such *notitiae*; for instance, in Oxford, CCC, MS 157 (at 38–54) it is clear that the compiler had attempted to arrange holders of different episcopal sees according to relative chronology. Many of the names on royal and episcopal lists verified the legal documents upon which the religious houses depended partially for its continued existence. The systematic presentation of episcopal lists, old royal genealogies, or king-lists for the whole of England, popular in the Anglo-Norman era, could be described as a medieval equivalent to a modern database. Anglo-Norman writers had access to ninth-century lists originating in Mercia, but afterwards often had to use annals to reconstruct continuations and provide subsequent coverage. The unreliability of such a process is highlighted by Henry of Huntingdon's use of *Nigellus* in his list of Northumbrian kings, based on a misguided extrapolation from a text similar to *ASC* MS E s.a. 921: 'In this year King Sigtrygg killed his brother *Niel*' (*Her Sihtric cyng ofsloh Niel his broþor*), referring to the Irish king Niall Glundub.[59]

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[57] *Laws* (Ro), 38–39; see also 4.2.3 below.

[58] For the *Northumbrian Priests Law*, see *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I, 380–85 and *EHD*, I, 471–76, and *Political Writings of Archbishop Wulfstan of York*, 197–206; for the tract on English sanctuary, see *Grið*, 470–73, and *Political Writings of Archbishop Wulfstan of York*, 76–81; for the fragmentary Northumbrian tract *Norðhymbra Cyricgrið*, see *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I, 473, and *Political Writings of Archbishop Wulfstan of York*, 82–84.

1.6 Irish Annals

The Irish annals survive in Latin, Irish, and English, their coverage extending from Adam to 1616.[60] A 'Chronicle of Ireland' encompassing the years up to 911 and providing most shared pre-911 material in surviving annals, has been identified and reconstructed by modern historians.[61] Some kind of continuation in the north of Ireland, perhaps passing through Brega, Armagh, and Derry, eventually gave us the *Annals of Ulster* [hereafter *AU*] and the *Annals of Loch Cé* [hereafter *ALC*]. *AU* survives in two manuscripts, the fifteenth-century Dublin, Trinity College, MS 1281, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B.489.[62] *ALC* begins only in 1014 and resembles *AU* until the 1220s.[63]

Another continuation seems to have been kept at Clonmacnoise in County Offaly. This would be ancestral to the *Annals of Tigernach* [hereafter *AT*] and *Chronicum Scotorum* [hereafter *CS*].[64] *AT* survives only in fragments (MS Rawlinson B.488), and is missing critical years 766–974, and 1004–1018. *CS* was copied into the current manuscript (Dublin, Trinity College, MS 1292) by Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh in the seventeenth century. It is similar to

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[59] *HH,* 309-10: v.17.

[60] D. P. McCarthy, *The Irish Annals* (Dublin, 2008), 6–7.

[61] T. Charles-Edwards (ed.), *The Chronicle of Ireland* (Liverpool, 2006), I, 1–7; N. Evans, *The Present and the Past in Medieval Irish Chronicles* (Woodbridge, 2010), 1–2; cf. G. Mac Niocaill, *The Medieval Irish Annals* (Dublin, 1975), 18–24; McCarthy, *Irish Annals*.

[62] Evans, *Present and the Past*, 8–9.

[63] Evans, *Present and the Past*, 11–12.

[64] K. Grabowski and D. N. Dumville, *Chronicles and Annals of Medieval Ireland and Wales* (Woodbridge, 1984), 5–6; Evans, *Present and the Past*, 11–12, 45–66.

AT but is not a direct copy, and has less detail.[65] Other texts in this 'Clonmacnoise tradition' are the *Annals of Innisfallen* [hereafter *AI*], the small *Annals of Roscrea*, and the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* [hereafter *AClon*].[66] *AI* appears to come from a compilation including Clonmacnoise material made in the second half of the eleventh century.[67] Much more significant is *AClon*, which exists only in an English translation prepared by Conell Mageoghagan c. 1627, not itself extant but surviving from several manuscript copies. *AClon* is very important for the era because it preserves many entries relating to Scotland and the north of England, unparalleled elsewhere. Almost certainly these entries are close to what *AT* would have told us if its coverage of these particular years were not lost: *AClon* fills in some of the gaps in *AT* most relevant to this thesis. Difficulty with the source manuscript caused Mageoghagan to omit text and merge multiple annals under one A.D. heading, but within specific annals the detail is no less usable than related sources, except notably when 'translating' unfamiliar proper names.[68]

Most of the manuscripts of these annals are very late, but there does not seem to be a strong relationship between manuscript date and textual integrity; as Thomas Charles-Edwards pointed out, the best version of the earliest annals comes from the Tudor-era *AU*, while the text of the earliest extant MS, *AI*, is 'radically abbreviated'.[69] As the bulk of information in these annals was meaningless to later compilers, only a small proportion of annals will be interfered with beyond omission,damage, and scribal error, though ahistorical insertions might be expected when there is a plausible motivation.[70]

1.7 Scottish Chronicles and King-lists

While king-lists and annals are normally distinct in Irish and English sources, this is not so with Scottish material. At one end of the continuum is the *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba*, alternatively known as the *Scottish Chronicle* and the *Older Scottish Chronicle*. The *Chronicle*

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[65] Evans, *Present and the Past*, 2.

[66] Mac Niocaill, *Medieval Irish Annals*, 22–24; Grabowski and Dumville, *Chronicles and Annals of Medieval Ireland and Wales*, 6–7; McCarthy, *Irish Annals*, 10–11.

[67] Grabowski and Dumville, *Clonmacnoise-Group Texts*, passim; Evans, *Present and the Past*, 13.

[68] Grabowski and Dumville, *Clonmacnoise-Group Texts*, 6–7; McCarthy, *Irish Annals*, 53–56; see *AClon*, 149, with Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 164, where *Edenburrogh* is almost certainly an attempt to render *Dunfoither* or some similar form representing Dunnottar (cf. *Dunfoeder* in *Chron. 957,* 93: s.a. 934).

[69] Charles-Edwards, *Chronicle of Ireland*, I, 7; but note warning by D. McCarthy, 'Ruaidhrí Ó Caiside Contribution to the *Annals of Ulster*', in S. Duffy (ed.), *Princes, Prelates and Poets in Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 2013), 444–59, at 458.

[70] E.g. A. Woolf, 'The Origins and Ancestry of Somerled', *Medieval Scandinavia* 15 (2005), 199–213.

of the Kings of Alba appears to be built around a list of twelve monarchs from Cináed mac Ailpín (†858) to Cináed mac Maíl-Choluim (†995), but includes information (chiefly obituaries) about churchmen, nobles, and neighbouring monarchs. The account ends with Cináed mac Maíl-Choluim's multiple raids on *Saxonia*, and with the foundation of Brechin monastery. The detail in the *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba* is generally very good when testable; there are signs that some of it comes from a contemporary tenth-century source, but there are also reflective comments and other likely 'interference' relating to a later era that could have been made at any time before its inclusion in the Scottish compilation of the Poppleton Manuscript, which may date to the early years of the thirteenth century.[71]

An extensive number of 'true' king-lists also exist. The lists are familiar by the taxonomy given by Marjorie Anderson, more recently reviewed and modified by Dauvit Broun. These seem to descend from a list made at the end of the reign of Máel-Coluim IV (†1165), but with a core relating to the descendants of Cináed mac Ailpín in existence by the reign of Donnchad mac Crínáin; this core itself may come from the tenth century, a source similar to *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba*.[72] This group of sources includes the verse chronicle (Skene's *Cronicon Elegiacum*) used to supplement the Anglo-Latin annals in the *Chronicle of Melrose*, as well as the chronicle work of Andrew Wyntoun, prior of Lochleven, and Walter Bower, abbot of Inchcolm.[73] Those later medieval chroniclers are themselves a potential source of information, in preserving additional early material, some perhaps available in older Scottish religious houses. Wyntoun's is a world chronicle written in the Scoto-English vernacular 1408x1414, containing legendary and historic material relating to the twelfth century and preceding eras. Similarly, a long chronicle de-anonymized with the names John of Fordun in the fourteenth and Walter Bower in the fifteenth century descends from a thirteenth-century Scoto-Latin chronicle.[74]

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[71] For previous discussions of this text, see M. O. Anderson, 'The Scottish Materials in the Paris Manuscript, Bib. Nat., Latin 4126', *SHR* 28 (1929), 37–39; E. J. Cowan, 'The Scottish Chronicle in the Poppleton Manuscript', *IR* 32 (1981), 3–21; D. Broun, 'The Birth of Scottish History', *SHR* 97 (1997), 4–22; B. T. Hudson, 'The Scottish Chronicle', *SHR* 77 (1998), 129–61 (text at 148–61) and 'The Language of the Scottish Chronicle and Its European Context', *SGS* 18 (1998), 57–73; D. N. Dumville, 'The Chronicle of the Kings of Alba', in *KCC*, 73–86; Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 87–93ff.; the text is also printed by Skene in *CPS*, 8–10, and by Anderson, *Kings and Kingship*, 249–53; see also D. Broun, 'The Seven Kingdoms in *De Situ Albanie*', in *Alba*, 24–42, at 26–27.

[72] Broun, *Irish Identity*, 133–74; many of these texts are printed by Skene, *CPS*, passim, and Anderson, *Kings and Kingship*, 235–92.

[73] Broun, *Irish Identity*, 136–37.

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[74] For detailed study of Proto-Fordun, see D. Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain* (Edinburgh, 2007), 215–68; see also Duncan, *Kingship*, 35–37, 49–52, for examples of how this material can be used.

2. Reconfiguration

Frameworks for understanding our region have generally been constructed around interpretations about Northumbrian's Viking Age fortune, its fate in the aftermath of the Great Army's invasion and settlement in the 860s and 870s. Historians have been constrained by limited early source material, at the mercy of the erratic patterns of production and survival that have shaped the usable evidence. These problems had often been circumvented by casually falling back on Anglo-Norman material. Twelfth-century historical texts offer, for instance, what might appear to be king-lists; plausibly, these retain contemporary annalistic material, and most famously of all they appear to document beliefs about miraculous interventions that highlighted the power and importance of St Cuthbert. The temptation to rely on this type of evidence must be resisted, even if it means the historian has to turn his or her back to an attractive narrative.

Compared to the bright spring of the early eighth century and the 'Age of Bede', the Viking Age is a dark and desolate winter for Northumbrian literary evidence. We are fortunate however that the era from the 860s to the 930s is not quite as bleak as preceding or succeeding decades. Chapter three will look in depth at the value of source material for the Church in particular, but the larger 'political communities' of Northumbria will be the focus of the following chapter. The term 'political community' has been chosen, and used throughout this thesis, as a way of designating known, explicitly-designated corporations used by elites for collective identity and communal action. The term 'political community' allows us to be uncommitted about the nature or power of the community's leadership (such as suggested by the term 'kingdom') or mutual exclusivity (such as suggested by 'polity'): this is essential to avoid unintentionally adding conclusions about the nature of the era's political systems that are not demonstrated by the surviving sources.[75]

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[75] For this term in use in medieval historiography, see for instance K. Stringer, 'The Scottish "Political Community" in the Reign of Alexander II (1214–49)', in M. Hammond (ed.), *New Perspectives on Medieval Scotland, 1093–1286* (Woodbridge, 2013), 53–84; or G. Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376–568* (Cambridge, 2009), 462, 477, n. 82.The term is not however ideal. For instance, it is potentially more particular than the definition offered by influential political anthropologist David Easton, that is, the 'most inclusive aggregate of persons who identify with each other as a group, and who are prepared to regulate their differences by means of decisions accepted as binding because they are made in accordance with shared political norms and structure' (Easton, 'Political Anthropology', *Biennial Review of Anthropology* 1 (1959), 210–62, at 229). Every 'community' is in some sense 'political', of course, and in using the term 'political' to specify and stress activity at the 'top level' of society, we also risk importing some assumptions derived from the

2.1 The End of Northumbria

2.1.1 Years 867 and 954

In modern historiography, Northumbria's demise is most likely to be assigned to either 867 or 954. King Ælla had led the Northumbrian defenders to defeat at the battle of York, on 21 March 867, while 954 marked the death of Erik, last independent Scandinavian ruler in eastern Northumbria. Both points are fittingly dramatic, well suited for inclusion in the kind of exciting historical reconstructions that attract the most attention from the wider public. The fall of Ælla was a tale that would be told and retold in the literature of both England and Scandinavia later in the Middle Ages, and today it remains one of the most famous early medieval events in popular imagination, a version having been recounted in the 1958 Kirk Douglas film *The Vikings*. The excitement of the event has been difficult to escape from. Indeed David Rollason agreed with the *Chronicon ex Chronicis* annal and declared it to mark 'the end of Northumbria'.[76] By contrast, television historian Michael Wood, quoting the strong words of *Wallingford*, presented Erik in his *In Search of the Dark Ages* as the last 'free ruler' of both the Northumbrians and the Scandinavians of England.

2.1.2 York and Bamburgh

The two dates also represent two perspectives about the nature of Northumbria. Ælla and Erik can be made to fit two different views: the former, the ethnically-English polity that continued to be ruled by Northumbrian earls, the family of Eadwulf of Bamburgh; the latter, a reduced kingdom, ruled by Scandinavians.[77] The rise of the term 'kingdom of York', originating in the works of Collingwood and Stenton, has strengthened such a perspective in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.[78] The York polity had been Whitelock's 'Danish kingdom of Northumbria',[79] but for Rollason in 2003 the York kingdom was just one of

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present (which is, after all, considerably more hierarchial and where, for all but a few, there is little or no personal involvement in collective decision-making).

[76] Rollason, *Northumbria*, 215.

[77] A point of note is that the account of Northumbrian history in *De Northymbrorum Comitibus* had been ignorant of the early 'Bamburgh family', and saw late–tenth-century Bamburgh family as the successors of Erik, not Ælla; yet *De Northumbria post Britannos*, which did know about Eadwulf, very much presented Eadwulf's family and not the Scandinavians as the successors to Ælla.

[78] For instance, W. G. Collingwood, *Scandinavian Britain* (London, 1908), chapter 4; F. M. Stenton, *William the Conqueror and the Rule of the Normans* (New York, 1908), 7, and id., *Types of Manorial Structure in the Northern Danelaw* (Oxford, 1910), 3, 85. Collingwood uses the term 'sub-kingdom of York' in reference to a passage in *Heimskringla*, though otherwise calls the kingdom 'Northumbria', for which see Collingwood 'The Battle of Stainmore in Legend and History', *TCWAAS* 2 (1902), 231-41, at 236.

[79] Whitelock, 'Dealings', 71.

several successor states, including not only the ‘earldom of Bamburgh’ but also the ‘Community of St Cuthbert’ and ‘Cumbria’. So rather than being any kind of continuity, the ‘kingdom of York’ can also be construed as a separate, break-away polity. In this perspective, the honour of being true successor could plausibly be given to the family of Bamburgh earls. For some modern historians, being ethnically English gave them legitimacy for this role.[80] It has also encouraged historians to see a revival of the Bernicia–Deira fault line in Northumbrian history, and or at least to describe matters in such terms.[81] Today, it is not unusual to see references to the tenth- and eleventh-century ‘earldom of Bernicia’ or the ‘earldom of Deira’, despite there being little justification for such terminology in this era.[82] Likewise, ‘the kingdom of York’ can be used interchangeably with that of ‘Deira’.[83] Notwithstanding these developments, the most common approach remains to treat the rulers of the settled Scandinavians as the successors of Ælla.[84]

The differing emphases expose the indecisiveness in the historical evidence used by modern historians. Study of the Norse kings in Northumbria and elsewhere in the British Isles has been relatively intensive in recent years and much of it has even prioritised early sources to reach more reliable conclusions. Treatment of the wider political context in the immediate post-Viking era of Northumbrian history has however tended to be very limited, and the biggest discussions of the Northumbrian kingship have relied on superficial readings of texts produced in the Anglo-Norman era. The wider political outline is necessary however to understand anything else about tenth- or eleventh-century English history, at least north of the Trent.

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[80] For instance, Duncan, *Scotland,* 87–88, Kapelle, *NCN*, 9–10; L. R. Laing and J. Laing, *Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1979), 137.

[81] R. Fletcher, *Bloodfeud: Murder and Revenge in Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 2002), 40–41.

[82] E. A. Freeman, *The History of the Norman Conquest of England* (Oxford, 1867–1879), I, 327, 374, 478; Barrow, *SNMA*, 61; Barrow, *Kingdom,* 135; Fletcher, *Bloodfeud*, 205–07; these days the distinct identities of Yorkshire and the ‘North-East’ may also be influential; similarly D. M. Hadley, ‘“Hamlet and the Princes of Denmark”‘, in D. M. Hadley and J. D. Richards (eds), *Cultures in Contact* (Turnhout, 2000), 107–32, at 114.

[83] P. H. Sawyer, ‘The Last Scandinavian Kings of York’, *NH* 31 (1995), 39–44, at 39; Anglo-Norman writers would use the terminology, but could get their meaning confused (*Munimenta Gildhallae*, II, 625) or mixed up (*Wallingford*, 54).

[84] For instance, D. M. Hadley, *The Vikings in England* (Manchester, 2006), 37–54; Downham, *Viking Kings*, 71–82.

2.2 Two Communities

2.2.1 The *Dubgaill*

Most literary detail we have about the politics of 'Middle Britain' in the later 800s and early 900s comes, surprisingly perhaps, from Irish annals. A point to emerge from these annals is the clear distinction between two 'Northumbrian' political communities. One of these communities, the *Dubgaill*, was of particular interest because of its importance in Ireland. In Irish sources, the Dubgaill are distinguished from *Finngaill*, Scandinavians who had already been present in Ireland and over whom the Dubgaill eventually ruled.[85] In the 860s, *Dubgaill* is used for the 'Great Army' of England. It is the *Dubgaill* who battle Ælla at York in 867, and who attack the Picts in 875.[86] This usage is mirrored in Wales, *Annales Cambriae* noting 'Dark Gentiles' (*Dub gint*) at York s.a. 867, with another entry s.a. 853 describing the wasting of *Mon* by 'Dark Gentiles' (*Gentilibus Nigris*).[87] Irish sources note four rulers of the Dubgaill after 867, 'Halfdan leader of the Dubgaill' (*Albann, dux na n-Dubgenti*),[88] 'Rognvald grandson of Ivar king of the Finngaill and Dubgaill' (*Ragnall h. Imair ri Finngall & Dubgall*),[89] 'Sigtrygg grandson of Ivar, king of the Dubgaill and Finngaill' (*Sitriuc h. Imair, ri Dubgall & Finngall*),[90] and 'Olaf son of Guthfrith king of the Finngaill and Dubgaill' (*Amlaibh mac Gotfrit ri Finngall et Dubgall*).[91] Today we know that these rulers were primarily associated with the Great Army's successors in England, the 'kingdom of York', despite nominal overlordship over Dublin and the Finngaill of Ireland.

2.2.2 The 'Northern English'

The *Dubgaill* are both the Great Army and the successors of the Great Army, who in 876 under Halfdan settled in Northumbria. Yet Irish sources name at least one other leadership group otherwise known to have been located in Northumbria during this era. Among events relating to 934, *AClon* records the death of one *Adulf mcEtulfe, King of the North Saxons*. The father's death was logged in *AU*, s.a. 913, *Etulbb ri Saxan Tuaiscirt*, 'Eadwulf King of the Northern English'.[92] Eadwulf is known from other sources as a ruler with specific links to Bamburgh (see below 2.4.7). Elsewhere in Irish annals, 'Northern England' is mentioned relation to the battle of Corbridge of 918, when Rognvald, King of the Dubgaill, and two of his earls marched to battle the Scots 'on the bank of the Tyne in Northern England' (*Ragnall rí Dubgall, & na da iarla, .i. Ottir & Graggabai … Fir Alban dono a cenn-somh co comairnechtar for bru Tine la Saxanu Tuaiscirt*).[93] It is possible that 'Northern England' was a Northumbrian break-away 'successor state', but the earliest entry for this political community includes York and names a known king of Northumbria: 'The Dubgaill won a battle over the Northern English at York, in which died Ælla King of the Northern English' (*Bellum for Saxanu Tuaisceirt i Cair Ebhroc re n-Dubghallaib, in quo cecidit Alli, rex Saxan Aquilonalium*).[94] Usage of this terminology and the continuity of *Adulf mcEdulfe*'s kingdom as far back as that of the Northumbrian monarch Ælla would suggest that the term is actually the period's Irish name for the Kingdom of Northumbria. If only, perhaps, as a rump, the annals nonetheless indicate that the Northumbrian realm survived the Great Army's settlement of 876 and long after, as far as 934.

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[85] For the two groups (and their previous identification as 'Danes' and 'Norwegians'), see A. Smyth, 'The Black Foreigners of York and the White Foreigners of Dublin', *Saga-Book* 19 (1974–77), 101–17; D. N. Dumville, 'Old Dubliners and New Dubliners in Ireland and Britain', in *Celtic Essays*, I, 103–22; and C. Downham, '"Hiberno-Norwegians" and "Anglo-Danes"', *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 19 (2009), 139–69; it is possible that by the eleventh century the Finngaill as a territory was reanlyzed in Irish as *Fine Gall*, hence County Fingal (e.g. *AT*, s.a. 1053; Hudson, *VPCP*, 226, n. 17).

[86] E.g. *AU*, s.a. 867, 875.

[87] *Annales Cambriae, A.D. 682–954,* ed. and trans. D. N. Dumville (Cambridge, 2002), 12–13; Dumville, 'Old Dubliners', 120.

[88] *AU*, s.a. 877.

[89] *AU*, s.a. 921.

[90] *AU*, s.a. 927.

[91] *CS*, s.a. 941.

2.2.3 *Rægnald, 7 Eadulfes suna*

The Irish view is clearer, or at least less ambiguous, than that transmitted by West Saxon annalists. The author behind *ASC*, s.a. 893, uses 'Northumbrians' and 'East Angles' to refer to the Great Army settlers from these territories, and the specification by the continuator made s.a. 900 that Æthelwold was accepted as king by the *here* of Northumbria (*gesohte þone here on Norðhymbrum, 7 hi hine underfengon hym to cinge 7 him to bugon*) implies that Northumbria's Scandinavian settlers had continued to form a political community distinct from their compatriots elsewhere in England. The most detail we get from Southumbrian sources of the period is from an aside in *ASC* MS A. This notes that Edward the Elder constructed a burh at Bakewell (on the Mercian-Northumbrian border). Following this, it claims that Edward was acknowledged as 'father and overlord' (*7 hine geces þa to fæder 7 to hlaforde*) by 'the king of the Scots and all the *Scotta þeod*, and Ragnald, and the sons of Eadwulf and all who live in Northumbria both English and Danish, Norsemen and others' (*Scotta cyning 7 eall Scotta þeod; 7 Rægnald, 7 Eadulfes suna, 7 ealle þa þe on Norþhymbrum bugeaþ, ægþer ge Englisce, ge Denisce, ge Norþmen, ge oþre*).[95] The entry's claim about overlordship might be dubious, but its recognition of these distinct political communities is important, and is in line with the Irish sources.[96]

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[92] *AClon*, 149: s.a. 928 (*recte* 934).

[93] *AU*, s.a. 918.

[94] *AU*, s.a. 867.

2.2.4 Place-name Regionality

Place-name evidence can provide something of an outline of the new Scandinavian political communities in Britain, despite some limitations. Debates about the size of Scandinavian settlement have been extensive but inconclusive. There is no decisive way to link place-name evidence with settlement numbers, and even using place-name evidence to demonstrate prevalence of Norse speech in England has itself become controversial, since both languages were mutually comprehensible and since the grammar and vocabulary of English in this era were systematically transformed by contact with Norse.[97] Nonetheless, as Townend has emphasized, the use and distribution of Scandinavian place-name elements is unambiguously regional, which means geographical distribution maps can be used as evidence of areas subjected to settlement or cultural dominance; perhaps being able, even, to distinguish peripheries and cores within larger Norse-dominated regions.

For example, known place-names containing the element –*by*, when mapped, show a regional distribution corresponding remarkably to areas known to have been subject to 'Danish rule' or settlement in the late ninth and early tenth centuries; by extension such 'regionality' might be taken to illuminate less well-documented regions. The element is most intensely preserved in Cumbria, Yorkshire, southern County Durham, and the

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[95] See translation in *ASC*, 67.

[96] This picture is not at odds with Anglo-Latin annals. Rognvald is titled in the annal preserved by Roger of Wendover as *Reginaldus rex Northanhumbrorum ex natione Danorum*, not a title that suggests he was ruler of both communities; *RW*, I, 384; *HR2,* 123, simply has *Regnaldus rex Danorum*.

[97] D. M. Hadley, 'And They Proceeded to Plough and to Support Themselves', *ANS* 19 (1996), 69–96, at 70–71, n. 6 for a bibliographic summary; see Hadley, *Vikings in England*, 92–104 (also ead.,*The Northern Danelaw* (London, 2000), 17–22) for a recent discussion, and C. Downham, 'Anachronistic Ethnicities', 157–60. For the similarity of English (particularly Northumbrian English) and Norse, see P.Bibire, 'North Sea Language Contacts in the Early Middle Ages', in T. R. Liszka and L. E. M. Walker (eds), *The North Sea World in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 2001), 88–107; for mutual comprehensibility, see also M. Townend, *Language and History in Viking age England* (Turnhout, 2002), passim.

Southumbrian Danelaw, with outlying use in Ayrshire, southern Galloway, and Lancashire.[98] A significant feature in the distribution of *–by* place-names in the Northumbrian kingdom is an apparent absence in and around County Northumberland.[99]

There is some room for some distortion in the evidence. A survival condition of Scandinavian-influenced English place-names is that they are preserved in English: any parallel naming system would be lost with the death of spoken Norse in England, and thus surviving evidence provides only a reduced sample. The absence of diagnostically Scandinavian place-names cannot alone disprove Norse settlement.[100] Similar issues mean that place-name evidence cannot, by itself, distinguish between the settlements of the 870s and those of the 890s, or indeed any that may have happened later. In Celtic-speaking areas settled by English-speakers in and around the Anglo-Norman era, or in regions subject to new land use (particularly with *–thveit* names), Scandinavianised (i.e. post-1000 northern) English is a potential new source of coinings. Some of the *–by* names, especially in County Cumberland (but perhaps also some in south-eastern Scotland and County Durham) are certainly from the Norman era.[101] Northumberland has numerous Scandinavian-derived place-names, particularly on the Aln and the Tyne, thought to be post-Scandinavian.[102] A similar small group of these names in Lothian could also highlight such exceptionalism.[103]

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[98] For England's *–by* map, J. D. Richards, *The English Heritage Book of Viking-Age England* (London, 1991), 34; for Scotland, see Nicolaisen, *SPN*, p. 131, and S. Taylor, 'Scandinavians in Central Scotland', in G. Williams and P. Bibire (eds), *Sagas, Saints and Settlements* (Leiden, 2004), 125–45, at 128.

[99] V. Watts, 'Northumberland and Durham', in B. E. Crawford (ed.), *Scandinavian Settlement in Northern Britain* (London, 1995), 206–13, at 206.

[100] Townend, 'Viking Age England as a Bilingual Society', 96–98; see also D. Parsons and L. Abrams, 'Place-Names and the History of Scandinavian Settlement in England', in J. Hines, A. Lane, and M. Redknap (eds), *Land, Sea and Home* (Leeds, 2004), 379–431.

[101] Barrow, *ANE*, 47–50, B. K. Roberts, 'Late *–bý* Names in the Eden Valley', *Nomina* 13 (1989–90), 25–40, G. Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West* (Copenhagen, 1985), 288, 290 (also ead. 'Scandinavians in Dumfriesshire and Galloway', in *GLL*, 77–95, at 83–86). Watts, 'Northumberland and Durham', 210–11, believed the *–by* names of County Durham to be Norman-era formations. The contention that late *–by* names are at best exceptions is completely unverifiable; the use of Norse personal names with *–by* can hardly be taken as proof of early coining (e.g. G. Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Settlement in Yorkshire—Through the Rear-View Mirror', in B. E., Crawford, *Scandinavian Settlement in Northern Britain* (London, 1995), 170–86, at 178–79) since Scandinavian given names were used extensively in Northumbria until replaced by Norman names in the twelfth century. For other contexts, see Hadley, 'They Proceeded to Plough', 71–72, Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Settlement in Yorkshire', 183–84; and also Downham, 'Anachronistic Ethnicities', 160.

Despite these considerations, the overall picture is overwhelming. The distribution of other Scandinavian elements confirm the picture that Yorkshire and Lincolnshire and rest of the 'five borough' region, are the most Scandinavian English regions of all, more so than even Norfolk.[104] Davis saw the 'five boroughs' as a settlement core from which Scandinavians dominated East Anglia; it could make sense to see Yorkshire and Lincolnshire (see below) in the same light with regard to Northumbria.[105] Documented settlement in this region is attested only in a very small period in the late 800s, and occurs specifically because immigrant armies disable the high-political protections that would otherwise have made population expansion very difficult.

Most importantly, the regionality of Scandinavian place-names within Britain is another way of seeing the English–Scandinavian division of 'Middle Britain' that is highlighted by literary sources; i.e. limited distribution of such names in the Tyne-Forth region, (despite some post–Viking-Age borrowings) stands in contrast to southern and to some extent western Northumbria, and to the Southumbrian Danelaw.[106]

2.3 The Dubgaill and their leadership

2.3.1 Anglo-Danes: Division and Settlement

The formation of the 'Anglo-Danish' political communities of the tenth century is understood principally through English evidence, *ASC* being our chief source. The annals trace the activities of the Great Army and its successors in considerable detail. Their description of how the army divided, if not surgically accurate, at least shows how the predecessors of the Anglo-Danish political communities were seen in the 890s. The following is the picture it provides. Having invaded East Anglia (866), the army crossed into

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[102] Watts, 'Northumberland and Durham', 207–08; Watts (following Ekwall, *EPN*, passim) stresses the potential for these names to be coined by Englishmen after the Viking era without drawing due attention to the fact that Northumberland's Scandinavianised names would not be unique in this respect.

[103] Taylor argued the south-eastern Scottish –by names to be Viking-Age and offered a possible historical context, namely tenth-century Scottish sponsorship of Scandinavian settlement; Taylor, 'Scandinavians in Central Scotland', 129–38, with a list of forms at 139–45.

[104] R. H. C. Davis, 'East Anglia and the Danelaw', *TRHS* 5th Ser. 5 (1955), 23–39, at 30; Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Settlement in Yorkshire', 176.

[105] Davis, 'East Anglia', 36–39.

[106] See also N. McGuigan, 'Ælla and the Descendants of Ivar', *NH* 52 (2015), 20–34, at 30.

Northumbria, fighting the aforementioned battle at York (867). The following year it entered Mercia, fortified itself at Nottingham and came under siege from the Mercian king Burhred and his West Saxon allies (868). Having returned to York (869), it resumed activity in East Anglia, martyring King Edmund (869–70). Subsequently the army invaded Wessex and engaged in several battles against King Æthelred (870), moving to London (872) and once again to Northumbria (873). After wintering at Torksey in Lindsey, the army re-entered Mercia and replaced King Burhred with King Ceolwulf (874). At Repton (Mercia), the Great Army split (permanently) into two forces: one half, led by three 'kings' Guthrum, Oscytel and Anwend, headed to Cambridge; the other, led by Halfdan, went into Northumbria and from there into the Celtic-speaking territories further north (875). In the following year Halfdan's force 'shared out' (*gedęlde*) Northumbria while the army of the three kings re-entered Wessex. In 877 the latter army marched back into Mercia and a section of it 'shared out' (*gedældon*) Mercia, leaving [the western] part for Ceolwulf. We hear nothing more of the Northumbrian force (except for a possible naval raid on Wessex), but the non-settled southern contingent led by Guthrum confronted Wessex once again, suffering decisive defeat to King Ælfred at the battle of Edington/Ethandun. Two years later (880) Guthrum's force 'settled' (*gesæt*) and 'shared out' (*gedęlde*) East Anglia.[107]

The picture is that the army was divided and at least two Scandinavian political communities emerged: Halfdan's based in Northumbrian territory, Guthrum's based in East Anglian territory, and possibly a third based in Mercia, perhaps aligned in some way to Guthrum's army. For Northumbria the critical date is 876, when Halfdan 'shared out the land of the Northumbrians' (*Norðanhymbra land gedælde*) and allowed his Scandinavian followers to 'plough and support themselves' (*ergende wæron 7 hira tilgende wæron*).[108] *ASC* indicates that the Northumbrian and East Anglian sections retained their political identities for decades to come. It habitually distinguishes Danish armies as 'Northumbrian' and 'East Anglian', for instance s.a. 893 where the annalist noted that the 'Northumbrians' and 'East Angles' broke their oaths 'as often as other Danish armies'. In 896 when the newcomer Haesten ceased activity in England, his army split into three, 'one force going into East Anglia and one into Northumbria', with *ASC* adding that 'those who were moneyless got themselves ships and went across the sea'.[109] After the death of Ælfred in 899, the ætheling Æthelwold went to the 'the Danish army of Northumbria', who 'accepted him as king'. In 902 Æthelwold united both communities when he 'induce[d] the army in East Anglia' to 'break the peace', leading to the deaths of Æthelwold and one of the region's kings, Eohric, at the Battle of the Holme.[110]

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[107] *ASC* MS A, s.a. 865–880, MS B, s.a. 865–880 MS C, *s.a.* 866–881 (*recte* 865–880) MS D s.a. 865–880, MS E, s.a. 865–880.

[108] *ASC*, 54–56; text from *ASC* MS C, s.a. 877 (*recte* 876).

2.3.2 Successors of Guthrum, Oscytel and Anwend

Although the distinction between the 'East Anglian' and 'Northumbrian' armies continues for decades to come, there is little indication in *ASC* that the Mercian section retained any political identity after the ninth century. Since the Ecgberhtings had taken the rump of Mercia, West Saxon sources may have been reluctant to recognize the Mercian Norse. On the other hand, *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* c. 14 emphasized three sections, relating that 'one rebuilt York and cultivated the surrounding land and settled there' (*una Eboracum ciuitatem reedificauit, terram in circuitu coluit, et ibi remansit*), the second 'occupied the land of the Mercians' (*terram Merciorum occupauit*), while the third 'invaded the lands of the southern Saxons' (*terram australium Saxonum inuasit*) and drove Ælfred 'father of Edward' into exile.[111]

What we know about the Merican army is that they utilized fortified settlements ('boroughs' in England) as market centres and places of refuge, just as their compatriots in Ireland did; we also know that many of them were targeted by Edward the Elder in the 910s. These boroughs appear to have no independent overarching political structure, but probably maintained strong political ties with the leadership of the 'East Anglian' Danes. Danelaw historian Cyril Hart described Mercia's Scandinavian communities as 'satellite earldoms' and 'satellites of the Danish kingdom of East Anglia'.[112] As Hart suggests, earls such as Thurferth and Thurcetel (likely kinsmen), to whom *ASC* assigned particular prominence and associated with the armies of Northampton and Bedford, may have represented the most distinct form of local leadership. The ruling dynasty of Wessex, the Ecgberhtings, were to gain overlordship of Mercia during Edward's reign, through marriage, and probably regarded these 'satellite earldoms' as a rightful part of their patrimony.

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[109] *ASC*, 57.

[110] ASC, MS A, s.a. 904 (*recte* 903), etc (see *ASC*, 59).

[111] *HSC*, 52–53: c.14.

[112] Hart, *Danelaw*, 33–34.

Edward’s second code (899x924) distinguishes his own realm (the English Saxon and Mercian realms) from ‘the eastern’ and ‘the northern’ kingdoms, with no mention of the Mercian Danes.[113] The ‘principal men who belonged to Bedford’, as well as ‘many of those who belonged to Northampton’, accepted Edward the Elder as lord when he constructed two new boroughs at Buckingham in 914; Huntingdon, Cambridge, Stamford, and Nottingham similarly had armies of their own which submitted to Edward. Others gave recognition of overlordship to Æthelfled, the Ecgberhting queen of Mercia: i.e. Derby (917) and Leicester (918); Nottingham was taken in 920 after Edward became Mercia’s direct ruler.[114]

Guthrum’s defeat at the hands of Ælfred had led to a formal treaty between his army and the West Saxons. Guthrum seems to have become king in return for conversion. With the baptismal name of Æthelstan, Guthrum ruled in East Anglia until his death in 890. The King Eohric who died at the Battle of the Holme in 902 may have followed Guthrum as king of East Anglia, but he is only one of two (possibly three) kings on the Danish side to have met his death at this battle. *ASC* indicates that Eohric acknowledged the Ecgberhting ætheling Æthelwold as his own overlord. East Anglia has no certain single ruler after Guthrum and it appears to be the case that the individual kings, earls, and holds operated as part of an otherwise acephalous sphere subjected by treaty to Edward the Elder, with each borough community autonomous but able to act collectively on some occasions or buy the protection of a friendly prince when circumstances happened to make that prudent.[115] The coinage of the era is the famous St Edmund coinage which, like the York coinage after 906, vests authority in a saint rather than a king.

2.3.3 Successors of Halfdan

In Northumbria, it has generally been believed that Halfdan’s army had retained a single central authority. On this premise, numismatic and literary sources have been used to identify its rulers and their pattern of succession. Literary sources, admittedly from a later era, credit a certain Guthfrith or Guthred with kingship after the death of Halfdan.[116] Our most reliable piece of information is that he died in 895, asserted by Æthelweard.[117] Anglo-Norman–era royal lists say he reigned for fourteen years, giving an accession date of c. 881 when synchronized with Æthelweard. However, the numbers provided by such lists are likely to be calculations of Anglo-Norman compilers that carry no independent authority (see below 2.4.3). Coinage could be used to correct this, but its testimony is indecisive. Mint activity in Northumbria, having ceased in the reign of Osberht (fl. 854x867), appears to resume in the 890s. One coin from a mint south of the Humber carries the inscription GUDEF, and so is believed to have come from the reign of Guthred. This could be important evidence that the 'Northumbrian' Norse community had shared leadership with some former Mercian territories even in the ninth century.[118] Recent assessments of York coinage and the Cuerdale Hoard suggest that a number of kings minted coins in and around 900: Sigfrith (until c. 900), Æthelwold (until c. 902), Cnut (until c. 905), with royally-inscribed minting ceasing between c. 905 and c.920.[119] The Danish kings Eowils and Halfdan as well as several earls and holds who died fighting the West Saxons at Tettenhall in 910 were described by *ASC* as coming from Northumbria.[120] Thus it is uncertain if not unlikely that the successors of Halfdan had a unitary kingship; the convoluted explanations needed to make overlapping kings Eowlis and Halfdan (as well as Sigfrith and Æthelwold) successors of each other is otherwise unnecessary. From evidence of royal rule in contemporary Scandinavia, joint and simultaneous rule by kings is to be expected, particularly (though not exclusively) when they are related.[121]

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[113] *Laws (At)*, 120–21; Æthelweard specified that Haesten’s army, after its arrival in 892, received the support of the ‘*here* in the east’ (*exercitus …climate in eoo*) as well its ‘Northumbrian’ equivalent (*Norðhimbriusque in modo eodem*), see *Æthelweard*, 50.

[114] *ASC*, 64–67.

[115] Alex Woolf, pers. com, suggests that the ‘Cambridge Thegns’ Guild’ may be a relic of how one such community was organized, perhaps representative of such communities more generally; this is translated in *EHD*, I, 603–05.

There is some evidence that Edward the Elder and his Mercian allies took advantage of the example set by Æthelwold after the latter's defeat in 902. In 910, according to Æthelweard, the Mercian *dux* Æthelred had been ruling the 'Northumbrians'; this is related incidentally as the author describes a rebellion from the Northumbrian Norse. Downham observed that on his death in 911 Æthelred was said only to have ruled the Mercians, suggesting that the revolt of 910 may have led to the end of his overlordship over [some part of] Northumbria (however brief that may have been).[122] In any case, a major peace between the Danes and West Saxons at Tiddingford is reported s.a. 906, and it is between this date and the arrival of Rognvald at the end of the 910s that royally-inscribed coinage in Norse-settled England appears to have ceased. It was replaced with the St Peter's coinage, the 'Northumbrian' Army's equivalent of the St Edmund coinage. If it had not previously been the norm, the 'Northumbrian' Danes now went into a period without any unitary kingship, aside perhaps from that necessitated by the unfavourable 'treaty' with Edward the Elder.

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[116] I will refer to this particular monarch, after convention, as Guthred throughout as convenient disambiguation vis-à-vis other Guthfriths; other figures with the same name will be called Guthfrith

[117] *Æthelweard*, 50–51; Symeonic annals placed his death in 894, as in *HR2*, 119 (not in *Chronicon ex Chronicis*) and *LDE*, 126–27: ii.14.

[118] E.g. M. Blackburn, 'Expansion and Control', in *Vikings and the Danelaw*, 125–42, at 128.

[119] Downham, *Viking Kings*, 78–80; R. Hall, 'A Kingdom to Far', in *Edward the Elder*, 188–99, at 189–90.

[120] *ASC*, 61–62.

[121] K. L. Maund, '"A Turmoil of Warring Princes"', *The Haskins Society Journal* 6 (1994), 29–47 (especially 33).

2.3.4 Coming of *Ragnall Ua Ímair*

The lack of high political leadership among the 'Danish' population of Middle Britain seems to end in the later 910s with the activities of Rognvald grandson of Ivar, or *Ragnall ua Ímair* as he was known to the contemporary Irish. Rognvald's earliest actions suggested to Woolf that he had held territory in western Northumbria before taking York.[123] A theory about an earlier reign in York, formerly advanced in some historiography, was based on a misreading of *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*.[124] However, control of this specific city may not yet have had particular significance. He was titled 'king of the Dubgaill' in 917 (*AU*) prior to his capture of York, and campaigned in Ireland from 916 to 918, helping his brother Sigtrygg Cáech against the king of Ailech and Tara Niall [Glúndub] mac Áeda. According to *AU*, he left Waterford in 918 with two earls Óttarr and *Graggabai*, and fought the Scots in battle on the Tyne (i.e. at Corbridge); annals confirm that he died in 921.[125] Rognvald was able to add York to his realm. The city's St Peter issues are interrupted by coins bearing Rognvald's name.[126] With attempts by the 'Northern English' and the Scots to dislodge him beaten off, it seems fairly certain that Rognvald created political upheaval in territory as far north and east as County Durham, where the English aristocracy previously protected by Ealdred son of Eadwulf was dislodged or subordinated (see below, 2.4.5 and 2.4.7). The description of

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[122] *Æthelweard*, 52–53; Downham, *Viking Kings*, 88–89.

[123] Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 141.

[124] *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* simply mentions the battle twice because of two distinct acts of territorial dispossession by its victor (the compiler's main interest), *HSC*, 58–62: c.22, 24; a modern edition and translation, as well as better use of Irish sources by recent historians, seems to have killed the 'two battles' of Corbridge theory; South, *HSC*, 105–07, Downham, *Viking Kings*, 91–94; Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 143–44; see Downham, ibid., 92, n.179 for references to earlier interpretations.

[125] *AU*, s.a. 917, 918, 921; Downham, *Viking Kings*, 267–68.

[126] Blunt et al., *Coinage*, 105–06.

Rognvald and the sons of Eadwulf as leaders of the Danish and English communities of Northumbria in *ASC* s.a. 920 suggests that Corbridge had brought about acceptance of the Ua Ímair dominion in southern and (probably) western Northumbria. Rognvald's brother Sigtrygg seems to have inherited this position after 921.

2.3.5 *Sihtric ua Ímair*

The Great Army's conquest of Mercia, East Anglia, and Northumbria meant that the various Scandinavian 'kings' and earls were in a position to redistribute areas of dominance according to new patterns as new political communities took shape, though some older ones were respected. Guthrum–Æthelstan was buried in East Anglia while Guthred was apparently buried at York.[127] Nonetheless, it is fairly certain that Sigtrygg exercised overlordship over much of the former 'Mercian' Danelaw (a position he may have also inherited from Rognvald). This is a very important point, because it highlights that the realm ruled by the York Norse was not simply Northumbrian; perhaps not even primarily Northumbrian. Kings from the Uí Ímair issued coins north and south of the Humber: Sigtrygg had coins minted at Lincoln, and it is known that his successors Olaf son of Guthfrith and Olaf son of Sigtrygg as well as Sigtrygg himself had coins struck in the southern Danelaw.[128]

With Lincoln specifically, there is no evidence that the city was lost to the 'Northumbrian' Norse until the 940s.[129] The alleged Guthred coin from the Ashton Hoard of Essex suggests that even prior to the Uí Ímair's takeover, significant territory south of the Humber shared leadership with Northumbrian settlement regions.[130] Hadley suggested that this was supported by Æthelweard's remark about Ælfred sending a representative to York to negotiate with the 'Northumbrian' Norse regarding the 'large territories in the kingdom of the Mercians', including that between Kesteven and the river Welland.[131] Incidental information in *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* strongly suggests that the 'Danish zone' did not extend significantly beyond the Tees until after Corbridge; the centre of gravity for the political community created by Halfdan and Guthred probably ran somewhere around the Humber itself, between York and Lincoln—not in the heartland of Northumbria. If Rognvald and Sigtrygg extended some sort of protectorate further south over [what later became] the other Five Boroughs and the other Anglo-Danish boroughs beyond, then the realm of the Dubgaill was more a 'Mercian' territory than a 'Northumbrian' one; perhaps it is best styled 'Humbrian'.

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[127] Gaimar has Guthrum buried at Thetford in Norfolk, *Gaimar*, 184–85: lines 3379–83; though the twelfth-century *Annals of St Neots* claim he was buried at Hadleigh in Suffolk: ed. D. N. Dumville and M. Lapidge (Cambridge, 1985), 95: s.a. 890.

[128] M. Blackburn, 'The Coinage of Scandinavian York', in *AASY*, 325–49, at 327; Blackburn, 'Expansion and Control', 133, 137–38; P. Grierson, and M. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage 1* (Cambridge, 1986), 323–25; Smyth, *SYAD*, 6–9; Downham, *Viking Kings*, 98.

[129] L. Abrams, 'Edward the Elder's Danelaw', in *Edward the Elder*, 128–43, at 138; P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1998), 119–20, where there is an implicit suggestion that Lincoln may even have been the most important centre under Sigtrygg *Cáech*.

[130] M. Blackburn, 'The Ashdon (Essex) Hoard and the Currency of the Southern Danelaw in the Late Ninth Century', *BNJ* 59 (1989), 13–38, at 19–20; see also Blackburn, 'Expansion and Control', 128, and Grierson and Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, 319.

[131] *Æthelweard*, 51; Hadley, *Vikings in England*, 41; Downham, *Viking Kings*, 76–77.

2.3.6 Æthelstan and the Anglo-Danes

Sigtrygg died in 927; his successor in the Humbrian Anglo-Danish realm appears, eventually, to have been Æthelstan. The latter gave his sister in marriage to Sigtrygg, and claimed his mainland territories after his death; the two kings had come to some agreement in the Mercian capital of Tamworth two years or so previously, and since Sigtrygg and his supporters must have given Æthelstan something in return for his sister, succession to his realm is probably not too wild a suggestion; this is especially likely given that the Ecgberhtings had very recently acquired Mercia by the same tactic. Sigtrygg's deputy in Dublin, the patronymic-less Guthfrith (perhaps son of the Olaf named by Adam of Bremen as Sigtrygg's brother), left Ireland in an attempt to succeed Sigtrygg, but returned within six months; how the Anglo-Saxon king had achieved this success is unclear. A gathering of Scottish and Welsh rulers along with Ealdred of Bamburgh in 927, hosted by Æthelstan while he was near Penrith, is reported in the D recension of *ASC*.

2.4 The *Regnum Saxan Aquilonalium*

2.4.1 Post-Dubgaill 'rumps'

ASC's account alone would leave the possibility open that East Anglia and Northumbria were destroyed by the Great Army, while ruling out this fate for Mercia by asserting explicitly that some land was given to Ceolwulf. In the case of East Anglia, no narrative source specifies any East Anglian monarchs following the martyrdom of Edmund; at the same time, there is more than a decade between Edmund's death and the settlement of Guthrum's army in East Anglia. The gap in literary evidence is exposed by numismatics, with coins appearing to demonstrate at least two English monarchs after Edmund. Kings named Oswald and

Æthelred both postdate Edmund, but cannot otherwise be usefully dated. Nothing suggests that separate English rulers continued after Guthrum's West-Saxon–sponsored conversion, which seems to have turned Guthrum's *here* into something very close to a Christian kingdom (at least for the purposes of diplomacy).[132] Hence, Oswald and Æthelred probably ruled before Guthrum's *here* settled the kingdom. Mercia maintained its own kings, who became clients of the West Saxons from 886.

2.4.2 Ecgberht I and Succession to Ælla

As we suggested above, there are also strong indications that the Northumbrian political community and its corporate identity managed to survive until at least the 930s. The following section will explore the evidence for this political community and its rulers.

After Ælla, Irish sources provide the names of two rulers from Northumbria's English community, while king-lists, English annals, and the historical material in *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* offer other potentially useful information. Much of the English material is problematic because it comes down to us in a final form which is verifiably post-Conquest. The *Chronicon ex Chronicis* annals (and thus those in *Historia Regum 2* and Roger of Howden's *Chronica*) as well as *Roger of Wendover* indicate Ælla was succeeded by one Ecgberht. Similar information is given in three king-lists, one incorporated in *De Primo Saxonum Adventu*, another in *Series Regum Northymbrensium* (*SRN*), and another in *Roger of Wendover*, s.a. 886. These say that Ælla was followed by Ecgberht I, Ricsige, then Ecgberht II.[133] The annals in *Chronicon ex Chronicis* and *Roger of Wendover* are Northumbrian additions to the main set drawn from a Latin translation of *ASC*, and there is a possibility that the original source was an early one; the three king-lists on the other hand were probably built from these and other known annals, and there is no reason to attribute independent value to their reign-length calculations (see below).

It is also difficult to disentangle the basic information these sources provide from commentary added in the Anglo-Norman era. *Historia Regum 2* would claim that Ecgberht I reigned 'beyond the Tyne', and *Roger of Wendover* that he 'obtained the kingship under the power of the Danes' (*sub Danorum potestate regnum adeptus*).[134] *Historia Regum 2*'s additional Tyne comment appears to conflict with the *Roger of Wendover* annals, which say the Northumbrians expelled King Ecgberht and Archbishop Wulfhere of York in 872. The archbishop of *York* could hardly be expelled from a kingdom limited to territory north of the Tyne. [135] The author of *Historia Regum 2* appears to believe that the Danes had already settled the land south of the Tyne, but the more reliable and contemporary *ASC* account shows, as we have seen, that the settlement did not happen until 876. The Great Army at this stage was still moving and plundering from kingdom to kingdom. Quite plausibly Ecgberht, as the *Roger of Wendover* version has it, came to some arrangement with the Danes. Modern historians following *Roger of Wendover* have often strongly favoured the idea that Ecgberht was a puppet king, but it is hard to see what kind of subordination would have been possible in practice except during the Great Army's return and stay at York in 869, beyond some undocumented tribute of supplies. When both men were expelled they fled to Burhred king of Mercia, a man who had been allied to the West Saxons in 868 and who was still an opponent of the Great Army.[136]

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[132] Grierson and Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, 294; A. Woolf, 'Scandinavian Dynasties in English Kingdoms'.

[133] *RW*, I, 345–49 for lists (347–48 for Northumbria's); *DPSA*, 377; *SRN*, 391.

2.4.3 Ricsige, Ecgberht II, and Guthred

According to the annals in *Chronicon ex Chronicis* and *Roger of Wendover*, Ecgberht I was expelled 872 and died 873, whereupon Ricsige succeeded and Wulfhere returned to his see. In *Roger of Wendover,* Ricsige 'died of grief' after the settlement by Halfdan. Yet the existence of Ecgberht II suggests the kingship continued after Ricsige's death.[137] The three Northumbrian king-lists say that Ecgberht II's successor was Guthred. Aside from Æthelweard, Guthred's name is not in Anglo-Latin or Anglo-Saxon annals except through passages derived from *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*; this in turn means that claims about him and his relationship with Ecgberht II are supplied by Anglo-Norman compilers, and could therefore be guesswork. Likewise, in the accounts of *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* (and *Cronica Monasterii Dunelmensis*), the source of the above Guthred accounts, there is no Ecgberht. The author presents Guthred instead as successor to the kingship held by

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[134] *RW*, I, 299; *HR2*, 106.

[135] *RW*, I, 323–24; *HR2*, 110.

[136] Cf. *ASC*, 48 (i.e. MS A, s.a. 874); Alex Woolf has suggested (pers. comm.) that the the leader of the Great Army simply aimed at some sort of loose overkingship along the lines of the kings of Tara in Ireland.

[137] *RW*, I, 327; *HR2*, 111.

Halfdan.[138] The modern reader might be tempted to conclude that Ecgberht only later became Guthred's predecessor in a learned twelfth-century attempt to make sense of separate Northumbrian and Dubgall kingships, or to reconcile Guthred's position as a rightful king with the continued existence of native Northumbrian rulers whose perceived contemporary existence would have undermined the authority of Guthred's gifts in Anglo-Norman–era minds.

Guthred was an important figure in Durham's historical mythology, but it is possible that earlier reliable information about him is preserved. The earliest attempts to write up narratives of Durham's pre-Conquest history drew on Guthred to legitimize the church's claim to control the land between the Tyne and Wear. The 'Donation of Guthred' (see Appendix III.c) and the narrative strands gathered around it were central to post-Conquest Durham's origin story. *Cronica Monasterii Dunelmensis* claimed that the Danish army lacked a leader following the disappearance of Halfdan, whereupon Cuthbert came in a dream to a certain abbot named Eadred. Eadred was told to redeem *Guthredum Hardecnuti Regis filium*, held in captivity by a 'certain widow at Whittingham' (*cuidam vidue apud Huityngham*) and to present him to the Danish army as their new king. Guthred was ceremonially inaugurated at a mound named *Oswiesdun*. In gratitude Guthred instituted the laws called the 'Customs of St Cuthbert' (*Sancti Cuthberti dicuntur consuetudines*), and granted Cuthbert all the land between the Wear and Tees and between the Wear and Tyne.[139] The account in *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* is roughly similar.[140]

Guthred's position as father of the Danelaw is attested elsewhere, possibly independently. He was later claimed as a progenitor of the rulers of 'Danish' England. Adam of Bremen's *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum* indicates specifically that Guthred was the father of the first of the Uí Ímair to rule York:

> Anglia, ut supra diximus et in Gestis Anglorum scribitur, post mortem Gudredi a filiis eius Analaph, Sigtrih et Reginold, per annos fere centum permansit in ditione Danorum.

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[138] *CMD*, 523–24; *HSC*, 50–53: c.12–13.

[139] *CMD*, 154.

[140] *HSC*, 52–53: c.13.

> 'England, as we said above and as is written in *Gesta Anglorum*, after the death of Guthred from the time of his sons Olaf, Sigtrygg and Rognvald, remained under Danish rule for nearly a hundred years'.[141]

This particular *gesta Anglorum* seems to be lost, but Adam wrote in the later eleventh century; as a witness to any tenth-century English historical writing, he is chronologically superior to most Anglo-Norman sources and on a par with *Cronica Monasterii Dunelmensis* and *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*. We are not able to evaluate his source independently, and it is not particularly unlikely that he was drawing his own conclusion about biology based on an annalistic source or king-list; but it could suggest that some rulers of the Uí Ímair claimed descent from Guthred or that otherwise Guthred's 'historical importance' to inhabitants of the Danelaw around 1000 fuelled the circulation of oral 'traditions'. Since one of Rognvald's grandfathers is known by name as Ivar, and since Guthred's father was named Harthacnut, Hudson suggested that Guthred had been married to Ivar's daughter.[142] Despite Guthred's significance in later writings, he is unmentioned in the main contemporary narrative sources; i.e. the Irish annals and *ASC*. That in itself is interesting, and may suggest his alleged descendants had more to do with the emergence of his legend than any contemporary activity. *ASC* does however provide important details for the years prior to Ua Ímair rule in Scandinavian England. As an outside possibility, the legend may have arisen as an attempt to link the Cuthbertine house's legitimacy with the house of Cnut, who ruled in England in the eleventh century and whose ancestral head, his great-great grandfather, shared the name Harthacnut with Guthred's father.

As already suggested above, it is possible that Anglo-Norman authors felt pressure to accommodate Guthred as a pan-Northumbrian king due to his use (e.g. *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*) in legitimizing Durham's historical claims in the Danelaw (see 6.1.6). Guthred may not have ruled inside the 'rump' of Northumbria, but if he was a ruler of southern Northumbrian territory then he may have had the same kind of overlordship his predecessor Halfdan allegedly imposed on the Northumbrian kings. The annalist responsible for *Historia Regum 2* s.a. 883, an 'interpolation' based on *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, seems to have felt compelled to acknowledge that Ecgberht II was still reigning when Guthred came to power in York. This annal likewise has no particular contemporary authority, but it is not obviously any more or less reliable than the alternative Anglo-Norman tradition ending Ecgberht's reign to accommodate Guthred; however unlike the latter tradition, it is difficult to explain why an author of the later age would introduce the former tradition. It also indicates that Ecgberht II had not yet acquired an annalistic reign length, at least not one available in Durham; this in turn highlights the lack of authority for all claims about Guthred's or Ecgberht's reign lengths.[143] The differing and incompatible claims made by the annalists are most obviously to be explained as an attempt to accommodate Guthred. The question of whether Ecgberht died in the 870s, or was still reigning at least in 883 (and possibly many years after that) should at least be an open one. The surviving evidence is simply not reliable enough to rule either possibility out, and so Ecgberht II may have reigned for decades in the rump of Northumbria while Guthred (and others) exercised power over former followers of Halfdan in the south.

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[141] Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*, ed. G. H. Pertz (Hannover, 1876), 57–58:ii.22; translation based on F. J. Tschan (New York, 2002), 70–71.
[142] Hudson, *VPCP*, 19.

2.4.4 Osberht II?

Two entries in the *Chronicle of 957* and *Roger of Wendover* highlight significant events which now, owing to the fragmented nature of surviving Northumbrian evidence, lie disembodied in obscurity:

Anno. dcccci. Osbrith regno pulsus est	901: Osberht was expelled from the *regnum*
Anno. dcccc.ii. Brehtsig occisus est.	902: Brehtsig was killed.[144]

Both annals seem to open up a very small window on the kingdom at the beginning of the tenth century. The *Chronicle of 957* is hardly a rich treasure trove of prosopographical data, and so both figures are likely to have been of the highest importance. *Regnum* can theoretically mean the office of a king or his territory of competence, 'kingship' or 'kingdom'; however, were it not for historiographic theories based on Anglo-Norman evidence ending the Northumbrian kingdom in the ninth century, Osberht here would surely be read as having held the kingship. In view of the weaknesses of that evidence,

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[143] *HR2*, 114 ([Guthred] *regnauitque super Eboracum; Egbert vero super Northimbros*); see also D. P. Kirby, *The Earliest English Kings* (London, 2000), 175.

[144] CCCC 139, fol. 75r (=*Chron. 957,* 92).

Osberht is likely to have been the Northumbrian king. The following obit is less obscure. *Brehtsig* occurs among the dead notables who fought for Æthelwold at the battle of the Holme in 902. *ASC* describes him as 'the son of the atheling Beornoth' (*Byrhtsige Beornoðes sunu æðelinges*).[145] For the *Chronicle of 957* Brehtsig, unlike the battle itself or indeed Æthelwold, was important enough to be noted for the year; if this is more than an accident of transmission, Brehtsig may be the son of a Northumbrian atheling, perhaps the grandson of a Northumbrian king; another possibility is that he was an exile from Mercia or East Anglia with similar status.

2.4.5 Political Community of the 'Northern English' c. 900

A number of Northumbrians from this era were recorded by *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* either as benefactors or as antecessors of figures occupying estates 'lost' to Cuthbert. These names appear to be genuine despite the suspicious nature of the estate history, and so the information can illuminate the Northumbrian political community of the early tenth century. When it comes to potential royalty of the Northumbrian kingdom, the *Historia* preserves an extract about one 'prince' Eardwulf (*Eardulfum principem*) who lived, according to its synchronization, in the time of Edward the Elder (899–924). Eardwulf falls victim to a certain Eadred son of Ricsige, who 'rode westwards over the mountains' (*equitauit uersus occidentem ultra montes*) and captured the wife of the 'prince'. *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* claimed that Eadred sought Cuthbert's protection, and that Bishop Cuthheard donated Gainford to him. The point of the detail for the *Historia* is that Eadred (and thus Cuthbert) later lost this during Rognvald's conquest. Rognvald's alleged enmity to Eadred's kindred can only have been limited, as he is said to have transferred ownership of the same territory to Eadred's sons Æscbriht and Ælfstan the *comes* (*Elstan*[*us*] *Com*[*es*]). [146] If reliable, it would strongly suggest that Rognvald was competing with his northern rivals through personal relations with other Northumbrian nobles. Whatever the case, *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* seems to show that the Cuthbertine house came to be claiming as alienated loanland honours held by Ælfstan the *comes* and his brother Æscbriht, or agnatic lines claiming descent from these men.

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[145] *ASC*, 60.

[146] *HSC*, 62–63: c.24.

Ricsige is an extremely rare name in pre-Conquest England, shared only with the late ninth-century Northumbrian king. If both figures were counted as one, he would be the only known Ricsige.[147] This would show the continuity of Ricsige's dynasty into the tenth century, with a territorial base in eastern Northumbria and a rival in the west. It is now increasingly accepted by many historians that dithematic elements were expressions of dynastic identity among Anglo-Saxon nobles.[148] Due to similarity and the apparent rareness of its second element in Northumbria, it is possible that the above *Brehtsig* whose obit the *Chronicle of 957* placed s.a. 902 was a relation of King Ricsige.

Prince Eardwulf and the descendants of Ricsige are not the only English Northumbrians placed by *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* in the time of kings Ælfred and Edward. Important holdings between the Tees and Wear were allegedly given by Saint Cuthbert to one Ælfred son of Brihtwulf (sharing an element with *Brehtsig*). After the conquest of this region by Rognvald, these estates were allegedly taken from Ælfred and given to Scandinavians named Scule and Onlafbald. *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* claimed Ælfred had received the estate from Cuthbert after he had come 'over the mountains fleeing pirates' (*fugiens piratas, uenit ultra montes*). This Ælfred, 'faithful one of St Cuthbert' (*Elfredum sancti Cuthberti fidelem*), fled his new eastern estates after the Battle of Corbridge. Again this 'memory' is likely to be aimed at retrieving these estates from either Scula and Onlafbald or their descendants. Indeed the presence of Ælfred in the story may indicate that Ælfred's own descendants were living 'back' in the Northumbrian west country, and could have been based anywhere between Lancashire and Ayrshire (most likely Cumberland, Westmorland, or Annandale).

2.4.6 Northern English in Æthelstanian Charters

Charter evidence shows that between 927 and 934 some of the Northern English political community were involved with Æthelstan's court. Several northern *duces* with Anglo-Saxon names appear in the West Saxon king's charters in this era: Ælfred, Ælfstan, Æscbriht, Oswulf, Ealdred, and two named Uhtred. These men cannot be identified specifically as Northumbrian from the charter evidence alone, but context suggests they came from regions attracted or compelled to the king's court after Æthelstan's acquisition of Sigtrygg's territory in Northumbria and Mercia. Oswulf, Ealdred, and one of the Uhtreds appear to be sons of the Eadwulf named as king in Irish annals, and will be discussed below. Ælfred on his first appearance in 930 witnessed three charters in the same context as the Uhtreds and the Ealdred mentioned above, being fifth placed *dux*-witness between one Uhtred and one Ælfstan.[149] Like Uhtred and Ealdred, he only begins appearing c. 928, alongside the *duces* with Scandinavian names. Ælfred of the charters would very likely be a Northumbrian anyway, but it is also hard not to identify him with Ælfred son of Brihtwulf named above. Likewise the appearance of Ælfstan and Æscbriht probably confirms the importance of both (not to mention the reliability of *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* and the charters as sources for them). As we saw, men with these names were part of a family descended from a Ricsige. It has previously been suggested that Ælfstan was a son of Æthelstan Half-King; this is possible but not itself particularly likely.[150] Many of the charters witnessed by Ælstan are also witnessed by one Æscbriht.[151] The latter has in the past been assigned as the ealdorman responsible for Western Wessex, but again there is no evidence for this; in contrast a good Northumbrian Æscbriht, who appears at the right time, is available.[152]

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[147] Known to *PASE* at least; see *PASE*, s.v. 'Ricsige 1'.

[148] See, for instance, in C. Clark, 'Onomastics', in R. M. Hogg (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the English Language Volume 1* (Cambridge, 1992), 452–89, at 458, and references therein.

2.4.7 King Eadwulf and His Sons

While a full description of Northumbria's surviving English nobility is out of reach, at least one point about the early–tenth-century north is clear. It came to be dominated by another Edwardian family named by *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*. This is the family of Eadwulf, whom we will refer to as the Eadwulfings. Neither Eadwulf nor his named sons are given titles in *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*. While they might appear at first glance to be no different from the families of Ricsige and Brihtwulf, Southumbrian and Irish annals show them to be figures of particular importance. Eadwulf is 'Eadwulf King of the Northern English' (*Etulbb ri Saxan Tuaiscirt*) in the *Annals of Ulster* s.a. 913, a year matched by Æthelweard's obit of *Aðulf*, who 'as *actor* presided over the fortress of Bamburgh' (*præerat*

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[149] *Sawyer,* no. 403; *PASE*, s.v. 'Alfred 18 (fl. 930-931)'.

[150] *Sawyer*, nos 379, 393, 403, 405, 407, 410, 412–13, 416–18, 422–23, 425, 428, 450; Hart, *Danelaw,* 572, n. 7; see also *PASE*, *s v.* 'Ælfstan 27' (the ealdorman), but note also 'Ælfstan 28' and 'Ælfstan 29'.

[151] *Sawyer*, nos 405, 412–13, 416, 418, 423, 425; see also *PASE*, s.v. 'Æscberht 3'.

[152] Hart, *Danelaw*, 121, on the basis of witness-position succession; but contrast B. Yorke, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1995), 100 (following L. N. Banton, *Ealdormen and Earls in England from the Reign of King Alfred to the Reign of King Æthelred II* (University of Oxford D. Phil thesis, 1981), 197–214); they have, apparently, rejected any role for Æscbriht as ealdorman of western Wessex.

actori oppidi Bebbanburgh condicti).[153] In *ASC* MS A s.a. 920, the sons of Eadwulf are listed among a number of the most significant 'kings' we know otherwise to have ruled in Britain north of Edward the Elder's territory, though the West Saxon annalist did not give titles to either Rognvald or Eadwulf's sons. Æthelweard's account, at least in its completed form, is from the later tenth century. The unusual terminology may suggest that Æthelweard's West Saxon predecessors saw Eadwulf's kingship along the lines of that exercised by 'Ealdorman' Æthelred of Mercia, a king who acknowledged the overlordship of Edward the Elder; Æthelweard was prepared to call the Æthelred both king (*rex*) and ealdorman (*dux*), as well as *superstes*.[154] Even in *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* it is said that Rognvald occupied the territory of the sons of Eadwulf, and it is suggested that Ælfred son of Brihtwulf had been a dependent of Eadwulf's son Ealdred.[155]

The account of the *Eamotum* meeting in *ASC* MS D s.a. 926 (*recte* 927), following Æthelstan's assumption of Sigtrygg's position, could be read to show that Æthelstan had brought the contracted *Regnum Saxan Aquilonalium* under his sway. Yet, among 'all the kings who were in this island' taken under his overlordship, 'Ealdred son of Eadwulf from Bamburgh' (*Ealdred Ealdulfing from Bebbanbyrig*, where *Ealdulf* is a scribal error for Eadulf) is listed *after* those known to have been kings in Wales and Scotland. If the reader did not know any better, Ealdred would just be another ruler whose presence added extra authority to Æthelstan's gathering. Our ability to reconstruct the position of the Northern English realm at this stage is complicated by complex and contradictory surviving textual evidence. Some Anglo-Latin versions of this annal claim that Æthelstan expelled Ealdred from Bamburgh instead of simply listing Ealdred (like *ASC* MS D does): a significant discrepancy.[156] In contrast to the D version, MS E has a notice s.a. 927 that Æthelstan had to expel Guthfrith (Sigtrygg's dynastic successor) from the kingdom. It is possible that the Anglo-Latin versions in question, *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, *Roger of Wendover*, and their followers, had tried to integrate each of these entries and in doing so produced this confusion; i.e. Guthfrith's expulsion was merged with the *Eamotum* meeting, and a side-effect was that *from Bebbanbyrig* had the verb ‘expelled’ (*exturbauit*) added to it.[157] This cannot be the whole picture, however. William of Malmesbury appears to have had access to a fuller account of this episode (or at least a fuller narrative about the reign of Æthelstan), and names a ‘rebel’ in the north. He supplies what appears to be the name ‘Ealdwulf’ (*Aldulfi*) rather than Ealdred.[158] This would be in harmony with other evidence, namely *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* (below) and charter attestations, which indicate Ealdred had a positive relationship with Æthelstan; a positive relationship that was, perhaps, one not shared with *Aldulf*.

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[153] *AU*, s.a. 913; see also *FA* 456, s.a. 912 (*recte* 913) *Etalbh, rí Saxan tuaisgirt*; *Æthelweard*, 52–53: iv.4.

[154] For *rex,* see *Æthelweard*, 50, for *dux*, p. 46; see also p. 53 for *Mycriorum superstes* ('survivor of the Mercians'), translated by Campbell as 'lord of the Mercians'; generally, unstable or unusual vocabulary to describe the position of a potentate indicates that the position was hard to reconcile with the author's mental order of things; see also M. Davidson, 'The (Non)Submission of the Northern Kings in 920', in *Edward the Elder*, 200–11, at 203–05; and Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 147.

[155] *HSC*, 60–61: c.22.

[156] *JW*, II, 386–87; *RW*, I, 386; the *Roger of Wendover* version has Ælfred (*Alfredum*), probably a scribal error (recte *Aldredum*).

Historia de Sancto Cuthberto, which mentions two of Eadwulf’s sons, describes Ealdred as Edward the Elder’s *dilectus*, ‘esteemed one’; the *Historia* also notes that Ealdred’s father Eadwulf had been the *dilectus* of Ælfred. According to *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, Ealdred was expelled by Rognvald, fled to Scotland, and returned with the Scottish king Causantín only to suffer defeat at the Battle of Corbridge. Despite the death of most of the English who participated in the battle, the *Historia* says that Ealdred and his brother Uhtred managed to survive, though it sheds no light on their later activity. There has however been a large body of opinion identifying Ealdred and Uhtred with two like-named *duces* noted in early tenth-century Anglo-Saxon charters. With one exception, they are placed next to each other in the witness lists of these charters.[159] Ealdred attested charters until 933; Uhtred remained one of the most frequent ‘ducal’ subscribers of charters until Æthelstan’s death in 939. Of the two Uhtred *duces* from the reign of Æthelstan, there is no way to tell for certain which if either of them survived into the reign of Edgar, so Uhtred of Bamburgh’s survival as far as 958 is an outside possibility.[160]

According to two charters of 926, men named Ealdred *minister* and Uhtred had purchased land in the Danelaw under the authority of Edward the Elder and ‘Ealdorman’ Æthelred of Mercia (†911).[161] The documents survive from two different archives, but were probably issued at the same time.[162] Although their paternity is not specified, historians have generally identified them as the above Eadwulfings.[163] If this were accurate, it would point to collusion between the Ecgberhtings and Eadwulfings during the lifetime of Eadwulf himself. Without stretching matters too thinly, this might lead to suspicions that Eadwulf emerged as ruler of the 'Northern English' under West Saxon sponsorship. Indeed it is not impossible that the family was imposed on Northumbria in this or the following decade by the Ecgberhtings. Perhaps they returned with Ecgberhting support having been exiled (or hostage) Northumbrians; or even as a West Saxon or Mercian agnatic group, perhaps one claiming power through some cognatic link. Such beneficiaries of Ecgberhting political strategy could be linked to the Peace of Tiddingford in 906, which coincided with the end of royally-inscribed Danelaw coinage. Judging by *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, in 918 Ealdred and Uhtred were expelled by Rognvald from lands south of the Tyne. Since no source can be used to associate the family with Bamburgh before 918 with certainty (Æthelweard's link to Bamburgh may be his own anachronism), it is possible that their power in the region was relatively new.

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[157] E.g. *JW*, II, 386; *RW*, I, 386.

[158] *GRA*, 206–07: ii.131.

[159] Charters they appear in together are *Sawyer*, nos 403, 412–13, 416–17, 418–19; no. 413 is the exception.

[160] Hart, *ECNE*, 362; *BDDAB*, s.v. ‘Uhtred Ealdorman 930–c.949’, 230.

[161] For Uhtred’s charter, see *Sawyer*, no. 397, and *Charters of Burton Abbey*, ed. P. H. Sawyer (Oxford, 1979), no. 3; for Ealdred’s charter, see *Sawyer*, no. 396, and *Charters of Abingdon*, ed. S. E. Kelly (Oxford, 2000–2001), no. 21.

A pedigree of Earl Waltheof (†1076) from the Anglo-Norman era may shed some light. Waltheof's genealogy forms part of *De Northumbria post Britannos*, a twelfth-century text that appears to have had access to earlier sources.[164] Eadwulf was claimed as the ancestor of Waltheof son of Siward. In the genealogy it is stated that Eadwulf was the son of Æthelthryth, daughter of King Ælla. If this genealogy were accurate, Eadwulf's father had come from a family with weak links to the Northumbrian royal line, but one who subsequently used marriage to Ælla's daughter as a means of projecting or at least legitimizing lordship over the Northumbrian English political community.[165] Such anyway is what the text's detail appears to suggest. The genealogy would also indicate that the three kings of the Northumbrians named by the Irish annals came from the same family, from the death of Ælla in 867 to the death of his grandson *Adulf mcEtulf* in 934.[166]

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[162] Stenton, *Types of Manorial Structure*, 74–75; S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'The Unready'* (Cambridge, 1980), 42–43;

[163] *The Crawford Collection,* edd. A.S. Napier and W.H. Stevenson (Oxford, 1895), 74–75; P. H. Sawyer, 'The Charters of Burton Abbey and the Unification of England', *NH* 10 (1973), 28–39, at 33–34; *BDDAB*, s.v. 'Ealdred of Bamburgh 913–c.930', 116–17.

[164] *DNPB*, 32–34.

[165] There is other evidence for a powerful female figure in Northumbria during this era. The 'widow of Whittingham', said by *Cronica Monasterii Dunelmensis*, *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, and related accounts to have owned the future king Guthred as a slave. If the story were true and this 'widow' (*uidua*) were able to hold someone of such rank in captivity and then force payment from the Scandinavian army, such a figure must have been able to command considerable power.

2.4.8 King *Adulf*

This *Adulf mcEtulf*, probably 'Æthelwulf son of Eadwulf', is known from his obit as 'King of the Northern English' given for 934, the same year as Æthelstan's great expedition northward against the Scots.[167] Unlike Ealdred (or their brother Uhtred), *Adulf* appears to be completely absent from charter attestations. This would suggest that his relations with Æthelstan were not as close as those of his brothers. Woolf raised the possibility that he is the *Aldulf* named by William of Malmesbury as being in revolt against Æthelstan (Æthel- and Eald- names fell together in the Anglo-Norman era).[168] If they are the same, Æthelstan's domination did not extend over the Northern English realm; at least not the part of it ruled by *Adulf*. Another possibility is that *Adulf* briefly reigned from around 934, when his brother Ealdred disappears from charter attestations. Yet another possibility is that he, rather than any of his brothers, had been the ruler of the north for some significant period, but had carried out such a role as a *primus inter pares* among his brothers. They, as proxies, interacted with the Ecgberhting monarch. This would also explain his absence from Æthelstanian charters. In the context of the limited evidence more generally, *Adulf*'s existence and Ealdred's appearance in *ASC* in the mid-920s as a sub-ruler indicates that some of the Northern English realm was largely independent from the Anglo-Saxon realm, even if the family of its rulers benefitted from a relationship with the West Saxons.

In 934 Æthelstan invaded Scotland, the army going as far as Dunnottar and the navy as far as 'Caithness'. The unprecedented scale of Æthelstan's activities against the Scots indicates he was responding to a situation of immense political significance. Two deaths happened in 934: that of *Adulf*, and that of Guthfrith, the Ua Ímair claimant to Sigtrygg's former territories. The Scots (or certainly Causantín's faction) had supported the Eadwulfings against the Uí Ímair in 918 at Corbridge. Yet this does not yield a straightforward interpretation of Æthelstan's invasion, since in the Brunanburh campaign of 937 a coalition of Scots, Cumbrians, and Dubgaill combined to install Guthfrith's successor and son Olaf as ruler of the Anglo-Danes, an expedition in which Eadwulfing involvement is unattested. It is possible that Æthelstan was responding to Scottish support for a successor to *Adulf mcEtulfe* or that the Scots had tried to install *Adulf* but failed, resulting in his death.

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[166] *AU*, s.a. 867, 913; *AClon*, 149: s.a. 928 (*recte* 934).

[167] *AClon*, 149:s.a. 928 (*recte* 934); the Irish obit for Æthelwulf King of Wessex who died in 858 uses exactly this form: *Adulf rex Saxan* (*AU*, s.a. 858). The contraction of Æthelwulf to Æthulf is not an unexpected one, and regularly appears in English sources relating to the same era (e.g. *Æthelweard*, 34–35, 37, 39, supplying *Aðulf* and *Athulf* for Æthelwulf). An auslaut 'd' in pre-twelfth-century Irish should represent a dental fricative /ð/; 't' would be expected for /d/ in this environment, and this is the case in the same *AClon* entry for his father Eadwulf (*Etulf*). Other candidates are not particularly probable; for instance Eadwulf and Ealdwulf, even ignoring the 'd' in both, are unlikely because the *AClon* form would then be distinguishing the same two stressed vowels (both represented in Old English as *ea*). Genitive vowel-raising might be a possibility, but Eadwulf is especially unlikely on anthroponymic grounds (i.e. in requiring the son to have the same name as the father).

[168] Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 163–65.

Other than the garbled Anglo-Latin annal, there is no suggestion of hostility between Eadwulfings and the Ecgberhtings; the relationship between the Scots, the Uí Ímair and the Eadwulfings in this period seems to be impossible to pin down. Nonetheless, the picture we have overwhelmingly suggests that most Eadwulfings were part of Ecgberhting affinity in the north. Were *Adulf* to have strayed from the fold, the Scots might have supported him against Æthelstan. Another possibility is that the Scots, having previously supported the Eadwulfings (e.g. Corbridge), had decided to support the Uí Ímair (the Scots may even have been planning to help Guthfrith become ruler of a 're-united' Northumbrian realm). After all, they were to put their military weight behind Olaf son of Guthfrith three years later. Despite the disappearance of northern witnesses after 935, Æthelstan's authority in former Ua Ímair land was still in place in 936. According to Richer of St Remi, when the French king sent an embassy from Boulogne to see Æthelstan, it had to go to York because at that time the king was 'attending the business of the realm with his men'.[169] An annal in *Chronicon ex Chronicis* claims that Olaf had married a daughter of the Scottish king, and that the latter had 'incited' Olaf to invade in 937 (*a socero suo rege Scottorum Constantino incitatus*).[170] Æthelstan was able to defeat this invasion at the famous Battle of Brunanburh; but after the Ecgberhting king's death Olaf re-established himself, he and the *Eboracenses* campaigning in likely Eadwulfing land, in East Lothian, in the first two years of the 940s (where he met his end, see 4.1). The latter highlights how the distance between the West Saxons and Eadwulfings grew very significantly when West Saxon domination of the mainland Dubgaill ended after Æthelstan's death.

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[169] Richer of Saint Rémi, *Histories*, ed. and trans. J. Lake (Cambridge MA, 2011), I, 162–63.

[170] *JW*, II, 392–93.

Conclusion

The Great Army's activities in the 860s and 870s led to major political change in parts of Britain. A significant portion of the Scandinavian military community held together by the Great Army's successes came to be settled in adjacent regions of Northumbria, Mercia, and East Anglia. The East Anglian kingdom, almost certainly, was entirely incorporated by this new group of political communities, whereas Mercia survived as a rump that came to be dominated by the more southerly English kingdom of Wessex. Known in Irish sources as the *Dubgaill*, the new 'Danish' settlers maintained communal leaders like 'kings', 'holds', and 'earls', many of whom seem to have come under at least nominal domination by the Ecgberhtings rulers of Wessex and (subsequently) Mercia in the early decades of the tenth century.

While often thought to have shared East Anglia's fate, a straightforward reliance on early source evidence indicates that, deprived of some territory, much like the Mercians perhaps, the Northumbrian realm continued. It certainly survived under 'native' rulers after the Battle of York in 867, and indeed even after the settlement of the 870s. The tendency by some modern historians to assign Northumbria's kingship to Scandinavians is not justified by the range of contemporary evidence, nor is it even clear that the *Dubgaill* of England had a unitary kingship in any specific region prior to the successful overkingship established by Rognvald *Ua Ímair* and his brother Sigtrygg after 918. It is true that the Great Army had settled in southern and probably western Northumbria, in some of the kingdom's best land; however, these settlers were adjacent and perhaps indisguishable from other Great Army settlement. What specific details we have, for instance, would put the future county of Lincolnshire in the same Norse political community as Yorkshire. The Scandinavian political community under the successors of Halfdan was 'Northumbrian' in the sense that some, probably most, of its members lived in 'former' Northumbrian territory. The terminology also allowed West Saxon sources to distinguish Halfdan's successors from the other Great Army group; but on the best surviving evidence, modern historians might achieve more precision by describing this community as a 'Humbrian' division of a larger Insular Scandinavian group, the Dubgaill.

While poor coverage in later sources could make the disappearance of the English Northumbrian kingdom plausible in the years after Halfdan, the limited reliable evidence we have indicates strongly that the Northumbrian political community continued to exist for a significant period. Indeed, we can even name several of its rulers. On the other hand, the Northumbrian community's contraction is certain, losing some undefined territory in 876 and probably more territory between the Tees and Wear around 918. It is very possible that this community's leadership paid tribute or acknowledged subordination to the leaders of their new neighbours, particularly when the Dubgaill were united by strong ruler—as they were in the late 860s and 870s, or again after 918. There is however no particularly compelling reason to contemplate the kingdom's end until at least the time of Æthelstan and the contemporary 'Northern English' king, *Adulf mcEtulfe*.

Whatever overlordship Æthelstan was able to assert, a resurgent Uí Ímair subsequently deprived Æthelstan's immediate successor King Edmund of a similar position, at least temporarily. Undeniably the balance of status between rulers at either end of the English-speaking world had shifted dramatically between 867 and 927, and although the unitary Northumbrian kingdom had clearly been weakened by foreign settlement and political competition, there is no obviously decisive end date for the Northumbrian kingdom in the first half of the tenth century. With this in mind, the following chapter will discuss evidence for the fate of the Northumbrian episcopate.

3. The Fate of the Northumbrian Episcopate

Northumbria had four bishoprics in the early ninth century: York, Hexham, Lindisfarne, and Whithorn; a bishopric based at Abercorn had been abandoned in the later seventh century following defeat to the Pictish kingdom of Fortriu. The four surviving bishoprics are what we can call the 'classical Northumbrian episcopate'. The usual view is that in the ninth century viking activity brought the dioceses of Whithorn and Hexham to an end. Lindisfarne endured alone among the simple bishoprics, but only after a brief period of wandering, following which its custodians relocated to Chester-le-Street. This vision was already well-established in the nineteenth century, and has been inherited by historians of the present day.[171] Like many other reconstructions of Viking-Age Britain, it was built up from sources completed in the Anglo-Norman era: primarily from 'Northumbrian' sources such as *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* and Symeon of Durham, supplemented by William of Malmesbury and others. Reassuringly for modern historians, these sources did have access to some earlier material, and cannot be dismissed as worthless. They are not, however, reliable enough on their own to justify the confidence normally given to some of their reconstructions, not at least without evaluating them as reconstructions. This chapter will examine Viking-Age evidence for the Northumbrian episcopate and compare it to Anglo-Norman and modern views.

3.1 Lists v. Charter Attestations

3.1.1 'Original' Ninth-Century Lists

There is no more obvious starting point than episcopal lists. No surviving list documents bishops of either Hexham or Whithorn after the third decade of the ninth century. The disappearance of these bishoprics would be an obvious explanation for this. That was the theory of William of Malmesbury, who constructed a narrative history of the English episcopate from such episcopal lists, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* (see below); subsequent historians have tended to reprise William's logic. The earliest Northumbrian lists we have, those in BL Cotton Vespasian B vi. [CVB6], were written up between 805 and 814, with some additions by new hands in the succeeding decades. The last Northumbrian bishops entered by the first hand were Eanbald of York, Eanberht of Hexham, Hygbald of Lindisfarne

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[171] C. Eyre, *The History of St. Cuthbert or An Account of his Life, Decease and Miracles* (London, 1849), 89–116; Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, ı, xl-xlviii, Hodgson, *Northumberland*, ı, 130ff.; G. Miles, *The Bishops of Lindisfarne, Hexham, Chester-le-Street, and Durham, A.D. 635–1020* (London, 1898), Offler, *North*, c. ii, Stenton, *ASE*, 433; *CCC*, passim; *AND*, passim; Rollason, *Northumbria*, 244–55.

(†c.803), and Beadwulf of Whithorn; a second hand added two successors, Ecgberht of Lindisfarne (cons. 803) and Tidferth of Hexham; a third hand supplemented CVB6 with later successors, the Northumbrian ones being Wulfsige of York, Eadmund of Lindisfarne, and Heathured of Whithorn. A date can be calculated for the third hand's entries, since several Southumbrian bishops were also added, including Herefrith of Winchester who died in 836 (no successor listed), and Ceolnoth who acceded to Canterbury in 833; i.e. the last group of additions took place 833x836. [172] The lists are likely to have been Mercian, and were originally created as part of a compilation that included royal genealogies for the major Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and royal lines.[173]

3.1.2 Continuation Lists

A large red flag should immediately be raised. In terms of ninth-century material, coverage of Lindisfarne (and York) ends too. This point is less obvious because Lindisfarne–Durham lists were produced after 1066, papering over this huge gap. Nonetheless, all pre-Norman episcopal lists for the Cuthbertine bishopric end in the early ninth century, at the same time as those of Hexham and Whithorn. The window on the ninth-century episcopate comes to an end when it does because of the survival of source material. No other explanation is necessary to account for the difference between Lindisfarne on the one hand, and Whithorn and Hexham on the other. It is possible of course that post-Conquest Cuthbertine lists come from reliable ninth- or tenth-century sources, but there is no explicit evidence that such sources existed or that their existence would require the non-existence of (subsequently-lost) lists for Hexham and Whithorn.

Indeed, where early Northumbrian continuations were made, namely the 833x836 continuations, these were in fact unknown to our later compilers. Derivative episcopal lists survive from the tenth century that continue Southumbrian bishops: BL Cotton Tiberius B v. (989x995), Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 173 (984x988) and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 183 (934x942). With the exception of York, no additional Northumbrian names were part of these pre-Conquest lists, a pattern explained by the political makeup of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom in the era (see chapter four). These and later Southumbrian continuators used a copy or exemplar ignorant of the 833x836 additions in CVB6, meaning that later writers dependent on these lists, such as William of Malmesbury and the writers of Anglo-Norman Durham, were unaware of the existence of the bishops added by CVB6's third hand (or indeed any other lost continuations elsewhere).[174] This happenstance fact has not only kept certain bishops (i.e. Eadmund of Lindisfarne) out of later Lindisfarne episcopal lists, it also tempted Anglo-Norman writers using such lists to speculate about why the Northumbrian names terminated *at least* one episcopate before they actually did terminate.[175]

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[172] *Ep. Lists*, III, 7–8 for the text of CVB6's Northumbrian lists; see ibid., 3, and Page, *Ep. Lists*, I–II, 73–76 for detailed discussion. Precise dates for Herefrith's death and for Ceolnoth's Canterbury succession are dependent on *ASC*.

[173] D. N., Dumville, 'The Anglian Collection of Royal Genealogies and Regnal Lists', *ASE* 5 (1976), 23–50, at 23–28.

3.1.3 Use of Episcopal Lists in Anglo-Norman Sources

With the exception of York, there does not appear to be any subsequent list covering the Northumbrian episcopate prior to the Norman Conquest. Neither is there any direct evidence of any attempt to compile one before the Anglo-Norman takeover of Durham. Perhaps surprisingly, no episcopal list is preserved from the Durham *Liber Vitae*'s early core. Instead, the highest ecclesiastical list is for the 'abbots of priestly rank' on folios 18v–19r. The *Liber Vitae* does contain a list of bishops of York, but this is only entered in the twelfth century in space following the aforementioned list of abbots (folio 19r).[176] It is not until the early twelfth century that we get our first Durham lists. These form two strands. The first is exemplified by the list in Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 157 [OCCC 157] composed c. 1114, probably from a slightly earlier base; the second are the Durham lists reworked by the Symeonic school, perhaps from a model similar to OCCC 157's.[177]

By the later eleventh century, Northumbria's pre–Viking-Age episcopate had, without doubt, shrunk at least through political contraction if not by mergers or other alterations (see chapter four). The episcopal lists upon which William of Malmesbury built his survey of historic English bishops had not continued to provide names for Hexham and

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[174] For a discussion of the relationship of CVB6 with the derived lists, see Page, *Ep. Lists*, I–II, 83–84, et passim.

[175] Egcred is known from a contemporary letter written to Wulfsige of York; for which see, D. Whitelock, 'Bishop Ecgred, Pehtred and Niall', in D. Whitelock et al. (eds), *Ireland in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1982), 47–68, at 48–50, and *EHD*, I, no. 214, at pp. 875–76.

[176] *DLV*, 97; see also E. Briggs, *Religion, Society, and Politics and the Durham Liber Vitae* (PhD dissertation, University of Leeds, 1987), 13–14.

[177] Rollason, *LDE*, 3, n. 4; cf. the lists in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 183, the early–tenth-century list terminating with Ecgberht (up-to-date for York until c. 840), as well as the tenth-century lists in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 173, fol. 55v, where a Durham list of the Symeonic kind was added in the era of Ranulf Flambard; for which see *Ep. Lists*, I–II, 76, 79, and *Ep. Lists*, III, 8–12, 22–23.

Whithorn beyond the early ninth century. William of Malmesbury attributed the disappearance of Whithorn to incursions of the Scots and ‘Picts’, and Hexham to the Danes. Such speculation made sense in William’s day, but no sense in the early ninth century, which had yet to see either Scots, Gall-Gaidel (*Picti* to twelfth-century Anglo-Norman writers), or even Scandinavians posing a large-scale independent threat to the Northumbrian realm.[178] If William had been reliant on our surviving tenth- or early–eleventh-century lists he might have been forced to come up with a similar theory for the Lindisfarne bishopric; the only difference is that in the later eleventh century Lindisfarne had an independent religious house claiming continuity, and which could produce an ‘updated’ episcopal list. Were it the case that the other bishoprics disappeared in the ninth century, it is almost certainly true to say that our evidence would be very similar and probably the same twelfth-century speculation would still exist; but this logic could be used to support all kinds of unfounded guesswork. As evidence that these bishoprics did disappear, it is very weak. The disappearance of two bishoprics in times of peace is not an intrinsically likely event; and, as it happens, there is other, more contemporary evidence that we can turn to.

3.1.4 Æthelstanian Charter Attestations

It is possible for modern historians to turn to charter evidence to test the Anglo-Norman theory. Unfortunately, if Northumbrian royal charters were ever issued in the Viking Age, none survive; fortunately West Saxon charters survive in considerable number: following the death of Sigtrygg Cáech in 927, King Æthelstan was able to assert some authority over the former’s realm. Soon after the West Saxon takeover individuals from Northumbria begin attesting royal grants. Back in the reign of Edward the Elder only West Saxon bishops subscribed surviving charters, but from 928 bishops from further north appear. This coincides with the appearance of northern *duces* in the same charters. Æthelstan’s takeover gives the first contemporary window on the Northumbrian episcopate since the 830s.

Three bishops from non-Ecberhting areas appear in the charters of 928: Hrothweard, Buga, and Æscbyrht (in that order).[179] The first is easy enough to identify as an archbishop of York, but the other two cannot be accounted for in any surviving episcopal lists or annal obits; and bishops, like ealdormen, are rarely assigned provinces of jurisdiction in charter subscriptions. Buga never re-appears after 928, but Æscbyrht witnesses until 935, when this new group of bishops and *duces* as a whole cease witnessing Æthelstan's charters. Buga (fl. 928) and Æscbyrht (fl. 928–935) are not the only unaccounted for bishops. The others are Colmán (fl. 929), Earnwulf (fl. 929), Eadweard (fl. 930–32), Benedict (fl. 931), Cynesige (fl. 931–942), Wulfhelm (931–35), *Mancant* (fl. 932), Seaxhelm (fl. 934–935), and Ælfred (fl. 934).[180] Most of these personal names suggest English ethnicity, but without more evidence assigning them specific dioceses is impossible. Due to overlap, it is clear that Æscbyrht (a York suffragan, see below), Cynesige, and Wulfhelm must have separate sees; by the inverse of the same logic, Eadweard may or may not have been the predecessor of Seaxhelm.[181] In 934 *at least* five different northern (or otherwise uncertainly accounted for) episcopal offices appear to be attested: Wigred (fl. 928–35), a name in Durham episcopal lists (see Appendix I.a), and four other unaccounted English bishops (not counting *Mancant*, probably Welsh Maucant).[182] The intriguing point is that these contemporary attestations suggest that in the 930s there were still Northumbrian bishops other than those holding Lindisfarne and York. These subscriptions give us our first contemporary window on the Northumbrian episcopate since the near-simultaneous ending of the Northumbrian annals and episcopal lists in the early ninth century. The one point that is relatively clear is that there are too many bishops to verify Anglo-Norman claims about the disappearance of Hexham and Whithorn.

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[178] *GPA*, I, 388–91: iii.118.

[179] *Sawyer*, no. 400 (cf. Ibid., no. 399); Keynes, *Atlas*, table XXXVII.

Sceptics desiring to defend the credibility of Anglo-Norman–era literary sources could probably explain many of these bishops away to each other, as Southumbrian *chorepiscopi*, or visiting foreigners; but any such scepticism should be made less attractive by one specific document. A genuine witness list from a charter in the Worcester archive, Sawyer 401, has Archbishop Hrothweard of York appears alongside four bishops explicitly stated to be his suffragans: *Rodeward quoque archipræsul cum Eboracensis suffraganeis . Æscber'h'to . Wigredo . Earnulfo . Columbano . consignauit.*[183] While it is possible they were diocese-less assistant bishops to the archbishop, this is not particularly likely and indeed the third-ranked Wigred's appearance in later Durham episcopal lists suggests that this is not the explanation. Very conveniently, there are enough empty bishoprics to account for Lindisfarne, Hexham and Whithorn, plus one other bishopric.[184]

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[180] *Sawyer*, nos 379, 400, 401, 403, 405, 407, 412, 413, 416, 417, 418a, 422, 423, 425, 427, 434; Keynes, *Atlas*, table XXXVII.

[181] *Sawyer*, no. 413; cf. no. 418a.

[182] *Sawyer*, no. 425.

[183] *Sawyer*, no. 401; cf. the consecutive appearance of the four non-Wessex bishops Cynesige, Wigred, Seaxhelm, and Æscberht in *Sawyer*, no. 425. *Sawyer* 401 has been interfered with in the eleventh century, but since most of the witness list corresponds well with similar charters from other archives, tampering probably did not extend to the witness list; for sceptical treatment of the complete charter's authenticity, see D. N.

3.1.5 After Æthelstan

There is a great scarcity in the evidence after Æthelstan, meaning that even bishops whose names are assigned to this era by post-Conquest Durham sources are not attested. This may relate to the growing distance with Winchester following the elimination of the Uí Ímair as a threat; or perhaps the peripheralization of the Northumbrian political community vis-à-vis their king, as Northumbria (or York at least) was reduced from an independent kingdom in a 'dual monarchy' to an outlying extension of the expanded Anglo-Saxon kingdom. There are not enough 'extra' bishops in attendance at any one point later in the century to suggest strongly that the Northumbrian episcopate retained its 'classical' structure.[185] One Bishop Cynesige continues to witness Edmund's charters, despite the absence of allegedly proto-Durham bishops (i.e. names from the Anglo-Norman-Durham list) during Edmund's reign, and may come from Northumbria or the southern Danelaw.[186] Another, Bishop Leofric, witnesses a 958 charter, potentially significant because this charter is also witnessed by Bishop Ealdred, a rare appearance from the proto-Durham lists.[187] A Bishop Ælfstan precedes Bishop Ealdhun in the latter's only charter appearance of 1009, and also occurs two years later without Ealdhun; it has been suggested he was bishop of Lindsey.[188] Charter evidence later in the century does not then demonstrate continuity of the episcopate after Æthelstan's Northumbrian reign, and so could be read to suggest a 'merger' at this point. York's place in a dual-episcopate with Worcester raises the possibility of parallels involving other Northumbrian sees. The reduction in Northumbria's episcopate must happen at some stage after the 930s, however the above evidence alone does not offer any more specific

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Dumville, *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar* (Woodbridge, 1992), 168, n. 182, and L. Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury* (Woodbridge, 1996), 50–51.

[184] Alex Woolf, pers. comm., has suggested that this might be Mayo. For the eighth-century Irish house of Mayo and its Northumbrian bishops, some of whom appear in Northumbrian annals, see V. Orschel, 'Mag nEó na Sacsan', *Peritia* 15 (2001), 81–107.

[185] Keynes, *Atlas*, tables XLI, XLIV, XLVIII, LIV, LVIII, LX.

[186] Cynesige may have later become bishop of Lichfield; he occurs simultaneously with other earlier bishops of Lichfield, but may have been translated to Lichfield from the earlier see or taken a dual episcopate; see *Sawyer*, nos 449, 1497, Keynes, *Atlas*, table XLI.

[187] *Sawyer*, no. 675.

[188] *Sawyer*, nos 922, 924; Keynes, *Diplomas*, 264; Keynes, *Atlas*, table LXb.

chronology. It would be safer to response to the lack of evidence for the remainder of the tenth century by leaving the question open.

3.2 Durham and the Viking-Age episcopate

When it comes to the Church of Viking-Age Northumbria, the bishopric of Durham and its predecessors have become central. Underlying this is the importance of the Cuthbertine shrine as a major English cult, itself independently well-attested in the Viking Age.[189] We are also reliant on Anglo-Norman Durham because of its role in evidence production, either directly through texts created there or indirectly because these creations shaped accounts elsewhere. From the literary sources produced at Durham and elsewhere in England in the decades around 1100 the modern picture of this portion of the Viking-Age Northumbrian episcopate has been reconstructed. Not only does the Anglo-Norman 'treasure' of evidence tell us, as we have seen, that the classical Northumbrian episcopate was destroyed in the ninth century; it also, very specifically, relates the fate of the north-eastern, Bernician diocese.

The story is familiar to most people interested in medieval England. Exiled from Lindisfarne, after seven years of wandering, seven guardians of the body of Cuthbert driven from Lindisfarne are able to found a new church at *Cuncacestre*, Chester-le-Street. The Cuthbertine establishment and their relics were to remain at Chester-le-Street until the beginning of the new Viking Age, when the saintly figure decided to relocate once again, this time to a hill on the river Wear that came to be known as Durham. Although the more sceptical of modern historians have doubted the story's religious and supernatural elements, the account has basically been accepted in full, with few exceptions.[190] One was David Dumville who in 1987 expressed caution about the usefulness of this material, even though he did not attempt a full study.[191] Another was Woolf, who did not think much of the Anglo-Norman evidence and was prepared to mine it for incidental detail to suggest other possibilities, such as a unified Bernician see at Carlisle.[192]

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[189] M. Gretsch*, Ælfric and the Cult of Saints in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 2005), 65–126.
[190] E.g. Stenton, *ASE*, 433–34; Rollason, *Northumbria*, 244–49; Hadley, *Vikings in England*, 37–41.
[191] Dumville, 'Textual Archaeology', 43–55.
[192] Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 81–85.

3.2.1 Durham Episcopal Lists

Literary evidence for the Viking-Age bishops of St Cuthbert is not extensive. In addition to charter evidence, we also have a number of post-Conquest episcopal lists as well as annal compilations containing episcopal obits. As hinted above, a number of bishops found as witnesses in tenth-century charters have names which occur in twelfth-century Durham episcopal lists: Wigred (fl. 929–934), Ealdred (fl. 949–959), Ælfsige (fl. 970), and possibly Seaxhelm (fl. 934–935), whose name occurs in the lists but whose charter floruit overlaps with Wigred's and whose appearances are too early to confirm his dates in the Anglo-Norman sources. Ignoring the overlap, it is a correspondence that could suggest some truth to the Durham lists, and thus that the Anglo-Norman tradition as a whole, at least post-900, might have some credibility.[193]

Surviving Anglo-Norman episcopal lists generally give a consistent succession from Eardwulf onwards (see Appendix I.a). They are also consistent for the period before Bishop Ecgberht (or at least before Higbald) when, verifiably, they are able to draw on the early–ninth-century list(s) and on an independent chronicle. Distinct however is the treatment of the bishops intervening between Ecgberht and Eardwulf; the difference allows Anglo-Norman lists to be divided up into two groups.[194] The first group does not mention any intervening bishops, and Ecgberht is simply followed by Eardwulf. The group includes William of Malmesbury and (his source) the early–twelfth-century episcopal lists in OCCC 157.[195] The other group of episcopal lists, those produced from Durham in the time of Symeon and Bishop Ranulf Flambard, have three bishops inserted between Ecgberht and Eardwulf: Heathored, Ecgred, and Eanberht.[196] Although neither group of lists is obviously early, the Worcester–Malmesbury tradition is very likely to predate the Symeonic one. The compiler of the former presumably got his Durham episcopal list from Durham, and had no obvious reason to go out of his way to remove bishops already present. The lists as a whole are about England, they are not particularly interested in Durham. The Symeonic compilers on the other hand had a much more substantial as well as ongoing interest in the history of Durham. In the era of Symeon they were engaged in 'historical research' to construct a fuller account of the church's history, a process culminating in *Libellus de Exordio*.

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[193] Keynes, *Atlas*, tables XXXVII, XLIV, LIV; Sawyer, nos. 407, 412, 413, 416, 417, 418a, 425, 434, 544, 549, 550, 679, 675, 681, 781; the overlapping charter is no. 425 from the Canterbury archive, dated 28 May 934, where he occurs between Wigred and Æscbyrht. In no. 436 Sexhelm is styled *Sexhelm Sancti Cuthberhti*, but this appears to be twelfth century in origin.

[194] The outlines of this distinction are recognized by Rollason, *LDE*, 3, n. 4.

[195] *GPA*, 410–11: iii.140.5; OCCC 157, p. 45.

[196] For these lists, Rollason, *LDE*, 4–5, *DPSA*, 381, Meehan, *HWSD*, 136 (Liège University MS 369C fol. 94r in facsimile), and R. Sharpe, 'Symeon as Pamphleteer', in *Symeon of Durham*, 214–29, at 229. The last, a historical miscellany relating to Lindisfarne, Hexham and Durham preserved in York Minster Library, MS XVI.I.12, was dismissed by Craster as 'a short chronicle … from 625 to 847' of 'no historical value' (Craster, 'Red Book', 507); Sharpe has shown it to have been put together in the reign of Henry I, with its own value in understanding the formation of Durham's contemporary historical pretensions (Sharpe, ibid., 216–17). The 'chronicle' ends with lists of bishops of York and of Lindisfarne, and with the latter ending in the Heathured-Ecgred-Eanberht combination present in other Symeonic texts.

3.2.2 Symeonic List and the Annals

The Symeonic lists later spread south, and even in the Worcester tradition displaced their earlier list. In the annals attributed to John of Worcester, *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, the earliest version of which follows the OCCC 157 episcopal lists, previously absent notices of Cuthbertine bishops were added interlineally or into the margins (see below): these notices follow the new Symeonic construction and include Heathored, Ecgred, and Eanberht.[197] The base of *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, or at least the lists preceding it, was probably in existence c. 1114, but the Symeonic-derived additions were made 1128x1140.[198] There is no positive evidence that the source of either list predates the later eleventh century, but that does not entitle us to rule out an earlier source; the absence of transmission evidence could simply be a casualty of source preservation. However, given that all of these lists, from both groups, omit Bishop Eadmund and that one omits Ecgred (the only ninth-century bishops attested, after Ecgberht, in contemporary or even Viking-Age sources), the dependability of such transmission is likely to be limited. It is also likely that both William of Malmesbury and Symeon of Durham invested effort to secure earlier information, but despite this did not correct their omission.

Hope to rectify the situation might be sought in other sources, particularly in contemporary annals like some of those in the *ASC* tradition. Unfortunately the *ASC* annals are of no positive help. Nothing in the 'northern recension' is informative about the Cuthbertine bishopric after the beginning of the ninth century. Neither the annalist(s) working on DE in the 1020s, nor the annalist at mid-century adding to D, were able to retrieve obits and notices of non-York Northumbrian bishops after the early ninth century, though using a version of the apparently lost 'Northern Annals' they did provide bishops as far as Ecgberht of Lindisfarne, Eanberht of Hexham, and Beadwulf of Whithorn.[199] Whoever incorporated these entries, probably in the early-to-mid eleventh century (D and E are common until this era), subsequent episcopal notices were apparently not found in any annalistic source, even though such notices had clearly been sought by this person. No continuator could do any better. The next Northumbrian bishop in *ASC* (other than York) is bishop Æthelric of Durham for 1056! *ASC* tradition firmly denies contemporary verification to both the Symeonic tradition and more generally to the Anglo-Norman narrative about the Viking-Age Northumbrian episcopate. Since the author of D and E at some stage probably had access to the source of the *Chronicle of 957*, it is unlikely that names of these bishops were in any accessible source that survived the Viking Age.

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[197] OCCC 157, pp. 280, 282, 284, 285, 286, 304, 307, 309, 311, 314, 316, 328, 335; printed *JW*, II, 230–31, 240–41, 246–47 (and n. 6), 260–61, 268–69, 352–53, 372–73, 386–87, 398–99, 418–19, 438–39, 506–07, 544–47.

[198] Darlington and McGurk, *JW*, II, xxxiv–xxxv.

3.2.3 Eardwulf and Chester-le-Street

Historical writing produced at Durham from the first quarter of the twelfth century highlights Eardwulf as the bishop responsible for abandoning Lindisfarne. In the time of King Ælfred, so we are to believe, Eardwulf, in the face of Scandinavian incursions, fled Lindisfarne with Cuthbert's body. *Libellus de Exordio* supplies the fullest version of this tale, the 'Flight of Eardwulf'; but components of the tale are contained in *Annales Lindisfarnenses et Dunelmenses, Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, with interpolations and marginal additions in *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, and derivative post-*Libellus* annalistic sources.[200] The version in *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* (see Appendix III.d) was the source of the *Libellus*' account. Earlier in the compilation, the *Historia* discussed another tale, the 'Donation of Guthred' (see Appendix III.c), where Abbot Eadred frees Guthred from slavery, raises him to the kingship of the army over the Tyne, and is rewards with land in the northern Danelaw. The *Historia's* version of the 'Donation' is related to that in *Cronica Monasterii Dunelmensis*, but the latter does not mention the move to Chester-le-Street nor does it mention Eardwulf. Indeed, the *Cronica* has no knowledge of any bishop prior to the eleventh-century Bishop Eadmund [II]. If the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* account postdates that of the *Cronica*, Abbot Eadred's name has been added to the episode as part of the *Historia* compiler's synchronization of the two episodes. In the *Historia* version of the 'Donation', Eardwulf is inserted into the narrative, bringing the body of Cuthbert onto the coronation mound and marginalizing the abbot's role in securing Guthred's agreement to the 'Law of Cuthbert'. The omissions and differences could be read to suggest that the *Cronica* antedated the 'complete' *Historia* compilation, or at least borrowed from it at a time when the information it contained about Eardwulf was worth, for some reason, omitting. In either case, *Cronica Monasterii Dunelmensis* is witness to a period before the Symeonic rewritings crystalized the Durham bishopric's view of its past.

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[199] Dumville, 'Textual Archaeology', 48–49; for the 'Northern Annals' and their extant witnesses, see J. E. Story, *The Influence of Francia on Northumbrian Politics* (PhD dissertation, University of Durham, 1995), 80–93.

[200] *HSC*, 52–53: c.13, 58–59:c. 19–20; *ALD*, 485.

3.2.4 Pre-Symeonic Cuthbertine Chronology

This brings us to the important question of how the Norman establishment at Durham managed to work out a chronology for the see's past. The Symeonic chronology, first attested in *Annales Lindisfarnenses et Dunelmenses* and fully developed in *Libellus de Exordio,* brings together a basic framework for Southumbrian English and European history, deaths of emperors and English kings and some related events, and synchronizes these with dates of importance to Anglo-Norman Durham. The latter events, chiefly, are the deaths and accessions of bishops, and the translation of relics. Within its chronology, three Durham-specific synchronizations are introduced. Firstly, Bishop Eardwulf removes Cuthbert's body from Lindisfarne in 875. The synchronization for this event was probably influenced by existing material (e.g. *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, and *ASC* s.a. 875) relating to Halfdan's arrival on the Tyne in that year. Secondly, in 883 the body settles at Chester-le-Street, a synchronization explicitly based on the belief that the body travelled for seven years. Thirdly, in 995 Bishop Ealdhun removed the body from Chester-le-Street and took it to Durham.

This chronology of Durham's past was innovative. That, at least, is what several tracts produced in the early Anglo-Norman years suggest. *De Obsessione Dunelmi* is a text that cannot have been finished before 1073, but may have been finished not long afterwards. It recounts a siege of Durham dated to 969. The narrated event is very likely to be a historical one, or at least its synchronization of King Æthelred of England, Earl Uhtred, and Máel-Coluim mac Cináeda is possible; but successful dating seems to be impossible. *De Obsessione Dunelmi*'s belief that there was a bishopric at Durham in 969 reveals that the author of this text did not have the Symeonic chronology available to him.[201] On first instinct, that may look like a one-off error. However, another text completed in this era indicates the same ‘ignorance’. *Cronica Monasterii Dunelmensis* again, probably completed during the reign of William the Conqueror, noted that King Edmund (†946) had come north to suppress Scottish incursions soon after his accession (939). On his way he stopped off at Durham (*Dunelmum*), at the ‘church of the mother of God Mary and the holy confessor Cuthbert’, paid his respects to the body and made some donations (…*cum ipse quoque Scotorum pertinaciam, qua regni sui partes infestabant, reprimere cum exercitu properaret, ad ecclesiam sancte Dei genitricis Marie et sancti confessoris Cuthberti cum multiplicibus et preciosis, ut regem decebat, muneribus, Dunelmum uenit, et humiliter ante sanctissimi corporis sepulcrum genibus incuruatis, armillas duas et ipse a brachio suo extrahens*).[202] Assuming it is possible to distinguish the ‘original’ text from ‘improvements’ made by Wessington (or any earlier intermediary), the text has awareness that the see had once been at Lindisfarne, but has no chronology for the body’s movement and assumes that Durham was the site of the cult in the tenth century.[203] This understanding fits with the same text’s omission of the ‘Flight of Eardwulf’, and that could further suggest that early Anglo-Norman Durham writers simply did not ‘know’ about Chester-le-Street until further ‘investigation’ by Symeon or a colleague. Finally, and much less authoritatively, another tract of the era, *Descriptio Status Ecclesie Lindisfarnensis et Dunelmi*, mentions Eardwulf moving the body of Cuthbert from Lindisfarne, but there is no suggestion that the body went anywhere but Durham. The tract may date to 1083 and the episcopate of William de St Calais, when it ends; but a later date is plausible, and it would be possible anyway that the omission was an editorial one of concision rather than ‘ignorance’.[204]

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[201] *DOD*, 215.

3.2.5 Origins of the Eardwulf Narrative

In Durham-specific writing subsequent to *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, the ‘Flight of Eardwulf’ is arranged to be a reaction to the coming of Halfdan and Ubba. With the exception of their earliest witness *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, the national Anglo-Latin annals (i.e. *Historia Regum 1* and *Historia Regum 2, Roger of Wendover*, Roger of Howden’s *Chronica* etc) share a very similar entry on the Eardwulf episode placed s.a. 875, leaving no doubt that the source is common.[205] The entry is built into a Latin translation of the equivalent year’s entry in *ASC*; i.e. it is sandwiched between the notice of Halfdan and a list of Norse leaders said to have wintered at Cambridge, and can thus without much doubt be regarded as a subsequent ‘interpolation’. Another ‘interpolation’ added s.a*.* 883 indicates that the wandering had ended and that the bishopric was relocated to Chester-le-Street.[206] Most of these later versions of the account include Bishop Eardwulf and have a synchronization with King Ælfred of Wessex. Most of them say that the body was moved to Chester-le-Street after many years of wandering, in most cases the figure being seven years.[207] For *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, it does not occur in this form; instead, a scribe writing sometime between 1128 and 1140 (or soon after) added a marginal note s.a. 995 summarizing the account about Bishop Eardwulf and the flight to Chester-le-Street, noting that the body remained there until moved to Durham in the time of King Æthelred.[208] The nature of the *notitiae* added to *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, which mirror that of other Durham-derived additions, probably rules out the episode’s inclusion in any pre–twelfth-century annals ancestral to surviving ones.

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[202] *CMD*, 526.
[203] *CMD*, 528, line 189.
[204] *Descriptio*, 258–65; for discussion of this tract, see Rollason, *LDE*, pp. lxvi–lxvii, who suggests a later date, but on fairly casual grounds.
[205] *HR1*, 214–15 (*Sym. Op.*, II, 82), *HR2*, 110; *RHC*, I, 42; *RW*, I, 326.

The *Chronicon ex Chronicis* annals are the only guide we have to the pre-Symeonic content of *Historia Regum 2*. Fortunately (as far as ambiguity is concerned) all of the Durham episcopal obits are demonstrably additions postdating the ‘completion’ of the chronicle by John of Worcester. By c. 1140, the same hand that added the Eardwulf episode on the margins of s.a. 995 also added obits and successions for bishops of Lindisfarne at 802, 819, 828, 845, 854, 900, 915, 928, 944, 968, 990, 1020 and 1048, almost certainly using *Libellus de Exordio*.[209] Most of these are added in spare space at the end of the year’s events, but also in the margins (as at 802, 928, 944 and 1020).[210] The new scribe’s dates are similar to those in the *Libellus* (and in the *Annales Lindisfarnenses et Dunelmenses*), with some variations, as McGurk argues, to ‘correct’ the dating inconsistencies evident in the

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[206] *HR1*, 222–23 (*Sym. Op.*, II, 86), *HR2*, 114; *RHC*, I, 44–45; *RW*, I, 335–36.

[207] The exception is *Historia Regum 1,* which says nine (ix) years, though an interlineation was added to the manuscript correcting the original scribe’s number to seven (vii); for which see CCCC 139, 72v; Meehan, *HWSD*, 195 (for 74v).

[208] Darlington and McGurk, *JW*, II, pp. xxviii–xxxv; marginal entry is on the left at OCCC 157, 318, printed ibid., 444–47, with the scribe identified at ibid., 447, n. 1.

[209] Darlington and McGurk, *JW*, II, pp. xxxv, lxx.

[210] OCCC 157, pp. 280, 282, 284, 285, 286, 304, 307, 309, 311, 314, 316, 328, 335; printed *JW*, II, 230–31, 240–41, 246–47 (and n. 6), 260–61, 268–69, 352–53, 372–73, 386–87, 398–99, 418–19, 438–39, 506–07, 544–47; Brett, ‘John of Worcester’, 121, n. 3.

Libellus.[211] This means we can be almost certain that the non-Symeonic source of *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, and thus *Historia Regum 2*, lacked both the Eardwulf entries and the Cuthbertine obits.

One cannot rule out the possibility that the ‘Flight of Eardwulf’, the migration of the bishop with the body of Cuthbert to Chester-le-Street, comes from an early textual source; but there is no confirmation of this from demonstrably early sources; because of this, its reliability should be subject to question. It is more likely that the Eardwulf story originated in an oral source, perhaps via a lost late written source, or a combination of an oral source and written source. Its origin can perhaps be sought in the group whom it specifically served; the latter can be deduced from the other ‘incidental’ detail. *Libellus de Exordio* is clear about the story’s central importance to regional stakeholders claiming an inherited right to attend the body of Cuthbert. These men, whom we can call *personae* (following conveniently ambiguous contemporary usage),[212] appear to have claimed descent from men who themselves, legend had it, personally guided the body of Cuthbert on its seven year adventure from Lindisfarne to Chester-le-Street. *Libellus de Exordio* mentions four of them, Hunred, Franco, Sitheard, and Eadmund.[213] The *Libellus* further provides a genealogy from two of them, Hunred and Franco. Hemming priest of Brancepeth and his brother Wulfkill priest of Sedgefield are said to descend through their mother from Hunred *Cretel*. An Ælfred son of Alchmund the priest is said to descend through his grandmother from Franco.[214] The seven-year exile and supernaturally-guided foundation ancestors all point to an oral legend functioning as a ‘charter myth’, a term derived from the ‘sociological charter’ analogy employed by the renowned Anglo-Polish anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski for such oral–historical legitimization traditions.[215] Although debating whether or not the tale is literally true would be pointless, nonetheless its use is very important. It was one of the myths

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[211] *JW*, II, 387, and n. 10, where this appears to have happened for Tilred; *Libellus de Exordio* gives an accession of 915 and an episcopate of 13 years and three months, but places his death 925.

[212] *FA-Aug.*, 602, 608, n. 336.

[213] *LDE*, 116–17: ii.12.

[214] *LDE*, 146–49: iii.1.

[215] B. Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion* (Boston, 1948), 79–124; a good discussion of how ‘history’ works in this context can be found in M. Herzfeld, *Anthropology* (Malden, 2001), 55–89; two examples cited by Herzfeld, the ‘Law of 1898’ reorganising landholdings unfavourably for Andean peasants later coming to be attributed by the latter to Columbus, and the Scottish songs conflating Bannockburn and Culloden (ibid., 57), illustrate how such oral histories will naturally form and reform even in societies where extensive historical records are accessible and where a higher number of relevant ‘experts’ are theoretically available.

Historia de Sancto Cuthberto and its successors regarded as core to Durham's corporate story prior to the institution of Jarrow Benedictines as the religious house's chief stakeholders.[216]

The story if not provided by the *personae* themselves at least suited their interests. *Libellus de Exordio* may be referring to the process when he described the efforts of William de St Calais to reverse the decline of the Cuthbertine house from its ancient heights:

> Deum et sanctum Cuthbertum sedulo et suppliciter rogauit, ut sibi ad emendandum que minus conuenientia uiderat, consulendo succurrerent, et succurrendo perficerent. Igitur senes et prudentiores totius episcopii homines qualiter in initio apud sanctum ageretur Cuthbertum ab illo exquisiti, sedem illius episcopalem in insula Lindisfarnensi fuisse, monachosque tam uiuo quam ibidem sepulto uenerabiliter seruisse responderunt, quorum quoque assertioni uite illius libellus et *Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* concordat *Hystoria*. Longo dehinc tempore transacto, crudelis barbarorum manus non hunc solum (ut supra dictum est) sed et alia circunquaque loca uastantes…His ergo perceptis, pristinum ad illius sacrum corpus restaurare pertractans seruitium…
>
> 'He humbly and sedulously beseeched God and St Cuthbert that they should aid him with their counsel as to how to put right what he saw to be quite unsuitable, and that they should also aid him to carry this through. So he asked the older and wiser men of the whole bishopric how matters had been arranged in the time of St Cuthbert, when the church was founded, and they replied that his episcopal see had been on the island of Lindisfarne, and that monks had reverently served him there both while he was alive and when he was in his grave. What they asserted tallied with the little book about his life and with the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. A long time after this a host of cruel barbarians had devastated not only Lindisfarne (as was said above) but also the other places round about … When the bishop had learned all this, he considered in his mind how to restore to the saint's sacred body the service which it had formerly enjoyed...' [217]

If the 'Flight of Eardwulf' is oral in origin, its repetition in literary works written by colonial French ecclesiastics in the twelfth century cannot be regarded as adding to its authority. Indeed, the synchronization of Eardwulf and the time of Halfdan and Guthred would not be reliable either—no more so than *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*'s synchronization of Cuthbert with the Viking Age (or that of the 'St Andrews Foundation Legend B' in relation to King Æthelstan, the Emperor Constantius, and St Andrew!).[218] There are several specific clues that the synchronization of the 'Flight of Eardwulf' is not reliable, though unsurprisingly they are far from being conclusive.

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[216] *FAB* has a similar legend relating to the flight of Bishop Riagal (*Regulus*) with the relics of St Andrew. Here the king, Óengus, plays the role of Guthred. Riagal and his followers, landing at Mucc-ros (subsequently called Cellríghmonaid), build seven churches, including one to St Riagal (at St Andrews), Óenglas (written *Aneglas*, church uncertain), Mary, Damian, Brigid and Muirren. A larger number of companions of Riagal are also named, but the seven churches like the seven companions of Eardwulf narrativize the corporate structure of a Viking-Age monastery or monastic *familia*; according to the Augustinian account, there were seven personae at St Andrews c. 1140, for which see *FA-Aug.*, 602, 608.

[217] *LDE,* 226–27: iv.2.

Reginald of Durham indicates that another of the bearers of the body, taking the anachronistically-Scandinavian name *Eilaf*, was caught stealing cheese and transformed into a fox. Though Cuthbert returned him to human form, Eilaf's descendants retained the name *Tod*, translated *uulpecula* ('little fox').[219] Eilaf's kin, Reginald claims, became holders of Bedlington (one of Durham's exclaves in County Northumberland) by hereditary right,[220] and indeed one Eilaf is recorded as 'of Bedlington' in a purported charter of 1085.[221] The rationalizing assumption would be that the latter Eilaf and the ancestor were distinct people, but by Reginald's time in the later twelfth century the eleventh-century Eilaf could have been far back enough to merge with the ninth century as part of the vaguer 'deep past'.[222] Reginald's claims are not the Symeonic ones of course. Nonetheless, if *Libellus de Exordio*'s attempts to fit genealogies across the Viking Age appear plausible, it should be noted that even he has left suspicious detail: a doubled-up genealogy for a *persona's* ancestors, as Hunred-Eadwulf-Eadred-Collan-Eadred-Collan, is the kind of thing that would have been more plausible in Symeon's world than that of the modern specialist of Anglo-Saxon naming practices; similarly, the 210-year life-span given to the Riggulf (grandson of companion Franco), said to have been part of the move to Durham from Chester-le-Street, would have been more plausible to the early–twelfth-century monk familiar with the ages assigned to early biblical figures than to a modern scientist exhaustively familiar with the limits of human ageing. Not only, then, should we be sceptical of the event's synchronization with the eras of Guthred, Abbot Eadred, and King Ælfred, we should be sceptical about assigning it any particular era beyond the wide 'pre-Norman' category. It is far from obvious that there is enough 'vestigial historical fact' for it to have any value for our knowledge of the Viking-Age Northumbrian episcopate, but even if we took the 'Flight of Eardwulf' episode as historical it still would not show that it happened in the ninth century.

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[218] *FAB*, 567–68, 576–77.

[219] *Cuth. Virt.*, 27–28; for the etymology of the name, see *DLV*, ɪɪ, 219.

[220] *Cuth. Virt.*, 29; cf. W. H. D Longstaffe., 'The Hereditary Sacerdotage of Hexham', *AA*, 2nd Ser., 4 (1860), 11–28, at 13–14.

[221] *DEC,* no. 5; cf. *Fasti Dunelm.*, 187.

[222] Cf. Herzfeld, ibid., 57, with the late–nineteenth-century 'Columbus' as the origantor of all oppressive social order among late–twentieth-century Andean peasants,

3.3 Cuthbert at Ubbanford

Fortunately, not all surviving evidence is filtered through the Symeonic school. A number of sources, including some used by Symeon, suggest a different history for the body of Cuthbert in the Viking Age. There are at least four sources which put the body of Cuthbert at *Ubbanford* (or Norham) in the tenth century, prior to its relocation at Durham. At least two of them, and perhaps three, are independent of each other.

3.3.1 *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*

The first is William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, completed by 1125 but compiled in preceding years from pre-existing episcopal lists and miscellaneous other sources, including pre-Symeonic or undeveloped Symeonic material. According to William, the bodies of the Lindisfarne saints were moved to the mainland because of the ravaging of the Danes [in the ninth century]; there was an attempt to move St Cuthbert to Ireland, but instead the body was taken to *Ubbanford …iuxta amnem Twda*, where it lay until the time of King Æthelred (reigned 978–1016). William goes on to say that 'in the interval', between the body's removal and the reign of Æthelred, Cuthbert had performed miracles all over England, specifically recounting one concerning Ælfred the Great (iii.129). William's awareness of the bishops of this period is drawn predominantly, if not entirely, from an episcopal list close if not identical to OCCC 157: after an account of Hygbald and of Ælfred the Great's interaction with St Cuthbert, William proceeds very rapidly to the eleventh-century bishop, Eadmund, with only a list of names in the intervening space (*Egbert*, *Erdulf*, *Cutheard*, *Milred* [sic], *Wihtred*, *Uhtred*, *Sexhel*m, *Ealdredus*, *Assius* [Ælfsige], *Aldhun*); it is Bishop Eadmund and not Ealdhun who moved the body to Durham.[223]

3.3.2 *Vita S. Oswaldi* and *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*

Another witness to this belief is the later–twelfth-century *Vita S. Oswaldi Regis*, sometimes attributed to Reginald of Durham. The work as a whole is not significant, but the *vita* rather than being a fluid hagiography is instead a series of edited extracts from earlier writers relating to the life, death, and relics of its saint.[224] One of these extracts, which we can call the ‘Norham Account’, concerned the movement of Oswald’s head (which accompanied Cuthbert) from Lindisfarne to Norham:

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[223] *GPA*, I, 408–13: iii.130.5.

> [A]nno ab incarnatione Domini octigentesimo octogesimo quarto, ecclesiam quandam olim factam a beato Aidano tempore sancti Oswaldi regis, de Lindisfarnensi insula ad Northam, quae antiquitus Ubbanforde dicebatur, transtulit. Aedificata ibi ecclesia in honore sanctorum Petri et Pauli, corpus Sancti Cuthberti et sancti Ceowlfi regis corpus illuc transtulit, et in eorum nomine ecclesiam dedicavit.
>
> ‘In the year of the Lord’s incarnation 884, [Bishop Ecgred] transported a certain church (originally established by the beatified Aidan in the time of St Oswald the king) from the isle of Lindisfarne to Norham, which of old was called Ubbanford. A church built there in honour of the saints Peter and Paul, he transported thither the body of St Cuthbert and the body of St Ceolwulf the king, and dedicated the church in their name.’[225]

Because of reliance on Symeonic tradition, Bishop Ecgred is not normally placed far into the second half of the ninth century—though there is no reason to end his episcopate earlier; the author has a synchronization that is plausible, that is not obviously invented by the compiler of the hagiography, and that goes against the Symeonic narrative created previously in the century. When combined together these might discourage the view that the otherwise rather clumsy author composed it himself. That is not to say that there was not an intermediate source that confused matters or invented the synchronization, and there is no obvious reason to date the extract prior to the Norman Conquest.

The third source is *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* itself. Verbal similarities show that this is another version of the ‘Norham Account’, dependent on the source used by *Vita S. Oswaldi Regis*:

> Hoc tempore obiit sanctus Cuthbertus et successit Ezred episcopus, qui transportauit quondam ecclesiam olim factam a beato Aidano tempore Osuualdi regis de Lindisfarnensi insula ad Northam, ibique eam reedificauit et illuc corpus sancti Cuthberti et Ceolwulfi regis transtulit…

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[224] *VSOR*, 326–85, though this printed version is missing about half its content, mostly extracts from Bede omitted by Arnold for that reason; for discussion, see V. Tudor, ‘Reginald’s *Life of Oswald*’, in C. Stancliffe and E. Cambridge (eds), *Oswald* (Stamford, 1996), 178–94.

[225] *VSOR*, 361.

> ‘At this time the saintly Cuthbert died and was succeeded by bishop Ecgred, who transported the former church, originally built by beatified Aidan in the time of King Oswald, from the isle of Lindisfarne to Norham and there rebuilt it, and translated thither the body of St Cuthbert and of King Ceolwulf’.[226]

The author or compiler of the *Historia* arranged the ‘Norham Account’ to fall *before* Halfdan and the move to Chester-le-Street, but only if you believe the compiler to have been the author does that matter. Accepting *Historia* at face value, it could be posited that Cuthbert’s body lay at Norham for a period in the early-to-mid ninth century until the era of Halfdan, when it was moved to Chester-le-Street. This interpretation has problems, not least of which is that the *Historia* says that the bishopric was moved from Lindisfarne (i.e. not Norham) to Chester-le-Street. This raises a strong possibility that the ‘Norham Account’ and the standard version of the ‘Flight of Eardwulf’ arose from parallel, contradictory explanations in origin, which the compiler of the *Historia* made an effort to reconcile but failed to disguise.

There is however a final oddity. William of Malmebury explicitly names no bishop in relation to the move from Lindisfarne to Ubbanford, but implies that it was Higbald (whose reproduced letter from Alcuin spoke of Viking attacks). Ecgred is unknown to William or his episcopal lists. This probably means that William did not have access to the ‘Norham Account’, at least not directly through the extracts used by *Vita S. Oswaldi Regis* and *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*; likewise, in including Ecgred whom William omitted, the compilation of the ‘Norham Account’ must have been independent of William. The Ecgred extract was also independent of the early Anglo-Norman Cuthbertine episcopal lists—the omission of Ecgred from these lists subsequently being ‘fixed’ by the Symeonic school. The above logic would provide further grounds to doubt the framework of those lists. Since the eleventh-century bishopric of Durham had at least two predecessors (the boundaries of Whithorn are not known) rather than one, it is possible much of the Cuthbertine list was built from non-Lindisfarne bishops. Knowledge of Ecgred’s letter to Archbishop Wulfsige or the chance survival of his name in relation to the ‘Norham Account’ could have meant that the Durham monks had to adjust their initial lists for his inclusion. Heathored and Eanberht, Ecgred’s predecessor and successor, may have been added for some similar reason—though *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* believed Ecgred’s immediate predecessor had been the seventh-century St Cuthbert, indicating that after Cuthbert Ecgred was the first early bishop that Durham's eleventh-century historians could find when compiling their material.

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[226] *HSC*, 48–49: c.9.

3.2.3 *Secgan*

The three above sources should undermine the Symeonic Chester-le-Street story; but they are not, in themselves, all that much better. In all probability they merely represent accounts from the Anglo-Norman era, albeit potentially pre-Symeonic accounts. This is not the case with the early–eleventh-century burial list *Secgan be þa`m Godes sanctum þe on Engla lande ærost reston*, a fourth source for the location of Cuthbert at Norham; in the Stowe version of the list, the following is written:

> Đonne resteð sanctus Cuthbertus on þare stowe seo is genemned Ubbanford neh þære éá, þe is genemned Twiode.
>
> 'Then lies St Cuthbert in the place known as Ubbanford, near the water that is known as the Tweed.' [227]

The *Secgan*'s notice is entirely and without question independent from the Durham sources. A later update preserved by the version in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 201, altered *seo is genemned Ubbanford neh þære éá, þe is genemned Twiode*, to read *þe men hátað Donhólm*.[228] The text was translated into Latin later in the eleventh century; the translator appears to have been unfamiliar with the place-name Ubbanford, and incorrectly added *vel Dunholm* to *in loco vocatur Ubbanford*, its translation of *þare stowe seo is genemned Ubbanford*.[229] Rollason explained this entry by arguing that there was a ninth-century version of the text; this was like the full *Secgan*, but had only contained the Northumbrian and 'midland' saints we find in the 'first half' of the extant *Secgan*; then, in the early eleventh century (or perhaps before), the 'first half' was incorporated into the extant *Secgan*.

Rollason's explanation may, at a stretch, be plausible; but it is superfluous and comes without any explanation as to why the author of the list would not update Cuthbert's resting place to Chester-le-Street or Durham, something that is very strange given how up-to-date and diligent the author is even for ‘lesser’ saints. Rollason’s interpretation explains only one issue, the ‘late’ location of Cuthbert at Ubbanford; but numerous otherwise unnecessary ‘interpolations’ would be needed even for the ‘first half’ to support this one ‘problem’.[230] The list took its final form sometime after 1013, when St Florence was interred in Peterborough, but before 1031, by which time it had to have been entered into the Stowe MS.[231] *Secgan* is independent of Anglo-Norman Durham sources. Are the latter really reliable enough to necessitate special pleading for one entry in *Secgan*? If we want to know where Cuthbert’s body was in the late tenth or early eleventh century, *Secgan* is the only contemporary source to which we can turn: *Secgan* provides Ubbanford rather than Chester-le-Street.

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[227] This is printed in *Liber Vitae*, ed. W. de Gray Birch (Winchester, 1892), 86–97 (from Stowe MS 944) and *Secgan*, 9–19 (from CCCC MS 201 and Stowe MS 944).

[228] *Secgan*, 9; see also Rollason, **'**Lists of Saints' Resting-Places in Anglo-Saxon England**'**, *ASE* 7 (1978), 61–93, at 68.

[229] *Secgan*, 10; cf. *HR2,* 101, and *RHC*, i, 59, for *Ubbanford* as Norham.

3.2.4 *Muningedene* and Tilred Abbot of Norham

Two supplementary pieces of potential evidence should be mentioned. One is another extract witnessed by *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, or at least by one version of the *Historia*. It is not present in every MS, and it is independently attested in a twelfth-century manuscript with tenth-century content, Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, MS Lat. 5362 (fols. 53v–54r). South calls this extract ‘Guthred’s Dream’ (=*Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* c. 33). It relates a battle between the Northumbrians and the Scots at a place called *Muningedene*, where the Scottish host is swallowed by the earth. The location has not been identified with certainty, but the Scottish activity occurs along the Tweed and near Lindisfarne. Reginald of Durham in the later twelfth century believed it to be a hill lying on the river Tweed, perhaps suggesting it was the raised ground that later became the site of Norham castle.[232] It certainly does not show the body of Cuthbert at Norham, but as a tale of potential tenth-century origin its depiction of a great threat to its church and the lack of reference to anything further south than the Tweed basin would be in line with a tenth-century resting place at Norham.[233] Likewise, at the end of c. 21, the *Historia* has a note that a certain Tilred, abbot of Heversham (Westmorland) bought Castle Eden from Edward the Elder, giving half to Cuthbert ‘so that he might be a brother in his monastery’ (*ut esset frater in eius monasterio*) and half to Norham ‘so that he might be abbot there’ (*ut ibi esset abbas*). The extract seems to suggest, accurately or not, that Tilred was gaining membership of the Cuthbertine *familia* and its chief monastery (perhaps still at Lindisfarne) in order to take over the ‘abbacy’ at Norham, which in this scenario would be the *de facto* centre of the Cuthbertine *familia*. Tilred’s name is on the Cuthbertine episcopal lists, and this is another case where the *Historia* compiler may be preserving material that is earlier than the Symeonic framework for Cuthbertine history.[234]

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[230] Even in the ‘first half’ Oswald’s arm is located at Gloucester, a move dating to either 909 (ASC MS C) or 906 (*ASC* MS D); to reconcile the Symeonic tradition with the interpretation of *Secgan* designed by Rollason to sustain it, some scribe would have had to ‘update’ Oswald’s arm but retain the outdated location for Cuthbert’s body; Rollason himself makes a list of such ‘interpolations’, for which see Rollason, ‘Lists of Saints’ Resting-Places’, 63–64.

[231] Rollason, ‘Lists of Saints’ Resting-Places’, 63–68.

[232] *Cuth. Virt.*, 149: c.73.

[233] For discussion of this extract, see South, *HSC*, 116–17, Lapidge, *Swithun*, 555, n. 26 , and Colgrave, *Two Lives*¸ 35; the text is printed and translated *HSC*, 68–71: c.33.

Conclusion

Some prominent Anglo-Norman writers believed that the Northumbrian episcopate collapsed in the early ninth century, a view reprised by most of the modern historians who have addressed the issue. Key to this understanding has been the pattern of coverage for the junior Northumbrian sees in suriving episcopal lists, which terminates in early ninth century. The pattern can, however, be explained adequately as the outcome of evidence production and survival. It is a great fortune that we have episcopal lists compiled for English sees in the early ninth century, and it is good luck that these lists cover Lindisfarne, Whithorn, and Hexham, as well as the archbishopric of York. Good fortune is all that this is, however. Such a compilation was rare in pre–eleventh-century Insular history, and there is no obvious reason to seek unusual explanations for the lack of lists covering these sees in later years.

Yet, the bishoprics of Hexham and Whithorn had probably disappeared by the Norman Conquest. Following the Norman takeover of Durham, lists covering the Viking-Age see of St Cuthbert were compiled, but no similar lists were ever compiled for the sees of Wilfrid and Ninian. There are, though, multiple explanations for this, and there is no particular need to endorse Anglo-Norman speculation that would tie the final date of the ninth century lists to political turmoil introduced by Scots, Picts, and Danes. Indeed, the omission of known ninth-century Cuthbertine bishops from Anglo-Norman lists suggests that the Anglo-Norman Cuthbertine lists lack reliable form of transmission for the early Viking Age. The first window on the episcopate subsequent to the early lists, charter attestations from Æthelstan’s time as ruler of Northumbria, seems to show continuity, and indeed suggests that the number of bishops north of the Humber was, if anything, higher than it had been in the early ninth century.

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[234] *HSC,* 60–61: c.21; there are signs in this extract that there was a vernacular exemplar, or at least had an author with knowledge of Old English orthography (e.g. the ‘f’ in *Hefresham*).

Modern understanding about the chronology of the Northumbrian episcopate’s decline has been tied to prevalent beliefs about the movement of the body of St Cuthbert. The latter originate in a very specific account of the Viking-Age Cuthbertine see produced in Anglo-Norman Durham. According to this, after the terror delivered by Halfdan’s Danes, the body (and hence the see) of Cuthbert was moved from Lindisfarne to Chester-le-Street. A century later, the body (and see) was moved again, to Durham. The story of Eardwulf’s escape to Chester-le-Street, the ‘Flight of Eardwulf’, was probably drawn in part from an origin myth used by Durham’s Anglo-Saxon *personae*. The ‘Flight of Eardwulf’ saw the ancestors of these *personae* rescue the body of Cuthbert from the depredations of pagans, and carry it to its new resting place, where it remained until the next army of pagans arrived twelve decades later. Unfortunately, this story appears to be very late, much too late to justify its widespread acceptance in modern historiography. Even if there were truth to it, its synchronisation with the age of Halfdan and Ælfred the Great is likely to be a choice made by an Anglo-Norman official historian. There is no decisive evidence that this version of Durham history was in existence prior to the age of Ranulf Flambard and Symeon of Durham, and there is specific evidence that the story’s chronology postdates even the earliest Norman historians of Durham, like the men responsible for *Cronica Monasterii Dunelmensis* and *De Obsessione Dunelmi*. Durham’s first Norman historians believed that the see was a successor of the diocese of Lindisfarne as known from the Age of Bede, but it seems that they were less clear about what happened in the intervening period. The earliest account of the ‘Flight of Eardwulf’, *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto,* attests another tradition: in addition to the ‘Flight of Eardwulf’, it preserves an extract stating that the body had been moved from Lindisfarne to Norham-on-Tweed.

Modern historians have tried to rationalize the Norham story as a prelude to a historical flight of Eardwulf. The ‘Norham Account’ is, however, likely to be an independent account of Durham’s prehistory, and it is likely to have been the dominant account prior to Symeon of Durham’s decision not to reproduce it in *Libellus de Exordio*. Unlike the Chester account associated with the ‘Flight of Eardwulf’, the Norham version is supported by other, good pre-Symeonic evidence, and indeed the only Viking Age source that says anything about the location of Cuthbert’s body, the *Secgan*, suggests that it lay at Norham-on-Tweed until 1013x1033. It is not clear why Durham’s Anglo-Norman establishment decided to make Chester-le-Street their preferred location for Cuthbert’s body in the Viking Age. However, as far as the modern historian is concerned, the quality of the evidence does not particularly support their decision. If Durham were to have had a predecessor as a stable and long-term cult centre for Cuthbert’s body other than Lindisfarne, our evidence would make this Norham rather than Chester-le-Street.

The body of Cuthbert appears to have lain at Norham-on-Tweed around 1000, and perhaps for much of the Viking Age, moving from Norham to Durham sometime in the early eleventh century. With these findings in mind, chapter six will explore evidence for the see and the wider Northumbrian episcopate as far as the takeover by the Normans; but first it is necessary to examine the evidence for the broader political structures, and for the expansion of West Saxon and Scottish royal power.

4. 'Middle Britain' and England

Previous chapters looked at the dissolution of Northumbrian political structures, including ecclesiastical institutions. Chapter two identified and examined what contemporary evidence suggests about the period prior to the death of Æthelstan. At least two major political communities appear to have survived Ecgberhting overlordship in the north, despite the West Saxon conquest of Mercia and ascendancy over much of the Danelaw. This chapter will look at the chronology and sources for the same realm's extension into our region, in the era lying between Æthelstan and the Norman Conquest. The study will include evidence for the region's political communites, not only the Humbrian Dubgaill (and their descendants) and 'Northern English', but others as well. Discussion of the Scots will be postponed for the next chapter.

4.1 Annexation

4.1.1 Last Kings of the *Here*

Due to limited source material, the era 939–954 is extremely challenging for the historian; but it is important because here the Ecgberhtings eliminated the Uí Ímair as serious rivals in Britain, and because here, most historians have believed, Northumbria ceased to exist as an independent kingdom. As we have seen, surviving Anglo-Latin annals suggest that Olaf son of Guthfrith returned to rule in eastern Britain after Æthelstan's death; and they suggest that Olaf *Cuarán*, son of Sigtrygg, succeeded the elder Olaf after the latter's death near Tyninghame in 941. Alex Woolf has shown that a late–tenth-century writer in Lorraine, the author of *De S. Cadroe Abbate*, had synchronised the reigns of Scottish king Causantín mac Áeda (r. c900–939x947), Erik of York (fl. 948–954), and Edmund of England (r. 939–46), a synchronization that would have Erik reigning north of the Humber in the early 940s.[235] According to the text, Erik (*Erich*) ruled from York (*Euroacum Urbem*), and his realm was 'of the Northmen' (*Normannorum*).[236] As the source is a generation or so later, some chronological telescoping can be considered to be a possibility; but the text is also early enough to be taken very seriously. Numismatic evidence indicates very strongly that one Sigtrygg ruled in York or somewhere else in Scandinavian England in the early 940s; he is apparently unattested in the written evidence, though Hudson has pointed out that a

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[235] A. Woolf, 'Erik Bloodaxe Revisited', *NH* 34 (1998), 189–93.

[236] *DSCA*, 476 (=*CPS*, 116).

Scandinavian leader of that name (*Setric*) arrived in Normandy in 942.[237] Evidence from the early 940s seems to suggest that the Humbrian Dubgaill and other Anglo-Danes once again lacked a unitary kingship, with multiple (and simultaneous) Ua Ímair kings confirmed by the annals. For 943–944, at least two 'kings' (other than Erik) were operating in 'Middle Britain': according to *ASC* MS C, King Edmund in 943 sponsored the baptism of King Olaf Cuarán and the confirmation of another king, Rognvald.

These episodes do not seem to have given Edmund what he wanted; according to *ASC,* in 944 he 'reduced all Northumbria under his rule' and expelled both Rognvald and Olaf. In 945 King Edmund wasted *Cumbra land*, a campaign that appears to have been backed by the Alpinid ruler Máel-Coluim mac Domnaill; in the same year, according to *AClon,* 'the King of the Danes was killed by the Saxons at Yorke'.[238] The dead king at York was certainly not Olaf, and cannot have been Erik unless English annals are widely inaccurate. However, more detail is not available. The outline indicates, at least, that West Saxon activity in Northumbria was intense during the era, and it is worth stressing that these events constitute virtually all that is known of Edmund's later reign (i.e. either north or south of the Humber). Edmund only lived until 946, and the evidence suggests that his successor Eadred found it necessary to be in Northumbria soon after his succession, if indeed that is not where he initially succeeded. *ASC* MS E has it that 'Eadred succeeded to the kingdom, and immediately reduced all Northumbria to his rule', getting the Scots to swear oaths (*7 he sona gerad eall Norðhymbra land him to gewealde, 7 Scottas him aðas sworon þet hi eall wolden þet he wolde*).[239] A fuller annal is preserved in *Roger of Wendover*:

> Hic, ut suus germanus prius egerat rex Eadmundus, Northanhumbriam totam in sui dominium redactam, a rege Scotorum fidelitatem accepit, et insuper Eboracensi ecclesiae metropolitanae duo signa non modica devotus donavit ; denique, cum a Cumbrorum rege juramentum fidelitatis accepisset et partes illas in securitate posuisset,versus austrum cum suis contendit.
>
> 'He (Eadred), as his brother King Edmund had done before, reduced the whole of Northumbria into his power, and received the fealty of the king of the Scots; and moreover he devoutly gave to the

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[237] Blunt et al., *Coinage*, 213, 221–23, Blackburn, 'Coinage', 325–26, 336–37; Hudson, *VPCP*, 63.

[238] *ASC* MS C, s.a. 944, 945 and entry undated entry preceding 944 (translation in *ASC*, p. 71); see *AClon*, 154: s.a. 937 (*recte* 945). This 'king of the Danes' could refer to Rognvald or (less likely) Sihtric; the English mentioned could be either West Saxons or Northumbrians (or inhabitants of the city); see *ESSH*, I, 446, n. 12, for the possibility that Máel-Coluim did not become Scottish king until 947.

[239] *ASC* MS E s.a. 948 (*recte* 946); translation *ASC*, 72.

> metropolitan church of York two large bells, and then, when he had received an oath of fealty from the king of the Cumbrians, and had acquired these regions with security, he hastened south with his troops'.[240]

Charter evidence from suggests that Eadred had been able to draw in Northumbrian and Anglo-Danish notables from the beginning of his reign, with a number attesting the alliterative coronation charter of 946 that granted *Wurcing tune* to a certain Wulfric. Among the witnesses were *Osulf Hæhgerefa*, Urm, Imorcer, Grim and Anecol, but there was no Erik or any [other] potentates from the Uí Ímair. The coronation charter may even have related to Northumbria if, that is, the *Wurcing tune* in question was Workington in Cumberland; that in turn could suggest Eadred had already been acting as king in Northumbria prior to his coronation as king of the Anglo-Saxons. Whether or not that was the case, Eadred's initial position in Northumbria seems to be reflected by his titles too, with the king claiming to rule the Northumbrians along with three other realms (i.e. the English Saxons, the Pagans and the Britons).[241]

By contrast, *ASC* MS D s.a. 948 highlights Eadred's lack of power, only two years later. The burning of Ripon seems more like the act of a foreign enemy than responsible king. Evidently part of the population had withdrawn their support from the Ecgberhting ruler:

> 'In this year King Eadred came to Tanshelf [Pontefract] and all the councillors of the Northumbrians pledged themselves to the king, and within a short space they were false to it all, both pledge and oaths as well'.[242]

The annalist explains in the succeeding entry (s.a. 948) what he meant:

> 'In this year King Eadred ravaged all Northumbria, because they had accepted Eric as their king; and in that ravaging the glorious minster of Ripon, which St Wilfrid had built, was burnt down. And when the king was on his way home, the army [which] was in York overtook the king's army at Castleford, and they made a great slaughter there. Then the king became so angry that he wished to march back into

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[240] *RW*, I, 399; translation *EHD*, I, 283.

[241] *Sawyer*, no. 520; (this); *Wurcing tune* was thought by Ekwall and others before him to be Workington in Allerdale; but Warkton in Northamptonshire has also been suggested; see Ekwall, *EPN*, 534, s.v. 'Workington'; and *EHD*, I, no. 105, at pp. 551–52.

[242] *ASC*, 72.

> the land and destroy it utterly. When the councillors (*witan*) of the Northumbrians understood that, they deserted Eric and paid to King Eadred compensation for their act'.[243]

It is not very likely that Erik ceased to be a figure in Northumbrian politics. Alex Woolf's point that Erik is attested as king during the reign of Edmund could be taken with the events of 952 to suggest that Erik had maintained power in the kingdom over a long period of time. Again, we might be dealing with a polycephalous political community or, at least by this stage, a multi-tiered kingship. If the latter were the case, Eadred's invasion of Northumbria might have been trigged by a more specific challenge to his own rights, perhaps kingship over the city of York, or by hostility provoked by his departure for rule of Wessex. What these entries do highlight is Eadred's lack of locally-based power among the Northumbrians he claimed as his subjects. Eadred may have been little more than that of a trumped-up tribute collector who protected allied parts of the Church. Perhaps, then, Erik was the kind of 'sub-ruler' that Eadred could tolerate more than Olaf, whose powerbase was primarily in Ireland and who was thus less vulnerable to the kind of punitive raids that could be used to control a potentate based in Britain. More importantly, perhaps, Olaf may have been more interested than Erik in overlordship of the Danelaw boroughs or even East Anglia. Olaf, unlike Erik, is clearly associated with these regions in extant writings, although this may be a side-effect of evidence survival.

It is plausible that Eadred's authority in Northumbria functioned as a type of high-kingship that could tolerate junior kings. If (and only if) Eadred's authority in 'Middle Britain' was mutually exclusive with 'Danish' kings north of the Humber, annal evidence would suggest that two figures interrupted his reign after 946: Olaf Cuarán (again) and Erik.[244] Even on the simple exclusivity premise, the extant evidence has of yet refused to yield a clear and indisputable chronology. The most stable chronology in modern historiography has Eadred reigning for a year (946–47), followed by Erik (947–48), Olaf Cuarán (from 950–c.952), then Erik again (952–54).[245] Peter Sawyer had suggested that Erik was king only once, 950–52, following a short reign of Olaf Cuarán. [246] Attestations of secular Northumbrians in Anglo-Saxon royal charters (see below) and *AClon* might be informative here. Charter subscriptions suggest Eadred had authority in Danish and Northumbrian territories from 946 until 950. Northumbrians attest one charter of 946, attest again in the period 949–950; but not again after 950. Wulfstan archbishop of York regularly attested Eadred's charters until 950, but disappeared between then and 953. *AClon* recorded s.a. 946 (recte 951) that 'Awley [i.e. Olaf Cuarán] was king of York for a year after': that is, Olaf Cuarán took power in eastern England in 951, and lasted a year before abandoning his position. *ASC* MS D, s.a. 952, has Wulfstan put in prison by King Eadred. All this suggests that, firstly, Eadred lost power in the north around 950 or 951, but recovered it in 952; and that, secondly, during the period of lost power, 950x952, Archbishop Wulfstan had done something that seriously displeased Eadred. The same 952 annal notes that Eadred massacred much of the population of Thetford, the chief centre of East Anglia, raising the possibility that the East Anglians had also seriously displeased Eadred. Had East Anglia joined the northern Danelaw and supported Olaf Cuarán? The specific grievance noted by the annal was the killing of an abbot named Eadhelm, but the killing of the abbot probably arose from broader political turmoil. If as would be very likely the abbot was an Ecgberhting agent presiding over public activity and revenue collection of some kind, he would have been a relatively vulnerable figure when the 'East Anglians' suddenly decided to support an Ua Ímair king. So it is possible that the community of Thetford had been caught up in the 'return' of the Ua Ímair 'king over the water'. At any rate, Archbishop Wulfstan had verifiably served the Uí Ímair previously; indeed he and Olaf had been anti-Ecgberhting allies previously, and were besieged together in Leicester by Edmund in the early 940s (below). It is very hard to believe that Olaf's return and Wulfstan's imprisonment were coincidences.

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[243] *ASC*, 72–73.

[244] Numismatic evidence may add another, with one horizontal-type coin of York inscribed with the obscure *Eltangerht*: Blackburn, 'Coinage', 326; Blunt et al., *Coinage*, 213, 225, 233.

[245] *HBC*, 7; Stenton, *ASE*, pp 360–63; this chronology has been retained by S. Keynes, 'Appendix: Rulers of the English, c.450–1066', in *BEASE*, 505.

The seizure of the boroughs or submission or 'armies' of Northampton, Huntingdon, Colchester, Cambridge, Derby and Leicester 917–18 by the West Saxon and Mercian allies does not mean that the English kings subsequently held on to all of them for any length of time, and indeed in the poem noting Edmund's capture of Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby and Stamford, *ASC* MS C relates that these towns had been 'for a long time in bonds of captivity to the heathens, until the defender of warriors, the son of Edward, King Edmund, redeemed them' (*on hæþenra hæfteclommum, oþ hie alysde eft for his weorþscipe wiggendra hleo, afera Eadweardes, Eadmund cyning*). This could imply that their affinity had been alienated by something more than autonomous locally-based earls, and may contradict the widespread view that Olaf had recently captured these locations from the West Saxons.[247] That view seems to have been established by Murray Beaven, who asserted that 'Anlaf burst into the territory of the Five Boroughs and advanced as far south as Northampton before his progress was stayed',[248] basing his account of events on the *Chronicle of 957*'s entry s.a. 939 supplemented by *ASC* MS D.[249]

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[246] Sawyer, 'Last Scandinavian Kings', 39–44; the gist accepted by Woolf, 'Erik Bloodaxe', 189; for review, see C. Downham, 'Chronology of the Last Scandinavian Kings of York', *NH* 40 (2003), 25–51.

In fact, neither source says anything about Olaf capturing the 'five boroughs'. The only one mentioned in either account is Leicester, to which Olaf, after sacking the old Mercian capital of Tamworth and a failed attempt to take Northampton, 'returns' (*rediens ad Legaceastre perueniret*) and where, as mentioned above, he and Archbishop Wulstan are besieged by Edmund.[250] That the 'five boroughs' were attached to the English kingdom later in the 940s (if they were), or under intermittent overlordship in earlier decades, does not make them different from Northumbria; the five boroughs would probably have fallen under Ecgberhting overlordship anyway when the latter ruled in York. The key point about the former 'satellite' earldoms and boroughs lying between the Humber and Thames is that royal control was never likely to have been particularly overbearing, and so rivalry between the Uí Ímair and Ecgberhtings for control of the region south of York and Lincoln may have been about loose tribute and protection rights. Whatever the case, after 954 the Ecgberhtings ceased to have serious rivals in either the Southumbrian or Northumbrian Anglo-Scandivanian lands—though the young 'king over the water' would come to be entrenched in Danelaw mythology.[251]

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[247] Though it has been argued that *lange þraga* is a simple cliché, rather than literally referring to a significant period of time, see A. Mawer, **'**The Redemption of the Five Boroughs**'**, *EHR* 38 (1923), 551–57, at 555–56, making this point that the Beowulf poem used the same phrase to describe the lifespan of Grendel's mother after Grendel's death.

[248] See Downham, *Viking Kings*, 108.

[249] M. L. R. Beaven, 'King Edmund I and the Danes of York', *EHR* 33 (1918), 1–9, at 3.

[250] *Chron. 957*, 94; *ASC* MSS A, B, C, D, s.a. 942; *ASC* MS D, s.a. 943, in *ASC*, 71.

[251] Olaf is remembered in Danelaw folklore as *Cuheran* (from *Cuarán*) and *Havelock* (probably derived from Amlaib Óc or 'the Younger', in contrast to Olaf son of Guthfrith), a prince who ruled the Anglo-Danish kingdom between the Humber and Rutland; Gaimar places him in Arthurian times.

4.1.2 The Ecgberhtings, and the 'Northern English'

The political community of the 'Northern English' is at its most obscure after the death of King *Adulf*. Its Eadwulfing rulers appear to have maintained the same rivalry with the Uí Ímair they had had since the Battle of Corbridge. Æthelstan's successor in York, Olaf Guthfrithson, seemingly campaigned against them in 941, a campaign that involved the burning of Tyninghame and the enslavement of Lindisfarne monks (between which the king apparently died). According to the witness of the *Chronicle of 957*, s.a. 941 (not repeated in *Historia Regum 2*):

> Onlaf, uastata ecclesia Sancti Balteri et incensa Tiningaham, mox periit. Unde Eboracenses Lindisfarnensem insulam depopulati sunt, et multos occiderunt. Filius uero Sihtrici, nomine Onlaf, regnauit super Northanhymrbos.
>
> 'Olaf, having laid waste the church of Saint Balthere and having burned Tyningham, soon afterwards perished. Whence the Yorkmen depopulated the island of Lindisfarne, and many died. The son of Sigtrygg, Olaf by name, reigned over the Northumbrians' [252]

It would be naïve to accept that these events took place just as the *Chronicle of 957* says. The king's attack on the East Lothian monastery and subsequent death were probably juxtaposed for didactic effect. It is however important that both Lindisfarne and Tyninghame were attacked by the *Eboracenses* in succession. Since we know that the Eadwulfings were based around Bamburgh and since the evidence indicates that Tyninghame was part of the Lindisfarne *familia* in this era (see, especially, 6.1.1 below), it makes sense to interpret these events as conflict between the Uí Ímair and Eadwulfings. The raid and monastery-burning mission shows that the Eadwulfings had probably not been dislodged from the region, at least not by Olaf Guthfrithsson or Olaf Cuarán. So, in the early 940s the Uí Ímair still had enemies lodged in a large territorial base in the far north of Northumbria. If the Uí Ímair had indeed, as many believe, claimed Æthelstan's kingship over all Northumbria, they did not manage to exercise that without opposition.

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[252] *Chron. 957*, corrected from MS. The annal is also recorded in *Roger of Wendover*, where it is shortened and telescoped into *ASC*'s (northern recension) entries s.a 943 and 945, for which, see *RW*, I, 396; Olaf Guthfrithson's tenure as 'king of York' has recently come under question by K. Halloran, 'Anlaf Guthfrithson at York', *NH* 50 (2013), 180–85, and argument that might be acceptable but would have to account some other way for Olaf's leadership of the *Eborancenses*.

The ruler of much of the Northern English region may have been Oswulf, the man who attended Eadred's coronation at Kingston-Upon-Thames in 946. According to *De Northumbria post Britannos*, he was the son of Eadwulf and Ælla's great-grandson, though sometimes it has been assumed that he was the son of Ealdred Eadwulfing. Other than *De Northumbria post Britannos*, there is no direct claim in the sources for any genealogical connection between the 'sons of Eadwulf' and Oswulf (or indeed any later 'earls'); it has been the shared link with Bamburgh which has raised suspicions of some kind of relationship.[253] Oswulf is a well-recorded figure by contemporary standards. He and his brother Uhtred may be the two characters with these names appearing next to each other in folio 24v of the Durham *Liber Vitae*, dated by its recent editor to the tenth century.[254] Oswulf almost certainly appears in Anglo-Saxon royal charters, along with other Northumbrian *duces,* in 934–935 during Æthelstan's reign;[255] and then again in the reign of Eadred at 946 and 949–950,[256] having vanished (like most other likely Northumbrian *duces* and Welsh kings) in the reign of Edmund. This may have been because the presence of hostile Uí Ímair in the intermediate territory, but may also be linked to changing scribal practice, the disappearance of 'Æthelstan A'.[257] Oswulf's manner of attestation is somewhat unusual in Eadred's reign, consistently being styled 'High Reeve' or 'of Bamburgh' while enjoying an extremely high placement among the witnesses, in the two 949 charters placed between Welsh kings and the first *duces*.[258] Oswulf may have been the magnate who carried out orders of King Eadred to imprison archbishop Wulfstan of York. *ASC* MS D says the archbishop was imprisoned at *Iudanbyrig*. This is often thought to be Jedburgh, but the spelling in question is not particularly supportive of that and it might instead favour a site on the Firth of Forth. Both locations could have fallen in Oswulf's territory, but a case for a

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[253] Fletcher, *Bloodfeud*, 39 (table); Rollason, *Northumbria*, 268 (table); R. Lomas, *County of Conflict* (East Linton, 1996), 9; for pedigree, see *DNPB*, 33–34.

[254] *DLV*, I, 103.

[255] *Sawyer*, nos 407, 425, 434 , *PASE*, s.v. 'Oswulf 14'.

[256] *Sawyer*, nos 520, 544, 550, 552a; *PASE*, *s.v.* 'Oswulf 17'.

[257] S. Keynes, 'England, 900–1016', in T. Reuter (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History Volume 3* (Cambridge, 1999), 456–84, at 469–70.

[258] In 946 *Osulf Hæhgerefa* (*Sawyer*, no. 520) and *Osulf bebbanbyrig* (no. 550) as *Osulf ad Bebb' hehgr'* (no. 544) in 949, and in 950 as *Osulf Bebbanburg* (no. 552).

Southumbrian location could probably be made given the volume of place-name evidence there.[259]

Two furthers points of Oswulf's career appear to be notable, at least as far as the historical writing of the Anglo-Norman era is concerned. Firstly, he was held responsible for the death of King Erik; and secondly, he was often (though not always) regarded as the first 'earl of Northumbria'. The former comes from the tradition of the *Roger of Wendover* annals, s.a. 950x956:

> Rex Eilricus in quadam solitudine quae 'Steinmor' dicitur, cum filio suo Henrico et fratre Reginaldo, proditione Osulfi comitis, a Macone consule fraudulenter interempti sunt, ac deinde in partibus illis rex Eadredus regnavit.
>
> 'King Erik was treacherously killed by *consul* Macon in a certain lonely place which is called Stainmore, with his son Henry and his brother Rognvald, betrayed by *comes* Oswulf; and then afterwards King Eadred ruled in these districts.'[260]

One might assume that *Macon* is an associate of Oswulf's, perhaps a vassal, though insecure date and context make it difficult to specify what *consul* and *comes* meant for this author (see 7.3.1), and it is possible that Oswulf was simply 'interpolated' here. A similar tradition preserved in *Historia Regum 2*, without Oswulf, refers to Erik's killer as 'Maccus son of Olaf'. In *Historia Regum 2* (and in Roger of Howden's *Chronica*) the whole event is part of a tract on Northumbrian history.[261]

4.1.3 'Northumbrian Earldom Foundation Legend'

Many of the Anglo-Norman accounts of the earldom of Northumbria portray the region as the hereditary possession of Oswulf's line, the 'Bamburgh family', held by them under King

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[259] For a summary of the debate and many of the sources regarding this location, see J. E. Fraser, 'Bede, the Firth of Forth, and the Location of *Urbs Iudeu*', *SHR* 87 (2008), 1–25. Fraser rejected Stirling in favour of three other possible candidates: at Blackness, North Queensferry Carlingnose Battery, and Cramond island. Fraser made the best case for North Queensferry. On archaeological and linguistic/place-name evidence, one might be tempted to see Fidra (or perhaps Eyebroughy, Woolf pers. comm.) as an equally strong candidate, close to the extensive Old English settlement that came to be known as 'Eldbottle'. I have in conversation unpersuasively tested the suggestion that Fidra, probably the 'Isle of Eldbottle' mentioned in Anglo-Norman–era Dryburgh charters, includes the Scottish word *foither* appended to Norse-derived *–ey.* The logic is partially that early forms are not entirely unsupportive of such an etymology, and that the element *foithir* in surviving names is usually associated with known pre–thirteenth-century Scottish palace sites; see 7.1.1 below. However, even this etymology would probably not significantly advance any identification with *Urbs Iudeu*.

[260] *RW*, I, 402–03; translation based on *EHD*, I, 284.

[261] *HR2*, 197.

Eadred and his successors. Other than *De Northumbria post Britannos*, a single tradition lies behind all of these accounts: we will call this the 'Northumbrian Earldom Foundation Legend'. One of the bearers of this tradion is the Durham tract *De Primo Saxonum Adventu*, which lists all of the earls of Northumbria in its sub-tract *De Northymbrorum Comitibus*. *De Primo Saxonum Adventu* is a Durham version of the *notitia dignitatum Angliae*, with the usual collection of royal and episcopal lists, shire lists, but with extra material about the kings and earls of Northumbria. Its Northumbrian king-list is based on surviving Anglo-Latin annals, and is not a source of independent information about the tenth century. *De Northymbrorum Comitibus*, however, also presents a series of claims about the tenth- and eleventh-century earldom. Here the piece is very similar to another, a tract inserted into *Historia Regum 2,* s.a. 1072, and into Roger of Howden's *Chronica*, s.a. 953x956. These are largely indistinguishable and both resemble *De Northymbrorum Comitibus*, but differ from the last on certain details. Like *De Northymbrorum Comitibus*, they recount the earldom as far as the downfall of Robert de Mowbray, claiming that the earldom subsequently fell to William Rufus and Henry I.[262] This extract in *Historia Regum 2* and Roger of Howden's *Chronica* will be referred to as *De Omnibus Comitibus Northimbrensibus*.

According to *De Northymbrorum Comitibus*, Oswulf administered (*procurauit*) Northumbria for Eadred after Erik's death; subsequently, Eadred's successor Edgar divided Northumbria, handing York to one Oslac and the land *a Teisa usque Myreforth* ('from the Tees to *Myreforth*') to a certain *Eadulf cognomento Yvelcild*. In the account of given by *De Omnibus Comitibus Northimbrensibus*, it was Eadred who created the two earldoms, having appointed Oswulf as earl north of the Tyne (*ad Aquilonalem plagam Tinae*) and Oslac over York (*super Eboracum*); this happened after the slaying of Erik by *Maccus fili[us] Onlafi*, following which the Northumbrians placated (*placauerunt*) Eadred. Both alike make the claim that a certain Waltheof succeeded these men to a single earldom, and passed this down to Uhtred and his successors until, under the Mercian earl Morcar, Northumbria was again redivided (though *De Primo Saxonum Adventu* hints, without explicitly stating, that the earldom had only been reunited in the time of Uhtred). For the establishment of the earldom, two significant differences are apparent. The first is that *De Omnibus Comitibus Northimbrensibus* does not mention Eadwulf 'Evilchild'; instead, Oswulf lives through

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[262] *HR2*, 196–99; *ABA, 132–33; RHC,* I, 57–59.

Eadred’s partition, passing the patrimony straight to Waltheof (I). The second difference lies around the southern boundary of the earldom, with *De Northymbrorum Comitibus* supplying the Tees and *De Omnibus Comitibus Northimbrensibus* supplying the Tyne.

Fortunately, there is good reason to attribute the discrepancies to innovations of *De Omnibus Comitibus Northimbrensibus*. By the time of its compilation, the bishopric of Durham was envisaging itself as a territorial honour separate from the new shire of Northumberland [north of the Tyne]. That situation did not however exist earlier, in the eleventh century. The compiler of *Historia Regum 2* elsewhere specified that William the Conqueror had sent Robert de Commines to be earl north of the Tyne (*ad aquilonalem plagam Tine*).[263] However, other sources show that Commines’ earldom lay, at least in part, *south* of the Tyne. Even detail in the same text shows inadvertently that he ruled from Durham, where he was killed by the men of his province.[264] In fact, Orderic Vitalis directly styled the earldom held by Robert de Comines as *Dunelmensem comitatum*.[265] Rather than commencing at the Tyne, if anything de Commines’ earldom actually ended at the Tyne, going no further north. Since the *Historia Regum 2* / Roger of Howden’s *Chronica* annalist here is probably the author of *De Omnibus Comitibus Northimbrensibus*, it is thus more likely that the Tees represents the southern boundary in the earlier version of the source, here represented best by *De Northymbrorum Comitibus*. Thus the earlier version of the source probably placed the core of the territorial honour later claimed by the bishops of Durham in the northern earldom, threatening the historical credibility of the ‘Donation of Guthred’.

The inferiority of *De Omnibus Comitibus Northimbrensibus* versus *De Primo Saxonum Adventu* / *De Northymbrorum Comitibus* is further suggested by the omission of Eadwulf *Evilchild* in the former. Eadwulf appears to be attested briefly in contemporary sources, and it is unlikely that such a name would be made up for *De Primo Saxonum Adventu*. As the genealogy of Waltheof in *De Northumbria post Britannos* shows, Eadwulf Evilchild was not remembered as an important ancestor of the eleventh-century earls, so his appearance would have had limited usefulness in the Anglo-Norman era. As his negative nickname 'bad boy' may suggest, his memory might even have threatened the legitimacy of the better known descendants of the early earls. It is very easy to explain why Eadwulf Evilchild would disappear from such a tract; on the other hand there is no apparent reason to add him. In short, *De Northymbrorum Comitibus* is very likely to represent the earlier account of the tradition, and thus differences or omissions in the *De Omnibus Comitibus Northimbrensibus* tracts should not be a cause for much further distraction.

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[263] *HR2*, 186

[264] *HR2*, 186–87; *ASC* MS D, s.a. 1068, trans. *ASC*, 149: ‘In this year King William gave Earl Robert the ealdormanry of Northumberland; but the local people surrounded him in the city of Durham and killed him and nine hundred men’ (*Her on þissum geare Willelm cyngc geaf Rodbearde eorle þone ealdordom ofer Norðhymbraland, ac þa landes menn hine beforon innan þære burh æt Dunholme, 7 hine ofslogon, 7 .ixc. manna mid him*).

[265] *OV*, II, 220.

There is a later but more detailed version of the *De Northymbrorum Comitibus* tradition, one in the chronicle attributed to John of Wallingford [*Wallingford*]. For *De Northymbrorum Comitibus*, Oswulf held the earldom throughout Northumbria while Eadred reigned. It adds that King Edgar, fearing it would turn into an over-powerful patrimony, resolved to have it split it into two separated earldoms upon Oswulf's death:

> At rex Eadgarus sub eodem tempore barrones Northumbrenses in concilium conuocans aput Eboracum, capitula multa ad regni negotia spectantia bene ordinauit. Inter que etiam Osulfi comitatum quem auunculus eius Eadredus toti Northimbrie sub nomine comitis prefecerat, in duos diuisit comitatus. Ipso Osulfo iam mortuo, noluit sub nomine hereditatis rex eam partem terre alicui soli prouenire, ne ad antiquam libertatem aspirantes Northimbri discordie fomitem inuenirent.
>
> 'Yet King Edgar, at the same time summoning a council of Northumbrian barons at York, excellently issued many edicts relating to the affairs of the kingdom. Included among these, he divided into two Oswulf's county, which his uncle Eadred had set up for all Northumbria under the title of earl. With Oswulf himself now dead, the king [Edgar] was unwilling for this part of his land to fall to one single person by inheritance, lest the Northumbrians fall into the fire of discord by desire for their ancient freedom.'[266]

Wallingford adds that the northern earldom went to one *Eadulf cognomento Ewelchild*, with the southern portion going to Oslac. The boundaries are, like those of *De Primo Saxonum Adventu* (*De Northymbrorum Comitibus*), *a Theisa uero usque ad Mireforth*. The text in *Wallingford*, particularly the detail of the court at York, may suggest that *De Northymbrorum Comitibus* derived from a longer account; but it is also possible that the later author embellished *De Northymbrorum Comitibus* to create this account. The greater point is that the ‘Northumbrian Earldom Foundation Legend’, the ultimate source of all the above accounts, cannot be definitively dated. Although unknown before the reign of Henry I, it is also likely to be older than the Durham sources of the twelfth century. A good period for its coming together would be the first phase of historical writing conducted by the Anglo-Norman establishment prior to the beginning of its drive to become a distinct territorial honour; but such a date would not settle the worthiness of its detail.

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[266] *Wallingford*, 54.

4.2 The ‘Earls’ of the Viking Age

Just as the Anglo-Norman claims about Northumbria’s Viking-Age episcopate can be tested to some extent, so too can those of the ‘Northumbrian Earldom Foundation Legend’. Can any of the latter be confirmed by charter attestations, or at least can they be reconciled with them? Where the account corresponds with the testimony of contemporary evidence, there might be reason to postulate use of an earlier source. Isolating definite falsehood in the legend itself has important value, for instance by helping us to understand why the ‘falsehoods’ are there and thus, perhaps, making more sense of the remainder.

4.2.1 Æthelstan and the Northern *duces*

In the West Saxon realm that grew into England the ruler relied heavily on subordinates known as ‘ealdormen’, usually called *duces* in Latin. By the later tenth century ealdormen were drawn from high status lineages able to supplement royal power with their own resources. The holders of ealdordoms are known principally, like their episcopal colleagues, from charter attestations. The administration of core Ecgberhting territories is, in outline, comparately well understood due to the volume of surviving evidence. In Northumbria and the Danelaw, *duces* also appear, but they are less clearly understood. As was the case with bishops, the nature of the sources makes it impossible to distinguish matters within ‘Middle Britain’ clearly; most subscriptions will not indicate whether a *dux* had a territorial base in Northamptonshire, Couty Durham, Westmorland, or Lothian. Anthroponymic evidence is probably more useful for *duces* than it is for bishops. Holders of high church offices were commonly drawn from a relatively narrow cultural and political base reflecting the orientation of the English kingship, whereas regional rulers probably reflect the culture of their base territory in many more cases—certainly they are more likely to do so than bishops or abbots. All being equal, Scandinavian names among *duces* indicate origin in the ‘settlement zone’ south of the Tyne and west of the Pennines, while Celtic names indicate origin in far west and north. As the tenth century progresses this becomes less and less useful for *duces*, as barriers between English, Anglo-Scandinavians, and others become less and less important anthroponymically —already by 941 Canterbury, the chief bishopric of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom, has an archbishop with Great Army parents.[267]

Recent discussions of ealdormen have come to the conclusion that Wessex itself had six of them until the first decade of the tenth century, but two (one for the shires west of Selwood, one for the shires to its east) from then until the reign of Cnut.[268] During the reign of Edward the Elder and the early reign of Æthelstan, the Ecgberhting realm as a whole generally has four to seven *duces* attesting charters at any one time; however, during Æthelstan's time as overlord of Northumbria and the Danelaw, at least from 929 until 935, new magnates raise this number as high as 15.[269] In Æthelstan's reign before c. 930, Ordgar, Ælfwald, Osferth, and Wulfgar (one appearance) are very likely to be the non-northern 'ducal' witnesses; Ælfwald, Ælfhere, Æthelstan ('Half-King'), Wulfgar, and Uhtred after 930. Two are probably West Saxon, perhaps with responsibility for Kent, Sussex and Surrey too; since the element *Wulf*- is associated with later ealdormen in (western) Mercia, Wulfgar has been placed there by modern historians.[270] The majority of other figures appearing in this era must have originated in Northumbria or in parts of the 'Danelaw' previously dissociated from Ecgberhting dominion by Sigtrygg's overlordship. Northern *duces* like these were probably not ealdormen, except by analogy. The term *dux* was also applied to a range of potentates, including men holding territorial bases similar to those of 'petty kings' who were not (for the often rather tendentious purposes of Anglo-Saxon diplomatic) accorded the title of 'king'. We have already seen how Æthelstan's takeover of Northumbria led to the appearance of *duces* Ælfstan and Æsbriht, probably the grandsons of Ricsige mentioned by *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, as well as many of the Eadwulfings. The new groups of 'northern earls' also included many more Scandinavians, or at least men with Scandinavian names: Guthrum, Thurum, Hadd, Scule, Gunner, Grim, Styrcer, Regenwold, Thurferth, Halfdan, Inhwaer, Fraena, Haweard, and 'Tiesberd'.[271]

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[267] *VSOE*, 9–11:i.1, (with Lapidge, ibid., 10, n. 7); *VSOE*, 16–17: i.4.

[268] B. Yorke, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1995), 98–101, following L. N. Banton, *Ealdormen and Earls in England from the Reign of King Alfred to the Reign of King Æthelred II* (D. Phil dissertation, University of Oxford, 1981), which I have not been able to consult.

[269] Keynes, *Atlas*, tables 35 and 38

[270] This is certainly the belief of Hart, *Danelaw*, 121, and D. Henson, *A Guide to Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Hockwold-cum-Wilton, 1998), 127; Hart takes eastern 'Wessex' to include Kent, Surrey and Sussex.

There has been a tendency to overlook Northumbria (in favour of Danelaw regions) for territorial origin of these men; historians such as Cyril Hart, whenever they have tried to place them, have generally done so only in a very small area in the East Midlands. Given the Northumbrian overlordship exercised by Æthelstan and because the East Midlands in general is likely to be too small to support so many figures of such status, we should probably look north of the Humber for the territorial power bases of many if not most of these *duces*—acknowledging that many of these figures may have held assets on both sides of the Humber. Nonetheless, it is reasonable to assume, for instance, that Thurferth is the Southumbrian earl who in *ASC* MS A was leader of the men of Northampton and Leicester and 'north of these places' (*Hamtune 7 of Ligeraceastre 7 þonan norþan*), an army which attacked Towcester (Northamptonshire) in 917. He was, at least, leader of the army when it surrendered to Edward the Elder in autumn 917 (a distinct army lead by earls Toflos and his son Manna had come from Huntingdon and East Anglia).[272] Hart and others have suggested that Thurferth became a vassal of Æthelstan 'High-King' from the 930s.[273]

The two most prominent Scandinavians, in terms of number and rank of attestations, are named Guthrum and Urm.[274] The latter occurs seven times with this name, while the name 'Thurum' also appears in the period. [275] Urm is absent from charters of Edmund, but reoccurs in the four charters of Eadred that have Northumbrian and Scandinavian 'ducal' witnesses, as well as charters of Eadwig and even Edgar (958).[276] A Grim appears in two charters in April 930, and in one of these his name follows Urm.[277] Like Urm, he is absent in the reign of Edmund, but appears in three of the aforementioned Eadred charters.[278] If the evidence suggested anywhere, Urm's origins would be with East Anglia or Lincolnshire.[279] In all three cases similar name constructions evoke the family of Guthrum, king among the 'East Anglian' Norse, in turn further strengthening the case for a link with the 'southern Danelaw'.

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[271] Keynes, *Atlas*, table 38.

[272] *ASC* MS A, s.a. 920 (*recte* 917); Thurferth is consequently indexed as 'Earl of Northampton' in Hart, *Danelaw*, 675. The army of Northampton is active from 913 (see *ASC*, 62–67).

[273] Hart, *Danelaw*, 577; Williams et al., *BDDAB*, s.v. 'Thurferth Earl 917–34', 227.

[274] *PASE*, *s.v.* 'Guthrum 2', and for Urm 'Thurum 1' and 'Urm 1'.

[275] *Sawyer,* nos 412 and 413; see *PASE*, 'Thurum 1'.

[276] *Sawyer*, nos 520, 544, 550, 552a (Barking), 630, 674, 679; Keynes, *Atlas*, tables 32, 45, 50, 56

[277] *Sawyer*, nos 403, 405, 403 contains the overlap with Urum and Guthrum.

[278] *Sawyer*, nos 520, 544, 550.

[279] *Gaimar*, 18–21. In *Havelock*, 22–23, Grim founder of Grimsby is later depicted as the father-in-law of Olaf Cuarán. Grim and Gorm (or Urum or Guthrum) may have come together in later tradition. One *Roger of*

Nothing is known about the Styrcer who appears only in the same two charters as Grim.[280] Likewise, nothing can be said about Fraena, Haweard, and 'Tiesberd'.[281] Halfdan is equally obscure; the occurrence of a *dux* with his name in charters of Edmund and Edgar suggests he may have lived as late as 958.[282] In some cases however, other evidence may provide specifics. One Scule appears to witness at least seven royal charters, 931–35; he reappears in two charters of Edmund and in four of Eadred. [283] There is the 'powerful warrior' (*potenti militi*) Scule, follower of the Ua Ímair Rognvald, the Scule who obtained Castle Eden and Billingham (the south-eastern part of what later became county Durham) at the expense of Ealdred of Bamburgh's dependent Ælfred son of Brihtwulf.[284] In *Liber Eliensis* a *comes* named *Scule* is named as an important landholder.[285] Scule's name is unusual and again the chances of there being more than one contemporary 'ducal' figure with that name do not appear particularly high. If the identification were certain, it would show that Æthelstan and his successors really did draw the political community of Rognvald and Sigtrygg, extending from East Anglia far to the north of the river Tees, into their affinity.

Just as interesting, perhaps, is the *Ingwaer* (Ivar) who appears in three charters, one in August 932, and two in the summer of 934. *AClon* names one 'Imar king of Denmarks owen son with 4000 soldiers in his guard' among the dead at the Battle of Brunanburh.[286] A death at the famous battle would, of course, not contradict the disappearance of *Ingwaer* from English sources c. 934. Elsewhere in *AClon,* Laithlinn/Lochlann is translated as

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Wendover annal refers to the woman as *Alditham, Ormi comitis filiam* (*RW*, I, 394). Incidentally Gorm's date would support a link with the Danish monarch Gorm the Old, and if so he may have been related to the northern Great Army royal lineage that used such a name.

[280] The name in later generations was used in the far north, and bearing the name were a series of coiners as well as the *Styr filius Ulfi* who issued a charter confirming to St Cuthbert Darlington and land along the middle Tees in the reign of Æthelred the Unready (recorded by *HSC*, 66–67:c. 29).

[281] *Sawyer,* no 412, 416 (Haweard), 405, 415 (Fraena), 417 ('Tiesberd'); see also *PASE*, s.v. 'Fræna 3', 'Hawerd 1' and 'Tiesberd 1'.

[282] *Sawyer*, nos 407, 425, 679, 1497; *PASE*, s.v. 'Halfdene 1' and 'Halfdene 2'.

[283] *Sawyer*. nos 514, 528, 544, 550, 552a (Barking), 1497.

[284] *HSC*, 60–63:c.23–24.

[285] *Liber Eliensis*, 111: ii.36–37; briefly discussed in Hart, *Danelaw*, 577; see also *PASE*, *s.v.* 'Scule 1' and 'Scule 3'.

[286] *AClon*, 151: s.a. 931 (*recte* 937); see also Downham, *Viking Kings*, 258.

'Denmark', which could make him a son of the ruler of this mysterious realm (perhaps a relative of Olaf, the Finngall ally of the Great Army).[287] The correspondence could suggest that Ivar had retained some Northumbrian powerbase despite the Ecgberhting takeover; another possibility is that he was in Æthelstan's custody for some diplomatic reason. The identification might initially seem a remote possibility, but the status of *dux* in charters of this era indicates an elevated social rank plausibly assignable, even in the Insular context as a whole, only to a very small number of people. Ivar is not the only witness to such charters with such a typical Ua Ímair name either. One Regenwold (an Old English form of *Rögnvaldr*) witnessed five charters, 932–934. He might be the Rognvald who shared kingship (or at least enjoyed simultaneous regal title) with Olaf Cuarán during King Edmund's period of supremacy in the 940s; his disappearance after 934 could be linked to the death of *Gofraid ua Ímair* (his father under this suggestion) in that year, or as Hart suggested he may have been killed in Scotland.[288]

The Gunner of the era could also be a significant Northumbrian figure, especially if he were Gunner father of Thored, a man who served as Northumbrian viceregal ealdorman after that position emerged later in the century (see below 4.2.3).[289] In charters, Gunner appears as a 'ducal' witness 931–963, in nine documents between the reign of Æthelstan and Edgar, most of these appearances alongside other Northumbrians (all of those preceding the reign of Edgar are such).[290] It is possible he is the Gunderic (*Gunderico*) in the late–tenth-century *De S. Cadroe Abbate* said to have met Cathróe on behalf of King Erik at *Loidam ciuitatem* after the saint crossed from the realm of the *Cumbri* into that of the *Normanni*.[291] At any rate, Gunner *dux* is the beneficiary in 963 of a 30-hide royal confirmation of land around Newbald (Yorkshire).[292] The appearance of *Durre Dux* just after Gunner's own name in another Yorkshire grant, apparently the first occurrence of Thored's name, makes it highly probable that Gunner was indeed the father of Ealdorman Thored. [293] Lastly, Hadd may also come from north of the Humber, on the logic that he 'appears next to that of Scule so consistently in witnessed charters from 931 to 949' that 'one cannot doubt' [Hart] they were based in the same region—though reasonably enough Hart took this to be East Anglia.[294]

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[287] For instance, compare *AClon*, 166: s.a. 1007 (*recte* 1014) and *AU,* s.a. 1014; the location and origin of Lochlann (and Laithlinn) have not been resolved; for discussions, see C. Etchingham, 'Laithlinn, "Fair Foreigners" and "Dark Foreigners"', in J. Sheehan and D. Ó Corráin (eds), *The Viking Age* (Dublin, 2010), 80–84, and Ó Corráin, 'Vikings in Scotland and Ireland in the Ninth Century', *Peritia* 12 (1998), 296–339, who makes an extensive case for 'Viking Scotland'. It is worth noting that according to an eleventh-century Scottish source, the *Lebor Bretnach*, Lochlann was the homeland of Hengist, and his daughter was the 'fairest of all the women of Lochlann'—for which see *Lebor Bretnach*, 85–6 (*…is iside ba caime do mnaib Lochlainde uile*); according to the tale Vortigern's lust for her persuaded him to give up Kent to the Saxons.

[288] *AU*, s.a. 934; Hart, *Danelaw*, 572, n. 9.

[289] See *PASE*, s.v. 'Gunner 1', 'Gunner 2', and 'Gunner 3', there being no reason why each cannot represent the same person.

[290] *Sawyer*, nos 416, 552a, 633, 659, 677, 679, 712, 712a, 716

[291] *DSCA*, 476.

4.2.2 Northern *duces* after Æthelstan

The 'Northumbrian' witnesses in 930–935, in Æthelstan's reign, do not reoccur in charters from Edmund's reign. The best his reign offers are two undated charters attested by Halfdan (one) and Scule (both). [295] As hinted above, Eadred's reign tells a slightly different story. Four charters of Eadred's reign are witnessed by northerners. These are especially informative because they are datable and because their *duces* (with the exception of Scule) do not witness any other charters in Eadred's reign. They date 949–950, and contain the *duces* Urm, Grim, Scule, Gunner, Morcar, and *Andcoll*, as well as Oswulf and an Uhtred. The first five had appeared in the reign of Æthelstan; whatever their role in events around Brunanburh and in the return of the Uí Ímair to primacy, the Ecgberhtings must have forgiven them. The name of Morcar (occurring once as *Imorcar*) suggests a possible relationship with the family that came to control the earldom of Mercia in the eleventh century, but the etymology of the name is obscure. Another obscure name is Andcoll or Coll. It is used by an unrelated character in the *Orkneyinga Saga* (Anakol of Deerness) and is found in the Gaelic-speaking parts of southern Scotland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[296] The presence of a *dux* (here also styled *eorl*) with this name in northern Northumbria (perhaps in Lothian, Ayrshire or one of the Border valleys) in the tenth century could go some way to explaining the geography of its future occurrences.

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[292] *Sawyer*, no. 716

[293] *Sawyer*, no. 712

[294] Hart, *Danelaw*, 577; *Sawyer*, nos 407, 413, 417, 422, 425.

[295] *Sawyer*, nos 514, 1497; Keynes, *Atlas*, table 42.

[296] His name occurs as *7coll eorl* (*Sawyer*, no. 520), and *Coll* (*Sawyer*, nos 544, 550); see also *Orkneyinga Saga*, 184, 188, 199, and G. F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland* (New York, 1946), 23; perhaps it is *Collan*, with reversed 'elements'.

In the reign of Edgar (and Eadwig), the pattern is fairly similar to that of Eadred. Northumbrian and Scandinavian *duces* attest together in 958 and in 963, in charters issued, mostly, at York. From Edgar's time the number of such *duces* appearing at any one time reduces, and there are also frequent instances when one *dux*, Oslac in particular, attests without any other obviously Northumbrian or Scandinavian *duces*. Nonetheless, despite the suggestion that a single Northumbrian ealdordom had come into existence in Eadred's time, other *duces* still make occasional appearances—occasional enough to suspect that their absence otherwise is down to the provenance of the surviving evidence. Of these witnesses, *Anfred*, Leod, *Myrdach*, *Ascured*, *Ayered*, Cytelbearn, Oscytel, and Oslac are new *duces* in the reign, with Urum, Gunner, Halfdan, Morcar, and Uhtred representing continuity from earlier reigns. *Anfred*, *Ascured*, *Ayered,* Oscytel and Cytelbearn make only solitary attestations in Yorkshire-related charters, *Anfred* in 956, *Ascured* and *Ayered* in 958, Cytelbearn in 963, and Oscytel in 963.[297] Leod appears in three charters in three different years, 956, 958, and 959.[298] This name probably derives from Norse *Ljótr*, but the name's poor currency in later Anglo-Saxon England contrasts with its usage in Gaelic Scotland, where it came to be employed by a notable of the later tenth century, by a twelfth-century abbot of Brechin, and subsequently became famous in the Scottish surname MacLeod.[299] *Myrdach* (also spelled *Mirdach*) occurs in two charters, one of 958 and one of 963.[300] The name itself was not just a popular name in the Gaelic world, but is also etymologically Celtic; the name is without question the Gaelic name Muiredach (in modern English, Murdo, Murdoch, etc). More than any others these two names would be expected to originate in the old Northumbrian west country or from the far north, even if that cannot be certain.[301]

4.2.3 The Ealdordom and Disappearance of Northern *duces*

None of the above supports the 'Northumbrian Earldom Foundation Legend'. There is easily more than one 'ducal' figure north of the Humber during the reign of Eadred when, according to even the more reliable version, it remained a unity with a single earl, whose role was subsequently divided under Edgar (*De Northymbrorum Comitibus*–*Wallingford*). Oswulf's death year is unknown; he cannot be accounted for after 950, but his alleged responsibility for the death of Erik in 954 could extend his *floruit*. Nonetheless, there are also more than two *duces* in reign of Edgar, and even in the reign of Æthelred, three *duces* likely to be based in Northumbria exist simultaneously, with Northman and Waltheof appearing along with Ælfhelm in one charter of 994 (see below). On the other hand, a *dux* named Eadwulf appears in charters 968–970, and in doing so his period of attestation does indeed overlap with that of Oslac. The overlap is easiest to explain if we hold that the author of the 'Northumbrian Earldom Foundation Legend' came to be, somehow, the recipient of some accurate information. Neither Eadwulf nor Oslac appear to be the ancestors of anyone significant in the following two centuries. 959 is the last year with large numbers of Northumbrian *duces*: nine of them. In 963 there are at least three (a figure which excludes the holder of the Eadwulfing *ducatus*); afterwards, the number narrows, with only Oslac appearing regularly. The exception to this in Edgar's reign are four appearances from Eadwulf 968–70, and one by a 'Malcolm' in 970, clearly the rulers of Bamburgh and 'Cumbria'.[302] The trend could be interpreted favourably for the 'Northumbrian Earldom Foundation Legend', though it does not verify its account here.

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[297] *Sawyer*, nos 659, 679, 681, 716; *PASE*, s.v. 'Anfred 1', 'Ascured 1' , 'Ayered 1', and 'Cytelbearn 1'.

[298] *PASE*, s.v. 'Leod 1' and 'Leot 1'.

[299] Anderson, *Kings and Kingship*, 252; K. H. Jackson, *The Gaelic Notes in the 'Book of Deer'* (Cambridge, 1972), 31, 34, 61.

[300] *Sawyer*, nos 679, 712a.

[301] The name's use in eastern Northumbria is shown by inscription on a stone cross at Alnmouth, 'Myrdah made me' (*MYREDaH*MEH*wO*), though Myrdah's origin is unknown; R. I. Page, 'How Long Did the Scandinavian Language Survive in England?', in P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (eds), *England Before the Conquest* (London, 1971), 165–81, at 176.

There is, however, contemporary evidence that the kings created a viceregal ealdordom for Northumbria, and that this office was held by Oslac. Entries made into *ASC* tradition in the eleventh century from northern annals, common to MSS DEF, describe Oslac's accession to the ealdordom (*feng to ealdordome*) s.a. 966, and two of them his exile in 975.[303] Despite this, Oslac attests charters as *dux* from 963 until 975.[304] Whitelock has suggested the charters were at fault here, but Oslac's 965 attestations are not particularly problematic, and it is more likely that the annal is at fault, perhaps from a transcription error.[305] In the 'Wihtbordesstan Code' (*IV Edgar*) King Edgar issues a set of ordinances in response to a plague afflicting his realm. In the surviving form, the king orders that his decrees be followed by his English and Danish subjects, but as it closes it is stated that

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[302] Keynes, *Atlas*, table LVI; Malcolm's appearance (*Sawyer*, no. 779=*Liber Eliensis*, 76–8: ii.5) has him ranked before Eadwulf, which would suggest he was the reigning king or heir to Strathclyde rather than say, a successor to Muiredach's *ducatus*.

[303] *ASC* MS D, s.a. 966, 975, MS E, s.a. 966, 975, and MS F, s.a. 966.

[304] Keynes, *Atlas*, table LVI; *Sawyer*, nos 766, 771, 779, 806.

[305] Whitelock, 'Dealings', 78; for charter attestations of 965, see *Sawyer*, nos 732, 733, 734; for 963, see nos 712, 712a, 716.

'Further, Earl Oslac (*Oslác eorl*) and all the population dwelling in his earldordom (*on his ealdordom*) shall promote the observance of this', adding that copies should be made for the ealdormen Ælfhere [of Mercia] and Æthelwine [of East Anglia].[306] Ælfhere attests as senior ealdorman 956–983, and Æthelwine 962–992, both having corresponding obits in *ASC* tradition.[307] A plague is mentioned s.a. 962 in *ASC* MS A, meaning the ordinance may have been issued around 962 or 963.[308] This event would appear to confirm the suggestion of the charters that the DEF annal is off. Oslac's appearance in these charters does, roughly, correspond with the disappearance of large numbers of northern *duces* from royal charters. The coincidence is very curious, and anyone inclined to argue for the historicity of the 'Northumbrian Earldom Foundation Legend' would be justified in using this.

The reference to Oslac in the Wihtbordesstan Code tells us something else. Oslac was a *dux* not just because of a particular inherited status (be it 'petty king', earl, high-reeve, or whatever), but because he had been appointed as a territorial ealdorman on the West Saxon model. Like Ælfhere of Mercia and Æthelwine of East Anglia he was responsible, to the Ecgberhting monarch, for territory in a former kingdom. One might be tempted to suspect that Edgar's Northumbrian ealdordom, rather than replacing pre-existing political structures, acted as a viceroyalty on top of existing structures; in destroying the independence of the kings who had earlier ruled from York and Lincoln, the duties of governing the region were delegated to an ealdorman acting in the Anglo-Saxon king's name. Employing Anglo-Saxon charter subscriptions to test the 'Northumbrian Earldom Foundation Legend' of course puts us at the mercy of the royal bureaucracy and their terminological system, which might change more rapidly than the 'reality' we seek to discover. The term *dux* is used to denote both royal ealdormen and a variety of other statuses, but we should probably expect such use to narrow, particularly in sources produced by royal bureaucrats, if a royal centre began to assert more effective control over access to that status. In this context, the creation of a single ealdordom for Northumbria would also explain the number of Northumbrian *duces* shrinking. There is no need for any sudden and significant accompanying change in patterns of territorial control or even of status within Northumbrian society itself, particularly beyond York.

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[306] *Laws* (Ro), 38–39.

[307] *ASC*, 81, 82; Keynes, Atlas, tables LVI, LXII; Henson, *Guide*, 127, 128.

[308] *ASC*, 76; S. Keynes, 'Edgar, Rex Admirabilis', in Edgar, 3–59, at 11.

The above evidence suggests not that Edgar divided one earldom held by Oswulf into two units, but that one singular ealdordom was created with responsibility for Northumbrian territory, and that the 'Northern English' realm continued to exist either under or along side it. It has generally been held, for good reasons, that Oslac's successor was Thored, followed by Ælfhelm.[309] There is no period of charter overlap between these men, and other evidence points to the same office. Archbishop Oswald of York seems to have claimed that he lost lands in (southern) Northumbria to Earl Thored, which would indeed link him to the region.[310] Ælfhelm is specifically titled in two charters *dux transhumbranae gentis* and *Norðanhumbrensium provinciarum dux*.[311] A succession of Oslac-Thored-Ælfhelm is probable then; and it is almost certain that the ealdordom was thought of as 'of Northumbria' or 'of [part of] Northumbria', at least in Ælfhelm's period.

Hart has made some observations which might complement this picture, but which rest on weaker evidence. He cited Gaimar, who preserved a tradition that Edgar for some period of time had given the ealdorman of East Anglia, Æthelwold son of Æthelstan 'Half-King', full control of England north of the Humber (*terre del north li commanda / tut justisast del Humbre avant*).[312] Hart argued on this basis that Æthelwold was Oslac's predecessor as ealdorman.[313] Likewise, a claim in *Liber Eliensis* that Ealdorman Byrhtnoth of Essex (†991) was *vir…noblissimus Northanimbrorum dux* led Hart to suggest that Byrhtnoth (and Æthelwold before him) had overall suzerainty of Northumbria, with ealdormen of 'Deira' and 'Bernicia' below them.[314] It is possible that Æthelwold did indeed have such a role, and this evidence could legitimately add to our picture; but it is also possible that Gaimar had mixed this Æthelwold up with the son of Æthelred I of Wessex, whom he had met elsewhere in his source material.

Interpreting reliable contemporary sources to accommodate late Anglo-Norman claims is risky, and potentially unnecessary. However, we do know for certain that a viceregal ealdordom had arisen prior to the Anglo-Norman Age. Whether or not Edgar altered northern administration, such a system was in place by the reign of Cnut. Cnut's realm extended from Britain across the North Sea over mainland Scandinavia: according to *ASC* MSS DCE, in 1017 'King Cnut succeeded to all the kingdom of England and divided it into four, Wessex for himself, East Anglia for Thorkell, Mercia for Eadric, and Northumbria for Erik'. An earl under Cnut was effectively a subordinate ruler of a 'kingdom-sized' realm. These former English kingdoms had overarching earls, as did Denmark itself (presided over by Cnut's brother-in-law Earl Ulf), and the title could be accorded to visiting foreigners of analogous status, such as the Slavic prince Wratislaw (*Wrytsleof dux*).[315] Perhaps foreign Insular rulers of lower status, such as those of Bamburgh and Cumbria c. 970, had been viewed to be like Wratislaw and continued to be entitled to the title *dux* even though it became inappropriate for any member of the English realm who was not a viceregal ealdorman.

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[309] Whitelock, 'Dealings', 79–80; *BDDAB*, *s.v.* 'Ælfhelm ealdorman 993–1006', 9 and s.v. 'Thored ealdorman 979–92', 223; Kapelle, *NCN*, 14; Fletcher, *Bloodfeud*, 70, 73; Henson, *Guide*, 129.

[310] *Sawyer,* no. 1453, trans. *EHD*, I, 565.

[311] *Sawyer*, nos 891, 1380; the witness list in which this phrase is contained can be found in *Monasticon Anglicanum*, edd. J. Caley, H. Ellis, and B. Bandinel (1823–1849), VI.3, 1446.

[312] *Gaimar*, 210–11: lines 3844–3845.

[313] Hart, *Danelaw*, 585–86.

[314] *Liber Eliensis*, 134: ii.62; Hart, *Danelaw*, 138–40.

4.3 The Northumbrian West

4.3.1 The Old West

While eastern Northumbria has been discussed in detail, a satisfactory overall understanding requires that some time be given to the diversity and complexity of the Northumbrian 'west country', the part of the 'former' kingdom that lay west of the Pennines and Cheviots, approximating what became the later English counties of Lancashire, Westmorland, and Cumberland; and the Scottish sheriffdoms of Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, Wigtown, and Ayr. It is not uncommon to see this region coloured out or to the west of the 'kingdom of Northumbria' in illustrative historical maps, despite the fact that the bulk of the region was already part of Northumbria by the beginning of literary records, while locations such as Carlisle and Whithorn were more central to the Northumbrian state structures than many more easterly areas. In the seventh century Carlisle, *ciuitas Luel*, was a Northumbrian royal residence and was firmly within the kingdom's Church system.[316] Further west still, Whithorn was already an integral component in the lifetime of Bede, with an English bishopric (probably replacing a British one) having been established by 731.[317] According to *Continuatio Bedae*, probably a contemporary record from later in the eighth century,

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[315] S. Keynes, 'Cnut's Earls', in A. Rumble (ed.), *Reign of Cnut* (London, 1994), 43–88, at 57–58; R. Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England* (Cambridge, 1991), 48–52; Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 304.

[316] *VA*, 116–17: iv.5, 122–23: iv.8,124–25: iv.9; *VP*, 242–43: c.27.

[317] *HE*, 22–23: iii.4, 558–59: v.14.

campus Cyil cum aliis regionibus, the 'plain of Kyle [central Ayrshire] and other regions', were added to Northumbrian kingdom during the reign of Eadberht, in 750.[318] Old English place-names in the west are sparse enough to suggest Old English's spread would lose momentum or otherwise fail in much of the west, and that outside a few key strategic areas Celtic-speaking tribal communities may have remained the dominant social order of the population—though the place-name pattern might also be explained by subsequent decline. Likely Old English toponyms have survived in enough numbers to confirm some kind of associated language expansion into the west, and high-status locations like Turnberry, Borgue, Edingham, and Buittle retained their Northumbrian names long after Northumbrian English had disappeared. This picture of English presence (alongside native survival) seems to be confirmed by archaeological evidence.[319]

Extracts preserved in *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* suggest that westerly locations like Carlisle and Heversham survived within the Northumbrian Church after the Great Army's settlement, with several Northumbrian sub-royal families appearing to have retained bases west of the great moor.[320] In one case, Tilred abbot of Heversham is said to have bought land in the east, presumably from the Danes, subsequently donating it to Cuthbert in order to become abbot of Norham.[321] The pattern of place-name evidence suggests some Scandinavian settlement west of the moor, but cannot tell us whether this was the settlement of 875, the apparent settlement of 896, or one that came about as a consequence of the rise of the Uí Ímair sometime in the succeeding decades. The Uí Ímair may have operated initially in the west. The earliest known action of Rognvald, first Ua Ímair ruler in Northumbria, is in 914 killing Bárðr son of Óttarr (*Barid mac Oitir*) around

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[318] *CB*, 574–75; see *HE*, 488–89: v.12 (and Nicolaisen, *SPN*, 92–93) for evidence that the 'Northumbrian kingdom' (*regio Nordanhymbrorum*) named Cunninghame (*Incuneningum*), northern Ayrshire, had already come under some kind of overlordship from Bernicia by the time of Bede; see also Fraser, *Caledonia-Pictland*, 216–17, 306, 314–15. There is no guarantee that 'Kyle' in the eighth century was particularly close to the post-1100 administrative region in terms of its borders, but the physical resemblance of the latter with the central 'plain' of what was later Ayrshire is very reassuring.

[319] Armstrong et al., *PNC*, III, pp. xxi–xxii; Smith, *PNW*, I, pp. xxxvi–xxxix; Nicolaisen, *SPN*, 88–108; G. W. S. Barrow, 'Use of Place-Names and Scottish History', in *UPN*, 54–74, at 67–69; C. J. Crowe, *The Development of Church Institutions in Dumfries and Galloway, AD 450–1200* (PhD dissertation, Manchester Metropolitan University, 1988), 49–70, and L. W. Sharp, *The Expansion of the English Language in Scotland* (PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1927), 94–96.

[320] *HSC*, 60–63: c.22–24.

[321] *HSC*, 61–62: c.21.

Manainn,[322] and he may have been involved with the destruction of an Ulaid fleet off Galloway in 913.[323] These references made Woolf believe that Rognvald had held territory in western Northumbria before he assumed control of York.[324] Had the 'Northumbrian' Norse been leaderless since the death of Guthred, the opportunities offered to the region's next generation of settlers by new leadership must have been welcome, especially if they were under threat from the rising Eadwulfings in the interior. The evidence that the Uí Ímair held sway over Galloway and the remainder of the Northumbrian west in the period 918–954 is strong.[325] The potential for intermixture between Norse settler leaders and leaders of communities under the sphere of the Eadwulfings might be suggested by the murder of King Erik by a follower of Oswulf on Stainmore in 954, though Oswulf's involvement may not be historic.

4.3.2 The Ua Ímair Rump

In the tenth century, part of the Northumbrian west country is referred to as *Airer Saxan* ('shore of the English'), at least by its neighbours; places in the region (such as Loch Ryan and Portpatrick) are otherwise referred to as 'English' in Gaelic sources dating in and around the ninth and tenth centuries.[326] In hindsight the region's 'Englishness' was probably nearing its end, but if the Uí Ímair were claiming (or even aspiring) to be Northumbrian rulers at any point then such an end would not have been in anyone's sight—no more so than in York. If Sigtrygg or Olaf Cuarán or other Ua Ímair ruler did project themselves as kings of Northumbria, this would mean that, in the worst case scenario, many of Northumbria's western regions, like its southern regions, were controlled by members and followers of the kindred controlling the Northumbrian kingship, at least as far as the 940s; at best, lands in western Northumbria (including Galloway) were still held by the Northumbrian kings themselves *as Northumbrian kings* in this era.

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[322] *AU*, s.a. 914.

[323] T. O. Clancy, 'The Gall-Ghàidheil and Galloway', *JSNS* 2 (2008), 19–50, at 43.

[324] Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 141.

[325] Downham, *Viking Kings*, 173–75; Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, 1–9.

[326] *AU*, s.a. 914; Clancy, 'The Gall-Ghàidheil', 43, citing this as well as the *Cath Maige Mucrama* and *Scéla Cano meic Gartáin*; compare *Airer Saxan* in *AU* to *in Angliae littora*, describing the coast of Galloway in the partially Scottish-derived compilation on Cuthbert, *DOSC*, 76: c.18. The description was perhaps part of a Viking-Age naming schema for the west of Scotland, which also contrasted *Airer Gaidel* ('Coast of the Gael', i.e. Argyll) with *Innsi Gall* ('Islands of the Norse', i.e. the Hebrides); see A. Woolf, 'Age of Sea-Kings', in D. Omand (ed.), *The Argyll Book* (Edinburgh, 2004), 94–109, at 94–95.

Whether or not that was the case, after the 940s the islands between Britain and Ireland begin to take a more prominent role in contemporary sources. Archaeologically there is evidence that in the 960s and 970s some of the wealth of the Greater Irish Sea Viking region was shifting from southern Northumbria and the Danelaw to Mann.[327] From 971 Guthfrith and Maccus, sons of a certain Harald, come to notice in the Insular World due to their activities in Wales. Hudson argued that their father was not an Ua Ímair, but rather the Scandinavian chieftain of that name based in Bayeux in Normandy, active between 942 and 954. This argument was rejected by Downham, who instead suggested the father was Harald son of Sigtrygg, the king of Limerick whose obit is recorded in the Irish annals for 940.[328] Downham further suggests that this Harald was son of the Sigtrygg *ua Ímair* who died in 927.[329] Hudson was certainly correct to look at all the different political units active in north-western Europe for potential leads, but in this case the evidence cited for the son of Sigtrygg is very good, though perhaps not overwhelming. Francis Byrne suggested Harald might be Harold Bluetooth king of Denmark, which is not particularly improbable but if true lacks the specific evidence we would need to verify it.[330] Another candidate, or indeed perhaps the same candidate as one of the above, is the father of the Erik who ruled in Northumbria and was killed on Stainmore by Maccus son of Olaf. The sons of Harald are important because they are, as far as reliable evidence is concerned, the first men to be described as 'King of the Isles'.[331]

Hudson has more persuasively argued that the Haraldssons utilised a base in what is now Wigtonshire; they were not initially based in Mann, Wales, or Ireland— only later acquiring holdings and tribute in these regions. Although the evidence as ever is sparse, at least one descendant of the Haraldssons was based there two generations later. Guthfrith Haraldson's possible grandson Echmarcach was described by Marianus Scotus as *rex inna renn* ('King of the Rhinns') on his death in 1065, though at the peak of his career Echmarcach had controlled Dublin and Mann.[332] *Vita Griffini filii Conani,* the twelfth-century Latin life of Gruffudd ap Cynan (†1137), claimed that the Gwynedd king's maternal grandfather Olaf

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[327] Downham, *Viking Kings*, 182; for some late and tenuous references to a 'kingdom of the Isles' previously, see ibid., 183–84.

[328] Hudson, *VPCP*, 65–69; Downham, *Viking Kings*, 185–90.

[329] Downham, *Viking Kings*, 192–93.

[330] *NHI*, IX.2, 466.

[331] W. D. H. Sellar, 'Hebridean Sea Kings', in *Alba*, 187–218, at 189–90.

[332] Hudson, *VPCP*, 70–71; F. J. Byrne, 'Na Renna', *Peritia* 1 (1982), 267.

(†1034) had been king of the Rhinns (*Arennae*) as well as Galloway (*Galovidiae*) and other places; Olaf was the son of Sigtrygg Silkbeard, who in Downham's argument would be the first cousin of the Haraldssons.[333] The Rhinns kingdom is attested in the eleventh century, associated with Whithorn and with Dunragit (*Dún Reichet*, which might tempt some suspicion about a revival of the region's 'pre-English' polity).[334] The last known specific ruler, *Macc Congail, rí na Rend*, died in 1094—though there is no reason to think *Macc Congail* was the region's last independent king of *Na Renna*, the Rhinns.[335] The territory lies conveniently poised between Mann and the Hebrides; after the Rhinns was lost, taken over by the family of Fergus 'of Galloway' probably at some point in the first third of the twelfth century, rulers of the islands were not able to rejoin the two regions.

Ecgberhting takeover of Northumbria seems to have meant, in practice, loss of many of its 'peripheral' territories in the north and west. In this scenario, the Ecgberhtings managed to take York (and perhaps some sort of overlordship of the English in the former kingdom) from their erstwhile Ua Ímair competitors, but relinquished ambition for the rest. Stripping them of south-eastern Northumbria and the five boroughs, the Ecgberhting dynasty reduced the Uí Ímair to the power of their other Insular neighbours, never again posing a serious threat to the Anglo-Saxon kingdom. What this would mean is that the kingdoms of *Na Renna* and of Mann are effectively the reverse imprint of West Saxon expansion in Northumbria. The breakup of the Northumbrian kingdom was, in essence, the price paid for taming the Uí Ímair and for the 'creation of England'.

4.3.3 The *Westmoringas*

The fate of the territory between *Na Renna* and the 'Bamburgh' realm is less clear. In the second half of the tenth century a new but obscure political grouping emerges: the *Westmoringas*. The people in question gave their name to a rural deanery and a barony, later an English county, 'of Westmorland'. The 'western mountains' or 'western moor' features in *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*. Ealdred Eadwulfing's client Ælfred son of Britwulf, later deposed by Rognvald grandson of Ivar, was said to have come over the western moor ‘fleeing pirates’ (*fugiens piratas, uenit ultra montes uersus occidentem*).[336] In another episode, Eadred son of Ricsige *equitauit uersus occidentem ultra montes et interfecit Eardulfum principem*.[337] An enigmatic entry in *ASC* from the mid tenth century, in MSS D and E, makes reference to their territory being ravaged: it is said that, in 966, ‘Thored, Gunner's son, ravaged *Westmoringa land*’, a possibly mis-dated entry that is followed by the commemoration of Oslac’s succession to the ealdormanry’ (*Đoreð, Gunneres sunu, forhergode Westmoringa land. 7 þy ilcan geare Oslac feng to ealdordome*).[338] No more is known about the people attacked by Thored, nor does contemporary evidence shed light on the political context of Thored’s expedition.[339]

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[333] *Vita Griffini Filii Conani*, ed. and trans. P. Russell (Cardiff, 2005), 54–55; the Welsh version has '…*a Galwei, a Renneu*…' (see ibid., 129).

[334] E. Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum Locorum et Tribuum Hiberniae et Scotiae* (Dublin, 1910), s.v. 'Renna', the latter half (*Duib Chuilinn is na Rendaib, i. hi nDún Reichet*) relating to the area around Dunragit—see Byrne, 'Na Renna'; *Félire Óengusso,* 212-23, 246-47; see also B. T. Hudson, *Kings of Celtic Scotland* (Westport, 1994), 117, n. 23.

[335] *AI*, s.a. 1094.

For the St Albans writers of the early thirteenth century Westmorland was a plausible pre-Conquest kingdom.[340] In the twelfth century, Gaimar equated the Westmoringians with Galwegians / Gall-Gaidel:

Ninan aveit ainz baptizé	‘Ninian had previously baptized
les altres Pictes del regné:	the other Picts in the kingdom.
ço sunt les Westmaringïens	These are the *Westmaringïens*,
ki donc esteient Pictïens.	though at that time they were known as Pictish.
A Wyternen gist saint Ninan	Saint Ninian, who was buried at Whithorn,
longtens vint devant Columban	preceded Columba by a considerable number of years’.[341]

Gaimar may have been attempting to make sense of his source, the Northumbrian *ASC*’s entry for 565 (attested in *ASC* MS E), which talks about ‘the *wærteres* north of the moors’ *(wærteres be norðum morum*), probably a references to the people of Fortriu (the resemblance of ‘r’ and ‘s’ in Insular script could also have confused a post-Conquest reader). Nevertheless, in ‘extending’ to the *Gall-Gaidel* the term *Westmoringas*, Gaimar might also be bearing witness to a lost meaning. In the eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon world map in

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[336] *HSC*, 60:c22.

[337] *HSC*, 62:c.24.

[338] *ASC* MS D, s.a. 966; trans. *ASC*, 76.

[339] For some discussion, see F. M. Stenton, ‘Pre-Conquest Westmorland’, in D. M. Stenton (ed.), *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1970), 214–23, at 218–19.

[340] *RW*, I, 415.

[341] *Gaimar*, 54–55: lines 967–972.

Cotton Tiberius v, 56v, two groups of people are placed in the north-west of the island. In the far north are the *Camri*, apparently living north of the Solway. This, self-evidently, represents the Cumbrians, the men of Strathclyde (see below); to their south is another group, or at least a place, which reads either *Morenpergas* or *Morenƿergas* (i.e. with a wynn); the first appears to be meaningless, but the second would be 'wild men of the Moors'.[342] If that reading were correct, it would confirm the impression from later sources that the west is a place outside the system of order with its heart in the south-east, deviance that was perhaps difficult to distinguish from Westmoringian ethnicity.

4.3.4 Greater Allerdale

According to the *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba*, territory in modern Cumberland was raided by Cináed mac Maíl-Choluim (†995): he 'plundered England as far as Stainmore, and *Cluaim*, and the pools of *Derran*' (*Scotti preduerunt Saxoniam ad Stanmoir et ad Cluaim et ad stagna Derrani*).[343] Such wording suggests the territory was part of the 'Northern English' political system, and it is even possible that the *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba* is describing the southern boundaries of the 'earldom' ruled by the descendants of Eadwulf—as a means of emphasizing the extent of Cináed's expedition. We do not get our first detailed look at what became 'Cumberland' for another half century, in the time of Siward (†1055), the viceregal earl who appears to have extended his *de facto* domination northwards around 1041.[344] This window is *Gospatric's Writ*, preserved in the archive of the Westmorland Lowther family who, one supposes, were (one way or the other) the successors of one of its original recipients.[345] The original beneficiary had been Thorfinn son of Thore, a local big man with territory in Cardew and Cumdivock on the south-western side of Carlisle. A *Dolfinn m. Finntuir*, usually analysed as 'Dolfin son of Thorfinn' (with reversed elements) named by the Irish annals as one of the 'Englishmen' killed in 1054 in the battle between Macbethad and

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[342] P. McGurk, 'The Mappa Mundi', in P. McGurk et al. (eds), *An Eleventh-Century Anglo-Saxon Illustrated Niscellany* (Copenhagen, 1983), 79–87, at 80–81 (transcription at 86–86); black and white facsimile, ibid., 174. The term *wearh* (pl. *weargas*) was used to mean 'criminal' or 'outlaw' in Old English; it has the sense of someone deviant or condemned, and its cognates in Scandinavian and Continental Germanic are used to mean 'monster' and 'wolf' as well as 'outlaw'; see *OED*, s.v. 'wary, n.'.

[343] *CKA*, 151, 161.

[344] Gospatric speaks of the peace which 'Earl Siward and I have granted Thorfinn mac Thore'. As Phythian-Adams rightly pointed out (*Cumbrians*, 174–81), this does not necessarily mean that Siward was alive at the time (though it certainly does seem to be implied).

[345] Woodman, *Northern Chrs,* 366–67.

Siward may have been his son.[346] The grantor Gospatric appears, as a vassal of Earl Siward, to exercise power at least in Allerdale, if not elsewhere in what became Cumberland or Dumfriesshire. It was written in the English language, but most of the men mentioned have Norse or Gaelic names, and Thorfinn's name is actually written *Thorfynn mac Thore*. Gospatric himself, and possibly Moryn, have plausibly British names. Moryn is a predecessor to the era of the writ, as too is the bearer of the writ's exceptional English personal name, Eadred—perhaps the late–tenth-century earl (*Ethred eorle*) whose name was copied into *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*.[347]

The identity of Gospatric in the writ may be open to debate because no patronymic is given, but geography and chronology point overwhelmingly to Gospatric son of Maldred, who fathered Dolfin, Waltheof, and a younger Gospatric. The first, his eldest son, appears to have ruled in Carlisle when he was expelled by William Rufus in 1092.[348] We also know that Allerdale, the territory specific to *Gospatric's Writ*, was controlled by Gospatric's second son Waltheof in the early twelfth century. Given the bigger picture—fathers usually passing their holdings to their sons, and sons usually inheriting available patrimonies—it would be rather surprising if it turned out to be a pure coincidence that the antecessor of Dolfin and Waltheof and their father bore the same name. With this said, it is worth noting an outside alternative, Gospatric son of Earl Uhtred and grandfather of Eadulf Rus (see 4.4.5–6). Gospatric son of Uhtred is often presumed to be the *Gaius Patricius* who was executed at the orders of Queen Edith in Christmas 1064 (setting off a chain of events that led to the invasion of Harald Hardrada in 1066).[349]

4.3.5 'Cumberland' and 'Strathclyde'

A key belief that has been long prevalent among historians is that during either the late ninth or the tenth centuries the kings of Strathclyde expanded into the Northumbrian west country. So it is appropriate to review the history and evidence of this claim. The idea of a conquest of what is now Cumberland by 'the kingdom of Strathclyde' is very old—and arguably the very name of the English shire made that inevitable. The bishop William Lloyd, writing in the seventeenth century, informed his readers that the *Stratclud-wealas* ('that is … the Cluidsdale Welsh') were based in the area around Glasgow; although these *Cluidsdale-Welsh* and *Cumbrian Britans* had been distinct peoples, a conquest of the latter by the former brought about their association.[350] Thomas Innes in the 1720s believed the ancient kingdom of *Cumbria* to have stretched from Hadrian's Wall to the Forth-Clyde line, citing Jocelin of Furness as proof.[351] John Pinkerton, writing in the 1780s and aware that Innes and others had believed *Cumbria* to have spanned the Anglo-Scottish border and encompassed territory between Lennox and Westmorland (or somewhere else in England), dedicated a chapter of his work to refuting the idea. He tried to show, instead, that the Cumbrian kingdom had been to the south of Scotland.[352] Walter Scott too believed the English and Scottish regions to have been two separate realms, the latter called 'Strath-Clyde' and the former 'Reged' (a 'separate state consisting of Cumberland and Westmorland'); Máel-Coluim I's alleged receipt of Cumberland (which Scott knew from *ASC*) meant that Scotland controlled Cumberland before it even controlled the Strathclyde Britons (still independent) or Lothian (still English-held).[353] Skene thought the 'kingdom of Alclyde', based on Dumbarton Rock, had included the English counties of Cumberland (minus Allerdale) and Westmorland (minus Kendal) from its earliest days, as well as the Scottish counties of Dumfries, Ayr, Renfrew, Lanark, and Peebles.[354]

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[346] E.g. *AU*, s.a. 1054; see also *ESSH*, I, 592–93.

[347] *HSC*, 66–69: c. 31.

[348] *ASC* MS E, s.a. 1092.

[349] *JW*, I, 596–99, s.a 1065; F. Edmonds, 'Personal Names and the Cult of Patrick', in S. Boardman et al. (eds), *Saints' Cults in the Celtic World* (Woodbridge, 2009), 42–65, at 52–53. This Gospatric may have gone on pilgrimage to Rome with Earl Tostig (*Vita Ædwardi Regis*, 54), but Barlow and others have presumed he was the son of 'Maldred', being King Edward's relative (ibid., 55, n. 136).

4.3.6 Strathclyde Expansion?

In the twentieth century scholars began to find more particulars that allowed them both to reaffirm the unity of the 'Greater Cumbrian' region and to be more specific about the details of Strathclyde expansion. For Frank Stenton in the 1940s, Æthelstan's meeting with the rulers of Scotland and Strathclyde at 'Eamont Bridge' revealed that the bridge had been on the Anglo-Cumbrian frontier.[355] In 1962, Kirby argued that Cumberland and Westmorland had been outside Strathclyde influence until the late ninth or early tenth century, when these areas had been subject to Norse domination, but accepted the emergence of Stenton's frontier, citing the style given to Owen 'king of the Cumbrians' (*Eugenium regem Cumbrorum*) in William of Malmesbury.[356] Duncan in the 1970s and Smyth in the 1980s also accepted the suggestion of a frontier at this bridge. Kapelle was prepared to accept it as a boundary point and was convinced that 'around the year 900, the Cumbrians …began to expand out of Clydesdale toward the south … and took control of the Galwegian coastal plain on both sides of the Solway Firth and the Vale of Eden'.[357] Kapelle viewed Cumbrian expansion as part of the viking-induced disintegration of Northumbria, a view shared by Rollason. Rollason also seems to have pictured the Strathclyde kingdom (whose core lay, he claimed, in northern Cumberland) as a sub-kingdom of Scotland, with Stainmore functioning as the southern border between the Scottish and English realms, 945–1092.[358] Both Rollason and Kirby believed, like their seventeenth-century forerunners, that use of a 'Cumbrian' style meant that Cumberland had been governed by these rulers.[359]

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[350] W. Lloyd, *An Historical Account of Church-Government* (London, 1684), 46–47.
[351] T. Innes, *A Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland* (London, 1729), I, 32–33.
[352] J. Pinkerton, *An Enquiry into the History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1789), I, 83–99.
[353] W. Scott, *A History of Scotland* (Paris, 1830), I, 17.
[354] Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I, 235–36.
[355] Stenton, *ASE*, 332.

Some have gone further than political expansion, postulating a re-expansion of Strathclyde's 'Cumbric language' into the region. Taking a viking-assisted Cumbrian political *reconquista* for granted, Kenneth Jackson in the early 1960s suggested that 'the Cumbric language must have been reintroduced into Dumfriesshire and Cumberland, or, at any rate greatly strengthened ... by the re-occupation from Strathclyde'.[360] Jackson affirmed to his reader that he had 'positive evidence' for its reintroduction. He subsequently took some *Car-* and *Cum-* names from Cumberland and western Northumberland, and argued from reasons of relative chronology that they must have been coined in the tenth century or (in some cases) afterwards. Jackson also pointed to the place-name *Carlatton*. This, he claimed, was English (on this theory, originally meaning 'peasant village' or '*ceorl* farmstead'), and claimed that it was able to resist ordinary syncope (i.e. the disappearance of unstressed syllables) because 'Cumbric' speakers reanalysed the first syllable as Celtic 'Car-' and moved the stress to the second syllable. The syllable was thus saved and, rather than surviving only as ‘Carlton’ like parallels elsewhere in England, yielded the modern name ‘Carlátton’. Prestatyn in Wales showed that this could happen among their bio-linguistic kin further south. Jackson expressed some uncertainty over whether or not ‘there was any compelling reason why such names must point to a secondary British occupation’, but soon got over such hesitation and boldly declared that speakers in the region ‘must have learned English very early’, making a Strathclyde-induced reintroduction more necessary.[361] Even though Jackson himself had only used the idea as a speculative premise, its association with Jackson’s name has given the theory a lot of life and seems to have conferred on it a veneer of philological rigour, protecting it from scrutiny while encouraging elaboration.[362] At the very least, the prominent historian of Cumbria, Charles Phythian Adams, saw a need to refute it.[363] Thomas Charles Edwards recently included it matter-of-factly in his synthesis of ‘pan-Britonnic’ history.[364]

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[356] D. P. Kirby, 'Strathclyde and Cumbria', *TCWAAS* 62 (1962), 77–94, at 85–86; *GRA*, ı, 214–15: ii.134.
[357] Kapelle, *NCN*, 34
[358] Rollason, *Northumbria*, 275
[359] Kirby, 'Strathclyde and Cumbria', 86; Rollason, *Northumbria*, 266.
[360] K. H. Jackson, 'Angles and Britons in Northumbria and Cumbria', in *O'Donnell Lectures* (Cardiff, 1963), 60–84, at 72.

In recent years some hesitancy has crept into the picture. Early modern writers exploring Cumberland–Strathclyde unity theories were in fact carrying on a tradition established by the medieval bishops of Glasgow. A promising reconstruction of how this came about has been offered by Dauvit Broun, who highlights the emergence Glaswegian claims to the adjacent diocese of Carlisle, i.e. as far south as ‘the cross on Stainmore’ (one of its boundary markers). This ambition emerged in the episcopate of the thirteenth-century Englishman John de Cheam, a bishop who wished to augment his Glaswegian honour by taking over the struggling English diocese. By this era, the Glasgow see had become an integral part of the Scottish political community, and historical writers had come, based partly on a mis-reading of something like *Stuaginnuer* encountered in a king list, to back-project the see’s boundaries as an extension of the Scottish kingdom. In the historical writing attributed to Fordun (as well as Wyntoun), it was claimed that the archetypal Scottish kingdom of King Fergus had stretched ‘from the Stony Moor (*mora lapidea*) to

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[361] Jackson, ‘Angles and Britons’, 82.

[362] See for instance, quite recently, A. G. James, ‘A Cumbric Diaspora?’, in O. J. Padel and D. N. Parsons (eds), *A Commodity of Good Names* (Donington, 2008), 187–203.

[363] Phythian-Adams, *Cumbrians*, 78–87.

[364] T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons, 350–1064* (Oxford, 2013), 569–70.

Inchegal and the Orkneys'.[365] The emergence of this sort of view pushed early modern writers in the direction described above, helping in turn to shape current historiography.

Woolf, while not rejecting Strathclyde expansion into the region, has now shown that 'Cumberland' had been used in the Viking Age as an English term for the kingdom of Strathclyde. The term had been a borrowing from the endonym of the northern Britons, and Woolf argued that the term had been used by Northumbrians to refer to the northern Britons living within and in regions adjacent to Northumbria itself.[366] On the other hand, while 'Cumberland' could be used for Strathclyde, the reverse is almost certainly not the case. *Strat Clut*, the 'valley of the Clyde', is a very specific geographical term the meaning of that is clear and descriptive in Celtic; for this reason, like its English calque 'Clydesdale', it probably offered resistance to semantic drift. This means that it is difficult if not impossible to tie this terminology to the English county and the surrounding region prior to the eleventh century. While *Cumbria* or *Cumbra land* is attested specifically for Strathclyde, there is no instance of 'Strathclyde' or 'Clydesdale' being applied to the [future] English north-west. *Cumbra land* cannot be found definitively in use for the latter until the beginnings of Cumberland's existence as a unit of Southumbrian governance in the late eleventh century, though related terminology in the mid-century *Gospatric's Writ* could be interpreted as evidence of earlier use. However, it requires an assumption that, prior to this, *Cumbra land* meant *only* what it meant in the twelfth century to believe that *ASC* references had significance for the area around modern Cumberland. There is a chance that Strathclyde had taken over the later county of Cumberland c. 945 of course, but the above evidence cannot be used to make this more than a speculative possibility. Rather, the above need only indicate that *Cumbra land*, as Woolf argued, had been an English name for Strathclyde or a kingdom containing that valley.[367] Likewise, the *ASC* CDE entry (written in the 1020s) that speaks of Æthelred II's devastation of the 'Cumberland' appears also to refer to the Clyde valley rather than the Solway. Æthelred's army and a fleet sent from Chester had planned to meet, but were unable and so the fleet ravaged Mann instead—hardly an easier target than Cumberland (as Woolf points out), but significantly easier than the Clyde region.[368]

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[365] Broun, *Scottish Independence*, 165–70; *Chron. Wyntoun*, III, 84, n. (=Laing, I, 214): iv.1122–23; *Chron. Fordun*, 88: iii.2; for the related king-list, see Anderson, *Kings and Kingship*, 264.

[366] Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 152–54.

[367] For Clydesdale as 'Cumbria' or at least 'Scottish Cumbria' elsewhere, see *CDI*, no. 58; *VSK*, 181–182, 218–19; and Broun, *Scottish Independence*, 124–28.

On the face of it, Æthelstan's gathering at *Eamotum* is evidence that his Northumbrian realm included that region. The frequent modern identification of *Eamotum* with Eamont Bridge has encouraged the idea that the event was some kind of frontier gathering. This very precise identification, however, does not have good authority. The *ASC* D text simply says that they met *æt Eamotum*. Woolf has suggested that the name, meaning 'river junction', was not used for the river initially; but, rather, for the meeting place of the Lowther and the [later-renamed] Eamont, the latter taking its name through subsequent back-formation.[369] It is worth observing, with Woolf's remark in mind, that there is really no necessity of matching *Eamotum* specifically with the location now known as 'Eamont Bridge'. The latter is named after a bridge over the Eamont river on the southern edge of Penrith (a coining thus postdating the river rename), and so far as I have been able to discern, its name is not a descendant of a singular settlement, topographical feature, or landmark bearing only the name 'Eamot'.[370] If a prominent location is being referred to, nearby Penrith (a non-English name) is a much better identification. It is possible that *ASC* D was referring to the river, which certainly had that name when Angevin-era records illuminate the region in greater detail. William of Malmesbury, writing about the same meeting, claimed that it occurred *ad locum Dacor uocatur*, 'at the place called Dacre'. One might wonder how William came to 'know' this identification (like he claimed to know the 'rebel' *Aldulf*), but he has located it within a short distance of the Eamont river, when it could theoretically have been anywhere; therefore we might give William the benefit of the doubt here.[371] The identification was dismissed by Lapidge: 'I see no reason why an English king would have chosen a site deep in a remote Lakeland valley for so important a meeting'.[372] On the main route between York and Carlisle, Dacre was however conveniently sited near the most important Roman road junction in the North-West of England.[373] It also had an early medieval monastery mentioned by Bede, and has yielded significant Viking-era archaeology, and so is not obviously unsuitable for a large royal gathering.[374]

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[368] 'In this year the king went into *Cumerlande* and ravaged very nearly all of it; and his ships went out round Chester and should have come to meet him, but they could not. Then they ravaged *Monige* …', trans. *ASC*, 85; see Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 222–23.

[369] Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 152.

[370] W. J. Sedgefield, *The Place-Names of Cumberland and Westmorland* (Manchester, 1915), 146; A. H. Smith, *PNW*, I, 5 (for the river), ibid., II, 205 (for Eamont Bridge). Smith's first entry specifically referring to the bridge is *ponte de Amot* (1279), and for the river *Amoth* (12th century).

[371] *GRA*, 214–15: ii.134.

[372] M. Lapidge, 'Poems as Evidence for the Reign of Athelstan', *ASE* 9 (1980), 61–98, at 91–92, n. 140.

To some extent, however, this detail is a distraction. No Strathclyde ruler attended the meeting *æt Eamotum* (though William of Malmesbury converted the king of Gwent, *Uwen Wenta cyning*, into such), and since the meeting included several Welsh kings and an Anglo-Northumbrian ruler, there is no implication whatsoever that Strathclyde is an adjacent kingdom.[375] This specific chronicle entry, if reliable, shows only that *Eamotum* was in Æthelstan's Northumbrian realm c. 927; except by negative imprint, it says nothing about the location or borders of neighbouring realms. It is quite possible that modern historians are correct to believe that it marked a border, but the only ruler named with nearby territory is Ealdred of Bamburgh. The annal specifies that Æthelstan's clients 'renounced all idolatry'. Æthelstan seems to have sought to export certain religious or ideological innovations, unsurprisingly given the centrality of Christian institutions to the functioning of the Ecgberhting state. The context, the takeover of the Anglo-Danish territory, may also suggest that he sought to convert the Great Army settlers in neighbouring regions of the Northumbrian west country. Indeed, Æthelstan had earlier married his own sister to their ruler Sigtrygg, a marriage that almost certainly stipulated Sigtrygg's conversion. At any rate, there is nothing whatsoever about the 'meeting at Eamont Bridge' which has any positive implications for the Strathclyde's expansion into what later became the north-west of England. In fact, it is evidence against it.

The Viking Age probably led to the intrusion of two new languages into western Northumbria: Norse and Gaelic. Had there been 'Cumbric' re-expansion, it would be a third. Celtic stress patterns overlapping coinages of English, even accepting the existence of these, can be explained without inventing the above re-expansion. The same would be produced by Gaelic speakers (whose arrival is actually documented), and by pre-existing 'Cumbric' speakers borrowing toponyms used by Anglophone elites. We know almost nothing about the language of the Carlisle region until the early twelfth century, and if at that time names like 'Cumwhinton' got coined it is reasonable enough to explain this as we would in Cornwall—not with migrants from Wales or Brittany, but simply because it did not get obliterated in the first place. One suspects that if Cornish did not have the good fortune to survive into the later Middle Ages and get better historical coverage, the English-looking Cornwall of the *Domesday Book* would be seen no differently from Cumberland of *Gospatric's Writ*.[376] Jackson's presumption that British dialects died out is itself without evidence, and so there is no reason to invent such a specific reason for the phenomena Jackson encountered.

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[373] Also on the route from Penrith to Workington/Derwentmouth (whence to Whithorn or Ireland); e.g. *HSC*, 58–59: c.20.

[374] *HE*, 446–47: iv.32, where, curiously enough, Bede asserts the monastery was named after the river; R. N. Bailey, 'The Meaning of the Viking-Age Shaft at Dacre', *TCWAAS* 77 (1977), pp 61–74; see also id., *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England* (London, 1980), 172–75; the English word for the location *æt Eamotum* is *stów* (*on þære stowe þe genemned is æt Eamotum*), a word that often seems to connote a religious site.

[375] This Owain king of Gwent (and Glywysing), the son of Hywel ap Rhys, is, contrary to some assertions in the secondary sources (e.g. *GRA*, ɪɪ, 121), historically unproblematic; for further detail, see Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons*, 495, n. 126, and ibid., 515–17, for his sons.

Incidental information in extracts from *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* seem to show the region to be a Northumbrian one in the early tenth century, and probably in the ninth. The *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba* suggests it remained so in the later tenth century.

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[376] Gaelic and British, like English and Norse, are closely related languages and actual spoken forms of Celtic are likely to have been much more similar in northern Britain than famous standardised high-register 'variants' developed in Ireland and Wales, if indeed the continuum had ever broken. Here both 'branches' that allegedly 'split off' from each other were adjacent in the same landmass. A Roman or post-Roman dating for the 'branching' of Welsh and Irish would, or should, make this this metaphor and model of analysis less useful if not harmful in the region. The ramifications of this date have not captured much attention among early medievalists, but whether or not it is ever widely accepted, the British–Irish split will remain for a long time the dominant way of analysing 'Welsh-like' and 'Irish-like' linguistic evidence from northern Britain (and no doubt for expounding ethno-political history). At any rate, since the path of least resistance could have meant that Northumbrian Britons conversed with the Hiberno-Norse (and the Scots) in Gaelic, it is not outside all possibility that, as a result of this, some 'reconvergence' (assuming again there had been an systematic 'divergence') happened, perhaps like that between Pictish and Gaelic further north; cf. Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 328–40, and J. P, Mallory, *The Origins of the Irish* (London, 2013), 243–86, for discussion about the date of the Irish-Welsh split.

As another note the Elizabethan antiquarian John Denton (†1617) claimed (probably with the popular model for Lowland Scotland in mind) that County Cumberland had been inhabited by 'Irish' or 'Irish Scots' before the Norman conquest—see John Denton, *History of Cumberland*, ed. A. J. L. Winchester (Woodbridge, 2010), 45, 50, 53, 88, 92, 121, 146, 163, 169; but he also thought that the 'Irish' were preceded themselves by 'Saxons' and Britons. Denton related that after William Rufus conquered the city 'the great street now called Abbay Gate were placed those Irish men, which dwelt there when it was waste in cottages [in margins] then called *vicus Hiberniensium*' (ibid., 92), adding similar arrangements for the French and Flemings. Denton had access to government archives and sophisticated methodology for utilizing medieval sources, repeating a great deal of good information preserved in early sources that still survive as well interesting information not preserved elsewhere. In his account of the history of Karlatton (of Jacksonian fame), he notes that 'In Henrey the second's tyme one Gospatrick filius Makbenok held it of the king and paid fiftye markes. Mak-ben-og was an Irish man and took part with King Stephen' (ibid., 169). The Pipe Roll of 1158 has instead *Mapbennoc* (H. A. Doubleday (ed.), *VCH: Cumberland* (London, 1901), p, 339) evidence perhaps that speakers of the time were still able to navigate the P–Q isogloss variation of Insular Celtic.

Gospatric's Writ demonstrates that it was under Northumbrian dominion in the mid eleventh century. That the region was Cumbrian, or 'was formerly Cumbrian', is explained easily by the dominant ethnicity of the region's population, or by a collective identity among Northumbrian Britons. Incursions into the region from Cumbrian Strathclyde aristocrats and free warriors are plausible; the fourteenth-century expansion of the Douglas family from the upper Clyde into neighbouring valleys of the Southern Uplands show how it could happen. Unlike the Douglas expansion, however, this one is hard to explain chronologically and is completely unattested in any historical evidence. With Occam's Razor however, we can shave off the superfluous Jacksonian reintroduction theory. There is no reason to think Charles Phythian-Adams was wrong then to assume what is most natural and simple, that British simply survived in western Northumbria.[377]

4.4 *Regnum Saxan Aquilonalium* after Eadred?

4.4.1 Late Tenth-Century Northumbrian Earls

As we saw above (4.2.3), contemporary evidence seems to show that a viceregal office came to be founded for the Northumbrian lands acquired by the Ecgberhting monarch. It seems likely that this Northumbrian ealdordom emerged in the reign of Edgar. To some extent, this development could be read to accord with the testimony of the 'Northumbrian Earldom Foundation Legend'. However, the same evidence is not so favourable to the two-earldom theory, and there is no particularly obvious reason to believe that the king of England did anything to alter administration in the 'Northern English' territories north of the Tees or Tyne (or wherever the *de facto* boundary actually lay). One ruler of Bamburgh, Eadwulf, appears in only four charters for a very brief period, 968–70. In this regard he resembles tributary Welsh princes rather than the state ealdormen, and indeed the coincidence of this appearance with a rare attestation of a northern bishop makes it likely this related to some one-off episode or short-term programme. It is not impossible that Eadwulf held a role in some way analogous to Oslac's, but as a whole it is hard to conclude that the evidence confirms the 'Northumbrian Earldom Foundation Legend' in regard to a two-fold division of the former kingdom.

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[377] For an alternative, recent account of this evidence that came too late for this thesis, see F. Edmonds, 'The Expansion of the Kingdom of Strathclyde', *EME* 23 (2015), 43–66.

Beyond this, it is also reasonably clear that its overall picture of the Northumbrian earldom is inaccurate. The successor of the first ‘northern’ earl in both *De Primo Saxonum Adventu* and *De Omnibus Comitibus Northimbrensibus* is claimed to have been Waltheof. This Waltheof, the tradition says, became holder of a reunited earldom. Yet, in the only contemporary charter attested by Waltheof, he appears alongside Ealdorman Ælfhelm and, indeed, another northern *dux* named Northman, who in fact attests in a higher rank than Waltheof. In the case of Northman, there exists in Old English a confirmation of a gift made by *Norðman eorle* of the estate of Escomb (DUR) and ‘a quarter of the territory of Ferryhill (DUR)’.[378] Northumbria north of the Tees continued to have several earls until at least the end of the tenth century. Such a picture for northern Northumbria may be confirmed by other evidence preserved, incidentally, in Durham texts. *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* claims that earls Eadred, Northman, and Uhtred received grants from Bishop Ealdhun.[379] As previously suggested, this Eadred may occur in *Gospatric’s Writ*, when Gospatric refers to the predecessor of either himself or Earl Siward as Eadred (*on Eadread dagan*).[380] Past discussions of this Eadred have taken place over whether or not to ‘correct’ him to ‘Ealdred’ so that Earl Ealdred (†c.1038) could be this predecessor, but our evidence is not exactly exhaustive and as *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* shows there is at least one perfectly good Eadred available for northern England around the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.[381] And there is no reason to reject Harmer’s suggestion that this Eadred may have been ‘a predecessor of Gospatric in Allerdale’, perhaps the possessor of a broader honour around Allerdale or some even wider sphere.[382]

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[378] BL, MS Cotton Domitian vii, fol. 47v; printed *Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, ed. J. Stevenson (London, 1841) , 57, who speculates on the erasure of earlier lines; printed with translation *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. A. J. Robertson (Cambridge, 1959), no. 67; and recently *DLV*, ı, 140 (text runs: *Her syleð Norðman eorl into S(an)c(t)e Cuðberhte Ediscum (and) eall þ(aet) ðær into hyreð. (and) ðone feorðan æcer æt Feregenne*).

[379] *HSC*, 66–69: c. 31, and discussion by South, ibid., 112–13.

[380] Writ printed and discussed in F. W. Ragg, ‘A Charter of Gospatrik’, *The Ancestor* 7 (1903), 244–47; H. W. C. Davis, ‘Cumberland Before the Norman Conquest’, *EHR* 20 (1905), 61–65; *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, no. 121, with discussion by Harmer, ibid, 419–24; Phythian-Adams, *Cumbrians*, 174–81; *Northern Chrs,* no. 21, discussion by Woodman, ibid., 371–78.

[381] Ragg, ‘Charter of Gospatrik’, 246, n. i, who has ‘Eadred should, I think, be Ealdread…’; he was supported by Davis, ‘Cumberland before the Norman Conquest’, 62–63, Whitelock, ‘Dealings’, 86; opposed by Phythian-Adams, *Cumbrians*, 176.

[382] Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, 420.

4.4.2 Survival of the 'Northern English' Kingdom?

Northman has no known association north of the Tyne, let alone further north. This is part of a key point: settlement regions like County Durham and Yorkshire cannot safely be used to draw inferences about the Anglo-Northumbrian community to the north. The temptation to use what is effectively Danelaw evidence would come because the *regnum Saxan Aquilonalium*, or its remnants, is scarcely known from any contemporary sources. Despite increased number of Southumbrian sources surviving from the later tenth century, the 'Northern English' polity is still better documented in Scottish and Irish sources. The *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba* tells us that in the 970s the Scottish king Cináed mac Maíl-Choluim captured 'a son of a king of English'; Cináed had earlier carried out a raid that 'plundered *Saxonia* as far as Stainmore'.[383] This is one of the few things we know about the region after the 950s, and the use of the term 'king of the English' (*regis Saxonum*) to refer to what southerly sources presumably would style 'earl' or 'high-reeve' could be read to indicate that the ideological or ceremonial overlordship claimed by the kings of Winchester and York was no more a reality here than in Strathclyde or Wales. Indeed, occurrences of probable rulers and bishops from this era in Southumbrian sources are close to non-existent. As discussed above, *Eadulf Dux* and Bishop Ælfsige appear around 970;[384] but it is not until 994 that anyone from the region re-appears in Southumbria. The context of Earl Waltheof's lone attestation is also very specific, falling a year after Bamburgh had been sacked by a new Scandinavian army.[385] The next bishop thought to be associated with the northern realm is Ealdhun, whose first definitive appearance does not come until 1009—a significant fact, given that the body of surviving charters is substantial at this stage and that most English bishops, including York, attest such charters regularly.[386]

4.4.3 Anglo-Norman Earl Lists: Learned Reconciliation

Uhtred son of Waltheof of Bamburgh is an important historical and genealogical figure in Anglo-Norman sources, but he is also named in contemporary ones. The *ASC* CDE annals (written in the 1020s) seem to indicate that in the later years of Æthelred, as his kingdom came under threat from new Scandinavian ‘great armies’, the land over the Humber was governed by the Uhtred as earl. Subsequently, it is stated explicitly, Cnut appointed one Erik to Uhtred’s office (*eorl eall swa Uhtred wæs*). Erik was certainly an incomer, described in *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, written in the early 1040s, as ‘earl and prince of the province that is called Norway (*dux et princeps prouintiae quae Norduuega dicitur*).[387] The *ASC* entry shows that Uhtred must have had possession of the office of ealdorman. Uhtred was a man who advanced during King Æthelred’s reign, and married the king’s daughter—doubtlessly the reason he could not be reconciled with Cnut. Since the Northumbrian ealdordom can probably be accounted for until the time of these Scandinavian invasions, it is likely that Æthelred had given him viceregal authority in Northumbria (and perhaps Lindsey) in order to utilize his family’s resources.[388]

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[383] *CKA*, 151, 161.

[384] *Sawyer*, no. 779; Keynes, *Atlas*, table LVI, for Eadwulf's last appearance; *Sawyer* no. 781, Keynes, *Atlas*, table LIV, for Ælfsige's; both charters are, however, from Ely archives, though contemporary sources put *prepositus* Ealdred in Wessex during Ælfsige's episcopate.

[385] *ASC*, MSS CDE, s.a. 993.

[386] *Sawyer*, no. 992.

Almost all modern accounts of the north derive their political framework from the earl lists in *De Omnibus Comitibus Northimbrensibus* and *De Northymbrorum Comitibus*/*De Primo Saxonum Adventu* (as well as the genealogical information in *De Obsessione Dunelmi*). This means, in effect, that modern accounts have tended to reproduce the perspective of curious Anglo-Normans writing in the decades around 1100. On the one hand, the Viking-Age ealdordom and the honour held by the Bamburgh family were not distinguishable when these tracts were composed, by which time there had come to be only one earl in Northumbrian territory. On the other hand, representatives of both the ealdordom and the Bamburgh realm did occur in historical evidence that these learned men encountered during their ‘research’. This resulting confusion had to be resolved. So these Anglo-Norman–era tracts were, in part, a learned attempt to sort this problem out and reconcile the evidence. In the ‘Northumbrian earl’ lists, rather than being Erik, Uhtred’s successor was his own brother Eadwulf ‘Cudel’. While it is likely enough that Eadwulf Cudel did succeed Uhtred in Bamburgh, we know from *ASC* that Erik of Hlaðir was Uhtred’s successor in the royal ealdordom. A seemingly near-contemporary annal preserved by *Historia Regum 2* placed Uhtred in command at Carham in 1018, meaning that he may have retained

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[387] Text in *EER*, 22: ii.7; see Keynes, ‘Cnut’s Earls’, 57–58, 70; *ASC* MSS CDE s.a. 1017 says Erk became earl of Northumbria in 1017.

[388] The darkest possibility is that the Eadwulfing lineage was faked by Uhtred’s descendants; Gaimar described him as ‘Earl Uhtred *de* Lindsey’ (*Li quens Uctreid de Lindeseie*), for which see *Gaimar*, 226–27: line 4145; however, as we have seen, the annals do suggest that the ealdordom of Northumbria included Lindsey for some time, naturally enough given the region’s importance to the ‘Dubgaill’ community centred at York and the origins of the ealdordom of York in replacing the authority of the Ua Ímair ruler.

Bamburgh for more than two years after losing the York ealdordom to Erik.[389] There is even some indirect evidence that Uhtred had ascended to the royal ealdordom while his father still ruled in Bamburgh.[390] According to the lists, Eadwulf Cudel came to be succeeded in turn by Uhtred's son Ealdred and then by another son, Eadwulf. Most likely, this depiction of the Bamburgh succession is roughly accurate, as Eadwulf son of Uhtred's existence seems to be confirmed by *ASC*, s.a. 1041.[391]

4.4.4 Royal Earls and Local 'Earls'

There is no other reliable documentation about the end of Earl Erik's tenure. It could be assumed that he had died or otherwise left the office by 1032 when Siward begins to attest charters as earl.[392] It is very likely, but not quite certain, that Siward succeeded Erik to the viceregal Northumbrian office. Timothy Bolton argued that Siward originated in Skåne (or perhaps Halland or Blekinge), and was probably a relative of Ulf (†mid-1020s), husband of Cnut's sister Astrid and sometime Earl in Denmark under Cnut.[393] It is theoretically possible that Siward had been a regional Scandinavian ruler and subsequently brought the earlish status or title with him to England, but early attestations by a *minister* with the same name make this unlikely.[394] Alternatively, as Anglo-Norman tradition believed, Siward may have begun his career as Earl over the East Midlands, and only later governed Northumbria. Here again there is unfavourable evidence. *Chronicon ex Chronicis* names both Siward ‘of the Northumbrians’ and Thuri ‘of the Midlanders’ as two of the earls who ravaged Worcestershire in 1041 (though an earlier ‘translation’ of geographical office could still rescue the possibility).[395] It is likely, then, that Siward had taken up the Northumbrian office from c. 1033, and held the position for the remainder of his life. After Siward’s death in 1055, the Godwinssons managed to acquire the honour for Tostig. Discontent with Tostig’s behaviour as earl / ealdorman led, so it was claimed, to his overthrow; the *dux aquilonalium Anglorum* faced a rebellion that produced carnage in York and Lincoln. The rebels were astute enough to ally with the Godwinssons’ Mercian rivals, the family of Ælfgar Leofricsson. King Edward eventually recognised the rebel appointment of one Morcar, son of Ælfgar and brother of Earl Eadwine of Mercia, to Tostig’s former office.[396] Here it becomes clear that the Northumbrian viceregal ealdordom, at least its title, had degenerated into a prize of Southumbrian politics, as the two largest families in the kingdom competed for the position under King Edward.

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[389] *HR2*, 155–56. Its date for Carham matches Irish annals, hard to explain if the annal does not derive from a near-contemporary source.

[390] The author of *De Obsessione Dunelmi* seemed to believe this, and offered a convoluted and anachronistic story explaining why Uhtred ruled over Northumbria while, apparently, his father was alive; see *DOD*, 215–16, trans. Morris, *Marriage and Murder*, 1–2. As a potentially related point, in *De Obsessione Dunelmi* and elsewhere Waltheof's grandson Eadwulf is given the nickname Cudel, probably meaning 'cuttlefish', a nickname that would signify cowardice: the cuttlefish in classical and medieval church literature was one of the animals known to 'protect themselves by hiding', in this case by using ink (see C. B. Schmitt, 'Aristotle as a Cuttlefish', *Studies in the Renaissance* 12 (1965), 60–72, at 63–66). But interestingly one of the variants of the Northumbrian earl list tradition assigns that nickname to Waltheof (*ABA*, 133). The suspicious historian might wonder if a negative nickname had been re-assigned from a significant ancestor of living potentates, the dominant surviving line descended from Eadwulf, to another historical figure with no descendants. *De Obsessione Dunelmi* is the late source for a tradition that Eadwulf had given away Lothian out of fear to the Scots (see section 5.2.3); but the story that, a generation before, Waltheof had been inactive and had hidden in Bamburgh in the face of a Scottish invasion could also have been related to a nickname like that—however, it is not necessarily the case that the nickname would have been produced by the story; in either case the nickname may have inspired the story.

[391] *ASC*, 106.

[392] *Sawyer*, no. 968; Keynes, 'Cnut's Earls', 65–66.

[393] T. Bolton, 'Was the Family of Earl Siward and Earl Waltheof a Lost Line of the Ancestors of the Danish Royal Family', *NMS* 55 (2007), 41–71, and Cnut, 234; see also E. Christiansen (ed.), *Danorum Regum Heroumque Historia* (Oxford, 1980), ı, 189–91, nn. 101–104, discussing sources (including text in ibid., 28–30, and in *VPWC,* 104–05, where the two are linked to the same family and its origin myth).

[394] Keynes, *Atlas*, tableLXIX–LXX; *Sawyer*, no. 964 *minister* but no. 968 *dux*.

After Uhtred, the next ruler of the territorial honour based around Bamburgh to be attested in contemporary sources is his son Eadwulf. In 1041 according to the C and D versions, Harthacnut killed someone of that name; this Eadwulf is called *eorl* by the later C version (but not the D version). [397] Scarcity of evidence leaves Eadwulf’s career obscure, but the brief glimpse we get suggests a powerful ruler. According to *Historia Regum 2*, ‘he brutally devastated the British’ (*Brittones satis atrociter deuastauit*), the act of hubris that was later claimed to have brought about his downfall.[398] We also know that Siward married Eadwulf’s niece, Ælffled daughter of Ealdred and granddaughter of Bishop Ealdhun, a union used by Siward’s descendants to claim the rights of Uhtred and Ealdhun.[399] It is probable that Siward secured substantial power at least as far north as the Tyne after 1041, possibly over all the surviving members of his new uxorial kin between the Tyne and Forth. We know from *Gospatric’s Writ* he had such power in Allerdale at least. Indeed Siward’s overlordship of Strathclyde (below 5.5) matches episcopal and sculptural evidence to suggest that the kingdom had been brought under 'Northumbrian' dominion.[400] The Northumbrian ealdordom's subsequent transformation into a court honour meant that although Tostig held the office of earl/ealdorman, latterly one Copsig seems to have performed a portion of the actual work. *Libellus de Exordio* says that Copsig governed the 'whole earldom' under Tostig, during which time he endowed the Cuthbertine church of Marske in Cleveland (North Yorkshire), after which the church was consecrated by Bishop Æthelric of Durham (bp 1041–56).[401] There is no contemporary confirmation of Copsig's power further north, and even the killing of Gospatric, probably the 'third son' of Earl Uhtred claimed to have been *sine comitatus honore* in *De Omnibus Comitibus Northimbrensibus*, by Tostig's sister Queen Edith only took place when this Gospatric was at the royal court.[402] According to the contemporary William of Poitiers, 'Earl' Copsig (*comes Coxo*) submitted to the Normans at the same time as Earl Eadwine [of Merica] and Earl Morcar. Copsig subsequently 'won favour with the Normans'; he was a proponent of King William, but 'his subordinates did not share his views'. Copsig was only killed after a period of attempted persuasion by 'the best men of his nation and line', who subsequently 'stirred up the people of the province to hatred'.[403]

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[395] *JW*, II, 532–33.

[396] Described *Vita Ædwardi Regis*, 74–79; *JW*, II, 596–99: s.a. 1065.

[397] *ASC*, MS C:’ swac Harðacnut Eadulf eorl under his griðe’; cf. MS D, ‘Harðacnut Eadulfe under gryðe’. In *De Primo Saxonum Adventu* this happened during Edward’s reign, but that is corrected by the *De Omnibus Comitibus Northimbrensibus* (which had access to the contemporary annal on the point); see *DPSA*, 383 and *HR2*, 198.

[398] *HR2*, 198.

[399] *DOD*, 219–20; *HR2*, 198; *DPSA,* 384; *DNPB*.

4.4.5 'Northern English' Lands after Siward

How far north the power of Siward's successors extended is an open question. While it is tempting to presume that Siward's personal *imperium* translated into permanent political change, this would not be the norm in Insular politics. None of the contemporary sources suggest direct holdings in the land north of the Tyne, certainly not north of the Coquet and Aln (for the importance of these, see 6.1). As far as we know, the agnatic descendants of Uhtred, the Uhtredings, were still based there and, at worst, lay in a tributary relationship with the royally-appointed earl. In 1068 King William appointed Robert [de Commines] earl, according to *ASC*. Robert de Commines is not known directly to have exercised actual power north of the former settlement region; indeed I am not aware of any evidence that his supposed successor Waltheof of Northampton exercised practical authority north of the

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[400] Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 262–63.
[401] *LDE*, 180–81: iii.13.
[402] E.g. *JW*, II, 596–99: s.a.1065.
[403] *WmP*, 162–63, 184–87.

Tyne, though in this case the earl would have had locally-based cognatic kin.[404] Walcher's arms-length involvement with Melrose and his antagonisation of the male descendants of Uhtred suggest he could involved himself in the region's politics, but the rebellion and his dependence on letters and pleadings to the clerics in Teviotdale suggests limited practical power.[405] As far as explicit contemporary evidence shows, Robert de Mowbray is the first royally-appointed earl whom we know for certain to have controlled Bamburgh.

In governing the far north, Robert was helped by a deputy, his steward (*stiward*) and kinsman (*mæg*) Morel, the same *Moræl of Bæbbaburh* responsible for the death of Máel-Coluim III at the Aln in 1093.[406] Morel's role had been prefigured by Walcher's kinsman (*propinquus*) Gilbert, who in Walcher's name had been given charge over the county of the Northumbrians (*comitatum Northymbrensium sub se regendum commiserat*).[407] Gilbert killed a certain Ligulf, who was part of the Uhtreding network through marriage to the daughter of Ealdred, son of Earl Uhtred. An army consisting of the followers of Walcher and Gilbert was gathered by Gilbert, and it killed Ligulf in his house. Walcher subsequently tried to disown responsibility for the deed, and the official account makes Leofwine or Leobwine (variously his *capellanus* or his *decanus*) Walcher's scapegoat. Unfortunately for Walcher, the northerners were unconvinced. The bishop and his followers were slain in the subsequent rising by Eadwulf Rus, male-line great-grandson of Earl Uhtred.[408] *Libellus de Exordio* later related that King William had appointed Copsig as *procurator* over the earldom 'on the north side of the Tyne', wording that may cast doubt on his status as earl were it not for the title used by William of Poitiers.[409] Within weeks Copsig was attacked and killed at *Nyweburne*, probably Newburn-on-Tyne; *De Omnibus Comitibus Northimbrensibus* claims that Oswulf, male-line grandson of Uhtred, was responsible for this attack.[410] If William of Poitiers' account is accurate, Oswulf had been one of the 'subordinates' of Copsig.

Use of the style *eorl* for Robert de Commines and Gospatric overlap in *ASC* in the period 1067 to 1070,which would be significant if they were entered contemporaneously.

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[404] But see *DEC*, no. 5a, for an alleged granted of Tynemouth to Durham by Earl Waltheof.
[405] *LDE*, 208–09: iii.22.
[406] *ASC*, MS E, s.a. 1093, 1095; trans. *ASC*, 170, 173.
[407] *JW*, III, 34–35:s.a.1080; *HR2*, 209.
[408] *JW*, III, 34–37:s.a.1080; *HR2*, 209–10.
[409] *LDE*, 180–81:iii.13.
[410] *HR2*, 198.

The late earl tracts from Durham say that Gospatric gave William money in order to obtain the office after Oswulf's death; but Gospatric is followed by Siward's son Waltheof, so it is unclear if the tracts are simply ignorant about de Commines, if they are conflating two separate honours, or if they are showing, when taken with *ASC*, that the Norman king was working with two separate trans-Humbrian earldoms.[411] If it were the last, Robert's association with southerly territories suggests he was the successor of Morcar rather than Oswulf. There is no evidence the king had anything to do with the appointment of older territorial honours under the royal earl's nominal authority, including 'sub-earls'. It is reasonable enough to assume that peaceful assumption of 'local' honours required the absence of hostility from the king or his viceroy in York; but the regular genealogical accession to the Bamburgh honour seems to show that accessions to those offices remained a matter of local consent—at least until the new order brought by the Normans. Oswulf and Gospatric, then, could be explainable as successors of the sub-earls who existed in the earlier eleventh and tenth centuries.

4.4.6 Political Geography at the Norman Conquest

So far the question of political geography has been dealt with only very indirectly. Beyond some reliable inferences about the basics, contemporary sources are not full enough and Anglo-Norman earl lists are neither detailed nor reliable enough to tell us much more about the far-north of Northumbria, even for the late eleventh century. They do betray one important feature, the importance of a small number of agnatic lineages. Dominant in the late eleventh century are three lines: those descended from Uhtred, Siward, and Maldred son of Crínán. Oswulf son of Ealdred led the Uhtreding line at the time of the Norman Conquest (Oswuld was succeeded by Eadwulf Rus), Waltheof of Northampton the line of Siward (succeeded by his daughter Matilda), and Gospatric the line of Maldred (succeeded by Dolfin). The Uhtredings would, by 'normal' practice, be expected to have been regarded as senior, but by 1066 they had better-connected competitors from powerful outside families who had married female descendants of Uhtred: Uhtred's daughter Ealdgyth had married Maldred, while Siward had wedded Uhtred's granddaughter Ælffled. Maldred's wife Ealdgyth was Uhtred's only [known] child from his highest-status marriage, that to Ælfgifu daughter of King Æthelred. Nothing is known about Maldred's origin from Northumbrian sources, but his ability to secure the granddaughter of an English monarch probably suggests he was a powerful figure, and the Gaelic names used by himself and his father (see Appendix V.b) suggest an origin to the west or north of Eadwulfing territory. The legitimacy of the Siwardssons and Maldredssons as earls in Northumbria was later linked to their descent from Uhtred.

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[411] *HR2*, 199; *DPSA*, 384.

As far as we can tell, only Maldred's line and the Uhtredings had any territorial holdings independent of the 'office' inside the region (at least outside of north-eastern Northumbria), with Waltheof drawing on a position based primarily on the East Midlands. Gospatric's two sons held territory in the west during the time of William Rufus and Henry I, in Carlisle and Allerdale respectively, which in turn, as suggested above, means their father Gospatric was probably the lord of Allerdale in *Gospatric's Writ*. Gospatric had a follower named Gille-Míchéil, 'a certain powerful man beyond the Tyne' (*quidam ultra amnem Tinam prepotens Gillo Michael…id est puer Michaelis*) who harassed Durham during the Norman invasion.[412] *Domesday* tells us that a Gille-Míchéil was the lord of numerous estates in *TRE* Kendal (the half of the later shire of Westmorland which lay in the diocese of York rather than Carlisle), and if the two are the same it would confirm the picture of a westerly dominion for Gospatric.[413] Indeed Kendal had been included in the first Anglo-Norman 'Cumbrian' lordship granted to Ivo Talleibois after the expulsion of Dolfin from Carlisle by William Rufus in 1092, although it came to be detached from the lordship of Cumberland in subsequent years.[414] Dolfin's fate after 1092 is uncertain, but he remained an important if, to the modern historian, tantalisingly mysterious figure. Most curiously his brothers Gospatric (later 'earl of Dunbar') and Waltheof lord of Allerdale are consistently referred to as 'brother of Dolfin' in diplomatic sources, apparently the major source of notability for the brothers despite the large territorial holdings that came into their command. Why Dolfin remained so important is unclear, but in the so-called *Memorandum on the Descendants of Waldeve son of Earl Gospatric, Lords of Allerdale* dating to 1275, Dolfin is described as having been 'earl of Northumbria' (*Dolfinum Comitem Northumbrie*).[415] As a point of interest, this source is the same source that gives William son of King Donnchad mac Maíl-

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[412] *LDE*, 188–93: iii.16.

[413] *DB York.*, I, 302 a.

[414] *ASC* MS E, s.a. 1092; *ASC*, 169.

[415] *The Register of the Priory of St. Bees*, ed. J. Wilson (Durham, 1915), illustrative document vi, at pp. 530–31; and *CDS*, II, no. 64.

Choluim the unique style ‘earl of Moray’, a style which is similarly late but thought by recent commentators to be accurate.[416] In the early–twelfth-century *Gesta Herewardi*, the hero Hereward is said to have abandoned his wife due to the approaches of ‘the widow of Earl Dolfin’ (*fuit uxor Dolfini comitis*), a woman ‘particularly powerful on account of her wealth’; Hereward’s original wife allegedly became a nun at Crowland (where Dolfin’s brother Waltheof may, incidentally, have later retired).[417] It is hardly unknown for historical figures to acquire unhistorical titles as they transition to the literary character, but scepticism of such a title should not be based on his omission from the royalist Durham tracts. There is no indication that Dolfin was killed in 1092, only that his control of Carlisle came to an end. It may be that he retained some position as earl in neighbouring Annandale (or even Strathclyde) during the murky era prior to the arrival of Prince David and Robert de Brus, ‘first’ lord of Annandale.[418] There is an outside possibility that ‘Maldredsson’ personal dominion had extended from Allerdale across the Southern Uplands into East Lothian prior to the takeover of the Scottish kings,[419] but their known patterns of landholding may have originated partly in their tenure as rulers of Bamburgh.

The Uhtredings appear to have offered most resistance to the Normans, and are the most marginal as far as surviving sources are concerned. These two facts may not be entirely coincidental. The Uhtredings Oswulf and his successor Eadwulf Rus were both responsible for the death of Norman appointees to the earldom of Durham, having provided leadership to anti-Norman communities lying significantly north of the Tyne. During the rebellion of 1080, Eadwulf led forces that descended from the north to Gateshead (on the Tyne). Later, Eadwulf was buried in Jedburgh in Roxburghshire, while there is evidence that his son held territory in Berwickshire (see 7.2.3). It would seem likely that the Uhtredings were dominant in the heartland of the former Bamburgh ‘earldom’, perhaps in some of the deep inland valleys north of the Tyne and almost certainly in the Tweed basin. Bamburgh itself lies on a southward projection of this geographic unity, while Norham lies a short distance away on the lower-most ford of the Tweed. This region is described quite coherently by possible Viking-Age or early Anglo-Norman tracts as the territory of thie diocese of Lindisfarne (see 6.1.1 and Appendix III.a–b), a point which has more eleventh-century significance given the arguments in the preceding chapter. It is thus not surprising to find the central agnatic line dominant in this region longer than any other.

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[416] Ibid., 532. Barrow, *RRS*, II, 12–13, treated this sympathetically, and R. Oram, *David I* (Stroud, 2004), 93–96 embraced it fully.

[417] *Gesta Herewardi*, in *CAN*, *II*, 1–98, at 88:c.31; trans. M. Swanton, in Ohlgren (ed.), *Medieval Outlaws* (Stroud, 1998), 55–56. It is tempting to link this character to Lucy of Bolingbroke, whose hand, according to Sharpe, may have been used to pass on the lordship of Cumberland (her successive husbands were Ivo Taillebois, Roger de Roumare, and Ranulf le Mechin); see Sharpe, *Norman Rule*, 36–41.

[418] Here it could be interesting to think about the geography of the Dolphinton place-names.

[419] This could explain some of the geography of the *Vita Kentegerni Imperfecta* and the early–twelfth-century church of Glasgow, for which see below 7.4.2 and Appendix IV. Note that there is late evidence for a ‘Meldred’, ruler of Tweeddale, in a twelfth-century source (see Appendix V.b). Another interesting point is the geography of the cult of St Bega. St Bega’s most significant house is the chief monastery of the lordship of Allerdale, at St Bees. However, Bega was also commemorated at Dunbar and at Kilbucho in Tweeddale.These commemorations may, of course, be unrelated. For the cult, see C. Downham, ‘St Bega—Myth, Maiden, or Bracelet? And Insular Cult and Its Origins’, *JMH* 33 (2007), 33–42.

Between the ‘rebellion’ of Eadwulf Rus and the destruction of Robert de Mowbray’s polity, the Tweed basin may have come under either Anglo-Norman or Scottish domination. There is however evidence that Gospatric ruled in the region during the time of Walcher. The Roger of Howden version of *De Omnibus Comitibus Northimbrensibus*, in a line omitted by the version of *Historia Regum 2*, has Gospatric summon Ealdwine and Turgot from Melrose to his deathbed at Ubbanford, where he was later buried (*apud Ubbanford, quod est Northam, in ipso ecclesiae exitu sepultus est*). The summoning is hard to date. *Libellus de Exordio* says that these men had established a house at Melrose, and were urged by ‘frequent letters and commands’ from Walcher to instead take up residence in Wearmouth. They did relocate south, but the *Libellus* implies that the process took some time. These men could have been in Melrose from as early as 1073 (arrival of Ealdwine in Northumbria) until 1080 (death of Walcher), probably quite close to the latter date.[420] *Historia Regum 2* claims that William the Conqueror deprived Gospatric of the office on his return from his Scottish expedition in 1072; between 1072 and this event Gospatric is said to have gone to Flanders. When Gospatric returned to Britain, it is said that he received Dunbar from Máel-Coluim mac Donnchada.[421] This piece of information was, however, made only decades later as an addition to the annals represented by *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, and may be an attempt to reconcile his continued tenure of the trans-Alnian territory with the accession of Waltheof to the southern earldom.[422]

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[420] *LDE*, 208–11: iii.22; ibid., 228–29: iv.3 is the source of 1073 for the date of Ealdwine’s arrival in Norhtumbria; Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans*, 135, suggests ‘in around 1076’ as the beginning of their time in Melrose, but I am not aware of any detail that would narrow this date.

[421] *RHC*, I, p, 59.

[422] *HR2*, 196; cf. JW, III, 20–21: s.a.1072.

By 1113 most of the Tweed basis was controlled by Earl David, brother of the Scottish king and client of Henry I. What had happened in the intervening period is unclear. Our best clue comes from church activity (see 6.4.4–6) and a loose annal reproduced by, among others, Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*. In the process of describing the ethnography of Britain, Ranulf related that Flemings 'came to make up the seventh people in the isle and for a period during the time of King Henry a great number agreed to dwell in the region near Melrose in the east of England' (*Flandrenses, tempore regis Henrici, in magna copia iuxta Mailros ad orientalem Angliae plagam habitationem pro tempore accipientes, septimam in insula gentem fecerunt*), adding that 'on the orders of the same king, they were translated to Haverford in the western part of Wales' (*iubente tamen eodem rege ad occidentalem Walliae partem apud Haverford sunt translati*).[423] Higden seems to indicate that this came from Alfred of Beverley, a twelfth-century compilation of earlier historical extracts (including material similar to Roger of Howden's *Chronica* and *Historia Regum 2*). This precise extract is not reproduced exactly in extant versions of Alfred's work: later handlers seem to have been confused by Melrose's inclusion in England.[424] The same notice is attested in a chronicle compilation written up in the mid fourteenth century (perhaps begun in the reign of Edward I), traditionally but incorrectly attributed to John Brompton:

> Qui orientalem plagam Angliae iuxta fluuium Twyde primo eis concessit, quos tandem postea sub anno regni sui xi. In Westwaloniam apud Ros et Hauverford transduxit.
>
> 'He [king Henry] at first granted to them the eastern region of England beside the river Tweed, but in the end, in this ninth year of his reign, he transferred them to West-Wales at Rhos and Haverford.'[425]

The verifiably near-contemporary *Chronicon ex Chronicis* annals have an entry about the same event, but placed s.a. 1111:

> Rex Anglorum Heinricus Flandrenses qui Norðymbriam incolebant, cum tota suppellictili sua, in Waloniam transtulit, et terram, que Ros nominatur, incolere precepit.

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[423] Ranulf Higden*, Polychronicon*, ed. C. Babington (London, 1865–1886), II, 152; gratitude is owed to Professor Robert Bartlett, who brought the Higden extract to attention.

[424] See *ABA*, 10, where the two settlements have been conflated (*in regione Mailros in confinio Gualiarum iubente rege Henrico habitacionem accepterunt*).

[425] *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores* X (1652), ed. R. Twysden (London, 1652), 1003; there is an elaborated version of this in the *Chronicles of Holinshed*, for which see L. Toorians, 'Flemish Settlement in Pembrokeshire', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 20 (1990), 99–118, at 106, n. 40

> 'Henry, king of the English, removed to Wales some Flemings, who were living in Northumbria, together with all their chattels, and made them settle in the district which is called Rhos.'[426]

Their settlement may have been seen as necessary, and justified, by the intensity of opposition offered by the Uhtredings. The Flemings were outsiders settled in the area, independent of older, local power structures and dependent on the new, distant Anglo-Norman king for protection against anything too big to handle. Their removal coincides remarkably with the arrival of David mac Maíl-Choluim, who begins to appear as 'earl' in the early 1110s. The arrival of Scottish power south of the Forth will be the topic of the following chapter.

Conclusion

Although the Ecgberhting Anglo-Saxon kingdom's struggle with the Uí Ímair for the Danelaw seems to have continued into the early 950s, the failure of Olaf Cuarán and death of Erik during the time of King Eadred effectively marked its end. The victory was not complete, however, as much of the west and far north of Northumbria was left in the hands of pre-existing local *duces.* The post-Conquest 'Northumbrian Earldom Foundation Legend' would claim that one of the Ecgberhting kings—either Eadred or Edgar according to either surviving version—divided Northumbria into two earldoms: an earldom for the area around York and another for the north. Contemporary charter attestations demonstrate that the region had many more earls than this until at least 959; even north of the Tees, as late as the reign of Æthelred, 'superfluous' subscriptions highlight the tradition's lack of historical authority. Surprisingly, perhaps, part of the 'Legend' does seem to be borne out. *ASC* annals, the 'Wihtbordesstan Code', and other evidence show that a viceregal ealdorman for Northumbria, as for Mercia and East Anglia, came into existence during the time of Edgar. Succession to this office is well (if not exhaustively) documented from the time of Oslac around 963 until the Norman conquest of Northumbria. After earldoms in northern England had been abolished, Anglo-Norman historians came to model their Viking-Age 'Northumbrian earls' in part by back-projecting the Bamburgh rulers into the role of the ealdormen; but these learned men also encountered historical ealdormen like Oslac in earlier written evidence. 'Reconciling' this problem is the reason that their lists assumed their current form, and why the 'Northumbrian Earldom Foundation Legend' claims that the former kingdom was divided in two separate spheres when King Edgar made Oslac ealdorman of York.

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[426] JW, III, 124–27: s.a.1111.

In the west of the former Northumbrian kingdom, retaining its links to the 'Irish Sea province' the Ua Ímair rump may have evolved into the kingdom of *Na Renna*. *Na Renna*, 'the Rhinns', continued its existence until at least the late eleventh century, probably as part of a wider unit or series of units ancestral to the Kingdom of the Isles. Further south, a shadowy population group, the *Westmoringas*, emerged as a new political community. Unfortunately, virtually all we know about them is that they were the victim on an attack by a prominent Anglo-Danish magnate, Thored son of Gunner, in 966; and that over a century after that they were sufficiently linked with the region around Appleby to give their name, during the course of time, to the rural deanery and baronial shire. The *Westmoringas* and *Na Renna* are only part of the picture. Our windows on the Northumbrian west country, from *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* in the early tenth century, the *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba* in the late tenth century, and *Gospatric's Writ* in the mid eleventh century, might all suggest that much (if not most) of the region continued to function as part of the 'Northern English' political system. While these sources are far from being decisive—and it is not even clear that *Historia* is a window on that era—the popular theory that the northerly kingdom of Strathclyde expanded into the region has even less evidence behind it. Besides lack of any explicit supporting evidence at all and besides having no clear chronological opening, the theory is also unnecessary. It is not needed to explain any existing evidence. The widespread belief among historians that Kenneth Jackson brought 'scientific' philological validation to the theory is not true either: Jackson was pondering some place-name evidence with a weakly based assumption that Celtic in the region had disappeared during early English expansion. Moreover, the meeting at 'Eamont Bridge', often thought to give credence to the theory, could much more reasonably be read instead to refute it. In fact, the Strathclyde expansion theory is an inheritance from scholarship dating back to the seventeenth century, itself based on little more than misguided speculation about the place-name *Cumberland* and on late texts probably designed to support the ambitions of the thirteenth-century bishops of Glasgow.

Whatever the position of the Carlisle region within it, the 'Northern English' political community seems to have continued long after the defeat of the Uí Ímair, and indeed later texts assign its ruler Oswulf son of Eadwulf a key role in the downfall of the last Anglo-Danish ruler, Erik. Unlike the early tenth century, contemporary Irish sources are silent about the 'Northern English' and their rulers in subsequent decades. Our contemporary Scottish source seems to call one of its rulers, in the late tenth century, 'king', but Anglo-Saxon sources denote them as *duces* or 'high-reeves'. Whatever title the descendants of Eadwulf came to use, in whatever context, an ideologically subordinate relationship with the Ecgberhting ruler had, in all probability, already been old in 954, and there is no evidence that it ended afterwards. The presence of the region's bishop and ruler in the Anglo-Saxon kingdom is attested around 970 in charters, but their rare once-in-a-generation appearances seem to show conclusively that they retained a *de facto* position more analogous to the kings of Wales and Strathclyde than to Ecgberhting ealdormen. There is a theoretical possibility that Bamburgh's rulers had some formalised relationship with the Egberhting's viceregal ealdorman, but no contemporary evidence demonstrates this. We do know, however, that Uhtred of Bamburgh married the daughter of King Æthelred and was given the ealdordom for a period between 1006 and 1016, probably because political crises induced by new Scandinavian invasions made Uhtred and his family's resources appealing allies.

After the conquest of England by the king of Denmark in the 1010s, the Northumbrian ealdordom went to Scandinavian strongmen. One of them, Siward, was involved in the death of Bamburgh's ruler Eadwulf son of Uhtred. During Siward's time much of Northumbria may have been brought as close together as it had been under Uhtred, and even overlordship of the [future] English North-West is documented by a contemporary source. Siward may also have reduced Strathclyde to subordination. Following Siward's death in 1055, the ealdormanly title became a prize in Southumbrian court politics. After the Norman conquests of Southumbria and southern Northumbria, the Norman kings appointed their own earls, two of whom were killed by northerners who were, probably, allied to the Scots and by extension the native English claimants to the throne of Edward the Confessor. The region north of the Tyne retained effective independence for several decades under its own 'native' dynasties. The Uhtreding line, and their cognatic relatives the family of Maldred son of Crínán, dominated the far north, on the Tweed basin and in the west. Robert de Mowbray is the first Norman earl (and indeed the first Southumbrian-appointed earl) we know to have exercised control of Bamburgh, a position he attained in either the late 1080s or early 1090s. Roger’s control of Bamburgh coincided with the emergence of another marcher lordship further west, given initially to Ivo Taillebois after the expulsion of Dolfin. Mowbray’s rebellion against the king, William Rufus, brought the easterly earldom to an end.

Although the earl Mowbray’s land south of the Tweed was confiscated and redistributed to Norman soldiers, some land to the north was probably given to a Scottish dynast, Edgar son of Máel-Coluim, whom King William had decided to sponsor for the Scottish kingship. The ruling dynasty of Scotland were to emerge as reliable Norman allies, with Edgar’s sister, ‘Matilda’, subsequently becoming the wife and queen of William’s brother and successor, King Henry. At some stage in the following years, Flemish mercenaries may have been settled in Teviotdale, but after c. 1113 King Henry seems to have decided to replace these with another son of Máel-Coluim, David. David was simultaneously married to a kinswoman of the local Uhtredings and was probably also expected to utilise more manpower still from his family’s home territory further north, freeing up the Flemings for other duties in Wales.

Only from the later eleventh century can it be shown that Southumbrian power had finally been established definitively over the old *Regnum Saxan Aquilonialium*. The latter’s first certain conquerors were not the Winchester realm, but rather the latter’s own conquerors, the Normans, who were assisted, in the end, by Scots. Scottish involvement in ‘Middle Britain’ here and prior to the arrival of the Normans will form the subject of the following chapter.

5. ‘Middle Britain’ and Scotland

This chapter will turn to the evidence for the Scots and their involvement in our region. Previous treatment has, roughly speaking, revolved around two relatively distinct poles: the ‘British’ west, and the ‘English’ east. Scottish takeover of the greater-Clyde region has usually been explained through the royal dynasty’s subjugation of a pre-existing polity, the kingdom of Strathclyde; while expansion into ‘Lothian’ has been seen traditionally as having involved the acquisition of territory at the expense of a rival polity, the ‘Bamburgh earldom’ that was discussed above.

5.1 Strathclyde and Scotland

5.1.1 Princely Appanage

Until relatively recently, a prevalent view was that tenth-century Cumbria had been a dependency, if not an extension, of Scotland. The idea had drawn support from several pieces of evidence. According to the *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba*, following the death of *Doneualdus rex Britanniorum*, one *Duneualdus filius Ede* was ‘elected’ king.[427] With *Duneualdus* sharing the patronymic of the contemporary ruler of Scotland, i.e. Causantín mac Áeda, it was hardly unreasonable to suppose that the two were brothers. A picture like this was in line with *De S. Cadroe Abbate*, where in the 940s the reigning Cumbrian king ‘Donald’ had been described as a ‘relative’ (*propinquus*) of a Scottish abbot.[428] More explicit about the matter would be John of Fordun, who described *Cumbria* as an appanage for the heir of the Scottish king.[429] More generally, the limited surviving evidence for eleventh-century successions seemed to confirm that the Cumbrian realm had been the base for a section of the Scottish ruling dynasty. Anglo-Latin annals seemed to imply that King Donnchad I had been a ‘king of the Cumbrians’ prior to his Scottish reign. Even the most sceptical historians had to concede Scottish domination by the mid eleventh century. The last known king from Strathclyde’s ‘native’ dynasty, Owen the Bald, had died in the 1010s, when we might have expected a king reigning in the 1030s to have begun his reign. Indeed, in the twelfth century, David I's time as 'Prince of the Cumbrians' prior to the death of his brother Alexander I in 1124 would still show such a principle in action.[430]

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[427] E.g. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship*, 251; *ESSH*, ɪ, 445–46.

[428] Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ɪ, 346; *ESSH,* ɪ, 441, n. 3, 446 n. 1; Kirby, ‘Strathclyde and Cumbria’, 87–88; Duncan, *Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1992), 91; A. P. Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* (Edinburgh, 1989), 220–22; A. MacQuarrie, ‘The Kings of Strathclyde, c.400–1018’, in *Medieval Scotland*, 1–19, at 15; *BDDAB* , s.v. ‘Donald son of Áed, c. 940–3’, 103.

[429] *Chron. Fordun*, 163–64: iv.21; Kirby, ‘Strathclyde and Cumbria’*,* 7 87–91; Duncan, *Scotland*, 91, 96, 98; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men*, 215–23.

Such was the mainstream view of Viking-Age Scoto-Cumbrian relations for much of the twentieth century. However, Benjamin Hudson's '*Elech* and the Scots in Strathclyde' in 1988 demonstrated that the alleged Scoto-Cumbrian *Dunevaldus filius Ede* was in fact Domnall mac Áeda, king of Ailech (†915). Hudson established that the second word of *rex elig*, the phrase following his name, stood as a genitive of Ailech rather than being an abbreviation of *eligitur* ('is elected').[431] Meanwhile, Scottish historians increasingly came to distance themselves from Fordun's output as growing recognition of his lateness and poor credibility undermined the earlier confidence.[432] MacQuarrie suggested Fordun had been influenced by the grant of Lennox to Earl David (brother and heir-apparent to William the Lion) in 1174, and subsequently 'projected it further back and interpreted it in an over-systematic way'.[433] Duncan in 2002 saw similar back-projection going on, and dismissed it as 'fiction, totally without historical foundation'.[434] A more sustained attack on Fordun was launched by Broun in 2004. The original thirteenth- or fourteenth-century author at best 'knitted together a compelling story' from 'disparate bits of information'; David son of Máel-Coluim III is the single certain instance of an heir to the Scottish kingship ruling *Cumbria* (during the reign of his brother Alexander I),[435] though he also suggested that Edward's tenure of Gascony during the later years of Henry III's reign may have been an inspiration.[436] Only as reliable as the sources he used, the 'compelling story' Fordun created to make sense of his information was itself of little worth.

Some historians began even to reject the claim that Donnchad [I] had been king of the Cumbrians, well-established, so it had been thought, independently of Fordun. A catalogue of English sources appeared to call Donnchad's son Máel-Coluim III 'son of the king of the Cumbrians'. Duncan argued that all these derived from a singular earlier source that did not, in fact, give such specific information. The following is the relevant passage in *Chronicon ex Chronicis*:

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[430] *SAEC*, 85 n. 1; and, for instance, G. W. S. Barrow, *Kingship and Unity* (Edinburgh, 1989), 25; Duncan, *Scotland*, 98; Hudson, *Kings of Celtic Scotland*, 117.

[431] B.T. Hudson, '*Elech* and the Scots in Strathclyde', *SGS* 15 (1988), 145–49; see also D. Broun, 'The Welsh Identity of the Kingdom of Strathclyde c.900–c.1200', *IR* 55 (2004), 111–80, at 132–33.

[432] E.g. W. D. H. Sellar, 'Warlords and Matrilineal Succession', *IR* 36 (1985), 29–43.

[433] MacQuarrie, 'The Kings of Strathclyde', 15.

[434] Duncan, *Kingship,* 40.

[435] Broun, 'Welsh Identity', 134.

[436] Broun, 'Welsh Identity', 131; another model could have been the Plantagenet practice of giving the principality of Wales to their heir.

> Strenuus dux Norðhymbrorum Siuuardus, iussu regis, et equestri exercitu et classe ualida Scotiam adiit et cum rege Scottorum Macbeotha prelium commisit ac multis milibus Scottorum et Normannis omnibus, quorum supra fecimus mentionem, occisus, illum fugauit, et Malcolmum regis Cumbrorum filium, ut rex iusserat, regem constituit.
>
> 'Siward, the vigorous earl of the Northumbrians, at the king's command, went to Scotland with a mounted force and a powerful fleet and joined battle with Macbethad, king of the Scots, and when many thousands of Scots and all the Normans, whom we mentioned above, had been killed, he put them to flight and, as the king commanded, he set up Máel-Coluim, son of the king of the Cumbrians, as king.'[437]

In appearance, William of Malmesbury resolved this ambiguity by claiming that Máel-Coluim had been installed on the Scottish throne:

> Siwardum Northimbrensium, qui iussu eius cum Scottorum rege Macbetha congressus uita regnoque spoliauit, ibidemque Malcolmum filium regis Cumbrorum regem instituit.
>
> 'Siward, earl of Northumbria, on his [Edward's] instructions attacked Macbethad, king of the Scots, deprived him of his life and throne, and installed Máel-Coluim, son of the king of the Cumbrians, in his place.'[438]

William was not, however, accurately reproducing his source (a lost variant of *ASC* closely related to C and D). *Chronicon ex Chronicis* witnessed the source more reliably, and did not make William's claims. The idea that this Máel-Coluim was the future Máel-Coluim III made sense in the following century, but William's claim that Siward killed Macbethad is falsified by better texts showing that Macbethad would reign for two years after Siward's own death in 1055. Subsequent writers like Fordun, supplying even more additional information from their own guesswork (as well as a lost saga), created the tale familiar to later audiences.[439] Thus the Máel-Coluim of the Anglo-Latin annals was not Máel-Coluim III, but 'presumably a son of Owen the bald or an unrecorded successor'. After all, if this Máel-Coluim were to have been the son of Donnchad mac Crínáin, the source would surely have said 'son of the king of the Scots'.[440] Duncan's argument was embraced by later writers.[441]

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[437] *JW*, II, 574–75.

[438] *GRA,* 348–49: ii.196.

[439] *Chron. Fordun*, 180–92; Duncan, *Kingship*, 37–42.

5.1.2 Scoto-Cumbrian Relations

Such developments mean that Scoto-Cumbrian relations must be viewed afresh, if sadly only briefly, for the purposes of this thesis. Connections between polities north of the Forth and the Britons to its south-west are not well-attested in the Early Middle Ages, but there are glimpses. The Verturian Bridei m. Beli who retook 'the land of his grandfather' from the Northumbrians was the son of a king of Dumbarton.[442] In the tenth century, as in the seventh century, the names of rulers north and south of the Forth were largely drawn from the same narrow anthroponymic group—although these names may appear in Anglo-Gaelic, Gaelic, Welsh, or 'Pictish' form depending on language of the source or, in secondary texts, according to the taste or ethno-linguistic theory held by the historian. Likewise, there was apparently nothing unusual about a tenth-century Scottish aristocratic churchmen sharing kinship with Cumbrian kings, *Douenaldus rex* and his *propinquus*, Cathróe (later abbot of Metz).[443]

There is indeed contemporary evidence of fluidity between the two political groups, without of course implying type of 'constitutional' overlordship anachronistically sought by earlier modern historians. Famously, King Edmund of Wessex ravaged the territory of the Strathclyde Britons and, *ASC* claims, 'left it all' (*hit let eall*) to Máel-Coluim mac Domnaill. *Roger of Wendover* adds that Edmund blinded the sons of Donald (*duobus filiis Dunmail*).[444] The *Douenaldus* related to Cathróe was ruler at some point in the 940s, while a ruler of the same name lived until 973; in the intervening period, King Cuilén was killed by the Cumbrian chief *Amdarch*. Another *Roger of Wendover* annal makes it clear that *Cumbria* was ruled by a single king in 946, the year of Eadred's succession—though he is not named.[445] If the *ASC* annal of 945 is not a late 'interpolation', it is possible that Máel-Coluim had overlordship of King Donald. The word *let* should be understood to suggest that Edmund consented to something he would usually have been expected to oppose, but this may have been collection of some tribute the kingdom ordinarily sent to Edmund rather than over-kingship. Over-kingship was not usually a permanent relationship anyway, and Cuilén's fate should further dissuade historians from widening its implications.

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[440] Duncan, *Kingship*, 41.

[441] Broun, 'Welsh Identity', 133–34; Oram, *David I*, 19–21; Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 262–63; T. J. Clarkson, *Men of the North* (Edinburgh, 2010), 191–92; A. Ross, *The Kings of Alba* (Edinburgh, 2011), 138–40.

[442] Fraser, *Caledonia-Pictland*, 21–216, 226, table 8.3; *TT*, 115.

[443] *DSCA*, 476.

[444] *RW*, I, 398; cf. *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R.Luard, I, 455.

[445] *RW*, I, 399.

Some of the evidence can even be used to paint the opposite picture, 'Cumbrian' superiority over the Scots. Run, son of Arthgal the first known king of Strathclyde, married a daughter of Cináed mac Ailpín. If the most recent analysis of these matters is to be accepted, Run's son Eochaid was behind the reign of Giric mac Dungail, whose power base included the Tay.[446] Alliances between the northern Britons and Scots are attested for 937 (Brunanburh), 952 (the year of Erik's apparent ousting of Olaf Cuarán), and 1018 (Carham campaign); but enmity is also recorded, as when Cuilén mac Ilduilb was killed in 971. The *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba* notes that Dunblane had been burned by Britons during the reign of Cináed mac Ailpín.[447] Given the length of time involved and the relatively even balance of hostility, alliance, subordination, and superiority across the two centuries between 850 and 1050, there is no room to reach conclusions about permanent systems of alliance or subordination between the two political communities. The little we know indicates that between 950 and 1018 at least, the Cumbrian kingdom retained the importance it had previously enjoyed. The late–tenth-century Cumbrian king Máel-Coluim is commemorated in Irish annals, as apparently is his father Donald son of Owen (†975); verses about late–tenth-century rulers in the Irish *Saltair na Rann* list Máel-Coluim (and also name his father and grandfather).[448] Powerful enough to kill a Scottish king, important enough to have two kings commemorated in foreign annals, the Cumbrian realm is not obviously inferior to any of its immediate neighbours, be they the Scots or the Northern English.

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[446] Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 117–21.

[447] *CKA*, 151,160; Anderson, *Kings and Kingship*, 252, 267, 275; *ESSH*, i, 475–77.

[448] *AU,* s.a. 975 , 997; MacQuarrie, 'Kings of Strathclyde', 16; *The Saltair na Rann*, ed. W. Stokes (Oxford, 1883), 34:lines 2373–2376—Hudson (*VPCP*, 69, 220, n. 46) claims that these were 'probably composed by someone who either was a Scot or living in the Scottish domain'.

5.2 Edgar's Beneficence and Eadwulf's Cowardice

5.2.1 Historiographic Background

The whole eastern region between the river Tweed and Forth was, according to the arguments of Geoffrey Barrow, part of the kingdom of the Scots from the late ninth century onwards; or at least from the mid tenth century.[449] Duncan saw matters similarly; writing in 1975, he argued that the area north of the Lammermuir was Scottish from about 890, and that the areas north and south of the Lammermuir passed in and out of Scottish hands until the Battle of Carham in 1018 permanently secured the region for the Scots.[450] Rollason writing in 2003 accepted the views of Barrowfor the most part,[451] the exception being his suggestion that the Scots had both regions before 914.[452] Duncan, writing again in 2002, was not as specific in his arguments, but more or less repeated the view that 'Lothian' (extending to the Tweed) was firmly in Scottish hands in either the early 970s or else after the battle of Carham.[453]

Barrow's view was revisionist in his time, and previous debate on the topic had centred (and continued to centre) on interpretation of two alleged events: firstly, the cession of 'Lothian' by Edgar (r.959–75) to Cináed mac Maíl-Choluim (†995), described in *De Primo Saxonum Adventu* and related texts; secondly, the victory of the Scots over a Northumbrian hosting at Carham in 1018, whereupon Earl Eadwulf Cudel, according to established readings of *De Obsessione Dunelmi*, gave 'Lothian' to the Scots.[454] Barrow believed the debate had taken shape along national lines: Scottish historians had preferred the prize of military valour, English historians the beneficent concession.[455] It would be an exaggeration to assert that English historians had given the matter significant attention, but Barrow was correct at least about Stenton and Whitelock, both of whom had been prepared to take the Edgar account at face value.[456] Likewise few Scottish historians had ever engaged in significant discussion (though the Englishness of 'Lothian' has been one of the long-acknowledged 'historical truths' of early Scottish history). An exception had been the Andersons, who did indeed favour the Carham explanation. [457] Marjorie Anderson thought that the Edgar account, if true, did not explain permanent Scottish control. She suggested that 'Lothian' may have been lost in 1006, when the Scots were allegedly defeated by Earl Uhtred, but regained after the Battle of Carham.[458]

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[449] Barrow, *Kingdom*, 112–29, reprint of Barrow, 'The Anglo-Scottish Border', *NH* 1 (1966), 21–42.
[450] Duncan, *Scotland*, 94–98.
[451] Rollason, *Northumbria*, 274–82, and esp. n. 27.
[452] Rollason, *Northumbria*, 276; the suggestion was based on the Scottish king fighting a battle 'as far south' as the river Tyne (i.e. at Corbridge).
[453] Duncan, *Kingship*, 28–29.
[454] Barrow, *Kingdom*, 120–21.
[455] Barrow, *Kingdom*, 121.
[456] Stenton, *ASE*, 370; Whitelock, 'Dealings', 85.

In a recent fairly extended discussion of this evidence, Woolf was prepared to consider *De Obsessione Dunelmi*'s claim that Eadwulf Cudel ceded 'Lothian' to the Scots, but pointed out the anachronistic nature of the grant attributed to Edgar. Woolf rejected Scottish control further south or east of Tyninghame prior to the 1020s. This was because incidental detail in *Libellus de Exordio* seemed to reveal that in the 1020s (at the earliest), when Durham officials were centralizing the location of Bernician relics, they were able to collect from Tyninghame, Melrose, and Coldingham, as well as Hexham, Tynemouth and Jarrow. This, argued Woolf, meant that the power of the officials of the diocese stretched from at least eastern Lothian as far as the Tees. Such a picture seemed to be confirmed by *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*'s description of the Lindisfarne diocese, which included territory in Lothian, a description retained by the compilation when completed, at the earliest, in the reign of Cnut.[459] Woolf argued that the location of the battle in 1018 at Carham on the Tweed also suggested a frontier much further north.[460]

5.2.2 English Beneficence

The Edgar gift is found in several related historical tracts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The legend was inserted into the version of the 'Northumbrian Earldom Foundation Legend' included in *De Primo Saxonum Adventu*'s sub-tract *De Northymbrorum Comitibus*, completed 1122x1129:

> Primus comitum post Ericum, quem ultimum regem habuerunt Northymbrenses, Osulf, provincias omnes Northanhymbrorum sub Edrido rege procurauit. Deinde sub Eadgaro rege Oslac praeficitur comes Eboraco, et locus ei pertinentibus; et Eadulf, cognomento Yvelcild, a Teisa usque Myreforth praeponitur Northymbris. Isti duo Comites cum Elfisio, qui apud Sanctum Cuthbertum episcopus fuerat, perduxerunt Kyneth regem Scottorum ad regem

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[457] M. O. Anderson, 'Lothian and the Early Scottish Kings', *SHR* 39 (1960), 98–112, at 111.
[458] Anderson, 'Lothian', 109–11.
[459] Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 234–36; for passages, see *LDE*, 162–67: iii.7, and *HSC*, 46–47: c.4.
[460] Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 237–40.

> Eadgarum. Qui, cum illi fecisset hominium, dedit ei rex Eadgarus Lodoneium, et multo cum honore remisit ad propria.
>
> 'The first of the earls after Eric, whom the Northumbrians considered to be their last king, Oswulf administered under king Eadred all the provinces of the Northumbrians. Thereafter under King Edgar, Oslac was appointed earl over York and the districts pertaining to it; and Eadwulf *Yvelcild* was placed over the Northumbrians from Tees to *Myreforth*. These two earls along with Ælfsige (who was bishop of St Cuthbert) conducted Cináed, king of the Scots, to King Edgar. And when he had done homage to him, King Edgar gave him Lothian; and with great honour sent him back to his own.'[461]

The extended version in *Wallingford* is further elaborated with conditions much more undeniably anachronistic.[462] Extensive verbatim borrowing shows beyond doubt that *Wallingford* used *De Northymbrorum Comitibus*, suggesting the text was available at St Albans.[463] The episode is included in the the *Roger of Wendover* annals, with Cináed's escort and the 'Lothian' gift (and similar anachronistic elaboration) being inserted into King Edgar's obit, s.a. 975.[464] *De Omnibus Comitibus Northimbrensibus*, the variant of this extract included in *Historia Regum 2* and Roger of Howden's *Chronica,* does not mention 'Lothian'. Either *De Omnibus Comitibus Northimbrensibus'* compiler chose to omit it, or else the compiler of *De Northymbrorum Comitibus* added it, perhaps from an earlier source. Despite *De Northymbrorum Comitibus*'s superior reliability for their common source (see 4.1.3), its final form was separate and there is no obvious reason to rule out additions by the final compiler in or after the 1120s.

Ælfric's vernacular *Life of Swithun*, written in the last decade of the tenth century, has it that 'all of the kings of the Cumbrians and Scots who were in this island' (*ealle ða cyningas Þe on Þysum iglande wæron Cumera and Scotta*) came to Edgar to offer homage, eight kings in total.[465] The event is also in northern variations of *ASC* (D and E) and derived Anglo-Latin works, and has come to be known as the 'Dee Rowing'. It became a well-known story told throughout the monastic houses of eleventh- and twelfth-century England, and so likely attracted much embellishment. In the northern *ASC* account, Edgar was met at

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[461] *DPSA*, 382–83; translation based on *SAEC*, 77.
[462] *Wallingford*, 54; *HR2*, 196–99.
[463] Anderson, 'Lothian', 108, n. 3.
[464] *RW*, I, 416.
[465] Ælfric of Eynsham, *Life of Swithun*, in *Cult of Swithun*, 606–07.

Chester by *six* kings. No text finalised in the pre-Conquest era names any of those kings, but eight kings are named by *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, s.a. 973 (and thus *Historia Regum 2*), and by William of Malmesbury, including Cináed king of the Scots, Máel-Coluim king of the Cumbrians, and Maccus king of the Isles; the names and the number are not given in any surviving Old English annal.[466] A synchronization of Cináed, Máel-Coluim, and Maccus with the year 973 is plausible, though it has been suggested that many of the other princely names were taken from charters.[467] The common number given by Ælfric and those Anglo-Latin annals may indicate a common source, perhaps an oral one, or perhaps a written one dating to Ælfric's lifetime; in either case, they witness reliable knowledge of events.[468]

The truthfulness of Cináed's appearance in England in the 970s could make the 'Lothian' gift more credible. It might suggest a reliable, authentic tradition, perhaps an early source that recorded the Lothian gift as described; but it can also be explained by the availability of the synchronism from *Chronicon ex Chronicis* and *Historia Regum 2,* s.a. 973. These annals were available to the author of *De Northymbrorum Comitibus*, and are used elsewhere in the *De Primo Saxonum Adventu* compilation.[469] The information about 'Lothian' does not otherwise constitute part of the 'Rowing'. In light of its absence from the 'Northumbrian Earldom Foundation Legend' account outside of *De Northymbrorum Comitibus / De Primo Saxonum Adventu*, Edgar's 'Lothian' grant cannot be counted part of a pre–twelfth-century textual tradition without additional evidence being discovered; and unlike Eadwulf Evilchild (who has charter attestations), the 'Lothian' grant has no explicit corroborating evidence.[470] We cannot definitively say that it originates in the twelfth century, but such a possibility is very realistic, much too realistic to make it the basis of a Scottish expansion narrative.

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[466] *ASC*, 76–77 (*ASC* MSS D & E, s.a. 972 (recte 973) , and *HH*, 322–23: v.26, refer to six by number, but *JW*, I, 422–25 (with derived sources) and *GRA*, 238–41: ii.148 name eight by name; for survey of source evidence, see D. E. Thornton, 'Edgar and the Eight kings, AD 973', *EME* 10 (2003), 49–79; for some background discussion, see also A. Williams, 'An Outing on the Dee: King Edgar at Chester, A.D. 973', *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 14 (2004), 229-44, and J. Barrow, 'Chester's Earliest Regatta?', *EME* 10 (2001), 81–92.

[467] Williams, 'An Outing on the Dee', passim, and J. Barrow, 'Chester's Earliest Regatta?', 81, n. 2.

[468] Thornton, 'Edgar and the Eight Kings', 49–79, at 63–64.

[469] The text records the submission of *Kynodus rex Scottorum, et Malcolm rex Cumbrorum et Maccus plurimarum rex Insularum et alii v.*, during the reign of Edgar, as part of its account of the West Saxon kings, *De Regibus Occidentalium Saxonum*; the tract also detailed the submission of *Scotiam et Cumbreland et alias insularum .. provincias* under Æthelstan; for both, see *DPSA*, 372; see also Thornton, 'Edgar and the Eight Kings', 59–61.

[470] Plausible but not certain; Amlaib king of the Scots only died in 977, while the Strathclyde king *Domnall m. Eogain* was alive until his death on pilgrimage in 975; it may make more sense of the evidence to reject the synchronisms as the product of semi-informed guesswork. Woolf suggested that even if the Edgar grant were historic, it would be more likely have been a base granted to Cináed from which to harry his rival Amlaib; Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 211.

5.2.3 Scottish Valour

De Obsessione Dunelmi relates Earl Uhtred's defeat of a Scottish army besieging Durham, but also covers some genealogical matters, and takes up the story of the earls who followed Uhtred. Regarding one earl, Eadwulf son of Waltheof, it related that:

> Quo occiso, frater ipsius Eadulf, cognomento Cudel, ignavus valde et timidus ei successit in comitatum. Timens autem ne Scotti mortem suorum, quos frater eius, ut supradictum est, occiderat, in se vindicarent, totum Lodoneium ob satisfactionem et firmam concordiam eis donauit. Hoc modo Lodoneium adjectum est regno Scottorum.
>
> 'On his [Uhtred's] death his brother, Eadwulf, known as "Cudel", a very lazy and cowardly man, succeeded to the earldom. Fearful lest the Scots whom his brother had slaughtered as aforesaid would avenge these deaths upon him, he ceded to them by treaty the whole of Lothian to make amends. In this way Lothian was joined to the kingdom of the Scots.'[471]

According to its most recent scholar, *De Obsessione Dunelmi* was written after 1076 but probably before the 1120s.[472] As argued above (3.2.4), its chronology appears to predate Symeon's, which would mean it was likely composed before 1115.[473] If so, it precedes what would otherwise be the earliest witness to the Edgar grant, *De Primo Saxonum Adventu.* It is important to be clear about what the author of *De Obsessione Dunelmi* understands and does not about the history he covers. For instance, he appears not to know about the battle of Carham. He presents Eadwulf's surrender of 'Lothian' as a way of buying off the Scots because they were angry about their defeat at the siege of Durham, an explanation which could only make sense if the author were ignorant of the Scottish victory at Carham around 12 years later. Indeed the *siege* in question may actually have happened in the 1030s, the author apparently confusing a battle of 1006 with a siege of Durham by Donnchad son of Máel-Coluim (an event which Symeon, perhaps with some knowledge of Scottish regnal chronology, plausibly placed 1039–40).[474]

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[471] *DOD*, 218, trans. Morris, *Marriage and Murder*, 3.
[472] Morris, *Marriage and Murder*, 8–10
[473] Rollason, *LDE*, xx.
[474] *LDE*, 168–69: iii.9, and n. 39; Whitelock, 'Dealings', 86, n. 1; Meehan, 'Siege of Durham', 15–16; Woolf, *Pictland–Alba*, 233.

Instead of trying to rationalise the above accounts, we have to acknowledge that at best they rely on oral testimony supplemented by a mixture of accurate deductions and misguided speculation.[475] Compare Orderic Vitalis's account, where 'Lothian' came to Scotland as part of the dowry paid to Máel-Coluim for his marriage with Margaret of Wessex. Writing between 1114 and 1141, Orderic is not much later (if at all later) than the accounts of *De Obsessione Dunelmi* and *De Northymbrorum Comitibus / De Primo Saxonum Adventu*. Greater geographic distance conceded, Orderic was much closer chronologically to the event he described than either of these others, probably writting within living memory of it.[476] His account has its own plausibility issues (including naming Edward the Confessor as the grantor), but as observed by Marjorie Anderson, 'how and when the Scots obtained Lothian seem not to have been matters of common knowledge in the twelfth century'.[477]

However, even a best case scenario for the above extracts would still not yield reliable insight about Scottish expansion south of the Forth. Intepretation of these extracts would require a confident definition about the term 'Lothian' itself, and this is surprisingly elusive. 'Lothian' has a variety of verifiable meanings in the twelfth century, and today the term is used to refer to the area lying between the Avon and Cockburnspath: the three former sheriffdoms of Linlithgow (West Lothian), Edinburgh (Midlothian), and Haddington (East Lothian). Its meaning in the tenth and eleventh centuries is uncertain; and though the term's unstable usage in the twelfth century makes it difficult to deduce an older meaning, there is some indication that prior to the disappearance of Celtic speech the term referred to a small area north of the Lammermuir (see Appendix IV.a). Neither Edgar's beneficence no Earl Eadwulf's cowardice, in the unlikely event that they are reliable accounts, would be enough to account for the entire area between the Cheviots and the Forth—not with any confidence at least.

5.3 The Forth and the Esk

5.3.1 *Myreforð*

Documentary sources, extensive for the first time in the twelfth century, are very clear that Scotland's southern border was the Forth. Although the water was not a *de facto* limit on the extent of the political communities subordinate to the Scottish king, it was an ideological and legal boundary that notionally separated the *Scottish* political community from subordinate peoples to the south.[478] The Forth's ubiquitousness as the southern boundary of the Scottish realm should alarm historians who believe the Tweed frontier to have been an old one. As discussed above, the territory of Eadwulf *Evilcild* was said to stretch from 'the Tees as far *Myreforth*' (*Teisa usque Myreforth*). This legend may not be significantly older than c.1100, but its potentially-early detail gives it more credibility than the Edgar or Eadwulf Cudel legends, and a late date itself would be even more damaging for the Barrovian theory of early Scottish expansion. Most historians seem to have thought this *Myreforth* was the Forth or its firth. This is what Skene and Alan Anderson thought.[479] Some historians have made other proposals, speculatively suggesting various fords without specific evidence linking them to this name. Marjorie Anderson, assuming the second element meant 'ford', offered the possibility that the 'ford' in question lay at the lower Esk or Cockburnspath, respectively the boundaries of East Lothian with Midlothian and with Berwickshire.[480] Barrow rejected Skene's identification too, and claimed that it referred to a ford on the Tweed,[481] while Duncan rejected Barrow's explanation and tentatively suggested it could refer to 'the flats between the mouth of the river Esk and the opening of the Solway', taking *Myreforth* to mean 'muddy ford'.[482]

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[475] Morris, *Marriage and Murder*, 9–10; Anderson, 'Lothian', 110–11

[476] *OV*, IV, 268–71: viii.22.

[477] Anderson, 'Lothian', 98.

The surviving MSS of *De Northymbrorum Comitibus* give both *Myreforth* and *Myreford*, suggesting that the vernacular was based on an original *ð* rather than *d*, and thus perhaps not the English word *ford*. In the tenth century at the very least, English scribes used *i* or *y* to render the first vowel in Gaelic *Muiredach.*[483] The B version of the St Andrews foundation legend uses the term 'mur' (*muir*) in a manner reminiscent (and perhaps the model for) the later Scoto-English term 'firth', as in *Slethemur* for 'Firth of Tay', *Ihwdenemur* for 'Firth of Forth'.[484] Therefore it is not unreasonable to suppose that *Myreforth* is in fact taken from contemporary Celtic terminology, meaning 'Forth Sea' or 'Firth of Forth'—

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[478] E.g. *Leges Scotie*, c. 1 at pp. 254–55, 281, and ibid., c. 16, at pp. 274, 285.

[479] *SAEC*, 77, & n. 3.

[480] Anderson, 'Lothian', 105–06.

[481] Barrow, *Kingdom*, 123.

[482] Duncan, *Kingship*, 24.

[483] For Muiredach / Myrdah, see for instance N. Brooks, M. Gelling, and D. Johnson, 'A New Charter of King Edgar', *ASE* 13 (1984), 137–55, at 141.

[484] *FAB*, 573, for commentary, see Taylor, *PNF*, III, 593.

though a Germanic origin incorporating *Forth* is possible too.[485] Overall the case for a reference to the Forth, firth or river, is very strong. Barrow objected to this because it contradicted the Edgar grant. However, even if you took the Edgar grant seriously, the Firth of Forth is encountered in East Lothian, potentially leaving 'Lothian' to the west: it could be read to complement the Edgar grant rather than contradict it. At any rate, if *Myreforð* instead refers to a ford in some particular location, there is no evidence for what ford that could be. In fact, even if it were a ford, the clear frontrunner would lie on the Forth anyway.

5.3.2 *Oppidum Eden uacuatum est*

The potentially late–tenth-century *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba* appears to furnish us with specific evidence about the expansion of the Scottish king's power. Its compiler added to the entry for King Ildulb mac Causantín (reigned 954–62) a note specifying that 'in his time Edinburgh was left empty then relinquished to the Scots, right up to the present day' (*in huius tempore oppidum Eden uacuatum est ac relictum est Scottis usque in hodiernum diem*).[486] This may be our only firm evidence from a tenth-century source of any Scottish control south of the Forth, though unfortunately we cannot rule out a post–tenth-century beginning for this particular addition.[487] The Northumbrian English have always been assumed as the agent behind Edinburgh's abandonment, but this cannot be taken as certain, and the Cumbrian kingdom is possible too; indeed the location given by some later Scoto-Latin annals for Cuilén's battle with the Britons could suggest the two political communities faced each other in the region.[488] If the note on the abandonment of Edinburgh in the *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba* entry dates to William the Lion's reign, it is speculation; if it dates to the apparent end of the chronicle, which cuts off at some time between 977 and 995, Edinburgh was 'still' in Scottish hands c. 1000. The *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba* note could rule out the possibility of meaningfully large Scottish possessions south of the Forth until at least the late 950s, and suggest that little of significance was held east or south of Edinburgh later in the century. In what sense the Scots had control of Edinburgh is another question still. Did the Scottish king leave it to a trustworthy notable, did he confer it as a reward to a kinsman or member of his warband, did he treat it as a residence looked after by a *minister*, or was it, as the text may suggest, simply left unmanned by its potentially hostile community, perhaps to facilitate Scottish raiding further south?

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[485] A 'mire' reading is not an unreasonable one. Roman writers from Tacitus through Ptolemy to the *Ravenna Cosmography* called the Forth *Bodotria*, *Boderia* and *B[o]dora*, identified with Celtic terms meaning 'muddy water'; the Welsh called the Forth *Gweryd*, meaning 'muddy', with which the Scottish term *Forth* is cognate; see Watson, *CPNS*, 51–52; Anderson, *Kings and Kingship*, 242.

[486] *CKA*, 151; Hudson suggested the *Prophecy of Berchán* may refer to territorial additions made in Ildulb's reign; see *Berchán*, 88, and n. 97.

[487] Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 194–95.

[488] Anderson, *Kings and Kingship*, 267, 275, 283, 288, assuming that *Ybandonia* is a scribal error for *Laudonia* rather than vice-versa. If one ignored the historiography and rebuilt Strathclyde from the earliest evidence (late as it is), pre-Scoto-Norman 'Lothian' is British. The world of *Vita Kentegerni Imperfecta* is the shore of the Forth, as well as Tweeddale, and Clydesdale; if modern historiography had begun from this text, our picture of Strathclyde might be a lot different, though sadly the authority of this text is far from impeachable.

5.3.3 *Uada Forthin*

Southerly Scottish raids are attested in the years after Ildulb. The *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba*'s last king, Cináed mac Maíl-Choluim, was responsible for a particularly big incursion. This Scottish source relates that 'the Scots raided England as far as Stanmoir … and the pools of *Derann*', and afterwards that 'Cináed walled the banks of the *uada Forthin*' (*Cinadius autem uallauit ripas uadorum Forthin*). *Stanmoir* is obviously Stainmore (on the boundary between the future counties of Westmorland and Yorkshire) and *Derannum* perhaps, as Hudson suggested, the Cumberland Derwent.[489] 'Shallows', 'fords', or 'streams' depending on context, the *uada* of *Forthin* have been identified since Watson as the Fords of Frew near Stirling, the first stretch of the Forth where the river can be forded (at least easily by an unopposed large force).[490] Constructing temporary fortifications there would have made sense: a punitive expedition was expected from the Northumbrians or perhaps a more powerful and more southerly overlord, so the aim would be to protect the army and perhaps the territory to the north. It is also possible that the walling is metaphoric, but in either case the reference strongly suggests that there was not much in Cináed's kingdom to the south of the Forth, despite the altered role of the *oppidum* of Edinburgh in preceding decades.

This is not the only reference to the importance of Forth as a means of subverting southern retaliation. One of the many Beverley traditions about King Æthelstan contains detail regarding a Scottish invasion of northern England, and the king's response. An author writing between 1154 and 1180 working with historical material relating to the worldly interventions of St John of Beverley recorded the following tradition about a Scottish army reacting to a punitive expedition launched by Æthelstan:

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[489] Hudson, 'Language of the Scottish Chronicle', 64–5; and Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 210; Dearham is another candidate here.
[490] Watson, *CPNS*, 52–3, 349–50.

> Cumque Scoti audissent Anglorum exercitum aduentare, non sunt ausi eos in finibus eorum exspectare, nec campestri bello eis resistere; sed transfretauerunt flumen, quod dicitur Scotorum Vadum, ut inter proprios terminos securius se in bello ad resistendum parare possent. Rex uero cum omni exercitu Anglorum cum ad flumen peruenisset, didicit Scotos transisse; et praecepit suis supra ripam fluminis sua tentoria figi, ibique aliquantulum pausare
>
> ‘And when the Scots heard that the English army was coming they were not bold enough to wait for them on their borders, nor to offer resistance to them on a flat battlefield, but crossed over the river which is called *Uadum Scotorum*, so that they could prepare to make a stand more securely within their own boundaries. When the king [Æthelstan] arrived at the river with all his English army he learned that the Scots had crossed, and he commanded his men to pitch their tents on the banks of the river and to rest there for a while.’[491]

After a vision from John of Beverley, the English succeed in crossing the river. The Scottish king flees, and Æthelstan takes tribute from the *principes et praepositos urbium* of the kingdom and reduces adjacent regions and islands to servitude. He returns ‘via seaways’ (*revertens per loca marina*), stopping off at Dunbar—where God and St John allow him to cleave solid rock as a testament to English domination of the Scots.[492]

The legend is probably not useful for the reign of Æthelstan, but at least reflects understanding of the political and military geography from the twelfth or eleventh century. The effectiveness of the barrier is confirmed by other southern invasions. The expedition of Robert Curthose in 1091 was made in response to the raids of Máel-Coluim mac Donnchada. Like the punitive Anglo-Norman expedition of 1072 and Æthelstan’s expedition of 934, fleets were summoned; but unlike those, the fleet of 1091 ‘perished miserably before [the king] could reach Scotland’.[493] This effectively made a crossing of the Forth unacceptably costly if not impossible. The same source says the Scots and Normans came to an agreement when Máel-Coluim had ‘crossed from Scotland into Lothian’. According to an embellished version produced by Orderic Vitalis, Máel-Coluim had waited for William Rufus with a large army at the northern side of the Forth. Robert Curthose crossed the Forth (*Scotte Watra*) for discussions, and was taken up a nearby mountain to compare the size of the Scottish and Norman armies and thus persuaded to make peace.[494]

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[491] *HCY*, I, 295–96; trans. S. E. Wilson, *The Life and After-Life of St John of Beverley* (Aldershot, 2006), 176; for the date, see ibid., 12.

[492] *HCY*, I, 296–97; Wilson, *St John of Beverley*, 179–80.

[493] *ASC*, 169.

5.3.4 Forth and Ideological Geography

The Forth's continued importance in the mid eleventh century seems to be emphasized by material collected with the Gaelic version of the *Historia Brittonum* known as *Lebor Bretnach*. This material tended to be neglected by Scottish historians until Thomas Clancy highlighted its Scottish provenance—*Duan Albanach* being an exception to this inattention.[495] *Lebor Bretnach* was probably brought together in Scotland in the third quarter of the eleventh century. It has yet to be thoroughly dissected, so the mechanics of its compilation are still obscure and, as a result, its contents remain intimidating as well as potentially treacherous for the historian of the 2010s. Nevertheless, even the most straightforward component pieces offer some potential insight. The first is a poem called *Cruithnigh cid dos farclam, i n-iath Alban n-amhra* ('The Picts who propagated in the noble land of Scotland'), written in the section marked *De Cruithneachaib* by an incipit. There is an account of six Pictish brothers who flee from Thrace, found '*Pictavis* [Poitiers] in France', and migrate to Ireland. Their deeds in Ireland are recounted, following which it is said:

Is as gabsat Albain,	From thence they conquered Alba,
ard-ghlain ailes toirthiú,	The noble nurse of fruitfulness.
cen dith lucht la trébtu	Without destroying the people or their houses,
o crich Chat co Foircu.	From the border of *Cat* to *Forcu*.[496]

Forcu probably refers to the same fords west of Stirling, already been met in the *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba*. Although the compilation is datable to the reign of Máel-Coluim III, the poem may date to the reign of Macbethad.[497] The poem evokes the kingdom's ideological geography, and does not include territory south of the Forth.

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[494] *OV*, IV, 268–69: viii.22; Orderic's source probably had Abbey Craig in mind (admitting that its historicity is very doubtful); a similar expedition by Robert Curthose, prepared without a fleet in 1080, failed to get beyond Falkirk, for which see *HR2*, 211.

[495] T. O. Clancy, 'Scotland, the "Nennian" Recension of the *Historia Brittonum*, and the *Lebor Bretnach*', in *KCC*, 87–107.

[496] *Lebor Bretnach*, 148–49 (where *crich* was translated 'land'); Watson, *CPNS*, 52, 60.

A similar mythological invocation of such geography was produced during the reign of Máel-Coluim. The *Duan Albanach*, 'Scottish Song', is similar in theme in that it recounts the origin of the Scots from Hibernicised Picts. Early in its story, it related that 'Briutus possessed the noble Alba / As far as the conspicuous promontory of Fothudan' (*ro gabh Briotus Albain áin / go rinn fhiadhnach Fotudáin*). [498] *Rinn* is a generic element designating a promontory or cape, similar to Scandinavian *ness* ('nose'). *Fothudan* is a Scottish version of the name of the Votadini, the Dark-Age polity known more widely by its British cognate *Gododdin*. Unfortunately, it is hard to read this information decisively. *Rinn … Fotudáin* is not identifiable with a known place-name. It may be a poetic allusion to something with another more common name. Possibly it relates to the *Athran* referred to in the early–thirteenth-century *De Situ Albanie* as the southern boundary of its second 'Pictish' pseudo-kingdom, described as ending at 'the mountain on the northern bank of Stirling' (*ad montem aquilonali plaga de Striuelin qui uocatur Athran*).[499] This name may have survived in the place-name Airthrey and in the medieval parish church of Logie-Aithrey. In the twelfth and thirteenth century this also occurs as *Atherai* (1140 x 1147)[500] and *Login Athran* 1210x1225, [501] and *Logynathrane* in Culross charter of Alexander II reproduced for inspection during the reign of Robert I in 1318.[502] The 'rinn' may be a reference to Abbey Craig or to the nearby projection of the Ochils or both.[503] Watson thought *Rinn … Fotudáin* had been a reference to the North Berwick Law headland.[504] This was also a guess, as Watson himself admitted, but with less supporting evidence. Arguably any feature of the coastline from the Forth south could be chosen as a candidate depending on one's pre-existing prejudices.[505]

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[497] If 'From Fergus, most truly, To the vigorous Mac Bretach' (*o Fergus ro fíríd co Mac m-b rigach m-Bretach*) may suggest the poem was composed in the 1040s or 1050s; *Lebor Bretnach*, 152–53.

[498] *Lebor Bretnach*, 272–73.

[499] Anderson, *Kings and Kingship*, 242.

[500] *CDI*, no. 99.

[501] *North Berwick Carte*, no. 11.

[502] *RRS*, v, no. 141.

[503] The *rinn*-like nature of the projection is obvious when view from Alloa Road around Tullibody; incidentally, from this direction Abbey Craig and the projection are not easy to distinguish.

[504] Watson, *CPNS*, 28.

5.3.5 Conquest of 'Lothian'?

While it is true that the Forth is clearly the southern ideological border of Scotland as late as the reign of Máel-Coluim III, the use of the Forth as such a boundary in subsequent centuries might be taken to problematise the usefulness of this evidence. The abandonment of Edinburgh noted by the *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba* and the description retained during the reign of Cnut of the Lothian Esk (east of Edinburgh) as the limit of the territory of St Balthere of Tyninghame (and thus the diocese of Lindisfarne), could reasonably be taken as very good evidence that stakeholders of the Scottish political community controlled the area around Edinburgh prior between the 960s and 1020s, but not beyond the immediate vicinity of Edinburgh. The logic of our sources would mean that other regions south of the Forth remained with either the Bamburgh realm or Strathclyde in this period. As Woolf argued, continued inclusion within Northumbria also seems to be necessitated by the internal movements of relics during the episcopate of Bishop Eadmund II, from Tyninghame, Coldingham, and Melrose, to Durham, probably in the 1020s. The place-name Crichton, lying near the source of the East Lothian Tyne not far away from the Esk, might support such a border in this period, as it may incorporate Gaelic *crích*, 'boundary'.[506] The most likely way to reconcile the surviving evidence is surely the following: the Scoto-Northumbrian border of the later tenth and eleventh century ran on the southern shore of the Firth of Forth; it was located in or around the Esk on the future boundaries of Midlothian and East Lothian, and was logical because of the route taken by 'Dere Street'; the Scots had safe access to the top of 'Dere Street', perhaps controlling Edinburgh with the Bamburgh realm lying to the east and south of Scottish territory in Midlothian.[507] In this situation the Bamburgh realm would still end at the Firth of Forth, meaning that the detail in the 'Northumbrian Earldom Foundation Legend' would still be correct.

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[505] Incidentally one again, on a recent visit to Cairn O'Mount, which offers a southward view of the east-coast as far as Berwickshire, I was struck by the peninsula-like appearance of the Lammermuir, which likely did form a southern boundary of *de facto* Scottish power (or at least aspirational power) at some stage in the eleventh century.

[506] *CDI*, no. 147, for early reference.

[507] 'Dere Street' is clearly the major invasion route used most armies invading territory at either end, as illustrated by the location of the battle of Corbridge; part of it was the later *Via Regia*, which ran from the mouth of the Esk and passed through Lauderdale to Roxburgh; for this, see Barrow, *SNMA*, 204–05.

Although the above is probably the most likely scenario, it is far from definitive. The Esk is an uncertain, high-end estimation of the Scottish frontier in the early eleventh century. Even though the Forth continues to mark an ideological boundary for centuries after the 1120s, we also know for a fact the *de facto* boundary of the Scottish king was further south. References to geographical limitations of the kingdom in contemporary mid–eleventh-century poetry, whether to the Fords of Frew or to *crích Cat*, have to be taken as *prima facie* evidence for real frontiers. Moreover, the Forth as an ideological border rather than an internal political border, which is what it is from the twelfth century, could even be exaggerating Scottish power.[508] And although the land of St Balthere probably terminated at the Esk, it may have been Strathclyde or even another Northumbrian sub-unit that lay to the west—and indeed an alternative, extended description of the diocese of Lindisfarne would include Edinburgh and Abercorn in Northumbrian territory (see below, 6.1.1). A Scottish dynasty controls Strathclyde by the time the Scots are first known, with certainty, to control the southern shore of the Firth of Forth. The Strathclyde king is otherwise a very reasonable antecessor for the Scottish rulers in the region, a fact highlighted by the title of Bishop John of Glasgow, *se biscop of Loþene*, and the geography of the *Vita Kentegerni Imperfecta* where the southern shore of the Forth is part of the Cumbrian realm.[509] The date and designation of Crichton's *crích* is also unknown (and this is not unquestionably an accurate etymology). Not even Scottish occupation of Edinburgh can be regarded as certain prior to the late 1000s. Even if the note in the *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba* were early, Edinburgh's abandonment by non-Scots does not necessitate its administrative inclusion within Scottish territory. Based on its account of the fortification of the Fords of Frew, the *Chronicle* itself might be read to suggest Edinburgh's lack of Scottish credentials later in the tenth century. Even if Edinburgh had come under the control of the Scots, their king may have not have been the beneficiary.

As we saw above, the Battle of Carham has often been seen to mark the cession of territory south of the Forth or even east of the Esk and south of the Lammermuir. As natural an explanation as this might seem, there is evidence against it and no evidence supporting it. *De Obsessione Dunelmi*, which might be cited for such purposes as the source for Eadwulf

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[508] Cf. *Chron. Fordun*, 36: ii.7, who names the Humber and Tyne as boundaries of *Albania* prior to the Tweed's use.

[509] *ASC* MS E, s.a. 1125; see 7.4.2 below.

Cudel's surrender of 'Lothian', is manifestly ignorant of the battle. Moreover, the internal Northumbrian relic movements highlighted by Woolf took place after the battle—though none of these relics, admittedly, originated west of the Esk. The historian must resist the temptation to join up the limited number of dots available and press incautious narratives too hard. As pointed out by Robert Bartlett, seizing significant new territory in the south was probably not a plausible option for Scottish kings prior to the changes in administrative and military technology introduced by the Normans in the late eleventh century.[510] Conflict in our era rarely involved attempts to alter territorial holdings, so it is intrinsically unlikely that territorial change was a goal or a consequence of the Carham campaign—it is far more likely that the Scots had been raiding to exploit the turmoil inflicted by the Scandinavians, assisting Cnut against the Bamburgh family, or had been trying to install a favoured candidate onto the throne of Bamburgh. Perhaps that is why Eadwulf Cudel got his later reputation? At a bit of a chronological stretch, he may even have been the 'son of the King of the English' captured by Cináed mac Maíl-Choluim. In any case, given that the era of Siward saw an expansion of the English, or rather Anglo-Danish, ealdorman's power, it is not even certain that any Scottish territorial gains would have been retained.

While many possibilities exist, and while there is some reason to believe that the Scots controlled territory to the north of the Moorfoot–Lammermuir and west of the Esk from the 960s, the truth is that we cannot be confident of Scottish control anywhere south of the Forth until the reign of Máel-Coluim mac Donnchada. The evidence for this will be discussed in section 7.1.2 below.

5.4 Conceptualizing Borders

5.4.1 Boundaries

At the most basic level, boundaries are ways of minimizing fights, allowing competing agents to avoid accidental (or otherwise unnecessary) conflict with each other in the course of hunting or mating activities. In animals such as cats, the best equipped to prevail in such encounters, adult males, are the most likely to mark territory.[511] At the heart of this is that boundaries are claims that invite challenge. In humans publicisation of such claims entails potential loss of face, and must be accompanied by adequate resources and political competence; conversely, the acceptance of boundaries by all sides indicates that no-one believes it is in their interest to challenge them: when boundaries are stable, they are a reflection of agreement, and behind that perhaps, political equilibrium. The equivalent of this in medieval Insular political history is the claim of a community or a powerful figure (such as a king) to authority among a specified group of peoples, or as far as an observable landscape feature such as a forest, river, or stone.

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[510] R. Bartlett, *Making of Europe* (London, 1993), 80.

[511] J. Bradshaw and C. Cameron-Beaumont, 'The Signalling Repertoire of the Domestic Cat and Its Undomesticated Relatives', in D. C. Turner and P. Bateson (eds), *The Domestic Cat* (Cambridge, 2000), 67–94, at 68–70.

Rivers are prominently and famously used to mark boundaries in the Middle Ages, but most of the rivers (as opposed to the estuaries) prevalent in northern Britain are not likely to have been useful for stable frontiers. Many rivers were themselves the focus of regional communities (highlighted by names such as Strathearn, Strathclyde, Teviotdale, Tynedale, etc), and are generally too small and too easy to cross to reduce tension—which is different from being unambiguous, and hence, useful for internal administrative divisions. Tension is more likely to be limited when frontiers consist of sparsely populated march regions. Large stretches of forest or bog or other 'waste' are more effective because they confine frequent inter-community contact to small numbers of pastoralists or to people already at the margins of society.[512] Woolf suggested the Ettrick Forest, later Selkirkshire, as a major march zone. This, and perhaps the Pentland forest to the north, would probably have formed a frontier between Strathclyde and Northumbria for some period.[513] In the west, the southern uplands are a more obvious frontier zone still. As Northumbrian territory in Kyle likely connected to the remainder through Nithsdale, Northumbria's main western link with Strathclyde would have been through Annandale, the route followed roughly by the M74/A74—still the major artery between Glasgow and the south.[514] Whether or not this route crossed a boundary in the Viking Age is another question.

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[512] Einhard explained the origins of the Frankish Saxon similarly: 'our borders and theirs were contiguous nearly everywhere in flat open country, except, indeed, for a few places where great forests or mountain ranges interposed to separate the territories … by a clear demarcation line', see *Vita Caroli Magni*, trans. L. Thorpe (London, 1969), 61–62: c.7.

[513] Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 238; see also *ASH*, 199, for illustration.

[514] Interestingly, on this route, at the boundary of Lanarkshire and Dumfriesshire, is Erickstane (surviving as Errickstane Hill in Lanark and Erickstane farm in Dumfries); it recorded for the first time in the fourteenth century, which is relatively early for this region. The Anglo-Latin annalist who commemorated King Erik's death

There is evidence that much of eastern Lennox, Menteith, and Clackmannanshire was also covered in forest in this period, indicated by the place-name *gart* given by Gaelic-speakers to assarts (i.e. woodland or bogland or other ‘waste’ transformed for arable farming).[515] This zone could have covered much of the border region between the Britons of the Clyde and the Scots of Strathearn. The Firth of Forth was the combination of a wide estuary and bog that made it difficult to negotiate in the face of opposition without boats (see 5.3.3), but the area at either side of the boggy zone (probably called ‘the Bannog’ by the region’s inhabitants) was not itself thinly populated. Covering at least two twelfth-century sheriffdoms and lying on the boundaries between Scotland, Northumbria, and Strathclyde, Manau seems to have stretched from the above mentioned forest, to Slamannan (commemorating a moor on the boundary of later Stirlingshire, West Lothian and Lanarkshire) and to the Ochils in western Fife. It may have been conquered by the predecessors of the Alpinids, but its status in the Viking Age is uncertain.[516]

5.4.2 Palace, Tributary, and Predatory Zones

Political archaeologists and anthropologists working in Africa, able to study ‘early state’ polities with reference to much more extensive and diverse evidence, have divised one scheme for conceptualizing the frontiers of important political units. Jacques Le Cornec, a scholar of the Lake Chad basin, described the Bagirmi kingdom—a medium-sized polity (slightly larger than the twelfth-century Scottish kingdom) lying to the south of the larger and more sophisticated Bornu Empire—as dividing into three concentric zones: the core zone, the tributary zone, and the predatory zone. The core zone is the region with the leading family’s palaces and officials, and always contributes troops to the ruler’s wars. Surrounding the inner zone was the zone of tribute. This consisted of families and villages that paid tribute (goods, services, etc) to the inner zone. Leadership within the tributary zone retained autonomy over purely local affairs but provided irregular contributions of soldiers, and such a relationship was supported ideologically by beliefs about common history, shared ancestry, and ethnicity. There was an exchange of personnel, with children of tributary-zone chieftains going to royal courts inside the core zone while core-zone

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in 954 noted the moor as Stainmore; but perhaps there was an alternative tradition which placed it further north; see Barrow, *SNMA*, 242, though suggesting an etymology from *airecht* or *eireachd* ‘assembly’.

[515] P. E. McNiven, *Gaelic Place-Names and the Social History of Gaelic speakers in Medieval Menteith* (PhD dissertation, University of Glasgow, 2011), 119–22.

[516] Fraser, *Caledonia-Pictland*, 253–57 et passim; McNiven, *Gaelic Place-Names*, map 5.

Islamic clerics went on ministration in the tributary zone. The last and outermost, the zone of predation, was the region subject to raiding and slaving, with little perception of common identity, and where distance caused people to prefer such a relationship to that of regularized tribute. It is essentially outside the state, but its plunder and opportunity supplement the state's power.[517] In essence, the Bagirmi had three boundaries, one marked by the reduced presence or absence of instrumental bureaucracy, one by overlordship and shared ideological kinship, one by *de facto* campaigning limitations set by geography and population distribution.

Viking-Age Britain north of the Humber does indeed look like a region where the distribution of 'state level' presence was extremely irregular; arguably, that was still the case even in the later Middle Ages. Although its utility should not be exaggerated, the scale of political geography being so different in central Africa, nonetheless such a model is useful for the present topic because it at least offers some extra terminology, if not a framework, for discussing political expansion. For instance, we can say that during the period covered by the *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba*, from the mid-800s until c. 1000, Melrose, Dunbar, the area of modern Cumberland, and the area as far as the Tees could fall into the Scottish community's predatory zone.[518] The tributary zone is another matter, and requires us to understand how polities like the Scottish one functioned with reference to available evidence.

5.5 Prehistory of the Anglo-Scottish border

5.5.1 Ruling Families and their Political Communities

Much of the discussion about Scottish political expansion has taken for granted some kind of unitary political entity without being very specific about what that meant; mostly, no doubt, because so little decisive work has been done about how the Scottish 'state' in the tenth and eleventh centuries functioned. Nonetheless, we still need to ask questions. Even with clear leadership, how could a political community like that of the Scots have expanded its power? Does the king acquire hill-forts and palaces? Do his followers? If he acquires new subordinates, does that constitute expansion? If he levies tribute once every generation or so, is that expansion? If the king is such a central feature for defining the political community, what happens when the political community loses clear leadership? What if other members of the Scottish political community expand their own power independently?

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[517] J. Le Cornec, *Histoire Politique du Tchad de 1920 à 1962* (Paris, 1963), 18–25; S. P. Reyna, *Wars Without End* (Hanover, NH, 1990), 67–70; R. Blanton and L.Fargher, *Collective Action in the Formation of Pre-Modern States* (New York, 2008), 311–13; D. Crummey, *Land, Literacy and the State in Sudanic Africa* (Trenton, 2005), 85ff.

[518] *CKA*, 148, 150–51.

It is important here to stress that the ruling family of a territory and the political communites over which they preside are theoretically distinct. Depending on the ideological prestige and strength of 'state' structures or (perhaps more importantly) the culture of a particular region's historiography, our terms for ruling lineage groups and wider political communities are often interchangeable. We talk about the 'Hapsburg realm' and the 'northern Uí Néill' as well as Austria or Tyrone, the Safavid realm rather than Iran, or indeed the 'Ottoman Empire' rather than *Romania* (a plausible but unused alternative). State structures even when clearly superior to anything that is realistic for tenth-century Britain are still basically political resources of powerful famlilies. The Ecgberhtings who ruled the Gewisse in Wessex, in taking advantage of the misfortune of their English rivals, created a much larger and enduring kingdom; but the name for this was initially unstable, for several generations. The terminology for their dependent political communities evoked a mixture of imagined ancestry and ethnicity ('English Saxons'), component kingdoms (Wessex, Mercia, etc), as well as the ecclesiastical (and former Roman) provinces they aspired to rule ('Britain'), settling eventually with 'England'. In contrast, the Uí Ímair similarly presided over a conglomeration of territorial bases; although maintained over at least two generations, this territory did not evolve into a permanent political corporation like Ecgberhting and post-Ecgberhting England. The multiple styles 'king of the Gaill', 'King of the Dubgaill', 'King of the Fingaill and Dubgaill', 'king of Northumbria', and so on, appear differently in different languages, and the polity fragmented before achieving such stable political tradition. However the contracted territorial bases ruled by their descendants did develop such identities; most famously the 'Kingdom of the Isles', but also the kingdoms 'of the Rhinns', 'of Dublin', and so forth.

5.5.2 Scottish Ruling Lineages

The sources show two dominant lineages in the tenth century, those descended from two sons of Cináed mac Ailpín (see below); but others are attested for the Viking Age, including the Cenél Comgaill, as well as the potentially very minor *Clann Channan* and *Clann Morgainn* (possibly Macbethad's lineage) in the Deer *notitiae*.[519] Their 'common Scottishness' may indicate that they had or believed themselves to share common origin with the two dominant Alpinid lineages. In Ireland the term *Déisi* is used for subordinate lineages, but there are no clear references to this in Viking-Age Scotland.[520] Understanding the tributary zone would require understanding of the palace zone. There is little evidence (nothing beyond the death of Cuilén) that the Scottish rulers had palaces south of the Forth prior to the late eleventh century. It is even possible that the tenth- and eleventh-century 'state' was so small in scale that there was essentially no difference. This part of the model will be used more extensively in the last chapter when we seek to understand how our region was incorporated into outside state systems, but for now we have to focus on relatively well documented core of the Scottish political community: its ruling lineages.

5.5.3 Scottish Millenial Collapse

Between 889 and 997 Scotland was ruled by two lines connected by common male descent from Cináed son of Alpin: one, Clann Causantín, from Causantín mac Cináeda and the other, Clann Áeda, from Áed mac Cináeda, probably but not certainly having two distinct geographic bases (see Appendix V.a). As far as we can tell, 'Scotland' in the tenth century is indistinguishable from the realm ruled by these lineages; and united to the extent that both lines, as well as their septs and clients, co-operated. Such unity did not persist during and after the reign of the last known king-worthy Alpinid, Máel-Coluim mac Cináeda. Even prior to 1034 there are signs of political breakdown. While the 'traditional' Scottish king-lists might paint a neat system of succession, the best evidence is a lot more ambiguous about it. The last Clann Áeda leader, Causantin III mac Cuilén (†997), was killed in civil war according to Irish and Scottish sources.[521] It it true that even the most stable polities are marred by periodic civil war, but early eleventh-century Scotland seems to have suffered more than that. Máel-Coluim mac Cináeda may have attained power, at least south of Moray, after the death of Cináed mac Duib in 1005; but obits in Irish annals for the Moravians Findláech mac Ruaidri in 1020 and his grandson Máel-Coluim mac Maíl-Brigte in 1029 both are commemorated as 'king of Scotland'.[522] This direction of evidence is not a unique idiosyncrasy of Irish annals. One English source, probably contemporary here (*ASC* MS E) gave Macbethad the status of king simultaneously with Máel-Coluim II and Echmarchach (king of the Rhinns).[523]

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[519] *Deer Notitiae*, 140–41 (nos iv–v).

[520] Although it is possible it is the second element in *albidosorum* and *nainndisi*, seemingly genitive plural names given by the *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba* to a raid that went as far as the river Tees; *CKA*, 150–51. In Galloway two or three peninsulas appear to take their English names by adding the Norse-derived generic element *ness* ('nose') to a Gaelic specific (Rhinns, Des[e]nes, and Farines). Suggestions for Desnes, most of later Kirkcudbrightshire, have included the element *des* meaning 'right' or 'south', as well as the nearby river Dee; see J. G. Scott, 'Galloway in the 1100s', *TDGNHAS* 3rd Ser. 68 (1993), 131–33, at 132. It is however possible that *déisi* was the original element, though even in this case perhaps they were more likely to be the vassals of the Na Renna kingdom or of the Gall-Gaidel.

[521] *AT*, s.a. 997; Anderson, *Kings and Kingship*, 267, 275, 283; *ESSH*, ɪ, 516–17. A battle between two figures styled *mac Cináeda* ('son of Cináed'), Dúngal and Gille-Coemgáin, is recorded in *AFM* for 999—but Seán Duffy appears to have shown that these men were Irish: see *AFM*, s.a. 998 (recte 999); S. Duffy, 'Ireland and Scotland, 1014–1169', *Seanchas* (Dublin, 2000), 348–56, at 352–53. A group of king-lists, perhaps originating in the reign of Alexander II (1214–49), claims that Cináed's son Giric reigned instead, seemingly inaccurately, see

In the south at least, the family of Crínán, abbot of Dunkeld, succeeded to Máel-Coluim's position. Crínán's wife was Bethóc ingen Maíl-Choluim, and their son Donnchad I gained at least some recognition as king, perhaps even from Macbethad. In succeeding decades the children and descendants of Crínán [hereafter Clann Crínáin] were successful in monopolizing the kingship, and so it might be natural that later Scottish lists would purify parts of the past at odds with their mandate (surviving Scottish king-lists covering the preceding period may date from the time of Donnchad). It is doubtful that Donnchad's claim itself would have been enough to de-legitimize other claims, unless Donnchad's backers could eliminate their bearers. Macbethad's subordination to Donnchad's status is not certain. Macbethad seemingly married the daughter of Boite mac Cináeda, another Alpinid. In doing so he would have independently assumed a status at least equal to that of Crínán, Donnchad's father and, it must be presumed, *de facto* ruler of the southern part of the kingdom. Macbethad was also the son of Findláech mac Ruaidrí, who may have actually borne some recognition as ruler of post-Alpinid Scotland anyway. Notwithstanding the strong evidence for persistent ideological unity for the Scottish political community, we might want to allow room for the possibility that multiple kingships for short periods might have emerged in Scotland; or that, at the very least, a contested kingship could have come about when equally-matched parts of the Scottish political community disagreed about the choice of supreme leader.

Broun, *Irish Identity*, 146, n. 86; if this was influenced by traditions from the Mac Duib family, dominant particularly in Fife in the era, it is not out of the question that a Giric did succeed his father to part of a temporarily fragmented polity

[522] *AU*, s.a. 1020 for Findlaech mac Ruiadri; *AT*, s.a. 1029 for Máel-Coluim mac Maíl-Brigte; see also N. Evans, 'Alasdair Ross, *The Kings of Alba c.1000–c.1130*', *IR* 63 (2012), 101–10, at 105–06, responding to Alasdair Ross's warning about these (*Kings of Alba*, 90).

[523] *ASC* MS E, s.a. 1027, trans. *ASC*, 101.

5.5.4 Clann Crínáin and the South

Many pre–twenty-first-century historians saw Strathclyde as a princely appanage of the Scottish monarch. As we saw, the traditional evidence for this has been undermined by recent historians; and as shown above, the contemporary evidence that we have for the period 850–1050 cannot either be used to demonstrate any permanent dominance relationship between the two political commnities. Yet, the timing of the Máel-Coluim 'son of the king of the Cumbrians' with whom Siward marched in 1054 is also rather perfect for Máel-Coluim son of Donnchad. Neither is it certain that the elaborations by William of Malmesbury and others are products of no more than misguided guesswork (the error about Macbethad's death aside), especially as William was well-connected ecclesiastic who had personal relations with two of Máel-Coluim mac Donnchada's children.[524] Since the Strathclyde king may have been similar in power to his Alpinid equivalent around 1000, it cannot be assumed that contemporary annals would have referred to a son of its king as 'son of the Scottish king' if the father had held both kingdoms. It has to be stressed, although the earliest version of the annal makes Macbethad the enemy, it is not clear from the annal itself what kingdom had been intended for Máel-Coluim's installation. When the original annal was written, Donnchad was probably still his lineage's only ever Scottish king and Macbethad was probably still reigning in Scotland. If his father Donnchad had also held the kingship of Strathclyde, then at that specific point, c. 1054, a 'Cumbrian' identity for Máel-Coluim would have been more meaningful.

While it is clear that Crínán's son Donnchad held the Scottish kingship in some meaningful way (English, Irish and Scottish sources all confirm this), such history may have been marginalised or otherwise unclear during the reign of Macbethad, or even soon after Máel-Coluim III mac Donnchada took the Scottish throne around 1058. An additional note in *Historia Regum 2* explicitly states that the king who succeeded Máel-Coluim mac Cináeda was Macbethad [and not Donnchad], though the ultimate source here is unclear.[525] In many of the Scottish king-lists that originated in Donnchad's lifetime, Donnchad's entry occurs only alongside the entry of his mother Bethóc, while others omit him.[526] It may be that, in some important, technical or 'official' way, perhaps due to his youth, that it was Bethóc rather than Donnchad who actually ruled in [part of] Scotland after her father's death; or at the very least, that her 'official' authority within Scotland sidelined Donnchad's, with Crínán the 'power behind the throne'. If Donnchad had gained kingship in Strathclyde, his weak Scottish position would itself explain why an Anglo-Latin annalist would default to the Cumbrian rather than Scottish title as his source of notability

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[524] See preface to *GRA*.

[525] *HR2*, 158.

[526] Anderson, *Kings and Kingship*, 254, 268, 276.

The main problem with this position is that there is no direct evidence Donnchad did hold the Cumbrian kingship. With this said, there are hints that Donnchad's predecessor Máel-Coluim II, despite having rivals in the north, had success at the expense of his southern neighbours. He was given the epithets 'enemy of the Britons', and 'destroyer of the Foreigners' in the *Prophecy of Berchán*; we know that Máel-Coluim II led hostings south, and two at least are identified because of pitched battles: an unsuccessful one in 1006, and the victory at Carham in 1018.[527] Moreover, a certain Suibne mac Cináeda was styled 'king of Gall-Gaidhíl' in his obit of 1034, a patronymic suggesting kinship (if not fraternity) with Máel-Coluim himself.[528] All of these notices are problematic individually, but perhaps cumulatively we can justifiably suspect some economic and dynastic (if not territorial aggrandizement) in the south. If this were the case, his successors could have carried the momentum onwards. It is from this time that we hear no more of contemporary Strathclyde monarchs. Dynastic collapse or not, if Scottish warriors in this era were gaining booty, women, and land at the expense of their neighbours, there is no reason to think that Crínán's *de facto* leadership would have halted this. Conversely, in this era, when both Eadwulf son of Uhtred and Máel-Coluim II were apparently making inroads into British territories, Crínán's family may have been an appealing protector for the political community of Strathclyde.

There are some other reasons why the possibility of a Clann Crínáin protectorate should be considered. Northumbrian sources name the grandfather of Gospatric, the earl who died at Ubbanford around 1080, as Crínán, whose son 'Maldred' had married into the Uhtreding family. Crínán's office as abbot of Dunkeld may suggest that he originated among the Cenél Conaill, and anthroponymic evidence independently supports such a link. 'Maldred' is almost certainly an Anglicization of Irish Máel-Doraid, use of which appears otherwise to have been almost entirely confined to the Ua Maíl-Doraid sept of the Cenél Conaill who shared rule, as among the Alpinids, with their alleged relatives (here the Uí Cannanáin). Little is known about this Máel-Doraid, but since his wife was the granddaughter of an English king, it is likely he was someone of significant power. His name is shared with a ruler of Tweeddale remembered in twelfth-century texts. It is not out of the question that Gospatric's territorial base was built up via Crínán's military and political activity (see Appendix V.b). Máel-Doraid mac Crínáin's existence could mean that the 'Northumbrian' earl Gospatric belonged to a junior, non-royal sept of the Crínán's line. The wider family, then, would be simultaneously penetrating Scotland and Northumbria through marriage, creating stronger if pre-formalised links between the two regions.

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[527] *Berchan*, 53, 90 (stanza 183).

[528] *AT*, s.a. 1034; *AU*, s.a. 1034.

It is also worth noting that a late text, *Vita et Passio Waldevi Comitis*, whose production was probably connected to the twelfth-century Scottish royal family, claimed that Siward, during the 1054 expedition, tried to install a king named Domnall (*Douenal nomine*) on the Scottish throne, but that some 'rebellion' elsewhere, which killed Siward's son, caused him to abandon the attempt.[529] If Siward really did attempt and fail to install Máel-Coluim's brother Domnall Bán onto the Scottish throne, that could also account for emphasis on the Cumbrian success for Domnall's brother Máel-Colum. Perhaps Siward succeeded in installing Máel-Coluim in the south, but failed to dislodge Macbethad further north. Stringing such possibilities together has its own problems. All this is very speculative, but the case is made primarly to stress that Clann Crínáin can be analysed independently of the Scottish political community, and that doing so can open other ways of understanding Scottish expansion to the south.

While Scottish activity south of the Forth prior to the mid eleventh century is a matter for what is, at best, hopeful-if-informed guesswork, one point is clear: the reign of Crínán's grandson Máel-Coluim III saw an intensification of Scottish activity in northern 'England'. Between 900 and the 1060s only one Scottish invasion is known from Southumbrian sources (though several instances of conflict between the Northumbrians and Scots are known from elsewhere); four, at least, are known from Máel-Coluim's reign.

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[529] *ALD*, 488: s.a. 1046 says that although Siward set-up another (*alium constituit*), Macbethad managed to recover the kingdom. The *Vita et Passio* text appears to commemorate some known feature of Dundee, claiming that Siward cleaved a rock there when learning of developments with his son; see *VPWC*, 109–10; cf. Æthelstan at Dunbar above 5.3.3 for a similar anecdote.

Historia Regum 2 claims, s.a. 1061, that Máel-Coluim 'harried savagely the earldom of his sworn brother Tostig', in the process 'violating the peace of St Cuthbert in the island of Lindisfarne'.[530] This event was added by the author of *Historia Regum 2* to an underlying entry, attested in *ASC* MS D and *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, informing us Archbishop Ealdred travelled to Rome to receive his pallium, accompanied by Earl Tostig.[531] Since the addition is very late, there is room to doubt the historicity of the event or, at least, to doubt the particular year with which the event was synchronized. A more reliable source however, *Vita Ædwardi Regis*, claims that the Scots (not specifying the king) had made raids on Tostig's earldom, but that Tostig 'wore down the enemy as much by cunning schemes as by martial courage' (*tam prudenti astutia quam uirtute bellica et hostili expeditione*). Whatever these schemes were, the king of the Scots ended up handing over hostages to the earl.[532]

Tostig later benefited from these dealings in the north. Following King Edward's decision to accept Morcar as the new Northumbrian ealdorman, Tostig revived or formed an alliance with Máel-Coluim. *ASC* MS C has it that Tostig spent the summer of 1066 with the Scottish king while, presumably, arranging Norwegian help for the campaign that ended at the Battle of Stamford Bridge. Although there is no explicit proof that Máel-Coluim actively contributed men to Harald Hardrada's invasion of Northumbria in 1066, it is likely that he had positioned himself to benefit from its success.[533] Tostig joined King Harald 'with all those he had mustered' when the Norwegian fleet entered the mouth of the Tyne later in the year, 'just as they had agreed beforehand'.[534] It seems therefore very likely that Máel-Coluim was in cahoots with the Norwegians.

5.5.5 Clann Crínáin and the Normans

Máel-Coluim's attempts to take advantage of the turbulent upper-end of the English political scene did not end with Harald's failure. Máel-Coluim similarly tried to take advantage of the political turmoil following the William the Conqueror's conquest of Southumbria in 1066. As early as the summer of 1068, William's rival Eadgar Ætheling, with Mersleswegn (*ASC* MSS D and E) and 'Gospatric and the best men' (*ASC* MS D), went to the court of Máel-Coluim.[535] According to *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, Merleswegn and Gospatric had been responsible for the visit. These men, along with the Ætheling's sister, spent the winter of 1068/9 in Scotland. In the process, the Scottish king was given or managed to extract a marriage to the claimant's family. Coincidentally or not, in the winter the Northumbrians killed the new Norman earl, Robert de Commines, and several months later Eadgar and his Northumbrian allies attacked York, assisted by the Scottish king.[536] Among the Northumbrians, according to *ASC* MS D and *Historia Regum 2*, was 'Earl' Gospatric. It was not until 1072 that the Normans had an opportunity to deal with the Scots; having just crushed English resistance at the siege of Ely, they launched a full scale expedition into Scotland, crossing the Forth and taking hostages from the Scottish king (following which, according to one of the late additions to *Historia Regum 2*, Gospatric 'was deprived of his earldom').[537]

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[530] *HR2*, 174–75.
[531] *JW*, I, 586–87; Whitlock, *ASC*, 135.
[532] *Vita Ædwardi Regis*, 66–67:i.6.
[533] *ASC*, 141–42; cf. *JW*, II, 600–03.
[534] *ASC*, 142.

Modern historians often claim there was another Scottish invasion in 1070. That might have been the case, but the invasion described in an aside by *Historia Regum 2* (and Roger of Howden's *Chronica*) s.a. 1070 did not relate to that year, but to the aforementioned invasion of 1069.[538] This aside is almost a tract in itself, centring on the burning of St Peters at Wearmouth by the forces of Máel-Coluim. It forms part of a larger narrative about Margaret and her children, and how Bishop Æthelwine brought her family to Scotland on his way to Cologne.[539] Contradicting contemporary sources showing that Gospatric and Máel-Coluim had co-operated in this invasion, it claims that Máel-Coluim marched down the west of England, turned east and laid waste to Teesdale, Cleveland, and Holderness while Gospatric, protecting himself in Bamburgh, retaliated with an invasion of *Cumbreland* ('at that time under the dominion of Máel-Coluim'). This must be an attempt to rehabilitate Gospatric for his role in these years, a role that is reliably documented in the contemporary *ASC* annals. Gospatric's support of the Scots and complicity with maltreatment of churchmen in Northumbria is confirmed by *Libellus de Exordio*'s account of the harassment of Cuthbertine monks by Gospatric and his follower Gille-Míchéil.[540] The incidental detail, however, confirms that Máel-Coluim was in southern Northumbria in 1069, and seems to show beyond doubt that the Scots (as well as the Danes) were involved with the 1068/9 Northumbrian revolt against the Normans.

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[535] *ASC*, 146, 148.
[536] *GRA*, 462–63, places Máel-Coluim in person at York.
[537] *HR2*, 196.
[538] *RHC*, I, 120–22.
[539] *HR2*, 189–92.
[540] *LDE*, 188–93: iii.16.

It is possible that Máel-Coluim was establishing a personal protectorate over the former Eadwulfing lands. Máel-Coluim 'ravaged Northumbria as far as the Tyne' in 1079, an invasion that also coincided with a Northumbrian 'rebellion' and the death of another Norman earl; and just like the events of 1068/9, provoked a punitive expedition from the Normans, which ravaged Northumbria but failed to get beyond Falkirk (*Ecclesbreth*).[541] Their next earl, Alberic, was remembered by *Historia Regum 2* as having gone back to his own country having failed to accomplish much during a time of strife (*in rebus difficilibus parum valente, patriamque reverso*). His successor Robert de Mowbray probably did not take charge until at least 1086;[542] but Barlow has given reasons for believing that he may not have been installed in power as earl in the region until 1091, when Bishop William de St Calais was re-instated in his see.[543] Much of the same year, according to *ASC* MS E, had seen Máel-Coluim ravage England, prompting an expedition by William Rufus and his brother Robert Curthose. The expedition was unsuccessful because of the destruction of the Norman fleet, but King Máel-Coluim 'went with his army out of Scotland into Lothian in England' (*ut of Scotlande into Loðene on Englaland*) to parley.[544] A settlement was agreed, seemingly between Robert Curthose and Eadgar Ætheling. In 1092 King William 'with a great army went north to Carlisle, and restored the city and erected the castle, and drove out Dolfin, who had ruled the country, and garrisoned the castle with his men', adding that he later 'sent many peasant people there with their wives and castle to live and cultivate the land'.[545] The terms between the Scots and Normans are unknown, but *ASC* MS E indicates that King William had made some kind of promise that by 1093 he still had not fulfilled.[546]

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[541] *HR2*, 211.

[542] *HR2*, 199. At the same time it has been argued by Chaplais that the nominal bishop of Durham, William de St Calais, was the man charged with running the Domeday Survey; P. Chaplais, 'William of Saint-Calais and the Domesday Survey', in J. C. Holt (ed.) *Domesday Studies* (Woodbridge, 1987), 65–77; see also W. M. Aird, 'An Absent Friend', in *AND*, 283–97, at 290–91.

[543] F. Barlow, *William Rufus* (New Haven, 2000), 167–69.

[544] *ASC* MS E, s.a. 1091, trans. *ASC*, 169; see also *OV*, ɪᴠ, 268–69: viii.22.

[545] *ASC* MS E, s.a. 1092; trans. *ASC*, 169.

[546] According to *JW*, ɪɪɪ, 60–61: s.a.1091, the dispute was over 12 townships, presumably some kind of anachronism (though it is possible some sort of public excuse along those lines was used by Máel-Coluim).

Máel-Coluim renewed his incursions into northern England, but was trapped and killed by Morel (*Moræl of Bæbbaburh*), the steward (*stiward*) of Earl Robert.[547]

Earl Robert's rebellion against William Rufus in 1095 is the event that, as far as list-makers in the first half of Henry I's reign were concerned, ended the Northumbrian earldom. Future Scottish king Edgar son of Máel-Coluim authorized the church of Durham to write up charters in his name; these explicitly dated to 'the year that King William, son of great King William, built a new castle at Bamburgh against Robert earl of the Northumbrians'.[548] William Rufus was present and the same charter was also issued in the Anglo-Norman king's name.[549] This was also, in Marjorie Anderson's view, the first authentic use of the term 'Lothian'.[550] Here Edgar seems to distinguish two of his lordships, styling himself 'Edgar son of Máel-Coluim King of Scots, possessing all the land of Lothian, and the Kingship of Scotland, by the gift of my lord William King of the English, and by paternal inheritance'.[551] Duncan took the phraseology to suggest that Edgar was claiming 'Lothian' by William's gift and [was about to claim] the kingdom of the Scots based on his paternity.[552] If this is correct, it could mean that 'Lothian', or at least part of it, was being granted to the Clann Crínáin prince out of the territory of the earldom that William was confiscating.

Further north, charter evidence from the time of Donnchad II shows that Tyninghame had at some point been controlled by Bishop Fothad (†1093), apparently showing that during Máel-Coluim III's reign (if not before) the Scottish political community had expanded east of the [East Lothian] Esk.[553] Such a suggestion might be supported by the later claim that Gospatric son of Maldred was granted 'Dunbar and adjacent lands in Lothian' by Máel-Coluim; although such territory never became part of the 'inner zone' of the Scottish state, it seems reasonably likely that the Northumbrian earl Gospatric held such lands with the Scottish king's consent if not his protection. For further south, in the Merse, our earliest date is indeed the above documents of 1095, when both Edgar and William

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[547] *ASC* MS E, s.a. 1093, trans. *ASC*, 170.
[548] *ESC*, no. 15, at p. 13.
[549] *ESC*, nos 15–17.
[550] Anderson, 'Lothian', 98.
[551] *ESC*, no. 15.
[552] A. A. M. Duncan 'Yes, the Earliest Scottish Charters', *SHR* 78 (1999), 1–38, at 29–31, and *Kingship*, 56; see also Oram, *David I*, 46.
[553] *ESC*, no. 12.

Rufus confirmed estates in the Merse to Durham, ensuring that Durham did not lose out from this arrangement.

By c. 1113, Edgar's brother David was in power in the Tweed basin, and probably exercised lordship in Clydesdale and over much of the Southern Uplands.[554] Oram suggested that David and his brother, reigning king Alexander, shared sovereignty over the Merse.[555] The evidence he uses are confirmations granted to Durham regarding properties in the Merse, including one in which Alexander includes his brother's name. While Oram's conclusions here are reasonable, none of the charters have dates that demonstrate overlapping rule. Alexander probably reigned for at least six years before David established his lordship in the region, but even if their authority did overlap, the confirmation(s) in question would demonstrate nothing more beyond a pragmatism on Durham's part, a belief by the latter that the consent of both was in their church's best interests (David was also Alexander's heir). According to Aelred, David's French military commander Robert de Brus later reminded his patron, at the Battle of the Standard in 1138, that Alexander had ceded territory to David 'through fear of us' (*nostro ... terrore*). David took something from Alexander using the Norman followers he had received from Henry; beyond that, the detail is unclear. He may have ruled *Cumbria* and Teviotdale before seizing the Merse from his brother; or he may have seized all at the same time.[556]

5.5.6 'Minor' Scottish Lineages

Clann Crínáin expansion south of the Forth is, in essence, indistiguishable from 'Scottish' expansion south of the Forth. What about other lineages? There are other possible cases of family expansion 'below' that of the kingship. Woolf has highlighted good evidence that the Meic Duib made their own incursions into East Lothian and Wedale; and although these cannot be definitively dated prior to the twelfth century, an earlier date is very possible. [557] Another, potentially, is the people of the *Comgellaibh*, seemingly related to the future 'earldom of Strathearn'. This people included in their territory lands between *Sliabh Nocel* (Ochils) and *Mur nGuidan* (Firth of Forth) where the monastery of Culross (*Cuillennros*) lay. This may suggest that the group had taken over the former Manau polity, while its Dalriadic name suggests allegiance to (if not origins within) the Alpinid political system.[558] Indeed, the collapse of the much of the political system in the region may have created opportunities for others in the Alpinid realm. Whether or not Gospatric of Allerdale’s line was a sept of Clann Crínáin, many of the names inside *Gospatric’s Writ* are strongly associated with the Alpinids: Boite, Cináed, and Máel-Muire for instance, suggesting links to a homeland north of the Forth.[559]

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[554] Duncan, *Kingship*, 63.
[555] Oram, *David I*, 63–64, 230, n. 22; charter in question is *ESC*, no. 26.
[556] *Relatio de Standardo*, 193.
[557] Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 234.

5.5.7 The Gall-Gaidel

When it comes to political groupings, the most notable to emerge in the Southforthian region during the eleventh century appears to be the Gall-Gaidel. The commemoration of Suibne mac Cináeda as ‘king of the Gall-Gaidel’ is good evidence that, whatever they were before, some kind of political community with this name had come into existence in (or by) the last years of the Alpinids. The obit has seemed problematic in the past because separate ‘kings of the Rhinns’ (western Galloway) are attested as late as 1093. However, as shown by Clancy, the evidence in and around the eleventh century shows that they were located north of the Rhinns, in the Firth of Clyde region, with direct association with Ayrshire and Bute.[560] This is also the region paying tribute to David when he founded Selkirk (see 7.2.1). Notes in *Félire Óengusso* combine to give the impression that the land of the Gall-Gaidel (*Gallgaidelaib*) was distinct from the Rhinns (*Na Rendaib*); the latter contains Dunragit (*Dún Rechet*) and Whithorn (*Futerna*), the former Kingarth (*Cinn Garadh*) on Bute.[561] Presumably this region only became Gall-Gaidel / Galwegian due to its incorporation by a political group based in Ayrshire.[562]

Gall-Gaidel origins are usually attributed to longer-term processual forces whereby warrior-settlers from areas with good historiographic Gaelic credentials (e.g. the Hebrides, Argyll, or northern Ireland) moved in and replaced existing population groups following the collapse of Northumbrian or Strathclyde power.[563] Evidence of such migration is lacking, and the theory is little more than a throwback to the ever-versatile nineteenth-century migration narratives that helped fill explanatory voids later occupied by more nuanced political, demographic, and socio-cultural processes. As previously argued, the former Northumbrian west country shared political leadership with important regions of Ireland in the tenth century, but the evidence we have, inconclusive though it is, does not suggest any strong link between Uí Ímair and the later Gall-Gaidel rulers. If anything our evidence suggests that the latter originated in Alba. Much is made of Suibne's patronymic, which could make him a brother of Máel-Coluim, and Hudson even linked this to *Berchan*'s description of Máel-Coluim as 'voyager of Arran and Islay'.[564] It would be very risky to take such a conclusion as fact, but nonetheless the Alpinid name makes kinship very likely (whether the father was Cináed mac Maíl-Choluim, Cináed mac Duib or some other unknown Alpinid). According to the twelfth-century Aelred of Rievaulx, a former member of David I's court, Gall-Gaidel had served in the armies of David's father Máel-Coluim III.[565] Oram had suggested these had been mercenaries and, subsequently, argued that Aelred's idea was a back-projection from Aelred's own day.[566] That is obviously a possibility. However, in another account of Aelred's, a similar point is made incidentally when the Gall-Gaidel at the battle of the Standard insist on what they believe to be their traditional right to take the front-line in pitched battles.[567] Had this tradition only arisen in the reign of David? The claim does not mean that people in what is now Galloway had that right, but rather the people from whom David extracted *cáin* around 1120 (and their predecessors). Aelred names the Gall-Gaidel leaders who died as Domnall and *Wulgric*, and it is possible that these were tributary peoples from Ayrshire rather than the lordship established further south.[568]

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[558] *CGSH*, 181: c.722.103.

[559] Boite is the name of the father of ‘Gille’ who gave his name to the Gilsland barony east of Carlisle. The name Máel-Muire, in the writ, was (besides being a ninth-century Alpinid name) used for the a later mormaer in Atholl who may have been Crínán's grandson; *ESSH*, ii, 182, n. 5.

[560] Clancy, ‘The Gall-Ghàidheil’, 32–39.

[561] *Félire Óengusso*, 184-5, 212-23, 246-47.

[562] Geoffrey of Burton’s *Life of Modwenna* names three chapels, Dumbarton, Dundonald and *Chilnecase* as being ‘in Galloway’, though the original Conchubranus life only mentions *Chilnecase* so the Lennox’ inclusion cannot be trusted; *Conchubranus*, 440–41; *VMM,* 122–23: c.30.

If the Gall-Gaidel leaders originate north of the Forth, then David's policies from 1124 meant that the 'Galwegianisation' of *Airer Saxan* became a *de facto* extension of the

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[563] Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, 1–34; A. Forte et al., *Viking Empires* (Cambridge, 2005), 93–101; Downham, *Viking Kings*, 172–75.

[564] Hudson, *VPCP*, 133.

[565] *SHE*, 180.

[566] R. D. Oram, 'Fergus, Galloway, and the Scots', in *GLL*, 117–30, at 123–24; Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, 38–39.

[567] *Relatio de Standardo*, 189–91.

[568] *Relatio de Standardo*, 197.

Scottish realm. Collective identities such as 'Galwegians' (or 'Scots') are often projections of a shared identity among ruling lineages, whose founder or founders are identical with the founder of the *gens*, the wider 'imagined' kingroup. Such is one view about the ethnogenesis of many of the great 'barbarian' *gentes* of Late Antiquity, the Visigoths, Franks, and so forth.[569] Even in eleventh- and twelfth-century Scotland, post-Alpinid political fragmentation coincided with the rise of 'Moravians' as a *gens* separate from the 'Scots' (at least in sources produced in Clann Crínáin territory), with their own origin myth.[570] A primordialist view is particularly unconvincing if the late Galwegianisation of the *Airer Saxan* suggested by the arguments of Clancy were to be accepted. If for no other reason, the latter almost certainly postdates the dominance of Gaelic in the region. Were the nobility of Ayrshire and surrounding regions to have derived their 'Galwegian' nature from shared descent, a very plausible source would be marginal early eleventh-century Scottish lineages among whom the dangers and opportunities of political fragmentation promoted militarization and risk taking, much as it did among the *Gaill* themselves.

5.5.8 Fate of Strathclyde and Galloway

Political leadership exercised by the dynasty of Fergus of Galloway, the first known 'lord' of Galloway in the twelfth century, would be part of the culmination of the *Airer Saxan*'s Galwegianization; in the thirteenth century Fergus's descendants were replaced by Scottish-sponsored Anglo-Norman lordships, whose rulers extracted the region's resources and left much of the actual leadership to native clan chiefs.[571] Lineages in regions described as 'Galwegian' in the twelfth century are, besides the descendants of Fergus himself, the lords of Strathnith. The mormaers of Lennox and 'lords' of Argyll might be included too, though the latter would depend on whether or not the family of Somerled were the losers behind the Anglo-Norman military lordships of Kyle, Cunninghame, and Strathgryffe after, apparently, populations in these regions backed David I's dynastic rival Máel-Coluim mac Alaxandair in the early 1130s.[572] Woolf has suggested that Fergus and Somerled were brothers or cousins;[573] and tantalizingly, most of the pedigrees of Somerled seem to indicate that the name Suibne was that of Somerled's great-grandfather (before whom these genealogies become inconsistent and mythical).[574] Somerled's sister had probably married Máel-Coluim.[575] Even in the thirteenth century, despite the presence of Stewart lordships between them, the Gaelic nobility of Carrick and Lennox are intertwined.[576]

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[569] For the importance of dynastic founders to Late Antique ethnic groups, see H. Wolfram*, The Roman Empire and Its Germanic Peoples*, trans. T. Dunlap (London, 1997), 22–34.

[570] Ross, *Kings of Alba*, 101–11.

[571] Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, 51–267;.Oram, 'Fergus',117–30.

[572] Oram, *David I*, 93–96. Fourteenth-century Stewarts, judging by references to John Barbour's *Stewart's Originale*, appear to have traced their power to the reduction of a revolt by 'Alan of Galloway'; see *Scotichronicon*, V, 261-63, ibid., IX, 46-49; see also S. Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings* (East Linton, 1996), 59, 69-70, nn. 78-79.

The fate of much of Strathclyde was however to become like neighbouring Annandale and Teviotdale, heavily colonized by Anglo-Norman and Continental settlers in the service of Clann Crínáin leaders. Our knowledge of the region is surprisingly limited, however, even in the reign of David I—though as elsewhere in the north the production of the relevant documentary evidence is itself a side-effect of English and Continental penetration. Strathclyde's 'native' inhabitants are poorly documented. A charter of c. 1140 shows that David's former tenants near Partick had Anglo-Scandinavian names, *Ailsi* and *Tocca*, perhaps relics of the Siwardian conquest.[577] There is no extensive evidence of the region's nobility until the reign of Máel-Coluim IV, when much of Strathclyde was settled by mercenaries of Flemish and Anglo-French origin. These include figures such as Baldwin sheriff of Lanark (lord of Biggar), his brother Robert (lord of Roberton), and his stepson the John after whom Crawfordjohn was named. The area around Lanark was retained by the monarchy, while the area around Glasgow was dominated by the Church. Plausibly 'native' leaders in the region include Fergus mac Bard lord of Dunsyre, Gille-Patraic son of Kerin lord of Drumpellier, and possibly Thor son of Swain lord of Crawford on Clydesdale's southern border.[578]

The 'enlightened Highland chief' model of Scoto-Norman history would portray this as a medieval equivalent of a skilled immigration policy. A more realistic model, well verified in England, is that these men received their lands in the aftermath of a political upheavel that saw their opponents (and eventual predecessors) displaced. The events that produced this may have begun after David's death, when the *Chronicle of Holyrood* reported that Somerled and his nephews, the sons of Máel-Coluim mac Alaxandair, 'having allied themselves with many men, rebelled against King Máel-Coluim'.[579] This must have affected the Strathclyde and the 'Greater Galloway' regions more than most, as one of these sons, Domnall, was captured at Whithorn in 1156 and Glasgow Cathedral was burned in 1153.[580] The region's peripherality may, like Scotland and Ireland in the early–eighteenth-century Insular World, have made it the obvious place to begin challenges to the established regime. During Máel-Coluim's minority, and that of his brother William, *de facto* rule south of the Forth (and north of the Tyne) probably lay in the hands of their mother Ada de Warenne, 'queen dowager'.[581] Her family, partly Norman and partly Flemish, were kinsmen of the Norman ruling family and one of the most powerful and prestigious in the Anglo-French world.[582] Their power and extensive contacts would have facilitated military recruitment from Flanders and the lower Rhine—indeed we know that the family had controlled Flemish mercenaries during the Anarchy.[583] It is possible that the pre-existing nobility of the region saw Máel-Coluim as a poor candidate for the throne of their kingdom and so backed a grandson of Alexander. With the end of the 'Anarchy' having put thousands of mercenaries out of a job, it was not necessarily great timing for the supporters of these 'rebels'. It looks like it was Ada's regime, rather than David's, which was responsible for the region's penetration by these men, and therefore was responsible for the region's permanent inclusion within the Clann Crínáin Scottish kingdom. In 1157 Ada's sons were deprived by Henry II of the counties of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Northumberland (while retaining the land to the north), as Henry II sought to restore the world that his grandfather Henry I had created.[584] An underappreciated side-effect of Henry's programme is that, in some sense, Ada's rule can be said to mark the end of 'Middle Britain' and the beginning of the political geography still familiar today.

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[573] Woolf, 'Age of Sea-Kings', 103.

[574] Woolf, 'Origins and Ancestry of Somerled', 202.

[575] Woolf, 'Age of Sea-Kings', 102.

[576] In the Kilpatric litigations of 1233, Ruaidri Becc of Carrick and Gille-Conaill *Manthac*, brother of the mormaer of Carrick, as well as a Cunninghame noble named Fergus, are able to give witness in Irvine parish church to papal judges about the affairs of the Lennox church in the 1170s; *Paisley Reg*., 165–67.

[577] *CDI*, no. 56.

[578] A. Grant, 'Lordship and Society in Twelfth-Century Clydesdale', in H. Pryce and J. Watts (eds), *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2007), 98–124, at 101–07.

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[579] *ESSH*, II, 224.

[580] See also, A. Woolf, 'The Song of the Death of Somerled and the Destruction of Glasgow in 1153', *Sydney Society for Scottish History Journal* 14 (2013), 1–11.

[581] Barrow, *RRS*, I, 3–4.

[582] For her father and the family, see C. W. Hollister, 'The Taming of a Turbulent Earl: Henry I and William of Warenne', *Réflexions Historiques* 3 (1976), 83–91, republished in C. W. Hollister, *Monarchy, Magnates and Institutions in the Anglo-Norman World* (London, 1986), 137–44; see also introduction in *The Warenne (Hyde) Chronicle*, ed. and trans. E. M. C. Van Houts and R. C. Love (Oxford, 2013), xxviii–xliii.

[583] According *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, Robert earl of Bristol [Gloucester], brother of the Empress Matilda, was captured at Stockbridge 'by the Flemings with Earl Warenne' (*a Flammensibus cum comite Warennensi*); see *JW*, III, 302–03. We also know that a marriage was arranged between Máel-Coluim's sister and the count of Holland, during which, apparently, the count had been promised Ross (whose mormaer, coincidentally enough, had to be 'reconciled' with the king in this era); see *ESSH*, II, 233, n. 3. Another point of note is that the Lanarkshire estates of Cadzow, Lanark, and Mauldslie were part of the queenly estate, at least in the later thirteenth century.

Conclusion

In this chapter we reviewed evidence for southward Scottish expansion during the Viking Age. Traditionally, historians have analysed this enlargement with regard to two distinct zones: the 'British' one in the west and the 'English' one in the east. Extension of the Scottish king's power in the western zone involved acquisition of a pre-existing kingdom, Strathclyde, perhaps from the ninth century. Subsequently, according to this view, Strathclyde was held as an appanage by the heir to the Scottish throne. In recent years, many historians have abandoned this theory, and have come to believe that Strathclyde survived as an independent kingdom until at least 1018 if not until the 1050s or beyond. This histogriographic development has improved our understanding of the region and era. Indeed, reviewing the sources for Scoto-Cumbrian relations, it was argued that surviving contemporary evidence cannot be used to support any formal, long-term relationship between Scotland and Strathclyde prior to the twelfth century.

In the east, historians have tended to employ two Anglo-Norman traditions for the cession of 'Lothian' to the Scots. One involved a grant of 'Lothian' by King Edgar to Cináed mac Maíl-Choluim in the early 970s, the other by Earl Eadwulf Cudel of Bamburgh. These late traditions, it was argued, have no verifiable early authority. They are based, at least in part, on speculation by Anglo-Norman–era historical writers. The possibility that one or the other does reflect some real event cannot be ruled out. The pre–twelfth-century definition of 'Lothian' is itself far from certain, but most likely it only refers to small region north of the Lammermuir rather than, for instance, the later justiciarship of Lothian that included all English-speaking territory south of the Forth ruled by the Scots (see Appendix IV.a). Detail in the 'Northumbrian Earldom Foundation Legend' would claim that *Myreforth*, probably the Firth of Forth, had been regarded as the northern frontier of Northumbrian in the reign of Edgar. This claim would suggest that the Forth still marked the boundary of the Scottish realm long after Edgar's time, since the detail is likely to been retained in a later age, perhaps as a back-projection, probably in the eleventh century. Scottish poetry suggests that, ideologically at least, the southern boundary of the Scottish kingdom was still at the Forth in the mid eleventh century. On the other hand, the late–tenth-century *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba* provides some basis for Scottish authority over Edinburgh in the second half of the century. This seems to confirm a description of the diocese of Lindisfarne dating to at least the time of Cnut, which might be read to suggest that the Scots and 'Northern English' bordered each other on the East Lothian Esk. If these readings were correct, the Scoto-Northumbrian border of the later tenth and the eleventh centuries would run along the Firth of Forth, probably near the Esk. This however is not certain, and any discussion of the topic has to acknowledge that there is no definitive proof that the Scottish king or political community had holdings south of the Forth until the reing of Máel-Coluim mac Donnchada. The lack of decisive evidence is itself not decisive, given poor documentation in general; but nonetheless there was some good evidence that the Scottish king's rule probably ended along if not at the Forth, at least until the mid eleveth century.

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[584] See, for instance, Barrow, *RRS*, I, 9–10.

In view of these conclusions, some consideration was given to the nature of political power in the era, emphasisizing that ruling lineages cannot necessarily be lumped with pre-existing political communities, like those formed around earldoms and kingdoms. From the point-of-view of such families, polities were political and military resources with which it was important to publicly identify. That does not mean, though, that ruling families and the polities under their control are identical. Understanding Scottish expansion south of the Forth in the eleventh century requires understanding of what Scotland was as a political community in this era. Collapse of the kingdom's traditional dynasty in the early eleventh century seems to have intensified earlier polarisation within the kingdom. It was suggested that in this period a great family like Clann Crínáin, undisputed rulers of Scotland after the 1050s, might form a basis for analysis rather than just particular kingdoms. There is some evidence that the coming together of Scotland and Strathclyde was a by-product of Clann Crínáin expansion, as the dynasty took over Strathclyde and southern 'Scotland' separately, in the wake of upheavel in the early century. Indeed, by the time the Normans arrived the same family may have added to their affinity some or all of the 'Northern English' realm, through Gospatric son of Maldred. The above, at most, is an interesting and well supported way of analysing the politics of the era, and it must be stressed that there is no decisive evidence for Scottish control of substantial territory south of the Forth until the reign of Máel-Coluim III. Here, for the first time, Southumbrian sources record sustained incursions and interference by the Scots in English affairs owing, in part, to political turmoil in England.

The earlier turmoil in the first decades of the eleventh century was suggested as a meaningful context for the emergence of the Gall-Gaidel, the century's new political grouping in 'Middle Britain'. The limited evidence we have suggested that, if this group originated outside 'Middle Britain', it would probably be from the Scottish kingdom. Thus, their emergence itself might be read as having promoted the expansion of the Scottish political community rather than, as often thought, having hindered it. Gall-Gaidel regions and Strathclyde were later the base for Clann Crínáin succession disputes, one of which during the minority of Máel-Coluim IV seems to have resulted in the colonisation of much of the region by Anglo-French and Flemish soldiers. The arrival of these men, probably drawn from the political network of Máel-Coluim's mother Ada de Warenne, marked the permanant inclusion of the Greater Strathclyde region within a larger Scottish kingdom. At the same time, Henry II sought to restore the political settlement of Henry I's reign, and deprived Clann Crínáin of the contiguous earldom of Northumberland. In this manner, the Anglo-Scottish border was erected, ending 'Middle Britain' as a meaningful concept.

In the end Strathclyde and 'Lothian' came to be part of the Scottish realm because of the accession of David, earl in Teviotdale and prince of the Cumbrians, to the Scottish throne. David's overlordship of all of these, and his direct control of many former Northumbrian territories, were based, in part, on his family's relations with the Normans and their Angevin successors. All of this could still have been very temporary, ending when that relationship itself ended. This did not happen because David and the Normans, and their successors, carried out a series of changes in Middle Britain that determined the region's political geography for the remainder of the Middle Ages. These will be examined the final chapter. Firstly, however, more needs to be understood about the Church of the Viking Age.

6. The Church in 'Middle Britain'

Standard accounts of the Viking-Age Northumbrian episcopate were tested against contemporary evidence in chapter three, and were not supported. Instead of losing half its bishops, the episcopate appears to have been stable, at least numerically, until at least the time of King Æthelstan. Another standard tradition, of the Cuthbertine see's late–ninth-century relocation to Chester-le-Street, was also found to be lacking credible support in the most reliable evidence. If anything, the latter suggested that the body of the saint if not the see itself had been located at Norham-on-Tweed until the early eleventh century. Compounding the issue further, the see's Anglo-Norman episcopal lists appear to lack a reliable form of transmission. We cannot rely on those lists or derivative annals for knowledge about Viking Age Northumbrian bishops, acknowledging that coverage is more likely to be accurate the closer it is to the eleventh century. According to the argument above, the eleventh-century bishopric had more than one tenth-century predecessor anyway, complicating the process of drawing information from these lists with any confidence. Deconstructing a flawed picture leaves many questions to be answered. Which diocese did the likely ninth- and tenth-century bishops of these lists hold: 'Lindisfarne' or 'Hexham'? Why is Chester-le-Street important? What actually happened to the bishopric of Hexham? Or the bishop of Whithorn? The following chapter is an attempt to be more positive and to try to formulate new conclusions and suggestions from reliable evidence.

6.1 Durham

6.1.1 Norham: Diocese of the 'Northern English'?

In *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* there is a description of the diocese of Lindisfarne as the area east of the moorland between the *Esce muthe* (Inveresk, ELN) and somewhere near the river Aln (NBL).[585] Although the compilation is no earlier than Cnut's reign, the extract has traditionally been interpreted as reflecting the pre-Viking diocese, in turn reinforcing the idea that *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* incorporated good early records. The arguments in this thesis suggest that Cnut's is the perfect era for the description. Another, seemingly unrelated description is one of several Northumbrian extracts inserted into the Durham version of *Chronicon ex Chronicis*: in *Historia Regum 2*, s.a. 854 (and in Roger of Howden's *Chronica*, s.a. 882).[586] This description is specific about dependent churches and the diocese is larger (at least explicitly), including subordinate religious houses and territory in Cumberland and Lothian west-of-the Esk. It begins with Carlisle and Norham, proceeds around the moor moving from the lower Tweed into Teviotdale, up into West Lothian, through Midlothian and East Lothian back into the Merse, returning to Norham (see Appendix III.b). Based on internal evidence alone, Carlisle is plausibly an addition postdating the text's composition (see below): it is entered in a way that breaks up the text's logic. The description in *Historia Regum 2* / Roger of Howden's *Chronica* otherwise reads like it could be a circuit performed by a bishop based in Norham. In any case, it is extremely unlikely that two independent boundary descriptions were preserved through the Viking-Age from the ninth century, while it is also unlikely that the diocese could be described from 'memory' in the eleventh century if it had ceased to exist in the ninth. It is likely that the descriptions reflect how the diocese looked or was believed to have looked in the eleventh century, either prior to the creation of the diocese of Durham, during a time of dual episcopacy, or in a period where Durham lacked control of the Lindisfarne diocese. It is plausible that such boundaries survived from pre-Viking times, but if it reflects anything historical it is most likely to be the 'Northern English' realm ruled by the Eadwulfings, excluding Uhtred's period in the Northumbrian ealdordom, 1006–1016 (see Appendix II.b).

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[585] Printed *HSC*, 46–47: c.4; although the mouth of the Warren Beck [by Bamburgh] is listed, the point furthest south is effectively the Aln since 'the land…on both sides of the river Breamish up to the place where it rises' is included in the diocese.

6.1.2 Relocation to Durham

According to *Libellus de Exordio*, in 995 the body of Cuthbert moved to Durham, under the power of Bishop Ealdhun (fl. 1009). As previously argued, this account is not reliable. The best hope for any reliable date is *Secgan*. Since it must have been completed, at the very earliest, in 1014, Cuthbert would be at Norham in 1013, and perhaps as late as 1031. In this context it is worth reminding ourselves of William of Malmesbury's claim that the body came to Durham during the episcopate of Ealdhun's successor, Eadmund [II]. As we have seen, William seems to have had access to a developing Durham historical tradition yet to be transformed by Symeonic rewritings.[587] William received the story from a pre- or proto-

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[586] *HR2*, 101; *RHC*, I, 45.

[587] The pre-Symeonic tradition available to William was not insubstantial. He was able to recount detail about Eadmund's election, an event similarly described in detail by *notitiae* added to *Chronicon ex Chronicis* in OCCC 157 and in the Symeonic tradition; see *GPA*, I, 410–11, *JW*, II, 506–07.

Symeonic Durham tradition lacking Symeon's chronology. Since William's own synchronization of Eadmund and Æthelred is unlikely to be accurate, his source was probably something that lacked much if any chronological guidance, perhaps an episcopal list.[588] At this stage, it is also worth reminding ourselves that in *Libellus de Exordio* Symeon reproduced a tradition that Ælfred son of Westou, *thesaurarius* of Durham, had had the bodies of major Northumbrian saints relocated to Durham from Coldingham, Melrose, Tyninghame, Jarrow, Tynemouth and Hexham; this relic relocation, Symeon learned, had happened during the episcopate of Bishop Eadmund.[589] Taking Symeon's account of Eadmund's episcopate (probably oral in origin) and William's account of Cuthbert's move from Norham to Durham as separate sources and treating them independently of how either William and Symeon used them, we would probably explain Cuthbert's move and the foundation of the diocese of Durham as part of a wider process of centralization in the former dioceses of Hexham and Lindisfarne.

The two diocese descriptions suggest that the Lindisfarne bishopric's territorial boundaries in the tenth century had terminated either at the Aln or the Coquet or in the surrounding moorland. The Coquet flows from uplands in the south, with Warkworth on its southern bank as it enters the sea. This is eight miles from the mouth of the Aln, a river that flows through the moorland from the north. A border like that might be read to suggest that the 'Hexham' diocese had remained in existence, at least ideologically, during the same period. Although there is no pre-Conquest description of the diocese's extent, Hexham is the only Northumbrian episcopal seat between York and the Coquet and so its diocese must, it would be presumed, have been responsible for the area to the south of Lindisfarne's. One might assume that the foundation of the see of Durham would be the *terminus ante quem* for such a boundary. Yet, according to *Libellus de Exordio*, when Earl Uhtred moved the body of Cuthbert to Durham, 'people from the whole area between the river Coquet and the river Tees' (*a flumine Coqued' usque Tesam uniuersa populorum*) came to help clear this site of the new cathedral and construct the church itself.[590] Symeon's source for this is unclear, but its exclusivity with the Lindisfarne description is not likely to be a coincidence. It might be read to suggest that Durham was founded prior to the dissolution of Lindisfarne, although that is not the only reasonable interpretation possible; in line with the discussion in chapter four, Uhtred took power south of his base territory because of his accession to the ealdordom after Ælfhelm's death in 1006, and in such a context may have wished to rationalize and integrate the ecclesiastical structure of his territories. The politics of 1013–31, which included the battle of Carham and the Danish conquest of England, offer another plausible but alternative context.

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[588] With that said, Ealdhun's only certain date is his charter appearance of 1009.

[589] *LDE*, 160–67: iii.7.

[590] *LDE*, 148–49: iii.2.

6.1.3 Fate of Hexham

If Hexham survived the 800s, its position in the Viking Age must have become precarious. The surrounding region experienced some Norse settlement, and it is likely that for some time that the site of Hexham lay in a frontier zone, with the Eadwulfings and Uí Ímair vying for domination in the early decades of the tenth century and where, in the late tenth century, the southern ealdorman probably had very limited authority. Rivalry among potential royal patrons as well as political fragmentation would have made the bishop's job very difficult. If the church's bishopric had ceased to exist after Æthelstan, York was better-placed to benefit than Lindisfarne. The power of Lindisfarne's patrons, the Eadwulfings, had contracted in the Tyne–Wear region after 918 (had it ever been substantial there); York's bishops, unlike those of Lindisfarne, are known to have had close relationships with both Ua Ímair and Ecgberhting overlords. Potentially interesting here is the early–eleventh-century Norman poem, *Moriuht*, which relates the fate of a tenth-century man from *Scottia* captured by slave-raiding *Dani* and sold at Corbridge. Moriuht is received by the nuns of the city. The *Corbricenses* are described as being 'like the *Scotti* in reputation and their constant friends'.[591] Corbridge was the secular centre served by Hexham (as Bamburgh was to Lindisfarne), and so the monastic complex of the *Corbricenses* could be part of the church of Hexham.

During the reign of Cnut Bishop Eadmund, in a letter addressed to his colleague Ælfric of Winchester, archbishop of York, claims that the church of Hexham had been disputed by their predecessors. The letter recounts Hexham's ancient history with the aim of showing that the Hexham diocese should be free of York. The letter is 'preserved' in *Cronica Monasterii Dunelmensis*; it is arranged to follow the era of Ælfred and Guthred, and is part of [what Craster regarded as] a 'digression' about the church of Hexham. The same passage relates that 'after the decrees and statutes of the kings [Ælfred and Guthred]', Bishop Ealdhun had instituted a *prepositus* at the church, one Collan the thegn son of Eadred (*Tein Collanum fillium Edredi*) and that he himself had instituted Wulfkil the thegn son of Arkil' (*Tein Wlkilum filium Arkilli*).[592] Craster thought the passage (and thus the letter therein) was an 'interpolation' made during the reign of Henry I, while acknowledging its authority was good.[593]

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[591] Warner of Rouen, *Moriuht*, ed. and trans. C. J. McDonough (Toronto, 1995), 76–81.

This information on the Hexham *prepositi* is mirrored in a set of annals summarized by the sixteenth-century antiquarian John Leland.[594] Yet another list of eleventh-century Hexham *prepositi* was appended to a heavily illuminated twelfth-century collection of works on St Cuthbert, the British Library, Yates Thompson, MS 26 (previously BL, Additional 39943).[595] A *prepositus* was interpreted, at least in Symeon's time, as the leader of a monastery subject to an outside overlord, the position of Boisil and then Cuthbert at Melrose, for instance; Symeon says that the office was the same as that of a 'prior'.[596] The Leland and Yates Thompson *prepositi* are taken as far as the episcopate of Æthelwine (†1071x), but the Yates Thompson list begins with Bishop Eadmund rather than Ealdhun; the Yates Thompson lists holders of the office of treasurer (*thesaurarius* or *secretarius*) of Durham who held (*tenuit*) Hexham, as well as the 'priests' that these treasurers appointed. The treasurers seem to have held, or to have claimed, this overlordship of the monastery of Hexham. Notably, the same man who relocated the major relics of the see is named as the first treasurer to hold Hexham.

Maps of the dioceses of Northumbria frequently present pre-Viking Hexham with a southern boundary on the Tees, but these boundaries are not known from pre-Conquest sources.[597] Beyond some negative imprint, we have no detailed knowledge about its diocesan territory at all, let alone specifically in the Viking Age.[598] In the time of Wilfrid Hexham had been ruled in conjunction with Ripon, and I have found no evidence indicating that such a relationship ended with Wilfrid's death. It is perfectly possible too that the boundaries of the Hexham diocese included territory in what later became northern Yorkshire, whether as a contiguous whole or an exclave. The next thing we know about Ripon is from the 940s, when it suffered Southumbrian enmity. It was burned by King Eadred after the 'Northumbrians' made Erik king (*ASC* MS D, s.a. 948); subsequently, its relics were plundered, to the benefit of Archbishop Oda of Canterbury (abp 941–958); and it lost estates to the latter's nephew Archbishop Oswald of York.

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[592] *CMD*, 524–25.
[593] Craster, *CMD*, 524, n. 5.
[594] See Raine, *Hexham Provosts* , vii, n. j., citing T. Hearne (ed.), *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea* (London, 1774), I, 37.
[595] Colgrave, *Two Lives*, 31–32.
[596] *LDE*, 246–47: iv.8.
[597] For instance, D. Hill, *Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1981), 148.
[598] Cf. *DSEH*, 20, which appears to be Richard responding to the Lindisfarne descriptions.

The *Breuiloquium Vitae Wilfredi*, a reworking of the Stephen's *Vita S. Wilfrithi* by Canterbury-based Continental writer Frithegod (fl. 950–c.958), has a preface written by Archbishop Oda. The archbishop claimed that after 'certain men carried off the venerable relics of Wilfrid ... I reverently received them' (*cum inde, fauente Deo, scilicet a loco sepulchri eius, quidam transtulissent, reuerenter excepi*).[599] It is difficult to believe that this event was unrelated to the West Saxon burning of the minster during Oda's episcopate. Ripon was to become a dependent of York by the time of Archbishop Oswald,[600] and the latter would confiscate some of Ripon's holdings.[601] Oswald apparently tried to restore the 'ruin' of the church and 'rediscovered' the relics of abbots Tatberht, Botwine, Alberht, Sigred, and Wilthegn, placing them in a new reliquary.[602] One reading of Byrhtferth's *Vita S. Oswaldi* has given rise to suggestions that Oswald intended to create a 'reformed' (i.e. a Benedictine) house at Ripon, though it can be said with fair certainty that Ripon never did become a great Benedictine house like Ramsey.[603] It was to Ripon, according to the account of *Libellus de Exordio*, that the body of Cuthbert was initially taken after it left Chester-le-Street in the 990s before heading back north, to Durham.[604] This is not to suggest Cuthbert's body went anywhere near Ripon, but it shows the monastery's importance in the 'memory' of the English clerics whom Symeon and his Norman companions found at Durham in the later eleventh century. Other early Anglo-Norman sources seem to work under the impression that Ripon was an important bishopric, but are unable to establish its pre-Conquest credentials accurately.[605] Perhaps then Ealdhun's appointment of his own *prepositus* at Hexham, at York's expense, was part of a longer battle with York for the spoils of the former diocese.

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[599] Frithegod, *Breuiloquium Vitae Beati Wilfredi*, ed. A. Campbell (Zürich, 1950), 2; see also M. Lapidge, 'A Frankish Scholar in Tenth-Century England', *ASE* 17 (1988), 45–65, at 45, n. 3.

[600] *Northern Chrs*, nos. 6, 7.

[601] *Northern Chrs*, no. 6.

[602] *VSOE*, 170–73: v.9. Eadmer writing his own life of Oswald almost certainly encountered both sources, he follows *VSOE* but notes that the Wilfrid in question was Wilfrid's nephew, Wilfrid II bishop of York; see *Eadmer of Canterbury*, edd. and trans. A. J. Turner and B. J. Muir (Oxford, 2006), 270–73 (=*Vita S. Oswaldi Episcopi*, c. 27). This is a one-off guess by Eadmer, and in his own *Vita S. Wilfridi* he explains that a share of the relics had been left behind; see also M. Philpott, 'Eadmer, His Archbishops and the English State', in *Medieval State*, 93–108, at 101, who notes that it was a problem William of Malmesbury 'thought insoluble'.

[603] Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, 236; Lapidge, *VSOE*, 172, n. 104, where Lapidge suggests that Byrhtferth's 'new monastery' was a reference to St Mary's, Worcester, rather than Ripon.

[604] *LDE*, 144–45: iii.1.

6.1.4 Cuthbert and the Danelaw

In claiming that their predecessors had vied for control of Hexham, the Eadmund–Ælfric letter could suggest that the tenth-century Cuthbertine church made advances in the south, at least after the time of King Æthelstan. If the assets it later claimed are a guide (reflected by the alleged grants and losses in *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*), the Cuthbertine house had been targeting specific locations in the northern part of Danish settlement, in what later became county Durham and Yorkshire: Crayke (YKS), Gainford (DUR), Billingham (DUR), 'land between the Tees and Wear'. This kind of ambition may explain the importance of Guthred in the early textual traditions of Anglo-Norman Durham, the former slave being 'remembered' as a founding king in the northern Danelaw and thus central to the historical 'memory' of the Anglo-Scandinavians of southern Northumbria. Here, again, it is important not to back-project the Yorkshire–Durham divisions of the mid-to-late eleventh century. Even in the twelfth century, Yorkshire claimed jurisdiction over the 'land of Scula' between Billingham and Castle Eden (the latter allegedly purchased by Tilred abbot of Norham).[606] These claims, and the territories allegedly granted to it by kings Æthelstan, Æthelred, and Cnut, perhaps reflect the bishop's role outside his territorial diocese.[607] Cuthbert's cult was important throughout England, and the bishops almost certainly had some role in the political culture of both the 'Northern English' realm and the wider Anglo-Saxon kingdom, as illustrated by the well-attested presence of its *prepositus* Ealdred in Wessex (*Áclee on*

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[605] Around 1100 the architect of an episcopal list (in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 140) mistakenly suggested that the York bishops following Wilfrid in the eighth century were in fact bishops *ad Ripum*; see *Ep. Lists*, III, 20. Another post-conquest episcopal list (Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 157, preceding its *Chronicon ex Chronicis* annals) had five arches representing five bishoprics of the Northumbrian church, two for Bernicia, i.e. Hexham and Lindisfarne; one for *terra Pictorum*, apparently *both* Abercorn and Whithorn; and two for Deira, York and Ripon. Only one bishop was listed for Ripon, one *Eathed*, i.e. Eadhæd former bishop of Lindsey; see OCCC, 45; see also Woodman, *Northern Chrs*, 241–42.

[606] *LDE*, 130–31: ii.16.

[607] *CMD*, 525–28; *HSC*, 64–69: c. 26, 29, 32.

Westsæxum) during the episcopate of Ælfsige.[608] Indeed, the intermittent presence of the Cuthbertine bishop in the south may have been the most meaningful way in which the land north of the Coquet was integrated into the Anglo-Saxon kingdom.

6.1.5 Laws of St Cuthbert

As we have seen, the early Norman church of Durham was interested in establishing its rights to various properties in northern Northumbria and in the Danelaw. A more obscure prize it claimed was the collection of rights offered by the *Leges Sancti Cuthberti* or, rather, *Consuetudines Sancti Cuthberti*. Part of the 'Donation of Guthred', *Cronica Monasterii Dunelmensis* would have its readers vest the authority of these *Consuetudines* in both King Guthred and King Ælfred.[609] Obviously the specific claim is likely to be false, but the claim could indicate that the political and supernatural power of the church of St Cuthbert was involved in dispute resolution during the Viking Age in northern Northumbria and the northern Danelaw. We can only guess at the specifics here, but we might envisage a role for Cuthbert's bishops and abbots as prominent arbitrators, frequently chosen for either their neutrality or 'neutrality', which may have evolved into a recognised role as a provider of 'peace'. These laws seem to have specified that Cuthbertine churches had a right to provide sanctuary (see Appendix III.d), further facilitating that role. Fortunately, there are references from c. 1000 to sanctuary practices in Northumbria, futher south. Archbsihop Wulfstan's vision of these rules is set out in a tract known as *Grið*. The text is partly descriptive, and makes specific reference to variations in practice among the English, for instance *on Cantwara lage, Suðengla lage*, and, most importantly here, *Norðengla lage*.[610] An apparently distinct feature of 'Northenglish' sanctuary is that one could not make amends after slaying a person within the walls of a church, though there is no detail about who would enforce punishment. Another text of a similar date, perhaps also authored by Wulfstan, is the fragmentary 'Northumbrian Church-Peace, *Norðhymbra Cyricgrið*. This is what Wormald described as 'a local adaptation of Wulfstan principles'.[611] Here, specific fines for violating the sanctuary of Yorkshire's major *monasteria* are detailed, for St Peter's, St

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[608] K. L. Jolly, *The Community of St. Cuthbert in the Late Tenth Century* (Columbus, 2012), 66–68, 325–26; for the cult of Cuthbert as a tenth-century pan-English phenomenon, see Gretsch*, Æfric and the Cult of Saints*, 65–126.

[609] See Appendix III.c, and *CMD*, 524.

[610] For *on Cantwara lage*, see *Grið*, 470: #6; for on *Suðengla lage*, see ibid.,470: #9; and for *on Norðengla lage* and *be Norðengla lage*, see ibid., 471: #13.

[611] Wormald, *Making of English Law*, 395.

Wilfrid's, and St John's, presumably York, Ripon, and Beverley; at the same time, it seems to confirm *Grið*'s assertion that causing death cannot be compensated.[612] Without offering specific names, the text alludes to the sanctuary rights of other, less prestigious minsters. A similar hierarchy of minsters and sanctuary rights had been set out in *VIII Æthelred*,[613] a longer set of ordinances on the rights of the English Church; the single surviving text of *Norðhymbra Cyricgrið* exists alongside *VIII Æthelred*, following a version of *Grið*.[614]

Although *Norðhymbra Cyricgrið* specifies only the three major Yorkshire minsters, it is not unreasonable to put the text's 'omission' of major ministers further north, like the Cuthbertine seat (wherever that was) or Hoddom, down to contemporary political geography (discussed in section 4.4 above). The text might also be read to confirm that at the time of composition Cuthbert's house was far to the north of York—somewhere like Lindisfarne or Norham, rather than Durham. Whatever the case, sacred rights of refuge and peace were held by every senior Anglo-Saxon minster, the *heafodmynstre*, and extensive rights of this kind appear to have been claimed or retained by the other great Northumbrian churches in the Anglo-Norman era: not only by York, Ripon, and Beverley, but by Hexham and Durham too—though the old variation of the 'Northenglish law' had been abandoned by the time of the Anglo-Norman window.[615] Similar sanctuary hierarchies existed even further north in post-Conquest former Northumbrian lands. A charter purporting to be a grant to Kelso by King Máel-Coluim IV, relating to Kelso's dependency of Innerleithen, specifies that Innerleithen was to receive special rights of sanctuary, equal to those already held by Tyninghame and [Stow of] Wedale.[616] The implicit suggestion is that in the mid twelfth century, Tyninghame and Wedale had well-respected and valuable rights of this kind. If Woolf's suggestion is correct and Wedale is the *Tigbrechingham* in the extended description of the diocese of Lindisfarne,[617] then both churches are likely to have been regional ‘head minsters’ (or something analogous) of the pre–Scoto-Norman Church, with their saint or relics at the heart of collective order in their surrounding regions.[618]

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[612] *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I, 473, and Rabin (trans.), *Political Writings of Archbishop Wulfstan of York*, 84; see also for sanctuary at York, Woodman, *Northern Chrs*, 39; for Beverley, ibid., 181–82; for Ripon, ibid., 244–45.

[613] *Laws (Ro)*, 116–29.

[614] Wormald, *Making of English Law*, 395; *Political Writings of Archbishop Wulfstan of York*, 210.

[615] D. Hall, 'The Sanctuary of St Cuthbert', in *CCC*, 425–36.

[616] *RRS*, I no. 219; the charter is controversial, possibly a part-forgery, claiming Máel Coluim IV had a son, see discussion in A. Smith, *The Kelso Abbey Cartulary* (PhD dissertation, University of Glasgow, 2011), 228–31.

[617] Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 235, n. 17.

6.1.6 Chester-le-Street

Returning to the location of the body of Cuthbert and the chief seat of his diocese, where does Chester-le-Street fit into this picture? Perhaps it really was the site of a bishopric in the Viking Age, perhaps heir to Hexham as Norham was to Lindisfarne. It is difficult to believe the later-eleventh-century English stakeholders in the diocese of Durham could have assigned it such importance for no reason. We have no firm cause to believe (or disbelieve) that the houses of Wilfrid and Cuthbert had two separate lines of bishops after the mid tenth century. In ignorance of the detail, a range of possibilities must remain open. The idea that Northumbria had been divided up into neat territorial dioceses at all, let alone in the tenth century, is not as well established in the evidence as might be thought; the episcopate’s known Roman model was probably the ideal, but Bede had envisaged diocesan authority working on a *monasterium*-by-*monasterium* basis.[619] Since bishops tended to be, in practice at least, more central to royal bureaucracy than abbots, the Viking-Age decline of Northumbrian royal authority probably further eroded the power of bishops vis-à-vis non-episcopal monastic houses. Political fragmentation may also have allowed junior houses within the *familiae* of episcopal churches to take on a more important role.[620]

Something resembling a ‘coarb’ of Cuthbert (or Wilfrid) may have emerged as the senior religious figure of a see. Although the earlier confederation of *monasteria* aligned to their saint may have been retained, and although the cult or ideological centre may even have remained at a senior *monasterium*, leadership of the saint’s confederation would be open to abbots of more 'junior' member houses according to the prevailing politics. The assertion of *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* that the abbot of Heversham in the Northumbrian west country became abbot of Norham may be read in this context, and it is otherwise difficult to explain why one abbot would have paid to hold another distant house. The *Historia* does not call Tilred *bishop* of Norham or Lindisfarne. That he had his name in the Anglo-Norman episcopal lists may be the conjecture or invention of an Anglo-Norman.[621] Similarly, Chester-le-Street may have emerged as a base for an important regional Cuthbertine *familia* member, like Tilred of Heversham, Geve of Crayke, or, perhaps, Eadred of Carlisle. Bishops, as officials integral to the administration and ritual of the kingdom, likely had territory throughout Northumbria, and early Chester-le-Street may have been an 'exclave' holding. Indeed *Kuncacester* is the location of an early Cuthbertine miracle.[622]

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[618] According to early–thirteenth-century Northumbrian *notitiae* on the Nennian recension of *Historia Brittonum*, Wedale possessed a piece of the true cross and an *imaginem* of the Virgin Mary brought from Jerusalem by King Arthur. Subsequent notes specify that Wedale was analysed to mean ‘Valley of Woe’ (*uallis doloris*) and that it lay *in prouintia Lodanesie, nunc uero iuris episcopi Sancti Andree Scotie, sex miliaria ab occidentali parte ab illo quondam nobili monasterio de Melros* (‘in the province of Lothian, now within the jurisdiction of the bishops of St Andrew of Scotland, six miles from the western side of the once noble monastery of Melrose’); see D. N. Dumville, ‘Celtic-Latin Texts in Northern England, c. 1150–c. 1250’, *Celtica* 12 (1977), 19–49, at 34–38, and older edition, *Historia Brittonum: Nennian Recension*, ed. T. Gale, *Historiae Britanicae, Saxonicae, Anglo-Danicae, Scriptores XV*, I, 91–115, at 114.

[619] *Epistola ad Ecgbertum Episcopum*, trans. *EHD*, I, 799–810, at 804.

[620] For the Columban network, see M. Herbert, *Iona, Kells, and Derry* (Oxford, 1988), 68–126, et passim; as Herbert showed, such a *familia* could be dominated by one house (such as Kells) subject to changing power politics (e.g. Mac-Lochlainn-backed Derry); see also J. Bannerman, ‘Comarba Coluim Chille and the Relics of Columba’, *IR* 44 (1993), 14–47.

Possibly Ealdhun himself emerged from such a base. The Leland account of the Hexham *prepositi* claims that the Ulfkil son of Arkil appointed as *prepositus* of Hexham by Bishop Eadmund was the *nepos* of Bishop Ealdhun, confirming *De Obsessione Dunelmi*'s picture of a church *familia* dominated by a particular kingroup—it might be the case that Uhtred's accession to the ealdordom, the merger of the sees, and the appointment of Ealdhun were all part of the same programme or process.[623] *De Obsessione Dunelmi'*s incidental detail would suggest that the property of Bishop Ealdhun lay south of Durham, and that he and his family themselves originated in the settlement zone.[624] The associated locations of the important *personae* in the Anglo-Norman era do fall chiefly in the south of the diocese of Durham, which might suggest they represent *de facto* continuity from the 'Hexham' bishopric rather than Lindisfarne.

6.1.7 Durham and England

Around 1041, Siward killed 'Earl' Eadwulf III. In the same year, Æthelric abbot of Peterborough was placed in charge of the Cuthbertine see. *ASC* MSS C and D report the 'betrayal' of Eadwulf in the same entry as the consecration of Æthelric at York.[625] This is the first time an English royal appointee, here a Southumbrian Benedictine abbot, presided over the see; in hindsight, it is a critical event. *Libellus de Exordio* preserved a tradition that a deputy of Eadmund, named Eadred (presumably the *prepositus*), took charge of the monastery, but died almost immediately because the payment made to Harthacnut was interpreted by St Cuthbert as a bribe. Æthelric was driven out by the community, but was subsequently restored by Earl Siward.[626] Æthelric's Peterborough connection was not a one-off accident, and his successor Æthelwine was also appointed from the same community 'with the help and favour of Earl Tostig, who succeeded Siward' (*auxilio et fauore comitis Tostii qui Siwardo successerat*).[627] The new pattern of drawing Cuthbertine bishops from the south, with the support of the English king or his leading regional representative, comes to be a characteristic feature of the bishopric of Durham in the Middle Ages.

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[621] *HSC*, 60–61: c.21; on the Irish and Scottish analogy, Lindisfarne would like Iona, Chester-le-Street may have been Dunkeld, Norham Derry, Kells like Crayke, and so on.

[622] *VA*, 70–71.

[623] Raine, *Hexham Provosts*, vii, n. j.

[624] *DOD*, 215–22.

[625] *ASC*, 106.

Eadmund's career was to be recollected fondly in the Anglo-Norman sources, but Symeon was less keen about Eadmund's two successors. They were remembered as outsiders, Peterborough men with another house closer to heart. Indeed, so disconnected were their interests from those of the Durham community that they even plundered relics on Peterborough's behalf, and indeed Ælfred son of Westou's resistance to such plundering was a source of honour for his descendants in the early twelfth century.[628] Eadmund was remembered as the last Durham monk to lead the house prior to the 'reform' by the Normans. The Norman Conquest saw the demise of the second Peterborough bishop and the installation of a French military bishop; the latter's failure led not only to even more royal interest and the appointment of a royal administrator as bishop, but also the monastic conquest of the house by Southumbrian Benedictine 'reformers' brought via Teviotdale and Jarrow, their leaders Ealdwine and Turgot becoming successively heads of this new monastic establishment. The new order sought to legitimize itself according to the legal and ideological norms holding sway in the era, which included, as we have seen, harnessing the traditions of the surviving English stakeholders through men like Symeon.

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[626] *LDE*, 168–73: iii.9.

[627] *LDE*, 170–73: iii.9.

[628] *LDE*, 162–63: iii.7, 170–75: iii.10–11; these relics appear to have something from Acca of Hexham, an arm of Oswald, for which see Hugh Candidus, *Peterborough Chronicle*, ed. W. T. Mellows (London, 1949), 52, 54, and Blair, 'Handlist', 502, 550.

6.2 Whithorn

6.2.1 Whithorn and the Uí Ímair

William of Malmesbury claimed that the bishopric of Whithorn had ceased to exist in the ninth century, after being overrun by Scots and Picts.[629] If nothing else, this probably shows that the bishopric had not existed within living memory of the early twelfth century. Whithorn lies in a region that probably passed outside of the Northumbrian affinity as a side-effect of Ecgberhting expansion (see 4.3.2). Descendants of Northumbria's Scandinavian rulers, the Uí Ímair, appear to have continued to rule as kings of Na Renna. The subsequent absence of Whithorn bishops from royal documents should therefore be no more surprising than for any Scottish or Welsh bishops. While William's explanation is not convincing in its specifics, a link between the disappearance of the see and a broader change to the political order is not unreasonable: the disappearance of the classical Northumbrian state, Norse settlement, etc, constitute this kind of change. Processes such as those discussed in the Cuthbertine section above may have been involved. It is plausible that the bishopric could have become responsible for other Ua Ímair or *Dubgall* territories, a possibility which could explain certain observations made by Woolf and Oram regarding the overlap of the twelfth-century bishopric of Whithorn and the proto-bishopric of the Isles.[630]

6.2.2 Relics of 'Ninian'

Whithorn is not among the English resting places in *Secgan*, a slightly surprising occurrence given the prominence of 'Ninian' and his hagiography (especially if Rollason's argument were correct). Clancy and others have argued that 'Ninian' (and its precursor forms) constitutes, by scribal error or otherwise, an anglicization of the Celtic name known by two core isogloss variants, *Fin[i]an* (allegedly 'Gaelic') and *Uin[i]an* (allegedly 'British'). There remains some resistance to this idea, partly based on a perception of false exclusivity between a 'fake' English Ninian and the 'genuine' Celtic equivalent; whereas it is enough to explain the saint's English name, mistake or not, as a local English variation of the Celtic name behind it, albeit one that confused later writers outside the region's early-medieval

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[629] *GPA*, I, 388–91: iii.118.

[630] Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, 72; details in *Fasti ES,* 168–69, 258–59. A fourteenth-century metrical chronicle appears to claim that *Gamelinus* was a bishop of Whithorn who submitted to Archbishop Roger [de Pont L'Éveque] (bishop 1154–81), even though he is only attested elsewhere as bishop of the Isles; see *HCY*, II, 462, and note also that one John submitting to Roger's predecessor Henry [Murdac] is counted as representing Whithorn but is known elsewhere as a 'bishop of Mann'.

Anglo-Celtic bilingual culture.[631] The see's disappearance might have been preceded by a removal of its chief relics or by Whithorn's decline as an episcopal base. Given the post-Norman tradition that Saint *Finanus* was buried there, it is possible that Kilwinning became the centre of the Uinnianic *familia* (if not the diocese) during the period of 'Hiberno-Norse' rule.[632] After the takeover by Tironensians and the formation of parishes in the region, every church in Cunninghame had Kilwinning Abbey (or its parent Kelso) as rector, giving the region a uniquely unified character, plausibly an outcome of the monastery's strong corporate bargaining position after Cunninghame's takeover by Scottish-alligned Anglo-Norman soldiers.[633]

6.2.3 Whithorn and Durham

Symeonic sources suggest the Cuthbertine community obtained one of its most precious books from Whithorn. When wandering around with Cuthbert's body, Hunred, ancestor of the Sedgefield *persona*, was said to have 'discovered' it at Whithorn after the tide receded, seemingly an attempt to explain how a well-known Whithorn book arrived at Durham. The book's identity is uncertain, but the *Libellus de Exordio* account suggests that Symeon had believed this particular book to have been the Lindisfarne Gospels.[634] As discussed in chapter three, the episcopal lists from the tenth-to-twelfth centuries that used ninth-century Northumbrian episcopal lists did not have access to the 830s additions in Cotton Vespasian B vi, and thus terminated with Bishop Ecgberht of Lindisfarne and Bishop Beadwulf of Whithorn; the contemporary additions, of the 830s, indicate these prelates were succeeded, respectively, by men named Eadmund and Heathured. Notable here is that the revised Symeonic lists move from Ecgberht not to Eadmund, but to Heathured (then

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[631] T. O. Clancy, 'The Real St Ninian', *IR* 52 (2001), 1–28; J. E. Fraser, 'Northumbrian Whithorn and the Making of St Ninian', *IR* 53 (2002), 40–59; B. Yorke, *The Conversion of Britain* (London, 2006), 129–30; Fraser, *Caledonia-Pictland*, 71; T. O. Clancy, 'The Big Man, The Footsteps, and the Fissile Saint', in *Cult of Saints*, 1–20, at 3–9; R. Buttler, 'The Cult of Saints', in *Aberdeen Brev.,* xxii–xxvi, at xxiv–xxv; MacQuarrie *Aberdeen Brev.,* 404; cf. J. MacQueen, *St Nynia* (Edinburgh, 2005), 152–56, G. W. S. Barrow, *Saint Ninian and Pictomania* (Whithorn, 2004), and F. Edmonds, *Whithorn's Renown in the Early Medieval Period* (Whithorn, 2009), 8–9.

[632] For the fourteenth-century (probably) Kilwinning-derived *Vita Finani Episcopi et Confessoris*, see *NLA*, I, 444–47, trans. I. Sperber, 'Lives of St Finnian of Movilla', in L. Proudfoot (ed.), *Down* (Dublin, 1997), 85–102, at 91–94; for the *Aberdeen Breviary* version, see *Aberdeen Brev.,* 42–45; for discussion, see Edmonds, *Whithorn's Renown*, 12–13. According to one twelfth-century source, the death of Gille-Brigte of Galloway and subsequent warfare was foreshadowed by water of the holy well at *ecclesiam Sancti Uinini ... infra Cuninham* turning into blood, for which *Chron. BP*, I, 312–13, trans. *SAEC*, 286.

[633] Largs church, possibly dedicated to Columba (*OSA*, XVII, 518), was a dependency of North Berwick nunnery and not (perhaps for that reason) part of Cunningham, both being listed separately in lists of regions in the twelfth century (e.g. *Glasgow Reg*., nos 24, 51).

[634] *LDE*, 118–21: ii.12.

Ecgred and Eanberht). One is almost tempted to suggest that Symeon (or his source) constructed the surviving Durham episcopal lists, partially at least, from sources which, in fact, related to Whithorn. Possibily there was a fuller Whithorn episcopal list, perhaps one drawn from former-Whithorn material in Durham's possession, and interpreted as relating to Lindisfarne bishops. This is speculation, but these are potential clues for the importance of Whithorn even in Cuthbertine history, and may suggest that the Cuthbertine bishops were, in some way, partly the successors of Whithorn.

6.3 Southern Danelaw

Since the kingdom acquired by Æthelstan in the late 920s included territory in the Southumbrian Danelaw, not all the bishops suddenly appearing in his charters were necessarily Northumbrian. Lindsey was a 'defunct bishopric' that lay in Ua Ímair territory, as was, possibly, Leicester. Their 'defunct' nature is based on the same kind of speculative logic applied to Northumbria. In making a case for a ninth-century dissolution of these Southumbrian sees, Kirby cited the termination of the episcopal lists and that 'it is known from the relatively detailed Northumbrian sources that there was a breakdown in the organization of the Northumbrian Church in these years'.[635] In view of the above discussion, these are hardly acceptable principles. Kirby also cited Scandinavian settlement. York's endurance alone undermines such reasoning, and indeed pagan rulers would, if anything, have made bishops more necessary; such demilitarised, non-hereditary community leaders could be vital in helping the conquerors control the conquered.[636] It is true that both sees were eventually absorbed by Dorchester, but Lindsey still had its own bishop in the early eleventh century. [637] It is only after Pope Nicholas II 'restored' Lindsey to Dorchester at the expense of York c. 1061 that this had certainly happened; the Dorchester–York dispute continued after the Conquest, and Dorchester's victory was only sealed by moving the episcopal seat into Lindsey, to Lincoln.[638] It is also possible that the bishopric of Leicester, and its relationship with Dorchester, is not properly understood; possibly Dorchester was the new Viking-Age site for the exiled Leicester bishops (as believed in the Anglo-Norman era), but we lack contemporary confirmation, and thus definitive proof, of this.[639] Additionally, the 'former' bishoprics of Elmham and Dunwich were also within the spheres of 'Danish' rule in East Anglia. The Elmham bishopric is unaccounted for between the martyring of Hunberht c. 870 and c. 955, but was there is no reason (except low evidence) to think it was abolished.[640] Dunwich is unheard of again after bishop Æthelwald 845x870.[641] One or both could account for some of the extra episcopal attestations referred to in chapter three; they almost certainly would not account for the four York suffragans, especially as Æthelwald of Dunwich's predecessor had professed obedience to Canterbury.[642]

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[635] D. P. Kirby, 'The Saxon Bishops of Leicester, Lindsey (*Syddensis*), and Dorchester', in *Leicestershire Archaeological and History Society Transactions* 41 (1965–1966), 1–8, at 3.

[636] Where rulers retain self-contained community structures to prey upon via tribute or taxation, almost universally non-Christian forces have exploited Church institutions when these happened to be in place. For such reasons, for instance, Mongol suzerainty created a golden age of Church power in Russia; e.g. C. J. Halperin, *Russia and the Golden Horde* (Bloomington, 1985), 113–15.

[637] *Sawyer*, nos. 878, 891, 899, 904, 906, 924; Keynes, *Diplomas*, 264; A. Williams, *Æthelred the Unready* (London, 2003), 58.

[638] D. P. Kirby, 'Saxon Bishops', 5–6.

6.4 Glasgow and Cumbria

6.4.1 Evidence of Hugh the Chantor

Hugh Sottewain, 'the Chantor' of York Cathedral writing in the 1120s, noting the career of Bishop Michael of Glasgow, claimed that the eleventh-century archbishop, Cynesige, had ordained two of Michael's predecessors, *Magsuen* and John; he added that because of the 'attacks of enemies, desolation and barbarism' the see was vacant until refilled in the era of Archbishop Thomas II (1109–1114).[643] Norman Shead argued that Hugh the Chantor's account cannot be trusted because of his commitment to York's overlordship of the 'Scottish' bishops, asserting that 'there is certainly no evidence that they performed pastoral functions in Scottish Cumbria or that Glasgow was their seat'. Hugh the Chantor's account is itself evidence, admittedly rather late, but still important because it is the only non-hagiographic literary source that says anything about pre–twelfth-century bishops west of the Durham diocese.[644] The preamble to the *Glasgow Inquest* similarly depicts the

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[639] *Sawyer*, no, 426, the same charter which has Seaxhelm as *Sancti Cuthberti*, styles the Wynsige bishop of Dorchester as *Legecestrensis*; Malmesbury, following OCCC 157 episcopal lists, claims that the bishops of Leicester and Lindsey were merged together but treats them separately from Dorchester; see *GPA*, 464–67, 472–73.

[640] J. Campbell, 'The East Anglian Sees before the Conquest', in Campbell, *Anglo-Saxon State*, 107–28, at 118.

[641] Campbell, 'East Anglian Sees', 116.

[642] Campbell, 'East Anglian Sees', 116, n. 38.

[643] *HEE*, 32.

[644] Shead, N. F., 'The Origins of the Medieval Diocese of Glasgow', *SHR* 48 (1969), 220–25, quote at 224.

Glasgow see as a restoration of a recently disturbed episcopal seat. This understanding may be a common myth, but it is not merely fiction invented by Hugh.[645]

6.4.2 Hoddom

In 1991 J. C. Scott put forward a case for a bishopric at Hoddom, Annandale, prior to the establishment (or re-establishment) of the Glasgow bishopric by Earl David. Hoddom had been an important 'Anglian minister' from the pre-Scottish era. Michael Parker has recently drawn attention to one Wulfheard *abb[as] Hodda-Helmi* addressed in one of the extant letters of Alcuin, and established that *Hodda-Helm* most likely refers to the Dumfries-shire site.[646] Archaeological evidence shows the combination of large monastic enclosure and monumental sculpture typical of such high status religious locations.[647] Scott cited two horseshoe-shaped crosiers, each speculatively dated to either end of the eleventh century, for episcopal presence in the century immediately prior to the region's Scoto-Norman takeover. Scott also highlighted the claim of *Vita S. Kentegerni* [ch. 33] that the bishopric had been at Hoddom before Kentigern moved it to Glasgow: 'The holy bishop Kentigern, building churches in Hoddom, ordaining priests and clerics, placed his see there for a certain reason for a time; afterwards, warned by Divine revelation, justice demanding it, he transferred it to his own city Glasgow' (*Sanctus presul Kentegernus in Holdelmo ecclesias construens, presbiterum et clerum ordinans, sedem episcopalem aliquanto tempore, certa de causa, ibi constituit. Postea divina revelatione commonitus, illam ad civitatem suam Glasgu, equitate exigente transtulit*).[648]

Scott's overall case is strong but short of full proof. The archaeology is only evidence that it was an episcopal centre: it does not prove that it was the principal seat. Nothing compels us to reject the assumptions of Hugh Sottewain or the *Glasgow Inquest* that the bishopric ancestral to the one 'restored' at Glasgow in the 1110s was Glasgow; but neither are this and the Hoddom evidence irreconcilable. Bishops can retain regional centres in their diocese, as with the Durham church's use of important sub-churches like Crayke and Norham, or Glasgow's later use of Jedburgh. Hoddom may have been a bishopric for a brief period in the early century, giving way to Glasgow in the time of Siward and Cynesige. In any case, it is possible that 'the seat' of a bishopric may have been a concept open to ambiguity in the era. In Durham's case the presence of the body of Cuthbert at Durham probably made Durham *the* episcopal seat of north-eastern Northumbria, but neither at Hoddom nor Glasgow do we have evidence of any similar-sized cult pretensions prior to the twelfth century—despite the later prominence of Kentigern.

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[645] *CDI,* no. 15; the latter omits the 'preamble', but this is printed as a unity with core charter text, among many places, in *ESC*, no. 50.

[646] For arguments and references, see M. Parker, 'An Eighth-Century Reference to the Monastery at Hoddom', *JSNS* 6 (2012), 51–80.

[647] J. G. Scott, 'Bishop John of Glasgow and the Status of Hoddom', *TDGNHAS* 3rd Ser. 66 (1991), 37–45, at 40; P. E. Michelli, 'Four Scottish Crosiers and Their Relation to the Irish Tradition', *PSAS* 116 (1986), 375–92, at 385, 388. For the site, see C. E. Lowe, *Excavations at Hoddom* (Edinburgh, 2006); *Eastern Dumfriesshire* (Edinburgh, 1997), 243–47, 252–59; C. E. Lowe, D. Craig and D. Dixon, 'New Light on the Anglian "Minster" at Hoddom', *TDGNHAS*, 3rd Ser. 66 (1991), 11–35.

[648] *VSK*, 95, 219 (spellings modernized); Scott, 'Bishop John', 41.

If it is the case that Siward's earldordom in the second quarter of the eleventh century saw the addition of British lands to the west, *Cumberland*, a 'Cumbrian' bishopric would have been a natural development, perhaps taking jurisdiction of lands west of the new Durham bishopric. On this basis it may have controlled churches in the future counties/sheriffdoms of Dumfries, Cumberland and Westmorland, as well as its Strathclyde core in Lanark and Peebles—although it certainly did not have these in the early twelfth century. In any case, in the mid-to-early eleventh century new bishoprics arose all over the north-west of Europe, including bishoprics in Scandinavia, Orkney, and Dublin, in a wider trend of replicating Anglo-Saxon and German administrative structures in and around the dominions ruled by Cnut's dynasty. As we have seen, the new bishopric of Durham could have been one of these too. Siward's power over Northumbria, including much of the old Northumbrian west country, made such territory part of the wider dominions of the Danish rulers of England. There is no reason to place the 'Cumbrian' see outside of the above pattern. Possibly the Cumbrian see began at Hoddom, possibly Hoddom was the seat only briefly, perhaps in the period our sources say Glasgow was without a bishop, namely, somewhere between the bishopric's establishment in the early eleventh century (if indeed we accept this) and when David mac Maíl-Choluim became earl . All we can say with certainty is that in the 1110s Earl David decided that the church of Glasgow was to be the episcopal church of the region.

6.4.3 *Glasgow Inquest*

While it is possible that the division between the Cumbrian see and the Cuthbertine see fell according to pre-existing borders between Strathclyde and the realm of the 'Northern English', a ruler controlling both (like Siward) would have been in a position to ignore such boundaries. The twelfth-century *Glasgow Inquest* is the earliest record of the estates of the church of Glasgow. At worst it is a manipulated but plausible account of Glasgow's former territories as believed c. 1120, after some 'investigation':

Has vero auxilio et inuestigacione seniorum hominum et sapientiorum totius Cumbrie pro posse suo inuestigauit que inferius subscribuntur:	'With the aid and inquiry of the knowledgable men and elders of the whole of *Cumbria*, to the best of his ability he [Earl David] made an investigation into these matters, which following are written below:
Carcleuien, Camcar, Camcathetheyn, Leugartheyn, Pathelanerhc, Cunclut, Chefcaruenuat, Carnetheyn, Caruil, Quendal, Abercarf, Mecheyn, Planmichel, Stoboc, Penteiacob, Aluecrumba, Treueronum, Lillescliua, Aschechyrc', Hodelm, Edyngaheym, Abermelc, Driuesdal, Colehtaun, Treuertrold, Aschebi, Brumescheyd, Treuergylt.	*Carcleuien, Camcar, Camcathetheyn, Leugartheyn, Pathelanerhc*, Kinclaith, *Chefcaruenuat,* Carntyne*,* *Caruil,* Wandel (Lamington), Abercarf (Wiston), Machan, *Planmichel,* Stobo*,* Penteiacob (Eddleston)*,* Ancrum*,* Troneyhill*,* Lilliesleaf, Ashkirk, Hoddom, Edingham, Abermilk (Castlemilk / St Mungo's), Dryfesdale, *Colehtaun,* Trailtrow, Esbie*, Brumescheyd, Treuergylt.*
In Pobles una carucata terre et ecclesia. In Treueq[u]yrd unum car' et ecclesia. In Mereboda una carucata et ecclesia.	In Peebles one carucate of land and the church. In Traquair one carucate and the church. In *Mereboda*, one carucate and the church.
Has terras iurauerunt fore pertinentes ecclesie Glasgu[ensi], rogatu et imperio supradicti principis, [Uh]tred filius Waldef, Gille filius Boed, Leysyng et Oggo Cumbrenses iudices, Halden filius Eadulf.	At the request and command of the above-mentioned prince, Uhtred son of Waltheof, Gille son of Boite, Leising and Oggu the Cumbrian lawmen, [and] Halfdan son of Eadwulf have sworn that these lands pertain to the church of Glasgow.' [649]

Barrow pointed out that these holdings are presented with recognizable geographic logic. The first twelfth (perhaps thirteen depending on the identity of *Planmichel*) churches are in Clydesdale, with two in the later Tweeddale deanery, four in land between the Teviot and the Tweed (Ancrum to Ashkirk), and the remainder in the Dumfriesshire straths of the Annan and Nith.

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[649] Barrow, *CDI*, no. 15.

The text can further be understood with reference to patterns of ecclesiastical estate tenure general to 'Middle Britain'. As South pointed out, major churches in pre-Conquest Northumbria tended to be endowed with either 12 /13 proto-townships or 6/7.[650] Such numbers likely corresponded to the number of monks aligned to the *monasterium* that held the endowment. If we accept that the first twelve estates (the closest to Glasgow) were genuinely those possessed by the church of Glasgow, the number corresponds neatly to this Northumbrian pattern. However, that itself would make it a church comparable in size only with the likes of Gainford, Wearmouth, and so on, not a large episcopal church like Durham. If the thirteen Clydesdale churches mark Glasgow's eleventh-century estates, what about the remainder of the text? It is notable that Stobo is left heading a group of estates in Tweeddale and in the later deanery of Roxburgh, with Hoddom heading a group of estates further west. Does the *Inquest* record the estates of Glasgow and then attach other properties known to have been held by Stobo and Hoddom? Such an interpretation is very tempting, but, as things stand, Stobo and Hoddom are treated as estates themselves and not independent churches. Yet Hoddom is a known to be a sizable *monasterium*, while Stobo is very likely to have been so too given the enormous size of the medieval parish and the number of its chapels.[651]

Since 'minster estates' likely had small religious sites at their centre, the distinction between dependent estate-centres and dependent churches may have been difficult to maintain. The source separately lists additional churches (with 'glebes') at *Mereboda*, Traquhair, and Peebles, clearly distinguishing these from the estates included in the list. This is hard to explain if the above groupings have no earlier significance. The explanation of these anomalies probably lies with how the result was put together. Although such detail is not known, it is important to observe that the estates ascribed to the earlier church of Glasgow do not overlap with the diocese of Lindisfarne as described in the texts produced or reproduced by early–twelfth-century Durham sources. On the contrary, both march against each other. The important Teviotdale churches at Jedburgh and Melrose are not mentioned in the *Glasgow Inquest*, but are named in the extended Lindisfarne description. The descriptions of the former and latter run adjacent to each other, and there is no overlap with the single possible exception of *Mereboda* (if that is Morebattle). It is worth reflecting that both lists were likely composed, in their surviving form, in the second or third decade of the twelfth century. The land to the east of the territories described in the *Inquest*, verifiably under the control of Durham as late as the 1110s (see below), came to be controlled by the Glasgow bishops around or soon after the time of the *Inquest*. These additions formed the core of the archdeaconry of Teviotdale, the southern appendage to the diocese of Glasgow consisting of predominately English-speaking former Northumbrian territory.

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[650] South, *HSC*, 124–29.

[651] Duncan identified Stobo as such based on this diagnostic feature, *ASH*, 333; the proto-parishes / chapels of Lyne, Broughton, Dawick and Drumelzier were all initially dependent on the Stobo 'mother' parish (Cowan, *Parishes*, s.v.), suggesting very strongly that Stobo was a church at the centre of its own estate system rather than a small estate of a distant church.

6.4.4 Durham and Teviotdale

Beyond but adjacent to the territory of the *Glasgow Inquest*, several independent sources attest the presence of the Cuthbertine community c. 1100. This presence had been reduced if not terminated by the late 1110s. A writ of Thomas archbishop of York to a *clericus* named Ælfgar informs us that chrism and oil had been sent out for use in diocese of Glasgow and that Ælfgar had been forbidden to use in the diocese of Durham. Ælfgar had violated this restriction by using it in Teviotdale:

> Thomas dei gratia Eboracensis archiepiscopus Alg' clerico salutem. Ipse tibi ore ad os prohibui cum per te crisma vel oleum ad Glasguensem ecclesiam misi ne crisma vel oleum illud dares in parrochiam Dunelm(ensis) episcopi. Tu vero illud contra defensionem meam in Tevegtedale dedisti de qua ecclesiam Dunelmensem saisitam inveni. Mando igitur tibi et episcopali auctoritate prohibeo et omnibus presbiteris de Tevegetedale ne de crismate et oleo aliquod ministerium amodo faciatis nisi per octo dies tantum postquam breve istud videritis ut interim requirere possitis crisma a Dunelmensi ecclesia que vobis illud dare solita est. Quod si post illos octo dies de crismate quod misi aliquam Christianitatem facere presumpseritis a divino officio vos suspendo [donec] diratiocinatum sit ad quam ecclesiam pertineat. Valete.

> ‘Thomas, by the grace of God archbishop of York, to Algar the cleric, greeting. I prohibited you by word of mouth, when I sent chrism and oil by you to the church of Glasgow, from giving that chrism or oil in the diocese of Durham. But, contrary to my prohibition, you gave it in Teviotdale of which I found the church of Durham seised. I command you therefore, and prohibit you and all the priests of Teviotdale, by episcopal authority, from making any ministration henceforth of chrism and oil except during the eight days only after you have seen this writ, so that in the meantime you may ask for chrism from the

> church of Durham which used to give it to you. But if after those eight days you presume to make any religious use of the chrism which I sent, I suspend you from divine office until it is proved at law to what church it belongs. Farewell.' [652]

With no other evidence this dates either to 1070x1100 or 1109x1114 depending on which Archbishop Thomas was behind it, but Ælfgar's other known dates (see below) make the latter range likely.[653] The writ shows Durham's nominal responsibility for Teviotdale as an incidental fact; the writ itself is about Ælfgar interfering with York's ability to provide ritualistic essentials for the diocese further north. 1109x1114 could suggest that the end of Durham's jurisdiction may have been related to the coming of David into the region.

The foundation of a new church at Durham in the earlier eleventh century had led Ælfred son of Westou to take Melrose's relics to Durham. In the 1070s Southumbrian Benedictines led by Ealdwine prior of Winchcombe 'refounded' a monastery at Jarrow, under the patronage of Bishop Walcher. Ealdwine and Turgot subsequently, contrary to Walcher's desires, established a similar project at Cuthbert's original monastery of Melrose. *Libellus de Exordio* says claimed that this angered the Scottish king Máel-Coluim, and although able to resist the resulting 'injuries and persecutions', they were pressured by Bishop Walcher to relocate to Wearmouth.[654]

An incidental piece of information in *De Primo Saxonum Adventu* and *De Northymbrorum Comitibus* suggests, however, that Turgot exercised power in Teviotdale at some stage following the death of Walcher (1080). Turgot was able to disentomb Eadwulf Rus, former head of the Uhtreding line. Eadwulf had been buried at Jedburgh, but Turgot had his body dug up, seemingly because of Eadwulf's involvement in the death of Walcher. Since Eadwulf had many living (and armed) relatives unlikely to have approved of this, Turgot's power in the region cannot have been purely ideological. Turgot's successor as prior and archdeacon was Ælfgar, almost certainly the *clericus* addressed by the archbishop of York's writ. Ælfgar is attested from c. 1104, and became prior of Durham in 1109 after the consecration of Turgot to the bishopric of St Andrews.[655] This suggests that Teviotdale, or rather a specific church such as Jedburgh or Melrose, had become, like Hexham previously, a prebend belonging to one of the prior's senior deputies. This, we know, did not last into the Scottish era. So what happened? One answer is provided by a continuation of *Libellus de Exordio* written mid century, claiming that Bishop Ranulf Flambard's downfall at court led to Durham's loss of Teviotdale and Carlisle. Ranulf had attained his original position after a time as a royal favourite, serving as the right-hand man of William Rufus. Flambard suffered for this during the reign of William's brother because he had antagonized the Anglo-Norman establishment (including Count Henry) in the process of doing his master's dirty work. Henry I had him exiled soon after after ascending the throne. If Henry's brother-in-law David had wished to supplement the possessions of his new lordship's bishopric, it would not be surprising if Henry allowed him to do so at Bishop Ranulf's and Durham's expense,[656] especially as David's uxorial ties to the region's senior lineages would have been more acceptable to, and thus enforceable among, the locals.

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[652] *EEA*, v, no. 6 (cf. *HCY*, III, no. 18); E. Craster, 'A Contemporary Record of the Pontificate of Ranulf Flambard', AA 4th Ser. 7 (1930), 33–56, no. 6.

[653] Burton, *EEA*, v, 8–9, Raine, *HCY*, III, 37; see also Shead, 'Origins', 222.

[654] *LDE*, 208–09: iii.22.

[655] An Ælfgar the priest [*presbitero*] attests Edgar's grant of Swinton to Cuthbert, c. 1100, Lawrie, *ESC*, no. 20.

6.4.5 Carlisle and Durham

The *Libellus de Exordio* continuator's claim seems to be verified with regard to Carlisle. William II, in a writ dating to 1096x1099, ordered 'all those who dwell beyond the river Lowther [on the Cumberland-Westmorland county border] to accept the jurisdiction of the bishop of Durham and his archdeacon'; another document records that either in 1092x1096 or 1099x1100, Thomas I, archbishop of York, granted pastoral care of the archdeaconry of Carlisle to the bishop of Durham.[657] After the fall of Flambard from royal favour, Henry reassigned the region to the archdeaconry of Richmond, thereby placing it in the diocese of York.[658] When the diocese of Carlisle was created two decades later, Henry compensated the archdeacon of Richmond with increased rights in his own archdeaconry.[659] As we know, in 1092 William II had expelled Dolfin from Carlisle, and established a Norman marcher lordship (see 4.4.6 and 7.3.2). The 1096x1099 writ could indicate that Durham's power in the region had been introduced recently as part of the same process; or simply that episcopal power was being increased or revived. If Durham's power was innovative, it is also possible that Carlisle had earlier been part of the western 'Cumbrian' see of the eleventh century, based at Hoddom or Glasgow, as Glasgow bishops later wished to claim.

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[656] Rollason, *LDE*, lxvii, for date, ibid., appendix B, at 274–75 for text.

[657] *RRAN*, I, no. 478, and Craster, 'Contemporary Record', 38, for royal writ; for the York document, see Burton, *EEA*, V, no. 2, nn. (cf. ibid, no. 3, outlining the territorial rights of Durham, but in its surviving form a forgery).

[658] H. R. T. Summerson, 'Old and New Bishoprics', in *AND*, 369–80, at 370, and *Medieval Carlisle* (Kendal, 1993), I, 30–34.

[659] Summerson, 'Old and New Bishoprics', 373.

Around this time Carlisle was being presented as an important church in the historical diocese of Lindisfarne. Durham writers of the time made Abbot Eadred of Carlisle central to their origin account. *Cronica Monasterii Dunelmensis*, perhaps the earliest surviving text from Durham's Anglo-Norman historiographic tradition, mentions the story of Eadred and Guthred but has no mention of Carlisle.[660] Later, *Historia Regum 2* styles Eadred *Lulisc*, claiming he had brought Cuthbert's body to Carlisle, but even this text leaves his abbacy unspecified, leading the reader to presume he was abbot of Lindisfarne (if possibly originating in Carlisle).[661] The idea that he was abbot of Carlisle, found explicitly in *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* and *Libellus de Exordio*, may be speculation or invention designed to further 'historic' claims to the region. The creator of *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* has a fanciful story that Carlisle had been attached to Crayke by Cuthbert due to Crayke's poverty. Since this holding is unlikely to have been acquired by Cuthbert until c.1000, this story would not significantly predate the eleventh century. Both Crayke and Carlisle, coincidentally enough, were according to *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* visited by Cuthbert's body on their way to Chester-le-Street (c. 20).[662] This strand of charter-myth–making should be seen in the context of other Durham texts of the era that tried to strengthen the Durham bishopric's historic claims to Carlisle. Included in this is a passage in *Libellus de Exordio* about the rights of Cuthbert in Carlisle that was later erased (seemingly after Symeon 'thought better of it' [Sharpe]), as well as a 'pamphlet' dedicated to rights over Carlisle (possibly authored by Symeon himself).[663] As we have also seen, there are hints that a description of the diocese of Lindisfarne at Norham was altered to add Carlisle. In short, we need to be very cautious about taking Carlisle-related historic claims in Durham-derived texts written around 1100.

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[660] Craster, 'Red Book', 524; if *Cronica Monasterii Dunelmensis* was the only surviving source, its reader would assume that Eadred was the father of *Tein Collan, prepositus* of Hexham.

[661] Indeed, *Historia Regum 1* could even be read as 'Abbot Eadred of Lindisfarne' (*Eardulfus episcopus et abbas Eadredus de Lindisfarnensi insula corpus sancti Cuthberti tollentes per ix annos ante faciem barbarorum de loco ad locum fugientes, cum illo thesauro discurrerunt*), though such as reading is very awkward.

[662] *HSC*, 46–47: c.5, 50–51: c.10, 58–59: c.20.

[663] Sharpe, 'Symeon as Pamphleteer', 217, text follows the line *Quorum Luel, quod nunc Carleol appellatur, non solum proprii iuris sancti Cuthberti fuerat sed etiam ad sui episcopatus regimen ab Ecgfridi regis temporibus adiacebat* (*LDE*, 94: ii.5); for text of the pamphlet, see Sharpe, ibid., 221–29.

6.4.6 Glasgow and Durham

The archdeacon whom King William II had ordered the people 'beyond the Lowther' to obey must have been Turgot, since the diocese of Durham possessed only one archdeacon at that time.[664] As leader of the monks of Durham and as archdeacon of the bishopric, in the 1090s he oversaw both Cumberland and Teviotdale. Turgot may also have held the priorship as late as 1109, when he was consecrated to the bishopric of St Andrews.[665]

We must take some care with any presumptions about what the role of the 'archdeacon' might have been at this time and place. The recognizable medieval English archdiaconate was still in formation, dividing bishoprics into territorial archdeaconries was just beginning in Southumbrian England. 'Archdeacons' existed in pre-Norman England, and indeed the *Northumbrian Priests Law* (thought to be pre-Norman) makes mention of the office.[666] But concrete evidence for this archidiaconal office is lacking, and no contemporary pre-Norman source credits anyone with the position; early uses of the title in northern Britain may designate an unfamiliar office with this established Latin name or may even be based on cultural analogy.[667] The office in its familiar form securely establishes itself only after the Conquest, being attested in most English bishoprics by the end of Lanfranc's episcopate in 1089, with territorial archdeaconries confirmed in the gigantic diocese of Lincoln by 1092.[668]

In Cuthbert's see, the first named archdeacon was Turgot's predecessor Thurstan, appearing in a *Liber Vitae* note datable 1083x1085. The archdeacon was in theory the bishop’s henchman, an administrator appointed independently of his cathedral chapter, to manage the temporalities of the see and carry out various duties delegated by the bishop—though bound by the restrictions of the diaconate.[669] The Leofwine who aggravated the Uhtredings on Walcher’s behalf was probably the holder of this position if not actually an archdeacon by name.[670]

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[664] *LDE*, 244–45: iv.8.

[665] *Fasti EA*, II, 33, 37; *Fasti ES*, 377.

[666] Offler, *North*, no. 3, 189–207, at 191; *EHD*, I, 472, #6: 'If a priest neglects the archdeacon's summons, he is to pay 12 ores' (c/f #4., where neglecting a bishop's summons earns the priest a 20 ore fine) and #7 'If a priest commits an offence and he celebrates Mass in spite of the archdeacon's prohibition, he is to pay 12 ores'.

[667] C. Brooke, 'The Archdeacon and the Norman Conquest', in D. E. Greenway, et al. (eds), *Tradition and Change* (Cambridge, 1985), 1–20, at 2, 5–6; M. Brett, *The English Church under Henry I* (London, 1975), 6. In St Andrews, the *Fer Leiginn* ('master of letters') may be ancestral to the Normanised archdeacon (*St Andrews Liber*, 317). The title almost certainly made him leader of the *scolóca* like those from the church of Kirkcudbright mentioned in Reginald of Durham's account (*Cuth. Virt.*, 179:c.85). In diocese of Dunblane, the bishop was also entitled to hold the office of *Fer Leigin* of Abernethy by tradition established in the later Middle Ages, though the two offices were originally independent and a *Berbeadh rect[or] scolarum de Abyrnethyn* is attested in a document dating c. 1100 (D. E. R. Watt, *A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to AD 1410* (Oxford, 1977), 106; Barrow, *SNMA*, 123-24; for Berbeadh see *ESC*, no. 14). The merger of the offices of prior and archdeacon may indicate two different attempts to accommodate this office; if so, perhaps Ælfgar and Turgot presided over some similar community of 'scholars' at Melrose or Jedburgh?

[668] An account of the division of Lincoln by Bishop Remigius (†1092) was given in *HH*, 590–93; the territorial archdeaconry had been established in Latin Europe by the early 1000s, se Brooke, 'The Archdeacon', 2, 13.

Turgot’s successor as prior is not a mystery, as Ælfgar is said explicitly to have succeeded him.[671] Although Durham’s Benedictines believed that the office of archdeacon should belong to the prior, there is no certainty that Prior Ælfgar succeeded to that office too. The next certain archdeacon is a man named Michael. Archdeacon Michael (*Michaele archidiacono*) appears on Ranulf Flambard's notice of the grant of Finchale to Prior Ælfgar as first witness. If genuine, the witness list dates 1112x1116. The charter's sceptical recent editor, Offler, doubted the authenticity of the charter's body but was prepared to accept the witness list.[672] In the 1140s, Archdeacon Wazo claimed that the archdeacons and not the priors of Durham had the right to claim the pre-eminence after the bishop, and in William de Ste Barbara’s notification in favour of the priors we are informed that before the archdeaconry of Robert (fl. 1122x1128), the office had been held by a man named Michael.[673] Michael’s name, uncommon in the Insular World, raises the possibility that Michael, first bishop of Glasgow in the twelfth century, is the alleged Durham archdeacon of the same name. The Glasgow bishop’s burial in the church of Morland,[674] later part of the diocese of Carlisle, may be linked. At any rate, the annexation of Teviotdale to Prince David’s see would have hurt the chapter of Durham as well as the bishop; however, if Michael had been made custodian of the restored see of Glasgow, it would have removed some of the opposition that would otherwise have been encountered.

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to draw together evidence for the Church of the region as a whole in the later Viking Age; and it has sought to forward a range of suggestions, albeit many of them highly speculative, about the shape and development of the episcopate prior to the Scoto-Norman ecclesiastical settlement in the 1120s. The discussion was carried out in light of reassessment of the Northumbrian episcopate in chapter three and other points advanced earlier in this thesis. Among the major developments considered was the formation of the diocese of Durham in the eleventh century. It was suggested that the see of Lindisfarne, perhaps operating out of Norham for some period (including the early eleventh century), continued throughout the Viking Age, distinct from territory south of the Coquet, as the 'national' diocese of the 'Northern English'. Hexham, presumed to have been responsible for areas south of the Coquet, may have continued at least ideologically until Durham took over its role in the early eleventh century, perhaps when Uhtred of Bamburgh served as royal ealdorman. If the letter from Eadmund to Ælfric of York is reliable, Hexham's diocese had probably ceased to exist decades prior to the creation of Durham as an episcopal centre. It was suggested that the best time for Hexham's demise would be the 940s or soon after. Here, King Eadred is known to have burned Hexham's probable sister house, Ripon, with Archbishop Oda of Canterbury acquiring some of Wilfrid's relics and his nephew Archbishop Oswald of York, in subsequent years, acquiring some of Ripon's other assets. The contest between Lindisfarne and York that is mentioned by this letter for the spoils of Hexham's diocese seems to be confirmed by other evidence suggesting Cuthbertine expansion in the northern Danelaw. It was stressed, however, that the 'original' territorial boundaries of Northumbrian dioceses are not known and that episcopal houses like Lindisfarne and Hexham may have had numerous exclaves. In Lindisfarne's case, Chester-le-Street and perhaps even some of those Danelaw holdings may have been part of a pattern like that—but even the concept of an 'exclave' might be misleading. It was noted that the stakeholders of the early church of Durham, so far as they are known, seem to be tied to territory in what should have been the former diocese of Hexham rather than further north in the Tweed basin. In the time of Earl Siward, however, these stakeholders had to deal with their first Southumbrian royal placemen, as the appointment of Benedictine bishops from Peterborough by Siward and his successor Tostig increased the see's integration within the wider Kingdom of the English and began Durham's long history as a gift of the Southumbrian monarch.

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[669] Brooke, ‘The Archdeacon’, 3–4.

[670] Offler, *North*, no. 3, 191; *Fasti EA*, II, 37.

[671] *Fasti EA*, II, 33 for ms references.

[672] *DEC*, no. 10; commentary by Offler at *DEC*, 68–72.

[673] *DEC*, no. 36; note that Michael is omitted in the notification purportedly issued by Aelred of Rievaulx; *DEC* no. 36a, on the same matter.

[674] *HEE,* 32.

An alternative but not necessarily distinct suggestion was that the junior *monasteria* tied to Lindisfarne or Hexham, to the *familia* of Cuthbert and that of Wilfrid, might have gained more power in the Viking Age as the bureaucratic and ritual importance of bishops declined together with the 'classical' Northumbrian state. In such a model, the site of the chief abbot or the bishop of a *familia*, may have changed from generation to generation, according to politics. The theory, based partly on analogy with Northumbria's Celtic neighbours, could mean that 'bishops of Cuthbert' would at one time be based in Heversham, in Norham another time, in Carlisle at another, in Chester-le-Street at yet another. A model like this might be extended to the *familia* of Ninian of Whithorn too. One possibility here is that Ninian's see, under Ua Ímair patronage, was moved to Kilwinning. Another possibility is that Whithorn became, like Hexham, a predecessor of Durham, having been absorbed in the Cuthbertine familia. The fate of Whithorn, like that of dioceses in the Southumbrian Danelaw, is subject to speculation by Anglo-Norman sources, but we should refrain from accepting that any see located in the 'Danish' settlement regions ceased to exist just because the reliable sources cease to yield detailed information.

What we know about the origins of the 'Cumbrian' diocese of the eleventh century suggests an origin similar to that of Durham. The see existed by the mid eleventh century, seemingly as a suffragan of York, probably based at Glasgow—though it may for a time have been based at Hoddom in Annandale. If the Cumbrian see had been new (it was certainly a new Northumbrian diocese), an early-to-mid century context is logical. This period saw new bishoprics in other 'peripheral' parts of the Anglo-Scandinavian world, in Dublin and in Orkney (and indeed Durham), and in Scandinavia itself. The Cumbrian see's territorial extent may even have come down to its inclusion in the overlordship of Earl Siward, perhaps assigned to territory west of the new see of Durham. By the early twelfth century, the 'Cumbrian' diocese had probably been vacant for many years and the see might have lost territory. The bishopric came to be refilled again in the 1110s, and acquired Durham's former holdings in Teviotdale. It was suggested that the first of Glasgow's twelfth-century bishops, Michael, had been Durham's archdeacon and man in Teviotdale and that his appointment to Glasgow was part of a deal that soften the blow as the former Lindisfarne territory of Teviotdale was transferred to the 'Cumbrian' see, a transfer that took place at the height of Bishop Ranulf of Durham's political misfortunes.

By the mid eleventh century, then, Cuthbert’s episcopal seat south of the Tyne had become a tool of Southumbrian governance, its function for much of the remainder of the Middle Ages. The attempt of the see’s custodians to make Durham a super-diocese, a Lincoln of the north, unravelled after the political turn-of-fortune suffered by its bishop, Ranulf Flambard, following the death of his patron King William Rufus. Durham came to be rivalled by Glasgow and then also by a ‘resurrected’ Whithorn and a new diocese of Carlisle, as well as expansionist competition from the Scottish houses of Dunkeld and St Andrews. During Ranulf’s episcopate Durham lost much of Cuthbert’s former heartland, as well as the church of Hexham itself. The events that made this happen constitute the ecclesiastical settlement of the 1120s. The next chapter will look at the settlement within its greater context, that of state growth and border formation.

7. The End of 'Middle Britain'

The previous chapters reviewed the expansion of the English and Scottish kingdoms into our region in the centuries after the coming of the Great Army. These discussions focussed on the evidence relating to outline developments, but were generally limited in regard to the structures involved. Later in the Middle Ages, when relatively sophisticated 'state' apparatus are in place, claims by political figures such as kings to delimited territory had, verifiably, some substance. Much of the substance came about through two important sources of abstracted and delegated authority: bureaucracy and law. The 'common law' of Scotland and England came, by the thirteenth century, to be applied within the limits of a king's territory, while the secular bureaucracy of sheriffs, justiciars, and so forth, operated within specially-created sub-regions attached to one kingdom or the other. The king's territory was defined to a large extent by the area over which he claimed authority to resolve disputes and punish offences within this system, as well as collect revenues and raise armies. Similarly, religious bureaucracy successfully mirrored such boundaries by following the administrative borders that the Scottish and English monarchs each agreed, in the end, to respect. The 'border' in that sense is a side-effect of 'state creation'—the replacement of the vaguer, 'extensive' authority of 'less developed' territorial units by the authority of the increasingly bureaucratic state.

The term 'state' is a widely used term in modern historiography, and the process of 'state formation' has become a hot topic for many medievalists. Concentration on the term 'state' is, to some extent, an attempt by medievalists to integrate terminology and analysis taken from anthropology—though in practice many medievalist discussions about 'state formation' might also be said to constitute an anthropologisation of older Whiggish and Grand March narratives of 'the nation'. The term's anthropological prominence is currently rooted in the dominant model of political evolution, the four-type taxonomy of bands, tribes, chiefdoms, and states, a system typically associated with Elman Service. The model is, of course, always subject to individual modifications, and to recognition of a more subtle continuum of structural diversity, throughout whatever 'pre-industrial societies' a scholar is interested in.[675] Intepretations and use of the terminology vary, and distinctions between

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[675] See E. R. Service, *Primitive Social Organization* (New York, 1971); and T. C. Lewellen, *Political Anthropology* (Westport CT, 2003), 15–41.

'state' and 'pre-state' can contradict each other from one scholar to the next, depending on approach and pre-set definition. For example, in the definition of 'state' created by the medievalist Chris Wickam,'aristocrats' are highlighted as a feature distinguishing 'states' from 'tribes'; yet semi-autonomous aristocrats are also used by many anthropologists to signify lack of 'state level society'. [676] 'State' is a moving target; one historian's or archaeologist's 'state' can be another's 'pre-state'. On this basis, it should be noted that in the following discussion, and elsewhere in the thesis, 'state' is used as a relative term and 'state formation' as an open-ended process. However, the central contention of the following chapter is that political structures in 'Middle Britain' changed significantly following takeover by the Scottish and Southumbrian monarchies; and that the use of administrative technology increased in sophistication, constituting a 'great leap forward' in what might be styled 'state formation'.

7.1 Inner Zone Expansion

7.1.1 Scottish Royal Residences

At the heart of a political unit is the residence of the ruler. The following section will consider the evidence for establishment (or non-establishment) of palaces or other residences belonging to the rulers of the Scottish and Southumbrian kingdoms. The *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba* provides references to Scottish rulers dying *in palacio Fothuírtabaicht* (Forteviot), *in palacio Cinnbelathoír* (unidentified), *in cíuítate nrurím* (unidentified), as well as *opidum Fother* (Dunnottar), and to a gathering on the 'Hill of Belief' *prope regali cíuítati Scoan*.[677] The *St Andrews Foundation Account A* mentions that the party who brought the relics of St Andrew to Cennríghmonaid met the citizens and put up their tents 'where the king's hall now lies' (…*tentoria ubi fixerunt ibi nunc est aula regis*), and according to *Account B* Queen *Finchem* gave to the site's new monastery a 'house…and the entire royal enclosure' (*domun…et totum atrium regale*).[678] Most residences likely consisted of a hall and attached dwellings, with ancillary buildings facilitating the provision of the king's activities; it is likely that most of the larger ones, perhaps including Cennríghmonaid, were associated with an adjacent or nearby church or monastic complex. Large fortified strongholds such as Dunnottar or Bamburgh would have been favoured in the event or prospect of serious escalation of political conflict. Otherwise, in activity of less interest to the annalist, the king likely moved between different 'manors' or 'palaces' sufficiently far apart to draw on distinct economic resources.[679] After the 1110s several Scottish royal residences benefited from the nearby foundation of licensed settlements with foreign traders and artisans, known as 'burghs'; it is not impossible that some less-formalized precursor to these existed in the Viking Age, as the comparatively large size of the Alpinid realm would have been both viable and attractive (particularly for Hiberno-Scandinavians).[680] Place-names with the relatively rare element *foithir* concentrate unusually in relation to significant royal residences of the era; these include two of the most famous Viking-Age Scottish residences, Forteviot and Dunnottar, as well as the death sites of two kings, Fettercairn (Cináed mac Maíl-Choluim) and Fetteresso (Máel-Coluim mac Domnaill); the element's meaning and etymology are, however, unclear.[681]

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[676] E.g. Ted Lewellen and others cite eighteenth-century Scottish Highlanders as familiar examples of 'chiefdom level' societies. Eighteenth century Highlander 'chiefs' (in fact their 'official' titles are usually of the kind 'duke', 'earl', 'laird', etc) would fit perfectly into the system that Wickham described as a 'state', local leaders participating in a wider Insular political structure with a court in London. The 'British state' of the era had a core in southern England, but regional power in certain localities was centred on aristocrats. On the other hand, the localities of Assynt and Berkshire were different in social organization. In the former, archaeologically-recognisable features of 'the state' are largely absent and so, for practical purposes might be said, when unknown, not to exist; see C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2005), especially ch. 6; and Lewellen, *Political Anthropology*, 21.

[677] *CKA*, 148–50.

7.1.2 Expansion of Scottish 'Inner Zone'

The nature and extent of the Scottish palace system established by Clann Crínáin south of the Forth is largely a matter of speculation prior to the late eleventh century. Better information begins as a result of the foundation of Anglo-Norman and French religious houses, whose charters tell us the location of the king when their grants were authorized. There appear to be two palace zones in the region south of the Forth and east of Strathclyde. North of the Lammermuir, there is a zone along the Forth stretching from Stirling to Eldbottle; south of the Lammermuir, there is another based on the core of the Tweed basin. Before the death of David I in 1153, the picture south of the Forth is dominated by Edinburgh (14 acts) and Roxburgh (9), the chief residences, respectively, of the ‘northern’ and ‘southern’ zones. These sites were both natural strongholds that acquired adjacent burghs and abbeys (Holyrood and Kelso). The king’s presence in these locations appears favourably when compared with the chief royal centres north of the Forth like Perth-Scone (18) and Dunfermline (12), though the disproportionately high number of monasteries preserving such charters south of the Forth limits the usefulness of such a comparison. The other best attested Southforthian royal residences are Berwick-upon-Tweed (4), Cadzow (3), Irvine (2), Eldbottle (2), Haddington (2), with Newcastle (2) and Carlisle (2) inside ‘English’ territory; Glasgow, Staplegordon (Eskdale), Norham, Coldingham, Earlston, and Lamplugh each have single instances.[682]

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[678] For the latter, see *FAB*, 571, 578; for the former*, St Andrews Foundation Account A*, ed. and trans. D. Broun (unpublished), [27] (thanks to Dauvit Broun here).

[679] For discussion, see N. Aitchison, *Forteviot* (Stroud, 2006), 51–84.

[680] For a valuable recent discussion of these burghs, see R. Oram, *Domination and Lordship* (Edinburgh, 2011), ch. 8.

[681] E.g. *CKA*, 151, 158, and Anderson, *Kings and Kingship*, 267, 275;Taylor, *PNF*, v, 73, 376–78; T. O. Clancy, 'Deer and the Early Church in North-East Scotland', in *Deer Studies*, 363–97, at 368; Watson, *CPNS*, 509–10.

Records of gifts to Scone, probably reliable, indicate that King Alexander I (r. 1107–1124) used palaces at both Edinburgh and Stirling. Scone’s canons were granted tofts in these locations, almost certainly to facilitate their availability to the king.[683] Based on the evidence in chapter six, Clann Crínáin occupation of these sites may already have taken place by the reign of Máel-Coluim III. Máel-Coluim III’s wife is supposed to have been besieged by her brother-in-law Domnall Bán at Edinburgh, and to have died there in 1093—though the evidence here is, admittedly, late.[684] At the same time, reproductions of grants made to the English Benedictines established by Queen Margaret at Dunfermline would show that their corporation had received territory in eastern Midlothian, perhaps a sign that some queenly residence (pre-figuring Haddington) had also come into being in Máel-Coluim III’s reign.[685] Territory west of the Esk may have been held prior to Máel-Coluim’s time. Even if his predecessors as kings had not frequented such sites habitually, royal sons, relatives, and clients may have, perhaps since the time of Ildulb. Since Máel-Coluim’s predecessors may have included Strathclyde monarchs, it is not out of the question that Clann Crínáin had acquired these residences from them.

South of the Lammermuir, Alexander’s brother David acquired his own realm during the former’s reign. Probably the most important source here is the foundation charter of Selkirk Abbey (predecessor of Kelso). The charters show that burghs existed at Roxburgh and Berwick, suggesting that these were princely residences. Sprouston and Melrose are mentioned too, along with a castle to the west of Selkirk (connected to the abbey by a road—possibly Traquair).[686] Sprouston may have been more significant than twelfth-century literary records initially suggest. The discovery of a 30-by-8 metre hall ‘unparalleled in Bernicia’ [Smith] has been compared in size and construction to the ninth- or tenth-century ‘hall G’ of Thetford, capital of Viking East Anglia. Such a comparison would probably make Sprouston a major Eadwulfing centre.[687] David also held territory in Strathclyde and adjacent, Gall-Gaidel regions. If evidence from David I’s later years is anything to go by, Cadzow, Lanark, Peebles, and perhaps, Irvine, were sites of princely residences during the later 1110s and early 1120s.[688] Jedburgh’s strategic importance, its earlier association with Clann Crínáin’s Uhtreding predecessors, and its later-twelfth-century position as one of the five chief royal castles of ‘Lothian’, all suggest that it was also a significant princely residence in the era.[689]

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[682] *ASH*, 159.

[683] *ESC*, no. 36; he also appears to have issued a charter at Stirling, see ibid., no. 47.

[684] *Scotichronicon*, III, 76–79: v.26*; Chron. Fordun*, 219: v.21, though the text itself is likely to originate in the thirteenth century; see also A. Taylor, ‘Historical Writing in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Scotland’, *Historical Research* 83 / 220 (2009), 228–52, especially 243–44.

[685] *ESC*, no. 10; *RRS*, I, no. 118.

7.1.3 Expansion of the English ‘Inner Zone’

In the lands seized by the Normans, the king’s almost permanent absence from the region reduced royal residences to little more than sources of revenue. His administrative tools and ability to control delegated officials were beyond what Clann Crínáin, or arguably any medieval Scottish monarch, could command. Nonetheless, even by the time of the *Cartae Baronum* in 1166, Henry II had retained Bamburgh, Rothbury, Corbridge, Newcastle, Newburn, and land around Yettlington; the bulk of the remainder was possessed by Anglo-Norman barons.[690] The centrality of Bamburgh and Corbridge to Northumbria was very ancient (and indeed Newburn had been where Tostig’s governor Copsig was attacked and killed by the Uhtreding Oswulf in 1067).[691] Henry I’s holdings had been more extensive than his grandson’s, including Blyth and Whittingham,[692] as well, probably, as the territories later given for the baronies of Wark, Kirknewton, and Carham. The latter were assumed by his representative strongman, Walter Espec.[693] In the west, the king also retained Carlisle, which was furnished with borough, bishopric, and several religious houses (including an Augustinian priory).[694] William Rufus had run the region under a sub-ruler, Ranulf le Meschin, whose territory included Appleby-in-Westmorland as well as Carlisle.[695] As with Clann Crínáin, the Anglo-Norman kings probably inherited these from their Northumbrian predecessors.

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[686] *CDI*, no. 14; see also *ASH*, 159.
[687] I. M. Smith, ‘Patterns of Settlement and Land Use of the Late Anglian Period in the Tweed Basin’, in *SLASS*, 177–96, at 186; see also I. M. Smith, ‘Sprouston, Roxburghshire’, *PSAS* 121 (1991), 261–94.
[688] See *ASH*, 159.
[689] *ASR*, no. 1 (Treaty of Falaise), at 6–7.
[690] Hedley, *NF*, I, 21, 160.
[691] *HR2*, 198; *NF*, I, 266.
[692] *RRAN*, II, nos 572, 1431; *Pipe Roll I*, 28

7.2 Secular Administration

7.2.1 Scottish 'Zone of Tribute'

The Southforthian 'palace zones' of Alexander and David were separated from each other by upland moor, itself intersected by a series of valleys, principally, the Lauder (Lauderdale) and Gala (Wedale). Further to the east, the 'Dunbar' lineage descended from Gospatric son of Maldred controlled much of the Lammermuir and its eastern edge. Nonetheless the gifts of the Clann Crínáin brothers to their new Anglo-Norman houses suggest that they divided this tributary zone between them. For instance, Alexander granted Scone a 'tenth of the king's bread north of the Lammermuir' (*decimam panum regis ubicunque fuerit a northo de Lambremor*);[696] while a similar grant to Holyrood made by David after becoming king, conceded to the Edinburgh house 'a tenth of all whales and beasts of the sea from the Avon to Cockburnspath' (*decimam de omnibus cetis & marinis beluis …ab Avin usque Colbrandespade*) and a 'tenth of all the king's pleas and profits' (*decimam omnium placitorum meorum & lucrorum*…) from the same area.[697] Royal burghs seem to have gained their own trading zones, and provincial community organization was established enough to enable the proceeds of whole provinces, usually a tenth, to be assigned to churchmen in single grants: e.g. a tenth of 'cheese of Tweeddale'[698] or a tenth of 'the tallow of beasts from Teviotdale'.[699]

The subordinate and tributary peoples to the west, the Gall-Gaidel and Argyllmen, gave another specific type of tribute, *cáin*. Earl David granted Selkirk 'a tenth of the cheeses of the cáin from the land of the Gall-Gaidel’ (*decimam caseorum de Can, scilicet de Galweia*).[700] A later document defined the region in question as ‘the four *cadrez* of that part of Galloway which I held while the King Alexander was living’ (*iiij.*^{or} *cadrez de illa parte Galweia quam, uiuente Rege Alexandro, habui*).[701] Similarly, David c. 1136 granted a tenth of cattle and pigs from the cáin of Strathgryfe, Cunningham, Kyle, and Carrick, to Glasgow.[702] This would suggest that the peoples of [later] Renfrewshire and Ayrshire had been tributary to David’s principality between 1113 and 1124. The practice of drawing cáin (of animals and animal products) from the western peoples is confirmed further north. David would grant a ‘tenth of my cáin and my pleas and profits from Kintyre and *Airer Gaidel*’ (*decime de meo cano & de meis placitis & lucris de Kentyr & de Errogeil)* to Holyrood on its foundation.[703] And after David confiscated Moray from the mormaer who had backed his rival, Máel-Coluim son of Alexander, the monastery of Urquhart was assigned ‘a tenth of the cáin of the *Airer Gaidel* relating to Moray, and a tenth of the pleas and the profits of the same *Airer Gaidel*’ (*decimam cani de Ergaithel de Muref, et placitorum et totius lucri eiusdem Ergaithel*).[704]

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[693] *RRAN*, II, no. 1459.
[694] *Pipe Roll I*, 110–13.
[695] *RRAN*, II, no. 1130.
[696] *ESC*, no. 36.
[697] *CDI*, no. 148.
[698] *CDI*, no. 183; cf. ibid., no. 14.
[699] *CDI*, no. 42.

7.2.2 Provinces

Larger regions like Teviotdale and Tweeddale were not only collectively assessed by royal officials for taxation or tribute purposes; they formed ecclesiastical units, rural deaneries. Barrow, using Welsh comparisons, thought such units to be very important in early survival of ‘Celtic’ social organization. Further north in ‘Scotland-proper’, many ‘provinces’ carry names that suggest they had originally been defined by dominant agnatic lineages (Gowrie, Angus, Lorn, Cowal, Aboyne, etc). Their beginnings may or may not have been old in 1100, but the prevalence of these units in Scottish administration prior to the fourteenth century is very striking. They were clearly an integral part of the twelfth-century Scottish ‘state’. Many became distinct sheriffdoms (like Angus, the ‘sheriffdom of Forfar’), or (in most cases north of the Forth) were added to sheriffdoms in groups (Strathearn and Atholl added to Gowrie’s ‘sheriffdom of Perth’). Regions of such size were assigned to (or arose out of) the jurisdiction of mormaers, and to regional lawmen (*iudices*, *brithem*), and were used for miscellaneous other administrative purposes.[705]

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[700] *CDI*, no. 14.
[701] *CDI*, no. 183; *Kelso Lib.*, no. 260.
[702] *CDI*, no. 57.
[703] *CDI*, no. 147.
[704] *CDI*, no. 185.

A surprisingly high proportion of such regions further south are centred on a river valley, referred to as a 'dale' or 'strath' depending whether the source language is English or Celtic. The pattern gives a unity to Britain between the Humber and the Forth, and indeed the pattern arguably stretches north of the Tay. As illustrated by Kapelle, the valley system and its terminology are almost universal throughout Northumbria and, whether just a by-product of geography or of administrative taxonomy, shaped Northumbrian politics before and after 1100. Known palace sites from the Viking Age, in both Northumbria and in southern 'Scotland', tend to be near the coast or on plains neighbouring these valleys, at meeting places adjacent to several such territorially distinctive units; the lower Tay plain for southern 'Scotland', containing Scone, Forteviot, Abernethy, and Dunkeld; the zone between the Aln and the Lammermuir containing Bamburgh, Sprouston, Whittinghame and Norham; and likewise further south, with similar regions around Corbridge, and around York.[706] Despite this, it is unclear to what extent these provincial regions characterised pre-1100 political structures or were an innovative feature of Scottish or Anglo-Norman administrative culture.

7.2.3 The 'Shiring' of 'Middle Britain'

The importance of the 'shire' to medieval England was such that the 'shiring' process and the creation of the unitary English state are almost indistinguishable. The early history of shiring is understood only partially, but according to the traditional picture shiring began in Wessex and the other 'kingdoms' south of the Thames that were subject to the Ecgberhtings in the ninth century, and was subsequently rolled over the eastern rump of Mercia by the death of Edward the Elder.[707] Plausible interpretation of surviving evidence could, however, allow the historian to date the process to as late as the reign of Edgar.[708] What happened to Northumbria and the former territory of the Uí Ímair after the 940s or 950s, when they were brought under permanent overlordship, is even less clear. A 'second-tier' unit known as the 'five boroughs' (i.e. Lincoln, Stamford, Leicester, Nottingham, and Derby) appears to have become important south of the Humber. *III Æthelred*, issued at Wantage c. 997, refers to the 'peace which the ealdorman and the king's reeve give in the meeting of the Five Boroughs'. The code also refers to the 'peace given in one borough' and to another 'given in the wapentake', with descending fines for violation.[709] An annal for 1015, added among the 983–1022 entries written into *ASC* MSS DCE, has a reference to the brothers Morcar and Sigefrith as 'chief thegns of the seven boroughs' (*þa yldostan þegenas into Seofonburhgum*), where seven appears to be an error (*Fifburhgum* are mentioned later in the entry).[710] In the same source, s.a. 1013, in reaction to the new Scandinavian invasions, Earl Uhtred leads the submission of the Northumbrians, the people of Lindsey, and 'all the people belonging to the district of the Five Boroughs'.[711]

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[705] G. W. S. Barrow, 'The Pattern of Lordship and Feudal Settlement in Cumbria', *JMH* 1 (1975), 117–38; Barrow, *Kingdom,* 61–65; *Leges Scocie*, 278:c.16; *ASH*, 184–86, 189; Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 226–28.

[706] Kapelle, *NCN*, 6ff.; Roberts, *LDM*, 27.

[707] For the process of the emergence of shires , see J. Hudson, *The Oxford History of the Laws of England. Volume II, 817–1216* (Oxford, 2012), 37–40, 47–56; S. Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia* (Oxford, 2007), 120–123; *A.* Williams, *Kingship and Government in Pre-Conquest England, c.500–1066* (Basingstoke, 1999), 88–90, 108–113; Green, *English Sheriffs*, 9–10; H. R. Loyn, *The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England, 500–1087* (London, 1984), 133–40; Stenton, *ASE*, 336–39; W. A. Morris*, The Medieval English Sheriff to 1300* (London, 1927), 1–39; see for Wessex, Yorke, *Wessex*, 84–92; for Mercia, C. S. Taylor, 'The Origin of the Mercian Shires', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 21 (1898), 32–57, S. Bassett, 'The Administrative Landscape of the Diocese of Worcester in the Tenth Century', in Brooks and Cubitt, *St Oswald*, 147–73, D. Hill,

The 983–1022 *ASC* annals refer to southern Danelaw 'shires' by name. It is possible that shire organization was only recent here, though as we have seen Scandinavian fortification sites with associated armies were in existence in the early tenth century. The '*Wihtbordesstan* Code', or *IV Edgar*, show that boroughs, 'little boroughs' (*smalum burghum*), and hundreds had been imposed on southern Danelaw land as instruments of collective order.[712] At some stage between 1023 and 1086 the five borough unit was abolished, leaving all except Stamford as shire centres (the town of Stamford was divided in *Domesday Book* between Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire). Evidence of 'shiring' for East Anglia and Northumbria is also late, but had taken place by the time of *Domesday*. Like

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'The Shiring of Mercia — Again', in Higham and Hill, *Edward the Elder*, 144–59; for East Anglia (and late emergence), L. Martin, 'The Shiring of East Anglia', *Historical Research* 81 (2008), 1–27. The variety of conclusions about the dating of this process, even for the same regions, highlights the indecisiveness of the evidence. The twelve Mercian shires mentioned in the County Hidage (along with Wiltshire) include Cambridge, Huntingdon, Northampton and Chester, but exclude those retained by the Uí Ímair in the period preceding the capture of the five boroughs in 942; for date of County Hidage, see P. H. Sawyer, *From Roman Britain to Norman England* (New York, 1978), 228–29, and see also Molyneaux, *Formation of the English Kingdom*, 162–64.

[708] Molyneaux, *Formation of the English Kingdom*, 157–72.

[709] *Laws* (Ro), 64–65.

[710] Trans. *ASC*, 94.

[711] *ASC*, 92.

[712] *Laws* (Ro), 32–35; for this, see Wormald, *Making of English Law*, 317–30.

Stamford (and indeed the Mercian capital of Tamworth), the new shiring of East Anglia brought a line through the old ‘capital’, Thetford; the ‘Ridings’ of Yorkshire similarly divided around the city of York, while Lincolnshire came to consist of the three Ridings of Lindsey, plus Kesteven and Holland.[713] The formation of shire boundaries around or inside the centre of larger defunct political units is probably best explained as an organic outcome of dividing the latter for specific administrative purposes while continuing to use its ‘capital’ for some other administrative purposes rather than, as is often thought, an ideological attack on the identity of the formerly independent polity.[714]

Notitia Dignatatum lists usually classify shires into one of three legal regions: the Westsaxonlaw, the Mercianlaw, and the Danelaw. Significantly, there does not appear to be a ‘Northumbrian law’ in this system, perhaps because the ‘Northern English’ realm remained, at best, a tributary territory until the Norman Conquest and beyond, perhaps as late as the last decade of the eleventh century (see 4.4). The shire dependent on York appears under ‘Danish law’ in some of these lists, but this may be a post-Conquest development. It is verifiably the case that these texts were continually updated as Northumberland, Cumberland, and so on were ‘shired’; in one of the vernacular versions of this text, York and by extension all Northumbria is omitted entirely.[715] Possibly the shire of York as imagined in the early-to-mid eleventh century (if York’s inclusion in these documents does date so early) included all Northumbria in theory; *Domesday* Yorkshire encompassed property in what would become Lancashire, Cumberland, and Westmorland. The time of the survey’s composition alone explains the absence of eastern regions like

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[713] For East Anglia, see Marten, ‘The Shiring of East Anglia’, 1–27; for Lincoln, see P. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire*, 133–37 (see also D. R. Roffe, 'An Introduction to the Lincolnshire Domesday', in *The Lincolnshire Domesday* (London, 1991), 1–31, at 1).

[714] See also Molyneaux, *Formation of the English Kingdom*, 161.

[715] *þe Syren and Hundredes of engelonde*, from Oxford, Jesus College, MS 29, folios 194r-195r, probably based on a text originally composed 1086x1130 (though written in ‘updated’ English of a later era), lists York under Danish law, but has Northumberland unshired, as well as *loðen and westmara-lond and cumberland and Cornwale* , also noting *scotlaund and Brutlaund and wyht*, with Cornwall having seven small shires (*lutle schire*); see *OE Miscellany*, 145–45, for text; see also B. Hill, ‘The History of Jesus College, Oxford MS. 29‘, *Medium Aevum* 32 (1963), 203–13, at 203; another vernacular list in the *Red Book of the Exchequer*, following *Leges Henrici Primi* and a ‘County Hidage’, omits York from the list of shires under Danish law; this is printed in *General Report on the Public Records* (London, 1837), 166; see also *Red Book*, I, lxxxvi–lxxxvii. The tradition of this text is substantial, often found in conjunction with *notitia dignitatum* material in a tradition strongly reminiscent of *Historia Brittonum*, e.g. in *DPSA*, 382 (sub-tract *Nomina Comitatuum*); *SNR*, 392–93 (here closely related to *þe Syren and Hundredes*); *HH*, 12–15:i.3, 16–19:i.5; *ABA*, 99; *CPS*, 153–54 and *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis*, ed. H. T. Riley (London, 1859–62), II, 624–26 (from MS British Library Cotton Claudius D. ii.); for discussion of variations and date, see F. Liebermann, *Über die Leges Anglorum Saeculo XIII* (Halle, 1894), 6–9.

Durham and Northumberland. Between the 'murder' of Bishop Walcher in 1080 (leading to a punitive expedition by Odo of Bayeaux and the foundation of a *novum castrum* on the Tyne), and the establishment of Robert de Mowbray, there is very little evidence relating to Norman control of the region. As we saw, an earl named Alberic failed to gain power in the region, and it is unlikely that the work necessary for the region's inclusion would have been possible to do safely. Since the Normans had not yet colonised these areas, a survey designed to secure their tenure would have been completely pointless even if it had been feasible.[716]

In the three decades after 1100, the Normans and their Scottish clients oversaw the imposition of such a system on 'Middle Britain'. The earliest sheriffs in the Southumbrian-controlled zone north of the Tyne were Ælfric of Corbridge and Ligulf of Bamburgh. These men held their positions simultaneously as late as 1116, and thus likely divided their roles.[717] Thirteenth-century administrative documents split the 'Northumberland' county into zones north and south of the Coquet; particular serjeanties (such as the coroner) came with responsibilities either north of south of that river, and it is possible that this was a relic of the initial division of the land into two sheriffdoms.[718] Ligulf's son Odard succeeded him in office, and Odard of Bamburgh's responsibilities appear to have initially included Cumberland; however, by the time of the 1130 Pipe Roll, one Hildred is rendering account for Carlisle. Two years previously King Henry had issued a writ to Odard as well the two justiciars Walter Espec and Eustace fitz John instructing them that land of Glassan son of Brihtric and Gamel son of Beorn, royal drengs, had been given to Hildred of Carlisle.[719] So by the end of the 1120s 'Cumberland' and 'Northumberland' possessed separate shires.

Shires usually came to be associated with a particular royal castle, and the Anglo-Norman office was a 'public–private partnership' which involved the delegation of many of the king's nominal rights to the sheriff in exchange for a fixed set of returns. In our earliest glimpse of the office in 'English' territory, the realm of Henry I, the sheriff is responsible for collection of the *danegeld* and for royal farms, and for managing various 'public' expenses like provisioning the Scottish king on journeys south, paying the mason of Bamburgh castle, etc. [720] The revenues of royal justice (the *placita* rather than the *lucra*), at least among the Normans, were collected not by the sheriff but by two regional strongmen, the *de facto* successors of the Northumbrian earls: the justiciars Eustace fitz John and Walter Espec.[721]

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[716] The Normanisation of these counties took place in the reigns of William Rufus and Henry I; see Kapelle, *NCN*, 191–230; see also Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans*, 184–226, and see R. Sharpe, *Norman Rule in Cumbria, 1092–1136* (Carlisle, 2006), 34–59.

[717] *RRAN*, II, nos 640–641, 951, 993, 1143, 1171–1172; P. H. Blair, 'The Sheriffs of Northumberland', *AA* 4th Ser. 20 (1942), 11–56, at 25; *English Sheriffs*, 65, which by slip has 'Odard' where Ligulf was meant.

[718] E.g. *Book of Fees*, II, 200–205.

[719] *RRAN*, II, no. 1560.

Bamburgh's sheriff Ligulf held land in [what became] Berwickshire and appears as *Ligulf de Bebbanburch* alongside numerous Northumbrian notables witnessing King Edgar's confirmation of Swinton (BEW) to Durham c. 1100.[722] There is no direct evidence that Ligulf had exercised (or had not exercised) his public position north of the Tweed, but we should regard this as a possibility; it may be possible to link the abandonment of a sheriffdom of Corbridge to David's takeover of Teviotdale by leaving the Bamburgh sheriff with a diminished role. David did replicate the office in his principality. His earliest sheriff is the Gospatric *vicecomes* who witnessed the Selkirk foundation charter. The Yates Thompson text on Hexham tells us that Gospatric, 'who is now sheriff in Teviotdale', was the son of Uhtred, a Hexham *prepositus* (*Iste Uhtredus est pater Cospatrici qui nunc est vice-comes in Teuietedale*).[723] By 1136 there is another sheriff, the sheriff of Berwick responsible for the Merse, Northman; and there is also at least one sheriff north of the Lammermuir (it is unclear if Stirling, Edinburgh, Linlithgow, and Haddington had separate sheriffdoms in David's reign).[724] Sheriffdoms for Selkirk, Tweeddale, Clydesdale (Lanark), and Lauderdale are attested later in the twelfth century, and their existence cannot be ruled out for David's reign.[725] These appear to have been created in a fairly rational way, using provincial regions to manage core royal revenues. A justiciar of Lothian was in existence by 1170, though he does not appear to have been a figure comparable with the viceregal figures Eustace fitz John and Walter Espec.[726]

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[720] *Pipe Roll I*, 27–28.
[721] *Pipe Roll I*, 27–28.
[722] *ESC*, no. 20.
[723] *Scottish Sheriffs*, 37; *Hexham Provosts*, viii.
[724] *Scottish Sheriffs*, 13, and n. 31 for Edinburgh, Linlinthgow and Haddington; and ibid., 41 for Stirling.
[725] *Scottish Sheriffs*, 28, 30, 32, 40.
[726] Barrow, *Kingdom*, 110.

7.3 The Outer Zone

7.3.1 Pre-Conquest Aristocracy

Generally, polities ruled by a king leave much regional governance to ‘big men’ with superior local ties; typically, these characters will have or acquire some kind of designation that places (or rationalises) their position within some kind of wider status system, perhaps a system common throughout a kingdom or larger cultural region. This terminology might be convergent with a centralising process; for instance, local kings becoming ealdormen in Anglo-Saxon England or becoming earls in later medieval Ireland; or it might survive some kind of central decline, as allegedly was the case with the counts, dukes and ‘lords’ in post-Carolingian Gaul. The charter evidence discussed in chapter four suggests that the territories of ‘Middle Britain’ in this era were dominated by such figures, and that the relationships these men had with the monarch defined in practice the extent to which their regions lay in the power of the monarch.

The Ecgberhting realm’s senior secular official was the ealdorman, usually rendered *dux* in Latin and, later under Norse influence, *eorl* in English. The ealdorman was already a province-based official in the late–ninth-century the *Law of Ælfred*.[727] By the later tenth century the official ealdorman and bishop of a province (*scire*) were required by royal order to attend a biannual provincial assembly, the *sciregemot*.[728] The office brought a specific honour-price to its holder’s kindred, as well as a range of judicial privileges.[729] Even though the Ecgberhting kings had found analogous aristocrats in the territories they brought under their sway after the 910s, they still imposed West Saxon ealdormen on these regions: East Anglia and its ‘satellite earldoms’ seem to have fallen under the supervision of ealdormen from Wessex, Æthelstan ‘Half-King’ and his son Æthelwine exercising such a role for the bulk of the tenth century.[730] In Northumbria, as we saw above, Oslac appears to have have been granted such a role.

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[727] *Laws (At)*, 80–81.

[728] *Laws (Ro)*, 26–27.

[729] E.g. *Laws* (Ro), 50–51, 64–65.

[730] Hart, *Danelaw*, 569–98; *Liber Eliensis* indicates that Æthelwine had some responsibility for the provincial courts of the ‘whole region or shire’ of Northampton and ’all the older men of East Anglia and Cambridge’ (II.11) and for ‘citizens and hundred-men’ of Cambridge (II.24); trans. J. Fairweather, 109–114, 120.

In the region acquired by Æthelstan in the late 920s, the *dux* had not been an ealdorman, but a pre-existing regional ruler or aristocrat; for such a *dux* 'allegiance' to the Ecgberhting court came through pragmatism rather with than appointment. Some sort of a window on the political system in 'Middle Britain' can perhaps be found in the *Norðleoda laga*, a legal tract that survives in at least seven manuscripts. It does not predate Ecgberhting rule, and far from being free of such influence is usually associated with Wulfstan II, Benedictine archbishop of York. Possibly, the tract's vision of 'northern' society is more normative than descriptive; nonetheless it does utilize the region's pre-existing titulature, fusing Northumbrian and Anglo-Danish terminology relating to office and status.[731] A rationally-stratified model of society is depicted, with the king at the head, followed by the archbishop, then bishops and ealdormen, then holds and high-reeves, then thegns, ceorls, and so on. Early *ASC* tradition shows that similar Scandinavian 'class' distinctions had existed in the Great Army. In its description of the battle of Ashdown, there were two kings and several *eorlas*.[732] Similarly, the entry s.a. 910 on the battle of Tettenhall and death of kings named Eowils and Halfdan also notes 'earls' Scurfa and Ohter, as well as numerous 'holds'.[733]

For the 'Northern English' realm in particular, Cuthbertine glosses made in the 970s to a tract on Roman titles (contained in Durham Cathedral Library, MS A.IV.19) may provide additional insight. *De Dignitatibus Romanorum* is a description of various titles used in the Bible, principally by the Romans, from 'emperor' downwards. Among the glosses are *heretoga*, 'war leader', for *dux*; while *comes* is glossed as both *heghgeroefa* 'high reeve' and *heretoga* 'war leader'; *consul*, used specifically to designate one of the people serving as the imperator's second-in-command, is glossed as *hergas* / *hereges larwu* ('master of the host', or perhaps 'judge', 'counsellor', or 'teacher'); this is interesting in light of the *consul*–*comes* distinction made in *Roger of Wendover* annals s.a. 954, where Maccus *consul* is named as a follower of Oswulf *comes*. The title of 'high ealdorman' is used for the two titles above *dux*, the *patricius* and *dux secundus*, while 'ealdorman' itself is used to gloss *princeps*.[734] George Molyneaux has pointed out that another tenth-century gloss, to the Lindisfarne Gospels, used *undercyningum* and *hehgeroefum* for *praesides* (*praeses*, 'governor').[735] Anglo-Norman era documents expand the window on Northumbrian society at a lower level, but only relate to a much later era. Below the level of the 'earl' were thegns and drengs. Both groups appear to have been above ordinary free warriors, although the difference between each is still a matter of uncertainty.[736]

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[731] Printed *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, i, 458–60; trans. *EHD*, i, 469–70; for these details, see *EEL*, s.v. 'Norðleoda Laga' << http://www.earlyenglishlaws.ac.uk/laws/texts/norleod/>>.

[732] E.g. *ASC* MS A, s.a. 871, MS C, s.a. 872 (*recte* 871); compare *Æthelweard*, 36–37: iv.2, *Asser*, 30–31, *St Neots Annals,* 67, and *JW*, ii, 290–91: s.a. 871. The 'Asserian annals' and the *St Neots Annals* translate *eorl* as *comes* with *Æthelweard* preferring the term *consul.*

[733] *ASC* MS A, s.a. 910, lists only 'Ecwils'; MS B, s.a. 911 *Healfden cing 7 Ohter eorl 7 Scurfa eorl 7 Oþulf hold 7 Benesing hold 7 Anlaf se swearta 7 Þurferð hold 7 Osferð Hlytte 7 Guðferð hold 7 Agmund hold 7 Guðferð* (likewise in MS C and D).

In late–Viking-Age England the thegn came to be a social rank, demarcating a noble who was not an ealdorman / earl (or, presumably, a hold or high-reeve). It seems to have come with a class-based wergild, superior judicial privileges, and so forth, and such privileges could be obtained or reinforced by royal or 'public' services of various kinds, a relationship that typifies how local 'big men' were incentivised to engage with the apparatus of royal overlordship. Particularly in the 'inner zone' of the kingdom, 'King's thegns' were part of a trend whereby social mobility was increasingly dependent on royal patronage.[737] The term *thegn* was often rendered *minister* in Latin; this and the term's etymology incline some historians of the 'maximalist' persuasion to see these figures as originating in a 'ministerial class' of royal servants. Whatever the truth of this, by the eleventh century many of England's thegns possessed holdings that would have exceeded those of early medieval tribal kings.[738] The status tract *geÞyncðo*, associated with Archbishop Wulfstan of York, makes it clear that one could move in and out of thegn status by wealth accumulation and political activity.[739] In the eleventh century the ceorl–thegn distinction was an established one, so much so that it could be applied exonymically to the Welsh.[740] The term was borrowed by the Normans after the Conquest, and used by them to denote English noblemen.

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[734] Jolly, *Community of St. Cuthbert*, 342–45; this, incidentally, is William of Malmesbury's title for Earl Uhtred.

[735] Molyneaux, *Formation of the English Kingdom*, 61, n. 62.

[736] E.g. *RRAN*, II, no. 1560, *CDI*, no. 10; see also Kapelle, *NCN*, 58–59ff., and Barrow, *Kingdom*, 13–15.

[737] Hudson, *Laws of England*, 203–07.

[738] P. A. Clarke, *The English Nobility under Edward the Confessor* (Oxford, 1994), 31–60.

[739] *EHD*, I, 468–69; see also G. Molyneaux, 'The Ordinance Concerning the Dunsaete', *ASE* 40 (2011), 249–72, at 266.

[740] Molyneaux, 'Ordinance', 265; Hudson, *Laws of England*, 307.

7.3.2 Normans and English

The Norman Conquest meant that senior participants in this socio-political system were almost completely dispossessed by rivals from northern France. After the Norman duke gained control of the English state, he distributed much of its landed (as well as portable) wealth among his soldiers. The latter were men who served in return for secure land-tenure from their military leader; their 'pay' came from the land confiscated from the enemy, the Conquest being a violent medieval equivalent of the modern 'leveraged buyout'. For our region, detailed records do not begin until decades after Norman penetration had begun. By the time we have substantial bodies of charters, pipe rolls, and extended literary narratives, much of the region had already been divided up by Norman soldiers and their dependents. The process of Norman penetration is relatively well understood by modern scholars at the basic level, and most regions have been subjected to detailed modern studies. In broad outline, the area north of the Tees came under some relatively intense settlement in the 1080s and 1090s, with soldiers settling the region under the leadership of Earl Robert de Mowbray in the east and Ivo Taillebois in the west, the latter succeeded by Ranulf le Meschin. Henry I replaced this system by the 1120s with smaller honours supervised by two great northern justiciars, Eustace fitz John and Walter Espec: effectively the successors of the Northumbrian viceregal *dux* evident from the reign of Edgar.[741] In the 'Scottish' zone, large valley lordships like Annandale, Lauderdale, and Eskdale fell under the supervision of senior Norman soldiers in Clann Crínáin service.[742] The scale of Norman presence in these particular regions suggests violent takeover like that further south, and that pre-existing dynastic ties to the Scots in these regions had been limited. The defeat of the losers, perhaps resisitant Uhtredings or followers of Dolfin, was sufficiently burdensome to require manpower that Clann Crínáin could not draw from their family's more natural followers.

Most Northumbrian thegns and drengs fell prey to these new Norman overlords. However, certain prominent native Englishmen managed to retain a direct relationship with the king in twelfth-century Northumbria in return for very specialized services. The growth of standard Norman tenures made a negative imprint out of the surviving English holdings.

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[741] For Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire, see Sharpe, *Norman Rule*; for County Durham, see Aird, *St Cuthbert,* 184–226; for Northumberland, see Hedley, *NF*, 18–22ff.; for Scottish regions, see Barrow, *ANE*; for Teviotdale and Lothian, see N. Webb, *Settlement and Integration in Scotland 1124–1214* (PhD dissertation, University of Glasgow, 2004).

[742] For illustration, see *ASH*, 183–85.

Some were preserved as serjeanties, but royal officials rationalized the remainder by referring to their tenure as *thanagium* and *drangagium*, depending (presumably) on the status and wergild of the 'original' holder.[743] Some transitioned to knight service or married into Norman lineages, while others held non-military tenures like 'coroner south of the Coquet' (held by the Tyson family of Shilbottle and Nafferton, whose twelfth-century members bore names such as German, Gunner, Gostrint, and Gosbright).[744] Another example is furnished by the descendants of Ligulf, first certain sheriff of Bamburgh. Ligulf was named as a 'son of Eadwulf',[745] and for a variety of reasons it is likely that this Eadwulf was Eadwulf Rus, chief of the marginalized Uhtreding line. That, at least, is what Richard Sharpe has recently argued. The family were to become hereditary sheriffs: Ligulf's son Odard was also sheriff of Bamburgh ('sheriff of the Northumbrians'), as was his son Adam of Embleton, ancestor of the Vescount family of Northumberland.[746]

7.3.3 Scots and English

As lords of Allerdale in the early twelfth century, and earls of Dunbar afterwards, the descendants of Earl Gospatric retained a social status matched by no Scoto-Norman lineage, and by only a small number of Gaelic-speaking families. Their possible descent from Crínán of Dunkeld would, however, make the family a natural part of the new order.[747] At a smaller level, there is a category of 'native' aristocrat attested in the first half of the twelfth century, one who possesses some estate in the northern Southforthian palace zone (i.e. in the vicinity of Edinburgh), but who seems to have greater prominence in outer regions. One is Máel-Bethad, holding Liberton near Edinburgh. Máel-Bethad's likely son Simon was the first known sheriff of Tweeddale,[748] though Máel-Bethad's territory in Lothian was taken over by Geoffrey de Melville in the reign of Máel-Coluim IV.[749] A like figure is Thore son of Swain, who held Tranent and had given its church's rectorship to Holyrood.[750] He appears to have been the *antecessor* of the Lindsey earls of Crawford, lords of much of the high reaches of Clydesdale: it is explicitly stated in a grant to Newbattle Abbey that William de Lindsay lord of Crawford held Crawford around 1190 as a vassal of Thore's own son Swain.[751] Clackmannan's second known sheriff was named Alexander, probably otherwise known as 'Alexander son of Thore', and is likely to be Thore's son.[752] A similar profile can be constructed from the appearances of 'Uviet the White'. The floruit of 'Uviet' can probably be said to predate the Scoto-Norman era, as it is very likely he is the *Uinget* signed on Donnchad mac Maíl-Choluim's 1094 Tyninghame grant,[753] and the *Uniaet thwite* on Edgar's c. 1100 Swinton grant to Durham. [754] In David's reign he appears as the proprietor of Traverlen, later known in English as Duddingston, as well as Arthur's Seat (*Crag*).[755] Like Máel-Bethad, Uviet's line appears not to have retained its Lothian territory,[756] but like Máel-Bethad too his family comes to hold a sheriffdom, with one Andrew son of Uviet appearing as the first sheriff of Selkirk during the reign of William the Lion; the family, under the name *de Synton* (from a settlement in Selkirkshire) held the position hereditarily throughout the thirteenth century.[757] Although some of the evidence is later and tangential, it is a reasonable possibility that the power bases of these men originated in the provinces from which their descendants later drew their power. [758] In that case their holdings around Edinburgh are likely to relate to their attachment to the Scottish king's inner zone—and indeed these holdings are known about only because they made donations from such holdings to Anglo-Norman religious houses.

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[743] *De Serjantiis in Diversis Comitatibus Angliae*, in *Red Book*, II, 451–68, at 466; *Inquisitiones de Servitiis Militum et Aliorum Qui Tenent in Capite*, in *Red Book*, II, 469–574, at 564–65; *Book of Fees*, I, 23–31, 197ff..

[744] Hedley, *NF*, I, 21; *EYC*, XII, 14–18; C. H. Hartshorne, *Memoirs Chiefly Illustrative of the History and Antiquities of Northumberland* (London, 1858), Appendix I.

[745] *ESC*, no. 100.

[746] Sharpe, *Norman Rule*, 18–20.

[747] For the later earls of Dunbar and their estates in both [what is now] Scotland and England, see E. Hamilton, *Mighty Subjects* (Edinburgh, 2010).

[748] *RRS*, II, no. 252, where he attests as *Simone filio Melbet vicecomite de Trauequeir*; see also *Scottish Sheriffs*, 32.

[749] *RRS*, I, nos. 301–02 (at Liberton and *Legbernard* (=Leadburn)); *RRS*, II, no. 59.

[750] *Holyrood Liber*, no. 11.

Accounts of Scottish rule in this region tend to focus overwhelmingly and sometimes exclusively on the king's Norman followers. This is forgivable since the charter evidence that we rely on for almost all of our knowledge of this region is a by-product of the foundation of

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[751] *RRS*, II, no. 257.

[752] *Scottish Sheriffs*, 9; *RRS*, II, no. 375 (patronymic) and ibid., no. 452 (named as sheriff).

[753] *ESC*, no. 12.

[754] *ESC*, no. 20

[755] *CDI*, no. 70.

[756] Although Kelso got some of Uviet's interest, later twelfth-century proprietors in the area are the Duddo, burghess of Berwick, who gave the *villa* its new English name (*RRS*, II, no. 74) , and Warin son of Robert *Anglicus*, who endowed Inchcolm (*Inchcolm Chrs*, nos 11, 17).

[757] *CDS*, II, no. 1681 (*RRS*, II, no. 582). It is possible he had other such descendants, Richard Uviet of Coulter and Alexander Uviet, both held the sheriffdom of Lanark in the thirteenth century; for references, see *Scottish Sheriffs*, 28–29.

[758] Northman, sheriff of Berwick during the reign of David I, is known to have held Corstorphine; see *Holyrood Liber*, no. 8; for other references as sheriff, see *Scottish Sheriffs*, 6.

Anglo-Norman religious houses. Narrative sources providing better context show, however, that these followers were relatively small in number, at least in the context of national hostings mobilised for military expeditions. Charter addresses, place-names, and literary sources show that Scots, or at least Gaelic speakers, were very important, perhaps dominant, in Scottish-acquired territories outside of Teviotdale and Annandale.[759] However, for all practical purposes, non-Norman aristocrats in 'Middle Britain' cannot always be distinguished among each other ethnically (as well illustrated by the sons of Máel-Coluim III, who bore Scottish, Anglo-Saxon, and Mediterranean names). Nonetheless, it is worthwhile to distinguish those who are Norman or Continental (who in almost every case can be traced to David I's settlement of the region), from those of families with clearly Celtic or English naming patterns. Despite Máel-Bethad's Gaelic name, it is not impossible that he was of English rather than Scottish background; in one charter he is styled *Bere*, 'the bear'.[760] His name was not a common one in the Gaelic world; it is a reflex of the name Macbethad, possibly even an Anglicization of the name.[761] *Thore* (*Thor*) would suggest that the father of Swain was an Anglo-Scandinavian or Scandivanianized Northumbrian—though we know from a translated charter of Macbethad's that the latter king had a vassal in Fife with a Thor- name.[762] English ethnicity is not a guarantee that a local lord originates in Lothian, and could even be argue against it. There is evidence that King Edgar had authorised an English knight, Robert son of Godwine of Winchester, to construct a castle in Lothian. After the Scottish king left the region, the local Lothian men captured Robert and handed him off to the men of Bishop Ranulf Flambard.[763]

The highest-ranked 'vassal' of the Scottish king who was not himself styled 'king' (rí[gh]) was the mormaer; other, more junior 'officials' of lower status are also known, for instance the *toísech* and the ordinary *maer*. Our dependence on Anglo-Norman charter writers, who tend to represent Scottish offices on analogy with French and English ones, means that it is hard to document use of Scottish offices other than the mormaer; and even the mormaer is known almost entirely through the Latin ‘translation’, *comes*. Mormaers possessed power similar to that of the new Anglo-Norman provincial lords, but the Scottish political system in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries seems to have given mormaers a special status obtainable only by descent (from either a mormaer or a king).[764] The first certain Scottish *comes* operating south of the Forth was David mac Maíl-Coluim (from c. 1113), who uses the title in his charters.[765] This title is his primary source of honour until his takeover of the Scottish kingdom in 1124. As is well-known, David I’s wife was Matilda, daughter of Earl Waltheof. The marriage came with the territorial honour in the English Midlands inherited from Waltheof. It did not come with an earldom in Northumbria south of the Cheviots, but use of the title by Matilda and by David in part of the former ‘Northern English’ realm suggests they was exercising the ‘public’ role once held by Clann Crínáin’s English predecessors in the region. David was effectively the equivalent of Eustace fitz John and Walter Espec north of the Cheviots, but his marriage and title, and his Scottish and English royal blood, elevated him far above them and evoked deeper continuity with the Northumbrian and Strathclyde past.

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[759] *SAEC*, 176–210 for hosting of 1138 (and textual references therein). A text written around 1200, *VMA,* 44–45, describes how the priests read out the Lord's Prayer among a crowd gathered at St Abbs Head near Coldingham for a holy day, to 'the English in English, the Scots in Scottish [i.e. Gaelic]' (*Angli Anglicum, Scotti Scotticum*); see also Watson, *CPNS*, 133–54, for some place-names.

[760] *CDI*, no. 147; *RRS*, I, no. 302; *RRS*, II, no. 269.

[761] Máel-Bethad's name appears as Mac-Bethad's too. This Mac- and Máel- variation occurs in *ASC* MS E, s.a. 1031 (*Mælbæþe*). The best discussion of these names (and indeed of Máel-Bethad of Liberton) is B. T. Hudson, *Irish Sea Studies, 900–1200* (Dublin, 2006), c.3, 60–70, at 62–64.

[762] *ESC*, no. 5; cf. Thor Longus of Ednam, ibid, no. 24.

[763] *Scotichronicon*, III, 98–101: v.34. The core of this story appears to come from an early source. For Robert and his father Godwine, part of the affinity of Eadgar Ætheling, see N. Hooper, 'Edgar the Ætheling', *ASE* 43 (1985), 197–214, at 210.

‘Prince’ Henry, David’s son, later assumed the role of his maternal grandfather, taking the East Midland earldom and the title of ‘earl’. As Barrow suggested, his father likely handed much of his Southforthian role over to Henry too.[766] It must be remembered that prior to the Scoto-Norman takeover of the Southforthian region, the title ‘earl’ had probably been the style used by the ruler, at least south of the Lammermuir. This may explain the otherwise puzzling fact that Gospatric of Dunbar, who later possessed the status of earl (or at least mormaer), is not accorded use of the title *comes* until the last years in his life, possibly as late as 1138.[767] Use of *comes* in the region may have become less threatening to the Scottish king after the factionalization of the Anglo-Norman political system that followed Henry I's death in 1135, whereupon David I pressed for and secured the 'earldom of Northumberland' for his son.

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[764] Having said that, it would be extremely interesting to see what vernacular title was used by the Gaelic-speaking population to describe new Anglo-Norman provincial lords, in regions like Kyle and Cunninghame.
[765] *CDI*, nos 9–15.
[766] The *Glasgow Inquest* might be read to confirm that Matilda’s title bore independent authority; *CDI*, no. 15. Perhaps Earl Henry’s role in Southforthian Scotland was inherited from his mother after the end of his minority?
[767] Hamilton, *Mighty Subjects*, 34, 260–61.

Other mormaerships south of the Forth are not attested until later in the twelfth century. Carrick came into existence only after a Gall-Gaidel civil war in which Donnchad son of Gille-Brigte took the honour as compensation for losing the kingship to his cousin Lochlann/Roland (the favoured candidate of the Scottish king).[768] Lennox's first known 'earl', holding the lordship from around 1174, was David, brother of King William the Lion, though a family based in the province had taken (or retaken) the position by the end of the century.[769] It is tempting to see the 'creation' of both mormaerships as part of a more general settlement of the Gall-Gaidel regions, regularizing the status of *reguli* within the area in relation to the Scottish political system. The leftover rump of 'Galloway' would remain an anomalous unit in the Scottish political system into the reign of James IV.[770]

7.4 Establishment of the State Church

Discussions of 'state formation' in Europe often neglect the role of 'the Church'. Chris Wickham, for instance, in abstracting criteria of the 'ideal state' from the the Roman Empire and some of its Germanic break-away states, almost entirely sidelined religious institutions.[771] His discussion is in practice more about kingship than state-formation as it would be recognised by archaeologists and anthropologists. In part this was probably a result of internalising an ideological distinction between 'Church' and 'State' that has been functionally significant in many Western countries. This distinction, however, universalises very poorly (how would Egyptian state formation be analysed, for instance, without temples?), and it is just as misleading for the European Middle Ages as it would be anywhere else. The growth of Church institutions were in many ways the driving force of 'state-formation' in non-Roman Europe, exporting, among other features, corporate administrative boundaries and literate bureaucrats (best represented by the Latin word

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[768] Oram, *Lordship*, 99–101.

[769] K. J. Stringer, *Earl David of Huntingdon* (Edinburgh, 1985), 14–18; C. J. Neville, *Native Lordship in Medieval Scotland* (Dublin, 2005), 14–15. The family almost certainly had some position like this earlier in the century. For anthroponymic reasons, a possible ancestor is the *Malduveni Mac Murdac* who appears high in a list of south-western notables involved in raising men for an invasion of England in the 1130s (*CDI*, no 56).

[770] Iberian diplomat Pedro de Ayala, after listing the various counties and duchies of Scotland, notes the existence of two 'principalities' held by the Scottish king, the *principatus insularum* and *principatus Gallovidiae*; see *Early Travellers in Scotland*, ed. P. Hume Brown (Edinburgh, 1891), 45.

[771] Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, chs 3 and 6.

clerici)—two of Wickham's own diagnostic features of 'the state'. The West's holy men, at least the 'officially sanctioned' ones, became key figures in how the ruler's 'public power' was enacted and legitimized. Presented as part of an entwined administrative and cosmological order, they were the scribes and the bureaucrats; they presided over a permanent taxation system; they maintained administrative boundaries such as dioceses, deaneries, and parishes; their wealth was funnelled into subsidizing some of the most important courtiers and officials, the abbots and bishops, and the buildings that accompanied them (often used by the monarch), while financing the education of each new generation of literate officials. They mediated the supernatural, oversaw royal ancestors and other publicly-significant cults, directed dispute resolution, public ceremonies, and the calendar behind the organization of such ceremonies. They passed between rulers as diplomats. Most importantly of all, religious institutions were corporate, and were ideologically much more resistant to 'privatization'; the Church's own rules on clerical marriage interfered with the processes of political reproduction that so often alienated secular lordships from royal control. Unlike their 'secular' deputies (but like eunuchs), abbots and bishops could not generally pass on their offices, and could take on significant state power without threatening ruling lineages. Typically older men, when any died another kinsman or a new royal official with a fresher record of service to the current ruler could be established in place. In so many ways 'the Church', far from being distinct from 'the State', was the key embodiment of the state to which a household of a king was affixed and over which he presided. For these reasons, the thesis will end by considering the Church and its central role in the formation of the Anglo-Scottish border.

7.4.1 Scottish Church

By 1200, the bishops of St Andrews and Dunkeld held jurisdiction south of the Forth. However, it is not until several years into the reign of David I that the bishop of St Andrews can be shown, by documentary evidence, to have such authority. It is true that Fothad 'high bishop' of the Scots had held the minster of Tyninghame during the reign of Máel-Coluim III, but the same source that specifies this also indicates that Tyninghame was lost by or with the accession of Máel-Coluim's son Donnchad II.[772] When it comes to Dunkeld, our evidence for such presence seems to be later still, at the end of the twelfth century (see below).

Scottish terminology around 1100 identified the 'bishop of St Andrews' as *ardepscob*, *summus episcopus*, and so on, suggesting he was acknowledged as an over-bishop if not an archbishop within the Scottish political system—but if so the Scots found the elite of the Latin West (or England at least) to be disagreeable on the point.[773] The Scottish Church of the preceding era is mired in obscurity, but consistent references in early–twelfth-century sources to such a 'high bishop' or 'bishop of the Scots' correlate well with the mid–ninth-century *prímepscop Fortrenn*, 'high bishop of Fortriu' (the 'petty kingdom' ancestral to Scotland), a position held in 865 by the abbot of Dunkeld Tuathal mac Artgussa.[774] It is relatively clear from such terminology that the pre–twelfth-century Scottish kingdom had several bishops, but it is unclear what role if any they exercised in the bureaucratic and ritualistic functioning of the Scottish kingdom.[775] The bishopric of St Andrews itself went through a turbulent time from c. 1107 to 1127. Alexander I wanted to reshape his realm's ecclesiastical organization to match emerging fashions further south, and tried to recruit Turgot prior of Durham as *episcopus Scottorum*. Alexander later attempted to get another prominent English Benedictine, Eadmer of Canterbury, as his chief bishop, but this project also failed. The king established some Augustinians from Nostell Priory at his residence in Scone, and the leader of these, Prior Robert, was subsequently chosen to be *ardepscob.* However it was not until 1127 that Alexander's successor, David I, secured Robert's consecration in the manner expected by the Latin Church.[776]

Alexander's attempts to strengthen relations with the Latin Church encouraged the archbishops of York to seek overlordship of their Scottish colleagues. This caused problems for King Alexander because of the superior access to the papacy enjoyed by bishops in the Anglo-Norman realm.[777] In 1100x1101 Pope Paschal II ordered 'York's suffragans' *per*

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[772] Lawrie, *ESC*, no. 12.

[773] Taylor, *PNF*, III, 603, 610–11, where in Latin and Gaelic, the Augustinian foundation legend uses three different versions of such terminology.

[774] *AU*, s.a. 865.

[775] G. Donaldson, 'Scottish Bishops' Sees before the reign of David I.', *PSAS* 87 (1952–53), 106–17; Barrow, *Kingship and Unity*, 64–69; A.Woolf, 'The Cult of Moluag', in S. Arbuthnot and K. Hollo (eds), *Fil Súil nGlais* (Ceann Drochaid, 2007), 311–22 at 315–21.

[776] *Fasti ES,* 378.

[777] Brett, *English Church*, 17.

Scotiam to show obedience to Archbishop Gerard.[778] Turgot himself (and possibly Fothad) may have offered some kind of acknowledgement of York's superiority,[779] but there is evidence that it was the Scottish ecclesiastical establishment who refused to accept Turgot. Pope Paschal II's order that they do so, issued 1110x1113, seems to indicate this; so too does *Historia Regum 2*'s claim that Turgot was unable to perform his episcopal duties when taking up his office in Scotland following his consecration, and that he returned to Durham soon afterwards.[780] Turgot's problem might have been that he was not accepted by the other Scottish bishops as 'high bishop', which would explain why the papal letter urging acceptance of Turgot was addressed to the clergy as well as the laity of the Scots.

The St Andrews episcopal list preserved by Walter Bower seems to omit Turgot, listing *Fothald, Gregorius, Cathre, Edmarus et Godricus*. Bower subsequently adds an account of Turgot and then of *Eadmundus Cantuarie monachus* (specifying however that the *Vita S. Anselmi* author in fact called himself *Eadmer[us]*). 'Bower' comes across as unaware that he had just listed Eadmer as a bishop; whether or not that was the case, Bower's material about relating to Turgot and the 'second' Eadmer are separate from the episcopal list omitting Turgot. If this is the case, then we could imagine that the church of St Andrews, if not the office of *ardescop Alban*, was in practice controlled by the men in Bower's list rather than Turgot.[781] It was probably in the early twelfth century that clerics at the church of Cennríghmonaidh were authoring their foundation legend, a legend that circumvented Rome's patriarchal authority with a foundation straight from the imperial capital of Constantinople, perhaps a rebuke to Eboracine pretensions. The 'St Andrews Foundation Legend A' in fact styles one of these, Giric, as 'archbishop' soon after explicitly claiming St Andrews to be a new Rome (and thus, presumably, autocephalous).[782] Bower lists Giric and the other bishops after Fothad dying as 'bishops elect', but this is probably anachronistic, as it is unlikely that Scottish bishops in this era followed the inauguration rituals that would have put such an emphasis on that distinction, at least in the sense understood by Bower.[783]

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[778] *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 1.

[779] *HCY*, II, 363, 371.

[780] *Scotia Pontificia*, no. 2; *HR*, 204.

[781] *Scotichronicon*, III, 342–45.

[782] D. Broun, 'The Church of St Andrews and Its Foundation Legend in the Early Twelfth Century', in *KCC*, 108–14, at 111.

7.4.2 New Episcopate

Whatever arrangements existed in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, the 1120s saw the establishment of the medieval episcopal structure for our region, under the jurisdiction of Henry I and David I. Whithorn and Carlisle (re-)emerged as bishoprics, with the latter responsible for the area of 'western England' formerly managed by the bishops of Durham, and the former for the areas west of the erstwhile Northumbrian territories that were not added to the Glasgow diocese. Soon after 1127, we have the first record of a Scottish bishop's authority in the former diocese of Lindisfarne, when Durham begins preserving charters that acknowledge the episcopal power of St Andrews over the Merse. The first of these comes from a renunciation of episcopal rights in relation to Coldingham issued by Bishop Robert.[784] Bishop Robert, soon after his consecration, renounced such rights before Prior Ælfgar of Durham and a large gathering at Roxburgh that also included the bishops of Glasgow, York, and Durham. These events came in the wake of a visit by papal legate John de Crema to England in 1124–26, which involved a meeting with King David at Roxburgh.[785]

The 'high bishop of the Scots' may have claimed rights over 'Lothian' from eleventh-century precedent, or by the logic of the Scottish king's control of such territory. The rights granted to Durham by both bishop and king in relation to Coldingham are so extensive that Coldingham's inclusion within the boundaries of the Scottish king's territory can hardly be said to be more than nominal.[786] But for the Scots, Durham's apparent acceptance of the boundaries of the St Andrews diocese has to be considered a great coup; as the charter itself implies, Durham had already held these rights in practice anyway. Moreover, whatever discussions had been taking place between the Scottish and English kings, their bishops, and the legate, the Scottish bishops were spared having to submit to the archbishop of York, a concession which was probably highly valued.

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[783] For instance, requirement of other bishops or a 'recognised metropolitan' for such rituals should lead to the appearance of Scottish bishops in more English and Continental sources; York's claims to historical metropolitanship over the sees north of the Forth were 'demolished' by Nicholas prior of Worcester on such grounds ('the barbarous Scots knew nothing of the pallium') in a letter to Eadmer of Canterbury, for which see Brett, *English Church*, 21, and n. 2. See also M. Holland, 'Irish Bishops-Elect', *Peritia* 21 (2010), 233–54, at 234–35.

[784] *ESC*, no. 73.

[785] Cf. *CDI*, nos 29–32; *HR2*, 278.

[786] Barlow, *DJP*, 122–23; though Coldingham still needed quitclaims from William the Lion to dissuade his serjands from Berwick demanding a share of the 'pleas and lawsuits' (*placitis et querelis*), *RRS*, II, no. 178.

No such concession was made towards the bishop of Glasgow, however, whose diocese lay entirely south of ‘Scotland’ (by contemporary definition). Bishop John was forced to remain on the defensive. In 1125, in relation to the visit of the papal legate, *ASC* MS E lists John of Glasgow among the English bishops departing for Rome with the papal legate. He is styled ‘John bishop of Lothian’ (*se biscop of Loþene Iohan*).[787] Since the style is used prior to the reshaping of the Northumbrian episcopate later in the decade, it could be a window on an earlier state of affairs. The earliest strand of Kentigernic hagiography, the ‘Fragmentary Life of Kentigern’ or *Vita Kentegerni Imperfecta*, centres events on East Lothian, probably on the site in and around Aberlady and East Lothian (see Appendix IV.b). The references in the related *Vita Merlini Silvestris*, adjacent to *Vita Kentegerni Imperfecta* in their surviving manuscript, are centred on Tweeddale,[788] and Glasgow’s known relationship with Stobo explains that; but what did Aberlady have to do with Glasgow? Aberlady is later an exclave of the diocese of Dunkeld, so why would it feature so prominently in early twelfth-century Kentigernic historical writing? There is some evidence, admittedly late, that Aberlady was dedicated to Kentigern. It is possible that this Kentigern material came from Aberlady, the former Lindisfarne-controlled minster apparently known in English as ‘Pefferham’.[789]

Another very speculative possibility is that Glasgow had controlled Aberlady for a period, in the same way it controlled Stobo and Hoddom. Dunkeld eventually acquired Aberlady, but I have found no evidence that it held this church in the first half of the twelfth century. Aberlady, along with other high-status churches of Abercorn and Crammond north of the Lammermuir, and Bunkle (with Preston) in Berwickshire, would constitute Dunkeld’s holdings south of the Forth. Soon after St Andrews' Coldingham treaty, a perambulation of the boundaries of Coldingham with the neighbouring proto-parish of Bunkle was agreed. The first and only episcopal witness was John, bishop of Glasgow. There is no mention of the bishop of Dunkeld, a strange omission were we to believe Dunkeld held these sites at this early stage. Not strange, however, if Dunkeld's 'Lothian' possessions had formerly belonged to Glasgow.[790] Is it possible that Dunkeld's later holdings were originally held by Glasgow?[791] If so, Glasgow would have had more credibility as the see for Lothian than it had after 1127.[792]

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[787] *ASC* MS E, s.a. 1125

[788] *Vita Merlini Silvestris*, edd. and trans. W. MacQueen and J. MacQueen, *Scottish Studies* 29 (1989), 77–93.

[789] Mungoswells lay at the (eastern) boundary of the parish, which in the absence of a local chapel is a typical clue about the dedication of a parish church in Scotland; see William Forrest, Map of Haddingtonshire (Edinburgh, 1802), sheet 1 (online at <<http://maps.nls.uk/joins/629.html>>). Dedication evidence also links the parish to Cuthbert, as Ballencrief became a medieval hospital dedicated to Cuthbert (*CDS*, II, no. 857). Ballencrief’s dedication may indicate association with the former Lindisfarne minster of Pefferham/Aberlady (cf. the chapel of Cuthbert at Tillmouth, a minster mentioned in the description of the diocese of Lindisfarne that failed even to become a parish); i.e., on the basis of the dedication, Pefferham might instead be better understood as the pre-Scottish name for Ballencrief, though this is perhaps meaningless as far as any particular site is concerned (for which archaeology is likely to be the best guide).

7.4.3 Newminster Age

At the core of the Anglo-Saxon state of the tenth and eleventh centuries were key centres such as Winchester, Bath, Gloucester and Westminster, palace sites supported by adjacent trading settlements and large religious houses. The Carolingian Renaissance in Francia 'renewed' the credibility of formalised Christianity and strengthened the association of learning with political administration and legitimacy. In the Southumbrian kingdom many new royal monasteries were founded with explicit commitment to the Benedictine rule in important royal centres: Bath, Glastonbury, and Abingdon prior to the reigns of Eadwig and Edgar, subsequently spreading and including Winchester and Westminster; they were also used in 'peripheral' regions near the Welsh border and eastern Danelaw where the abbots functioned as local agents of the king.[793] The foundation of these houses is associated with the period of tenth-century state-building, particularly in regard to the integration of

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[790] *CDI*, no. 41; cf. *RRS*, ɪɪ, no. 181, a confirmation of the latter whose first witness was Walter de Bidun, William the Lion's chancellor who was bishop-elect of Dunkeld in 1178 (charter's date is 1173x1178).

[791] A late-medieval history of the Dunkeld bishops suggests that patronage of Abercorn had been held by John Avenel until Bishop Richard (1170–1178) took it over (Alexander Mylne, Vi*tae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum*, ed. C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1831), 6). It is also possible that St Andrews initially held these territories, but lost them in the later dispute between Dunkeld and St Andrews after the former's bishop failed to gain royal support for his translation to the latter see. It is known that this bishop, John *Scotus*, retained churches pertaining to St Andrews prior to the settlement of the dispute (*Scotia Pontifica*, no. 124), that he was allowed to hold on to them after the settlement of the issue (*RHC*, ɪɪ, 353), and that his chiefs allies within the St Andrews diocese had included Aiulf dean of Lothian, who was subsequently in need of papal protection from molestation (*Scotia Pontifica*, nos. 141, 142).

[792] Alex Woolf has suggested that an episode in *Vita S. Kentegerni* (c.40) where Columba and Kentigern exchange croziers may relate to this; *VSK*, 109, 232; the episode specifically relates to Kentigern's English flock.

[793] D. A. Bullough, 'The Continental Background of the Reform', in *Tenth-Century Studies*, 202–15; J. Barrow, 'The Chronology of the Benedictine "Reform"', in *Edgar*, 211–23; D. H. Farmer, 'The Progress of the Monastic Revival', in *Tenth-Century Studies*, 10–19.

Wessex and Mercia.[794] Sponsorship of Benedictines neatly combined 'piety' and pragmatism. Conveniently for the kings, the Benedictine rule required high levels of literacy and stressed 'the abolition of private ownership' and 'the strict practice of celibacy'.[795] In addition, since part of the power of regional kin groups derived from control of local minsters and their cults, the exploitation of 'reforming' Christianity would have given the expanding kingship extra ability to undermine ideological sources resistance (religious or not).

In Northumbria, such Benedictine houses were not founded (with the potential exception of a house at either York or Ripon).[796] Further north, the *Céli Dé* may have represented a Scottish equivalent, taken from Ireland rather than the Continent, probably from Armagh. We have evidence for Scottish royal patronage of the *Céli Dé* during the same period, attested incidentally by King Causantín mac Áeda's 'retirement' as abbot of the *Céli Dé* at St Andrews, and by the foundation of Brechin's *Céli Dé* community in the reign of Cináed mac Maíl-Coluim.[797] They were still the 'establishment' in the early thirteenth century, when Gervase of Canterbury's *Mappa Mundi* lists the cathedrals of Brechin, Ross, Dunblane, and Iona as being *Céli Dé*, with St Andrews and Clann Crínáin's home house of Dunkeld served by both *Céli Dé* and 'black canons'. Abernethy, Loch Leven, Monymusk, Muthil, and Monifeith, are also known to have had houses of *Céli Dé*, and there is other possible evidence for houses at Lismore and Dornoch as well, perhaps, as Dunfermline.[798]

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[794] N. Banton, 'Monastic Reform and the Unification of Tenth-Century England', in S. Mews (ed.), *Religion and National Identity* (Oxford, 1982), 71–85.

[795] Farmer, 'Progress of the Monastic Revival', 12. While it is common to see a tension between ideology or cosmological beliefs (combined in the concept of 'piety') on the one hand and self-interest on the other, humans generally internalise beliefs that serve their interests, whether or not they are consciously aware of this. From an evolutionary functionalist standpoint, advancing individual or collective self-interest should be a key survival mechanism for any ideology and indeed the institutions that propagate an associated ideology. To take a naturalist analogy, pollen vectors such as bees that help flowers reproduce do so primarily because of their own psychological urges; however, the flower's shape and design is orientated, by 'accident' of evolution, to accommodate the bee. The flower that did not have an appropriate shape would cease to exist. Thus, religious institutions that believed in private ownership and personal inheritance, as opposed to being a corporation whose members owned no property and whose leader was in practise appointed by a ruler, would be unlikely to evoke the 'piety' of secular patrons and as a result would encounter serious difficulties replicating themselves.

[796] *VSOE*, 172–73: v.9; Banton, 'Monastic Reform', 78; but see comments of Lapidge, *VSO*, 172, n. 101.

[797] Anderson, *Kings and Kingship*, 283; *CKA*, 151, 161, noting however that they are only known to be *Céli Dé* from subsequent sources.

[798] W. Reeves, *The Culdees of the British Islands* (Dublin, 1864), 25–63; *SAEC*, 327–28; for Dunfermline, see *ESC*, no. 10 and the twelfth century '*Ivo* abbot of the Céli Dé' subscribing some kind of purported reproduction of an eleventh-century grant (possibly a Latin translation of an eleventh-century vernacular charter), with other dateable witnesses including Donnchad II, mormaer of Fife, Harald son of Matad, mormaer of Cat and earl of

Unfortunately, it is not unknown for modern historians to use the term (and its anglicization 'Culdee') generically to refer to any pre–Norman-era foundation in Celtic-speaking regions of Britain; this is very bad practice, and in fact the *Céli Dé* were a specific 'reforming' movement themselves. Indigenous houses north of the Forth as famous as Deer, Culross, and Mortlach have no known association with it. Despite the poor source material available for non–Anglo-Norman Scottish religious houses, we have evidence that *Céli Dé* officials were involved in royal administration.[799] Intriguingly there is also evidence, sadly surviving only late, that *Céli Dé* had been introduced into Northumbria by the Uí Ímair. A document from the hospital of St Leonard at York, dating to the time of Henry V, reported that until the reign of Stephen it had been dedicated to St Peter and governed by minsters known *Colidei*. This foundation, so it was claimed, had been in existence prior to the reign Æthelstan, who visited the church on his way to Scotland in the 930s.[800]

During Ranulf Flambard's episcopate Durham lost most of its most prestigious holdings, not only claims to Carlisle and Teviotdale (the heart of the old Lindisfarne diocese), but Hexham itself. The archbishop of York utilized the favourable politics to establish canons from York, Beverley, Northampton, and Huntingdon, under a new Augustinian corporation that fell under direct York overlordship.[801] David and Henry undermined Durham's position permanently by donating many of Durham's former religious houses to other prestigious religious orders. David had fundamentally been a client of Henry I, and it is implausible to see David's success at the expense of the bishop of Durham, another royal client, as being against Henry's will. Henry as their lord was ultimately responsible to each of them for the other's behaviour. After the death of Henry, the political situation changed, with David estranged from the new English king Stephen. In the years immediately following Henry's death King David and Earl Henry donated the sites of Melrose (1136) and Jedburgh (by 1138) to Cistercians and Augustinians respectively. The relation of these events is not certain. However, from the point of view of a dynast trying to alienate territory from a corporate rival whose source of power was religious prestige, the rational political strategy

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Orkney, and Ness son of William, lord of Leuchars. Ivo could, of course, be from Abernethy or any other *Céli Dé* house.

[799] *ESC*, nos. 10, 14; see also Clancy, '*Lebor Bretnach*', 100 et passim.

[800] For this, see Reeves, *Culdees*, 58–61, for document 144–45.

[801] For the foundation of the Augustinian Hexham Priory, see R. Walterspacher, *The Foundation of Hexham Priory, 1070–1170* (Middlesbrough, 2002), 4–12.

would be to find a mediator with similar or even more credibility. The Cistercians offered that, coincidence or not. The Northumbrian cult of St Boisel was shouldered aside for the French Marian multinational, with a marginalized centre surviving at nearby Lessudden, one of the few Northumbrian cults in Teviotdale to survive the Scoto-Norman conquest.[802]

Durham was given a parish church at the new burgh of Berwick in 'compensation' for the permanent loss of Melrose, but there is no indication they received anything for Jedburgh. Jedburgh had possibly gone earlier in the century to David's 'resurrected' Cumbrian see, or may have been under junior Uhtredings hostile to Durham.[803] Augustinians from Nostell Priory in Yorkshire played an important part in staffing the senior ecclesiastical positions in northern Britain. From 1124 it supplied the bishop of St Andrews and the prior of Scone. The first bishop of Carlisle was Nostell's abbot Æthelwold; he was consecrated to Carlisle in 1133, but retained his position at Nostell until his death 1157x1158.[804] English Augustinians and other 'non-monastic canons' (along with *Céli Dé*) appear to have formed a core of David's palatial service class, functioning (with the assistance of their flexible rule) alongside a core of Scottish and Norman military followers as the backbone of the emerging Davidian state. By the end of his reign David had established English Augustinians at two of his other major secular sites: Edinburgh and Stirling.[805] The association of Augustinians with royal sites extended into 'English' territory, with Henry founding a house at Bamburgh, as well as Carlisle, and with churches of royal/earldom centres like Newcastle, Carham, Newburn, Warkworth, Rothbury, Corbridge, and Whittingham attached to the Carlisle Augustinians.[806]

Under the new dioceses the medieval parish system formed. The kings and their agents enforced the collection of tithes and the provision of standard pastoral services, and so parishes emerged as collection and service regions with a particular church at their heart. In former Northumbrian regions this process ran concurrently with the foundation of large abbeys and priories. As Richard Lomas observed, ideological forces in the twelfth century were so strongly against 'secular' control of church offices that it was hardly worthwhile to retain patronage of the rectorship (what was later called the advowson) of such churches; because of this, newly-established Norman knights (as well as some 'natives') ceded such honours to large religious corporations.[807] With such 'gifts', the up-and-coming lord co-opted the corporation's connections with the king and Western Church, helping to institutionalise the status of his church and its parochial rights. An uncareful lord, lacking or negligent about cultivating these links, might end up with dependents forced to go to a 'chapel', effectively ceding power and wealth to a local rival and endangering the long-term position of his family in the region. Ecclesiastics without the right allies could also find themselves displaced.[808] The 'State' benefitted because the resources of localities were being transferred to a smaller number of centres. In the case of the early–twelfth-century Scottish king, Southforthian abbeys were overwhelmingly concentrated in his two eastern palace regions. Abbeys at Roxburgh (Kelso), formerly Selkirk, and Edinburgh (Holyrood) gained revenues from across the region, including overlordship of older establishments such as Lesmahagow and Falkirk.[809] With monumental stone building in the region having virtually ceased since Roman times, it resumed in the twelfth century as the wealth of much of the Tweed basin and dependent regions flowed through royal and ecclesiastical tribute systems into a few closely-connected monastic and palace sites; in the case of the Scottish king's lands, those lay around the Teviot and western side of the Firth of Forth.

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[802] Cowan, *Parishes*, 130–31, s.v. A chapel of Æthelthryth survived at Yetholm (*Kelso Liber*, no. 361).

[803] As Alex Woolf has pointed out to me, the *Glasgow Inquest* contains the names of two men, Halfdan and Uhtred, with patronymics linking them to the killers of Walcher.

[804] *Fasti EA*, II, 19.

[805] David's step-son Waltheof was a canon of Nostell and later became abbot of Melrose. There may be some irony in Jocelin of Furness's claim that Waltheof had entered Nostell to avoid ecclesiastical office—it was probably the one place north of the Humber an inspiring ecclesiastical bureaucrat would be most drawn to! See *VSW*, 106–07, 223–24 (=c. 18–19).

[806] *RRAN*, II, no. 572, 1431.

Conclusion

The first half of the twelfth century, as half centuries go, was not particularly important north of the Forth or in Southumbria; but in 'Middle Britain' it saw the establishment of the administrative structures that divided the region afterwards between a kingdom centred north of the Forth and one centred south of Watling Street. Perhaps from the age of Máel-Coluim III but certainly by the time of King Alexander I and Earl David, the Clann Crínáin leaders of Scotland acquired and regularly visited residences in the region. The new Scottish zone can be divided in two distinct palace zones north and south of the Lammermuir, connected by deep valleys and royal roads. Judging by charters, Edinburgh was the chief residence of the northern palace zone and Roxburgh the equivalent in the Tweed basin. Alexander and David (and indeed Edgar) possessed Scottish and Anglo-Saxon royal blood and the family's territorial gains in this region predated the 1110s; nonetheless, by the marriage of David mac Maíl-Choluim and Countess Matilda, daughter of Earl Waltheof, Clann Crínáin's credentials as the successors to the rulers of both the 'Northern English' and the Northumbrian ealdormen (as well, perhaps, as Strathclyde), were reinforced. South of the Cheviots, after the destruction of Robert de Mowbray the Norman kings of England took a similar same role; but in contrast to the Scottish monarch, the Norman was generally an absentee ruler.

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[807] See Lomas, *County of Conflict*, 104–35, for a description of this process.

[808] Such appears to have been the fate of *Nigellus clericus* of Keith, Dunfermline's client in an area assigned to it by Alexander I. Having apparently lost territory (Keith-Humbie) to a dependent of Kelso, and under attack from the *persona* of Crichton, papal judge delegates declared that the remainder of the holding would be submerged in Crichton after *Nigellus*' death in return for a cash payment to Dunfermline; *CDI*, no, 33, and *RRS*, ı, no. 118; *Dunfermline Reg*., nos 113, 169, 170.

[809] *Kelso Liber*, no. 180; *Holyrood Liber*, APP. I, no. 1.

If royal presence contrasted across the new border, administrative developments did not. By the end of the 1130s most of the region between the Forth and the Tyne was brought under new districts assigned to sheriffs. Some of the earliest evidence here might be read to suggest two sheriffs of the Northumbrians based in Bamburgh and Corbridge, perhaps as late as the 1110s. In this theory, Corbridge's sheriff was responsible for the districts between the Coquet and Tyne, and Bamburgh's sheriff was responsible for the lands north of the Coquet, including perhaps some responsibility for the region around Carlisle and for lands lying north of the Tweed and Cheviots. If 'Bamburghshire' and 'Corbridgeshire' were ever planned, they did not survive the 1110s. Instead, the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland (and indeed Lancaster) took up this function, later joined in turn by Westmorland; on the Scottish side, sheriffs specifically responsible for Teviotdale, the Merse, and Lothian (i.e. north of the Lammermuir) existed by the 1130s. Later in the century these officials were verifiably joined by men responsible for Clydesdale, Tweeddale, Lauderdale, and Selkirk.

The Anglo-Norman regime compensated for the king's absence by delegating much *de facto* military and judicial powers formally held by the native earl to two justiciars, Eustace fitz John and Walter Espec. This system, fashioned by Henry I, succeeded earlier Norman marcher lordships created by his brother William II. Although the region north of the Tyne avoided Norman conquest until the last decade or decade and a half of the eleventh century, the pattern of Norman military settlement that had taken place in

Southumbria and Yorkshire came to be replicated further north. Most important landholdings were taken by incoming Norman soldiers, leaving little economic or military power in the hands of native Englishmen. This was even the case in English zones supervised by Clann Crínáin and the Scottish kings. Numerous knight-fees and smaller holdings were created for Frenchmen in Clann Crínáin palace regions; elsewhere, the Scottish rulers set up several large-scale provincial lordships for senior Norman or Anglo-French commanders, who themselves settled their own followers. In some Scottish-controlled zones Gaelic-speaking Scots and Gall-Gaidel seem to have benefitted from this redistribution of power as well, though probably not in Annandale or Teviotdale (at least not to any visible extent). By the end of the twelth century, there were mormaerships / earldoms held by 'native' families in the non-palace regions of Southforthian Scotland, and the king's relationship with Gall-Gaidel and other Southforthian Gaelic regions had come to be regularised.

By c. 1130, a new episcopal settlement had been reached by the Scottish and Anglo-Norman monarchs. Bishoprics based at Carlisle, Whithorn, and Glasgow, as well as Durham and north of the Forth, divided the region into large regions for service provision and tribute extraction. Meanwhile, smaller service–tribute areas, parishes, began to emerge as constituent parts of these dioceses. Secular potentates, the two kings most of all, chose new corporations of monks and canons, drawn chiefly from southern England or Continental Europe, as middle men for many of these new parishes. The religious corporations used their wealth for monumental construction and as an economic base for their own special ideological and administrative services. However impermanent the new secular divisions might have been, potentially mutable by any important treaty or marriage, these developments, in particular the acquisition and partition of most of the Tweed basin by the Strathclyde see of Glasgow and Scottish sees of St Andrews and Dunkeld, were very difficult to reverse. Any Westminster king seeking to change these borders to his advantage, for instance 're-adding' 'Lothian' to his patrimony, would have to deal with an ecclesiastical establishment based further north that would either have to be subordinated itself or else deprived of many of its most valuable holdings. The latter would have involved the king acquiring a wide range of domestic and international enemies, and the infrequency with which the English monarchy altered internal ecclesiastical boundaries later in the Middle

Ages suggests that this was rarely a task worth taking on.[810] In dividing ‘Middle Britain’ into dioceses that respected the zones controlled by the Anglo-Norman and Scottish kings as they were in the late 1120s, these kings made that territorial agreement part of God’s universal order. The cosmologisation of the new political equilibrium was an accident of timing, but this accident ensured the end of ‘Middle Britain’ and the endurance of the familiar Anglo-Scottish border.

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[810] In Poland and Russia, conversion-era episcopates seem to be largely responsible for making these ‘nations’ meaningful after long periods of political fragmentation. This is highlighted by Lithuania’s long campaign to get Constantinople to split the Metropolitanate of Rus, which was contested with the Muscovite rulers of Suzdalia (discussed by J. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia* (Cambridge, 1981), chapters 4, 8–10, et passim, and Rowell, *Lithuania Ascending*, c. 6.

Conclusion

Shortage of reliable annals after the later ninth century limits what we can say about the politics of Northumbria in subsequent years. For instance, we are unlikely to be able to reconstruct anything more than a fragmented picture of royal succession in the era, even for the Scandinavian 'kings of York'. There are, however, some things we probably can say. Despite widespread belief that the kingdom failed in the later ninth century, some of Northumbria's rulers are in fact known by name, including several from its last known dynasty, the Eadwulfings. The kingdom was however stripped of important territory in the 870s by Great Army settlers. The newcomers formed political communities in southern and western Northumbria, in north-eastern Mercia, and in East Anglia. With the Eadwulfings rising to dominance in the rump Northumbrian kingdom, the Uí Ímair from Ireland (or at least the west) came to dominate much of the Anglo-Norse settlement region. The position they established drew in, whether by fear or greed, the Ecgberhting rulers of Wessex and Mercia, and in the later 920s and 930s King Æthelstan was able to establish overlordship of the region. There are also signs that he held superiority over some if not all of the Eadwulfings based further north. His successor Edmund was, however, unable to retain this position early in his reign. During this period, the Eadwulfings seem to have been antagonistic towards the Uí Ímair and friendly with the Ecgberhtings, perhaps subordinate partners in an alliance. These relationships probably continued until the effective end of the Ua Ímair threat in the 950s.

The traditional picture of the Viking-Age Northumbrian episcopate has been one of dissolution in the ninth century. As we have seen, it is hard to say that reliable sources verify this account. Contemporary evidence seems to indicate that the episcopate retained its size (if not its shape) at least until the 930s. Contemporary charter evidence indicates very strongly that the Northumbrian Church retained a group of suffragans equal to, if not exceeding, its number in the ninth century. Except for York, coverage of all Northumbrian bishops (and many Southumbrian ones) in episcopal lists terminates in the early ninth century. Episcopal lists produced after 1100 assert continuity between Durham and Lindisfarne and name bishops for the Viking Age, appearing to make the survival of the Cuthbertine see exceptional among Northumbria's junior bishoprics. This however can be explained as a side-effect of evidence preservation; if we are reliant on Viking-Age evidence alone, coverage of the Cuthbertine see ends in the early ninth century just like Hexham and Whithorn.

Significantly, far from supporting the relocation of the body of Cuthbert from Lindisfarne to Chester-le-Street in the late ninth century, the better evidence suggests that the body was instead at Norham on the river Tweed, at least around 1000. The Chester-le-Street story is first documented in late–eleventh- and early–twelfth-century Anglo-Norman historical writing; it is partly myth, partly fact, and partly speculation. If Craster's dating of *Cronica Monasterii Dunelmensis* is accurate, then the first generation of Anglo-Normans at Durham did not initially recognize that Cuthbert's body had ever been moved in the Viking Age, though they were aware that it had once been at Lindisfarne. They also seem to have learned that it came to Durham via a third location. Two different traditions were recorded by *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*. One held that the body had been transported from Lindisfarne to Norham in the time of a bishop named Ecgred; while another preferred a move from Lindisfarne to Chester-le-Street, in a story centred on a bishop named Eardwulf and his companions, the ancestors of a number of late–eleventh-century native English Cuthbertine stakeholders. Having had access to both accounts preserved by the *Historia*, Symeon in *Libellus de Exordio* omitted the Norham episode and instead promoted only the Chester-le-Street story. The latter was subsequently adopted by many other English annalists, and Symeon's choice meant that, thereafter, the story was to establish itself as a central 'fact' of the Viking-Age Northumbrian church.

In the early tenth century the Ecgberhtings, Eadwulfings, and Uí Ímair seem to have competed for domination over the fragmented political landscape north of Watling Street, but later in the tenth century unambiguous Ecgberhting dominance came to be the norm. Northumbria became, it seems, attached to the new kingdom of England. Traditional accounts of Northumbria's political history after 954 have been dominated by the 'Northumbrian Earldom Foundation Legend', which claimed that after the death of King Erik the 'former' kingdom was divided into two earldoms. In chapter four, this was tested against contemporary evidence. The latter did not clearly verify its account. Multiple *duces* seem to have been based in the region as far as the reign of Edgar, and indeed beyond. The account did seem to be correct however in one sense: a viceregal Northumbrian ealdordom appears to have come into existence by the later 960s. Nonetheless, there were still at least two other *duces* until c.1000 if not beyond. At least one of these *duces* was from the Eadwulfing lineage. The latter appears to have continued in the far north long after 954. Details about their interaction with the 'unified' English kingdom are very limited after the reduction of their common Hiberno-Norse enemy, and the evidence is open-ended enough that the continuation of a Northumbrian kingdom north of the Tyne (or at least north of the Coquet) should be considered a reasonable possibility. If so, however, in the later tenth or early eleventh century King Æthelred appears to have utilized these people to supplement his own position in southern Northumbria, by making Uhtred ealdorman.

The near-contemporary annals in *ASC* show that Æthelred's successor Cnut replaced Uhtred with a man named Erik, s.a. 1017. Erik and his successor Siward appear to have exercised the role of royal ealdorman, at least initially, without altering the office's relationship with the 'Northern English' polity. That might have changed in 1041 when Earl Eadwulf was killed by Siward and Harthacnut; but as far as the evidence is concerned, the unit may have survived in some form as far as the era of Robert de Mowbray. After the death of Eadwulf, Siward had imposed a monk of Peterborough as bishop of Durham, the first Southumbrian episcopal appointee. It marked the beginning of a new era in the institution's history, the office essentially becoming an extension of 'Southenglish' power. The north after 954 was, however, very politically diverse. The defeat of the Uí Ímair allowed the Ecgberhtings to exercise a safe if not particularly intimate lordship over the Danelaw, while governing their former Northumbrian and East Anglian territory via ealdormen or earls based in southern Northumbria. Despite this, descendants of the Uí Ímair appear to have continued to rule in the Rhinns of Galloway, and perhaps in other western regions of the former kingdom's territory. Not all of the west was lost, however, and Siward does appear to have brought modern Cumberland under some sort of dominion, as well, potentially, as Strathclyde. Firm evidence of the politics of the northern region cannot be found until the later eleventh century, when most of it was conquered by the Normans. The Normans established large territorial lordships, including an earldom in Durham and, later, an earldom over the Tyne, as well as a lordship in Cumberland. They also appear to have utilized Scottish allies in adjacent regions, by favouring certain sons of the deceased Scottish king Máel-Coluim mac Donnchada.

Reconstructions of Scottish expansion in the far north have previously relied very heavily on two important historical theories. The first of these was that Strathclyde had been converted into a Scottish appanage realm; the second, that ‘Lothian’ had been granted to the Scots by an English ruler—in one account King Edgar, in another ‘Earl’ Eadwulf *Cudel*. Evidence for Strathclyde as an appanage to Scotland or as otherwise structurally subordinate to the power of Scottish dynasts has in more recent years been seriously undermined. Likewise, the ‘Lothian’ sources cannot be shown to predate the twelfth century, or at least the later eleventh. Contemporary evidence suggests very strongly that Scottish royal control south of the Forth was very limited prior to the mid eleventh century. It was suggested that the process of Scottish expansion might be better understood with reference to the political fluidity of the eleventh century, and from the point of view of great families rather than simply the political corporations like ‘Scotland’, ‘England’, ‘Strathclyde’ or ‘Northumbria’. Such entities can also be analysed as resources for leading families, resources with important differences between core, tributary, and predatory regions. It is possible, here, to see the attachment of Southforthian regions to the Scottish realm as a side-effect of the rise of Crínán and his sons and grandsons, where this family gained control of Strathclyde and Scotland separately. Whether or not this view is correct, the intensification of Scottish activity in the north of England can be linked with Southumbrian political disintegration. It is in the aftermath of the Norman Conquest of northern Northumbria, and of the Norman abolition of its earldom, that Clann Crínáin gained control of most of the Tweed basin.

Even if the traditional presentation of the pre–twelfth-century episcopate is flawed, it is not clear that we have enough evidence to present a more realistic picture with a similar amount of detail. What is true is that for the later tenth century the contemporary evidence is not at odds with an episcopate in contraction. Between 1013 and 1031 the body of Cuthbert appears to have been moved from Norham to Durham, suggesting that a move of the episcopal seat may have been planned, if not forced. Charter subscriptions and a letter written by Eadmund II bishop of Lindisfarne combine to suggest that the ‘see of Hexham’ had probably disappeared somewhere in the mid-to-late tenth century. It was suggested that Hexham’s fate may have been linked to that of Ripon, a church that was burned and deprived of its relics by the Southumbrian king and his churchmen in the 940s. Ealdorman

Uhtred may have tried to restore the see of Hexham at Durham, but if so either he or a successor decided that its establishment should be merged with that of Lindisfarne. It is chronologically possible that this move was related to wider trends, if not policy, in the era of Cnut, which saw the establishment and rationalization of multiple episcopal sees across the Scandinavian-ruled world. The same process may have accounted for the rise of a see in the regions to the west of the Lindisfarne–Durham diocese, either at Hoddom or Glasgow (or somewhere similar), though likewise political domination of Strathclyde by Earl Siward may alone account for the appearance of such bishops in Northumbrian literary records. Bishops of Whithorn, whether or not the see continued, would have ceased to play a significant role in English or eastern Northumbrian politics in this period because of the political detachment of the Rhinns from mainland Britain and the increased orientation of its Hiberno-Norse rulers towards the Irish Sea and Atlantic regions.

By the early twelfth century most if not all of the region had fallen under either the Norman dynasty of England or their Scottish allies, the sons of the Máel-Coluim III. Norman military settlers played a critical role throughout the area, including regions with Scottish lordship, like Teviotdale and Annandale. In the case of Clann Crínáin of Scotland, the latter's presence also meant royal residences. This distinguished the Scottish region from the zone retained to the lordship of the Norman kings, whose presence was at best periodic—and indeed Scottish rulers even based themselves south of the Tweed and Solway when ruling as earls in England's northern counties between 1139 and 1157. At least two zones of control were established by Clann Crínáin by the early twelfth century: one was north of the Lammermuir, ruled by the reigning king north of the Forth; the second was to its south and west, running from the Tweed basin over into Strathclyde. With the accession of Earl David to the kingship, these zones were brought together. The region's conquest by the Norman rulers of England and their Scottish clients also saw the institution of what turned out to be fairly long-term administrative structures. These included territorial shires on the model the Normans had encountered in Southumbrian England, dioceses with a system of parishes and tithes, markets in the form of regulated exchange / trading regions based on licensed settlements of traders and artisans, and Continental-style religious corporations. The arrangements that the Scots and Normans made during this period defined the region for the remainder of the Middle Ages.

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The aim of this thesis has been to build a framework for understanding the political structures of its region and era using (where possible) only the most reliable literary sources—rather than simply using these sources to supplement a framework created from later, less reliable sources. It is unlikely that there will be much objection to the intent here, but there is plenty of room for other objections. Depending so much on such literary sources means being dependent on those who produced and preserved them; such processes are themselves the outcome of political history. As little as *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* tells us about eastern Northumbria in the early tenth century, it is worth remembering that neither Strathclyde nor the region later known as Galloway produced any documentary evidence from the entirety of the tenth and eleventh centuries, at least none that has been specifically identified. Historians can never know the extent to which we are misled by the distribution and relatively arbitrary topic choice of surviving sources, but it is particularly hard to believe these are a good guide. Although some effort has been made to de-centre the topic choices and focuses of surviving sources, the thesis was ultimately based on a narrow range of unevenly distributed sources.

The *Adulf* 'king of the Northern Saxons' known by Irish annals and, probably, William of Malmesbury, should give us a sense of how all-encompassing our ignorance is even for the basics of the tenth century, even in relative hotspots of documentary evidence (here the information preserved in *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*). *Adulf* avoided oblivion by the narrowest of margins. Doubtlessly many were not as 'fortunate', and indeed perhaps *Adulf* was very unusual. The extent of our ignorance of this period could raise questions about the usefulness of such a study; or at least, the usefulness of concentrating on political structures and building such a picture up from literary sources. Much of this thesis has been destructive, because so much time was spent undermining the evidence for established views of the era. In its place, the critic could argue, little more than a lot of maybes and mights have been offered. Indeed, there is no denying that even on an optimistic outlook, it would be surprising if more than 2/3rds of the thesis's 'positive' suggestions would stand up to the emergence of other evidence, or even sustained scrutiny. Even if it did, the limited, uneven, and relatively arbitrary survival of evidence means that the most reasonable interpretations of surviving sources are not necessarily, or even probably, the accurate one.

And even if they were, how important were the principal political structures anyway? Our sources give their attention to the Eadwulfings, the Uí Ímair, the Scots, and so forth; this attention generally comes in the context of military or diplomatic activity, which is episodic, irregular, and related to rare escalations of political rivalry and unusual availability of dynastic opportunity. For most of the time, such political units may have had very little significance. For example, if surviving evidence about the late twentieth century was of the same nature, we would concentrate our picture on the governments of the USA and Nato, the USSR and the Warsaw Pact; and, more specifically, the interactions of these units with, say, a few large corporations (here taken as the equivalent of the religious house). While this sort of thing is important, perhaps politically more important than anything else, describing this alone provides very limited insight into how the second-half of the twentieth century generally worked for most of the world, either the populations of these two units, or its 'Third World'. Extending the same analogy, the Uí Ímair and Eadwulfings were the two superpowers inside the region in the early tenth century, followed chronologically by the rulers of England and Scotland later: but how big was the Middle Britain's 'Third World' in these periods?

Surviving evidence generally must have a teleological bias. Aside from being produced almost entirely by one professional class, ecclesiastical *literati*, it needs to be preserved and reproduced. A survival condition of such evidence is often that it has to be useful to the custodians of power in later centuries. Our Durham sources were preserved for that reason. The logic of our thesis has been set by the surviving output of Anglo-Norman theorists, thus inevitably projecting some of the economic and political geography of the late eleventh and early twelfth back into earlier centuries. In regards to the Church, almost all attention was given to the great episcopal houses: Durham, Glasgow, and their predecessors. It is not particularly clear, however, that such churches were significantly greater than a variety of houses of similar size, save for episcopal status. The bulk of our investigation of the Church concentrated on Lindisfarne, almost certainly the patrimonial church of the ruling Eadwulfing. Yet of all the northern *duces* appearing in the snapshot of 'Middle British' politics offered by Æthelstanian charters, that family accounts for two attestations, possibly none of them ruling at the time. What churches corresponded to the powerbase of the others? At the mouth of the river Kent, the valley of Gille-Míchéil in *Domesday TRE*, is

Heversham. Heversham appears illusively in *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* as the abbacy held by Tilred before he became abbot of Norham (and, according to episcopal lists, the Cuthbertine bishop). The church has what is almost certainly an early-medieval dedication to Peter; the hill above the site of the Heversham minister is called ‘Mabbin’s Hall’ (originally ‘howe’), with the spellings suggestive of a Viking-Age association with a figure whose name derived from Celtic *Maponnos*. The location next to a church might suggest that it was a saint related to the Cornish saint *Mabon* (and perhaps the more northerly Machan), though it is also possible that he was a secular hero in the region, perhaps one involved in some lost local hagiography devoted to someone else.[811] Almost nothing is known about this obviously important church; archaeological work around Heversham and nearby Mabbin’s Hall and Hincaster is very limited, but some sculptural survivals suggest the area would probably yield information on a par with that yielded at Hoddom in Annandale.[812] What if the abbey of Heversham produced most of the evidence for this period? How different would our period look? What if Tyninghame had been responsible? Or Hartlepool? Or Falkirk? If bishoprics had not seen an upsurge in importance from expanding states structures originating south of the Humber and north of the Forth, or if the choices made by rulers from those regions had been different, how important would Viking-Age Cuthbert have been compared to Balthere, Hilda, or Modan? What potentates would we hear more about?

Yet our literary evidence is important. It is the most useful evidence we have for the topic; and on many points of information, independent sources from Ireland, Scotland, and southern England corroborate the picture. Its imperfections limit its usefulness, but do not deny it; acknowledging these imperfections is also an integral part of utilizing it effectively. Flawed understandings built from literary sources that have found their way into the modern scholar’s repertoire need to be identified and rejected; if these sources are not used well, other evidence will not be interpreted accurately. For example, sculpture on the island of Lindisfarne seems to reach a 'second peak' in the tenth century;[813] but belief that the site had been abandoned, encouraged by unreliable but charismatic Symeonic tradition, has discouraged interpretation (though Lindisfarne's occupation and sack c. 941 is attested in better evidence anyway). It is likely that much future insight about this region, as part of Britain and Ireland more generally, will come from gathering and analysing large amounts of computer-organized data, from prosopography, saints dedication, sculptural styles, and so on. Some of this will retain the teleological bias, like prosopography and saints dedications. The cumulative effect of such data and its analysis will however probably rebalance our picture somewhat.[814] Archaeology will, over the long haul, illuminate the distribution of economic and political power. Place-name studies will continue improving our understanding of environmental and cultural institutions otherwise lost. As our understanding of the full range of evidence for the era continues to improve, textual historians will understand their texts better and, acknowledging the limits of their evidence, they will continue to offer new insights. It is hoped that this thesis contributes to the future study of the region, even if only imperfectly.

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[811] Earliest form is thirteenth-century *Mabaneshou*, but the combination of British and Norse suggest Viking-Age coining; Smith, *PNW*, ɪ, 92. Note also the place-names ‘Mabbin’s Crag’ (Westmorland), Lochmaben (Dumfriesshire), and ‘Lochmaben Stone’ / ‘Maben’s Stone’ (the earliest English form, in the fourteenth century, is the redundancy-carrying semi-calque, *Clochmabenstane*); Watson, *CPNS*, 180–81, and *PASE*, s.v. ‘Maban 1’, ‘Mabon 1’.

[812] A vague pointer in this direction might be the number of indexed entries for pre-excavated Hoddom and Heversham in Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*.

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[813] David Petts, pers. comm..

[814] For instance, it is clear from dedications in this region that Michael is much more important than Cuthbert, both in terms of dedications numbers and in the location of such dedications; seemingly at pre-Cuthbertine Durham itself (*LDE*, 254–55: iv.10), as well as other regional political centres like Linlithgow (*St Andrews Liber*, 348), Haddington (*RRS*, ii, no. 235) the citadels of Edinburgh (*VMM, 122*) and Stirling (*Stirling Chrs,* no. 19), Egremont (Arnold-Forster, SCD, iii, 115), Burgh-by-Sands (*Reg. Holm Cultram*, no. 1), Brough-in-Westmorland (Arnold-Forster, *SCD*, iii, 69), Appleby (*RRAN*, ii, no. 1130), and probably Dumfries and Sprouston (Smith, 'Sprouston', 263).

APPENDICES

Appendix I: Figures

a) Episcopal Lists for Viking-Age 'Durham' (sample)

Cotton Vespasion B vi (c. 811–833)	Cotton Tiberius B v (c. 989–995)	CCCC 140 (c. 1100)	*GPA* (early 1120s)	OCCC 157 (1120s?)	*LDE* (1104 – 1107 x 1115)	*DPSA* (c. 1120s)
x.Hygbald	viiii.Sigebald	x. Hygebald	Hignbaldus	xi. Hygbald	Higbaldus	Higbaldus
/Ecgberht/	x. Ecberht	xi. Ecgberht	Egbert	xii. Ecgbertus	Ecgberhtus	Egbertus
//Eadmund//					Heathuredus	Hadredus
					Ecgredus	Ecgredus
					Eanbertus	Eanbertus
			Erdulf	xiii. Eardulfus	Eardulfus	Eardulfus
						Hardulfus
			Cuthheard	xiiii. Cuthheard	Cutheardus	Cuthardus
			Milred	*[W]* ilredus	Tilredus	Tilredus
				[?]igredus	Wigredus	Wigredus
			Vhtred	[?]htredus	Vhtredus	Uchtredus
			Seaxhelm	[?]exhelmus	Sexhelmus	Sexhelmus
			Aldred	[?]ldredus	Aldredus	
			Assius	[?]lsius	Elfsig	Alfsius
			Aldhun	[?]ldhunus	Aldhunus	Aldunus
			Edmund	Eadmundus	Eadmundus	Eadmundus
			Edred	[?]dredus	Eadredus	Edredus
			Egeluuinus	[?]gelricus	Egelricus	Egelricus
			Egelricus	[?]gelwinus	Egelwinus	Egelwinus
			Walkerus	[?]alcerus	Walcherus	Walcherus
			Willelmus	[?]illelmus	Willelmus	Guillelmus
			Rannulfus	[?]annulfus	Rannulfus	Rannulfus

b) Suggested Possible Rulers of the ‘Northern English’

[List not intended to be exhaustive, some suggestions very speculative]

Verifiable King Phase

Osberht I	fl. c.866
Ælla	†867
Ecgberht I	†873
Ricsige	†876
Ecgberht II	fl. 876x883
Osberht II	fl. 901
‘Prince’ Eardwulf	fl. 899x924
Eadwulf grandson of Ælla	†913
Ealdred Eadwulfing	fl. 927–933
Adulf mcEtulfe (Æthelwulf Eadwulfing?)	†934

Traditional ‘Earl’ Phase

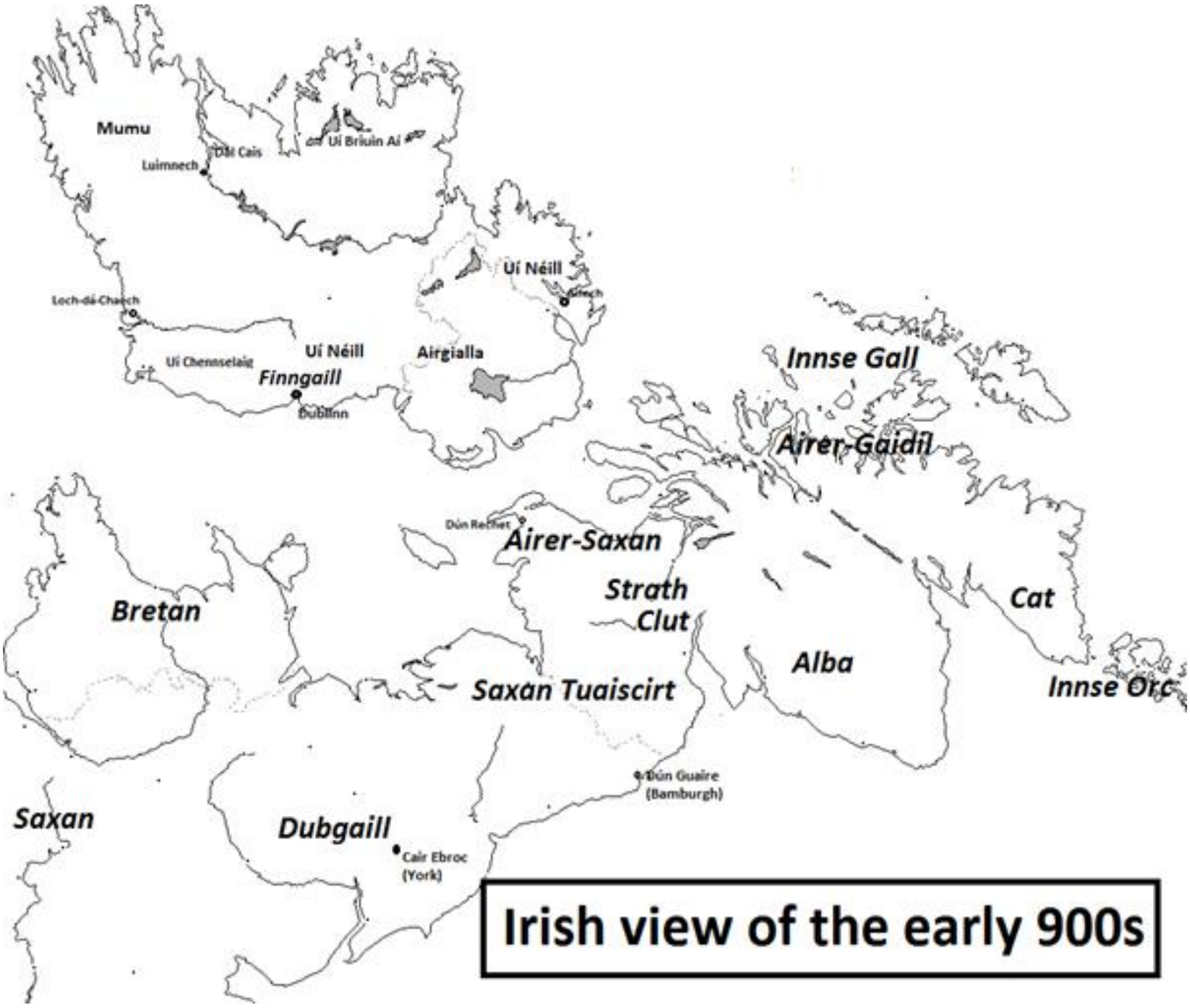
Oswulf Eadwulfing	fl. 934–954
Eadwulf *Evilcild*	fl. 968–970
Waltheof grandson of Oswulf	fl. 994
Uhted son of Waltheof	†1016x1019
Eadwulf son of Uhtred	†1041
Oswulf son of Eadwulf	†1067
Gospatric son of Máel-Doraid	fl. 1067–1073x1080
Eadwulf *Rus*	fl. 1080
Dolfin son of Gospatric	fl. 1092

c) Viceregal Ealdormen of Northumbria

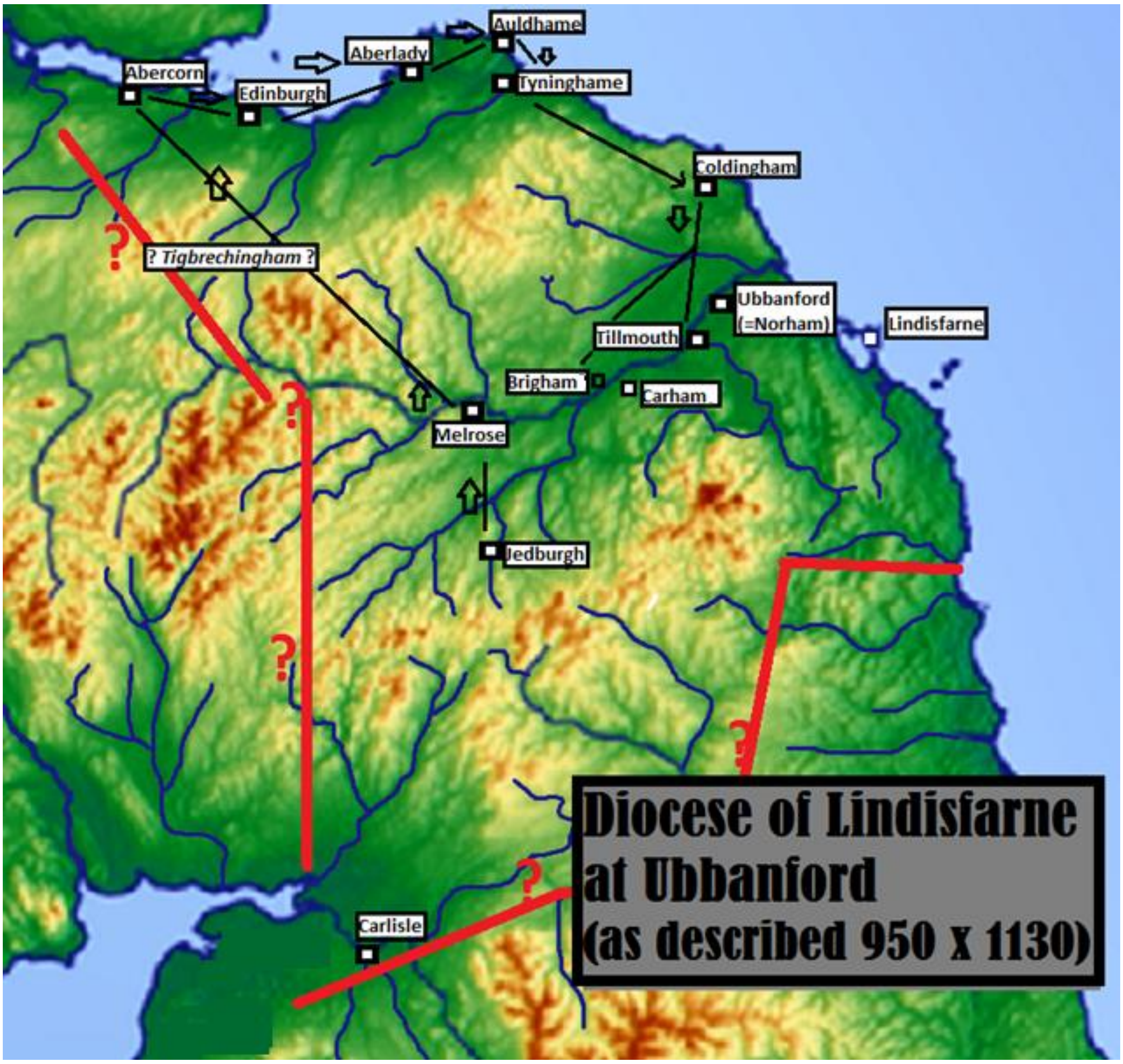
Oslac	c. 963–975
Thored son of Gunner	975–c.992
Ælfhelm	†1006
Uhtred son of Waltheof	†1016x1019
Erik of Hlaðir	fl. 1017
Siward	c.1033–1055
Tostig son of Godwine	1055–1065
Morcar son of Ælfgār	1065–1068
Robert de Commines	1068–1069
Waltheof son of Siward	deposed 1075
Walcher	†1080
Alberic	fl. 1080x1086
Robert de Mowbray	deposed 1095

Appendix II: Maps

a) Irish Scheme of Tenth-Century Britain

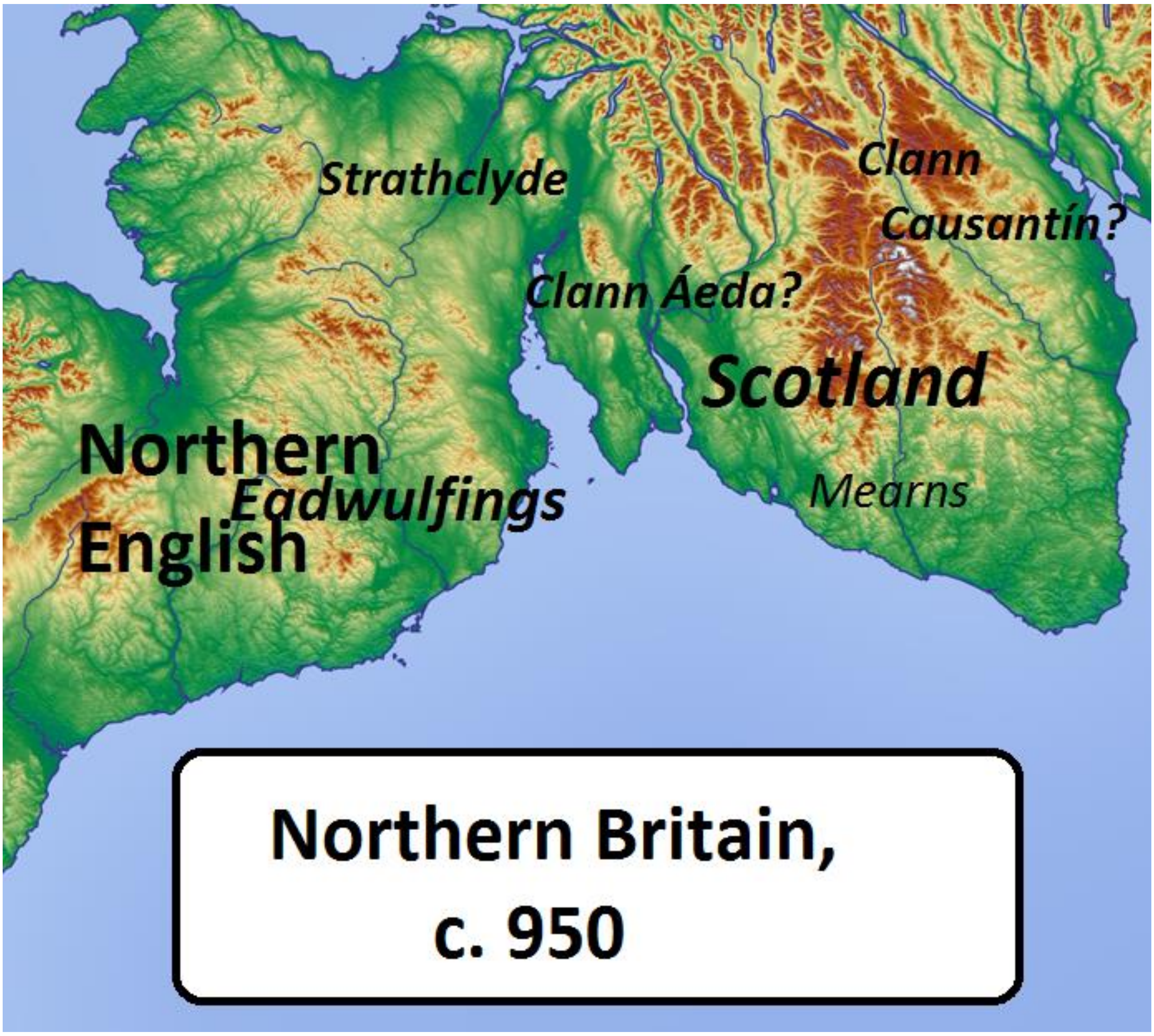

Mumu
Dál Cais
Luimnech
Uí Briuin Ai
Uí Néill
Ailech
Loch-dá-Chaech
Uí Néill
Uí Chennselaig
Finngaill
Dublinn
Airgialla
Innse Gall
Airer-Gaidil
Dún Rechet
Airer-Saxan
Strath
Clut
Bretan
Cat
Alba
Saxan Tuaiscirt
Innse Orc
Dún Guaire
(Bamburgh)
Saxan
Dubgaill
Cair Ebroc
(York)
Irish view of the early 900s

b) Regnum Saxan Aquilonalium?


Auldhame
Aberlady
Abercorn
Edinburgh
Tyninghame
Coldingham
? Tigbrechingham ?
Ubbanford
(=Norham)
Lindisfarne
Tillmouth
Brigham
Carham
Melrose
Jedburgh
Carlisle
Diocese of Lindisfarne
at Ubbanford
(as described 950 x 1130)

(The map upon which this is based was taken from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Uk_topo_en.jpg, licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license).

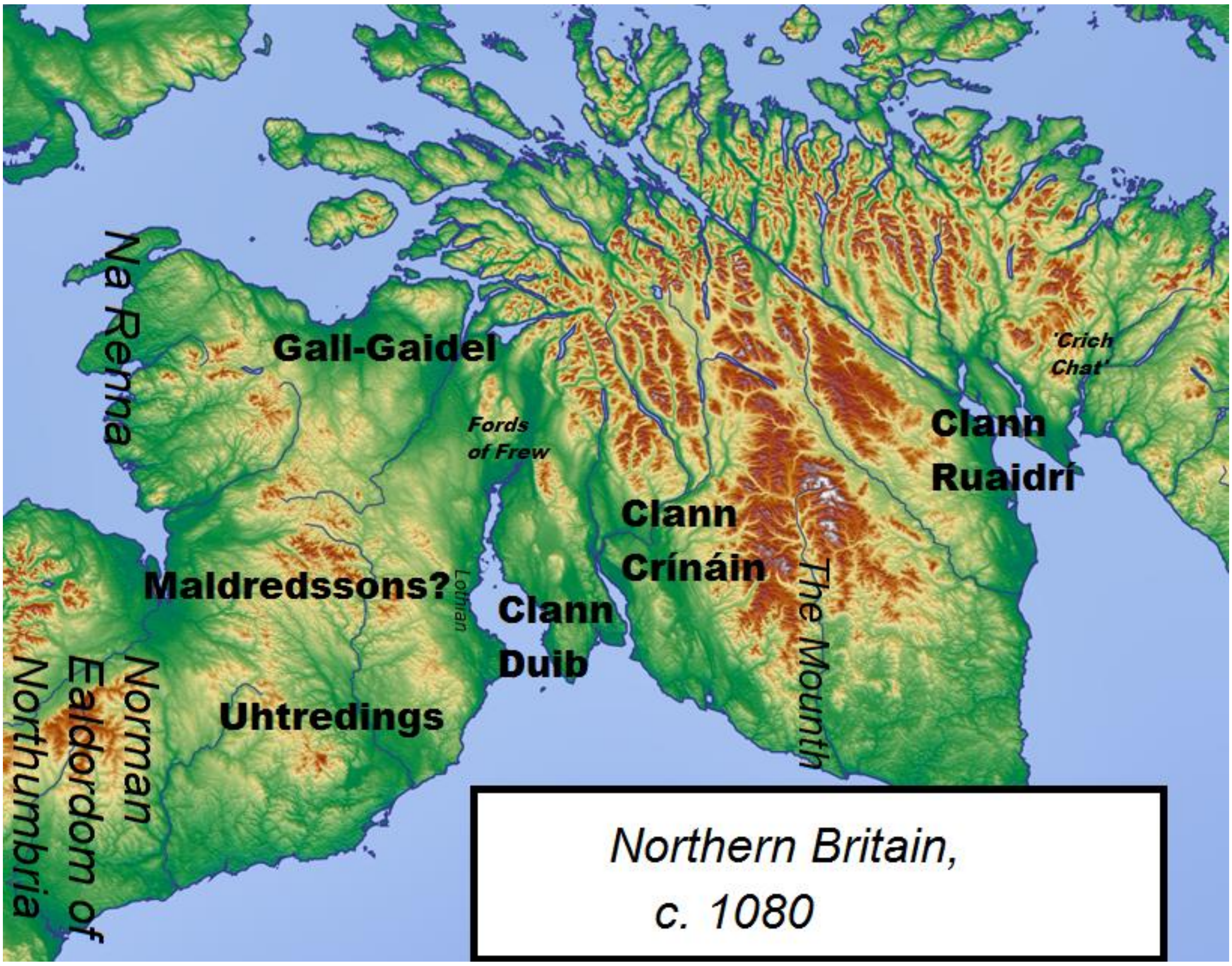
c) Northern Britain in the Viking Age


Strathclyde
Clann
Causantín?
Clann Áeda?
Scotland
Northern
Eadwulfings
English
Mearns
Northern Britain,
c. 950

[see also Appendix V.a, below]

(The map upon which this is based was taken from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Uk_topo_en.jpg, licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license).

d) Northern Britain on the Eve of Norman Penetration


Na Renna
Gall-Gaidel
Fords of Frew
'Crich Chat'
Clann Ruaidrí
Clann Crínáin
Maldredssons?
Lothian
Clann Duib
The Mounth
Uhtredings
Norman Ealdordom of Northumbria
Northern Britain, c. 1080

[a tentative reconstruction emphasising lineages rather than just political corporations]

(The map upon which this is based was taken from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Uk_topo_en.jpg, licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license).

Appendix III: Texts

a) Boundaries of the Land of Lindisfarne

Preserved in *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*

Et hic est Lindisfarnensis terrae terminus: a fluuio Tweoda usque ad Warnedmuthe, et inde superius ad illum locum ubi haec aqua quae uocatur Warned oritur iuxta montem Hybberndune, et ab illo monte usque ad fluuium qui uocatur Bromic, et inde usque ad fluuium qui uocatur Till, et tota terra quae iacet ex utraque parte ipsius fluminis Bromic usque ad illum locum ubi oritur. Et illa terra ultra Tweoda ab illo loco ubi oritur fluuius Edre ab aquilone usque ad illum locum ubi cadit in Tweoda, et tota terra quae iacet inter istum fluuium Edre et alterum fluuium qui uocatur Leder uersus occidentem, et tota terra quae iacet ab orientali parte istius aquae quae uocatur Leder usque ad illum locum ubi cadit in fluuium Tweoda uersus austrum, et tota terra quae pertinent ad monasterium sancti Balthere, quod uocatur Tinningaham, a Lombormore usque ad Esce muthe.

'And this is the boundary of the territory of Lindisfarne: from the river Tweed as far as the mouth of Warren Beck, and from there upwards as far as the place where Warren Beck rises next to Hepburn Hill, and from that hill as far as the river that is called Breamish, and from there as far as that river that is called Till, and all the land that lies on both sides of the same river Breamish up to the place where it rises. And that land beyond the Tweed from the place where the river Adder rises in the north as far as the place where it flows into the Tweed, and all the land that lies between that river Adder and another that is called the Leader towards the west, and all the land that lies on the east side of that water that is called the Leader as far as the place where it flows into the Tweed toward the south, and all the land that pertains to the monastery of St Balthere, which is called Tyninghame, from the Lammermuir as far as Inveresk'. [815]

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[815] *HSC*, 46–47: c.4; South translates *Adre* as 'Blackadder' for reasons that are not made clear. Possibly there is some basis for this in medieval sources, but the Blackadder today is a tributary of the Whiteadder, which rises near the pre-historic hillfort of Whitecastle in the East Lothian Lammermuir.

b) Properties of the Diocese of Lindisfarne

1. *Historia Regum 2* version

Anno DCCCLIV., nativitatis regis Elfredi vi., Wlfere regnante rege Osberto super Northimbros, suscepto pallio confirmatus est in archiepiscopatum Eboracensem, et Eardulf suscepit episcopatum Lindisfarnensem. Quo pertinebant Lugubalia, id est, Luel, nunc dicitur Carliel, et Northam, quae antiquitus Ubbanford dicebatur. Omnes quoque ecclesiae ab aqua quae vocatur Tweda usque Tinam australem, et ultra desertum ad occidentem, pertinebant illo tempore ad praefatam ecclesiam, et hae mansiones, Carnham et Culterham, et duae Geddewrd ad australem plagam Teinetae quas Ecgredus episcopus condidit: et Mailros, et Tigbrethingham, et Eoriercorn ad occidentalem partem, Edwinesburch, et Pefferham, et Aldham, et Tinnigaham, et Coldingaham, et Tillemuthe, et Northam supradictam.[816]
[text proceeds to summarise gifts named in Historia de Sancto Cuthberto]

2. Roger of Howden's *Chronica* version

[s.a. 882, text had just described the 'Flight of Eardwulf' and 'Donation of Guthred']
Sane ad episcopatum Lindisfarnensem pertinebant antiquitus Lugubalia, id est, Luel, et Northam, omnes quoque ecclesiae ab aqua quae vocatur Weda, usque ad Tinam Australem, et ultra desertum usque ad occidentem. Pertinebant illo tempore ad praefatam ecclesiam, et hae mansiones, Carnham et Culterham et duae Gedewardae ad Australem plagam fluminis Teviete, quas Ecgredus episcopus condidit, et Mailros et Tigbrechingham, et Eouercon ad occidentalem partem Edwinesburch, et Peverham et Aldham et Tinnigham et Colingham, et Bricgham, et Tillemuthe, et Northam supradictam, quae antiquitus Ubbanford dicebatur.[817]
[text proceeds to summarise gifts named in Historia de Sancto Cuthberto]

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[816] *HR2*, 101.
[817] *RHC*, I, 45.

c) ‘Donation of Guthred’

1. *Cronica Monasterii Dunelmensis* version

[Halfdan] Contemptus ergo ab omnibus cum tribus tantum navibus de Tina profugit, nec uspiam postea appparuit. Inter hec, Anglis et Danis in unum populum compaginatis, cum regimen regale deesset, beatus Cuthbertus cuidam Abbati, nomine Eadredo, valde religioso, per sompnum astitit; eique precepit omnibus dicere, quatinus Guthredum. Hardecnuti Regis filium, qui a Paganis captus atque in Angliam traductus, cuidam vidue apud Huityngham fuerat ab eis in servum venditus, hunc, dato vidue digno redempcionis precio, Angli et Dani in regem elevarent . Qua visione manifestata, illico omnes perquisitum iuvenem regium servum inveniunt, moxque, iusto redemptum precio, in loco qui dicitur Oswiesdun omnes in Regem unanimi favore sustollunt. Qui liberatori suo beato Cuthberto vicem rependens, pacem, sicut ipse sanctus ei per predictum Abbatem mandavit, ad refugium miserorum qui ad illius corpus confugerint instituit; et quicumque pacem illius infregisset, ita ei, quemadmodum Regi, emendaretur, sua pace infracta, videlicet ad minus mille ducentis oris. Leges quoque ipsius, et que proprie Sancti Cuthberti dicuntur consuetudines, imperpetuum servandas instituit. Tunc quoque, precipiente ipso sancto per memoratum Abbatem, Rex totam terram inter Weor et Tynam donavit ipso Sancto, ad subsidia illorum qui ei serviebant et servituri essent. Cui scilicet predicte terre adiecerunt, tam ipse Guthredus quam Aelfredus Rex Australium Anglorum, terram inter Tesam et Weor, in augmentum Episcopatus beati Cuthberti.[818]

2. *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* version

Eo tempore sanctus Cuthbertus apparuit in nocte sancto abbati de Luercestre nomine Eaddred, talia ei firmiter iniugens: ‘Vade’, inquit, ‘super Tinam ad exercitum Danorum, et dic eis ut si uolunt mihi obedientes esse, ostendant tibi emtitium quendam puerum cuiusdam uidue nomine Guthred filium Hardacnut, et summo mane da tu et totus exercitus pro eo precium uidue, et hora tercia super precium, hora uero sexta duc eum ante totam multitudinem ut eum regem eligant, hora uero nona duc eum cum toto exercitu super montem qui uocatur Oswigesdune et ibi pone in brachio eius dextero armillam auream, et sic eum omnes regem constituant. Dic etiam ei postquam rex effectus fuerit, ut det mihi totam terram inter Tinam et Wyrram, et quicumque ad me confugerit, uel pro homocidio uel pro aliqua necessitate, habeat pacem per triginta septem dies et noctes'. Hac uisione certus et rationabili beati confessoris praecepto roboratus, ad barbarum exercitum sanctus ille abbas confidenter properauit, a quo honorifice exceptus eo ordine quo sibi iniunctum fuerat fideliter executus est. Nam et puerum illum inuenit, redemit, et magno tocius multitudinis fauore regem constituit, terram et pacem accepit. Tunc Eardulfus episcopus detulit ad illum exercitum et ad illum montem corpus sancti Cuthberti, super quo iurauit ipse rex et totus exercitus pacem et fidelitatem donec uiuerent, et hoc iusiurandum bene seruauerunt.[819]

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[818] *CMD*, 524.

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[819] *HSC*, 52; trans. ibid., 53: 'At that time St Cuthbert appeared in the night to the holy abbot of Carlisle named Eadred, firmly commanding him as follows: "Go", he said, "over the Tyne to the army of the Danes, and tell them that if they wish to be obedient to me, they should show you a certain young man named Guthred son of Harthacnut, the slave of a certain widow. In the early morning you and the whole army should offer the widow the price for him, and at the third hour [take him] in exchange for the price; then at the sixth hour lead him before the whole multitude so that they may elect him king, and at the ninth hour lead him with the whole army upon the hill which is called Oswigesdune and there place of his right arm a golden armlet, and thus they shall all constitute him king. Tell him also, after he has been made king, to give me all the land between the Tyne and the Wear and [to grant that] whoever shall flee to me, whether for homicide or for any other necessity, may have peace for thirty-seven days and nights". Certain of this vision and strengthened by the reasonable command of the holy confessor, that holy abbot confidently hurried to the barbarian host, by which [he was] honourably received, [and] there he faithfully carried out [everything] in the order in which he had been commanded. For he found that boy, redeemed [him], and with the great support of the whole multitude constituted him king, received the land and the peace. Then Bishop Eardulf brought to that host and to that hill the body of St Cuthbert, over which the king himself and the whole host swore peace and fidelity as long as they might live, and this oath they faithfully observed'.

d) ‘Flight of Eardwulf’

From *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* c. 20

> Eodem quoque tempore bonus episcopus Eardulfus et abbas Eadred tulerunt corpus sancti Cuthberti de Lindisfarnesi insula et cum eo errauerunt in terra, portantes illud de loco in locum per septem annos , et tandem peruenerunt ad fluuium qui uocatur Derunt muthe et illud ibi in naui posuerunt, ut sic per proximum mare in Hiberniam transueherent. Tunc omnis populis eius qui eum diu erat secutus, dolens quod eripiebatur pius eorum patronus, stans in littore flebat et ululabat, eo quod et ipsi relinquebantur captiui et captiuus eorum abducebatur dominus. Tunc Deus magnum miraculum ostendit pro amore dilecti sui confessoris. Horta siquidem in mari horribili tempestate maximae tres undae in nauim ceciderunt et statim, mirabile dictu, aqua illa in sanguinem est conuersa. Quo uiso episcopus et abbas ad pedes sancti uiri ceciderunt, et timore perterriti ad litus quamtocius reuersi sunt, et sanctum illud corpus ad Crecam detulerunt, et ibi a bono abbate nomine Geue caritatiue excepti quattuor mensibus manserunt, et inde sanctum corpus ad Cunceceastre transtulerunt. Eo tempore obiit rex Elfredus et Eardulfus episcopus.[820]

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[820] *HSC*, 58; trans. South, ibid., 59: ‘Also at that time the good bishop Eardwulf and abbot Eadred bore the body of St Cuthbert from the isle of Lindisfarne and wandered with it through the land, carrying it from place to place for seven years, and finally they arrived at the mouth of the river that is called Derwentmouth, and there they placed it in a boat so that they might thus transport it across the adjoining sea to Ireland. The all his [i.e. St Cuthbert’s] people who had long followed him, mourning that their pious patron was being taken away, wept and wailed as they stood on the shore, because they themselves were captives being left behind and their captive lord was being abducted. Then God manifested a great miracle out of love for his beloved confessor. For a horrible storm arose on the sea, three very great waves fell on the ship and at once, marvellous to say, that water was turned to blood. Having seen this, the bishop and the abbot fell at the feet of the saint and, terrified with fear, they returned to the shore as quickly as possible and carried the holy body to Crayke, and there, having been charitably received by the good abbot named Geve, they remained for four months, and from there they translated the holy body to Chester-le-Street. At this time King Alfred died, as well as bishop Eadred’.

Appendix IV: Lothian

a) Etymology of 'Lothian'

Lothian, some early forms		
Spelling	**Date**	**Source**
Loidam civitatem	c. 1000	*DSCA*, p. 476 (=*CPS*, p. 116)
Loðen	1086x1130	*OE Miscellany*, p. 146
into Loðene	1091x1131	*ASC* MS E, s.a. 1091
provincia Loidis	1091x1140	*JW*, III, p. 60
de Lodoneio	c. 1095	*ESC*, nos. 15–16
in Lodoneo	c. 1098	*ESC*, no. 16
Lodoneium	1100x1107	*VSM*, p. 247:c.9
de Lodoneio	1114x1118	*CDI,* no. 10
de Lodoneo	1114x1124	*CDI,* no. 12
of Loþene	1125x1131	*ASC* MS E, s.a. *1125*
Loidam	1125x1131	*HR2*, p. 278
in Lodoneio	1126x1127	*CDI,* nos 31–32
Lothoniensium *in Latonia*	1114x1147	*VBB*, cols 1426A–1426B
Lodonesia	1135x1139	*HRB,* p.189
acies Loenensium *summo duce Loenensium*	1138x1157	*HH*, p. 716
Leudonia	1147x1164	*VKI*, p 245
de Loënois *Lodïen*	c. 1200	*Fergus*, pp. 61, 107

The thesis took a sceptical view about the grants of 'Lothian' by Edgar and by Eadwulf Cudel on the grounds that the dates of these accounts are late and that the details appear to be speculative. However, even for those willing to take those accounts at face value (and to rationalize their contradictory detail), the insight provided about Scottish expansion south of the Forth would still be limited because the tenth- and eleventh-century meaning of the term 'Lothian' is itself uncertain.

The origin of the name 'Lothian' is unclear, but most suggestions have involved a 'deep' origin derived from a Celtic language. Eggerton Phillimore suggested in 1890 that 'Lothian' was a territorialization of a personal name, *Lleuddun Luyddog*; he thought this name was represented by the *Leudonus* who stars in the twelfth-century *Vita Kentegerni Imperfecta*. Phillimore noted that the 'Gorhoffedd' poem attributed to the twelfth-century bard Gwalchmai ap Meilyr had the form *Lleudduniawn*, and suggested that 'Lothian' came into English via a Gaelicization of its British form. William J. Watson's explanation was not completely different. He agreed that ultimately a Celtic personal name was responsible, one along the lines of *Laudio* (genitive *Laudionis*) or *Laudo* (genitive *Laudonis*), to which was added the Latin-derived territorializing affix *-awn (<–anus)*, thus, in his view, making 'Lothian' like the Welsh region 'Ceredigion'.[821] German philologist Max Förster proposed that the word was built from the Celtic root **lutā > lotā*, 'mire' or 'swampland' (Welsh *Llaid*, Gaelic and Old Irish *Loth*). He offered the possibility that both 'Leeds' and 'Lothian' share this same ultimate root: 'Leeds' via British **Lod-issa,* and 'Lothian' via Goidelic **Loth-onia*; both, coincidentally or not, appearing to be labels for marshy frontier zones of Northumbria. Förster also showed that all the earliest forms lack the double-vowel suffix that should be ancestral to (modern English) Loth-ian. He argued, quite concincingly, that this was an Anglophone innovation, perhaps on analogy with commonly encountered Latin *–iānus* and its derivatives.[822]

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[821] E. Phillimore, 'Additional Notes', *Y Cymmrodor* 11 (1890), 36–60, at 50–51; Watson, *CPNS*, 101–03; M. von Förster, 'Englisches-Keltisches', *Englische Studien* 56 (1922), 204–39, at 225–30.

Geoffrey Barrow in 1983 suggested that the region was named after the Lothian burn, citing evidence of similar river names elsewhere in Britain that took their name from the same Celtic root denoting 'muddiness' (e.g. rivers named Leadon, Lodden, Lydden and Loddon). John Koch was minded to privilege Gwalchmai's *Lleudduniawn*, and offered **Lugu-dūniānā*, 'Country of the fort of Lugus'.[823] For such a deep etymology to be accurate, long-term endurance of an Iron Age name is obviously necessary, which should mean that its absence from Roman geographical sources could be a source of concern. There is some inconclusive evidence that a similar tribal name had existed in northern Britain long before the Anglo-Norman era, but no significant 'Dunlug' type name is attested in the region, the closest being, perhaps, Carlisle or Loudon Hill.[824] Barrow's explanation too is plausible, but here the problem is that very specific circumstances would be needed to turn the name of a moderately sized burn into the name of a great region, circumstances for which there is no explicit evidence: it cannot be ruled out, but it is difficult to embrace.

Formulating a convincing etymology is probably complicated by points of linguistic change and variation. If these suggested etymologies are along the correct track, the forms originating in /θ/ and /d/ would be left in surviving evidence depending on whether usage was Gaelic or British. If both languages were distinct and present in the region in the Viking

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[822] Forms for the name in 'Mount Lothian' also seem to show its emergence from the mid twelfth century: *Montleuen* and *Montlothien* 1165 x 1173 (*RRS*, ii., no. 61), *Muntlauthian* 1161x1173 (*Newbattle Reg.*, App. no. 1), *Montlouthen* c. 1210 (*Newbattle Reg.*, no. 31), *Mundelouen[es]* 1223 (*Newbattle Reg.*, no. 127), *Monte Laodonie* 1240 & 1268 (*Holyrood Liber*, nos. 76-77), and *Montlauthian* 1251 (*Holyrood Liber*, no. 75).

[823] G. W. S. Barrow, 'Midlothian—Or the Shire of Edinburgh?', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* 35 (1985), 141–48, at 145; J. Koch, *The Gododdin of Aneirin* (Cardiff, 1997), 131.

[824] A fortification site in northern Britain is described *Y Gododdin B* as "The rock of Lleu's tribe, the folk of Lleu's mountain stronghold / at Gododdin's frontier" (*Leech lou-tüt, tüt lou-breg / Uotodin streg*), for which see Koch, *Gododdin*, 2–3.

Age, as modern commentators usually believe, they might therefore mix, become confused, and stimulate change in each other (the way Norse affected English for instance); at the same time, the rule of intervocalic voicing present in another of the region's languages, English, would render /θ/ as [ð]. Moreover, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries dental [ð] in Gaelic, originally an intervocalic and auslaut allophone of /d/, became either the velar [γ], palatal /ʝ/, or disappeared; similarly /θ/ became [h] or disappeared.[825] This could mean that only place-names recorded (or borrowed into English) in that era would be recognizable in the 'th' or 'd' forms, with subsequent appearances potentially hidden by forms like 'Lohan', 'Loan', 'Logan', 'Loghan', etc—which indeed is similar to many surviving French forms (where borrowed dental fricatives caused similar problems). Several scholars of Scottish Gaelic have observed that Lothian's early Celtic form does not appear to have survived in the modern language and that, instead, Highlanders in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries used an apparent re-borrowing, *Loudy*, *Loudie* or *Machair Loudie*.[826]

As Barrow emphasized, Celtic place-names we do have containing the name—*Torlothane* ('Lothian mound', perhaps the forerunner of Melville Castle), Mountlothian ('Lothian moor') and Lothian burn—indicate a small region on the boundaries of the future sheriffdoms of Haddington and Edinburgh, a region which almost certainly lay within a linguistic transition zone between Celtic (of some kind) and English.[827] In *Vita Kentegerni Imperfecta*, locations ruled by King *Leudonus* appear from modern scholarly analysis to be concentrated in East Lothian: the places mentioned are *Kepduf*, *Aberlessic*, and *Dumpelder*.[828] In perhaps our earliest English reference to it, an annal in *ASC* MS E

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[825] T. F. O'Rahilly, 'Notes on Middle Irish Pronunciation', *Hermathena* 20 (1926), 163–95; K. H. Jackson, '"Common Gaelic"', *PBA* 37 (1951), 71–97, at 83; R. Ó'Maolalaigh, 'The Scotticisation of Gaelic', in *Deer Studies*, 179–274, at 225–28. Illustrating this, *Eggu* (fl. c. 1220, *St Andrews Liber*, p. 382) but *Æed* 'cum barba' (fl. 1136, *CDI*, no. 56) and in a patronymic, *Macheth* (fl. 1160, *RRS*, i, no. 159); or Matadán (fl. 1160s) at *St Andrews Liber*, p. 244 (*Madethin mac Mathusalem*) and ibid., p. 242 (*Madechin mac Mathusalem*).

[826] Problem was noted by J. MacInnes, 'The Gaelic Perceptions of the Lowlands', in M. Newton (ed.), *Dùthchas nan Gàidheal* (Edinburgh, 2006), 34–47, at 37; and Watson, *CPNS*, 102. *Laidheann* is mentioned in a nineteenth-century tale of Conall Gulban from south-western Scotland (attributed to men from Dunoon and Rosneath), translated in Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* (Edinburgh, 1860–1861), iii, 188–279; the realm is naturally assumed to 'refer' to Leinster, but as the authors seems to intend Ireland and *Laidheann* as different places the composers could not have understood this reference; other named realms, 'real' and 'legendary', are *Iubhar*, *Sorcha*, Lochlann, Spain, France, Greece and the 'Green Island' also occur. Cf. *Lyonesse* from later medieval Romances, itself probably derived from 'Lothian'.

[827] Barrow, 'Midlothian', 141–48.

[828] *VKI*, p. 149. *Dumpelder* could be Drumpellier in Lanarkshire, mentioned in Máel-Coluim IV's grant to Newbattle where it is spelled *Dumpeleder* (see *RRS*, i, no. 198). Traprain Law is, however, much more likely. It is mentioned as *monte de Dumpeldar* and *landis of Traperne Dupender* in documents from the reign of David II

(paralleled by *Chronicon ex Chronicis*) indicates that 'Lothian' lay opposite 'Scotland' on the Forth, but nothing more.[829] *De Omnibus Comitibus Northimbrensibus* described 'Lothian' as the lands adjacent to Dunbar granted to Earl Gospatric by Máel Coluim III,[830] while *Historia Regum 2*'s 1119–1129 continuation noted that Roxburgh lay on the Tweed, the river that now 'divided Northumberland and Lothian' (…*Twedam, qui Northynbriam et Loidam disterminat*).[831] Early charters also indicate strongly that 'Lothian' could encompass the Merse, what became Berwickshire.[832] Another entry in MS E named it as the folk-territory of Bishop John [of Glasgow], while the *vita* of St Bernard of Tiron described it as the area ruled by David *Dux Lothoniensium* before he became king of the Scots, an area lying between Scotland (*Scotorum Albaniam*) and Northumbria.[833] However, an 1118 writ of David to Bishop John distinguished the drengs of 'Lothian' from those of Teviotdale.[834]

By 1144, and probably considerably earlier, the area under the jurisdiction of the bishops of St Andrews south of the Forth had its own archdeaconry. The 'archdeaconry of Lothian', as it was called, included most of the sheriffdoms of Berwick, Haddington, Edinburgh, Linthlithgow, and Stirling [south of the Forth], and came to be one of the primary

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(*RMS*, I, App. i, no. 117, and ibid., App ii, no. 855; by the time of the 1654 Blaeu map, it has the name *Dunpendyrlaw*). Conchobranus in the eleventh century claimed that Modwenna could travel from *Dunpeleder* across the sea to St Andrews in Scotland. This is hardly plausible for the Lanarkshire site, but it is very likely to be a genuine early name for Traprain Law rather than any Anglo-Norman confusion (*Conchubranus*, 'Part 3', 439–40; MacQueen, *St Nynia*, 138). Kenneth Jackson suggested that *Kepduf*, 'black block', was an alternative name for *Dunpeleder*, and indeed Jocelin of Furness's full *vita* refers to *Vita Kentegerni Imperfecta*'s *Kepduf* as *Dumpelder*; for which, see K. H. Jackson, 'Sources for the Life of Kentigern', in N. K. Chadwick et al. (eds), *Studies in the Early British Church* (Cambridge, 1958), 273–357, at 289–93, noting *Kepduf* at *VKI,* 248 but *Dumpelder* in *VSK*, 166. Kippielaw farm next to Traprain might support that, but this theory appears to be refuted by David I's charter to Alexander de St Martin. It describes the marches of de St Martin's new Athelstaneford barony versus Garleton and Drem, and used the *capud de Kipduf* as a boundary marker. Modern 'Kilduff hill' and the adjacent fortification site known today as 'the Chesters' lie in this location: almost certainly this is the referent in *Vita Kentegerni Imperfecta*—Traprain is impossible unless one argues that a rigorously carried out perambulation went seriously wrong and ignored the Tyne (lying between Athelstaneford and Traprain). *Aberlessic*, cannot be identified with certainty, but is nearby; see also below.

[829] *ASC* MS E, s.a. 1091; *JW*, III, 60; cf. Aelred's distinction between *Calatria* (apparently Lowland Stirlingshire) and Lothian, in *Relatio de Standardo*, 186.

[830] *HR2*, 199.

[831] *HR2,* 278.

[832] *ESC*, no. 18.

[833] *ASC* MS E, s.a. 1125; *VBB*, cols. 1426A–1426B, trans. R. H. Cline, *The Life of the Blessed Bernard of Tiron* (Washington DC, 2009), 107: c.99.

[834] A charter of the same years concerning Ednam was addressed just to the 'men of Lothian' (*omnibus suis fidelibus de Lodoneo*), *CDI*, nos. 10, 12; Ednam was to be an anomalous settlement lying in the deanery of Merse, but in the sheriffdom of Teviotdale (i.e. Roxburghshire) when we have our earliest detail of such boundaries. See *Ragman Rolls*, 155, where Ednam is listed *del Counte de Rokesburg*h.

administrative units fixing the meaning of the term.[835] The region covered by the justiciarship of Lothian however was larger still, and by the reign of William the Lion (if not earlier) included the lands of the Glasgow bishops in addition to the St Andrews Lothian archdeaconry.[836] Some literary sources from England in this era seem to understand the term in this broad sense, the territory between the land of the English shires and the Forth, including Roxburgh, as well as Jedburgh (also in Teviotdale), Berwick (in the Merse), Edinburgh, and Stirling.[837] Robert of Torigni even used the term *comitatum Lodonensem* to refer to the earldom (as opposed to the sheriffdom) of Northumbria.[838] As unidiomatic as this usage is now—in fact, it would probably be regarded as 'erroneous'—it was not an inappropriate choice of term from a twelfth-century 'English' point of view. Names were needed for all the new administrative units of the twelfth century, and here 'Lothian' was convenient for a variety of purpsoes.

Whatever the etymology, the term's use in our period is easiest to account for as a Celtic name for a small area east of Edinburgh expanded metonymically, *pars pro toto*, as the Scots took control further east and south (cf. the khanate of Sibir and later 'Siberia'). The innermost of its concentric semantic circles was probably a region near the Esk. It would be reasonable to suggest that non-Celtic-speakers from neighbouring territories were more likely to vary their use of the term than the people who coined Mountlothian and *Torlothane*, but that there was also less flexible local use among resident Celtic and Old English speakers (which may have facilitated a return to a narrower meaning later once the high-register innovations ran out of steam). Whether or not that was the case, it is simply is not clear what 'Lothian' would have meant in the eleventh or tenth centuries. Even the prevalent assumption that the term is purely Celtic is not certain (cf. the **Lothingas* of East Anglia). The flexibility of the term in the twelfth century, and its differences in meaning, highlights the semantic instability that arose from the need to give expression to a variety of innovative administrative boundaries. Certainty about its pre–twelfth-century meaning is therefore beyond us. And so, even in a best case scenario for the Anglo-Norman texts discussed above, they would not tell us much about the chronology of Scottish expansion.

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[835] *Chron. Holyrood*, 142; *Fasti ES*, 399; *St Andrews Liber,* p. 123; see also *Melrose Liber*, no. 52, for the 'clergy of Lothian'; with this ecclesiastical territory in mind, Roger of Howden 1188x1192 described Birgham as lying in Lothian (*in Leoneis*), for which see *Chron. BP*, II, 44 (cf. *RHC*, II, 338–39).

[836] Barrow, *Kingdom*, 87–88, 110.

[837] *DIP*, 156–57; *CSHR*, I, 198; *ASR*, 6–7; *SAEC*, 262–63.

[838] *CSHR*, IV, 172–73, 192; *RHC*, II, 338–39.

b) *Loidam ciuitatem*

The frontier between the Cumbrian lands and the polity ruled by Erik, of Stainmore fame, seems to be attested in a late tenth-century Franco-Scottish saint's life, *De S. Cadroe Abbate*. It relates that the eponymous Cathróe, travelling from Scotland through the kingdom of the *Cumbri*, was conducted by its king *Douenaldus* as far as *Loidam civitatem* (acc.), at the boundary of the *Normanni* and *Cumbri*. At this location he met *Gunderic*, who subsequently conducted him to King Erik at York.[839] Identifying *Loidam* is not a simple matter, but the leading candidate has traditionally been Leeds. So it was according to Joseph Ritson in 1828.[840] Three decades later 'probably Leeds' was written next to *Loida* in the index to Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*. Alan Orr Anderson too went with Leeds,[841] and it has remained the prevailing view to this day.[842] One significant challenge came from Alfred Smyth. Smyth, noting early names for Carlisle such as *Luel*, *Cair Ligualid* and *Caerleoli*, suggested that *Loidam* was an 'error based on a corrupt form' of one such early exemplar.[843] In the early 2000s however Smyth's argument was dismissed by David Dumville as 'unacceptable in terms of palaeography, philology, and political geography', and has not, subsequently, been embraced.[844]

Obviously, the Leeds interpretation was influenced by pre-existing ideas about the extent of Cumbrian territory. On numerous grounds, however, Leeds is a problematic identification in itself. In an authoritative survey of the Latin forms for Leeds, beginning with Bede's *regione Loidis* through *Domesday*'s *Ledes* to the variations of *Leddis*, *Liedes* and *Leydes* that occur in the later Anglo-Norman and Angevin eras, at no other time has the final '*s*' dropped from the word.[845] Since there is no separate evidence that *Loidam civitatem* refers to Leeds, we should probably be very worried about making our uncertain example the single surviving instance of a missing '*s*'. The absence of the '*s*' in *Loidam civitatem*, in all likelihood, means that it does not refer to Leeds. Leeds has been the leading candidate primarily because it is in a suitable point of contact between the ‘kingdom of York’ and a Strathclyde kingdom they imagined stretching from Lennox (or at least from Scotland) to the southern edge of the Pennines. The most important point to realise about *Loidam civitatem,* however, is that it is not independent evidence, on these grounds, for such a southern border of the Strathclyde kingdom. In all likelihood no-one would have made this identification were this belief not already in existence. If there is no case for the Strathclyde kingdom stretching that far south and south-west, there is no case for *Loidam civitatem* being Leeds.

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[839] *Chron. Picts-Scots*, 116; *ESSH*, I, 441.

[840] J. Ritson, *Annals of the Caledonians, Picts and Scots*, I, 204, n..

[841] Anderson, *ESSH*, I, 441.

[842] Downham, *Viking Kings*, 160–61; D. N. Dumville, 'St Cathróe of Metz and the Hagiography of Exoticism', in J. Carey et al. (eds), *Studies in Irish Hagiography* (Dublin, 2001), 172–88, at 177; A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire* (Cambridge, 1961–1963), IV, 124

[843] Smyth, *SYAD*, II, 189, n. 107.

[844] Dumville, 'St Cathróe', 177, n. 35.

[845] Smith, *Place-Names of the West Riding*, IV, 122–24; *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. T. Miller (London, 1890–1898), I, 140, 238.

The most pertinent observation we need to make about the form *Loida* is that it occurs in other sources of the period. *Historia Regum 2* uses the term *Loida* to refer to a concept we normally translate as ‘Lothian’. The author of *Historia Regum 2*, having recorded a letter from Pope Honorius describing John of Crema's remit as legate in Britain, wrote that:

> *Hac auctoritate Johannes praedictus, circuiens Angliam, etiam ad regem Scottorum David pervenit apud fluvium Twedam, qui Northymbriam et Loidam disterminat,in loco qui Rochesburh nominatur.*
>
> ‘By this authority John aforesaid, ground round England, came also to David, king of the Scots, at the river Tweed, which separates Northumberland and Lothian, in a place called Roxburgh’.[846]

In support of such a spelling, though complicating matters somewhat, is *Chronicon ex Chronicis*. In a passage corresponding to *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* MS E, s.a. 1091, the annalist renders its *Loðen* as *provincia Loidis* (*ASC* MS E has *Loðene on Englaland*).[847] The *‘s’* at the end might at first incline us to back-track on what was said about the forms for Leeds, but in choosing to add the *‘s’* the annalist may have jumped to the conclusion that ‘Lothian’ must have been the same place as Bede's *Loidis*: it is clear John was referring to ‘Lothian’ and knew where it was, whereas he had no way of knowing anything about *Loidis*. It was a defunct spelling for Leeds by the twelfth century, but a plausible and appealing classicisation of ‘Lothian’—if, that is, modelling one’s Latin on Bede counts as ‘classicisation’.

Another point to note is that *‘oi’* is an extremely unusual vowel combination in written Latin, ignoring its occasional appearance when spanning morpheme boundaries (e.g. *introisse*); it probably did not function as independent grapheme for most medieval Latin writers. *Historia Regum 2* was seemingly influenced by (what is to us) some kind of unusual written form; it is also possible that he based the written form on Bede's *Loidis* but, unlike *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, did not retain the final '*s*'.[848] The oi-grapheme was used in renderings of Latin vernacular in Gaul, for instance in the Oath of Strassburg.[849] It occurs in Old French when the *i* represents a palatal approximant or yod, a common part of more general process of palatalization in early-medieval Gallo-Romance (e.g. in vox > voix: [vɔkz] > [ɔj] >[wɛ]).[850] This may be worth bearing in mind given that *De S. Cadroe Abbate* comes from Gaul. It also occurs in Old English, but is supposed to be defunct by this stage of the Middle Ages. In Bede there is *Coifi* the famous pagan priest, *regione Loidis* for a kingdom adjacent to Deira, *Coinualch* for the West Saxon king Coenwalh, *Boisil* for the Melrose monk, and *Coinred* for Coenred the Mercian king, and so on. The spelling is supposed to precede 'the intermediate stage in the OE i-mutation of ō', i.e. the process whereby back-vowels like this became fronted and 'o's became 'e's.[851] It is also worth considering Irish. In Irish writing conventions, 'i' was often added before a consonant to indicate that the consonant should be palatalized, and this in practice might inspire use of 'i', using 'd' and a preceding 'i' in combination, to represent [ð]. So it is possible that *Loida* represents [lɔjda], [lɔjða], or something similar, or just ['loðʲa] or ['loða]. This is just speculation, however, as the inspiration behind neither are known for certain. The final written form in all probability does not itself represent a spoken vernacular name in all faithfulness, since the final 'a' is almost certainly an added or substituted morpheme indicating that the word should be declined as a first-declension noun.

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[846] *HR2*, 278; *SAEC*, 159.

[847] JW, III, 60–61.

Nonetheless the form *Loida* does occur in *De S. Cadroe Abbate* and shares this form with a form used for region definitely identifiable as Lothian in early Anglo-Norman texts. What *De S. Cadroe Abbate's* and that Durham–Worcester material have in common is that they were produced before the normal range of spellings for Lothian was narrowed by Anglo-Latin conventions to the ones we are used to later (*Loida* is within the twelfth-century range).[852] If the two Loidas are the same, then the location of *Loidam civitatem* would probably lie in the modern region of Lothian: Edinburgh and Tyninghame would be good candidates, as would Aberlady. Aberlady appears to be the Pefferham mentioned an account of the Lindisfarne diocese (Appendix II.b above). Pefferham's name did not continue in usage, but was obviously located on or near the mouth of the Peffer burn next to Luffness and Aberlady. The location suggests Pefferham to be a defunct English name for Aberlady, probably swamped out by British-derived Scottish usage in the twelfth century. The version of the 'Birth of Kentigern' account witnessed in the *Aberdeen Breviary* had Aberlady as the port of departure for Thenew to Culross, differing from the *Vita Kentegerni Imperfecta* name *Ostium Fetoris*, 'mouth of stench', purportedly a translation of *Aberlessic*. Early forms of the name Aberlady, e.g. *Aberlauedy* (c. 1220) and *Abirleuedy* (1284),[853] bear vowel renderings not unlike those in the forms used for Loth and Lothian, *Leudonia* and *Leudonus*, in the more extensive *Vita Kentegerni Imperfecta* account (and elsewhere).[854] Though not likely on surviving evidence, it is not impossible that both reflect a common reflex of the name Lothian, with borderland Aberlady meaning 'entrance of Lothian' (cf. Invergowrie).[855] Though the evidence does not demonstrate such an etymology, were it true Aberlady would be a strong contender for the identity of *Loidam civitatem*.[856]

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[848] G. Price, *The French Language* (London, 1971), 72.
[849] W. Ayres-Bennett, *A History of the French Language through Texts* (London, 1996), 16, 20.
[850] Price, *The French Language*, 70–75.
[851] Förster, 'Englisches-Keltisches', 220–23; Smith, *Place-Names of the West Riding*, IV, 124.
[852] Cf.the common French form, *Lownes*; e.g. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship*, 288.

Realistically, however, *De S. Cadroe Abbate* does not supply enough information on its own to work out where its *Loidam civitatem* is. The location in question marks a boundary between the Cumbrian realm and the area ruled by *Gunderic*. Proceeding to unknowns from knowns, 'Lothian civitas' simply has better supporting evidence from the era, and would actually suggest a location plausibly on the edges of territory controlled by rulers based in the Clyde valley. However, much more importantly, it can only be used as evidence for a Cumbrian expansion into the Northumbrian west if such an expansion is already believed.

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[853] *Inchaffray Chrs*, no. 77; *Glasgow Reg.*, no. 234.

[854] *VKI*, 245; *Aberdeen Brev.*, 174–75.

[855] Invergowrie , meaning the 'Gowrie entrance', lies at the boundary of Gowrie and Angus, where *Gowrie* (the plain around the lower Tay) is an anglicized version of *Gabráin*. An *Inver-* is, etymologically, where one route and by extension, body of water, enters another; an *Aber-* where two or more come together—essentially the same meaning but they are built from two different Celtic prepositions (*in* and *ad*) and they are not, as is often assumed, cognates; thus they do not necessarily indicate parallel usage in different Celtic 'branches'.

[856] *Vita Kentegerni Imperfecta*'s supply of *Aberlessic* for *Ostium Fetoris* surely means that Aberlady is a later substitution. However, if *Vita Kentegerni Imperfecta*'s source had only *Ostium Fetoris*, then *Aberlessic* could be speculative, based on supplying a word similar to *lesaig* ('manure'), related to the Old Gaelic verb *lesaigidir* ('improve', 'tend'), in the sense that mud improves the land with nutrients. Speculative etymologies are common in the Anglo-Celtic hagiography of the twelfth century.

Appendix V: Scottish Matters

a) Political Geography of Alpinid Scotland

Máel-Coluim mac Cináeda, who died in 1034, was the last male-line descendant of Cináed mac Ailpín to reign as king of Scotland. The importance of Cináed mac Ailpín for Scotland's history in the preceding period was not just that he had been the ancestor of tenth-century Scotland's monarchs, but that he was the first common agnatic ancestor of all the kings reigning in tenth-century Scotland. Between 889 and 997 Scotland was ruled by two lines connected by common male descent from Cináed: one from Causantín mac Cináeda and the other from Áed mac Cináeda, whom we might call 'Clann Áeda' and 'Clann Causantín'.[857] After Giric (†889), each line appears to provide Scottish kings in rotation, starting with Domnall mac Causantín (†900) then Causantín mac Áeda (†952). Causantín mac Cuiléin (†997) was the last from Clann Áeda, while Máel-Coluim mac Cináeda (†1034) was the last from Clann Causantín. Neither the house of Áed nor the house of Causantín are attested directly as corporate entities. Their existence is a matter of deduction, from the apparently systematic transmission of the kingship between each descent group throughout the tenth century, a system with analogous but more explicit examples in better-documented contemporary Ireland. Woolf cited the alternation of the high-kingship of Ireland between the rulers of Ailech and Meath. As Woolf pointed out, such a system 'worked because these two dynasties had separate territorial bases'.[858] Being confined to the same region would create a great deal of tension, plausibly too much to be stable over any significant period of time. Tension between the two Alpinid groups does emerge in the sources: it is likely to have existed in the time of Máel-Coluim mac Domnaill and Causantín mac Áeda, when the latter as a living king appears to have been deposed in the former's favour; the pitched battle between and Dub mac Ildulb and Cuilén mac Maíl-Coluim *super Dorsum Crup* c. 967 is another breakdown into outright hostility that is much more certain.

Nonetheless, with so little evidence, it is reasonable enough to suggest each line had separate and distinct territorial bases. For Woolf, the House of Áed had been based north of the Mounth in Moray, while their rivals and kinsmen the House of Causantín had been based in the south. The disappearance of Áed's line had coincided with the rise of a new group of players in Moray. In Woolf's view, the aftermath of the death of Causantin mac Cuiléin allowed Clann Ruaidrí, the Moravian family of Findláech and Macbethad, to step into the dynasty's place and become the new representatives of the defunct line's power base.[859] Such an explanation would explain the developments of the early eleventh century very well. On the other hand, our information is very limited, and there are other potential explanations. For instance, the demise of the House of Áed and the opportunities offered by this demise may have initiated a period of expansion and fragmentation among their former 'rivals'. Moreover, Máel-Coluim II had no son to succeed him; if the territorial base of each lineage had differed both from each other *and* from a central, common zone, that itself could have created a 'power vacuum' in the territorial base. This would have happened prior to the appearance of the Moravian family in contemporary records.

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[857] The first common male ancestor of 'official' Alpinid rulers 997–1034 becomes Máel-Coluim I; he probably has this role as far as Lulach and Máel-Coluim III; see table A in Duncan, *Kingship*, 345.

[858] Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 223–24, and 'The "Moray Question" and the Kingship of Alba', *SHR* 79 (2000), 145–64, at 153–56.

While the rulers of the 'late Pictish state' and early Alpinids appear concentrated in southern Perthshire, in Gowrie and Strathearn, it is noticeable that no king from the House of Causantín died anywhere south of the Mearns while the House of Áed were active. Likewise, while the former are active all but one ruler from the House of Áed died south of the Mounth, the exception being Ildulb at Invercullen in Buchan in an expedition against Scandinavians. Ildulb (*Chronicle of the Kings of Alba*) and Cuilén (*AU*, s.a. 971) died fighting foreigners according to reliable sources, but no other kings can be shown to have died on military expeditions. Dub mac Máel-Coluim was defeated in battle, but lived for an undefined though small period. Although Dub's battle against Cuilén took place in Perthshire, Dub was 'expelled from the kingship' and was later 'killed by the Scots themselves'.[860] Scottish king-lists suggest this took place at Forres and suggest that this death was a matter of some impropriety, with the body hidden under the bridge of Kinloss.[861] This may indicate that Forres was an important centre of Dub's inner realm, i.e. in the House of Causantín's home territory. By contrast, we know the House of Áed's Causantín mac Áeda held a council at Scone and that he became abbot of the southern monastery of St Andrews in the last years of his life when he had been forced from the kingship. We also know that Cuilén, Causantín's grandson, was killed by Britons, and that he was thought in the thirteenth century to have granted swordland to the ancestor of a minor noble named Gille-Espaic, of Leny near Callandar on the south-western borders of Perthshire.[862] To the extent that the evidence supports a geographical division between the two houses, the descendants of Áed (Causantín II mac Áeda, Ildulb mac Causantín, Cuilén mac Ildulb, and Causantín III mac Cuilén) seem to be based south rather than north of the Mouth; and that the descendants of Causantín I (Domnall II mac Causantín, Máel-Coluim I mac Domnaill, Dub mac Maíl-Choluim, Cináed mac Maíl-Choluim, and Cináed III mac Duib) could appear based north of the Mounth. Remembering that Máel-Coluim can be found allied to King Edmund in the following decade, such a division could explain why his brother Æthelstan only advanced as far as *Dunfoeder* et *Wertermorum* in 934, Dunnottar and the 'Waste of Fortriu', perhaps leaving Máel-Coluim to the north?[863]

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[859] Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 223–24.
[860] *AU*, s.a. 967; *CKA*, 151, 159.
[861] Anderson, *Kings and Kingship*, 267, 275, 283, 288.

Where was the common zone then? Was there one? Æthelstan's 934 expedition appears to have found Causantín mac Áeda holding out in Dunnottar, with the kings agreeing some kind of terms. Without the reference to Causantín here, the evidence could suggest that the Mearns formed part of the base of the rival line, the House of Causantín. Three reigning kings of that line died in this small region after all. Dunnottar, its chief stronghold, is arguably the best fortification site on the east coast north of the Forth known to be occupied in the Viking Age. In early Modern Gaelic the surrounding region, the Mearns, was *A Mhaoirne*, originally formed by adding *maer* to an abstract suffix attested in Welsh but defunct in any surviving Scottish Gaelic dialects; etymologically, it means something like 'the Serjeanty' or 'the Stewartry'.[864] It is possible that this reflects its status as the Alpinid common land, but the term may date back to 'Pictish times'.[865] If *maer* has

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[862] *The Red Book of Menteith*, ed. W. Fraser (Edinburgh, 1880), I, p. lxxv.

[863] *Chron. 957*, 124; cf. *Edenburrogh* in the early modern English 'translation' in *AClon*, 149: s.a. 928 (*recte* 934); Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 165.

[864] Watson, *CPNS*, pp. 110–11; Fraser, *Caledonia-Pictland*, 356–57; see also Broun, D., 'The Origins of the Mormaer' (forthcoming). There is an outside possibility the original term was 'stewartries'. English-speakers in twelfth- or thirteenth-century Scotland appear to have analysed it as a plural *Mernis* (e.g. *St Andrews Liber*, p. 37), and the earliest Scottish form, as in the *viri na Moerne* who get rid of Máel-Coluim mac Domnaill in *CKA* (p. 251), keeps such a possibility open—though the form is consistent with the genitive of a singular feminine noun like *A Mhaoirne*; cf. *Fordun is in Mairne*, 'Fordun in the Mearns' (*Lebor Bretnach*, 106–07), an eleventh-century example confirming early use of the modern form (thanks to D. Broun for discussion here). Confusion between the two or even reanalysis could have arisen in constructions like *Fir na (n)Moerne* where the nasalization caused by the gen. pl. article merges with the initial nasal of 'Moerne'.

[865] Gowrie, what appears to be the core royal territory of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scottish kings, may have had its own maer (*Charters of the Abbey of Coupar Angus*, ed. D. E. Easson (Edinburgh, 1947), I, no. 34, giving *Bridyn macmartyn marus de Goueryn*).

Gallo-Frankish origin or at least came under Frankish influence, ‘Mearns’ could signify the area the control of a majordomo-type figure. The region is important militarily and its administrative successor, the small sheriffdom of Kincardine, stretched across the easternmost projection of the ‘Grampian’ massif, known in the Middle Ages as ‘the Mounth’, which divided Scotland into regions ‘south of the Mounth’ and ‘north of the Mounth’. Although neutral in relation to that divide, the region is internally fragmented, and it is hard not to suspect that its creation as a unit was top-down and the product of being part of a larger administrative structure. The concentrated correlation of tenth-century royal activity and this small region, and its recorded association with both lines, would indicate that if there were an Alpinid common land in the tenth century, it must have included the Mearns, perhaps as the core of a larger region stretching into Angus and Aberdeenshire. Mounth place-names also cluster in the area, and it is not impossible that the ‘Mounth’ could also refer to this projection specifically as well as the ‘Grampian’ massif as a whole. *Duan Albanach* styles Máel-Coluim mac Cináeda *ri Monaid*, ‘king of the Mounth’; this poetic title for the kingship could be explained by the above analysis.[866]

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[866] *Lebor Bretnach*, 284–84. Mounth place-names cluster in the area, and it is not impossible that the Mounth in question referred to this projection specifically rather than the ‘Grampian’ massif as a whole; see Taylor, *PNF*, III, 591, for suggestion of this usage elsewhere.

b) Identity of Maldred Son of Crinan, Father of Gospatric

Around the same time that Crínán of Dunkeld likely secured marriage to the royal heiress Bethóc, one *Maldred[us] fili[us] Crinan[i]* was said to have married Ealdgyth, granddaughter of King Æthelred II, via Earl Uhtred's marriage to the king's daughter. [867] This Crínán is not specifically identified as abbot of Dunkeld or even as a progenitor of subsequent Scottish kings, but these sources (*Historia Regum 2* and *De Obsessione Dunelmi*) are far from comprehensive on that kind of detail, and Scottish sources are also peculiarly coy about Crínán's position in the royal Scottish lineage.[868] The names Crínán and 'Maldred' are not common in the region prior to the eleventh century, admitting the poor levels of evidence survival; on balance it would seem more credible to account for one new player with the name 'Crínán' achieving such political success than two with the same rare name.[869]

If so, 'Maldred' would be part of the Clann Crínáin, or at least the 'Dunkeld', success story.[870] In a mid–twelfth-century text known misleadingly by the title *Vita Merlini Silvestris* (its medieval editor identified similarities between Merlin and the main character, Lailoken) there is a *regulus* named *Meldredus*.[871] According to its narrative, *Meldredus* imprisoned Lailoken at Drumelzier (*Dunmeller*) in Tweeddale. When this text was set down, Maldred son of Crínán was the great-grandfather of the living Dunbar earl Waltheof (†1182) son of Gospatric II (†1166). He is thus well placed as an ancestor figure: a great-grandfather, for instance, is the definitional figure in the classical *derbfine*.[872] That does not guarantee that Maldred held territory in or around Strathclyde, just that he was a plausible figure for such a role a century or so after his lifetime. This sort of evidence is very weak (particularly as Maldred of Drumelzier has no patronymic), but nonetheless Maldred must have had a sizable territorial base to support and protect a wife of such lineage, a [once] reigning Ecgberhting's granddaughter. Strathclyde or one of the adjacent valleys would fit the evidence (Tweeddale is in the Celtic-language zone beyond the Ettrick forest). There is no need for him to have been a king; possibly his status was not easy to position within the framework of existing traditions in the region, a son gaining or inheriting some of the power gained by the diplomatic and military skills of his father, the *novus homo*. Because ‘Maldred’ and his son were drawn by familial links and ambition further into the Northumbrian political system during the rule of the Moravian Macbethad (in this theory), a sense of ‘Scottishness’, had any ever existed, may have quickly disappeared.

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[867] *DOD*, 216; *HR2*, 199.

[868] Donnchad is sometimes given designations like *hua Mailcol'* (king-list B) or *nepos Malcolaim* (Poppleton genealogy); Anderson, *Kings and Kingship*, 263; Broun, *Irish Identity*, 176.

[869] Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 251–52.

[870] As a point of note, a charter of Earl Gospatric II (†c.1138) is witnessed by *Gosp' filio Crin, et Aldan fratre eius*; *ESC*, no. 117.

[871] *Vita Merlini Silvestris*, ed. and trans. W. MacQueen and J. MacQueen, *Scottish Studies* 29 (1989),77–93, at 81; cf. the possibly-related 'Lolan', saint of Broughton in Tweeddale, whose cult placed his death in the reign of Donnchad (e.g. A. P. Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, 379).

[872] F. Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law* (Dublin, 1998), 12–13.

The appearance of the father-in-law of King Æthelred’s granddaughter and husband of a Scottish ‘princess’ may be a prosopographic coincidence. True, Crínán appears to be a very rare name, but if there was some important Crínán a generation previously, numerous notables of that name could appear simultaneously. This has to be accepted, but the evidence for links between the two is better than this. The name of Gospatric’s father, ‘Maldred’ is almost certainly an anglicization of the Irish name *Máel-Doraid.* This explanation was given independently by both Dumville and Woolf.[873] Fiona Edmonds expressed caution about this idea, arguing that ‘extant forms offer little support for this identification’, citing a list gathered in an appendix. Edmonds suspected that the name’s formation lay in a British context, perhaps being built from the element *Maglo-*.[874] In this case Edmonds is being reasonably restrained, but is perhaps being overly-sceptical about the support offered by extant forms, almost all provided by English or Anglo-French scribes writing in Latin.[875] Extant forms of the name do in fact support Máel-Doraid, the only problem being that *doraid* has generally been reduced to *dred* when the stress should generate *dord* or some variant. The expected form does occur, however, in its earliest Northumbrian appearance. In the eleventh century an English notice of some manumissions was added to BL Cotton Otho B. ix; recorded therein was a noble named *Mældorð* freeing ten slaves for his own soul.[876] The later reduction of *doraid* to *dred* is frivolously easy to explain as a reanalysis on analogy with the widespread element *ræd* (as in *Æthelræd*, *Ælfræd*, and so on). *Mældorð* for *Máel-Doraid* should be compared with the form *Mælcolm,* well-attested representing the Scottish name *Máel-Coluim* in Northumbrian English sources of the era.[877]

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[873] S. Keynes, ‘King Athelstan’s Books’, in M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (eds), *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1985), 143–201 , at 175, n. 157, where Keynes notes Professor Dumville’s personal comments to him on the matter; Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 250.

[874] Edmonds, ‘Personal Names’, 56–57, 64–65; K. H. Jackson*, Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh, 1953), 463–64.

[875] Edmonds sample has eight occurrences, all twelfth-century or later: Meldred (4), Maldred (2), Meldrid (1) and Meldord (1); Edmonds, ‘Personal Names’, 64–65.

[876] *Þis synd Þæra monna noman Þe is gefreod for Mældorðes sawle 1 Ferman 2 Wulfstan 3 Ukede 4 Ealdcearle 5 Buð 6 Walh 7 Wulflæd 8 Grugele 9 Ælflæd 10 Ælflæd. Se ðe Þis awende hem be Judas dæl*, ‘‘These are the names of those men that are freed for Mældorð’s soul ... He who alters this, to him be Judas’ portion’; see E. Craster, ‘Some Anglo-Saxon Records of the See of Durham’, *AA* 4th Ser. 1 (1925), 189–98, at 190.

This name increases the chances of a link between the family of Gospatric and that of Dunkeld, not just because it was Gaelic, but also because it suggests a link to Dunkeld. The dominant Cenél Conaill lineage during this era were the Uí MaÍl-Doraid. For three centuries the kingship of Tir Conaill alternated between the Uí Maíl-Doraid and their alleged relatives the Uí Canannáin.[878] Both claimed common descent via an eighth-century Irish high-king from the eponymous ancestor of all the Cenél Conaill.[879] Indeed, the genealogical corpus in the twelfth-century Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson B 502 records the lineage of Máel-Ruanaid (see below) as *Genelach Ceníuil Conaill*.[880] Through this descent, the Uí Maíl-Doraid could claim membership of Columba's very own kin-group. It is a fair presumption that in tenth- and eleventh-century Scotland, this was the best known thing about Cenél Conaill;[881] and by this time, in Britain at least, Columba had probably come to be linked with Dunkeld as much as Iona, if not more so.[882] Even in the eleventh century there was probably still some expectation that Iona and the Columban churches in the north of Ireland should take their heads from the 'race of Conall'.[883] So Woolf's suggestion that the Cenél Conail may have been providing abbots of Dunkeld, or at least spawned a local dynasty, is very reasonable.[884] Ua Maíl-Doraid power was at its height during Crínán's life-time, in the person of Máel-Ruanaid Ua Maíl-Doraid. The latter ended his years as a pilgrim, visiting Iona before heading to Rome: at which point the Munster-based *AI* style him *rí in tuascirt*, 'king of the north'.[885] Dunkeld's overseer was [eventually] married to the daughter of the Scottish king and probably had a good say on who passed from Iona to the Continent in peace. Given the links between Iona and Dunkeld, and possibly between Máel-Ruanaid and Crínán, the event may have had some significance. Links between the two may even have contributed to Crínán's military following, and facilitated his political success.[886]

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[877] E.g. *ASC* MS D, s.a. 1034, MS E, s.a. 1031.

[878] Notes of Ua Maíl-Doraid kings before 1100 include *AFM*, s.a. 896, 899, 960, 978, 989, 1027, 1032, 1059, 1061; *CS*, s.a. 1029; AU, s.a. 1032, 1061; and *ALC*, s.a. 1032, 1085. Notes of Uí Canannáin include *AI*, s.a. 950, 1003, 1045, *AU*, s.a. 957, 962, 977, 1083; *AFM*, s.a. 962, 996; *CS*, s.a. 997, 1075; *AT*, s.a. 1000; and *ALC*, 1093.

[879] Both groups were described as descending from Irish high-king Flaithbertach mac Loingsig (†765) and hence from the legendary Conall Gulban son of Niall Noígiallach. The Rawlinson 502 and the Laud genealogies claimed Flaithbertach as the great-great grandfather of Máel-Doraid; K. Meyer, 'The Laud Genealogies and Tribal Histories', *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 8 (1912), 291–338, at 301; T. G. Ó Canann, 'Ua Canannáin Genealogies in the Irish Manuscript Tradition', *Studia Hibernica* 30 (1999), 167–229, at 180–81; see also reconstructed genealogy *NHI*, IX.2, 127.

[880] *CGH*, 164: c.977.

[881] The twelfth-century Derry version of Columba's life asserts that 'noble indeed … was Colum Cille's kin, for he was of the race of Conall son of Niall' (*Uasal tra a cenel Coluim Cille i lleth in tshaegail .i. do chenel Conail meic Neill ata-comnaic*); for text and translation, see Herbert*, Iona, Kells, and Derry*, 223, 251.

[882] *De Ortu Sancti Cuthberti*, a collection of extracts on Cuthbert's birth collected from Gaelic sources in Scotland and Ireland, calls Columba the 'first bishop of Dunkeld' and claims hegemony over the churches of Cuthbert and Brigit by making Columba responsible for their education; *DOSC*, 78: c21. The early eleventh-century *Secgan*, although otherwise about English resting places, chooses to relate that Columba's resting place was at Dunkeld. Notably, *De S. Cadroe Abbate* appears to imply the 'tomb' of Columba *(tumulum B. Columbani*) was somewhere in northern Britain, next to a river, presumably the Tay; *DSCA*, 475 (*CPS*, 109–12, *ESSH*, I, 432–44).

[883] Herbert, *Iona, Kells and Derry*, 92–94.

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[884] Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 249–50.

[885] K. Simms, 'Late Medieval Donegal', in W. Nolan et al (eds), *Donegal* (Dublin, 1995), 183–202, at 183–84.

[886] It may be of some significance Dunkeld was burned in the same year as Máel-Ruanaid's death, the year after his visit to Iona; see *AU*, s.a. 1026.

c) The Scottish 'thane'

The 'thane' has come to be prominent figure in how 'native' Scottish society is depicted by historians writing about Scotland in the Anglo-Norman era, or even in the Viking Age. Contrary to what is widely believed, there is nothing about the 'thane' in the Scottish evidence that suggests the terminology was used by the Scots themselves, and it is completely unattested in surviving Gaelic. Its use in modern Scottish historiography does not lie in insights gathered by modern historical method: it is earlier, medieval English usage inherited by Scottish English.[887] Nevertheless, as the thirteenth-century French tract on Scottish honour prices may show, the stratification of English and Scottish societies were sufficiently similar that even French-speakers retained the English word 'thane' for a 'third tier' of Scottish society.[888] As *thanus* (with variants), the term is utilized in post-Davidian documentary sources, and dozens of references to the office were gathered and analysed by Alexander Grant.[889] Barrow thought the 'precursor' of the *thanus* was the maer. He suggested that even in the fourteenth century Andrew of Wyntoun had used the words 'thegn' and 'maer' interchangeably, referring to some of the subjects of William the Conqueror as maers (*Þar eldast barnnys, and þar ayris / Off erllis, barownys and of maris*).[890] The office of *maer* is itself very well attested, like *thanus*, from the twelfth century onwards, and cannot in any way be regarded as a 'precursor' on any chronological frame constructed from extant evidence. Judging by its direct use in the *Leges Scocie*, the *maer* was a leading military companion of the king, with core military and administrative responsibilities, including the collection of one of the basic revenues of the kingdom, the *cáin* (see below).[891] The formalised late medieval maer's insignia were a horn and wand (carried on duty), and responsibilities associated with the position included arrest, handing over writs, denouncement of rebels, and facilitating the physical possession of property ('sasine')—'a kind of ancestor of the modern sheriff officer'.[892] After the introduction of sheriffdoms, the latter seem to have been divided into zones under the responsibility of particular maers. In the case of the Forfar, the sheriffdom was divided into quarters with a maer responsible for each; other sheriffdoms had more maers.[893]

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[887] In the seventeenth century John Spottiswood claimed that Máel-Coluim II 'introduced the titles of Earl, Baron, and Knight, in the Place of Thane and Abthane, which were the titles before in use', J. Spottiswood, *History of the Church of Scotland* (London, 1665, reprinted Edinburgh, 1851), I, 62. Part of the problem was the erroneous conflation of 'thane' with 'abthane' which had already occurred in the Early Modern period, and which Skene still believed to be a kind of abbot who held a 'thanedom' (W. F. Skene, *The Highlanders of Scotland* (London, 1837), I, 128–38). In reality it was *apdaine*, perhaps an early Gaelicization of the Latin word *abbacia*, but the Gaelic form was enough to suggest analysis along those lines, perhaps even in the Middle Ages (as suggested by the form *abthanagium*, the addition of Romance-influenced abstracting suffix, see Barrow, *ANE*, 11, for references).

[888] *Leges Scocie*, p. 278: c.21.

[889] A. Grant, 'Thanes and Thanages, from the Eleventh Century to the Fourteenth Centuries', in *Medieval Scotland*, 39–81.

[890] Barrow, *Kingdom*, 55–56; *Chron. Wynton*, II, 335 (=Laing, II, 58): vii.123–124; I have not been able to identify Wyntoun's source here, and from this position of weakness it looks like he could be translating a variety of Latin words, including *prepositus* and *minister*.

[891] *Leges Scocie*, 278: c. 20.

Maers can be found in fuller evidence from ninth- and tenth-century Ireland. They exercised similar revenue-gathering and judicial powers over particularly communities, with an *ard-maer* exercising such authority over many communities. Examples include the *maer Cána Adomnáin* (ambiguously 'maer of Adomnán's Law' or 'Adomnán's tribute'), *maer muintire Pátraic*, as well as more specific derivative offices of royal households such as the *conmhaor* ('hound maer'), and the *maor each* ('steed maer'). The officers that Brian Boruma set over sub-polities (the Dál gCais and Airmumha at least) were called maers, and there was an *ard-maer*, 'high maer', set over the southern Uí Néill.[894] After the reduction in sovereignty of the Norse king of Dublin in the twelfth century, Irish sources took to using 'lesser' titles for these rulers, one of which was 'mormaer', presumably taken from a Scottish analogy.[895] In later medieval Ireland, *maoir* are responsible for gathering a particular polity's revenues, a right and office that, like those associated with the Southumbrian 'king's thegn', ennobled and could be inherited by leaders of particularly prominent kin-groups—but such officers could also be recruited from comparatively low social backgrounds. A ruler's ability to send maers into a vassal's territory or make circuits of their land was seen, by Irish bards at least, as the 'ultimate proof of his paramount authority'.[896] The office of maer also existed in later medieval Wales, in various but similar forms. In Wales the maer was entitled to make circuits of the king's land with his men, with authority over his townland (the *maerdref*), and has been described as a high-status version of the Anglo-Saxon reeve. It is also an office explicitly tied to particular status and landholding.[897]

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[892] D. M. Walker, *A Legal History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1988–2001), II, 336.
[893] Walker, *Legal History of Scotland*, II, 336; W. C. Dickinson, *The Sheriff Court Book of Fife, 1515–1522* (Edinburgh, 1928), lxii–lxvi.
[894] C. Etchingham, *Church Organisation in Ireland, A.D. 650 to 1000* (Maynooth, 1999), 211–14ff.; K. Simms, *From Kings to Warlords* (Woodbridge, 1997), 82–83.
[895] N. Ó Súilleabháin, 'Mormaors, Mayors and Merchants', in S. Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin XIII* (Dublin, 2013), 108–15, at 109–10; and *AFM*, s.a. 1167.
[896] Simms, *Kings to Warlords*, 67, 75, 82–83, 92 [quote], 95.

The maer is not mentioned in the Deer *notitiae*, though its existence in pre-Davidian Scotland is certain, and can be found in pre–twelfth-century evidence through the term *mormaer*. The mormaer probably originates, and almost certainly came to be understood, as 'great *maer*'. It is attested from the tenth century onwards. The 'provinces' of a mormaer are similar in size (though smaller in population) to Southumbrian shires, and like many of English shires Scottish mormaerships may have developed from pre–Viking-Age kingdoms. This seems to be the case with Atholl, very likely to have been a mormaership in the tenth century.[898] Habitual use of the term 'earl' by modern historians disguises the fact that the mormaer, by definition, was a kind of maer and would have been understood as such by Scots of the era.[899] The Anglo-Norman authors of twelfth-century charters decided very quickly that this title should be rendered *comes* in Latin, usage mirrored (and perhaps caused) by French vernacular title, *cunte*.[900] English-speakers came to refer to the mormaer as 'earl', probably by the twelfth century, but certainly by the fourteenth. It is likely that Anglo-Normanization of Clann Crínáin administrative custom caused the roles and duties of the mormaer to drift towards the Anglo-Norman count–earl model, but it is unlikely such processes were at work prior to 1100. Though retaining its name, the English 'office' of *eorl* was itself transformed and 'degraded' following the Norman conquest, ceasing to be a *dux* of multiple shires and instead a *comes* of single shire, before in turn becoming simply a barony attached to this, more elevated title.[901] The post-Conquest equivalent of the tenth-century ealdorman was really the 'justiciar' rather than the later earl. Only this transformation would have made a comparison between an English *eorl* and Scottish *mormaer* plausible; figures such as Earl Siward of Northumbria or Earl Godwine of Wessex resembled, and in most cases surpassed, the Scottish king in power (and Duke William of Normandy was *Willelm eorll fram Normandige* in the contemporary *ASC* record). It is very unlikely they were analogous to the Scottish king's senior underlings, and would probably (perhaps like other maers) have been classified as thegns or as 'high-reeves'.[902]

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[897] *The Law of Hywel Dda*, trans. D. Jenkins (Llandysul, 1986), 91–92, 122–24, 129; for the comparison with reeve and other comments, see ibid, 263–64.

[898] D. Broun,'The Origins of the Mormaer' (forthcoming), and A. Taylor, 'The *Comes* in Medieval Scotland' (forthcoming); I am grateful for to Dauvit Broun and Alice Taylor for sharing these prior to publication. The alternative origin 'sea steward', is discussed by Broun, ibid, 2–5; this suggestion depends entirely on a philological observation, and otherwise stretches plausibility given that the first known mormaer is relatively early and is assigned to highland province of Atholl—though in fairness, the term 'satrap' is used here (and see Woolf, *Pictland-Alba*, 342–44); irrespective of origin, 'great maer' was how Irish scribes understood its meaning (see Simms, ibid., 83). To illustrate the term's later use, Robert de Brus, 'earl' of Carrick, is called *mormaer* at AU1302.6, *mormaer Cargi* (*AConn*, s.a. 1306), *mór mhoer Cairrge* (*ALC*, s.a. 1306), but there is also *Edubard mac Roberd Briuis Iarla Cargi* (*AConn*, s.a. 1315). It is chronologically possible Scottish Gaelic borrowed *iarla* from Irish (Anglo-Norman Ireland had its first earldoms from the later thirteenth century) rather than Scandinavian or English Scotland.

[899] This might be highlighted by the Scottish translation of Glanville preserved in *Regiam Majestatem*. The latter's passage on rape says that if a woman is raped she 'must proceed to the chief maer of the *comitatus*, or the *toscheoderach* if he can be found, and make a like demonstration to them. Then she must go with her *secta* to the chief castle of the sheriffdom in which the offence was committed, and there tell the whole story. (*Dehinc per viam regiam ibit ad capitalem marum illius comitatus, vel ad Toscheoderach, si poterit inveniri, et eandem demostrationem facet.Et inde procedat cum secta ad capitale castrum illius vicecomitatus in quo illud maleficium factum fuit seu perpetratum, et ibi totum factum exponet*). In Glanville it is said that 'She should afterwards do the same to the reeve of the hundred' and 'Afterwards she should proclaim it publicly in the next county court' (*Dehinc autem apud prepositum hundredi idem faciat. Postea quoque in primo comitatu id publice proponat*). The changes in the Scottish version illustrate how the author 'translated' the English model for Scotland. Where the English woman proceeds to the reeve of the hundred, the Scottish woman proceeds to the *capitalem marum* of the *comitatus*; where the English woman takes her case to the court of the *comitatus*, the Scottish woman goes to the castle of the *vicecomitatus*. In twelfth-century Scotland *comitatus* is often the term used for area ruled by mormaer and can be distinct from *vicecomitatus*, a sheriffdom, a distinction which becomes habitual in the later Middle Ages (e.g. 1455 charter of John of Islay refers to Kingedward as 'in the erldome of Buchane withine the shiradome of Aberdein'). *Capitalem marum* is a plausible Latin calque of mormaer (when analysed as 'great maer'). Each province or sheriffdom did however have multiple maers, and these appear to have been ranked; e.g. a proclamation of Alexander II forbade all *comites* and their serjeants from taking a certain forfeiture from royal tenants-in-chief, and specified that the *comes de Fyffe* should only do so as *tercius marus Regis de Fiffe* rather than *comes de Fiffe*; but of course that

It has generally been more common to identify the *thanus* with the *toísech*, 'chief'. The toísech appears in the *notitiae* of the Book of Deer, and is familiar from its use in the

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is precisely what *mór maer* would indicate anyway; see *Regiam Maj*., 256– 57, and *Glanvill*, 174–75; for sheriffs and counties, see *Acts of the Lords of the Isles, 1336–1493*, ed. J. Munro and R. W. Munro (Edinburgh, 1986), no. 59; see *OED* s.v. 'Sheriffdom' for list of early uses (starting 1385), all from Scotland; for the statute of Alexander II, see A. Taylor, 'Common Burdens in the *Regnum Scottorum*', in *RCD*, 166–234, at 231, 233.

[900] E.g. *Chron. Fantosme*, 36–37, 100–01.

[901] C. P. Lewis, 'The Early Earls of Norman England', *ANS* 13 (1990), 207–23. It is of interest that Smyth has suggested the title 'high reeve', used by Oswulf Eadwulfing, was a calque of *mórmaer*; see Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men*, 235–36.

[902] The way that Wynton uses the term *thayne* could be taken to indicate that his underlying sources were using Gaelic. 'Thayne' of Moray seems to be a different type of 'thane' than the *thayne off Crwmbawchty*, suggesting that two distinct uses of the word may be at work; see *Chron. Wyntoun*, IV, 274–75 (=Laing, II, 128): vi.1864–1866/1904–1906. Compare his use of the term *thayne off Fyffe* for Macduff during the same episode, e.g. *Chron. Wyntoun*, IV, 280–81: vi.1970/2012: Moray and Fife were both headed by mormaers who, as a type of maer as stressed above, could be be styled 'thane'. Duncan thought this Macbeth episode derived from a lost romance about Máel-Coluim III and Macbeth, 'probably of the thirteenth century' [Duncan, *Kingship*, 37]. References to Kennoway, Moray, and indeed Strathbogie (a Macduff lordship) connect its production to the Macduffs of this era. Duncan considered what the original language of the tale might have been, suggesting either English or French. There appear to be few traces of French in the Fordun-Bower Latin or in the English of Wyntoun, so English is more likely than French; the text has certainly come via English-speaking authorities. Duncan however ignored the possibility of Gaelic, even though the text retains Gaelic traces, such as *Canmor* and almost all the proper names, but in any case Gaelic was almost certainly the language of circulation for the tale (or at least a proto-type of it).

later medieval Highlands.[903] The toísech of the Deer *notitiae* is a 'public' figure like a king or a mormaer, with rights to expropriate surplus and services, rights that could be given up as a gift.[904] When disambiguating a toísech, the *notitae* assign him to particular lineages (e.g. 'toísech of Clann Channan', 'of Clann Morgainn').[905] This *toísech clainne*, 'lineage chief' (or even 'clan chief') appears to be distinct from another type of attested toísech, the *toschederach*. Although the second element is uncertain, in the later Middle Ages and Early Modern Era the term *toschederach* was used for a 'coroner', often interchangeably with 'mair'; John Skene described the office as 'mair of fee', and it appears to have been the basis, or at least merged into, the position of the modern 'coroner'. The term was used in Gaelic regions on both sides of the Forth; it was also used in Mann, as *toshiagh jiorrey*, one for each sixth ('sheading') on the island. William Gillies thought this meant 'chief of base-clients' (*daor-rath*), and that the term might have arisen in order to make a distinction with the *toísech clainne*, but another recent suggestion has been 'chief of captive-taking' (*doarad*).[906] The distinction between 'kindred' toísechs and others may suggest an official used by a king or mormaer to mediate authority over subordinate population groups; here, a 'chief of base clients' may have been responsible for those people who were outside particular lineages or their territory, people who would otherwise lack a *clann* or *toísech clainne* accountable for their behaviour; alternatively, he may have been an outsider dependent on the overlord overseeing *clann* chiefs themselves. The later medieval evidence for these offices is complex and cannot be reviewed here, but the existence of different types of toísech and maer from the twelfth century, as well as offices such as *doirseoir*, indicates that the Scottish 'state' probably resembled the larger Irish polities of the era; bearing in mind that there are few Irish polities larger than known Scottish mormaerships, and only handful approaching the size of the kingdom as a whole (and not for any length of time), the exceptional role of the mormaer in the ‘Gaelic world’ can perhaps be assigned to the Scottish kingdom’s large size and chronological endurance.[907]

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[903] Much of the long history of the toísech's treatment in historiography, including his identification with the 'thane', is drawn out by D. Broun, 'The Property Records in the Book of Deer', in *Deer Studies*, 313–60, at 315–26.

[904] *Deer Not.*, passim.; Broun, 'Property Records', 355.

[905] *Deer Not.*, 140–41: v–vi.

[906] W. D. H. Sellar, 'Celtic Law and Scots Law', *Scottish Studies* 29 (1989), 1–27, at 9; W. Gillies, 'Some thoughts on the *Toschederach*', *SGS* 17 (1996), 128–42; G. Márkus, 'Dewars and Relics in Scotland', *IR* 65 (2009), 95–144, at 98–103. Some of the evidence for the office is collected, reproduced and discussed by W. C. Dickinson, 'The Toschederach', *Judicial Review* 53 (1941), pp. 85–111, and outlined visually in *ASH*, 190.

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[907] Simms, *Kings to Warlords*, 83–84.

d) Scottish and Northumbrian 'shires'

In both Scottish and Anglo-Norman controlled regions of 'Middle Britain', the palaces and manors pertaining to the king functioned as part of a larger administrative apparatus upon which they were dependent for their economic viability and importance. In Scotland, the *dabach* may have provided, like the hyde in England, overlords a way of evaluating the services owed by their subordinates, but study of such units remains very much in its infancy. [908] Much discussion of the 'Scottish state' as well as that of Northumbria has been shaped by the 'multiple estate'. The extension of this model has developed its own idiosyncrasies in the some of the historiography of Scotland and Northumbria. These lands were allegedly divided into districts termed 'shires' (presided over in Scotland ruled by non-hereditary 'ministerial' officials called 'thanes', see Appendix V.c). These 'shires' were organized around the economic needs of the community and its overlord, and possessed a degree of self-sufficiency, suggesting that they evolved from early medieval tribal kingdoms. The rational shire system was in decay by the time extensive records begin in the Anglo-Norman era; but, so the theory goes, its previous outlines can be reconstructed through careful scholarship, particularly because these agricultural collectives influenced the shape of later parishes and baronies. Northumbrian 'shires' and Scottish 'shires and thanes' had been around for a long time, but their current prominence owes primarily to Maitland and to Jolliffe's account of 'Northumbrian institutions' from 1927, and, for Scotland, to Barrow's work on 'Pre-Feudal Scotland' from 1973. The latter have since been extensively elaborated, most particularly for Scotland by Alexander Grant.[909]

Perhaps surprisingly, direct evidence for 'shires' (or indeed 'thanes') in pre-Norman Scotland is non-existent. The learning of Jolliffe, Barrow, Grant, and others disguise the fact that such beliefs about 'pre-feudal' territories significantly predate them and are not based on such learning. In 1893 antiquarian Edward Bateson, writing about 'Bamburghshire', was complaining that 'at the present day the country people identify the *shire* with the *parish*, and have forgotten the wider signification of the former term'. Yet on the earlier evidence he himself assembled, the suffix -*shire* had been appended to Bamburgh as a centre of various administrative zones, including the parish.[910] As it appears in eleventh-, twelfth- and thirteenth-century Northumbrian sources, 'shire' (Latinised *scira* with variations) designates a territory defined by its relationship with some central point, the central point usually being specified (a manor, a castle, or other administrative centre). This includes, in addition to the familiar 'royal shires' (sheriffdoms in Scotland), parishes (and proto-parishes), wapentakes, wards, territorial liberties, and sections of the city of York.[911] Its fluid use north of the Humber may reflect the word's utility in a period of 'state-formation' and centre-down reorganization, but it is also possible, of course, that there was some core referrant, perhaps even an older administrative unit. Many of the units described as *scirae* were, however, innovative, including the new Anglo-Norman sheriffdoms, estate collections such as 'Richmondshire' and the various 'shires' acquired through the aggrandizement of the Anglo-Norman bishops of Durham.[912] It is as logical to use the word as a genealogical marker of an earlier decayed system as to claim common origin for the parish, wapentake, and county–shire.

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[908] For a recent discussion of these, see Ross, *Kings of Alba*, c. 1.

[909] F. W. Maitland, 'Northumbrian Tenure', *EHR* 5 (1890), 625–32; J. E. A. Jolliffe, 'Northumbrian Institutions', *EHR* 41 (1929), 1–42; Barrow, *Kingdom*, 7–56; A. Grant, 'Thanes and Thanages, from the Eleventh Century to the Fourteenth Centuries', in *Medieval Scotland*, 39–81; A. Grant, 'The Construction of the Early Scottish State', in J. R. Maddicott and D. M. Palliser (eds.), *The Medieval State* (London, 2000), 47–71; A. Grant, 'At the Northern Edge', in *Norman Expansion*, 49–85; see also J. Gledhill, 'From Shire to Barony in Scotland', in *Norman Expansion*, 87–113.

The use of this word *scira* in Latin documents from Scottish territories is adequately explained by the Anglo-Norman *literati* behind them; the new religious corporations and the monks and clerics staffing them, primarily from northern England, are the principal sources of these documents. The term's use did however spread to the Scots, borrowed to mean 'parish' in Gaelic, an institution that 'coincidentally' enough did indeed enter Scotland via England in the twelfth century (again primarily with English and French agents originally based in Northumbria). The common source of both institution and terminology removes any requirement to invent an additional undocumented extension of the concept to pre-Norman Scottish local units, though doubtlessly Anglo-Latin bureaucrats drew, as they did with many other Scottish institutions, analogies with certain pre-existing units in their homeland.[913] Such charter authors also used the word 'soke', another English analogy.[914]

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[910] *HN*, I, 1–3.

[911] *BB*, 22, 32 (and comments by South, *HSC*, 103, 113, 128–29); *Book of Fees*, I, 23, 26; Ekwall, *PNL*, 26, 65, 93, 126; for the city's six *scyra*, see *DB York.*, I, fol. 298 a.

[912] If its French name did not give its novelty away, then very happily much of the original creator's holding and his variety of *antecessores* of multiple social ranks are documented in Domesday Book; see *DB York.*, I, fols 309a–314a.

[913] A Dunfermline deed describing Fothrif and Musselburgh as having pertaining *schirae* may indicate this; see *ESC*, no. 10. It has signs of being a mid–twelfth-century translation from Gaelic.

Moreover, there is no particular pressure in the evidence to create any theory of systematic institutional decay—the pristine system is not attested. Political failure and success, as well as trade would, each generation, presumably have altered what land, kin-groups, clients, and property were associated with particularly powerful households (or any similar 'estates'), and powerful households themselves would have risen and fallen, with halls occupied, abandoned, and relocated. Churches and ecclesiastical corporations generally are exceptional because they have unusual protection from fragmentation and re-grouping arising from economic and political reproduction. That is why it is particularly unfortunate that their holdings have been the principal source for reconstructing the main structures of pre-Conquest micropolitics in Britain.

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[914] E.g. *Dunf. Reg*., no. 4.

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