The Extent of Strathclyde in Cumbria: boundaries and bought land

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Research into the extent of Strathclyde's expansion into what is now Cumbria[1] has tended to rely on fragmentary documentary sources, in which it is never clear what area is being described. Place-names of British origin have also been taken as evidence of British settlement in this period, either newly established or resulting from a resurgence of a 'dormant' native population. However, there was another significant group of people operating in the area during this period: the Norse, who were ultimately of Norwegian origin and had arrived on the west coast of Cumbria via Ireland and the Isle of Man in the early 10th century. They left a considerable legacy of place-name evidence, but this did not necessary all relate to settlements that they had established.

Norse place-names denoting territorial divisions or the way land was acquired during their period of influence (broadly the 10th to early 11th century) are relatively rare in Cumbria, but there are some. This article considers their distribution in the context of those place-name elements indicating the extent of Strathclyde's influence on the southern side of the present Anglo-Scottish border. It then argues that combining these two elements, alongside various other strands of evidence and the availability of important new studies, provides a more detailed understanding of the extent of the expansion of the kingdom of Strathclyde into what is now Cumbria and the way in which it occurred. It also indicates that Strathclyde's influence, or even direct control, extended over far more of the area comprising the modern county of Cumbria than has been previously suggested.

Strathclyde

STRATHCLYDE was a British kingdom in a period dominated by the incoming English from the south and east and by Scandinavians, first from the east and later from the west via the Irish Sea.[2] Its history has seen some important research in recent years, culminating in the publication of two detailed studies, almost simultaneously.[3] These recent publications, related research, and the reconsideration of place-names have done much to include the whole of Cumbria more widely in the discussion of British survival in this period.[4]

For those looking at Cumbria this is a subject that remains somewhat elusive as discussion tends to be dominated by Strathclyde's relationship with the later polity of Scotland, rather than England.[5] Nevertheless, an understanding of Strathclyde's growth during the late 9th and 10th centuries is of great interest to those studying the development of Cumbria in this period, which was one of considerable upheaval and fluidity, as various groups redrew the political geography of North-West England and South-West Scotland.[6]

The extent to which Strathclyde penetrated Cumbria and the way in which it happened have been the subjects of considerable debate for some time and while there is no need to re-examine this in detail, given the thorough investigations now available in

print, it is worthwhile reiterating some of the more important points. Strathclyde grew from a complex succession of post-Roman British kingdoms including Rheged, one of the most significant but also one of the most elusive in the area, which came under increasing influence from Anglian invaders and settlers from the 7th century and from the Norse in a similar manner from the end of the 8th century, but primarily in the late 9th and early 10th.[7] However, Strathclyde is not well documented in the available sources for the period and is first recorded by name in only 872 following the sacking by Vikings of a British fortress at *Alt Clut* or Dumbarton rock. This led to the smaller kingdom based there shifting its focus lower down the Clyde valley, from which the name Strathclyde derives.[8] This event clearly reinvigorated the kingdom and it saw a period of considerable expansion during the 10th century and an increase in its political standing at a national as well as local level, as evidenced by its inclusion in several treaties.[9] This is the period in which it moved outside of what is now Scotland and took under its control a large area of modern Cumbria. This resulted in a change in terminology with the name 'Cumbria' then being applied to the new larger territory that extended across both sides of the current border between England and Scotland.[10] Its area of influence had certainly shifted by the early decades of the 10th century as a meeting of the main national rulers was famously convened by King Aethelstan in AD 927 somewhere near Eamont Bridge, on the outskirts of modern Penrith; this is generally taken to indicate that Strathclyde's control had reached this area by at least that date.[11] Despite the oaths of peace sworn at the Eamont, only ten years later the battle of Brunanburh was fought (at an unknown location, most probably in the North-West of England), with Strathclyde on the losing side as part of a coalition of Norse, Scots and Britons against the army of Aethelstan.[12] Nevertheless the kingdom of Strathclyde seems to have survived and even flourished in the following decades, lasting until the beginning of the 11th century, the last reference to it being in 1018, after which the northern part at least was subjugated by the kingdom of Alba while the southern part eventually became part of England following the Norman Conquest.[13]

Boundaries

There is a general consensus that the meeting at Eamont Bridge was held on Strathclyde's southern boundary, and so its control over the area now forming Cumbria extended to a point probably coinciding with the boundary between the former counties of Cumberland and Westmorland in the east.[14] This is more generally confirmed by the wider place-name evidence, which shows considerable concentrations of examples of British place-names in some areas, such as Gilsland.[15] The position of its boundary in the western and particularly south-western part of Cumberland is less certain in terms of place-name evidence. A description, albeit from 1291, suggests that Strathclyde's territory stretched between the Rivers Clyde and Duddon, which would indicate that all of what became known as Cumberland had been under Strathclyde's control, although this late source has to be treated with some caution.[16]

However, the position of Strathclyde's southern boundary as corresponding with that between Cumberland and Westmorland is further confirmed if Tim Clarkson's suggestion that *Loida* referred to in the *Vita Kaddroe* and said to have marked the boundary between the land of the Cumbrians (Strathclyde) and the Norsemen
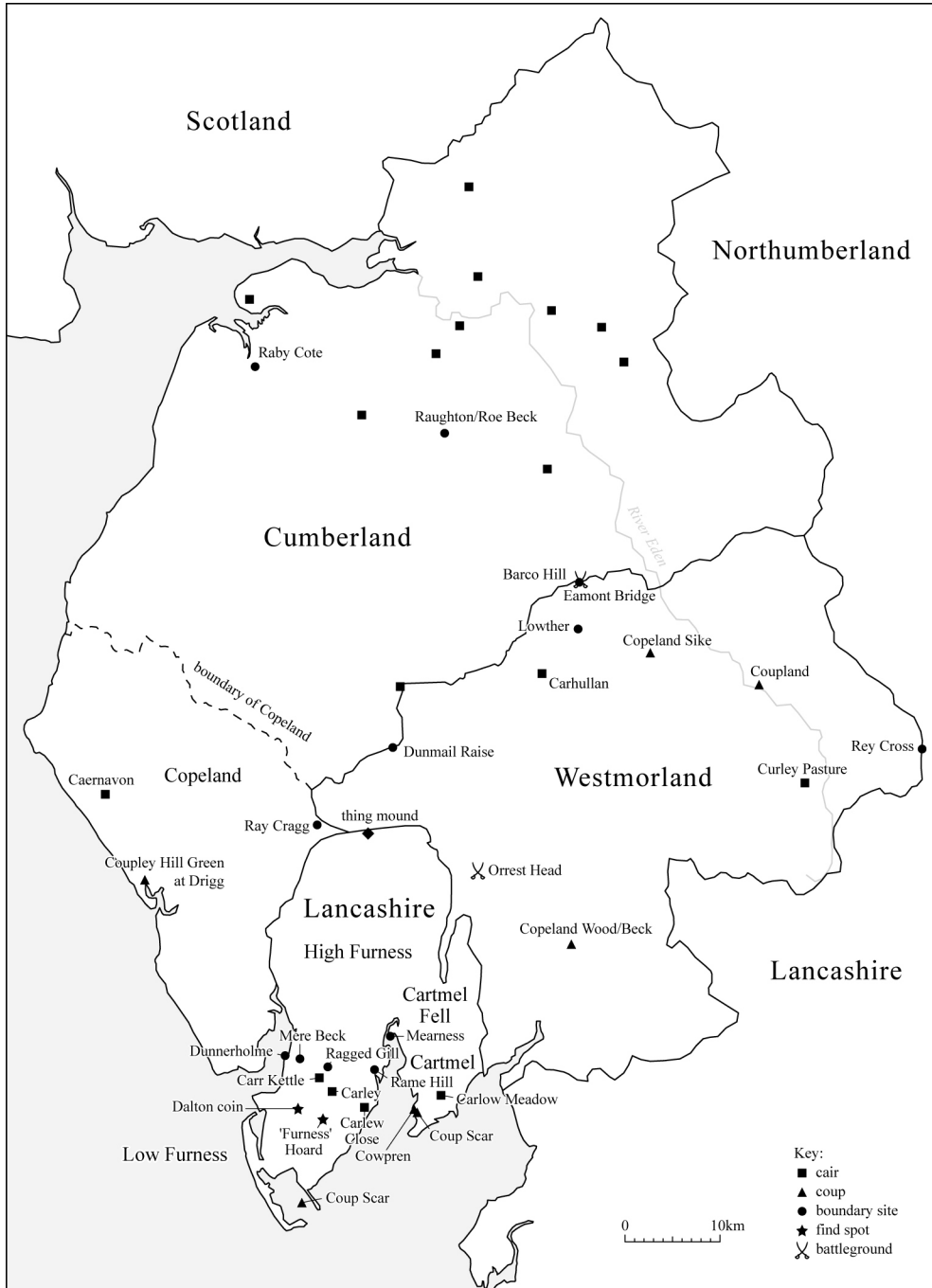
Scotland

Northumberland

Raby Cote

Raughton/Roe Beck

Cumberland

River Eden

Barco Hill

Eamont Bridge

Lowther

Copeland Sike

Coupland

Carhullan

boundary of Copeland

Caernavon

Copeland

Westmorland

Rey Cross

Curley Pasture

Dunmail Raise

Ray Cragg

thing mound

Coupley Hill Green
at Drigg

Orrest Head

Lancashire

Copeland Wood/Beck

High Furness

Lancashire

Cartmel
Fell

Mearness

Mere Beck

Dunnerholme

Ragged Gill

Cartmel

Carr Kettle

Carley

Rame Hill

Carlow Meadow

Dalton coin

Carlew
Close

Coup Scar

'Furness'
Hoard

Cowpren

Low Furness

Coup Scar

Key:
■ cair
▲ coup
● boundary site
★ find spot
✕ battleground

0 ‖‖‖‖‖‖ 10km

FIG. 1. Places referred to in the text.

(presumably of Norse Northumbria), can be equated with Lowther.[17] This also suggests that the cairn at Dunmail Raise marks, not the last resting place of King Dunmail (equated with Dynfnwal, king of the Cumbrians of Strathclyde) nor necessarily the site of a battle, but the extent of the territory of Strathclyde.[18] It was also a King Dovenald (Dunmail) who met St Cathroe as he passed through his territory to the boundary at Lowther.[19] All this suggests that Strathclyde included all of the coastal part of Cumberland as well as other parts of Cumberland and parts of north Westmorland (Fig. 1). It is perhaps noteworthy that the earliest reference to the *Westmoringas*, in AD 966, is apparently to an area north of Shap,[20] to which the southern part was only added later.[21]

Further east another site of interest is Rey Cross on Stainmore, on the eastern boundary of what was Westmorland where it met Yorkshire, which has been regularly referred to as the south-eastern limit of Strathclyde, no matter how debatable this might be.[22] Here it is the place-name element *rá*, a Norse word referring to a boundary, that is of interest, and it will be argued here that this term was specifically used to denote major territorial boundaries (Fig. 1).[23] Across Cumbria there are others that have been previously recorded. Raby on the Solway marks the boundary of two local parishes,[24] but it is also situated on what was the north-western boundary of Cumberland where it meets the Irish Sea, while Roe Beck, which gives its name to Raughton, is situated near Dalston, south of Carlisle.[25] A further example is found in Ray (or Rear) Crag, which is recorded in a boundary roll for Coniston,[26] and located close to the River Duddon and so neatly continues the southern boundary line of Cumberland already discussed (Fig. 1). That Strathclyde had a southern boundary in Cumbria is not a new discovery although the evidence discussed above suggests it is better defined than has generally been stated.

While the significance of this one place-name element is debateable an important comparison is Raby in the Wirral. This contains the same first element and is generally taken to denote the boundary between an area settled in the early 10th century by Norse people arriving from Ireland and an area occupied by the people of Mercia further inland. The land around Raby perhaps corresponds to land 'near Chester' granted to a Viking named Ingimundr about AD 902, following an agreement reached with Queen Aetheflaed.[27] If this is case, it clearly represented something more significant than a parish boundary.

However, another group of place-names, arguably also including the element *rá,* are located in Furness, and these seem to indicate that a significant boundary existed across the peninsula in the period under discussion. It will be argued that these can also be used to define the extent of the Kingdom of Strathclyde. The question of whether Strathclyde extended at all into Furness (and Cartmel) has been touched on by a few writers before,[28] but until now no evidence supporting such an idea has been presented.

The first of these *rá* elements occurs at Rame Hill, a seemingly inconsequential and somewhat anonymous low mound situated a short distance north-east of Ulverston, in an area that was presumably largely wetland until the construction of the nearby

canal and related land reclamation that took place at the end of the 18th century. Early versions of the name are not known and it is not included in the most relevant place-name survey for the area.[29] While the first element of the name appears to contain the Norse word *rá*, the remainder probably derives from the Norse *holme* meaning an island of high ground surround by wetland – a very fitting description.[30] A short distance to the west of Rame Hill is a second site seemingly containing the same element: Ragged Gill, early recorded versions of which include Regegyll (1523), Raggetgyll (1613), and Reggedgill (1669).[31] While all of these examples are still relatively late and so their possible Norse derivation should be treated with caution, this name potentially includes the element *rá* as other place-names containing 'ragged' have been suggested to be derived from '*rá-garth*', meaning 'boundary enclosure'.[32] An alternative explanation is that it may denote a boundary between a British population (in the post-Roman kingdom of Rheged) and a non-British one [33]

Further west again there is Mere Beck, which forms the division between the ancient parishes of Dalton-in-Furness and Kirkby Ireleth and whose name derives from the Old English *gemaere*, also meaning boundary.[34] Further west still is Dunnerholme, a name that Ekwall clearly struggled with, although he noted that the earliest version is *Dunreholm*.[35] This arguably also contains the element *rá* and might therefore be taken to derive from a mixture of Gaelic and Norse to make *dún-rá-holme*, essentially 'fort at the boundary island'. However, this particular combination is problematic and the other convincing *dún* name in Cumbria, Dunmallard, is entirely Gaelic.[36] While its name contains a suitable description of the natural topography and it is a defendable location with some interesting earthworks, Dunnerholme has not, as yet, been demonstrated to have actually been occupied by a fort of any date.[37]

What is notable about all these places, when plotted out, is how neatly they cut the Furness Peninsula in half. This line is also remarkably coincident with the ancient division between High (or Fell) and Low (or Plain) Furness. This is first documented following the partition of the area between Coniston and Windermere made in the 1160s between Furness Abbey and the de Lancasters of Kendal,[38] with everything to the south of that line placed in Low Furness. More generally it was taken to be '*roughly a line from Broughton to the south end of Coniston Water and thence by the Crake to the sea*'.[39] However, at least one writer in the early 19th century described it as '*A line, drawn obliquely from south-east to north-west, between Ulverstone and Broughton, though it will not exactly mark the divisions of the two Furnesses, will approach to it sufficiently near to answer the purpose of popular definition*'.[40] Arguably then, a division across the Furness Peninsula, recognisable in the historical record, might also be defined by a line of place-names largely of Norse origin.

That such a boundary appears to have existed across Furness at all might be remarkable enough in its own right,[41] but identifying the political context in which it came into being is more difficult. It is tempting to suggest that it relates solely to the movement of Norse people in the 10th century, in the same manner as Raby in the Wirral, but there are numerous problems with this, primarily the presence of large numbers of Norse place-names on either side of the boundary, although this presumably reflects the influence of Norse settlers from both the west, via the Irish Sea, and the east via

Norse Northumbria in these areas.[42] This is something that was not the case in the Wirral.[43]

If it were, is there any other evidence to demonstrate which side of the boundary fell under the influence or even direct control of Strathclyde? Within Low Furness, apart from the numerous place-names denoting the presence of pockets of surviving Britons as late as the Norse period,[44] there are further place-names that could denote new British colonisation or increased influence during the period of Strathclyde's expansion: Carr Kettle (sometimes Carrkettle and occasionally Carkettle), and Carley, both in Pennington parish, plus a third minor name that is perhaps also of interest: Carlew Close near Bardsea in Urswick parish. All three seem to contain the Brittonic element *cair* meaning a fortified place, initially applied to large fortified structures such as hillforts, but later perhaps just referring to a settlement defended by a stockade.[45] However, there is a need for some considerable caution as none are recorded in early sources and in the case of Carley/Carlew *cair* is combined with a non-Brittonic word in a way that is not typical of the period.[46] Those who have commented on Carrkettle tend to agree that the suffix is the Norse name *Ketill*.[47] If the first element is indeed *cair* this would indicate that this is a very unusual and late example of a British prefix added to a Norse name, which would therefore have been most likely coined in the 10th century as a result of the influence or direct expansion of Strathclyde.[48] There is even a curious tale associated with the place concerning a boy named Ketel who lived in a village near Lancaster and fled down the River Lune with his mother following a raid by 'seaborne pirates' before being washed ashore near the site of Plumpton Hall and eventually establishing a homestead of his own known as 'Caer Ketel'.[49] Carley is perhaps more reliable as the earliest recorded version is 'Caerlay',[50] presumably coming from the Brittonic *cair* added to the Old English *hlāw* meaning hill or tumulus.[51] Carlew Close seems likely to have the same origin. In this respect, Carley is well named as it is immediately adjacent to the prehistoric hillfort at Skelmore Heads, which has at least one burial mound associated with it,[52] while Carlew is situated close to the prehistoric enclosures and burial mounds on Birkrigg Common.[53] It is therefore possible that Carley/Carlow and Carlew were in fact quoined much earlier than the period under discussion.[54] A further site containing the same element, Carlow Meadow, is also recorded in Lower Allithwaite parish in the Cartmel peninsula near Flookburgh. This is first listed only in 1811,[55] and, although not located by that source, it is likely to be the same as that shown on an estate map of 1858.[56]

The distribution of place-names containing the element *cair* elsewhere in Cumbria is generally accepted as being restricted to the northern part of Cumberland, with the exception of one site in north Westmorland – Carhullan.[57] However, given the possible examples in Furness and Cartmel, 'Curley Pasture' near Waitby, in what was north Westmorland, may be similar in origin to Carley.[58] There is no version of this available before the mid-19th century but it may be significant that it is directly adjacent to 'Castle Hill', a multi-phase Romano-British enclosed settlement site with later activity.[59] In any case, this would make these potential examples in the far south of the county very significant. There is a further contender outside of the main distribution area: Caernavon in Copeland. However, the only early reference to the site by that name is from Sir Daniel Fleming in the late 17th century – it is

otherwise more typically known as Coneygarth Cop.[60] The site, despite being said to be the seat of the Fleming family in the medieval period,[61] has revealed earlier remains, principally six pairs of what are probably rotary querns of late prehistoric or Romano-British date, and so it seems plausible that it has seen occupation over a considerable period.[62] What is notable is how many of these *cair* names, perhaps with the exception of the cluster around Carlisle and Caernavon, are close to the possible boundaries being discussed here, the significance of which has been noted before.[63] Those in north Westmorland also lie close to the course of the Eden, and the fact that the examples of *kaup* in Westmorland are also close to this line (Fig. 1) suggests that it, at least partly, formed a boundary of sorts during the period under discussion.

A further important place-name indicative of British settlement and administration is Leece, which derives from the Brythonic *liss* meaning a court. The date at which this originated is not clear but it could potentially indicate late British settlement, although this is not likely.[64] It is also noteworthy that two possible battle sites recorded in Cumbria, which place-name or other evidence suggests belong to this period, are also located close to the boundaries under discussion here: Barco Hill near Penrith and Orrest Head near Windermere. The former is marked on early 20th century ordnance survey maps as the site of a battle 'between Britons and Danes'. The evidence for this is uncertain but it probably derives from a mid-19th century history of Penrith,[65] which uses a very dubious etymology.[66] The etymology of Orrest Head is more certain, deriving from a word common in both Old English and Norse referring to a battle,[67] although this does not tell us who was involved nor when it happened. A further site of interest to this discussion is the so-called 'Law Ting' at Little Langdale, claimed to be a Norse *thing* mound used for administrative and legal meetings.[68] Although relatively little researched and requiring further investigation to confirm its date, this monument is located at what, on the basis of the arguments presented here, is a very strategic location between different territories and close to the boundaries discussed.

Bought Land

There is one other place-name element that could explain how some of Strathclyde's southern expansion into Cumbria was achieved. It has already been argued that this would have involved a variety of processes such as regional alliances, the submission of local leaders, and even intermarriage, all of which would have led to a complex social and ethnic mix.[69] However, another potential means was through the direct purchase of land. Within Cumbria there is one obvious location containing the Norse place-name element *kaup*, referring to a purchase or trade: Copeland, which comprises a considerable part of the southern-western corner of Cumberland.[70] There are also a small number of more minor place-names containing this element, the most substantial amongst them the village of Coupland in north-eastern Westmorland, but also the nearby Copeland Wood/Beck, and Copeland Sike in south Westmorland.[71] In all of these cases the assumption has been that the names derive from acquisitions made by Vikings moving to the area in the early 10th century via the Irish Sea.[72] However, the expansion of Strathclyde perhaps provides an equally good context, particularly in the case of Copeland, and for four reasons.

Firstly, the use of Norse in the name Copeland does not necessarily mean the purchase was made by Norse people, although this also does not mean that they were not already in the area at the time. As Nick Higham has pointed out

> Scandinavian place-naming may … have some potential to exaggerate the extent to which an area should be seen long-term as a Norse space, as opposed to an area where the *lingua franca* became Norse' while 'The interconnectedness of this corner of the Irish Sea … perhaps encouraged adoption of the language of the ship-men … at the expense of alternatives, such as Welsh or Anglo-Saxon, to the point where it became the normative means of communication, even among individuals who neither considered themselves Scandinavian or were considered such by others.'[73]

Secondly, the purchase of large areas of land in the period of Strathclyde's expansion has a contemporary precedent in Aethelstan's purchase of Amounderness some time prior to it being granted to St Peter's in York in AD 934.[74] This followed a number of prominent deaths, in particular that of Guthfrith, who had been expelled from Northumbria but had still retained considerable influence in the Irish Sea zone.[75] It is therefore quite conceivable that other major political entities such as Strathclyde were also using this as a means for expansion and consolidation of territory, perhaps even as part of a mutually agreed process taking place in a period of consolidation following the meeting at Eamont Bridge and subsequent events such as the battle of Brununburh.

Thirdly, Copeland is a very large area and as such it seems implausible that incoming Norse people, although perhaps individually rich, as shown by the numerous hoards of precious metal deposited in the 10th century[76] and by the presence of high status burials,[77] would have been wealthy enough to purchase such a large piece of land.[78]

Finally, it seems unlikely that they arrived in large enough numbers to be able to successfully administer such a vast area, although the wider political disarray clearly presented a number of opportunities for increasing their landholdings and influence.[79] These people were essentially refugees, albeit probably representing the elite members of their society,[80] leaving in disarray from Ireland, as described in the *Annals of Ulster* for the year AD 902: '*the heathens were driven from Ireland … they abandoned a good number of their ships, and escaped half dead after they had been wounded and broken*',[81] although the bias in such sources needs to be taken into account.

It has also been noted that of the many examples of Norse place-names relatively few were given to major or otherwise significant settlements, which were more typically of Old English origin;[82] this is hardly the legacy of new regional rulers. A counter-argument to this might be the fact that while Copeland has remarkably few surviving native Brittonic place-names there are a considerably larger number of Goidelic ones, suggesting an influx of people from Scotland or Ireland,[83] but, as will be argued, this too might actually indicate the influence of Strathclyde.

A further group of names, located along the shores of the Furness and Cartmel peninsulas, plus another at Drigg, also apparently derive from the Norse *kaup* (Fig. 1). These comprise two Coup Scars, one west of Piel Island and one off the south-west tip of the Cartmel peninsula; a Cowpren point, also at the south-west end of the Cartmel peninsula,[84] and Coupley Green Hill recorded in the enclosure award for Drigg.[85]

All of these only contain the element *kaup* and do not refer specifically to 'land' and so perhaps relate to places where purchases took place rather than where land was purchased on the basis that kaup can be taken to mean 'market' or 'trading place' amongst a variety of related meanings.[86] In this case Cowpren Point is quite significant as it is clearly the dative plural of *kaup* and so essentially means 'at or amongst the markets/bought land'. All these names suggest significant economic activity of some form in the Norse period. However, if they do indicate land purchases this emphasises the political re-organisation taking place at the time. Based on the argument presented for Copeland, it could suggest that these names were coined as a result of the activities of Strathclyde. If so that polity may have stretched not only into parts of Westmorland but also over the southern parts of the Furness and Cartmel peninsulas (Fig. 1).

Archaeology

A brief mention should also be made of the archaeological evidence; brief because any argument about the political situation at the time is extremely difficult to support on the basis of physical remains. The extensive stone sculptures found across the region thought to have come under Strathclyde's influence or control have been discussed in some detail as they relate to Strathclyde by Clarkson.[87] Suffice is to say that a range of cultural influences are evident.[88] Might the examples of pagan iconography located alongside Christian images be explained by the pagan Vikings being willingly accommodated in Cumbria by the Christian kings of Strathclyde? Does it not give the sense of a political agreement made to allow these alternate world views to co-exist? It should, of course, be acknowledged, that this combination of iconography is found not only in Cumbria.

Two recent discoveries also deserve further consideration: the Viking burials at Cumwhitton and the 'Furness' hoard of mid-10th century coins. The former is significant for two reasons: firstly the artefact assemblage reveals a number of strong cultural links to sites in modern Scotland, although connections to Scandinavia, Ireland, Man and elsewhere are also present.[89] Secondly it shows that these Vikings at least were able to bury their dead according to their own, pagan custom in close proximity to an existing Christian community.[90] This suggests a certain amount of political concord, although it should be noted that it has been argued that the burial evidence from Carlisle shows there was a fairly rapid phase of conversion to Christianity.[91] The 'Furness' hoard is noteworthy for being relatively late in date, suggested as AD 955-957, sometime after England was supposedly unified by Aethelstan.[92] The observation has been made that the contents of the hoard, which contained several cut coins used as bullion, have close similarities to those from the Isle of Man and others circulating outside of the main English monetary system but within the area of Viking settlement.[93] However, the location of the findspot, in Low Furness, is of course on the 'Strathclyde' side of the boundary proposed here, and so would have been in a location out of the control of the 'English' state, as it was at that time. In addition, three broken pieces of a coin of the reign of Edward the Confessor (AD 1042-1066) were also discovered in a garden in Dalton-in-Furness in 1956.[94] A visual inspection of these pieces did not reveal how this coin came to be in this condition but if it was deliberately broken might it too be considered a small hoard in

its own right? If so this might suggest that Low Furness was still outside of the English monetary system as late as the early 11th century and perhaps therefore still under the control of Strathclyde, although the kingdom was near its end by that point.[95]

Conclusion

In terms of modern Cumbria the evidence discussed here has some important implications. It seems to confirm the generally-held view that all of the area comprising the former county of Cumberland was under the control, however indirectly, of Strathclyde, while the core part of the former county of Westmorland was not, with the exception of the strip along the north-east side and perhaps an area approximately equivalent to the later barony of Kendal. In addition, however, it suggests that Low Furness and perhaps also the southern part of the Cartmel peninsula were also under the control of Strathclyde, with a boundary potentially revealed through place-names running across the former.

In addition, Edmonds' suggestion that Strathclyde expanded through a mixture of alliances and submissions can be modified by the idea that it also purchased land as part this process, probably from local people primarily of Norse origin but also perhaps residual native Britons. It might be argued in this context that Norse groups took control of areas previously held by Britons, not through violent conquest but by purchase or even intermarriage, during a mutually beneficial political period. The notion of modern Cumbrians being '*sons of the Vikings who dwell in the homes of Britons of old*' is not a new one,[96] but is perhaps accurate. However, it has also been argued more recently that British Strathclyde sought to '*redefine itself in Norse terms*' in the 10th century and was probably already awash with Viking settlers and heavily influenced by them,[97] so political allegiances along the lines discussed here are extremely likely, although how long these lasted is debateable.[98]

A further point may also be made about the origins of the area acquired in Furness and Cartmel, as argued here. It cannot be coincidental that they also happen to be the areas that had been held, according to the Domesday Survey, by Tostig as part of an estate named 'Hougun'.[99] The nature of Hougun and where its caput was have been the subject of debate for some time.[100] However, the fact that such units might have pre-Norman or even more ancient origins[101] is significant given the evidence for British survival here and then even, a subsequent British revival.[102] It seems likely that Hougan formed part or even all of the estates, named as part of Cartmel, granted to the church of St Cuthbert by Ecgfrith in the late 7th century.[103] The recent revision of the meaning of this grant, from suggesting that the native British population were included with the land to arguing that it was carried out with their collaboration,[104] has enormous implications concerning the way the native people interacted with their 'overlords' and how the area continued to be governed in the following centuries.

Moreover, the meaning of Hougun is potentially significant in its own right as it derives from the dative plural of the Norse word *haugr* and therefore means 'at the hills'.[105] While this is a good description of the topography, if in fact it represented an earlier, British territorial division, might we therefore be able to find an equivalent name? A

good contender is found in the lines of Taliesin's poem *The Battle of Argoed Llywfain*, written in praise of Urien of Rheged:

> '*Fflamddwyn came on with four war-bands;*
>
> *Goddau and Rheged were marshalled in*
>
> *Dyfwy, from Argoed to Arfynndd*'.[106]

While the relevance of these poems to Cumbria is debatable, and locating many of the places mentioned is impossible, there are possible connections to the region; *Argoed Llywfain* may be a reference to the River Leven in South Cumbria,[107] or even arguably Levens, while another poem in the series describes a battle that may have been fought at the River Winster.[108] Of interest here is the area named *Arfynndd*, which means 'the region against the mountains',[109] a remarkably similar meaning to 'Hougun'. Is it therefore possible that Hougun represented an existing British estate that was acquired, or perhaps quite willingly given, as Strathclyde expanded in the 10th century, and then its name simply translated into the Norse equivalent?

A final point is to consider what the appeal to Strathclyde would be of controlling these areas of South-West Cumbria. At a political level it would have served as a direct means of maintaining Strathclyde's independence from the Hiberno-Norse 'York-Dublin axis'[110] while at the same time hindering its growth,[111] as well as providing an useful strategic point of access to the Irish Sea.[112] In a similar vein the situation in which Amounderness found itself in this period might equally be applied these parts of Cumbria: '[it] *had been an area over which different peoples and powers had tried to gain influence. The toponymy of the region and the evidence afforded by the coins … suggest that no one political power had managed to exert itself and rather that* [it] *had remained an area over which rival authorities could attempt to win control.*'[113]

Economically too South-West Cumbria might have been valuable and therefore attractive to Strathclyde. The area contains substantial quantities of high-quality iron ore in the form of haematite. The extent of exploitation of this resource in Cumbria is hard to assess for the period under discussion, and is an area for further investigation, but it is rarely considered in detail in terms of its wider strategic importance.[114] Haematite appears to have been mined at an early date,[115] and it seems highly plausible that the remarkable quantities of haematite discovered in 8th- and 9th-century contexts during excavations at Whithorn in South-West Scotland originated from West Cumbria, although the significance of this is not apparently discussed in the published account.[116] In the period under discussion here there is evidence that iron ore was being exploited in Furness in the form of the pre-Conquest place-name Orgrave.[117] Then there is the recent discovery of haematite (considered to originate from the West Cumbrian area) at some distance from its source during excavation of a group of structures occupied between the late 9th and early 11th centuries.[118] It is therefore perhaps not a coincidence that, almost exactly three centuries after the last written record of Strathclyde, a cross-border raid in 1316 came as far as Furness and, having taken away '*nearly all of the goods of that district, with men and women as prisoners. Especially were they delighted with the abundance of iron which they found there, because Scotland is not rich in iron.*'[119] This would also seem a logical explanation for Strathclyde's interest in the area.

Connections between Low Furness and Strathclyde are also found elsewhere in the later medieval period, at a time when its history was being reimagined to suit new political goals. This potentially confuses the picture even further. More specifically there was the bishopric of Glasgow's claim to royal associations, which were enhanced by its supposed connections to Strathclyde when the '*Brythonic or Welsh aspect of the kingdom was headlined during the second half of the twelfth century*'.[120] Does this then provide a further explanation for the appointment of Jocelin of Furness by the bishop of Glasgow to write the *Life of Saint Kentigern*, since Furness Abbey was located within what had once been Strathclyde's sphere of influence?

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Notes

1. Throughout this article 'Cumbria' will be used to denote the modern county, although during the period discussed it was not used in this manner.
2. N.J. Higham, *The Kingdom of Northumbria AD 350-1100* (Stroud, 1993); D. Griffith, *Vikings of the Irish Sea* (Stroud, 2010).
3. T. Clarkson, *Strathclyde and the Anglo-Saxons in the Vikings Age* (Edinburgh, 2014); F. Edmonds, 'The Expansion of the Kingdom of Strathclyde', *Early Medieval Europe*, 23:1 (2015), 43-66.
4. R. Coates and A. Breeze, *Celtic Voices, English Places: Studies of the Celtic Impact on Place-Names in England* (Stamford, 2000); D.W. Elsworth, 'Eccles Place-Names in Cumbria', *CW3*, 11 (2011), 234-238; F. Edmonds, 'The Furness Peninsula and the Irish Sea Region: Cultural Interactions from the 7th Century to the 12th', in C. Downham, ed., *Jocelin of Furness: Proceedings of the 2011 Conference* (Donnington, 2013), 17-44.
5. Clarkson, *Strathclyde*; but with important earlier articles published on the subject as it relates more specifically to modern Cumbria in these *Transactions*: D.P. Kirkby, 'Strathclyde and Cumbria: A Survey of Historical Development to 1092', *CW2*, 62 (1962), 77-94; P.A. Wilson, 'On the Use of the Terms "Strathclyde" and "Cumbria"', *CW2*, 66 (1966), 57-92.
6. R. Goodrich, *Scandinavians and Settlement in the Eastern Irish Sea Region During the Viking Age*, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Missouri-Columbia, 2010, 115-119.
7. Clarkson, *Strathclyde*, 1-55.
8. Edmonds, *Expansion*, 44; Clarkson, *Strathclyde*, 57.
9. Clarkson, *Strathclyde*, 57-69.
10. Edmonds, *Expansion*.
11. Clarkson, *Strathclyde*, 76-80. He suggests that the meeting might have taken place at Mayburgh Henge/King Arthur's Round Table or even the monastery at Dacre.
12. Clarkson, *Strathclyde*, 84-102.
13. Clarkson, *Strathclyde*, 152-154.

14. A. Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba 789-1070* (Edinburgh, 2010), 151-152; Clarkson, *Strathclyde*, 76-80; Edmonds, *Expansion*, 53.

15. J. Todd, 'British (Cumbric) Place-Names in the Barony of Gilsland, Cumbria', *CW3*, 5 (2005), 89-102. Breeze notes that many of these are clearly late creations: A. Breeze, 'Britons in the Barony of Gilsland, Cumbria', *Northern History*, 43:2 (2006), 331, citing K. Jackson, 'Angles and Britons in Northumbria and Cumbria', in H. Lewis, ed., *Angles and Britons, O'Donnell Lectures* (Cardiff, 1963), 60-84.

16. T.B.H. Graham, 'Cumberland', *CW2*, 26 (1926), 274-284; D. Kenyon, *The Origins of Lancashire* (Manchester, 1991), 123. The Derwent is also suggested on the basis of historical evidence, albeit with an acknowledgement that place-names indicate that control extended further south (Jackson, *Angles*, 74-75) as far as the Esk, which is an alternative favoured by Edmonds, *Expansion*, 54-55.

17. Clarkson, *Strathclyde*, 103-105.

18. Clarkson, *Strathclyde*, 103-113; see also T. Clarkson, *The Men of the North: The Britons of Southern Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2010), 199. This suggestion, amongst others, was made as early as the 1680s by John Denton: 'Dunmail-raise (a great heap of stones at the head of Wythburne cast together in ancient time, either by King Dunmail sometime King or Lord of that country, as mark of the utmost bounder of his country, or by some other in remembrance of his name, for some memorable act by him done there or some victory against him)': R.S. Ferguson, ed., *An Accompt of the most Considerable Estates and Families in the County of Cumberland from the Conquest to Unto the Beginning of the Reign of K. James (the First) by John Denton of Cumrew*, CWAAS Tract Series 2 (Kendal, 1887), 1.

19. Clarkson, *Strathclyde*, 104; Edmonds, *Expansion*, 51.

20. F.M. Stenton, 'Pre-Conquest Westmorland', in RCHME, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Westmorland* (London, 1936), xlviii-lv.

21. C. Phythian-Adams, 'From Peoples to Regional Societies: The Problem of Early Medieval Cumbrian Identities', *CW3*, 11 (2011), 92.

22. T.H.B. Graham, 'Rerecross', *CW2*, 29 (1929), 342-344; Kirkby, 'Strathclyde and Cumbria'; D. Broun, 'The Welsh Identity of the Kingdom of Strathclyde *c*.900-*c*1200', *Innes Review*, 55:2 (2004), 179-180.

23. It is worth noting that *rā* was also Old English for roe deer and so there is considerable potential for alternative interpretations, with Raygarth and similar variants very common: A.M. Armstrong, A. Mawer, F.M. Stenton, and B. Dickins, *The Place-Names of Cumberland Part III Introduction, Etc*, English Place-Name Society 22 (Cambridge, 1952), 488.

24. A.M. Armstrong, A. Mawer, F.M. Stenton, and B. Dickins, *The Place-Names of Cumberland Part II Allerdale Below Derwent and Allerdale Above Derwent Wards*, English Place-Name Society, 21 (Cambridge, 1950), 292.

25. A.M. Armstrong, A. Mawer, F.M. Stenton, and B. Dickins, *The Place-Names of Cumberland Part I Eskdale, Cumberland and Leath Wards*, English Place-Name Society, 20 (Cambridge, 1950), 134.

26. W.G. Collingwood, 'Rey-Cross', *CW2*, 27 (1927), 4.

27. Griffith, *Vikings*, 42. It is interesting to note the suggestion that Agmund, from whom Amounderness took its name, has been equated with the same Ingimundr, who may have then been killed at the battle of Tettenhall in AD 910: C. Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland: The Dynasty of Ívarr to A.D. 1014* (Edinburgh, 2007), 84.

28. Kenyon, *Origins*, 123; Phythian-Adams, *Peoples*, 32. Alex Woolf has, however, suggested that Furness and parts of the coastal plain of Cumbria might have been under the control of the Viking rulers in Ireland during the period under discussion, since they were active in the Irish Sea region: Woolf, *Pictland*, 168-169.

29. E. Ekwall, *The Place-Names of Lancashire* (Manchester, 1922) *passim*.

30. It is conceivable that the second element is the Norse *meol*, meaning sand bank but this is not very appropriate for the topography. An alternative is that it derives from the dative plural of *rá* and so is *rá-um*, meaning 'at the boundaries', which might be fitting in the context of the other names discussed in this section. It is also noteworthy that Rame is close to the boundary between the parishes of Ulverston and Egton with Newland.

31. A. Fell, *Pennington: A Furness Manor and its Church* (Ulverston, 1929), 204.

32. B. Jepson, *English Place-Names Elements Relating to Boundaries*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Lund, 2011, 162.

33. Andrew Breeze pers. comm.: The potential resurgence in British identity during the 10th century might also explain the use of such a name: see Phythian-Adams, *Peoples*, 109.

34. Ekwall, *Place-Names*, 221.

35. Ekwall, *Place-Names*, 206.

36. Fiona Edmonds pers comm.; Coates and Breeze, *Celtic Voices*, 286. Dún has also previously been suggested as a place name element demonstrating the influence or control of Strathclyde: N.J. Higham, 'Continuity Studies in the First Millennium A.D. in North Cumbria', *NH*, 14 (1978), 17.

37. D.W. Elsworth, 'Hillforts Around Morecambe Bay', in T. Saunders, ed., *Hillforts in the North West and Beyond*, Archaeology North West: New Series 3 (Manchester, 2014), 51-60.

38. W. Farrer, ed., *The Lancashire Pipe Rolls* (Liverpool, 1902), 310-314.

39. *VCH Lancs*, 8, 285.

40. E. Baines, *History, Directory, and Gazetteer of the County Palatine of Lancaster*, 1 (Liverpool, 1824), 623.

41. In Cartmel, by contrast, there are no obvious place-names denoting boundaries, with the possible exception of Mearness, which, like Mere Beck, perhaps also includes the Old English *gemaere*, although there are also very noticeable divisions across the peninsula between the various parishes making up lower and upper Cartmel.

42. N.J. Higham, 'The Scandinavians in North Cumbria: Raids and Settlement in the Later Ninth to Mid-Tenth Centuries', in J.R. Baldwin, and I. D. Whyte, eds., *The Scandinavians in Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1985), 37-51; Higham, *Kingdom*, 173-210; N.J. Higham, 'Viking-Age Settlement in the North-Western Countryside: Lifting the Veil?', in J. Hines, A. Lane, and M. Redknap, eds., *Land, Sea and Home: Proceedings of a Conference on Viking-period Settlement at Cardiff, July 2001*, Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph 20 (Leeds, 2004), 297-311.

43. Griffiths, *Vikings*, 53, Fig. 17.

44. Edmonds, *Furness Peninsula*, 21.

45. Phythian-Adams, *Peoples*, 83.

46. However, see *Caruthelaue* (now Carnetly), which Breeze argues combines the British *cair* and *udd*, meaning 'lord's defended stockade/farm' to the Old English *hlaw*, giving 'hill of the lord's stockade: Breeze, *Britons*, 327-332.

47. Fell, *Pennington*, 200.

48. In the same way as Carhullan combines the Brittonic *cair* and Norse name Hōland (Smith, *Westmorland Part I*, 189-190), or *cair hulan* meaning 'monk's homestead', perhaps a reference to the site at Towtop Kirk; D.A. Hicks, *Language, History and Onomastics in Medieval Cumbria: An Analysis of the Generative Usage of the Cumbria Habitative Generics Cair and Tref*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2003, 160. It is worth noting, however, that for Carr Kettle a less contentious alternative is that it is an inversion compound, the word order influenced by Gaelic, meaning the wetland (*carr*) belonging to *Ketill*: Edmonds, *Furness Peninsula*, 42.

49. J. Walton, *Dalton-in-Furness from A-Z* (np, *c.*2002), 18-19. The reliability of this tale is, however, highly suspect; the only source given is 'an earlier occupant of Plumpton Hall', and it is known that a previous owner of Plumpton Hall composed poetry and stories (Jane Carson pers. comm.). There is also thought to be a place named Carrkettle in the vicinity of Plumpton near Ulverston (Peter Lowe pers. comm.), but it has not been possible to locate this.

50. In 1663; Fell, *Pennington*, 158. It is recorded as Carlow by at least 1830; CAS(B) BDX 96/1/3-4 Conveyance to uses of Will, 5 July 1830. It is not included in Ekwall, *Place-Names*.

51. D. Whaley, *A Dictionary of Lake District Place-Names* (Nottingham, 2006), 410. It is possible in both these cases that the names were actually coined much earlier by Anglian settlers adding *hlāw* to the existing Brittonic *cair* but this does not fit well with the typical manner in which such sites are named.

52. T.G.E. Powell, C.I. Fell, J.X.W.P. Corcoran and F. Barnes, 'Excavations at Skelmore Heads near Ulverston', *CW2*, 63 (1963), 1-30; T.G.E. Powell, 'The Tumulus at Skelmore Heads near Ulverston, 1957 and 1959', *CW2*, 72 (1972), 53-56; T. Clare, Prehistoric Monuments of the Lake District (Stroud, 2007), 121-122; Elsworth, *Hillforts*, 51-60. There is a crop mark showing an enclosure within the area of fields containing the element Carley but it is very indistinct and not possible to date on morphological grounds alone: HER Ref. SMR 5112, AP 26761A-C.

53. Clare, *Prehistoric Monuments*, 122-124.

54. It is worth also noting 'Carlew Crag' on the west side of the centre of Windermere near Cunsey Beck, which superficially appears to be the same as Carlew Close, but is recorded as the more prosaic 'Curlew Crag' from at least the mid-9th century; Smith, *Westmorland Part I*, 193.

55. CAS(B) BDX 734, 1805-1843 *Survey and Valuation of the Parish of Cartmel in County of Lancaster by Mr Thomas Buttle of Kirkby Lonsdale Land Surveyor and Commissioner*; plots 191 and 192 are both named 'Carlow Meadow' but are assumed to be adjacent to each other. 192 is owned by Richard Winfield.

56. CAS(B) DDHJ/4/5/5: *Particulars of Valuable Freehold & Tithe-Free Estates, Situate Upon the Far-Famed Promontory of Cartmel, in the Parish of Cartmel in the County of Lancaster, Late the Property of Miss Mary Winfield Lambert of Boarbank Hall, Deceased*, 1858.

57. Hicks, *Language*, Fig. 1, 212.

58. Recorded on Ordnance Survey *Westmorland Sheet* XXIII (1862, surveyed 1857-1859).

59. N.J. Higham and G.D.B. Jones, 'Frontiers, Forts and Farmers: Cumbrian Aerial Survey 1974-5', *Archaeological Journal*, 132 (1975), 40-45.

60. For an early detailed discussion of this site see C.A. Parker, *The Gosforth District*, 2nd edn., revised by W.G. Collingwood (Kendal, 1926), 127-130. For the place-name see Armstrong *et al.*, *Cumberland II*, 341, who suggest Coneygarth refers to a rabbit warren, although it is also plausible that it derives from the Norse word *kunungr/konugr* meaning king: see for example Conishead, Coniston, and Cunsey, all in Furness: Ekwall, *Place-Names*, 211-212, 215 and 219.

61. D. R. Perriam and J. Robinson, *The Medieval Fortified Buildings of Cumbria: An Illustrated Gazetteer and Research Guide*, CWAAS extra series 29 (Kendal, 1998), 99.

62. Parker, *Gosforth District*, 128. Excavations at the site carried out in the late 1950s by William Fletcher apparently also discovered at least one beehive quern: Beckermet Local History Group, *Beckermet: A Tale of Two Parishes, a Quarter and a Tail* (Beckermet, 2009), 23. The archive for Fletcher's otherwise unpublished investigation at the site would undoubtedly repay further investigation: CAS(W) YDX 259 1957-1961.

63. Phythian-Adams, *Peoples*, 85.

64. Edmonds, *Furness Peninsula*, 22.

65. J. Walker, *The History of Penrith from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Penrith, 1858), 4.

66. For a more recent interpretation see Armstrong *et al.*, *Cumberland I*, 231-232.

67. Smith, *Westmorland I*, 196-197.

68. H.S. Cowper, 'The Law Ting at Fell Foot, Little Langdale, Westmorland', *CW1*, 11 (1891), 1-6.

69. Edmonds, *Expansion*. See also, Phythian-Adams, *Peoples*, 51-64. The list of individuals named in Gospatric's writ of the later 11th century, which is important in its own right because it specifically refers to 'lands that were Cumbrian', i.e. part of Strathclyde, demonstrates the complexity of the ethnic mix at that time, with Old German, Old English, Norse and British names represented: D. Woodman, ed., *Charters of Northern Houses*, Anglo-Saxon Charters 16 (Oxford, 2012), 378.

70. Armstrong *et al.*, *Cumberland I*, 2.

71. Smith, *Westmorland I:* 104 and 144; see Fig. 1.

72. G. Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West* (Copenhagen, 1985), 417.

73. Higham, *Viking-Age*, 304.

74. Woodman, *Charters*, 89. This purchase was, apparently, paid for directly by Aethelstan: 'with no little money of my own': Clarkson, *Strathclyde*, 80; Woolf, *Pictland*, 160-165.

75. Clarkson, *Strathclyde*, 81-82; Downham, *Viking Kings*, 254-255.

76. G. Williams, 'Hoards from the Northern Danelaw From Cuerdale to the Vale of York', in J. Graham-Campbell and R. Philpott, eds., *The Huxley Viking Hoard: Scandinavian Settlement in the North West* (Liverpool, 2009), 73-83. J. Kershaw, 'Viking-Age Silver in North-West England: Hoards and Single Finds, in S.E. Harding, D. Griffith, and E. Royles, eds., *In Search of Vikings: Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Scandinavian Heritage of North-West England* (Boca Raton, FL, 2015), 149-164.

77. This is demonstrated by the recently excavated group of Viking burials at Cumwhitton: C. Paterson, A.J. Parsons, R.M. Newman, N. Johnson, and C. Howard-Davies, *Shadows in the Sand: Excavation of a Viking-Age Cemetary at Cumwhitton, Cumbria*, Lancaster Imprints, 22 (Lancaster, 2014).

78. However, there were clearly some very large sums of money in circulation in the wider area: the Cuerdale Hoard, discovered on the banks of the River Ribble near Preston in 1840 and dated to the beginning of the 10th century, remains the largest ever found in the UK: Williams, 'Hoards', 73-83. It has been noted that Aethelstan's purchase of Amounderness was quite unusual, probably highly political and part of a wider deal made with York, and that it perhaps took someone of his stature to carry it out successfully: Woodman, *Charters*, 96.

79. Griffith, *Vikings*, 41.

80. Downham, *Viking Kings*, 146.

81. See Griffith, *Vikings*, 41, citing S. Mac Airt and G. Mac Niocáill, trans., *The Annals of Ulster to 1311* (Dublin, 1983), 353.

82. L. M. Corrigan, 'Hunting the Vikings in South Cumbria from Ambleside to Haverbrack', in N.J. Higham and M.J. Ryan, eds., *Place-Names, Language and the Anglo-Saxon Landscape* (Woodbridge, 2011), 105-120.

83. Coates and Breeze, *Voices*, 373.

84. These are all marked on the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey Lancashire sheets XVII and XXVIII published in 1850 and 1849 respectively.

85. CAS(W) YSPC/16/7: Drigg Inclosure Award, 1828.

86. G. Vigfusson, *An Icelandic-English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1874), 333-334.

87. Clarkson, *Strathclyde*, 127-130.

88. However, the similarity in the form of some of the hogbacks in areas of Cumbria that are not traditionally thought to have come under the control of Strathclyde to those in Govan has been noted: R.N. Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture* (London, 1980), 229.

89. Paterson *et al.*, *Shadows*, 170-172.

90. Paterson *et al.*, *Shadows*, 160.

91. R. Newman, 'The Early Medieval Period', in M. Brennand and K.J. Stringer, eds., *The Making of Carlisle: From Romans to Railways*, CWAAS Extra Series XXXV (Kendal, 2011), 81.

92. Boughton, *50 Finds from Cumbria: Objects from the Portable Antiquities Scheme* (Stroud, 2016), 72.

93. D. Boughton, G. Williams and B. Ager, 'Buried Wealth of the Norse North West', *Current Archaeology*, 264, (2012), 26-31. It is also perhaps noteworthy that this hoard was deposited on the edge of a previously unrecorded settlement of presumed Romano-British date: Greenlane Archaeology, *'Furness Hoard' Find Spot: Archaeological Excavation* (unpublished report, 2012).

94. Barrow-in-Furness Dock Museum: BAWMS.07984.

95. Clarkson, *Strathclyde*, 149-154.

96. V. Albritton and F.A. Jonsson, *Green Victorians: The Simple Life and John Ruskin's Lake District* (Chicago, IL, 2016), 112, citing an account of a rush-bearing sermon given by Herdwicke Rawnsley on 14 August 1908: CAS(K) WDX 402/10. This statement was undoubtedly influenced by earlier works such as W.G. Collingwood's *Thorstein of the Mere: A Saga of the Northmen in Lakeland* (London, 1895).

97. S.T. Driscoll, 'Church Archaeology in Glasgow and the Kingdom of Strathclyde', *Innes Review*, 49:2 (1998), 112-113.

98. Downham, *Viking Kings*, 166.

99. See D. Kenyon, *Origins,* 148, for a map showing the presumed extent.

100. See A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987), 34, for detail of the discussion.

101. Winchester, *Landscape*, 14-19; Phythian-Adams, *Peoples*, 77-87. A.J.L. Winchester, 'Early Estate Structures in Cumbria and Lancashire', *Medieval Settlement Research*, 23 (2008), 14-21.

102. Edmonds, *Furness Peninsula*, 21; N.J. Higham, *Ecgfrith: King of the Northumbrians, High King of Britain* (Donington, 2015), 209.

103. See F. Edmonds, *Furness Peninsula*, 20 for recent discussion of this and the important implications regarding British survival in the area that it reveals. It has also been noted as demonstrating that a certain degree of accommodation was being made regarding the differing versions of Christianity held by the two parties involved (Higham, *Ecgfrith*, 209), something of interest when considering the argument made here that Christian Strathclyde was willing to accommodate pagan Vikings. It is perhaps noteworthy that this grant occurred after St Cuthbert performed a miracle at a vill at *Exanforda*, possibly referring to the River Esk near Ravenglass, and therefore meaning the Roman fort or (well-preserved) bathhouse there. This would then fit almost exactly the extent of Hougun as far as it can be gleaned from the Domesday Survey – from the Cartmel Peninsula to the River Esk (see W. Farrer, 'The Domesday Survey of North Lancashire and the Adjacent Parts of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Yorkshire', *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, 18 (1901), 90). However, at the time the miracle was performed St Cuthbert was travelling between Hexham and Carlisle: W.M. Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans: The Church of Durham, 1071-1153* (Woodbridge, 1998), 20-21, a journey that is unlikely to have gone via Ravenglass.

104. Edmonds, *Furness Peninsula*, 20.

105. Ekwall, *Place-Names*, 206.

106. J.P. Clancy, *The Earliest Welsh Poetry* (London, 1970), 30.

107. J. Morris, *The Age of Arthur: A History of the British Isles from 350 to 650* (London, 1973), 234.

108. A. Breeze, 'Urien Rheged and Battle at Gwen Ystrad', *NH*, 152, (2015), 9-19. See also A. Breeze, 'The Names of Rheged', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 86 (2012), 61.

109. It is said to be 'an unidentified region within the kingdom of Rheged': T.O. Clancy, ed., *The Triumph Tree: Scotland's Earliest Poetry, 550-1350* (Edinburgh, 1998), 348.

110. See Goodrich, *Scandinavians*, 115, for discussion.

111. It has been suggested that Aethelstan's purchase of Amounderness was in part to achieve the same aim, that is of blocking the Dublin Vikings' route to York: Woodman, *Charters*, 95.

112. The importance of this is emphasised by the final mention of Strathclyde in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the year A.D. 1000, when an attack on 'Cumbria' by King Aethelred was to be accompanied by ships from Chester that 'should have come to join him, but they could not; they then raided the Isle of Man': M. Swanton, trans. and ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (London, 1997), 133.

113. Woodman, *Charters*, 97.

114. The notable exception is R. Cramp *Whithorn and the Northumbrian Expansion Westward*, Third Whithorn Lecture 17 September 1994 (Whithorn, 2000 reprint), which also notes the interest that ecclesiastical establishments took in controlling such resources.

115. M. Bowden, *Furness Iron* (Swindon, 2000), 12.

116. R. Chadburn and P. Hill, 'Exotic, Imported and Transformed Stones', in P. Hill, ed., *Whithorn and St Ninian: The Excavation of a Monastic Town 1984-91* (Stroud, 1997), 469-474.

117. Ekwall, *Place-Names*, 207.

118. Ingleborough Archaeology Group, *The Crummack Dale Project: Excavation of Three Early Medieval Steadings and a Lime Kiln, Austwick, North Yorkshire* (unpublished report, 2015); D. Johnson, 'Early Medieval Settlement in North Craven: a reassessment', *Contrebis*, 35 (2017), 33.

119. H. Maxwell, trans., *The Chronicle of Lanercost* (Glasgow, 1913), 216-217.

120. Broun, *Welsh Identity*, 114; C. Downham, 'Introduction', in Downham, ed., *Jocelin of Furness,* 5.