

A Second 'Saint's Tomb' at Gosforth, Cumbria¹

AMY R. MILLER

This article shows by means of detailed comparisons how a small tenth-century sculptural fragment at Gosforth, Cumbria, long argued to be a portion of a cross shaft, is more likely the remains of a second hogback similar in overall design to an extant monument, the 'Saint's Tomb'. This reassessment significantly alters our impression of Viking Age Gosforth by adding another major monument to the corpus of known pre-Conquest sculptures. This addition further strengthens the argument made for such sites as Lythe, Yorkshire and Penrith, Cumbria that the crosses and hogbacks functioned as parts of complex sculptural groups, demonstrating the importance of Cumbrian antiquities in answering the wider problems of Insular medieval art history. These sculptures are set within a monumental landscape of political and economic uncertainty in a complex and contested trade network during the Viking expansion.

IN March 2011, I travelled to the parish church of St. Mary's in Gosforth, Cumbria with the intention of studying one elusive fragment that was lost to sight and local memory – a fragment that I had been unable to see on previous visits. Dr. Charles A. Parker first recorded this fragment and its provenance in 1896; it is non-descriptively listed in the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture (CASSS)* as 'Gosforth 7' (Figure 1).² While the fragment was happily in full view at the end of the nineteenth century at the time of its installation in the eastern archway of the north aisle extension, changes in function to the interior space of the church resulted in this archway being boarded up and the fragment hidden in a locked storage room. With the assistance of the Rev. and Mrs. Jonathan Falkner, I gained access to this room, moved some bookcases and tables and revealed the fragment, still installed in the corner where it had been placed by Victorian builders a century before and in remarkable condition for having been forgotten.

This fragment is one of seven sculptures comprising a tenth century group of monuments in the Allerdale village of Gosforth.³ Of these, the most well known is the monolithic cross in the south churchyard of St Mary's (Fig. 2). Also known to students of medieval sculpture are two large hogbacks, a commemorative, recumbent sculptural type common in northern English counties, both of which are installed on a shared base within the north aisle of the church.⁴ Parker discovered these hogbacks within the late twelfth- or thirteenth-century Norman foundations of the north wall during the church's late nineteenth-century reconstruction.⁵ The churchyard cross and two large hogbacks are the most complete sculptures of the seven; smaller fragments found at Gosforth include: two cross heads, now installed over the vestry arch, the 'Fishing Stone', an illustrated panel installed in the return of the old north wall, and the unnamed fragment, the subject of this article, subsequently referred to by its designation in *CASSS*, Gosforth 7. These sculptures constitute one of the largest collections of tenth century sculpture, superlative in both their large size and level of execution.



FIG. 1. Gosforth master, Sculptural fragment (*Corpus* Gosforth 7), middle tenth century. St. Bees sandstone. 23 x 20 x 11cm. St. Mary's, Gosforth, Cumbria. Photo by author.

With regard to the Gosforth sculptures, Parker wrote, 'The Vikings erected nothing, their business was destruction ...'⁶ We now know that this statement is inaccurate and that the Scandinavian peoples who first began to raid England and Ireland in the late eighth century had, by the early tenth century, established settlements throughout northern England, Scotland, and eastern and southern Ireland.⁷ While archaeological evidence for Viking settlement in England is still thin, the sculptural and linguistic evidence is rich and indicates that these immigrants built permanent communities with a highly developed artistic tradition that combined with native traditions to create monuments distinctive to the pre-Conquest British Isles.⁸

Viking Age Cumbria

Understanding the effect of the Viking raiding and settlement of Cumbria is complicated by an incomplete picture of the region's historical events. Only scant mention is made of pre-Norman north-east Cumbria and this chiefly in relation to Northumbria or

Strathclyde; no definitive information survives for the west coast. This absence of information allows us to conclude that no major political or religious centre existed in west Cumbria that would have garnered mention in the annals. Neither was the region a particularly contested one from the perspective of contemporary historians responsible for the regional annals, who did record political changeovers in such places as Dublin and York. Archaeological evidence of the Viking Age is also limited.⁹ Pollen analysis from northern samples suggests woodland regeneration, which implies a declining population.¹⁰



FIG. 2. Gosforth master, Cross (*Corpus Gosforth 1*), middle tenth century. St. Bees sandstone. 436 (h) x 102.5 (c.) cm (without base). St. Mary's, Gosforth, Cumbria. Photo by author.

After the initial late eighth century raids such as the famous attack at Lindisfarne, Scandinavian incursions were sporadic until the mid-ninth century, when invaders concentrated their might against the English kingdoms. With established bases in northern Scotland and Ireland, these 'foreigners' had a purchase for their fleets and armies only a day's sailing from the English coast. During this period, the Cumbrian coast may have seen its first Viking settlers. Archaeological evidence from Gosforth suggests these colonies were temporary at first, perhaps only to take advantage of a brief growing season.¹¹ Danes took York in 866, setting off a civil war in Northumbria, which lost control of coastal Cumbria to whatever extent it was ever managed by Northumbrian kings.

Over the next century, the north of England was caught between Dublin and York, the two seats of power for Scandinavian political and economic interests. The complex history of these kingdoms is too lengthy to relate here, but instability caused by the almost constant struggle certainly pushed settlers and refugees into more liminal areas, such as the west Cumbrian coast.¹² Indication that the rank and file of northern settlers may have preferred a peaceful farming life is seen in Hálfðan I's (d. 877) failure to inspire his former successful army to take up arms against Dublin in his 876 campaign against the city. Indeed, the Danish historian Saxo indicated that Hálfðan's followers despised him for not leaving them to their fields and eventually forced him into exile.¹³

In the century between the 860s and the 960s, York became a battleground, both figuratively and literally, between three political bodies: the West Saxon/Mercian throne, the 'Danish' Northumbrians, who were backed by the archbishopric of York, and the 'Norse' Dublin kings descended from Ragnall/Ragnarr Lodbrók (d. 852-6).¹⁴ While these were the usual players in the struggle for York, occasional foreign kings such as Eiríkr blóðöx Haraldson, son of Haraldr hárfagri, favourite son of the first king of a united Norway, also made attempts to hold York. While unrest in the Vale of York – two mountain chains and hundreds of kilometers removed from Gosforth and the Cumbrian coast – may seem to have little to do with events in Cumbria, its impact may have driven the losers or the politically disinterested into such marginal areas.

Returning to the broader picture of Norwegian immigration through the Western Isles, most of the focus of both the early raids and the later settlements focused along the shore of the Irish Sea. One of the mechanisms that kept Cumbria in relative isolation even into the nineteenth century was the physical barrier of the Pennine and Cumbrian Mountains. Overland crossing was not impossible, but it was tedious, treacherous, and in the long winter months, inadvisable. Similar to the situation in the Bronze Age Mediterranean, the sea proved to be a friendlier conduit for travel. For seamen as experienced as Norse longship crews, even the choppy waters of the Irish Sea would be less inconvenient than overland travel.

This being said, it is no surprise that the majority of Norse settlements are to be found on the Irish Sea coast. The exact chronology of settlement patterns is not clear due to a lack of documentary evidence, and scholars remain in debate concerning specific sites. Certainly, the turn of the ninth century is an accepted *terminus a pro*

for permanent settlement even if some locales served as wintering locations earlier.¹⁵ In the north-west counties themselves, including Cumbria, there is no evidence to support intense colonisation earlier than 902, the year in which the Scandinavians were expelled from Dublin.¹⁶ The Cuirdale Hoard is dated to 903 and was probably buried on the banks of the River Ribble in Lancashire by displaced Dubliners.¹⁷

The tenth century was a dynamic time for the British Isles.¹⁸ While coastal Cumbria was hardly in the thick of things, the region did see an influx of settlers not only from the Isle of Man, but also from Dublin, the Danelaw (these mostly concentrated in the Eden Valley) and the Scottish Isles.¹⁹ This is the political situation that gave rise to the settlement at Gosforth and was a factor in the creation of the sculptural group there. Despite the political instability, the North of England saw an explosion in the numbers and types of freestanding sculpture in the tenth century and Gosforth was very much a part of that movement. Inspired by earlier Anglian monuments, Viking artists created crosses, hogbacks, and architectural decoration for new and established communities alike. Gosforth's sculptural group is already important within the context of pre-Norman English art, but it can be better understood with a more accurate assessment of Gosforth's smallest fragment.



FIG. 3. Gosforth master, 'Saint's Tomb' hogback, (*Corpus* Gosforth 5), middle tenth century. St. Bees sandstone. Average dimensions 157 x 75 x 25cm. St. Mary's, Gosforth, Cumbria. Photo by author.

The Gosforth 7 Fragment

The Gosforth 7 fragment is a corner from a rectilinear sculpture. Ornamenting the 90° edge is a simple rounded molding similar to that on the churchyard cross and to the 'Saint's Tomb', the larger of the two Gosforth hogbacks. (Fig. 3) The two visible sides each preserve fragmentary iconography. The left face shows the counterclockwise-curved tail and braided lower body of a serpentine beast, a motif identical to the curly-tailed creatures on the churchyard cross and the 'Saint's Tomb'. (Figs. 4-6) The right face is carved with a convoluted, broad interlace that appears to be an animal form with indications of a circular incised eye and a long, pointed ear, but the composition is too fragmentary to resolve. (Fig. 7) The rest of the fragment is broken away and these rough edges are hidden in the wall into which it was installed and have not been recorded.

Gosforth 7 measures only 23cm x 20cm x 11cm, but fortune has preserved in it enough diagnostic information to recognize a hitherto unknown major monument of Insular sculpture. This small fragment, long argued to be a portion of a cross shaft, should be viewed as the remains of a second large hogback similar in overall design to an extant monument, the 'Saint's Tomb'. (Fig. 3) From this perspective, our impression of tenth century Gosforth changes significantly and further strengthens the argument made for such sites as Lythe, Yorkshire and Penrith, Cumbria that the crosses and hogbacks functioned as parts of complex sculptural groups rather than as isolated monuments.²⁰

This lesser-known fragment, Gosforth 7, is installed in the corner of a locked storage room on the same return wall as the 'Fishing Stone', (Fig. 8) now behind a wooden partition that encloses the arch at the end of the north aisle. It is made of the same red, St. Bees-type sandstone typical of the other tenth century Gosforth sculptures. In what remains of it, the condition of the carving is good, but it is unfortunately extremely fragmentary. The carving is confident and deeply molded with thick, rounded strands, which compares favourably to the hand of the same artist who carved the Gosforth cross in the churchyard, the 'Saint's Tomb' hogback, the 'Fishing Stone' plaque and the fragmentary cross heads.²¹

Parker first recorded this fragment as 'the latest fragment', which had recently been unearthed 'close to the churchyard', speculated about its original form, and provided his own line drawing, although he did not align the faces properly with respect to each other.²² He supposed that it was 'evidently a portion of a slender cross like the existing one'.²³ Richard Bailey also proposed that the fragment 'may be part of the destroyed shaft which still existed in the churchyard in the late eighteenth century', apocryphally once in the cross base a few feet south of the cross, now housing the remains of a sundial stylus.²⁴ The fragment's scale initially appears close to that of the Gosforth cross, but this is not the case. Only one squared edge remains, so the original minimum proportions of the fragment must be extrapolated to include roll moldings at both sides; with this consideration it was not smaller than 16cm x 26cm. The upper portion of the Gosforth cross is 207cm and tapers from 25cm x 21cm at the bottom to 16cm x 14cm just under the cross head. The fragment does not match proportionally to the extant cross, being too wide in one dimension although a fragmentary cross



FIG. 4. Gosforth master, detail of 'Saint's Tomb' hogback, (*Corpus* Gosforth 5), middle tenth century. St. Bees sandstone. St. Mary's, Gosforth, Cumbria. Photo by author.



FIG. 5. Gosforth master, detail of cross, upper south face (*Corpus* Gosforth 1), middle tenth century. St. Bees sandstone. St. Mary's, Gosforth, Cumbria. Photo by author.



FIG. 6. Gosforth master, detail of fragment, left face (*Corpus* Gosforth 7), middle tenth century. St. Bees sandstone. St. Mary's, Gosforth, Cumbria. Photo by author.



FIG. 7. Gosforth master, detail of fragment, right face (*Corpus* Gosforth 7), middle tenth century. St. Bees sandstone. St. Mary's, Gosforth, Cumbria. Photo by author.



FIG. 8. Gosforth master, 'Fishing Stone' (*Corpus* Gosforth 6), middle tenth century. St. Bees sandstone. St. Mary's, Gosforth, Cumbria. 70 x 33 x 14cm. Photo by author.



FIG. 9. Gosforth master, cross fragment (*Corpus* Gosforth 3), middle tenth century. St. Bees sandstone. 61 x 48 x 13(?)cm. St. Mary's, Gosforth, Cumbria. Photo by author.

head at Gosforth (*CASSS* Gosforth 3) suggests that a second tall cross did exist.²⁵ (Fig. 9)

While the fragment compares poorly with the churchyard cross, another possibility is that it might be a portion of the now missing shaft of the larger of the two fragmentary cross heads, designated as Gosforth 2 in *CASSS*.²⁶ (Fig. 10) The horizontal molding below the curled tail on the left face undermines this argument. This molding is rather wide (approximately 5cm.) and disrupts the verticality of the presumed shaft. The fragment's right face has no indication of paneling and whatever the interlaced composition was, it continued past the terminus of the panel on the left face. If the fragment did belong to a plank cross, the curly-tailed creature would have been on a narrow side contained within a panel. None of the known non-barred plank crosses in Cumbria show any evidence of panels on their narrow sides.²⁷ If Gosforth 7 belonged to Gosforth 2, the resulting monument would be unique, which is possible considering the inventiveness of the Gosforth artist, but this conclusion renders any further speculation impossible.

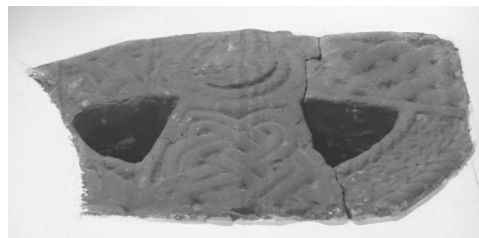


FIG. 10. Gosforth master, cross fragment (*Corpus* Gosforth 2), middle tenth century. St. Bees sandstone. 35 x 54 x 13 cm. St. Mary's, Gosforth, Cumbria. Photo by author.

A panelled tenth century cross shaft of similar proportions to Gosforth 7 survives at Kirkleavington, North Yorkshire, although the molding differentiating the panels is narrow.²⁸ Bailey observed a partial arch below the curled tail and compared this seemingly arched molding to the semi-swags at Sandbach.²⁹ My recent inspection of the fragment revealed that the apparent arch is actually the result of damage and that the original design continued in a straight, flat molding. The lack of satisfying comparable material from extant English crosses makes Gosforth 7 unlikely to have belonged to a cross monument.

While the Gosforth 7 fragment compares poorly to the corpus of known cross monuments, the fragment does compare favourably to another tenth century sculpture at Gosforth – the 'Saint's Tomb'. If we extrapolate another border to the left of the curly-tailed creature on the left side of Gosforth 7 to center the motif within the panel, then the resulting width is 16 cm. This is the width of the right roof panels of the 'Saint's Tomb', suggesting that Gosforth 7 is a fragment from this portion of a similar monument. (Fig. 11) The curled tails are exactly the same size and in the same position. The wide border below the curled tail is the lower part of the hogback 'roof' overhanging the vertical illustrative panel below. The right face is a portion of the gabled end of the hogback, possibly showing a serpentine creature in a larger composition, although this interpretation of the iconography is only speculative due to its extreme fragmentary state; no comparable material survives with which to make a stronger comparison.

While the overall iconographic scheme of the Gosforth 7 hogback cannot be recreated, the fragment sheds light on the original iconography of the 'Saint's Tomb', which was altered when a crucifixion was added to each end of the hogback by a later artist.

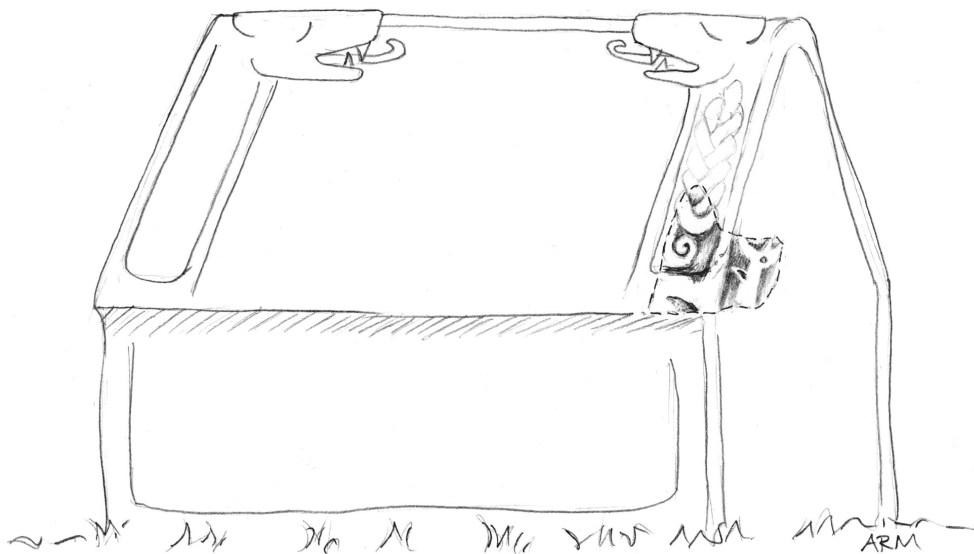


FIG. 11. Reconstruction sketch of Gosforth hogback monument Gosforth 7, (A. R. Miller)



FIG. 12. Gosforth master, detail of east gable end of 'Saint's Tomb' hogback, (*Corpus* Gosforth 5), middle tenth century. St. Bees sandstone. St. Mary's, Gosforth, Cumbria. Photo by author.

(Fig. 12) These crucifixions are poorly executed when compared to the depth and detail of carving on the hogback's broad sides. Previous scholars have assumed that these scenes are original to the monument and thus prove, along with a similar scene on the churchyard cross, that the community at Gosforth was Christian.³⁰ There is evidence to suggest, however, that these gabled ends may have been reworked.

The gabled ends of the 'Saint's Tomb' are deeply convex and lack the expected roll molding except on the peak of the east end. On the east end, a deeply carved triquetra knot fills the triangular field of the gable and surmounts the crucifixion.³¹ The lower portion of the knot is too damaged to discern whether the interlaced cables continued into another interlace form or whether the motif was separate from whatever was originally below. The surface of the triquetra is on the same level as the remaining roll molding of the gable indicating that it was executed at the same time and by the same hand as that which

carved the broad sides, the same hand that carved most of the Gosforth monuments. Below the triquetra, the surface of the stone is much rougher, quite unlike the skillfully finished surfaces on the broad sides.³² A crucifixion has been chipped into the stone but it lacks the depth and finish one would expect of the work of the Gosforth artist. Unfortunately, the upper gable is missing from the west side, which makes comparison to the east end's remaining triquetra and extant roll molding impossible.

The fragmentary iconography on Gosforth 7 and the expected deep carving and squared angles of the surviving upper portion of the upper east gable of the 'Saint's Tomb' indicate the gabled ends of the 'Saint's Tomb' were altered from the monument's original design. The fragmentary animal interlace framed by a roll molding on the right face of Gosforth 7 is flat and well executed with no convexity. The sides of the fragment are 90° with respect to each other, something the Gosforth artist was more than capable of carving considering the precise, regular angles of the churchyard

cross. The gabled ends of the 'Saint's Tomb' lack this level of execution. The edges of both gabled ends are raw and unfinished and the angle at which the broad sides and gable ends meet is irregular and uneven. This poor craftsmanship is not in keeping with the demonstrated abilities and design sensibilities of the Gosforth artist. The two crucifixions were considered to be original due to their resemblance to the same iconography on the lower east face of the Gosforth cross, but this similarity could be explained by a later carver simply copying the locally available iconography when the hogback was altered.

The presence of interlace on the right face of Gosforth 7 also lends some evidence to the debate about the possible relationship of hogbacks and crosses. James Lang argued that hogbacks may have been arranged with at least one cross abutting a gabled



FIG. 13. 'Giant's Grave', (*Corpus Penrith* 3-7), early tenth century. Sandstone. St. Andrew's, Penrith, Cumbria. Photo by author.

end, as evidenced by several roughly-carved crosses shaped like the hogback cross-sections at Lythe.³³ He argued that the Lythe hogbacks and crosses might have formed composite monuments.³⁴ The presence of finished interlace on the gabled end of the Gosforth 7 fragment shows that if the Gosforth crosses and hogbacks were paired then one did not abut the other; the evidence of recarving at both ends of the 'Saint's Tomb' indicates that both ends were carved and were therefore visible. Of course, sculptural practices were not necessarily the same in Gosforth as in Lythe, despite some stylistic and iconographic similarities, and this evidence shows that the sites may have been quite different in terms of monumental arrangement and function. The multiple hogbacks and tall crosses at Penrith now comprising the famous 'Giant's Grave', while not in their original positions, may also have been arranged in a meaningful way with respect to one other.³⁵ (Fig. 13) I believe comparisons between all these important sites are necessary to help unravel the question of the origins and functions of hogback monuments, but the Gosforth 7 evidence shows such comparisons must be done with care to local circumstances.

This paper has shown that a sculptural fragment (*CASSS* Gosforth 7) at St. Mary's in Gosforth is the remains of a hogback of similar design to the more complete 'Saint's Tomb' hogback, also in the church. This comparison also suggests the gabled ends of the 'Saint's Tomb' were recarved; its destroyed iconography cannot be reconstructed, and the evidence from this fragment indicates that the original iconography of the Gosforth hogbacks may not have been overtly Christian. These two hogbacks may have been positioned with respect to the two tall crosses (one surviving in the churchyard and the other only fragmentary) suggested by evidence from other sites with crosses and hogbacks. The right face of the small fragment indicates that the monuments were separate and not abutted to one another as appears to be the case at Lythe, Yorkshire.

Gosforth 7 is easily overlooked but even the scant evidence preserved in it is able to clarify our picture of tenth century Gosforth. This paper adds a monument to the sculptural collection there – another large hogback, in overall form highly comparable to the 'Saint's Tomb', a monument once thought unique. This new hogback demonstrates that rather than one artist creating unique, eccentric monuments in the milieu of his Cumbrian counterparts, he instead crafted a grand programme of large sculptures visually related to one another. These sculptures in turn functioned within a monumental landscape of political and economic uncertainty in a complex and contested trade network during the Viking expansion and formation of the English state.³⁶

Despite the reworking of the gabled ends of the 'Saint's Tomb', these hogback monuments must have been deemed unacceptable to the later generations at Gosforth responsible for the church foundations of St. Mary's; at least two of the three hogbacks were disposed of by using them as foundation material.³⁷ The fate of the rest of the Gosforth 7 hogback is unknown; the fragment is certainly not part of the 'Saint's Tomb' and so other fragments from this hogback might be in portions of the original church foundations not affected by Victorian renovations, or they may lie buried in proximity to the churchyard, as was this fragment. This reassessment shows the potential for new discoveries at Gosforth and demonstrates the need for further

archaeological research, including non-invasive geophysical analysis of the churchyard and surrounding enclosures. The first century of research at this important site provides a rich foundation for the further study of the role of public sculpture during a formative period of the English state.

Amy R. Miller, *University of Toronto*. amy.miller@utoronto.ca

Notes and references

- ¹ I wish to thank the Rev. Jonathan Falkner of Gosforth and the parishioners of St. Mary's for their assistance arranging and exposing the Gosforth 7 fragment. I would also like to thank Prof. Adam S. Cohen and Prof. Roger Stalley for their comments and suggestions on this article. Remaining errors are my own
- ² Charles Arundel Parker, *The Ancient Crosses at Gosforth, Cumberland* (London: Elliot Stock, 1896). Parker, along with Rev. William Calverley of Aspatria, provides the first in-depth assessment of tenth-century Gosforth and its monuments. Rosemary Cramp, *Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire-North-of-the-Sands* (Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England, 2; Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1988). The *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England* (CASSS) is the definitive and comprehensive record of all post-Roman, pre-Conquest sculpture in the English counties coordinated through Durham University. The volumes are divided by region and county, with the northern counties having been published earliest. The inclusion of 'Anglo-Saxon' within the project name is somewhat misleading for groups not strictly identified as the Anglo-Saxons of southern England carved many of England's sculptures
- ³ The bibliography for Gosforth's tenth century sculptures is extensive. In addition to the CASSS, the best comprehensive studies are William S. Calverley and William G. Collingwood, *Notes on the early Sculptured Crosses, Shrines and Monuments in the present Diocese of Carlisle* (Kendal: T. Wilson, 1899), Richard A. Reitzenstein, 'Die Nordischen, Persischen und Christlichen Vorstellungen vom Weltuntergang', *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, 3, (1923-1924), 149-69, Knut Berg, 'The Gosforth Cross', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 21, (1958), 27-43, Richard N. Bailey and J. T. Lang, 'The Date of the Gosforth Sculptures', *Antiquity*, 49, (1975), 290-93, Richard N. Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in northern England* (London: Collins, 1980), Richard N. Bailey, 'Aspects of Viking-Age Sculpture in Cumbria', in John Baldwin and Ian D. Whyte (eds), *The Scandinavians in Cumbria* (Edinburgh: Scottish Society for Northern Studies, 1985), 53-64
- ⁴ Recumbent sculptures are those whose longest dimension is placed on the ground, such as a flat grave cover or plaque. Hogbacks, specifically, are a sculptural type invented by tenth century Anglo-Scandinavian immigrants. Their designs vary regionally, but they are all long, narrow, monolithic sculptures. In Yorkshire, hogbacks tend to have a large, bear-like animal at each end. In Cumbria, hogbacks tend to be tall and narrow. Almost all hogbacks have decorations on their broad sides, some of which is figural. For more on hogbacks, their forms and function, see James T. Lang, 'The Hogback: A Viking Colonial Monument', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 3, (1984), 86-176
- ⁵ Parker, *The Ancient Crosses at Gosforth, Cumberland*
- ⁶ Ibid, 67. This was said in the context of dating the cross to before the ninth century, reasoning that the Scandinavians could not have possibly carved such a thing
- ⁷ See Alfred P. Smyth, *Scandinavian Dublin and York: The History and Archaeology of Two Related Viking Kingdoms*, 2 vols. (1; Dublin: Templekieran Press, 1975), Jonathan Adams and Katherine Holman (eds), *Scandinavia and Europe 800-1350: Contact, Conflict, and Coexistence* (Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe, Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), Clare Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland: The Dynasty of Ívarr to A.D. 1014* (Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press, 2007)
- ⁸ For broad discussions about Scandinavian colonisation in Cumbria, see Cramp, CASSS 2, D. P. Kirby, 'Strathclyde and Cumbria: A Survey of Historical Development to 1092', *CW2*, lxii, 77-94, Baldwin and Whyte (eds), *Scandinavians in Cumbria*, N. J. Higham, *The Northern Counties to AD 1000* (London: Longman, 1986)
- ⁹ Some burials, such as the Hesketh burial, hint at the Viking age population and, more recently, Viking age hoards have been discovered in southern Cumbria. See Deirdre O'Sullivan, 'Cumbria for the Vikings: A Review of some 'Dark Age' Problems in North-West England', in Baldwin and White (eds), *Scandinavians in Cumbria*, 17-36. 17

10. Keith E. Barber, Lisa Dumayne, and Rob Stoneman, 'Climate Change and Human Impact during the late Holocene in northern Britain', in F. M. Chambers (ed), *Climate Change and Human Impact on the Landscape* (London, Chapman and Hall, 1993), 225-36; C. Wells, 'Environmental Changes in Roman north-west England: A Synoptic Overview of Events north of the Ribble', *CW3*, iii, (2003), 67-84
11. Clifford Jones, 'The Excavation of Early Structures at Gosforth Hall', (Seascale, 2005)
12. For an overview of the relationship between Dublin and York, see Smyth, *Dublin and York, I*, Alfred P. Smyth, *Scandinavian Dublin and York: The History and Archaeology of Two Related Viking Kingdoms*, 2 vols. (2; Dublin: Templekieran Press, 1975)
13. Saxo related this in his *Historia Dunelmensis ecclesiae*, xx. Smyth, *Dublin and York, I* at 19-20
14. Alfred P. Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings in the British Isles 850-880* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1977)
15. Gillian Fellows-Jensen, 'Viking Settlement in the Northern and Western Isles – The Place-name Evidence as seen from Denmark and the Danelaw', in Alexander Fenson and Hermann Pálsson (eds), *The Northern and Western Isles in the Viking World: Survival, Continuity, and Change* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1984), 65-82
16. Gilliam Fellows-Jenson, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West* (Copenhagen: C.A. Réitzels, 1985), 1
17. Ibid, 2. See also James Graham-Campbell, 'Viking Treasure from the Northwest: the Cuirdale Hoard in its Context', in James Graham-Campbell (ed), *Selected papers from The Vikings of the Irish Sea conference, Liverpool, 18-20 May 1990* (Liverpool: Liverpool Museum, 1992)
18. For a general history of Viking influence in the British Isles, see Barbara E. Crawford, 'The Vikings', in Wendy Davies (ed), *From the Vikings to the Normans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 41-72
19. These last settlers are attested to through place-name evidence such as Aspatría, which uses a Gaelic word order, but with Norse words, called inversion-compounds. Angus J. L. Winchester, *England's Landscape: The North West* (London, Collins (for English Heritage), 2006), 39
20. For Lythe, see James Lang, *Northern Yorkshire* (Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England, 6; Oxford; New York, Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2001), 153-67, ill. 463-596. For Penrith, see Cramp, *CASSS* 2, 134-42, ill. 476-531
21. Richard N. Bailey and J. T. Lang, 'The Date of the Gosforth Sculptures', *Antiquity*, 49, (1975), 290-93
22. Parker, *The Ancient Crosses at Gosforth, Cumberland*, 80
23. Ibid, 81
24. Cramp, *CASSS* 2, 109. The report of this second cross was originally published by Carbo, 'Untitled [The Gosforth Cross]', *Gentleman's Magazine*, 69/2 (1799), 833. The smaller of the two fragmentary cross heads (*CASSS* Gosforth 3) may have originally topped this cross as argued by Parker, *The Ancient Crosses*, 72
25. Rev. William Calverley agrees with this assessment. '[The fragment] also would be, in its complete form, too large to be a fragment of a cross like the standing cross'. William S. Calverley and William G. Collingwood, *Notes on the Early Sculptured Crosses*, 169
26. Cramp, *CASSS* 2, 104
27. Barred crosses survive at Bromfield and Rockcliffe, Cumbria
28. Lang, *CASSS* 6, 142-43
29. Cramp, *Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire-North-of-the-Sands*, 109
30. Parker, *The Ancient Crosses at Gosforth, Cumberland*, W. G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses of the pre-Norman age* (London: Faber & Gwyer, 1927), 196, Richard N. Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England* (London, Collins, 1980)
31. A triquetra is a single, closed knot with three, often pointed loops
32. This highly finished workmanship is also demonstrated on the Gosforth cross, stylistically attributable to the same artist
33. Lang, *CASSS* 6, 157-66
34. Lang compared the Lythe configuration with similar ones at Inchcolm and York Minster
35. The Penrith hogbacks are heavily damaged to the extent that nothing can be argued about the original design of their gabled ends
36. See Søren M. Sindbæk, 'The Small World of the Vikings: Networks in Early Medieval Communication and Exchange', *Norwegian Archaeological Review*, 40, (2007), 59-74, Amy R. Miller, 'The Stones of Cumbria', (Dissertation, University of Toronto, forthcoming)
37. Charles Parker in *The Ancient Crosses at Gosforth, Cumberland* discussed the details of the hogbacks' discovery during the late nineteenth-century renovations to St. Mary's church