

ART. VI.—*Strathclyde and Cumbria : a survey of historical development to 1092.* By D. P. KIRBY, M.A.

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ABBREVIATIONS IN THE FOOTNOTES.

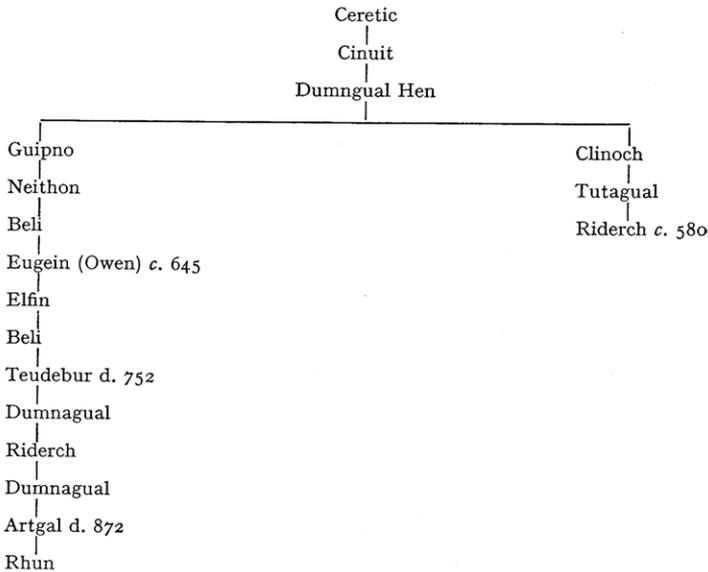
- AA — *Archaeologia Aeliana.*
A.T. — *Annals of Tigernach.*
A.U. — *Annals of Ulster.*
D. & G. — *Dumfriesshire and Galloway Nat. Hist. and Antiq. Soc.*
E.H.R. — *English Historical Review.*
H.E. — *Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica.*
M.G.H. — *Monumenta Germaniae Historica.*
S.D. — *Symeon of Durham.*
V.C.H. — *Victoria County History.*

Strathclyde, the Dark Age British kingdom centred on Dumbarton and the Clyde, and Cumbria, the mountainous land of Cumberland and Westmorland south of the Solway, have preserved few records of their history in the centuries prior to the Norman Conquest, and much of what these records relate is of uncertain meaning and significance. It does seem certain that the two geographical units were being forged into one at the beginning of the 10th century and that Cumbria was becoming by this time an area of considerable interest for a whole succession of Scottish kings. This study is an attempt to trace the development and inter-relation of the two districts from c. A.D. 450 to 1092, with particular attention to the external pressures from both Scotland and Northumbria to which they were subjected.

(i) **Origins.**

AT some time c. A.D. 450 St Patrick wrote to the soldiers of Coroticus "regem Aloo" condemning both them and their master for trafficking in Christian slaves

whom they had captured in a raid on Ireland. This chieftain is undoubtedly to be identified with the Ceretic who appears in Harleian genealogy V as ancestor of the later kings of Strathclyde.¹ Genealogy VI is to be related to V; this gives the pedigree of Riderch, one of the leaders of the British opposition to the Angles in the late 6th century, back to Ceretic.² The main line of descent of the Strathclyde royal family may be set out as follows:



The Strathclyde princes traced their ancestry back even beyond Ceretic, whose grandfather and great-grandfather were known respectively as Cinhil and Cluim. These names may be from the Latin names Quintilius and Clemens, and it has been suggested that in the late 4th century the Roman government encouraged the development of military buffer-states under these men, among others, with a view to holding off the Picts and Scots.³

¹ E. Phillimore, "The Annales Cambriae and the Old-Welsh genealogies from Harl. MS. 3859", *Y Cymmrodor* ix, 1888, 172 f.

² *Ibid.*, 173.

³ P. H. Blair, "The Origins of Northumbria", AA4 xxv, 1947, 1-51.

Whatever may be the truth in this theory of deliberate Roman intervention,⁴ Strathclyde does appear to have evolved out of the older British unit of the Damnonii. When the Roman armies advanced north, they found a political division roughly along the Tyne-Solway line, between the Brigantes south of it, and, north of it, the Novantae of Galloway, the Selgovae of Dumfriesshire and the central Lowlands, the Votadini between the Forth and the Tyne, and the Damnonii from Ayrshire across Clydesdale into Stirlingshire.⁵ The territory of the Damnonii stretched across the Clyde and the earliest allusions to the kings of Strathclyde show that their kingdom also centred on the Clyde. Ceretic was 'regem Aloo' which is the Alclut or Alcluith of subsequent centuries, *i.e.* Dumbarton.⁶ Adamnan refers to Riderch as ruling in the Rock of the Clyde,⁷ while Tutagual father of Riderch appears in the *Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd* as Tutwal Tutclyt, *i.e.* Tutwal of the people of the Clyde.⁸

One of the kings who fought with Riderch or Rhydderch against the Angles of Bernicia *c.* A.D. 580 was Urbgen who appears as Urien, ruler of Rheged, in the historical poems of Taliesin.⁹ Hywel ab Owein (d. 1170) indicates in a poem that in his time Carlisle was thought to have been in Rheged.¹⁰ The fact that Dunragit, at the head of Luce Bay, means "Fort of Rheged" has a significance to which familiarity with the identification must not blind one. Urien is associated in the poems of Taliesin with Llwyfenydd which is possibly Lyvennet in Westmorland in the Eden valley.¹¹ He is also referred to as "defender in Aeron" which might indicate authority in Ayr.¹¹ It

⁴ K. H. Jackson, "The Britons in Southern Scotland", *Antiquity* xxix, 1955, 77-88, sounds a note of caution.

⁵ I. A. Richmond, *Roman and Native in North Britain*, 1955, 32 and 135-141.

⁶ W. I. Watson, *Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, 1026, 33.

⁷ W. Reeves, *Life of St. Columba by Adamnan* (Historians of Scotland VI), 1874, 123.

⁸ W. F. Skene, *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, 1868, ii 454.

⁹ Edited by Sir I. Williams, *Canu Taliesin*, 1960.

¹⁰ J. Morris-Jones, "Taliesin", *Y Cymmrodor* 28, 1918, 66 f.

¹¹ *E.g.* Poem VIII; and note, Sir I. Williams, *ibid.*, p. xxix.

is possible, therefore, that Urien's kingdom extended from Ayrshire through Galloway and Dumfriesshire and south across the Solway. Urien was of the line of Coel Hen, perhaps the most powerful at this time of the northern ruling families. The *Historia Brittonum* records how Rhydderch, Urien and other princes of the Coeling line combined to attack the Bernician Angles, and how in a subsequent campaign Urien was treacherously slain by one of these same Coelings because of jealousy of Urien's military prowess.¹²

The history of Rheged after the death of Urien is uncertain but it is very probable that the kingdom disintegrated before the onslaught of Aethelfrith, king of Bernicia (592-604) and of Bernicia and Deira (604-616). Bede states that Aethelfrith ravaged the Britons more than any of his predecessors and that so great was his success that Aedan, king of Scottish Dalriada, came against him in 603 only to be defeated himself at Degsastan.¹³ Rheged disappears from history and Strathclyde sinks into obscurity. Presumably Degsastan left the Angles as masters not only of the east Lothians but also of Rheged, for Edwin of Northumbria made his influence felt in the Isle of Man.¹⁴ To achieve this, Edwin must have controlled Carlisle and the Solway, a situation which confirms the impression that the main attack of Northumbria for the previous twenty years had been against the western Britons.¹⁵ Northumbrian control of the area may not have been very firm in the immediate years after 603, but neither Aethelfrith nor Edwin is likely to have countenanced any attempt by Strathclyde to gain control. In the reign of Oswald (634-642), by c. 638 at the latest, Rheged was brought securely under Northumbrian rule by the

¹² Edited by T. Mommsen, *M.G.H., Auctores*, xiii, 1894, 206.

¹³ *H.E.* I, 34.

¹⁴ *H.E.* II, 5.

¹⁵ Though in possession of the western seaboard in Edwin's time, it was not until 638 that the northward drive of the Northumbrians brought them to the British stronghold at Edinburgh; K. H. Jackson, "Edinburgh, and the Anglian Occupation of Lothian", *The Anglo-Saxons* (Studies presented to Bruce Dickins, ed. P. Clemoes), 1959, 35-42.

marriage of Oswald's brother, Oswiu, to Riemmelth, great-granddaughter of Urien.¹⁶

(ii) **The Anglian Period.**

Edwin and Oswald appear to have been the most powerful kings of their day. They dominated their contemporary Anglo-Saxon kings and "the Britons who inhabit Britain".¹⁷ The precise significance of this ambiguous description is difficult to determine. At some date in the 7th century the Northumbrians must have asserted their lordship over Strathclyde. When Ecgrith fell at Nechtanesmere in 685 Bede records that some of the Britons joined the Picts and Scots in securing their liberty.¹⁸ These Britons were not those of Galloway and Dumfriesshire and therefore the indications are that they were the Strathclyde Britons. Oswiu had subjugated the Picts after 655¹⁹ but there is no clear evidence to show that he also asserted his lordship over the Strathclyde Britons and his relations with the Scots are uncertain.²⁰ It may be that Ecgrith was the first Northumbrian king to master Strathclyde.

¹⁶ Nennius claims that Edwin was baptised by Run map Urbgen and elsewhere that Oswiu's first wife was Riemmelth, granddaughter of Rum; Rum is identified with Run and Urbgen with Urbgen of Rheged (W. A. Wade-Evans, "Prologomena to a Study of the Lowlands", D. & G. xxvii, 1950, 54-84). While these identifications are acceptable, there is uncertainty as to the date of the marriage. Wade-Evans assigned it to the reign of Oswiu (p. 82). In 655 Oswiu had a son, Alchfrith, old enough to fight at Winwaed (*H.E.* III, 24). There is never any suggestion that Alchfrith was illegitimate and he can only have been a son of Riemmelth of Rheged: Oswiu did not marry Eanflaed till after 642 (*H.E.* III, xv). The Bewcastle cross, erected in memory of Alchfrith, is in the territory of Rheged. To fight at Winwaed he must have been born *c.* 640 at the latest, and was possibly born much earlier. Perhaps a date *c.* 638 will not be far wrong.

¹⁷ *H.E.* II, 5.

¹⁸ *H.E.* V, 26.

¹⁹ *H.E.* III, 24.

²⁰ Bede states that Oswald was overlord of the Britons, Picts, Scots and Saxons (*H.E.* III, 6). This passage cannot be accepted; the same extravagant claims were made by Alcuin on behalf of Edwin ("De Pontificibus et Sanctis Ecclesiae Eboracensis Carmen", ed. J. Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, Rolls Series, 1879, vol. 1, p. 353). In a previous chapter Bede gives a concise account of Northumbrian development which indicates that Oswiu was the first to establish his suzerainty north of the Forth (*H.E.* II, 5); Edwin and Oswald were lords over the Britons but Oswiu also made tributary the Picts and the Scots. The statement that Oswiu subjugated the Picts is confirmed again in *H.E.* III, 24, but here there is no reference to the Scots. Concerning Bishop Wilfrid's jurisdiction under

St Cuthbert's association with Carlisle in 685 is well known. Even after the defeat of Ecgfrith, Northumbria retained S.W. Scotland. An Anglian bishopric was established at Whithorn c. 720 which lasted until 803 at least.²¹ In c. 875 Bishop Eardulf of Lindisfarne fled to the west of Britain with the body of St Cuthbert and is found at one stage in the vicinity of Whithorn;²² presumably the area was still attached to Northumbria. Strong Northumbrian influence both north and south of the Solway is attested by the Anglian motives on the sculptured monuments of these areas from the pre-Viking period.²³ Down to c. 875 Strathclyde was separated from Cumberland and the lands south of the Solway by a Northumbrian wedge which reached through Dumfriesshire to Galloway and the west coast, and even extended northwards through Ayrshire.²⁴ Strathclyde must have been limited almost to Dumbartonshire, Renfrewshire and Lanarkshire.

Strathclyde appears several times in the annals of the pre-Viking period playing an important part in northern events. Owen map Beli, king of the Britons, defeated and slew Donald Brecc, king of Dalriada, in c. 643²⁵ and it was Owen's younger brother, Brude, who became king of the Picts in 673 and slew Ecgfrith in 685. Owen died at an unknown date. In 658 the death of Guret, king of Alcluath (Dumbarton), is recorded²⁶ but his connection

Oswiu, Bede simply states that he was bishop of the Northumbrians and the Picts as far as the dominions of Oswiu extended (*H.E.* IV, 3). Eddius, c. 21, includes the Scots. The Scots were certainly subject by 685 (*H.E.* IV, 26). Oswiu spent his childhood and early years among the Scots of Dalriada. Ecgfrith would have no such connection with Dalriada and is more likely to have attacked the Scots. There is no reference to a war by Oswiu against Strathclyde; this kingdom was either subjugated before 642 or in the reign of Ecgfrith.

²¹ On the possibility of a successor to Bishop Badulf: K. Sisam, "Cynewulf and his Poetry", *Proc. Brit. Acad.* xviii, 1932, 303-331 (p. 326).

²² Arnold, *Symeon of Durham* (S.D.), Rolls I (1882) p. 67.

²³ W. G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age*, 1927.

²⁴ W. R. Kermack, "Early English Settlement in S.W. Scotland", *Antiquity* xv, 1941, 83-86.

²⁵ "Annals of Tigernach" (A.T.), *Rev. Celt.* 17, 1896, 186; *Annals of Ulster* (A.U.), ed. W. M. Hennessy, I (1887), 104.

²⁶ A.U. I, 114.

with the main royal line is unknown. The king of Strathclyde at the time of Nechtanesmere was probably Donald map Owen whose death is recorded *c.* 694.²⁷ Donald appears to have been succeeded by his nephew Beli mac Elphin who died in 722.²⁸

The Britons of Strathclyde faced the Scots and the Picts on their northern frontier. W. J. Watson suggested that Clach nam Breatan — “Stone of the Britons” — at the head of Glen Falloch by Loch Lomond was a possible boundary mark.²⁹ K. H. Jackson has shown that there are indications that the Forth near Stirling formed another part of the northern boundary of Strathclyde.³⁰ In 711³¹ and in 717³² the Strathclyde Britons were defeated by the Scots. During the reign of Teudebur map Beli of Strathclyde (722-752), Angus mac Fergus rose to power in Pictland and subjugated Dalriada. In 744 the *Historia Regum* records a battle between Picts and Britons³³ but this may be a confusion with the events of 750. In that year Angus and his brother Talorcan did attack the Britons. Amazingly they suffered a defeat and Talorcan was slain.³⁴ Angus may have lost southern Pictland to a certain Brude mac Maelchon, the latter name suggesting possible British extraction, whom he slew in 752.³⁵

The *Baedae Continuatio* records under 750 the annexation of Kyle in southern Ayrshire by Eadberht, king of Northumbria,³⁶ but this event is placed in association with the 752 rebellion of Cuthred of Wessex against Aethelbald of Mercia, and with the death of Teudebur which took place in 752;³⁷ it should, therefore, be dated

²⁷ *A.T.* 213, *A.U.* I, 142.

²⁸ *A.T.* 228, *A.U.* I, 172.

²⁹ *Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, p. 206.

³⁰ *Studies in the Early British Church*, ed. N. K. Chadwick, 1958, pp. 305, 307-309.

³¹ *A.T.* 222, *A.U.* I, 160.

³² *A.T.* 226, *A.U.* I, 166.

³³ *S.D.* I, 38.

³⁴ *A.T.* 251, *A.U.* I, 212.

³⁵ *A.T.* 253.

³⁶ C. Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, 1896, I, 362.

³⁷ *A.T.* 253.

to 752 rather than to 750. In 752 Eadberht probably took advantage of a change of succession at Dumbarton to seize the plain of Kyle. It follows from this annexation that prior to 752 Strathclyde had embraced Ayrshire. In 756 Eadberht and Angus combined to attack Dumnagual map Teudebur, king of Dumbarton, and forced terms on him.³⁸ The significance of this campaign is difficult to judge, largely owing to the obscurity surrounding the sequel. Eadberht's army was destroyed immediately after by either Picts or Britons or by some other agent, and the next year Eadberht abdicated. It is of great interest with relation to the strength of Strathclyde at this time that in 750 it defeated singlehanded the most powerful king of the day and that in 756 it was necessary for Angus and Eadberht to ally against Dumnagual. How long Northumbria retained Kyle, it is impossible to say.

With the death of Dumnagual in 760 Strathclyde disappears from historical records for over a century with the exception of two brief notices. In 780 Dumbarton was burned;³⁹ in *c.* 849 the Britons burned Dunblane.⁴⁰ The descendants of Dumnagual who appear in the Strathclyde genealogy — Owen, Riderch, and Dumnagual — probably reigned successively from 760 to *c.* 860 but of this there is no certainty.

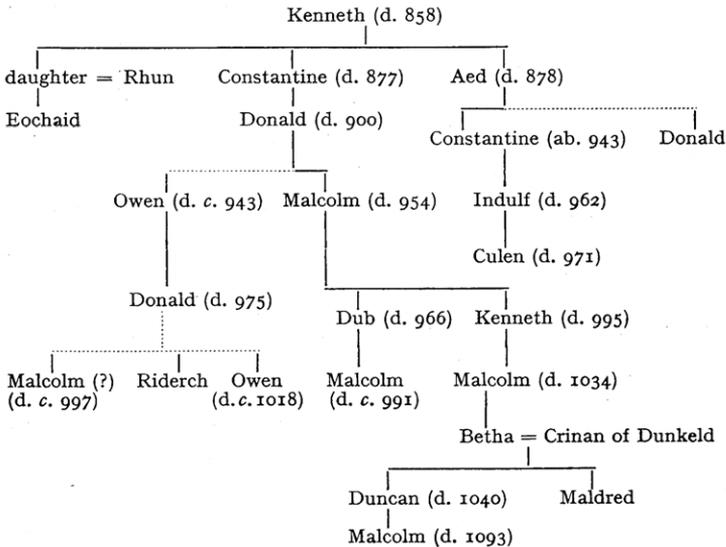
(iii) The Scottish Period.

In the 840's Kenneth mac Alpin of Dalriada defeated and slew the last kings of the Picts. The following descendants of Kenneth are relevant to the history of Strathclyde and Cumbria, the relationships indicated by dotted lines being inferential:

³⁸ *S.D.* I, 40 f.

³⁹ *A.U.* I, 250.

⁴⁰ W. F. Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, 1867, p. 8.



In 872 Artgal map Dumnagual, who was probably reigning in 870 when the Scandinavians ransacked Dumbarton,⁴¹ was killed by the contrivance of Constantine mac Kenneth.⁴² At an uncertain date Rhun map Artgal, whose inclusion in the Strathclyde genealogy indicates that he probably succeeded his father, married a sister of Constantine mac Kenneth. Aed mac Kenneth (877-878) was slain by Giric mac Dungal on behalf of the son of this marriage, Eochaid map Rhun.⁴³ The exact facts are difficult to determine but there can be no doubt that for at least some part of the period 878-889 a son of a Strathclyde prince held the kingship in Scotland by virtue of his descent from Kenneth I.⁴⁴

While the history of Strathclyde from 872-924 is again unrecorded, there are indications of important developments. From c. 875 the Danes were settling in Yorkshire,

⁴¹ *A.U. I*, 382; A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, 1922, I, 301-304.

⁴² *A.U. I*, 384.

⁴³ W. F. Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, pp. 9, 151.

⁴⁴ A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources*, I, 364-366 (notes).

and from *c.* 900 the Norse were colonising Cumberland and Westmorland. As late as *c.* 875 the Strathclyde Britons appear to have been confined within their ancient limits, but in 927 a king with the British name Owen is found as king of the Cumbrians;⁴⁵ in that year, with Constantine II mac Aed, king of the Scots, and Earl Ealdred of Bamburgh, he paid homage to Athelstan of Wessex and the frontier between his kingdom and that of Athelstan is thought to have been where the kings met — on the river Eamont, near Penrith.⁴⁶ That the district south of the Solway had come to be regarded as part of Strathclyde is illustrated by the annal for the year 945: the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* A records that in this year Edmund of Wessex ravaged Cumbria, but the *Annales Cambriae* that Strathclyde was wasted.⁴⁷ It must be concluded that Cumbria was annexed to Strathclyde *c.* 900.

Though a part of Strathclyde, however, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Cumbria was evolving as a new political unit in the early 10th century. The prominent part played by Owen in the politics of Athelstan's reign indicates the new importance of Cumbria. He allied with Constantine II in 934 against Athelstan and subsequently a king of the Cumbrians who was probably Owen joined the 937 Brunanburh confederacy.⁴⁸ The new importance of Cumbria was due to the fact that it had become "the stepping-stone between the Norwegians

⁴⁵ *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls 1887, I, 147. William's abstraction of a 10th-century poem in praise of Athelstan is of great value for the reign.

⁴⁶ F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 1943, 328.

⁴⁷ Earle & Plummer, *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, 1892 (1929 imp.), I, 110; *Annales Cambriae*, ed. J. W. A. Ithel, Rolls 1960, p. 18. The only evidence that Strathclyde itself was called Cumbria is Aethelweard's reference to the Cumbrians (*Monumenta Historica Britannica*, ed. H. Petrie, 1848, p. 515) when the *Chronicle* A speaks of the Strathclyde Welsh (Earle & Plummer, *ibid.*, p. 75), and the fact that the 924 king of Strathclyde is probably Owen of Cumbria (Earle & Plummer, *ibid.*, p. 104). Confusion could have arisen as a result of Cumbria being a part of Strathclyde. What evidence there is appears to indicate that generally Cumbria must be taken to mean simply the land south of the Solway.

⁴⁸ *S.D.* I, 76.

of Ireland, Wales, and Galloway, and the Danes of Northumbria."⁴⁹

The problem of Owen's identity is an important one. The *Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland A* records at an uncertain date the death of Donald, king of the Britons, and names his successor as Donald, son of Aed,⁵⁰ who is generally assumed to be a brother of Constantine II mac Aed.⁵¹ This identification is not certain but is not improbable. While the *Chronicle A* does not mention Owen, however, John of Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*⁵² records that c. 915-916 Constantine gave Eugenius (Owen), son of Donald, his heir presumptive—the lordship of Cumbria with the intention that henceforth the heir to the Scottish throne should always hold Cumbria.⁵³ The Donald in question was Constantine's cousin and predecessor Donald II (889-900),⁵⁴ whose sons would be heirs to Constantine—Malcolm mac Donald in fact succeeding in 943. This tradition preserved in Fordun therefore indicates that Owen was a son, an older son, of Donald II. He must have been dead by 943, otherwise his younger brother Malcolm would not have become king of the Scots in that year, and his dates may be tentatively fixed on the evidence in Fordun to c. 915/6-940. Perhaps this advent to power of Owen is to be associated with events lying behind the record preserved in Duald Mac-Firbis that Aethelflaed of Mercia made a treaty about this time with both the Scots and the Britons against the Scandinavians.⁵⁵

It is conceivable that the Donald, king of the Britons, who died in Constantine's reign was succeeded by Donald, son of Aed, in Strathclyde, and by Owen, son of Donald II, in Cumbria. There are indications that

⁴⁹ A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources*, I, 451 f.

⁵⁰ W. F. Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 9.

⁵¹ A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources*, I, 446.

⁵² Edited W. F. Skene, *The Historians of Scotland*, vols. I and IV (Text and Trans.), 1871 and 1872.

⁵³ *Historians of Scotland*, I, 163 f.

⁵⁴ See genealogy, p. 85 *supra*.

⁵⁵ *Annals of Ireland, Three Fragments copied from Ancient Sources*, ed. J. O'Donovan, 1860, 244-246.

later in the tenth century one king ruled at Dumbarton while another reigned in Cumbria. That the succession did happen as suggested finds some support in the possibly late 10th century *Life of Catroe*. King Constantine conducted Catroe, a Pictish pilgrim, to the borders of Cumbria and then King Donald of the Cumbrians conducted him through Cumbria to Leeds, which is said to have been the boundary between the Cumbrians and the Northmen.⁵⁶ Once in England, Catroe was conducted to King Edmund; the date of the journey, therefore, may be fixed at *c.* 940, when both Constantine and Edmund were reigning. If it be assumed that Donald, son of Aed, having succeeded Donald, king of the Britons, was afterwards succeeded by Owen, it must also be assumed that Owen was then succeeded by another Donald. It is more probable that on the death of Owen, Donald, son of Aed, took over in Cumbria as well as retaining Strathclyde. If Catroe's Cumbrian patron has been correctly identified with Donald, son of Aed, Constantine's ready access through Strathclyde and the reference to Catroe — coming out of Scotland — as a relative of King Donald, support the view that Donald, son of Aed, was a brother of Constantine.

There is evidence, therefore, for a considerable assertion of Scottish influence in Strathclyde and Cumbria in the second half of Constantine's reign. It may be objected that this is surely too early for any such Scottish assertion, but in view of the evidence already cited it is difficult to see how this objection could be sustained, particularly in face of the undisputable events of 945. In that year Edmund of Wessex ravaged Cumbria and a late source records that he blinded the sons of King Dunmail.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ W. F. Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, 115 f. Cumbria is here descriptive of the lands south of the Solway. Professor K. H. Jackson has pointed out to me that Leeds is unlikely to have been a boundary between Cumbrians and Danes, being very far to the south, and suggests that possibly it was really a boundary between Danes and Mercians, the author of the *Life* having confused his boundaries.

⁵⁷ *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls 1890, I, 500; this work has preserved a record of several northern events otherwise unknown.

Dunmail is no doubt a scribal error based on manuscript illegibility at some stage for Dumnual, Dumnal, Domnal — *i.e.* Donald,⁵⁸ and there is no reason why this Donald should not be Donald, son of Aed. Edmund then handed Cumbria over to Malcolm I, the brother of the late Owen of Cumbria, on condition that Malcolm became his helper by land and sea.⁵⁹ To have accepted this bargain Malcolm must have been eager to control the province; his eagerness is understandable, for his control not only took Cumbria out of the hands of Donald but gave him a foothold south of the Solway.

Malcolm entrusted Cumbria to his heir, Indulf mac Constantine II,⁶⁰ and when Indulf became king of the Scots he entrusted the province to his heir Dub mac Malcolm.⁶¹ With Dub (962-966) and Culen mac Indulf (966-971) the system appears to have broken down. In 975 Donald, son of Owen, king of Strathclyde, died on pilgrimage.⁶² The son of Owen must have been ousted from Cumbria but had established himself at Dumbarton, presumably while Malcolm, Indulf, and Dub held Cumbria. In 971 Culen perished in battle against the Britons who were led by Radharc (Riderch), son of Donald;⁶³ this Donald is most probably to be identified with the Donald who died in 975. With the abdication of that Donald, Owen, son of Dvynwal (Donald),⁶⁴ his son no doubt, possibly succeeded⁶⁵ — the last of the kings of Dumbarton.⁶⁶ In *c.* 972 Kenneth II mac Malcolm I

⁵⁸ I am indebted to Professor K. H. Jackson for assistance with this name.

⁵⁹ Earle & Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, 1892 (1929 impression), I, 110.

⁶⁰ *Historians of Scotland*, I, 167. Donald, son of Aed, may have lived till *c.* 950 if he is to be identified with the Dwnwallon who was then slain by the "Gentiles" — *Brut y Tywysogyon*, ed. T. Jones, Text and Trans.: 1941 and 1952, text p. 9, trans. p. 7.

⁶¹ *Historians of Scotland*, I, 168.

⁶² *A.U.* I, 486.; *Brut y Tywysogyon*, text p. 10, trans. p. 8.

⁶³ *A.U.* I, 484 f.; W. F. Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 289.

⁶⁴ *Brut y Tywysogyon*, text p. 14, trans. p. 11.

⁶⁵ This depends on the identity of the Malcolm, son of Donald, of 997: if Owen's brother, he was king before Owen.

⁶⁶ He was alive in 1018 — *S.D.* II, 156.

(971-995) raided as far as Stainmore⁶⁷ and secured Cumbria. It would be at this time that he placed Malcolm, son of Dub, over Cumbria with the consent of King Edgar.⁶⁸ Among the kings who rowed Edgar on the Dee in 973 were Kenneth II, Dufnal, and Malcolm of Cumbria.⁶⁹ Dufnal is probably Donald, son of Owen, king of Strathclyde, and Malcolm will be Malcolm, son of Dub, of Cumbria.

The death of a Malcolm, son of Donald, is recorded in 997⁷⁰ but it is uncertain whether he was a son of Donald, son of Owen, or whether he is to be identified with Malcolm, son of Dub.⁷¹ If the former, then two Malcolms reigned at the same time — Malcolm, son of Donald, in Strathclyde, and Malcolm, son of Dub, in Cumbria. This makes the better sense of Fordun, who states that *c.* 991, on the death of Malcolm, son of Dub, Kenneth II sent his own son, Malcolm, to do homage to Aethelred II for Cumbria.⁷² He cannot have done this if Malcolm, son of Dub, did not die till 997. In 1000 Aethelred harried Cumbria⁷³ and Malcolm mac Kenneth is said to have opposed him.⁷⁴

It may be that the relentless determination of a long succession of Scottish kings to dominate what is now north England has not been sufficiently stressed by historians. Down to the 11th century there was no certainty as to where the frontier between the Scottish and the English kingdoms should be drawn. In Cumbria the Scottish kings had a firm foothold; the boundaries of this province were the Rerecross on Stainmore to the

⁶⁷ W. F. Skene, *Chronicles*, p. 10.

⁶⁸ *Historians of Scotland*, I, 170.

⁶⁹ *Florentii Wigorniensis Monachi Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed. B. Thorpe, I (1848), 142 f.

⁷⁰ *A.U.* I, 504 f.; *A.T.* 351.

⁷¹ *Dub* is not usually found as a name by itself; *Dub's* full name may have been Dubhdonald — Black Donald: *cf.* Dubhtolarg, *A.U.* I, 254 f.

⁷² *Historians of Scotland*, I, 176.

⁷³ Earle & Plummer, *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, I, 133.

⁷⁴ *Historians of Scotland*, I, 177.

east,⁷⁵ and the river Duddon to the south.⁷⁶ In command of this area, the Scottish kings sought also to dominate the Lothians and Bernicia. The consistency of the policy of aggression against this later area and its partial annexation, together with the exceptional ferocity of the attacks as recorded in the time of Malcolm III (1058-1093), culminating in the unbridled fury of the attack by David I (1124-1153), indicate a significance to the wars which give them a far greater importance than that attaching to mere cattle raids. Already in possession of Cumbria to the river Duddon, to have controlled Bernicia to the Tees would place a compact stretch of territory within the Scottish kingdom. Malcolm I (943-954) raided as far south as the Tees *c.* 949;⁷⁷ Kenneth II (971-995) secured at least part of Lothian from Edgar *c.* 975,⁷⁸ though the exact nature of his acquisition is unknown; Malcolm II (1005-1034), in alliance with Owen the Bald of Strathclyde, defeated the Northumbrians at Carham in 1018⁷⁹ and secured the whole of Lothian to the Tweed. Whether the Scots also secured Teviotdale at this date is uncertain; the area remained under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the bishopric of Durham until *c.* 1100 when Flambard lost both Teviotdale and Carlisle,⁸⁰ but the Scots were probably in possession before this. Malcolm III (1058-1093) raided as far as Lindisfarne in 1061⁸¹ and in 1070 devastated Cleveland and swept through Northumbria back to Scotland, plundering and burning as he went.⁸² The Scots, however, were unable to advance

⁷⁵ W. F. Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 204. For the Rere-cross *cf.* W. S. Calverley, *Notes on the Early Sculptured Crosses in the present diocese of Carlisle*, ed. W. G. Collingwood, 1899, 264-68.

⁷⁶ F. Palgrave, *Documents and Records Illustrating the History of Scotland*, I (1837), 70. The reference is to the boundary of 1069, but there is no reason to assume a very different boundary for the second half of the 10th century.

⁷⁷ W. F. Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 10.

⁷⁸ *S.D.* II, 382.

⁷⁹ *S.D.* I, 84 and 218, II, 155 f. In the account in the *Historia Regum* Earl Uhtred is represented as fighting the Scots at Carham but this is simply an error for Eadulf Cudel, his brother.

⁸⁰ *S.D.* I, 138 f.

⁸¹ *S.D.* I, 174 f.

⁸² *S.D.* II, 190.

further than the Tweed and there are indications that they were beginning to experience difficulties in Cumbria by the early 11th century.

Malcolm II gave Cumbria to his grandson Duncan⁸³ and subsequently Malcolm III mac Duncan was known as the son of the king of the Cumbrians.⁸⁴ Duncan is said to have married a kinswoman of Siward, later earl of Northumbria (1041-1055), before 1034;⁸⁵ his brother, Maldred, married a daughter of Earl Uhtred of Northumbria (1006-1016), though whether before 1016 must remain uncertain.⁸⁶ Fordun states that when Duncan became king of Scotland he immediately bestowed Cumbria on his son Malcolm,⁸⁵ though it has been suggested that Maldred was the real ruler.⁸⁷

The situation in Cumbria in the early 11th century must have been confused. There are some indications of a British resurgence,⁸⁸ and the Northumbrians were now beginning to assert themselves in Cumbria. The respective marriages of Duncan and Maldred must have opened Cumbria to closer Northumbrian contacts. Earl Ealdred of Northumbria (1018-1039), son of Uhtred and half-brother of Ealdgitha, wife of Maldred⁸⁹ has been identified⁹⁰ with the Ealdred who appears — on the evidence of Gospatric's Writ — to have exercised power at some

⁸³ *Historians of Scotland*, I, 182.

⁸⁴ *Florentii Wigorniensis Monachi*, I, 212.

⁸⁵ *Historians of Scotland*, I, 187.

⁸⁶ *S.D.* I, 216, states that she was given in marriage by her father. This is not impossible if Duncan and Maldred were born *c.* 995, but Ealdgitha can only have been a child of about six. Perhaps Uhtred promised her to Maldred but this seems unlikely.

⁸⁷ A. H. Dunbar, *Scottish Kings*, 1906, p. 15, considers that Duncan married *c.* 1030 and that in 1034 Malcolm was an infant. It is possible that Malcolm was born *c.* 1023, but even then he would not be old enough to take over in Cumbria.

⁸⁸ K. H. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain*, 1953, 219 and 240 f.

⁸⁹ Earl Uhtred married Ecgrida, daughter of Bishop Ealdhun, by whom he had a son Ealdred, 2. Sigen, daughter of Styr, who was the mother of Eadulf and Gospatric and 3. Aelfifu, daughter of King Aethelred, by whom he had a daughter Ealdgitha. *S.D.* I, 216 and 219, and II, 383.

⁹⁰ H. W. C. Davis, "Cumberland before the Norman Conquest", *E.H.R.* xx, 1905, 63.

time in Cumbria.⁹¹ Ealdred's half-brother, Eadulf, earl of Northumbria (1039-1041), attacked and pillaged the Britons⁹² — aggression which perhaps induced Duncan's assault on Northumbria.⁹³ Gospatric's writ clearly shows that Earl Siward of Northumbria (1041-55) possessed authority in Cumbria and in 1054 he assisted Malcolm, Scottish lord of Cumbria with Strathclyde, against Macbeth. The identity of the Gospatric of the Writ is uncertain; he may have been Gospatric, son of Uhtred, for the two other sons of Uhtred appear to have had some associations with the west and Gospatric, son of Uhtred, may well have established himself there. What is more probable is that the Cumbrian Gospatric was Gospatric, son of Maldred, the father of Dolphin, Waltheof, and Gospatric;⁹⁴ the Cumbrian Gospatric is found with authority in Allerdale and Dalston, and it is significant that Waltheof is found subsequently as lord of Allerdale, his brother Dolphin being lord of Carlisle.⁹⁵ Gospatric, their brother, appears several times in the annals of the period, being for a time earl of Northumbria (1068-72) and involved in movements hostile to William I.

Domesday Book shows that Tostig, earl of Northumbria (1055-65), possessed land in Cumbria south of the Esk at Whicham, Bootle, and Kirksanton⁹⁶ and he may have held land elsewhere which is not included in Domesday Book. It has been observed that the evidence of Gospatric's Writ and Domesday Book reveals the power of the king of Scotland in Cumbria "as honeycombed and broken up by English settlements".⁹⁷

The Scots were so losing their grip that, when Malcolm III invaded Cumbria in 1070 to consolidate his position,

⁹¹ *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, 1952, pt. iii, pp. xxviii-ix. Gospatric's writ has also been edited by F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, 1952, 419 f. A writ was a letter on administrative business, *ibid.*, I. Gospatric's writ confers various privileges on Thorfyinn mac Thori and on those dwelling with him and by him.

⁹² S.D. II, 198.

⁹³ S.D. I, 90-91.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 216.

⁹⁵ A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources*, II, 37.

⁹⁶ V.C.H. *Cumberland*, i, 300, 336.

⁹⁷ H. W. C. Davis, *E.H.R.* xx, 63.

the compiler of the *Historia Regum* asserted that the king of Scotland held Cumbria, not by right, but by force.⁹⁸ In retaliation Gospatric, son of Maldred, earl of Northumbria, plundered Cumbria, and it is significant to note that Malcolm was enraged by this assault on those whom he regarded as "his subjects".⁹⁸ Malcolm seems to have successfully dominated most of Cumbria at the time of Domesday Book and it was probably Malcolm who appointed Dolphin, son of Gospatric, lord of Carlisle. In 1092 William II resolved to make an end to the battle for possession of Cumbria; coming north he drove Dolphin out of Carlisle and annexed the land south of the Solway.⁹⁹ The next year Malcolm was slain invading Northumberland. Though his successors continued to contest with the English kings for possession of north England, the events of 1018 and 1092 broadly fixed the English and Scottish frontier on the Tweed-Solway line.

If the emphasis in this study has moved from Strathclyde in the first instance to Cumbria in the second, this is the result of historical circumstances. Down to 875 Strathclyde was the most powerful and important British unit in north Britain, but the 10th-century Viking period and the aggressive tactics of the Scottish kings of this period gave a wholly new importance to the Cumbrian lands. By no means every aspect of Strathclyde and Cumbrian relations has been clarified in this study; there is much that remains obscure and many personal relationships between various royal families which can only be advanced as possible or probable. A presentation of the evidence, however, has indicated the main lines of development, showing how Strathclyde power disappeared after the 9th century, underlining the almost overnight changes which advanced Cumbria to a level of critical importance, and calling attention to the consistently dogged determination with which the kings of the Scots pursued their interests in these regions.

⁹⁸ *S.D.* II, 191.

⁹⁹ *Two Saxon Chrons. Parallel*, I, 227.