

## V

### NORTHUMBRIA AND THE VIKING SETTLEMENT: THE EVIDENCE FOR LAND-HOLDING

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AFTER A review of the evidence from chronicles and other primary sources for the Viking settlement, this article discusses the records of land-grants in Northumbria in both the pre-Viking and Viking periods. The debate over the nature of the Viking settlement in England has been carried on now over many years. Not only the implications to be drawn from the primary sources, but also, in the case of place-names, the sources themselves, have been called in question.<sup>1</sup> It seems appropriate now to attempt to start from another basis in the hope of throwing some light on the nature of the impact of the Scandinavians on the native peoples of Northumbria.

#### HISTORICAL REVIEW

The first phase of Scandinavian relations with the Northumbrians began with the attack on Lindisfarne in 793. The writer of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, viewing the event with the eyes of one who has witnessed (and written about) Alfred's struggles with the Danes, saw it as a calamitous event, preceded by many portents:<sup>2</sup>

In this year dire portents appeared over Northumbria and sorely frightened the people. They consisted of immense whirlwinds and flashes of lightning, and fiery dragons were seen flying in the air. A great famine immediately followed those signs, and a little after that in the same year, on 8 June, the ravages of heathen men miserably destroyed God's church on Lindisfarne with plunder and slaughter.

Alcuin, at Charlemagne's court, viewed the event with horror and preferred to see it, in gloomy ecclesiastical fashion, as the judgment of God on a slothful and careless people. It was a catastrophe meriting reference to a Lamentation of Jeremiah (I, 13-16).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Sawyer 1971*, chapter 7. This gives references to all major contributions to the debate except *Sawyer et al. 1969* and *Jensen 1972*.

<sup>2</sup> *ASD D(E)*. See also *HR*, §56; *FH*, s.a. 794; *HDE*, II, V & II, VI; *Matthew*. I find it interesting that there is no record of, or reference to, this event in the two

earliest extant Lindisfarne/Durham works *HSC* and *CMD*.

<sup>3</sup> Letter to Aethelraed, *EHD*, 775-7; Letter to Higbald, *EHD*, 778-9. See *GR*, §70. This point was made by *Binns 1964*, 7, and a similar reference was made by F. Henry, *Irish Art During the Viking Invasions*, London 1965-6.

And the word of the LORD came unto me the second time, saying, What seest thou? And I said, I see a seething pot; and the face thereof is toward the north. Then the LORD said unto me, Out of the north an evil shall break forth upon all the inhabitants of the land. For lo, I will call all the families of the kingdoms of the north, saith the LORD; and they shall come. . . . And I will utter my judgments against them touching all their wickedness, who have forsaken me, and have burned incense unto other gods, and worshipped the work of their own hands.

It is now some time since Professor Sawyer first made the point that we need to be careful in our use of such sources for this period.<sup>4</sup> It is easy to echo Alcuin's horror at the sacrilege, and to forget that the shock was not the violence, but the choice of target. If it had been a secular context, comment would have been minimal.<sup>5</sup> Violence may not have been endemic in Anglo-Saxon England, but it was certainly common, and Sawyer's point that "ignorance does not, however, entitle us to assume that internal strife before the Vikings came was little more than cattle-rustling"<sup>6</sup> is a warning not to attribute to the Vikings a quality of violence which we imagine was different from that of the Anglo-Saxons, or, for that matter, any other European people.

In 794 occurred the raid on *Donemuthan*, commonly identified, following the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*, with Jarrow-on-Tyne.<sup>7</sup> The identification cannot be certain, for there was a monastery at *Donaemutha*, possibly at the mouth of the Yorkshire Don, which may conceivably be the one referred to,<sup>8</sup> but, in any case, there was an attack on a monastery in Northumbria by the Vikings in this year. Kendrick, perhaps over-impressed with the description of the attack on *Donemuthan*, suggested that Monkwearmouth was threatened in 794<sup>9</sup> (and was followed by Shetelig and Brøndsted<sup>10</sup>), but this is conjecture—especially when we cannot certainly link *Donemuthan* with Jarrow. Apart from these two raids, the only other attack recorded at this time is that in the thirteenth century source Roger of Wendover, repeated by Matthew Paris, (but probably based on early Northumbrian annalistic material), for a raid in 800 on Tynemouth and Hartness.<sup>11</sup> Thus there seems little evidence for a persistent or concerted attack on the monasteries of Northumbria at the end of the eighth century, and no evidence for any attacks on secular sites. Since there were several other rich monasteries (such as Whitby) in

<sup>4</sup> Sawyer 1962, chapter 2.

<sup>5</sup> See, for instance, the entries in *ASC*, s.a. 779(777), 778, 779.

<sup>6</sup> Sawyer 1971, 203.

<sup>7</sup> *ASC D(E)*; *HDE*, II, V; *HR*, §57.

<sup>8</sup> See Letter of Pope Paul to Eadberht, *EHD*, 764–5.

Whitelock, however, prefers the Jarrow identification: see *ASC*, 37 note 1. Occasionally it has been suggested that it was Tynemouth that was referred to: see *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hovedone*, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Series, volume 59, 1868), I, 14 marginal note.

<sup>9</sup> Kendrick 1930, 4. Perhaps he deduced this from the letter of Alcuin to the monks of Wearmouth and Jarrow in 793 (reference in *EHD*, 778); alternatively from J. Stevenson's note in his translation in *The Church*

*Historians of England*, Volume III, Part II, 458. The statements in *HDE*, XXII concerning Aldwine's re-foundation of the monastery, refer to the destruction of monasteries (none are named), but can hardly be relied on as the reference is very general and informed by hindsight. The same would be true in *HDE*, IV, II of Lindisfarne.

<sup>10</sup> H. Shetelig, Hj. Falk, *Scandinavian Archaeology*, Oxford 1937, 268; H. Shetelig, *An Introduction to the Viking History of Western Europe (Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland Part I)*, Oslo 1940, 80; J. Brøndsted, *The Vikings*, Harmondsworth 1965, 33. The suggestion (*Medieval Archaeology*, IV 1960, 140) that some graves at Monkwearmouth may be of victims of a Viking raid, has been criticised by Sawyer 1971, 64.

<sup>11</sup> *FH*; Matthew I, 367.

secluded situations and vulnerable to attack, which appear to have been left alone by the Vikings, the inference must be that these were isolated raids, and possibly even the chance landfalls of men blown off-course. They might conceivably be connected with the group of men from Hörthaland who killed the king's reeve at Portland in Dorset in 789,<sup>12</sup> or be connected with the movement to the Sudreys and Ireland,<sup>13</sup> but, in overall terms, no great significance can be attached to them.

The second phase in Northumbria begins with the capture of York by the Danes in 867.<sup>14</sup> Both Shetelig and Binns have emphasised the importance of internal dissension in attracting Viking bands,<sup>15</sup> and certainly there must have been a motive for a move which involved them in a journey of over two hundred miles from East Anglia across land. It is quite possible that the Danes, knowing of the civil war obtaining in York, decided to take advantage of it to gain control of a province with its capital a fair distance from Wessex. They came and went over the next ten years, setting up a puppet-king one year, and apparently facing an independent ruler another.<sup>16</sup> In 876 some of the Danes returned, and "Healfdene shared out the lands of the Northumbrians, and they proceeded to plough and to support themselves".<sup>17</sup> A campaign by Halfdan and his army in 875 with winter-quarters on the Tyne, ravaging the lands of the Picts and Strathclyde Britons, is suggestive of an attempt to secure a northern frontier for the land they were to share out.<sup>18</sup> Shortly before this campaign, the Community of St. Cuthbert left Lindisfarne and wandered about the North for seven years.<sup>19</sup>

However, curiously, it seems that Halfdan, having shared out the lands of the Northumbrians, may then have gone off on a campaign against the Norwegians in Ireland, and been killed there the following year.<sup>20</sup> The next known king was a certain Guthred, who was a Christian.<sup>21</sup> That such a person could be accepted as king by the Danes suggests a very speedy process of assimilation with the native population—although we do not have to go on to postulate that the process necessarily involved conversion immediately. Guthred ruled from 883 to 894, and

<sup>12</sup> *ASC*; *Aethelweard*, 3, 1. The identification of Hörthaland and Portland is in *Annals of St. Neots* according to Whitelock in *ASC*, 35 note 4.

<sup>13</sup> See *Sawyer et al.* 1969, 163–4.

<sup>14</sup> *ASC* (868 C); *HSC*, 7, 10 & 14; *HDE*, II, VI; *HR*, §70, 92.

<sup>15</sup> Shetelig *op. cit.* (n. 10 above), 12; Binns 1964, 8.

<sup>16</sup> *HDE*, II, VI; *HR*, §92. See *Stenton* 1947, 245–51.

<sup>17</sup> *ASC* (877 C). See *HSC*, 14 (*terram in circuitu coluit*); *HDE*, II, X; *HR*, §96 (*regionem sibimet et suis divisit*).

<sup>18</sup> *ASC* (876 C); *HR*, §75. *HDE*, II, VI does not mention the Picts or the Britons, but emphasises rather the attacks on "the whole province of the Northumbrians" and in particular the monasteries. *CMD*, 11, 15–20 has a similar account, as does *HR*, §96.

<sup>19</sup> *HSC*, §20; *HDE*, II, VI & X; *HR*, §75, 82 & 96.

<sup>20</sup> *AU* s.a. 874 & 876; *AFM* s.a. 874; *CS*. See *Kendrick* 1930, 281; *Stenton* 1947, 251; W. S. Angus, Christianity

as a political force in Northumbria, *Fourth Viking Congress, York 1961* (ed. A. Small), Aberdeen 1964, 146. This is based on the identification of Halfdan with the Albann of the Celtic sources, and, while attractive, is difficult to accept unreservedly for *ASC* s.a. 875 mentions ravaging by Halfdan "among the Picts and the Strathclyde Britons", but does not mention an attack by him in Ireland; whereas *AU* s.a. 874 does not mention Albann by name for the battle between the Picts and the "Black Foreigners" in Scotland, but does include his killing of another Norse king in Ireland. Also *CMD*, 11.21–4 and *HDE*, III, XIII record his death (*circa* 882) probably in or near Northumbria. *HR* s.a. 877 and 883, §96 & 98, records his death in battle against Alfred in Devonshire in 877, after sacking monasteries in Demetia.

<sup>21</sup> *HSC*, §13 & 33; *CMD*, 11.25–50; *HDE*, II, XIII & XIV; *HR* s.a. 883, §78 & 98.

appears to have had some sort of understanding with Alfred.<sup>22</sup> He was followed apparently by one Siefred and a certain Cnut, both of whom feature on coins from the Cuerdale hoard.<sup>23</sup> However, tolerance and possible integration with the Northumbrians did not necessarily mean loyalty to the West Saxon king,<sup>24</sup> and Siefred may well be the man called Sigferth, recorded by Aethelweard as being a pirate from the land of the Northumbrians ravaging the south coast twice.<sup>25</sup> Certainly in the first few years of the tenth century, Northumbrians supported Aethelwald against Alfred's son Edward, and perhaps even took him as king.<sup>26</sup> Edward, however, had his revenge in that first Aethelwald was killed,<sup>27</sup> and then in 910 at the battle of Tettenhall, the Northumbrians were defeated;<sup>28</sup> this defeat hastened the downfall of the Danish kingdom of York, as both the West Saxons and Mercians jointly, and the Norwegians moved against them.

The third phase is that of the Norwegians. Norse power in Ireland at the end of the ninth century was gradually weakening, and they were expelled from Dublin in 902.<sup>29</sup> They may possibly have fled to Scotland/Pictland,<sup>30</sup> or to north-west England.<sup>31</sup> Certainly, increasingly in the early tenth century, they appear as a factor in the politics of Northumbria. There is a record of settlement in the Wirral by Norwegians expelled from Dublin, which was of considerable consequence for Northumbria. Several scattered references in Irish, English and Welsh sources regarding the early years of the tenth century were skilfully analysed by Dr. F. T. Wainwright in a series of important articles concerned with the invasion and settlement of a certain Ingimund.<sup>32</sup> It would seem that the sequence of events can be reconstructed as follows. A band of Norwegians (accompanied by some Danes and Gael-Gaedhil) were expelled from Dublin, and, led by Ingimund, tried to land in Anglesey but were beaten off in the battle of Ros Melion/Osmelian. They then came to Aethelflaed, Lady of the Mercians, requesting land, which she granted them near Chester. But although they settled peaceably at first, they later showed aggressive

<sup>22</sup> See *CMD*, 11.42–50; *HDE*, X, XIII.

<sup>23</sup> His death is recorded by *HDE*, II, XIV s.a. 894; *HR*, s.a. 894, §81 (as is that of Guthrum, who is incorrectly described as *rex Northanhymbrorum*, s.a. 890) & 102; *Aethelweard*, 4, 3. For discussion of this particular hoard, and the kings involved, see *Stenton 1947*, 260; R. H. M. Dolley, *The Post-Brunanburh Coinage of York*, *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift*, 1955–8, 35–7; R. H. M. Dolley, *Viking Coins of the Danelaw and Dublin*, London 1965, 19; and C. S. S. Lyon and B. H. I. H. Stewart, *The Northumbrian Viking Coins in the Cuerdale Hoard*, *Anglo-Saxon Coins* (Essays to Sir Frank Stenton), ed. R. H. M. Dolley, London 1961.

<sup>24</sup> Although it is worth noting that in 893 *ASC* (C, D, 894) and *HR*, §81 record the Northumbrians swearing loyalty to Alfred (*HR* adds against the "pagans"); the "Continuator" of *HR* s.a. 894, §94, however, records a peace-treaty between the "pagans" of Northumbria and Alfred. *HDE*, II, XIV sees Alfred as annexing (*adecit*) Northumbria after an appearance of St. Cuthbert to him.

<sup>25</sup> *Aethelweard*, 4, 3.

<sup>26</sup> *ASC* s.a. 900. This might also be inferred from the inscription on the ALWALDUS coins: see Dolley *op. cit.* (1965) (note 23 above), 20–1; *Stenton 1947*, 318 note 2. Lyon & Stewart *op. cit.* (note 23 above), 108 and 113, however, think it improbable that ALWALDUS was Aethelwald.

<sup>27</sup> *ASC* s.a. 903 (904 A; 905 B, C, D).

<sup>28</sup> *ASC* (911 C, D).

<sup>29</sup> *AU* (s.a. 901); *AFM* (s.a. 897); *CS*.

<sup>30</sup> See *AU* s.a. 903 (=904) telling of Ivar's death at the hands of the men of Fortrenn.

<sup>31</sup> As suggested by Wainwright 1945–6, Wainwright 1948 etc.

<sup>32</sup> Wainwright 1942, Wainwright 1945–6, Wainwright 1948, F. T. Wainwright, *Duald's "Three Fragments"*, *Scriptorium* II 1948.

intentions towards Chester which Aethelflaed promptly garrisoned and defended against them in battle.<sup>33</sup>

As far as literary records go, there is nothing for the rest of north-west England. However, we do know that in 904, Ivar and the Dubliners went into Pictland, and raided Dunkeld and Fortrenn.<sup>34</sup> The following year it was the Earn valley, and perhaps these raids represent an attempt by the Norwegians to settle in Scotland/Pictland.<sup>35</sup> In 912 a certain Ragnald may have attacked Fortrenn and Dunblane,<sup>36</sup> and later, possibly in 914, he apparently led an army to north-east England where he successfully fought a battle at Corbridge and/or on the North Tyne,<sup>37</sup> and subsequently took over, and apparently settled, some of the lands of the Lindisfarne Community in Durham.<sup>38</sup> This seems to have stimulated Aethelflaed into action, for *burhs* were established at Eddisbury, Runcorn, Chirbury and *Weardbyrig* in the years 914 and 915.<sup>39</sup> This seems to have been a prompt reaction by her to defend the northern frontier of Mercia, and possibly also to over-awe the Norse settlers within her frontiers in the Wirral.<sup>40</sup> In 918 Ragnald fought the (second) battle of Corbridge against what Wainwright described as an "anti-Norse coalition" of Picts, Scots, Strathclyde Britons, Danes from York, and Angles from Bernicia, under Aethelflaed.<sup>41</sup> He was, as a result, able to achieve what presumably had been his aim throughout the years: kingship at York.<sup>42</sup>

West of the Pennines there was a power-vacuum, which must be seen as contributory to the apparent ease of Norwegian settlement in Lancashire and the Cumbrian peninsula. Hoards of coins have been found at Cuerdale, Harkirke and other places, which might be taken as a sign of disturbed times.<sup>43</sup> Although

<sup>33</sup> This paragraph is based on the relevant passages on page 19 of *Wainwright 1942* and pages 160–1 of *Wainwright 1948*. The sources are: *Brut Y Tywysogion*; *Three Fragments of Irish Annals Attributed to Duald MacFirbisigh*; *Annales Cambriae*; *Aethelweard*, 4, 4; *ASC* (Mercian Register) s.a. 907; *FH* s.a. 908 (named as Leicester); *HR* s.a. 908; and *Florence* (Leicester).

<sup>34</sup> *AU* (s.a. 903); *Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland* (Anderson, I, 444); *CS*. There is a reference to "two grandsons of Imhar" in *CS*.

<sup>35</sup> *Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland* (Anderson, I, 444). It would seem that Galloway at least may have had a Norwegian population by now, for *FH* s.a. 907 records that Edward "... also reduced the Scots, the inhabitants of Cumberland, and those of Galloway, and after receiving the submission of their kings, he returned home with glory and honour".

<sup>36</sup> *HR*, 82 (Dunblane only); *Arnold 1885*, 93 appears to favour Dublin (though see xxix), but *Binns 1964*, 31 and *Kendrick 1930*, 308, prefer Dunblane. Kendrick may get the reference to Fortrenn from Duald MacFirbis: see *Anderson 1922*, I, 407 s.a. 918. See *Anderson 1922*, I, 403 note 1.

<sup>37</sup> See F. T. Wainwright, *The Battles at Corbridge, Saga Book of the Viking Society*, XIII 1950, with references to primary sources such as *HSC*, §22.

<sup>38</sup> *HSC*, §23; *HDE*, II, XVI.

<sup>39</sup> *ASC C* s.a. 914 and 915; *HR* s.a. 915, §105. See also *Wainwright 1961*, 64 note 1. Wainwright sees Aethelflaed as vitally important for "... the impact of this meteoric figure on the already troubled north made all the northern peoples aware—if they were not aware of it before—that a new scourge had come to affect them...", *ibid.*, 63.

<sup>40</sup> She had taken over the leadership of Mercia since the death of her husband, Aethelraed, in 911 (*ASC DE* has 910 and *ASC CD*, *HR*, §104, and *FH* s.a. 912), and quite possibly before then as he was ill: see *Stenton 1947*, 320; *Wainwright 1948*, 152; *Wainwright 1961*, *passim*. She had already built the *burh* at *Bremesbyrig* in 910 (*ASC Mercian Register*) (? Bromborough).

<sup>41</sup> *Wainwright 1948*, 166; *Wainwright 1961*, 64–6; *Wainwright op. cit.* (note 37 above), with references to *AU* s.a. 917; *HSC*, §24, etc. Wainwright and *Campbell 1942* saw the men of York as "submitting" to her, Stenton suggested that they asked her for help.

<sup>42</sup> *ASC DE* s.a. 923; *HR* s.a. 919, §82. *HDE*, II, XVI and *HR* do not record the battles at Corbridge, and put the seizure of York before the granting of the lands of St. Cuthbert to his followers.

<sup>43</sup> *Dolley 1955–8 op. cit.* (note 23 above), 17–25; *Dolley 1965 op. cit.* (note 23 above), 12.

conditions may not have been too bad in the late ninth century,<sup>44</sup> by the early tenth century they had deteriorated sufficiently to cause a certain nobleman, Alfred, to come to north-east England *fugiens piratas*, and the Abbot of Heversham left for Norham.<sup>45</sup>

Ragnald was not the only Norwegian leader to invade northern England at this time, for a certain Sihtric raided Davenport in Cheshire in 920.<sup>46</sup> This came after his victorious campaign against Niall Glundubh in Ireland, which culminated in Niall's death.<sup>47</sup> Having achieved this notable victory, rather strangely he appears to have left Dublin to try, perhaps, to gain an "empire" on the other side of the Irish Sea.<sup>48</sup> Unfortunately for him, while he did, Guthfrith seized the throne at Dublin,<sup>49</sup> and Edward the Elder stepped up the campaign against the Norwegians in England.<sup>50</sup> Edward gained Ragnald's submission in 920, in part because of Aethelflaed's earlier work in preventing the Wirral becoming a recruiting-ground for him.<sup>51</sup> Paradoxically, the submission of Ragnald to Edward in 920 was the turning-point in Norwegian fortunes in the north of England. While, superficially, it might appear that Ragnald had lost in peace what he had won by war, in fact he had probably consolidated his gains. The "submission" was an agreement in which both sides gained benefits:<sup>52</sup> Athelstan gained extension of his overlordship, Ragnald recognition as ruler "on the ground" in Northumbria.<sup>53</sup> As with the agreement between Alfred and Guthrum, apparent diplomatic defeat became beneficial institutionalisation of Scandinavian settlement within the Anglo-Saxon realm. However, Ragnald did not live long to enjoy his kingdom, for he died in 921.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>44</sup> HSC, §13 records the existence of an Abbot of Carlisle circa 883, and §21 one at Heversham until the early tenth century. F. T. Wainwright, *The Scandinavians in Lancashire, Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, 1945-6, 112 suggests that law and order was in the hands of "a few nobles and clergy". Also see Stenton 1947, 316 and 327 and F. M. Stenton, *Introduction to Westmorland* (Royal Commission on Historical Monuments), 1936, xlviii-lv.

<sup>45</sup> HSC, §21, 22. We do not know whether, in fact, the *piratas* were Norwegians, and the Abbot may have left simply because of the instability of the situation rather than actual hostility or violence. Alfred was given, among other places, Billingham: see C. D. Morris, *Two Early Grave-Markers from Billingham*, *AA*<sup>5</sup>, II 1974, 50.

<sup>46</sup> HR, §83 and 106. P. Hunter Blair, *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge 1956, 84, suggests that Edward's strong position later in the year argues for the invasion being met and overcome.

<sup>47</sup> AU s.a. 918; CS s.a. 918; AFM s.a. 917; AInn s.a. 919; AClon s.a. 915. The real date was probably 919. ASC Es.a. 921 and HR s.a. 914, §82 and 920, §106, have entries stating that Niall was Sihtric's brother, but, in the context given by the Irish sources, this seems unlikely.

<sup>48</sup> AU s.a. 919 (=920) records his leaving Dublin. Binns 1964, 32, speculates as to whether Sihtric's invasion was forced on him by circumstances.

<sup>49</sup> CS s.a. 920; AInn s.a. 921; AFM s.a. 919; AClon s.a. 917. AU s.a. 920 simply says "Guthfrith ... in Ath-Cliath". He was either a brother (GR, §134) or a son (FH s.a. 925); the former is perhaps more likely.

<sup>50</sup> He built *burhs* at Thelwall, Manchester, Bakewell, and Cledemutha between 919 and 921 (ASC As.a. 922 and 923; ASC Mercian Register s.a. 921; HR s.a. 920, §106; FH s.a. 920 and 921). For Cledemutha see F. T. Wainwright in *English Historical Review*, LXV 1950: he places it at the mouth of the Clwyd in north Wales.

<sup>51</sup> ASC As.a. 923; HR s.a. 921, §106; FH s.a. 921. See Wainwright 1942, 25; Campbell 1942, 85; and Wainwright 1961, 65-9.

<sup>52</sup> There were, of course, others besides Ragnald and Edward involved e.g. (Constantine) the King of the Scots and the King of the Strathclyde Britons: see ASC As.a. 923.

<sup>53</sup> A point made by Stenton 1947, 330. See extended discussion by F. T. Wainwright, *The Submission to Edward the Elder*, *History*, 37 (New Series) 1952.

<sup>54</sup> AU s.a. 920.

Sihtric seems to have taken over,<sup>55</sup> but in fact all we know is that in 925 or 926 there was a marriage-alliance in which Sihtric married Athelstan's sister in return for giving up pagan practices. This might have been a similar treaty to that of Ragnald's in 921,<sup>56</sup> but again was nullified by the death of the Norwegian ruler—in 927.<sup>57</sup> Athelstan lost no time in annexing the kingdom and drove out Guthfrith (probably Sihtric's brother), and possibly Olaf Sihtricsson as well.<sup>58</sup> He then made the peace of Eamont Bridge (near Dacre) with the rulers of neighbouring territories, in which they were said specifically to have "renounced all idolatry".<sup>59</sup> This may not have been simply a conventional statement of Christian intent, but may have been an attempt by Athelstan to prevent them harbouring Norwegians.<sup>60</sup> This could even have been what was behind Athelstan's invasion of Scotland in 934.<sup>61</sup> But it would not seem that he had been wholly successful, for in 937 Guthfrith's son, Olaf, gathered together a large mixed army including Scots against Athelstan. This time there was no mistake; Athelstan inflicted a humiliating victory on Olaf at *Brunanburh*.<sup>62</sup> Before then, possibly in 927, Guthfrith may have besieged York unsuccessfully, thereafter living as a pirate on the seas. Athelstan is said to have levelled his *castrum* at York,<sup>63</sup> and Guthfrith died in 934.

In 939, Olaf Guthfrithsson, the ruler in Dublin, seized York and the territory of the Five Boroughs on the death of Athelstan, and the accession of the eighteen-year-old king Edmund.<sup>64</sup> The Northumbrians accepted him as king either then or the following year,<sup>65</sup> and Olaf married the daughter of a certain earl Orm, who had

<sup>55</sup> He is the next king mentioned by name in *ASC D* (s.a. 925) and *HR* (s.a. 925 and 926, §106), and is described as "king" in the *Chronicle of Melrose* s.a. 921. (Anderson 1922, I, 409) when the submission to Edward is described. But this might simply be referring to his position in Dublin (as used in *ASC E* s.a. 921). It is a possibility, but no more, that there is a hint here of some sort of kingship in the North-west, and more than a hint that Ragnald and he were rivals: otherwise why would Sihtric be in the north of England? It seems as if he and Ragnald were not directly related or, if they were, that Ragnald was unwilling to grant him the succession. *HSC*, §24 states that Ragnald perished with his sons and friends, perhaps implying that he died with no heirs.

<sup>56</sup> *HR* s.a. 899, §103 and s.a. 925, §106; *ASCD D* s.a. 925; *FH* s.a. 925; *GR*, §131 and 134. The wording suggests that Sihtric was accepting Athelstan as overlord. Professor Whitelock 1961, 71, sees it simply as an alliance; Professor Cramp, *Anglian and Viking York*, York 1967, 15, as "a policy of firm conciliation". Roger of Wendover's account (*FH*) only tells us that he repudiated his wife shortly afterwards and "restored the worship of idols".

<sup>57</sup> *ASC D* s.a. 926; *GR*, §134; *FH* s.a. 925 and 926; *HR* s.a. 926, §106; *AU* s.a. 926; *CS* s.a. 926; *AFM* s.a. 925; *AClon* s.a. 922.

<sup>58</sup> *ASC D* s.a. 926; *HR* s.a. 926, 106. *FH* s.a. 926 and *GR*, §134 seem to have differing accounts. Campbell,

*The Battle of Brunanburh*, London 1938, 45, sees Guthfrith as coming over from Dublin to claim the kingdom on the death of Sihtric. Presumably he had as much (or as little) right to claim the kingship as Sihtric had had in 921!

<sup>59</sup> *ASC E*; *HR* s.a. 927, §83 and s. a. 926, §106; *FH* s.a. 926; *GR*, §134. Olaf clearly was a son by a previous marriage, and Stenton 1947, 335 suggests that he was working together with Guthfrith to retain the kingdom.

<sup>60</sup> This interpretation would be supported by William of Malmesbury's account (*GR*).

<sup>61</sup> *ASC A* s.a. 933; *FH* s.a. 933 (he specifically says that the king of Scotland had broken the truce); *CMD*, 11.85–90; *HSC*, §26; *HDE*, II, XVIII; *HR*, §83 and 107. *GR*, 134, records Guthfrith as fleeing to Scotland in 927.

<sup>62</sup> *ASC*; *Aethelweard* 4, 5 (*Brunandune*); *HDE*, II, XVIII (*Wendune* is the alternative name given); *HR*, §83 (*Wendune*) and §107; *FH* s.a. 937; *Florence* s.a. 938; *GR*, §131 and 136 (*Brunefeld*); *AU* s.a. 936; *AClon* s.a. 931 ("plaines of Othlyne"); *Eric's Saga* (Anderson 1922, I, 410–24 (Battle of Vinheith)). *HSC*, §27 simply says that he *feliciter pugnavit*. See Campbell 1938, *op. cit.* (note 58 above).

<sup>63</sup> *GR*, §134 (but apparently refers to Olaf Sihtricsson).

<sup>64</sup> *ASC* s.a. 940; *FH* s.a. 940; *HR*, §84.

<sup>65</sup> *ASC D* s.a. 941; *HR* s.a. 942, §107; possibly this might refer to the acceptance of Olaf Sihtricsson as king.

assisted him in 940.<sup>66</sup> He did not have time to enjoy either her or his kingdom, for he died the following year.<sup>67</sup> He had, however, evidently attempted to extend his territories northwards, for he is recorded as having burned Tynningham,<sup>68</sup> and the men of York apparently ravaged Lindisfarne.<sup>69</sup> Olaf Sihtricsson returned once more to take over the kingdom created by his cousin, although this may have been an attempt to forestall Olaf Guthfrithsson's brother, Ragnald.<sup>70</sup> He soon lost the part of the Danelaw won by his cousin, and subsequently sought Edmund's friendship and was baptised.<sup>71</sup> The Northumbrians, however, rejected him in favour of Ragnald in 943, who it would appear ruled under Edmund.<sup>72</sup> But Edmund may have regarded this as a temporary expedient, for in 944 or 945 he drove out both Ragnald and Olaf.<sup>73</sup> He seems at this time to have granted Cumbria to Malcolm, King of the Scots.<sup>74</sup>

The following years are quite confused, both chronologically and in the complexity of events.<sup>75</sup> It seems that, on the death of Edmund, in 946 Eadred ravaged Northumbria and extracted promises of good conduct from both the Scots and Northumbrians.<sup>76</sup> These were broken as the Northumbrians chose Eric, son of Harold Fairhair of Norway, as king.<sup>77</sup> Eadred, in answer, ravaged the North, including Ripon monastery, and apparently threatened such destruction in 948 in answer to surprise attack that the Northumbrians deserted Eric and paid Eadred compensation.<sup>78</sup> However, as Professor Gwyn Jones has said,<sup>79</sup> "... like puppets on a string, the Dublin contenders came jerking across the Irish Sea. They seem hardly to have had time to strike the coins which are so eloquent a testimony to their royal pretensions before they were on their way again ..." Certainly Olaf Sihtricsson seems to exemplify this, for in 949 he arrived once again in Northumbria.<sup>80</sup> But he was only on the throne for two or three years before he was driven out again in favour of Eric!<sup>81</sup> Since Eric himself was either driven out or killed in 954,<sup>82</sup> it

<sup>66</sup> *FH*. Orm is unknown; presumably he was a Scandinavian *jarl* from Yorkshire or the Five Boroughs.

<sup>67</sup> *HR*, §84; *ASC E* s.a. 942; *FH* s.a. 941; *CS* s.a. 940.

<sup>68</sup> *HR* s.a. 941, §84; *FH* s.a. 941.

<sup>69</sup> *HR* s.a. 941, §84.

<sup>70</sup> *HR* s.a. 941, §84; *FH* s.a. 941; *AFM* s.a. 938; *AClon* s.a. 933.

<sup>71</sup> *ASC D* s.a. 943; *HR* s.a. 943, §108; *FH* s.a. 942 and 943. Ragnald also apparently underwent a religious ceremony.

<sup>72</sup> *HR* s.a. 943, §85 and 108.

<sup>73</sup> *ASC D* s.a. 944; *HR* s.a. 945, §85 and s.a. 946, §108. Olaf returned to Ireland. It may be this event which is referred to in *HSC*, §28; *HDE*, II, XVIII; and *CMD*, LL. 99–109, when Edmund apparently stopped at Chester-le-Street while on a military expedition to Scotland. *FH* s.a. 942 might possibly refer to this event.

<sup>74</sup> *ASC* s.a. 945; *HR* s.a. 945, §108.

<sup>75</sup> See *Campbell* 1942, especially pp. 91–7.

<sup>76</sup> *ASC (D)* s.a. 947; *HR* s.a. 948, §85 and s.a. 949, §109; *Aethelweard*, 4.7. This was at Tanshelf, and since the Archbishop Wulfstan is specifically mentioned, one

might conjecture that he was leader of the anti-Wessex group. He was arrested in 952 (*ASC D*; *HR*, §109; *FH* s.a. 951. See *Kendrick* 1930, 256 and *Whitelock* 1961, 71–5).

<sup>77</sup> *ASC D* s.a. 947 and 948; *FH* s.a. 947; *HR* s.a. 948, §85 and s. a. 949, §109. *HR* says he was Danish, but he had been king in Norway for one year before being driven out in favour of the Anglophile Haakon: see *Stenton* 1947, 356. *Binns* 1964, 19, says that he had been engaged in raiding in Scotland and southern England. It is said that his advantage was that he was royal-born: see *Stenton loc. cit.*; and *Jones* 1968, 239.

<sup>78</sup> *ASC D*; *FH* s.a. 948; *HR* s.a. 950, §85 and 109.

<sup>79</sup> *Jones* 1968, 240.

<sup>80</sup> *ASC E* (called Olaf Cwiran).

<sup>81</sup> *ASC E* s.a. 952.

<sup>82</sup> *ASC D(E)* s.a. 954; *FH* s.a. 950. *FH* adds that Eric's son, Haeric, and his brother, Ragnald, too were killed on Stainmoor. As *Stenton* 1947, 358, suggests, it appears to be "... the last stand of a deserted king on the border of his country ...". *Binns* 1964, 51, has an interesting discussion of this.



# NORTHUMBRIA: Landholdings of the Lindisfarne Community

▲ MONASTERIES

● Villae, mansiones etc.

■ Other lands

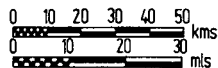
||||| Specified blocs

1 Islandshire and Norhamshire

2 Bowmont Valley

3 Leader - White Adder lands

4 Tyne - Wear lands



is clear that the character of instability of the Norwegian kingdom was to last to its end. Henceforth it was governed by earls—possibly those of Bamburgh—under Eadred: Northumbria came back into the Saxon fold.<sup>83</sup>

#### LAND-HOLDING IN THE PRE-VIKING PERIOD

It is clear from the story of Caedmon<sup>84</sup> that the major monasteries had lay-brothers, who, no doubt, looked after the material needs and resources of the monks. These resources must have been considerable, if we are to take seriously such factors as the 1550 calf-hides required for the vellum of the *Codex Amiatinus*, produced at Jarrow-Wearmouth in the late seventh century or early eighth century, and the other two pandects produced by the monastery under Ceolfrid.<sup>85</sup> A scriptorium using such a large amount of vellum must have had to hand either large numbers of cows, or made sufficient capital from other resources to buy such numbers of hides. The bodily needs of the community must also have been considerable, and it could well be that a large proportion of the six hundred brothers who bade a tearful farewell to Ceolfrid in 715, as he left for Rome with the *Codex Amiatinus*, were lay-brothers.<sup>86</sup>

The implications of the passages of Bede's *Historia Abbatum* recording King Ecgfrid's grant of lands to Benedict Biscop for the foundation of the two branches of the monastery<sup>87</sup> would appear to be that he granted land from the royal demesne,<sup>88</sup> and that that land, described as being fit to support seventy and forty families,<sup>89</sup> was land whose potential was either already realised or easily assessable. Thus it seems likely that what Ecgfrid was in effect giving, was land with stock and crops and persons living there to tend the stock and crops, previously for the king, now for the monastery. We are not told where the lands were, and not all need have been immediately adjacent to the monastic sites at Jarrow and Wearmouth. Indeed, when we read that later an exchange of land took place for the convenience of the monastery,<sup>90</sup> it would seem a fair implication that some of the monastic lands could be at quite some distance from the monastery.

<sup>83</sup> *HR* s.a. 952 and 953, 85 (i.e. Oswulf was the first earl); *FH* s.a. 950; *Stenton* 1947, 358, I think, over-states the importance of Eric's fall: he does not seem to have been any more of a menace at the time than the Dublin Vikings. *Campbell* 1942, 94, sees Eric as "a creature of a party in the Northumbrian witan led by Wulfstan". In fact, much of the instability of Northumbria appears to have been due to hostility to the West Saxons: see *White-lock* 1961, 71–5, on the role of Archbishop Wulfstan. Also see D. P. Kirby, *The Making of Early England*, 1967, 89–90.

<sup>84</sup> *HE*, IV, XXIV (XXII).

<sup>85</sup> See R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, *The Art of the Codex Amiatinus*, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, XXXII (3rd Series) 1969 (Jarrow Lecture 1967), 2 and 5, with references to *HA* and *ALC*.

<sup>86</sup> *HA*, §15 and 17; *ALC*, §20. If indeed all 600 were monks, an even greater establishment must be envisaged.

<sup>87</sup> *HA*, §4 and 7.

<sup>88</sup> This point was made by H. Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, London 1972, 157 note 32, with reference to *HA*, §4 (*terram septuaginta familiarum*).

<sup>89</sup> See F. W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, Cambridge 1896, London 1960, 47–8, for equation of *terram unius familiae* with hide.

<sup>90</sup> See *HA*, §35, which records the exchange of eight hides of land on the banks of the River Fresca for land at *Sambuce* "lying in a situation nearer and more commodious to the convent". Wearmouth/Jarrow had at least 143 hides by 716; see *Roper* 1974, 64.

The lands of the Lindisfarne Community as gathered together over the years were recorded in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* (primarily of the tenth century<sup>91</sup>), and were quite extensive, covering large tracts of the north of England—not solely in adjacent areas of Bernicia (*See Map*). The original grant, not described by Bede or the *Historia*, was probably the area later known as Islandshire and Norhamshire (Norham of course was a monastery itself).<sup>92</sup> Added to it, allegedly by King Oswiu as a result of hearing of Cuthbert's vision of St. Aidan's death and translation, was the Bowmont valley with its various *villae* and one or two to the west of it.<sup>93</sup> Carlisle, with fifteen miles around it, was also given in the seventh century,<sup>94</sup> and Cartmel, which brought *omnes Britanni cum eo*.<sup>95</sup> Carlisle had a monastery established (although possibly there was already a nunnery here connected with Whitby<sup>96</sup>), as did *Suth-gedluit* (or *Suth-gedling*) which has been said to be either Gilling in north Yorkshire or one of the Yealands near Cartmel.<sup>97</sup> Also possible seventh-century grants were Crayke with three miles around, and land in York,<sup>98</sup> and Holm Cultram was in Lindisfarne hands by the end of the eighth century.<sup>99</sup> Indeed it is noticeable how far-flung some of these early grants were. The apparent haphazard garnering of estates seems thereafter to have been replaced by a more rational policy of acquisition of blocks of land which related to others.

It is not clear really when the grants in what is now Scotland came about. Tynningham monastery presumably retained its lands from the Lammermuir Hills to Eskmouth until its demise in the tenth century,<sup>100</sup> and Coldingham's lands may have reverted on its demise to either Tynningham or Lindisfarne in 870.<sup>101</sup> There is no date for the granting of the area between the Leader and the White Adder,<sup>102</sup> but the Jedburgh *villae* are said to be part of Bishop Ecgrid's grant in the ninth century.<sup>103</sup> Abercorn monastery, Melrose monastery (presumably with lands not specified in the literary sources) also ended up as Lindisfarne/Durham land-

<sup>91</sup> See Hinde 1867, xxxvi; Craster 1954, 177–8. Arnold 1882, xxv–xxvi, and A. Gransden *Historical Writing in England c. 500 to 1307 A.D.*, London 1974, 76, are less certain. Whitelock in *EHD*, 119, and Stenton 1947, 689, favour *circa* 1050.

<sup>92</sup> Craster 1954, 178.

<sup>93</sup> HSC, §3. Craster 1954, 180, speculates at to whether this might not represent one of the twelve estates of ten hides each granted as book-land to St. Aidan by King Oswiu (*HE*, III, XXIV).

<sup>94</sup> HSC, §5. But see Craster's discussion, 1954, 180–1 and 185 regarding the reliability of this entry.

<sup>95</sup> HSC, §6.

<sup>96</sup> Bede, *Life of St. Cuthbert*, chapter xxvii, ed. B. Colgrave in *Two Lives of St. Cuthbert*, Cambridge 1940, 243.

<sup>97</sup> HSC, §6. Craster 1954, 182–3, makes a strong case for the Gilling identification. However, against it is the fact that it appears in relation to Cartmel and Carlisle in the text. Arnold 1882, 200 note c, suggested one of the Yealands as a possibility. Roper 1975, 61, has pointed out the connexion of the monastery of *Ingetlingum* (identified usually with Gilling) with Ripon; the connexion of

*Suth-gedling* with Lindisfarne suggests that they may well be two different places. However, Roper 1974, 77 note 21, takes it to make the identification “possible if not certain”. I have added both sites to the Map.

<sup>98</sup> HSC, §5. As must be clear, it is difficult to assess the reliability of these early grants. Craster (*passim*) has shown that they must be based on oral tradition, and himself questions some of the attributions to Ecgrid. However, he does not seem to entertain seriously the possibility that the essence of the recorded grants may not be reliable.

<sup>99</sup> HR s.a. 854, §89.

<sup>100</sup> HSC, §4. See also HR s.a. 854, §89. Its demise at the hands of Olaf Guthfrithsson in 941 is recorded in HR, §84 and FH.

<sup>101</sup> HSC, §4. See also HR s.a. 854, §89. Coldingham is one of the places recorded in FH as being destroyed in 870 by the Danes.

<sup>102</sup> HSC, §4.

<sup>103</sup> HSC, §9. Craster 1954, 180, adds the caveat that “The writer attributes to Ecgrid much more than his due...”.

holdings.<sup>104</sup> As Craster has said, the impression is of a cluster of daughter-houses (Norham, Melrose, Abercorn, Tynningham, and Coldingham) all established on their lands in proximity to Lindisfarne, and all their lands forming one huge block of territory.<sup>105</sup> Carham *et quicquid ad eam pertinet* is alleged to have been granted by King Ecgfrid, but it could well be that here later Durham monks rationalised the events of earlier centuries. The original grant in the seventh century may have been of a church only, and the land-grant (presumably the area between the Bowmont, Norham, Melrose, Jedburgh and Leader-White Adder grants) was an obvious gap at which the monks of Lindisfarne may well have aimed later.<sup>106</sup>

North of the Tyne, Warkworth *villa* arrived in the eighth century,<sup>107</sup> as did the churches at four *villae* in that area (Edlingham, Eglingham, Whittingham and ? Woodhorn).<sup>108</sup> Bedlington, with its appurtenances, was bought by the church in the tenth century—again one presumes as a land-extension south from the Warkworth *villa* (no boundaries are given, but simply a list of dependencies).<sup>109</sup> South of the Tyne the *villae* of Cliffe, Wycliffe and Billingham in Hartness were given to Lindisfarne in the eighth century.<sup>110</sup> The Gainford land-grant is said to have taken place at the same time, although it is clear that Gainford existed already as a monastery,<sup>111</sup> and the tenth and eleventh centuries see the acquisition of the further estates in Durham County.<sup>112</sup>

It is particularly noteworthy from the disposition of the Lindisfarne land-holdings that the boundaries of the estates mentioned end at the Wear. This suggests that between the Tyne and Wear the land was unavailable; and the obvious implication is that this was the original Jarrow/Wearmouth land-grant from Ecgfrid.<sup>113</sup> Indeed in *circa* 883 the land between the Tyne and Wear (one source says as far west as Dere Street) was granted to the Lindisfarne Community.<sup>114</sup> This seems fairly conclusive evidence that the monastery ceased functioning as such (although that would not prevent their continued existence as parish churches), and hence no longer needed the lands, which reverted to the king, and were re-granted to Lindisfarne. Also noticeable is an area around, and to the south of, the Skerne which is not mentioned as a whole (although individual *villae* or *terrae* are referred to).<sup>115</sup> This stretched to the Tees, and the absence of grants might again be taken as suggestive that this land was already owned, and, one suspects, by the King.

The grants discussed above are often described as being of *villae*, but it is quite clear that a “vill” was not necessarily (or even frequently) the one settlement-point

<sup>104</sup> *HR* s.a. 854, §89.

<sup>105</sup> *Craster 1954*, 179.

<sup>106</sup> *HSC*, 7; *HR* s.a. 854, §89. *Craster 1954*, 184, seems to favour a grant of a church only originally.

<sup>107</sup> *HSC*, 8; *HR* s.a. 854, §89. Also see *HDE*, II, I, which may refer to a church built here by him. *HSC*, §10, records its appropriation by Osberht.

<sup>108</sup> *HSC*, §11; *HR* s.a. 854, §89. *Craster 1954*, 185, follows earlier writers in identifying *Wuduceaster* with Woodhorn, but others (e.g. A. Mawer, *The Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham*, Cambridge 1920, 219, and

H. M. and J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, Cambridge 1965, II, 682) are less confident about the attribution.

<sup>109</sup> *HSC*, §21.

<sup>110</sup> *HSC*, §9; *HR* s.a. 859, §89.

<sup>111</sup> *HR* s.a. 801, §63 and s.a. 859, §89; *HSC*, §9.

<sup>112</sup> *HSC*, *passim*.

<sup>113</sup> *Craster 1954*, 189, incidentally made a similar suggestion.

<sup>114</sup> *HSC*, §13.

<sup>115</sup> e.g. Sedgfield *HSC*, §21.

implied in the name. On quite a number of occasions, the land-grant is described as being "with those things that appertained to it" (*cum suis appendiciis*). Warkworth *villa* describes an area some fifteen miles north-south by eight east-west.<sup>116</sup> Gainford *villa* was described as taking in the area between the rivers Tees and Wear from the Roman road (Dere Street) in the east to the mountains in the west, and south of the Tees, three miles to the east and six miles to the west.<sup>117</sup> Even where bounds are not given, it is clear that substantial areas, including adjacent land, were involved. Crayke and Carlisle were granted with, respectively, *tres millaria* and *quindecim millaria*.<sup>118</sup> It is unfortunate that the grant of Cartmel is not specified, but the mention of the Britons suggests a sizeable hinterland in Furness.

The land-holdings of the Hexham and Ripon monasteries have recently been discussed by Dr. Michael Roper,<sup>119</sup> and Eddius gives us hints of a very similar situation to that already obtained in respect of Lindisfarne. An instance is the record of areas granted around the Ribble, Yeadon, Dent and Catlow areas "and in other places too".<sup>120</sup> It is most unfortunate that no other monastery in the North has left a record of its benefactions to compare, either in scale or location, with those of Lindisfarne. The royal connections of Hild and Aelflaed suggest that the Whitby establishment will not have been without substantial estates on the lines of those of Cuthbert's Community described in the *Historia*, and those of Wilfred hinted at in Eddius's biography of him.<sup>121</sup>

Indeed, once one actually looks at such land-grants in detail, it becomes clear that large areas of land, with whatever was on them, were granted to the monastery, and that, whether or not such estates were part of the royal estate and already operating as economic units, once they came under the monastery, an estate-structure would soon develop. Sir Edmund Craster has already pointed out that a gloss to a charter of 821 shows *appendicia* as a Latin gloss for OE *geburatunas* i.e. the farmsteads and hamlets of peasants.<sup>122</sup> These, then were subordinate places (sometimes called *villae*, sometimes not) to a central *villa*.<sup>123</sup> These estates were undoubtedly leased out to individuals (in return for fixed renders), or simply run by estate-managers. One such man was probably the Eadred (*circa* 899–918) who "cultivated in peace" for the Lindisfarne Community in return for rent (*censum*), the estate from Chester-le-Street to the Derwent, south to the Wear, and from there to Dere Street, as well as the Gainford estate.<sup>124</sup> Another was Alfred who was granted estates (*circa* 899–914) in south-east Durham by Bishop Cutheard "that he might be loyal to him himself and the Community *and should render full service from them*".<sup>125</sup>

<sup>116</sup> HSC, §8.

<sup>117</sup> HSC, §9.

<sup>118</sup> HSC, §5 and 6.

<sup>119</sup> Roper 1974.

<sup>120</sup> *Life of Bishop Wilfred*, chapter 17, ed. B. Colgrave, Cambridge 1927.

<sup>121</sup> The only record of a Whitby land-holding is that in the *Lives of St. Cuthbert* (*op. cit.* note 96 above), chapters X (Anonymous) and XXXIV (Bede). Here there is a record of the dedication of a church on an estate at *Osingadune*

(? Ovington). On the importance of the royal connexion see Mayr-Harting, *op. cit.* (note 88 above), 150.

<sup>122</sup> See Craster 1954, 191–2.

<sup>123</sup> They are, therefore, distinct from the lands attached to a particular place, which are usually described as being *quicquid ad eam pertinet*. See Craster 1954, 180 note 4.

<sup>124</sup> HSC, §24.

<sup>125</sup> HSC, §22: *ut sibi et congregationi fidelis esset, et de his plenum servitium redderet*. My italics in the translation.

We do not know a great deal about areas of the North that were not in monastic hands, but certainly the analysis so far would suggest that much of the North would have been divided up into land-blocks. When individuals are recorded as having given land to the Community of St. Cuthbert (admittedly at a later date), it appears to have been in the form of compact units of land. For instance, Wulfheard gave the *villa* of Benwell and Styr, son of Ulf, his at Darlington.<sup>126</sup> And when the bishops bought land from secular lords—as, for instance, at Bedlington or Sedgfield—the *villae* came either *cum suis appendiciis* or *et quicquid ad eam pertinet*.<sup>127</sup> Two of the stories told by Bede of John of Beverley, later Bishop of Hexham, concern the dedication by him of churches on the lands of *gesiths*. While these may be private oratories, it seems more likely that here churches were being built at the *capites* of estates run by the *gesiths*.<sup>128</sup> Again, Berhtwald, “a sherriff of noble birth”, insisted that Wilfred and his companions accept part of his estate (*territorium*) to settle down on when exiled (a little monastery was founded there).<sup>129</sup>

Some time ago Mr. Jolliffe argued for survival into the post-Conquest period in Northumbria of archaic institutions which perhaps represented a British estate framework based on a central *aula* or *mansio* surrounded by a number of *vills* which all, equally, owed service to it.<sup>130</sup> Such estates, with their central *mansio*, *aula*, *caput* or *villa*, became known as “shires” in northern England, and their original meaning has been lost in the (largely) tenth century process of creating counties, also called “shires”, to the south. Bedlingtonshire, Islandshire, Staindropshire, Hexhamshire are all, therefore, estates with a central *caput* to which food-renders and so on would be brought from the dependent *appendicia*. The shires of County Durham, and similar institutions in adjacent areas of Northumbria, appeared to be large land-holdings of this nature in primarily non-Anglian areas. Here, in Jolliffe’s words, “in the main, the lord did not concern himself directly in their exploitation preferring to rely on the food-rents, pasture-dues, and minor works which were the immemorial render of the countryside, and to leave the *vills* in comparative independence”.<sup>131</sup>

Jolliffe pointed out the similarity to mediaeval Welsh land-tenure, but it has fallen to Professor Glanville Jones to work out many of the detailed comparisons, on the basis of which he has argued, not so much for the survival of British institutions, as of the British people in general in Northumbria.<sup>132</sup> Jones used such words as *Cumbra-* to emphasise that Brittonic settlement did not necessarily have to be looked for in the remotest areas and poorest lands of the North,<sup>133</sup> and in the north-west Professor Kenneth Jackson had already distinguished a particularly noticeable area

<sup>126</sup> *HSC*, §24 and 29. *HDE*, III, IV tells of “other lands” being given to the Community “which are recorded in writing elsewhere”.

<sup>127</sup> *HSC*, §29 and 21.

<sup>128</sup> *HE*, V, IV and V. *Villa* is actually used in the first example.

<sup>129</sup> *Op. cit.* (note 120 above), chapter 40.

<sup>130</sup> Jolliffe 1926.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>132</sup> G. R. J. Jones, Basic Patterns of Settlement Distribution in Northern England, *Advancement of Science*, 1961, 192–9 *passim*.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 194. But see K. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain*, Edinburgh 1953, 227–8, where some objections to the use of such names are listed. Also see K. Cameron, *English Place-Names*, London 1961, 42–3.

of British settlement in Cumbria, well represented in place-names.<sup>134</sup> The name "cumberland" itself indicates a fundamentally British cast to the north-west of England—even though it was conquered by the Northumbrians.<sup>135</sup> River-names also, in that area, survived intact as British words, as Jackson showed in his fundamental work on *Language and History in Early Britain*, and they are also to be found in Durham and Lancashire.<sup>136</sup> Names in *-eccles-* (ultimately derived from Latin *ecclesia* via Primitive Welsh *\*egles*) have been taken by Professor Kenneth Cameron to indicate sites of British churches.<sup>137</sup> Pairs were noted by him around Sheffield and Bradford, and there is a group in south Lancashire. Isolated outliers at Eggescliffe in Co. Durham and Eccles in Berwickshire could well reflect small pockets of Britons in predominantly Anglian areas. The evidence of the literary sources for the survival as an entity of the British kingdom of Elmet in Yorkshire until the early seventh century<sup>138</sup> would appear to lend weight to the notion that the British population had a much more long-term effect on settlement-patterns and institutions than has been realised in the past.

However, large-scale traces of former British rule and/or settlement are difficult to find, and in Yorkshire were probably removed by the Anglian settlements. Yet Professor Jones has been at pains to demonstrate that the basic social organisation of that county can be seen to be, like that of Northumberland and Durham, ultimately British.<sup>139</sup> Estates similar to those of these counties have been distinguished in Yorkshire by him. At Wakefield, *Domesday Book* recorded a discrete (or multiple) estate in the process of fission, and, using names such as Eccleshill, Crigglestone and Dewsbury, Jones argues to a British origin for this estate, with the other appendant settlements re-named either by Angles or the later Scandinavians.<sup>140</sup> Elsewhere, Jones has shown the basic characteristics of a pair of Welsh *maenor*, and how such an estate may have got broken up by the eleventh century in northern England, with berewicks and sokelands becoming administrative centres in their own right.<sup>141</sup> On this evidence at least it would seem that there can have been few places in Northumbria where the basic pattern of settlement was not that of the centralised estates, and recognition of the existence of such over large areas of the North in

<sup>134</sup> See K. Jackson, Angles and Britons in Northumbria and Cumbria, [University of Wales] *Angles and Britons* (O'Donnell Lectures), Cardiff 1963, 75–7.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 70–1; *op. cit.* (note 133 above), 213–7; D. P. Kirby, Strathclyde and Cumbria; *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society*, 62 (New Series) 1962.

<sup>136</sup> *Op. cit.* (note 133 above), 220–3; Watts 1970, 251–2; E. Ekwall, *The Place-Names of Lancashire*, 224–5.

<sup>137</sup> In *Christianity in Britain 300–700*, ed. M. W. Barley and R. P. C. Hanson, Leicester 1968, 87–92.

<sup>138</sup> See Stenton 1947, 80. The record of the conquest by Nennius is conveniently accessible in *EHD*, 237.

<sup>139</sup> Jolliffe 1926, 31, had concluded that "In Yorkshire the system seems to have vanished altogether from the

central plain...". This is a basic theme of Professor Jones's work, and a convenient summary can be seen in: The Cultural landscape of Yorkshire: the origin of our villages, *Transactions of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society*, 1966.

<sup>140</sup> Jones, *op. cit.* (note 132 above), 196; *op. cit.* (note 139 above), 49.

<sup>141</sup> G. R. J. Jones, The Multiple Estate as a Model Framework for tracing early stages in the evolution of rural settlement, *L'Habitat et les paysages ruraux d'Europe* (ed. F. Dussat) (Vol. 58 of *Les Congrès et Colloques de L'Université de Liège* 1971), 251–4. Later in this article he discusses the particular example of the five Domesday estates in the Knaresborough area, which he sees as fragmentation of a much larger estate unity.

the pre-Viking period must affect our interpretation of the nature of the Viking settlement in Northumbria.<sup>142</sup>

#### LAND-HOLDING IN THE VIKING PERIOD

No land-settlement is associated with the first phase of Viking activity in the North, and so perforce our first documented land-division is that of 876. On this occasion Healfdene "shared out the lands of the Northumbrians".<sup>143</sup> The same phrase "shared out" is used of the parallel processes in Mercia in 877 and 879 in East Anglia.<sup>144</sup> The clear impression from this is of an orderly process, overseen by Healfdene, unaccompanied by violence, resulting rather in fairly immediate agricultural activity. The implications of the "sharing-out" process are that each member of the army received a parcel of land, being a unit of the total area of the lands of the Northumbrians. The further statement that "they proceeded to plough and to support themselves" can be taken in two senses: either that they each had a small parcel of land they personally cultivated, or that they took over pre-existing discrete estates, which were cultivated by the workers for these new Scandinavian overlords.

In 914 or 918, after the battle of Corbridge, Ragnald gave some of the lands of the Community of St. Cuthbert to Scula and Onlafbal, his followers. We are told that the latter held from Eden to the Wear, and that Scula held from Eden to Billingham.<sup>145</sup> It would seem likely that these had been held by the Community as estates, and were simply taken over as such by the Norwegians. The grant to Onlafbal in fact would appear to show this process at work, for, before Ragnald's irruption onto the scene, it appears that<sup>146</sup>

Alfred, fleeing from the pirates, came from beyond the mountains towards the west, and sought the pity of St. Cuthbert and of Bishop Cutheard, that they might grant him some *lands*. The Bishop Cutheard, for the love of God and for the sake of St. Cuthbert, granted him these *estates*: Easington, Heseldon, Thorpe, Horden, (Castle) Eden, the two Shottons (South) Eden, Hulam, Hutton, Willington, Billingham with its appurtenances, and Sheraton. All these *estates* . . . the bishop gave to Alfred that he might be loyal to him himself and the Community, and should render full service from them. This also he faithfully did, until King Ragnald came with a great multiple of ships, and occupied the land of Ealdred [the Earl or Highreeve of Bamburgh]

These places mentioned as being held for Lindisfarne by Alfred are precisely the places that would have later been included within the two Eden land-grants to

<sup>142</sup> See G. R. J. Jones, *Early Territorial Organisation in Northern England and its bearing on the Scandinavian settlement*, *Fourth Viking Congress, York 1961* (ed. A. Small), Aberdeen 1964.

<sup>143</sup> ASC.

<sup>144</sup> ASC. The verb used is *gedaelan* to deal (or share) out.

<sup>145</sup> HSC, §23.

<sup>146</sup> HSC, §22. This is Professor Whitelock's translation in *EHD*, 261-2, except for the substitution of "lands" for "estates" (the original is *terrae* and contrasts with the *villae* later on in the passage-translated as "estates").



Scula and Onlafbal—particularly all those *villae* to the north of Castle Eden. That there could be both English and Scandinavian overlords of discrete estates under the Scandinavians is suggested by the fact that after the battle of Corbridge in 914 or 918, Ragnald also gave the Gainford estate and that to the north of it to two Anglo-Saxons Esbrid and Aelstan.<sup>147</sup>

There is no specific reference to land-division in Northumbria following the success of Ragnald in taking York in 919. Indeed, at no stage in the account of the Norwegian kingdom of York is there any reference to a deliberate parcelling out of land. Certainly the individual kings seem to have been more intent on securing their own status and acceptance as king in York than anything else. There is no hint even of the Northumbrians being particularly in subordinate positions. The *Chronicle* repeatedly talks of the Northumbrians choosing, or being false to, their kings; from this one concludes that there were still sufficient English men of power and standing in the local community for the Northumbrians to be able to engage in such shifts of allegiance based on a sense of separateness.<sup>148</sup>

As already mentioned above, there is an area of southern Durham not held by the Lindisfarne Community; it lies between Dere Street to the west, the River Wear to the north, and the River Tees to the south. Within this was undoubtedly the wapentake of Sadberge. The bounds are not written down, but it does seem that later (if not at this time) it included the area of Hartness to the east bounded by the sea.<sup>149</sup> (It might be suggested that the south Eden estate granted to Scula by Ragnald could well have been identical with this area.) It is significant that in this region a Scandinavian administrative unit should be established; there are wapentakes in Yorkshire, but none north or west of Sadberge. This suggests that it was the only area with sufficient Scandinavian settlers to justify such an organisation, and preliminary analysis of the place-names of County Durham by Mr. Watts has borne out this suggestion.<sup>150</sup>

It is notable that, in addition, there are concentrations of Scandinavian names in an area of south-west Durham around Gainford and south-east Durham. Both areas are similar in location to those known to have been estates of the Lindisfarne Community, and both are specifically recorded as being taken over by Ragnald and re-granted. Since they were presumably taken over as economic going concerns, it is somewhat surprising to see such Scandinavian influence on place-names in these areas, for the inhabitants would presumably have been English (or conceivably in some places British). Thus, when Scandinavian names are found, it would seem legitimate to infer a certain influx of Scandinavian people. In the context of land recently farmed for the Community of St. Cuthbert, it is quite conceivable that

<sup>147</sup> HSC, §24. Esbrid was son of Ealdred, the previous holder killed by Ragnald, as was Aelstan, who was also an *ealdorman*.

<sup>148</sup> This subject was dealt with lucidly in *Whitelock* 1961.

<sup>149</sup> See C. Fraser and K. Emsley, *The Wapentake of Sadberge*, *Transactions of the Durham and Northumberland Architectural and Archaeological Society*, II 1970, 72.

But note that they suggest that it did not include the Billingham estate, which must have been between Sadberge and Hartlepool. This would make the area covered discontinuous, which seems a little unlikely. Also there are references to Billingham being in Hartness: HSC, §9; HR s.a. 854, §89.

<sup>150</sup> Watts 1970, 258–60.

Scula introduced Scandinavians to maximise the yield of this area. When Eadred looked after the lands between the Wear and the Tees as well as the Gainford estate earlier in the tenth century for the Lindisfarne Community, it does not seem likely that he would have farmed it on his own, but rather acted in the role of an estate-manager, with men under him at the different settlement-points across the area. They, and the Scandinavians after them, would have been liable to the overlord, whether English or Scandinavian, for the customary renders. So, even when the Scandinavian settlement can be seen to consist of a takeover by certain major men of large tracts of land (such as Scula in south Durham), it seems legitimate to postulate further men to run these tracts of land. Such men would presumably be the lower ranks of the Scandinavian armies, and yet in some cases anyway have been of sufficient status to give their names to the subsidiary settlements.

In south-east Durham the evidence for Scandinavian settlement comes primarily from hybrid names with *-tūn* such as Throston (*þorir*) and Sheraton (*Scurfa*).<sup>151</sup> Such "Grimston hybrids" are elsewhere interpreted as representing existing English villages taken over by the Scandinavians in an early phase of settlement. In the Territory of the Five Boroughs, their distribution, being markedly in different areas from the purely Scandinavian *-bys* and *-þorps*, is interpreted as representing the settlement of the armies of the Danes in the Five Boroughs.<sup>152</sup> Such might also have been the case in Yorkshire.<sup>153</sup> However, it is not easy to see why the fact that a name is hybrid necessitates the acceptance of the theory that it represents in all cases a pre-existing English village taken over. Could the name have been given by analogy with the English *-tūns*—perhaps even by the surrounding English settlers? It is indeed noteworthy that Dr. Fellows Jensen's analysis has shown that several Grimston hybrids in Yorkshire (such as Foston on the Wolds, Rudston Parva near Driffield) have situations which are inferior to those of neighbouring English vills.<sup>154</sup> This suggests that such settlements may represent Scandinavian "in-filling" between and around English vills. In south-east Durham, then, perhaps the Scandinavian-named places represent the lands of individual Scandinavians, with their families, brought in by Scula to farm areas under-utilised by the native population.<sup>155</sup>

Whether or not the Grimston hybrids are seen as "in-filling" rather than "take-over", it seems clear that real expansion of settlement is represented by the purely Scandinavian *-bys* and *-þorps*, and in Yorkshire they represent expansion into areas beyond that of the primary Scandinavian settlement.<sup>156</sup> It is notable that there is a cluster of *-bys* such as Raby and Aislaby around Gainford in south-west Durham which represent the northerly limit to this extension of settlement.<sup>157</sup> Here the places must have been within the estates of the Community of St. Cuthbert. This suggests

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>152</sup> K. Cameron, *Scandinavian Settlement in the Territory of the Five Boroughs: the Place-Name Evidence Part III: Grimston Hybrids, England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. P. Clemoes and K. Hughes, Cambridge 1972.

<sup>153</sup> Jensen 1972, 186.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.* and 202.

<sup>155</sup> It follows that they might well be on land perhaps not immediately regarded as primary soil.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, 176–9, 195, 250. However, that did not mean that they moved into areas not previously settled—as the map (Map 2) of Anglian *tūns* and *ingtūns* demonstrates in general.

<sup>157</sup> Watts 1970, 260.

that the ordinary Scandinavian settler was willing enough to farm an area of land for the English overlords, such as Esbrid and Aelstan, giving them renders and so on at the central vill (in this case Gainford) in return presumably for security of tenure.

It is just such peasant-farmers whom Professor Sawyer's reconstruction of settlement appears to omit.<sup>158</sup> His approach logically would seem to argue that the Scandinavian names in Durham must be explained in terms of the overwhelming linguistic influence of two individual great lords, Scula and Onlafbal, on the native population. But there are Scandinavian names not only on the lands they controlled, but also on estates controlled by Anglo-Saxons. An alternative interpretation might be that they represent sons and daughters of the original Scandinavian settlers further south and east, who preferred to exploit relatively rich lands in north Yorkshire and south Durham, to relatively poor lands in the areas of primary settlement. Or, in the context, perhaps more likely they may represent the settlement of the men of Ragnald's army in the tenth century who took lands and estates not already controlled by Danes and English. Unfortunately, in fact, we have little direct evidence of any counterparts of Scula and Onlafbal, or indeed of similar lords who accompanied Halfdan in 876. However, indirect evidence is provided by the area-name Holderness(ERY), which implies a *hold* or lord who ran this area to his own advantage,<sup>159</sup> and the inference might well be that there was a similar set-up elsewhere in the area of primary Scandinavian settlement in Yorkshire.

A related point is worth examining. It has been urged on us that when stone sculpture with ornament in Scandinavian taste is found at sites with English names that these represent English villages taken over by Scandinavians.<sup>160</sup> Such an opinion seems mistaken. In general terms the settlement of the Angles in Yorkshire can be seen to be practically as extensive as that of the later Scandinavians;<sup>161</sup> the expansion of settlement alluded to was largely in local areas rather than whole new areas of Deira. It follows that the churches which were established in the Saxon period were mainly to be found in these pre-existing English villages. Presumably these churches would have acted as foci for particular areas, and therefore we need not expect to find a pre-Conquest church in each pre-Conquest settlement, as defined by Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian place-names. Indeed it would be unlikely that new churches would be founded at Scandinavian-named sites unless these acted as foci for areas and population-groups not already served. Thus Scandinavian taste in ornament on stone sculpture will be found at cemeteries and churches already in use in Anglian times. In this context, then, the crosses at Middleton(NRY)—as good an Anglian name as there is—may well represent the memorials to Scandinavians farming in the district around Middleton, the sculpture at Sockburn (Co. Durham) might well be for men from across the Tees at places such as Girsby and

<sup>158</sup> As in Sawyer 1971, Sawyer et al. 1969, *passim*.

<sup>159</sup> See A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York* (English Place-Name Society Vol. XIV), Cambridge 1937, 14–15; Binns 1964, 26.

<sup>160</sup> Sawyer et al. 1969, 171 and 205; Sawyer 1971, 163–6; Jensen 1972, 218–20.

<sup>161</sup> See the maps in Jensen 1972.

Eryholme, and that at Hart (Co. Durham) for settlers from Throston and Sheraton.<sup>162</sup> This is admittedly speculative—but no more so than a suggestion that such places must necessarily be English settlements taken over by Scandinavians.

A further *caveat* may be entered. The sculpture at Middleton has fairly recently been ascribed a late-ninth century date in the context of a discussion of the Jellinge style.<sup>163</sup> The belief that “Crosses like that from Middleton must be dated somewhere in the last quarter of the ninth century”<sup>164</sup> is based in part on a particular analysis of the stylistic chronology of Scandinavian animal ornament. More particularly, it is argued that the depiction of the warrior on these crosses is that of a man with weapons in a pagan grave, and that this indicates a period when there would have been only a superficial acceptance of Christianity on the part of the Scandinavians.<sup>165</sup> It also appears in part to be based on the literary records of the settlement of Yorkshire by Halfdan and his followers in 876.<sup>166</sup> Work by Mr. J. T. Lang has suggested an alternative interpretation to that of a grave-depiction,<sup>167</sup> and stylistic analyses both by Lang and Mr. Alan Binns, some fifteen years before, led both writers to ascribe a tenth century date to the group<sup>168</sup>—although it was Binns who put forward the grave-depiction theory. There is clearly a danger that the interpretation of English villages with such sculpture as representing a late ninth century takeover of existing villages (as expounded by Professor Sawyer and Dr. Fellows Jensen<sup>169</sup>) is based on a discussion which in fact uses as one premise the belief that such sculpture represents the work of the men who took over English villages in the late ninth century! Much more detailed work is needed on the stylistic analysis and chronological sequences of the forms and ornament of such monuments, before it can be utilised (if at all) for interpretation of other categories of material.<sup>170</sup>

In conclusion, then, it is argued in this paper that it is possible to discern an estate-like structure in Northumbria in terms of land-holding in the pre-Viking period—particularly where it was under the Lindisfarne Community, and therefore recorded for us in major literary sources. This fits in with previous work by scholars such as Jolliffe and Jones, and suggests that, on arrival in Northumbria, the

<sup>162</sup> See A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire* (E.P.N.S., Volume V), 1928, 80. Smith's comment is apposite here: “Middleton is the centre of other Anglian farmsteads in the district, such as Edstone, Nunnington, Salton, Sinnington, and Wreton”. See also *ibid.*, 280; Watts 1970, 256, 266, 259–60.

<sup>163</sup> D. M. Wilson, Archaeological Evidence for the Viking settlements and raids in England, *Frühmittelalterlichen Studien*, 2 1968, 301.

<sup>164</sup> D. M. Wilson and O. Klindt-Jensen, *Viking Art*, London 1966, chapter IV especially 103–6, 108, 112–14.

<sup>165</sup> *Op. cit.* (note 163 above), 299–300; D. M. Wilson, The Viking Relationship with Christianity in Northern England, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, XXX (3rd Series) 1967, 45.

<sup>166</sup> ASC; discussed above.

<sup>167</sup> J. T. Lang, Some Late Pre-Conquest Crosses in Ryedale, Yorkshire: a Reappraisal, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, XXXVI, 1973, 17–20.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, especially 21–5; A. L. Binns, *Tenth Century Carvings from Yorkshire and the Jellinge Style*. *Universitæten: Bergen Årbok 1956* (Hist.-antik.raekke nr. 2), especially 26–9.

<sup>169</sup> Sawyer 1971, 143–6; Jensen 1972, 218–20.

<sup>170</sup> The material from the Viking period in the North is being studied by Dr. R. N. Bailey, Mr. J. T. Lang, and Mr. C. D. Morris, and will be published in the various appropriate volumes of the British Academy *Corpus of Pre-Norman Sculpture* under the General Editorship of Prof. Rosemary Cramp.

Scandinavians were faced with an economic situation that they could exploit. There are enough references to suggest that, certainly in some cases, the Scandinavians took over blocks of land as going concerns, previously run for the benefit of the Community. This in turn affects the interpretation of place-names of the area. It is argued that, in general, while the interpretation of takeover by leaders is acceptable, it would seem necessary to postulate persons of more lowly status who did the day-to-day running of the estate, and who could possibly be seen as "in-filling" certain areas alongside the native peoples. It is suggested that this provides a possible explanation for certain groups of Scandinavianised names in south Durham, and also an interpretation of sculpture in Scandinavian taste at sites with English names is proposed contrary to that at present put forward. No doubt further work will refine, if not considerably modify, the picture as painted here.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Yvonne Brown for tidying up and re-drawing my original map for use in this article.

It will be obvious that without the stimulus of certain fundamental studies of the period in question, this article could not have been written. In particular, the works of Professor Campbell, Dr. Wainwright, and Sir Edmund Craster, have provided secure foundations for such further discussion, and Professor Sawyer's work, as always, makes one question assumptions, and go back to look at the original material again. Needless to say, I alone am responsible for what is written here, and hope that I have not misrepresented their work.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in the article. In general reference in the footnotes has used the divisions of the texts of primary sources as given in the major printed edition; the year of an entry has only been given where it differs from that stated in the text.

- |                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| <i>AClon</i>       | <i>Annals of Clonmacnois</i> , ed. D. Murphy, Dublin 1896.  |
| <i>AFM</i>         | <i>Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters</i> , ed. J. O'Donovan, Dublin 1848-51.   |
| <i>AIInn</i>       | <i>Annals of Innisfallen</i> , ed. S. MacAirt, Dublin 1951.   |
| <i>ALC</i>         | Anonymous, <i>Life of Ceolfriðh</i> , ed. C. Plummer, <i>Baedae Opera Historica</i> , I, Oxford 1896, 388-404.  |
| <i>ASC</i>         | <i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> , trans. (after new ed.) D. Whitelock <i>et. al.</i> , London 1965 (2nd. corrected impression). Where variant readings of the different recensions occur, these are indicated. |
| <i>AU</i>          | <i>Annals of Ulster</i> , ed. W. M. Hennessy, Dublin 1887-93.   |
| <i>AEthelweard</i> | <i>Chronicon AEthelweardi</i> , ed. & trans. A. Campbell, London 1962.  |
| <i>CMD</i>         | [ <i>Chronica Monasterii Dunelmensis</i> ], H. H. E. Craster, <i>The Red Book of Durham</i> , <i>English Historical Review</i> , XL 1925, 523-9. Line references  |

are given to this work as there are no other divisions or annal-markings to use.

- CS *Chronicon Scottorum*, ed. W. M. Hennessy, London 1866 (Rolls Series volume 46).
- EHD *English Historical Documents*, ed. & trans. D. Whitelock, London 1955.
- FH Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H. O. Coxe, London 1841.
- Florence Florence of Worcester, *Florentii Wigorniensis Monachi Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed. B. Thorpe, London 1848–9.
- GR William of Malmesbury, *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. W. Stubbs, London 1887 (Rolls Series volume 90).
- HA Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, ed. C. Plummer, *Baedae Opera Historica*, Oxford 1896, I, 364–87.
- HDE Symeon of Durham, *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*, ed. T. Arnold, *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, I, London 1882.
- HE Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, ed. & trans. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford 1969.
- HR Attributed to Symeon of Durham, *Historia Regum*, ed. J. Hodgson Hinde, *Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanea*, Durham 1868 (Surtees Society publication volume 51), I; ed. T. Arnold, *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, II, London 1885 (Rolls Series volume 75). Paragraph references given are to Arnold's edition, although Hinde's edition is invaluable and has also been consulted.
- HSC Anonymous, *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, ed. J. Hodgson Hinde (as HR above) ed. T. Arnold (as HDE above). References from Arnold.
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