THE NORSE OCCUPATION OF THE LAKE DISTRICT.

A thesis submitted for the degree of
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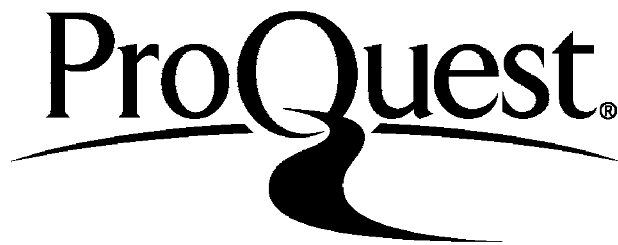

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The Norse occupation of the Lake District.

Abstract of thesis.

There is no direct documentary record of a Norse occupation of the Lake District, and the region does not appear to have had any of the features which would normally attract Vikings. Yet the place-names and pre-Conquest sculptured stones make it certain that a considerable Norse immigration took place, and useful inferences may be drawn from incidental information in a few documents.

For the purpose of this study, distribution maps of the Norse place-names have been made, and are discussed in detail, as are the mom monuments. Considerable weight is attached to the findings of the Freshwater Biological Association in Lake Windermere, and to the details of the probable Norse invasion of Wirral. Most significant among these disparate strands of evidence have been found the element <u>setr</u>, and the Goidelic element, especially inversion-compounds and the element <u>-erg</u>, in the place-names of the Lake District; the styles and subjects of its carved monuments; and the pollen data from Windermere. These give grounds for a belief that Norse immigration continued for some considerable time, and that immigrants came from Shetland and Orkney, Ireland, Man, and probably Galloway, thus producing a more complex Norse culture in the Lake District than in any of the other Irish Sea Norse settlements with which it is compared in the study. Geographical and archaeological evidence support the view that the immigrants were chiefly Norsemen who sought a free, though hard and unadventurous life, but there are notable differences in the types of Norse-brought culture in the various parts of the district.

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Note on maps.

There are four maps in the end pocket.Map 1 contains a minimum of 'key' names and is intended to be used in conjunction with any of the others,on which no names appear.Map 2 shows the general distribution of British,Anglian and Norse names,but is not intended to be exhaustive.Comments on its reliability appear in the text,but it should be borne in mind that the Norse symbols usually represent small settlements or single farms.No distinction is made here in the types of Norse names. This is shown in detail on maps 3 and 4.

No doubtful names and no minor names appear on the maps. There has been little alteration in the coastline since Norse days,and,except around Barrow,this has not been adjusted.

Note on place-names.

For convenience of reference,complete lists of the most significant Norse place-names have been given at the end of the study.It has not been thought necessary to give individual references to every name mentioned,since these,with the

exception of names from the Enclosure and Tithe Awards, which have been consulted in the original in the Preston and Kendal County Offices, have been taken from printed authorities, of which full details are given in the Bibliography. Detailed references are frequently given, however, to names, especially minor names, taken from PN Cu (EPNS XX, XXI), which has no index. These references are kept as simple as possible, e.g., PN Cu, 252 PN Cu, 456. Vol. XXI begins at p.259.

In general, the most recent explanation of names has been adopted, being usually based on the fullest forms, but full consideration has been given to all suggestions made for each name, and to topographical conditions, even when not stated in the text. Lost names are indicated by (lost) in the text. Otherwise, since we are dealing with the names primarily as evidence of settlement, they are treated in the text and on the maps in the same way as existing names.

Introduction.

In 1852, Worsaae published in English an "Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland and Ireland". Robert Ferguson applied Worsaae's conclusions to his own district, and in 1856, published "The Northmen in Cumberland and Westmorland". The recognition of Scandinavian influence in the Lake District is usually considered to date from this, though De Quincey claims to have been the first to draw attention to the Scandinavian dialect of the region in c.1818-1820.[1]

Since Ferguson wrote, numerous authors have added to the knowledge of Scandinavian settlement in the north-west. Notable among these are Ellwood, who as a translator of the Landnámabók, and a resident of the Lake District for over 58 years, was well qualified to collect and compare its dialect and customs with the language and life of Iceland;[2] and W.G.Collingwood, whose study of place-names and archaeological remains helped to form his belief that the Scandinavian settlement in the Lake District was similar to those of Iceland and Man.[3] But much of the early work was uncritical, and frequently, unjustifiable assumptions were made, and quoted by successive writers.[4]

1. De Quincey I, 266-7.
2. see Ellwood, iv, vi, and passim.
3. see e.g. Collingwood(1925), 43; (1894), passim.
4. see p.19, and especially ftn.3.

In 1918, Ekwall showed that there was some certain Scandinavian immigration into the district from Celtic lands, chiefly Ireland.[1] More recently, Stenton, accepting Ekwall's view, has written: "It was not until the tenth century that any considerable Norwegian settlements were founded in England, and they were only the result of a secondary migration from Norse colonies previously established in Ireland".[2] But the available evidence does not fully support this view.

This study is an attempt to re-survey such evidence as exists, and, by correlation with new material concerning this and associated settlements, to establish as far as possible the time and nature of the Scandinavian influx, the mode of life of the immigrants, and their relations with the pre-existing population. It is the firm conviction of the present writer that the Lake District settlement cannot be understood as an isolated unit, but only in relation to the realities of physical geography, and to the whole movement of Scandinavian sea-going exploration, of which it was a part. Hence, since the Scandinavians were seafarers, "Lake District" is in this study, interpreted as the whole region between the Kent and the Derwent, including the coast-lands and estuaries.

There can be no real doubt that the Scandinavian settlement in the Lake District was part of the Viking

1. Ekwall(1918), 11 et seq.
2. Stenton(1943), 237.

movement which for nearly 300 years took these intrepid explorers to every part of the known world and beyond. Their presence as traders, at Bulghar on the Volga in 921, is attested in the sober prose of the Arab Ahmad bin Fudhlan.[1] They may have found Spitzbergen,[2] and perhaps, centuries later, their Christianised descendants even reached Kensington, in the heart of Minnesota.[3] But we have no literary or dated record of their settlement in the Lake District. Therefore, in the absence of literary sources, we are dependent mainly on place-names and archaeological evidence, and such inferences as may be drawn from indirect information in what documents exist, and from topography. Most of the area is ignored by Domesday Book,[4] and the twelfth-century Pipe Rolls deal only with the lowlands.[5]

Thus, among the difficulties to be faced, has been the necessity of sometimes drawing important conclusions from negative evidence, particularly in chapters 3 and 4. It is hoped that the danger of this is to some extent offset by the fact that the evidence appears to be cumulative, and that most of the regions mentioned, in addition to the Lake District - Galloway, Iceland, Man, Wirral and Amounderness - are known to the writer. Thus, decisions concerning geographical conditions or monuments, can be made from personal knowledge. Further, a considerable number of monuments in Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Durham and

1. Waddy, 58-62.
2. cf. Gordon, xxviii.
3. Gathorne-Hardy, 425 seq. But see also Moltke, 87-93.
4. see Farrer, 88.
5. Collingwood(1897), 57.

Northumberland,not mentioned at all in the survey,but reinforcing the conclusions formed therein,have been examined.

Chapter I.

The Scandinavian arrival in the Lake District was part of what is broadly known as the Viking movement.The generally accepted idea of this is that late in the eighth century,heathen pirate hordes suddenly began to swoop on most European coasts for plunder,and later settled,as neighbours of Christian populations from Ireland to Byzantium,and in unpeopled lands from Greenland to America;taking with them,wherever they went,their own customs, language and way of life.Both ancient and modern writers have emphasised the shock which the early attacks gave to Christendom. Alcuin[1] wrote that nobody had thought such a crossing of the (North) sea possible as that which brought these ravaging enemies to this country.Mawer says[2] that the sea divided Scandinavian lands from the rest of Europe until circumstances forced their inhabitants to find new homes,when it became an easy path of attack against those nations which had neglected or forgotten the art of seamanship.Wildte states categorically[3] that it is only through the Viking raids that the Scandinavian peoples came into touch with the rest of Europe.But a consideration of the available evidence immediately shows that these and similar opinions[4] have

1.Shetelig,I,1.
2.Mawer,309.
3.Wildte,328.
4.see below, 6-7.

obscured aspects of[1] the Viking age which it is important for our purpose to consider.The names of countries known to have been visited in Viking days raise immediately the question whether plunder was indded always the dominating motive of the voyages. What plunder was available in Shetland or Orkney?Why do we know so much about the raids on Iona or Lindisfarne,and the raids and settlements in Ireland,and yet have no documentary record of the settlement in Shetland or the Lake District?There is reason to think that in the answer to these questions lies the key to understanding the Lake District settlement.

Before attempting to answer the above questions it will be useful to ascertain with which branch of the Viking movement we are dealing.We know that there were three main streams of Viking enterprise.Two of them - Danish and Norwegian - affected Britain: the Swedes went chiefly south-eastwards to become the original "Rus".Of the other two,it will not be difficult to show that it is with the Norwegians that we have chiefly to deal.

To understand the Viking voyages and settlements at all,it is necessary to remember the extreme importance of the sea to early travellers;from prehistoric times on,the sea-ways provide a link between districts far apart,thus producing a unity of culture in apparently unconnected regions.Nowhere is this more clearly illustrated than on our own western seaboard,where the course of

1.But cf.Hodgkin,488-9.

the megalithic-circle builders can be traced from Brittany to Orkney, leaving behind it on the Atlantic and Irish Sea coasts of the British islands, including that of the Lake District,[1] remains unique in Europe, and making this region a distinct culture province. Later archaeological evidence proves that Norwegian sailors long before the Viking age also knew these seas. Traces of them in the British Isles are found in approximately the same areas as the megalithic circles: for instance, an iron and quartzite strike-a-light in use in Norway from Roman times until the seventh century, has been found in western countries only in Shetland, Orkney, the Hebrides and the north-east point of Ireland. Notwithstanding the accidental nature of archaeological discoveries, this is clear proof that the Norwegians early in the Christian era had some contact, however slight, with the west, for this implement went out of use in Norway in c.600 A.D. and so must have been transferred to the west before then.[2]

Thus, pre-Viking-age archaeological finds give grounds for believing that the Norsemen of the early Viking age were no reckless explorers, but followers of known routes. This need not imply that these routes were widely used. In venturing out of sight of land and crossing open sea, the Norsemen were pioneers. But there is no reason to think that they did so in large numbers before the Viking age, when their broad, shallow, clinker-built oak ships, with strategic strengthening of the planks which

1. Ormsby Gore, I, 16; Roman Britain, 13-14; and cf. Ferguson, 12; Kinvig, 24-5.
2. Shetelig, 7, and cf. 6.

took the greatest strain, and sharp stems to cleave the waves,[1] made the ocean as safe as it could ever be for what were no more than large rowing-boats,[2] with a great sail for use when occasion offered. The distant countries reached by these ships prove their seaworthiness. None the less, Norwegian seamen had to take into account wind and weather conditions, and the capacities of their boats. Whoever scribbled in the margin of the St.Gall Priscian[3]

> Bitter is the wind tonight
> It tosses the ocean's white hair.
> Tonight I need not fear the fierce warriors of Norway
> Coursing on the Irish Sea,

knew this. The ships were square-rigged and could not lie very close to the wind without danger of water-logging or capsizing. The prevailing winds off Norway are westerly; only in spring do east winds blow.[4] Therefore, wind conditions contrõlled their direction out into the open sea from Norway, and Shetland inevitably became their first landfall. Once there, their problems were much the same, from the sailor's point of view, as those of the megalith builders, and their own earlier countrymen. Childe points out[5] the easy coastwise intercourse from Cape Wrath to Galloway - and south of Galloway the same applies.

From Shetland and Orkney, then, the Norsemen explored the Scottish mainland and islands, Ireland, Man, Wales and further south. Like their neolithic predecessors, they accepted the facts of geography, and settlements tended to take place near a landfall - at the mouths of rivers or in bays, notably Waterford and

1. Gjessing, 17-19.
2. Keary, 141.
3. quoted in Henry, 158.
4. Brøgger, 24.
5. Childe, 5.

Dublin - or, in Britain, well to the west of the mountain barrier, and making all coasts in these seas a Norse sphere. Even when Cnut was King, there is no record of any contact between Ireland and Denmark.[1] Usually, Danish Vikings attacked the English coast nearest to them, and found, sailing up its wide slow rivers, rich land and plunder enough to satisfy them. Thus, we have an illustration of Sir Cyril Fox's dictum that east and west Britain tend to be influenced by different streams of culture because of geographical conditions.[2] We shall find clear indications of this throughout this survey.[3]

It is not, then unreasonable, on geographical grounds, to expect that the settlers in the western district under survey will be Norse rather than Danish, and that, as incomers from the west coast and estuaries, they will be largely confined there behind the steep mountain barrier which rises abruptly to the east of them[4] and has helped to preserve much evidence of their presence in a region isolated until comparatively recent times. The evidence of place and personal names supports this belief,[5] and the physical barrier between east and west is reinforced by the fact that surface conditions in a highland area tend to limit arable, and encourage pastoral, farming.[6] Thus, invaders from the lowlands must not only conquer the hill area - for Norse and

1. Bugge (1900) i, 11.
2. Fox, 22.
3. see below, e.g. 46, 109.
4. Wroot, 45.
5. A few Danish names, e.g. Motherby, occur in the east of the district. These are probably connected with known Danish operations in the Eden valley, and do not substantially affect the argument.
6. Fox, 49.

Danes were not usually on good terms[1] - but must change their mode of life.It is then,more likely that the hill settlers will spill over into the lowlands in search of better land,or another kind of life,than that the settlers in the rich Yorkshire and midland valleys will care to penetrate the western fastnesses.That the Norse did in fact reach the crest of the Pennines and break through the passes can be shown from the evidence of place-names and carvings in Craven,Teesdale and Cleveland.But these districts are outside the scope of our survey,and it is only necessary to note here that although we shall find Norse influence spreading east from the Lake District,we shall not find Danish influence travelling as far westwards as our district.

It can safely be accepted,then,that the bulk of our settlers were Norse,but in order to establish when and why they came,it seems necessary to examine conditions in Norway on the eve of the Viking age.For we have seen that the route across the sea had long been known,and traders must have brought back tales of the wealth of Christian Europe long before any Viking attacks are reported.Yet it is not until the end of the eighth century that a desire for plunder and a mighty outflow of people from Norway occur. The weakness of western Europe at this time is usually accepted as the reason for this:the deaths of Offa and his only son in 796 destroyed the hope of a strong and united England,Scotland was barbarous,Ireland torn by internecine feuds;Frisian sea power was at an end.Thus,the situation was ideal for prospective

1.cf.Mawer(1923),551-7;Stenton(1943),354.See also Shetelig I, 99 and n.9.

marauders, and there is no doubt that the Vikings took advantage of the absence of strong leaders and good central authority in the countries of the west. Shetelig goes as far as to say that it was almost always internal weakness which opened the door to the Vikings.[1] Even Charlemagne is said to have wept at the dangers he foresaw for France, on catching sight of a Viking fleet in French waters.[2] But in France, as in some parts of England, and Ireland, there were wealthy cities and monasteries to plunder: Armagh could be plundered three times in a month.[3] In Shetland, Orkney and the Lake District, these conditions were absent; yet undoubtedly Norse voyagers came there.

Brøgger[4] shows that Norwegian civilisation was based on natural conditions - the needs of agriculture, hunting, trapping and fishing. As many domestic animals as possible were kept, so space was needed for pastures. The animals' need for fodder was unceasing, and one of the two main iron tools was a knife to cut off the leaves of foliferous trees.[5] Innumerable harvestings took place in mountain and valley. Conditions forced on the development of iron tools and weapons, and Norway early developed an Iron Age. By 800 A.D. Brøgger considers that the Norwegian peasant[6] civilisation had a richer and more comprehensive selection of iron tools than any contemporary civilised race in Europe, with its sickles, bits, scissors, drills, knives, flax-combs,

1. Shetelig, 12.
2. ib. 1.
3. cf. Henry, 158.
4. Brøgger, 8 seq.
5. apparently supplementary feeding for cattle since prehistoric times, cf. Clark, 129 and ftn. 38.
6. bønder. Cf. Brøgger, 135, ftn. 1.

and,most important from our point of view,its axes which alone made possible the cutting of the planks from which strong ships could be built and reasonably safe voyages west over sea become possible.[1] Better tools brought increased prosperity,but the immense exploitation of crops,and the constant need for fodder meant that there was room for few people only,and there clearly was a mass emigration from c.780-850 to Shetland and Orkney.This began earlier than,and was quite distinct from,the voyages made by those Norsemen who went a-viking in the summer,and returned to their homesteads for the winter,often with plunder which still remains to indicate how far afield they had been.The emigrants apparently went as families with no intention of returning,humble people seeking new homes on the "inhospitable shores of Atlantic countries".Why did this happen?

There are in Norway innumerable place-names which must have been given between the sixth and eighth centuries,and which seem to mark the development of the domains of an old estate into independent farms,owing to an expanding population.[2] Many doubtless sprang from the old odal farms,but eventually there would be no land for distribution even by those allodial holders who were willing thus to make provision for the younger members of their families;900 of these <u>setr</u> names can be counted.Their distribution indicates that as even these farms became over populated,the younger and poorer element in the population became frozen out and emigrated east and south in Norway itself,and oversea to Shetland and Orkney.In addition,excavations have shown that whole

1.Brøgger,15-16. 2.ib.75,seq.

families from the land farms of south-west Norway sometimes left their homes and went.[1] The weight of place-name evidence in the islands makes it clear that they came to settle, transplanting their farming civilisation to the nearest available empty land. Jakobsen writes[2] that nearly every hill, brae, ness in Shetland has its own Norse name; and in the small island of Fetlar alone, there are over 2000 names. Thus, it is clear that not all Norse emigrants of the Viking age were pirates, for it is not the pirate "swoopers", as Macalister happily calls them,[3] who are the name-givers, (except probably of skerries and landmarks of value to the mariner), but the people who come to stay, and perforce give every natural feature its name, for their own convenience in locating crops, animals, and people.

It seems, then, that in these land-hungry seekers of elbow-room in which to develop their farms, we shall find a close kinship to the Lake District settlers. No literary record exists of either settlement; their history must largely be inferred from the number and type of place-names. Brøgger states[4] that there are "practically no other place-names than Norse" in Shetland; in Lewis, there are 4 Norse to 1 Celtic; in Skye, 3:2; in Islay, 1:2; in Kintyre, 1:4; and in Arran and Man, 1:8. These modern proportions do not necessarily indicate the state of affairs at the time of the settlement, since a previously existing Celtic population may have overlaid the Norse names in

1. ib. 92, and cf. maps fa. 74, 84.
2. Jakobsen, 59.
3. Macalister, 206.
4. Brøgger, 58.

in some areas, as in Man or Ireland, but they do show the direction of Norse advance, and reinforce our earlier argument that the natural direction of travel from the northern isles, is down the Atlantic coasts of Britain, which, as Fleure points out, are clearly a division in physical features and climate, where moorlands of ancient rock back the river valleys.[1]

Archaeological evidence shows that a different, aristocratic class of landowners and traders, was established in the Inner Hebrides early in the ninth century.[2] About this time, attacks on Ireland begin; Lambay island, in fact, was attacked in 795 A.D., and the mainland in 807, and again in 812, this time by 120 ships. Skellig Michael was attacked in 823.[3] In 797, Peel was ravaged, while Iona was attacked by north-going Vikings in 802, and by south-going Vikings in 806. B.G. Charles gives 850 as the date of the first indisputable raid on Wales.[4] From these facts, it is clear that the Norse were familiar with both coasts of the Irish Sea, and with the Atlantic coasts of Scotland and Ireland before the middle of the ninth century. From this, it can safely be deduced that they had a clear idea of north-west England. For Viking pirates, this area would have no attraction, for there was no great church that we know of, to plunder, though W.G. Collingwood believes[5] that the great number and variety of carved stones at Lancaster might indicate that an Anglian abbey existed there for some considerable

1. Fleure, 2.
2. Brøgger, 127.
3. Arts, I, 152.
4. Charles, 1; but Shetelig gives 795, which seems a more likely date, (Shetelig I, 13).
5. Collingwood (1927), 36.

time.Independent evidence shows that the abbots of Heversham felt secure until the early tenth century.[1] It is not to be doubted that the attackers of monasteries in Iona and Ireland were pirates,and the scenes of their other raids,such as Man or Anglesey,can usually be shown to have important strategic value when the conditions for plunder are absent.[2]

Thus,it is probable that these pirate Vikings were the first to reach the Irish Sea:the fleet of 120 ships which attacked Ireland in 812,argues a high standard of organisation and acquisitiveness,and suggests warriors and traders,not the farming type,whom we have seen were the earliest Shetland settlers The wealth of Ireland gave great opportunities to raiders;it was concentrated in monastic hands,and as there was no coined money in Ireland,gifts were made in kind,and metal ornaments and bullion were melted and remodelled by the monks.[3] Raiders had little difficulty in robbing them of their treasures.Thus,it is unlikely that the coasts of Cumberland and Lancashire would have any interest for these pirates,but they were sailors,and would carry back stories of their travels.We can be sure that there was great interest in the recently settled Shetland and Orkney islands in any lands capable of supporting an immigrant population.Even to the casual eye,it would be clear that the Lake District,well-wooded and -watered,and easily accessible from the sea,would give to incomers from Norwegian colonies, conditions with which they were familiar and well able to cope,

1.see below, 34-5.
2.cf.Lethbridge(1948),167-8. 3.Macalister,204-5.

whereas the northern isles are treeless and bare, so that settlers there were obliged to travel to the Scottish mainland for their timber. For in Norway itself they had not developed the art of architecture in stone, but were dependent on timber for homes and boats.

Thus, though it cannot be proved from the above argument alone, that settlers concerned only with finding themselves the best possible homes, came to the Lake District during the ninth century, the possibility of this must be borne in mind. W.G. East writes that men move in groups along the lines of least resistance to take possession of "lands which offer them, according to their cultural conditions and aspirations, optimum opportunities for the satisfaction of their needs."[1] As the islands originally settled filled up, they would cease to give those "optimum opportunities" to immigrants. Those who had left their homes in Norway to eke out a better living in Shetland, would not be unwilling to see their sons and later arrivals from the homeland, venture forth again to those not dissimilar, but well-timbered and more fertile lands by the Scottish firths or in the English Lake District. We know that fresh floods of Norwegians poured into Shetland and Orkney as a result of Harald Fairhair's determination[2] to crush or oust his opponents, so adding to the congestion. Either then or earlier, bands of peace-loving farmers may have gone to find those districts in which land and a quiet life were still to be had, or may have joined Viking expeditions

1. East, xv.
2. see below, 36.

sailing south,and left the convoy to explore and settle among the fiord-like inlets of Morecambe Bay.

Fairly certainly,the Norseman sought a geographical environment which would give him the life he wanted.Sites are never chosen haphazardly.Thus,in Ireland,we find the buccaneering Viking founding Limerick,Dublin,Waterford;even if they began as a "wharf beside a sheltered creek"[1],each was strategically chosen as a suitable starting point for trade or plunder.In England,the influence of Norse traders is behind the development of Chester and Bristol.[2] From the Irish ports,a regular trade with France and Spain was established - with France as early as the ninth century.[3] But there are no Norse-developed ports on the Lake District coast;Barrow,Whitehaven,and other coastal settlements,are much later developments as places of any importance.Thus,the implication is that the Norse who came there, came to found homes and settle as farmers,not as buccaneers or traders.We can safely assume that Ireland,with its normal state of civil war further complicated by the arrival of plundering Vikings,would not attract the intending farmer,who doubtless came with implements and animals,anxious to settle and farm his land.For this life,a sense of security is necessary,whether from political stability or other reasons.Ireland is rich in navigable rivers,and nowhere more than 50 miles from the sea,[4]

1.Freeman,90.
2.see below,28,and cf. Bugge(1900),iii,5,9-11.
3.ib.4.
4.Curtis,22.

and so with its rich monasteries, and unorganised people was ideal for the plunderer. The Lake District coast opposite lacked these advantages for the raider, but secured immigrants from attack to landward by its belt of high land, and offered great attractions to the farmer-immigrant who was prepared to work hard in return for the boon of ample land: it is worth noting that even in modern Scandinavia, only 6% of the land is cultivable.[1]

1. Ritchie, 484.

Chapter 2.

It is certain that at some time before the Norman Conquest, a Scandinavian occupation of the Lake District took place. Reasons have been advanced above, largely on geographical grounds, for concurring with the generally accepted view that the bulk of the settlers were Norse, but the type of land and the lack of known wealthy ecclesiastical centres, leads us to infer that the earliest arrivals were not what is generally understood by 'Vikings'. But there is no direct literary record to tell us anything about this settlement. We are, therefore, dependent on such indirect sources as do exist. In this chapter, it is proposed to deal with four pieces of evidence which may throw light on the matter.

The Freshwater Biological Association has shown that it is possible to obtain facts which throw light on the history of human settlement in an area, from a study of the sediments in permanent bodies of water.[1] Lake Windermere was the water chosen for the investigation, a glacial lake formed during the Quaternary period by combination of an ice-gouged rock basin with a morainic dam at its lower end. There are two basins, separated by a ridge with islands, and the survey was confined

1. Pennington, 1.

R Brathay

Position of cores

North basin

Lake Windermere

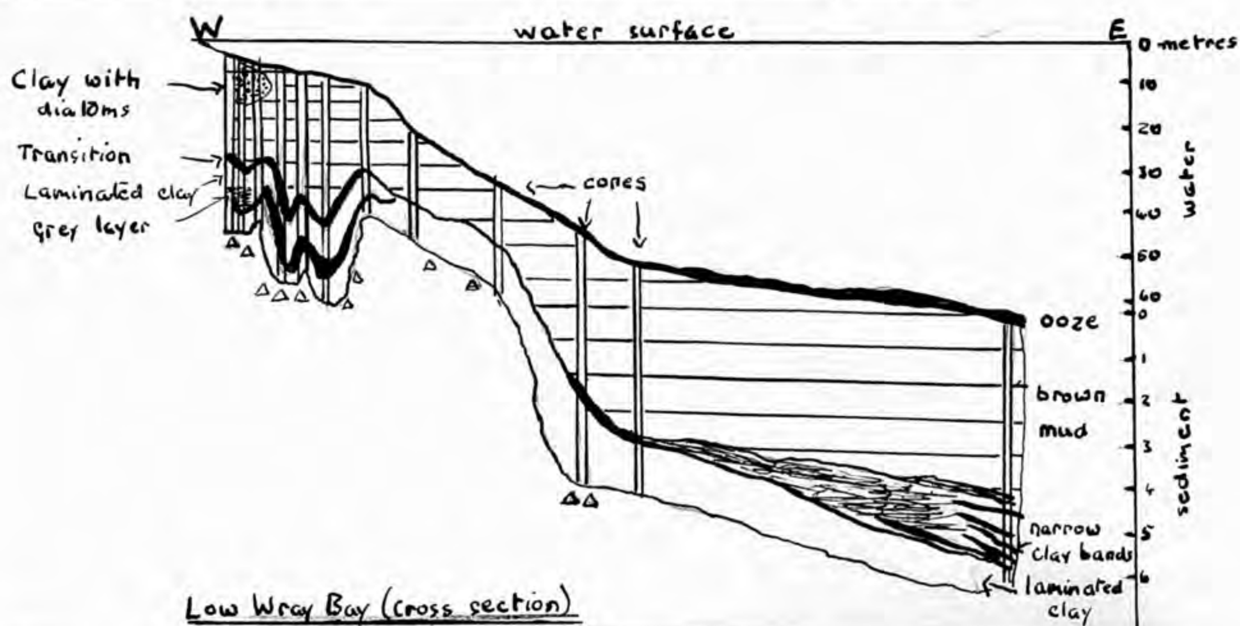
Tarns

Belle Isle

1¼" = 1mile

Diagram A

(adapted from Pennington)



Low Wray Bay (cross section)

to the deeper north basin,[1] but Professor Pearsall states[2] that as all the lakes are glacial, conditions in Windermere probably apply to the whole Lake District, because he believes the history of the district to be uniform. For our purpose, this assumption is better ignored, and the evidence confined strictly to the lake studied. This lies in the heart of the district under investigation and its drainage area includes most of the southern Lake District. Since the Ice Age, muds which show a complete record of post-glacial sedimentation, undisturbed by sub-aerial erosion, have been accumulating in the lake. In the mud are preserved pollen grains. W.B.Turrill points out[3] that the walls of pollen grains are almost indestructible by such natural processes of decay as occur in peat bogs. The contents go, but the size, shape and markings of the outer coat give reliable and easily recognisable characteristics by which the genus, and sometimes the species can be determined. These grains are preserved in Windermere in great quantities in stratigraphical sequence. It is thus possible to trace the history of post-glacial changes from the time when the valley glaciers drained into the lake. Some of these changes can be interpreted in terms of human settlement, for the pollen grains are mainly derived from the surrounding countryside and enable us to picture something of the conditions existing in the Lake District at different times. Samples of the muds are raised

1. see diagram A.
2. Pearsall, 182.
3. Turrill, 39.

in a Jenkin core-sampler,and it is important to note that this gives a complete check on the position of the core in the sampler,and of the sampler in the mud.[1]

The cores show that there are four main types of sediment,distinct in character.There is local variation in deep and shallow water,but,broadly,there is a surface ooze 20 cm. thick,underlain by brown mud 4 m.thick in the deepest water, and below this,a zone in which narrow bands of pink unlaminated clay are separated by brownish-grey organic deposits.The fourth zone,whose maximum thickness is unknown,since it exceeds the longest core possible,is of laminated clay and contains no organic deposits,thus indicating that there was no life around the lake in the earliest period.The grey layer shows that littoral diatoms developed,but the ice returned,probably for 400-500 years.[2] Pine and birch forests developed,the pollen appearing just above the laminated clay.An approximate dating is here possible by correlation with remains in Irish bogs,and by applying to the cores the time-scale based on forest history. The reliability of the suggested time-scale is a vital factor if the lake deposits are to throw any light on the coming of the Norse.It can be accepted as reasonably accurate.The rate of settlement of deposits can be calculated from the diameter of a particle (Stoke's law),and at the bottom of the lake,it is possible to distinguish between the summer and winter varves in the laminated clay and count their approximate number,and

1.Pennington,1.
2.Pearsall,182.

although the grey layer is undated, the final withdrawal of the ice is known to have occurred about ten thousand years ago, and the pollen evidence seems to show that pines appeared and lasted until, in the normal order of forest history, they were succeeded by oak and alder.

Pearsall[1] considers that the natural vegetation for this area is high level grasslands above mature oak woods with little shrub layer; and in the valley bottoms, swampy alder woods interspersed with willow carrs and molina-sphagnum mosses, merging upwards to damp oakwood with considerable shrub development. Miss Pennington[2] calculates that the brown mud and the surface ooze together cover a period of 8150 years, and the pollen record shows clearly that the oak and alder began to establish themselves and replace the pines between 8000 and 8500 years ago. That the pines did not completely disappear, is clear in the pollen record, and independently proved from stumps which remain in high level peats. The uniformity of the brown mud shows that the lake had now attained a trophic equilibrium, and under normal glacier-lake conditions would show no further change.[3] But the pollen record shows notable changes at two periods of the lake's history.[4]

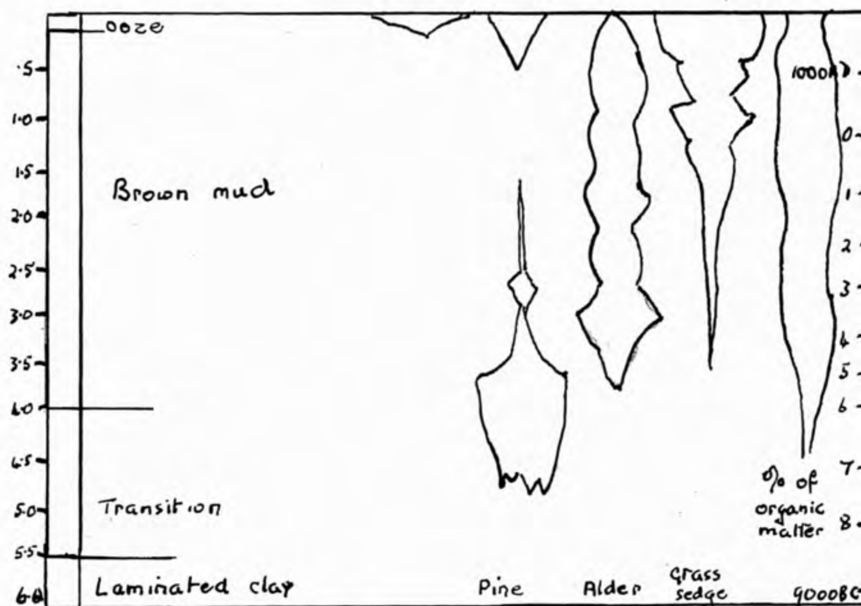
About 1100 B.C., the pine pollen disappears completely, and there is a strongly marked increase in grass and sedge pollen. This corresponds with the establishment of a

1. Pearsall, 182.
2. Pennington, 25.
3. Pearsall, 184.
4. i.e. in early times. Other more recent changes do not concern us.

considerable Neolithic population in the hills,and so does not concern us except that it is worth stressing how faithfully the pollen reflects conditions;these people must have lived above the tree line,where alone life would be possible for a primitive people without metal tools.Pearsall usefully points out that the variation in the height of archaeological remains in the east and west of the district (400-700' in the west;800-1000' in the east),is probably a reflection of the then tree-line,lower on the slopes facing the Irish Sea.[1] The grazing animals would prevent the regeneration of the high-level trees - the pines - and so they disappear from the pollen record.

About 900 A.D.on the suggested time-scale,it is clear that grass and sedge pollen are increasing,and tree pollen diminishing.Alder pollen,particularly,disappears rapidly after AD.1000.The inference is,again,that human interference,aided by grazing animals,is responsible,and the disappearance of alder pollen must mean that the alder swamps which choked the valleys, are being cleared.Pearsall,therefore,claims that the pollen record and the historical record fit each other exactly, although the possibility of some of the changes arising from natural causes is not overlooked.[2] He accepts W.G.Collingwood's view of the time of arrival and method of land-taking of the Norse.[3] It is worth noting at this point that "Lake District" for both of them means the district within a 15 miles radius of

1.PearPen,139.
2.Pearsall,188 seq.
3.cf.Collingwood,(1925),45 seq;vi.



<u>Diagram B</u>

(adapted from Macan, p. 57).

Easedale Tarn, near Grasmere, as originally delimited by Collingwood.[1] Thus, the results attained do not apply to any part of the coastal region included in this present study.[2]

What value has the pollen data for the present purpose? Pearsall[3] accepts, without reserve, Collingwood's assumptions, and claims that the pollen record fits them. On the other hand, the pollen provides independent proof of changes in Lake District vegetation at times which can be dated. The disappearance of alder pollen is particularly striking, for this indicates the first attempt to use the valleys, and together with increasing sedge and grass pollen at the same period, and diminution of oak pollen,[4] implies that grassland was increasing rapidly, and trees disappearing at a rate which no natural change could account for. Thus, the probability of human or animal interference in the district would have to be assumed if no ready-made tradition existed of their coming. But evidence exists in plenty to show the effect of sheep and pigs on vegetation, and the high _Festuca-agrostis_ grasslands of this district with their lime-rich soil are ideal for sheep, whereas the pasture would be too poor for cattle. It is, therefore, safe to infer that the animal influence behind the vegetation changes reflected in the pollen, is mainly that of sheep; their influence would be decisive in preventing regeneration of the woodlands.[5] Fraser Darling writes that regeneration is often impossible where sheep have been - even

1. Collingwood, loc. cit.
2. see map 2.
3. PearPen, 141.
4. see diagram B.
5. Fraser Darling, 63.

flowers disappear "beneath their ever-questing and selective muzzles"[1].But these sheep must have been domesticated - wild ones were extinct before the end of the glacial epoch[2] - therefore their presence argues the presence of man,and of man "in full control of his environment,for sheep,among the most defenceless of creatures,are not likely to become abundant until the larger predators have been nearly eliminated."[3] It is thus clear that men and animals together are responsible for the changing pollen content of the Windermere sediments.

From this evidence,therefore,the following conclusions may be drawn:-

1.that settlers who laid down the fundamental pattern of Lake District life until the present day,had established themselves in the part of our area considered by Dr.Pennington and Professor Pearsall,by c.900 A.D.

2.that they were people prepared to undertake the heavy work of clearing and draining swampy,alder-choked valleys,which to this day are only kept in use by the same constant care:and so were presumably adequately equipped with iron tools,and hardy enough not to shrink from the tough work of tree felling and root stubbing.This in its turn implies that these settlers

3.had a sense of security,for no immediate return could be expected from the cleared land.[4]

4.that they were people who quickly adapted themselves to a mode of life in which sheep and forest-clearance played a prominent part,for the existing vegetation could support no

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1.Fraser Darling,63. 3.Pearsall,256.
2.Hilzheimer,195. 4.Fox,77.

other;or they were people to whom this mode of life was natural.

5.that their earliest settlements would be on slopes above the level of possible floods,and swamps,which the alder and hazel pollen seem to show had not previously been attacked by man.

It has earlier been pointed out that immigrants into a country tend to seek for conditions to which they are accustomed,and which will satisfy their needs.[1] It can be shown that Anglian settlers entered the district comparatively early, while the evidence of place and river-names implies the long survival of a local British population.[2] Are there any grounds for thinking that it is Anglian or British influence that is reflected in the sediments?This is highly unlikely.The British population seems to have been slight and not widespread in the area,and almost certainly possessed only of very primitive tools;and we know enough of the Anglian way of life elsewhere, and their early settlements in the Lake District,to be sure that they would find life in the fells uncongenial.They were essentially cattle-rearing lowlanders,settlers in villages or smaller nucleated settlements.The Norse,on the other hand,were a hardy mountain race,rearing sheep for both milk and wool,and accustomed to life on an isolated farm which was a social unit; the excellence of their tools has already been stressed,and the urgency of the desire to find vacant land to farm,which brought them so far from their ancestral home.[3] It seems,then,

1.see above,12.
2.see below,44.
3.see above,7,9.

that we can safely agree with Pearsall that it was the Norse who first penetrated the fells, and settled in the valleys. But from the evidence of the Windermere muds, we must infer that the Lake valleys were unoccupied until late in the ninth century, and this may throw some light on the respective position and relations of Angles, Norse and Britons throughout the area. It is also clear that a land uninhabited, unexploited and forbidding, would not invite the attention of any contemporary government.

Since 1860, an Irish chronicle has been known which may give further help in throwing light on the situation in the north-west. This chronicle consists of three sections dealing with the years 571-628 and 715-735; 661-704; and c.850-c.918; and takes its name of "Three Fragments" from that fact. If genuine, it is of immense significance, as the Third Fragment contains the only known surviving literary record of any Scandinavian attack on the north-west coast. But its value has been undermined by the fact that the vellum manuscript from which the fragments were originally copied by Duald MacFirbis in 1647, has been lost. It is not, therefore, possible to prove that this vellum manuscript was of genuinely early origin. But F.T. Wainwright has recently put forward a convincing case for accepting Duald MacFirbis's text as a copy of an early document.[1]

The Third Fragment states that one Ingimund with his

1. Wainwright (1948), 145 seq. Text translated, 167.

followers was expelled from Ireland, and failed, after a "hard, vigorous battle", to gain a foothold in Wales. He then sought Ethelflaed's permission to settle in Mercia and was given lands near Chester; subsequently, he cast covetous eyes on the city, but was defeated in an attempt to capture it. None of this is recorded in any English source, but in the Annals of Ulster, usually a very trustworthy source, appears the following:-[1]

Kal.Jan.AD.901 (alias 902) Expulsion of Gentiles from Ireland i.e.(from) the fortress of Ath-cliath, by Maelfindin son of Flannacan----; when they left a great number of their ships and escaped half dead, after having been wounded and broken.

And in MS B, C, and D of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, under 907 A.D. is the entry, "in this year was Chester restored". MS B, C, and D contain the series of annals known as the "Mercian Register", the accuracy of whose dating both Angus and Wainwright have stressed.[2] There are, thus, two definite events, recorded independently of each other, and of the Three Fragments, which give indirect support to the Ingimund tradition. In addition, the Welsh annals prove the existence of Ingimund:-Igmunt in insula món venit[3] - and Wainwright considers that these annals were written within a generation of Ingimund's supposed expedition, that is, by the middle of the tenth century. In Wirral are Norse place-names which sometimes show Irish affinities, and are quite distinct from the Danish names in East Cheshire. Further, the restoration of Chester, and much of

1. Hennessey, I, 417. Ath-cliath is Dublin.
2. Angus, 196, seq; Wainwright (1945), 385.
3. Annales Cambriae, ed. Phillimore, 167.

the subsequent fort-building of Ethelflaed, seem designed to avert danger from the west, and to guard the estuaries of the Dee and Mersey. Thus, it is possible to agree with Wainwright that the Ingimund story "fits snugly into the known historical background"[1], and turn to consider what internal proofs of its genuineness can be found.

Again, Wainwright produces a formidable body of evidence. The reference to Chester in the 907 annal has been noted above; the Irish story tells us that Ethelflaed expects a Norse attack, and so fills the city "with her hosts". Her husband's illness is mentioned several times in the Three Fragments, and the vaguer references in English sources are illuminated by this. Mistakes in the names of both, and the description of them as "King and Queen of the Saxons", could hardly occur if the writer had used an English source, while this very confusion of English titles is characteristic of Irish and Welsh Chronicles. The document has not been subjected to expert linguistic analysis, but Wainwright points out a number of Hibernicized personal names and words of Scandinavian origin, e.g. Amhlaoibh (Óláfr), stiurusman (stýrimaðr), which a later writer would hardly have used; and particularly to the term "Gall-Ghàidall", which was in use only for a very short time in the ninth century, in the sense in which it is used here, of those native Irish who had renounced their religion to join the Norse. Convincing reasons are given for believing, on the

1. Wainwright, (1948), 150.

evidence of this word alone, that this part of the Third Fragment may have been originally written down in the mid-ninth century.[1]

Enough has been said to show how strong is the case for accepting the Three Fragments as genuine. With the probable accretions to the story in later days, we are not here concerned; it is enough to feel, with Dr. Wainwright, that an Irish writer outside the tenth century could hardly have hit upon the Chester incident unless following an earlier authority. It remains, then, to consider what value this story has for our special problem.

According to the story, Ingimund and his company reached Anglesey after a sojourn in Man, which was presumably friendly. Ethelflaed's permission to settle in Mercia was only requested after the attack on Anglesey had been driven off; can it, then, be inferred that the original aim of the expedition was to establish new headquarters similar to those which had been lost? Ath-cliath itself was founded as a trading and merchant depôt, and the popularity of island headquarters such as Anglesey, for sea-going Vikings, has already been pointed out.[2] The description of the escaped Norsemen in the Ulster annal above would account both for their defeat and subsequent decision to ask for land, on which they could settle or recuperate. Ingimund, apparently, was a person of some consequence.[3]

1. Wainwright, ib. 158.
2. see above, 11.
3. Ekwall (1918), 7, calls him 'King'.

He did not hesitate to approach the Lady of the Mercians herself, and his is the name which is connected with this expedition in the minds of both Irish and Welsh chroniclers.

Wainwright considers that the Wirral settlement was completed before 924. It is, thus, more than likely that this expedition was responsible for some, perhaps most, of the Norse place-names found in Wirral.[1] Thus, the story and the place-names together give us a good deal of information about this expedition and the subsequent settlement.

The Norse names are mainly confined to the coastal area of Wirral, and on the whole, to the poorer land. These names witness to a Norse population which was large enough to preserve strict Scandinavian names such as Helsby, Caldy, Tranmere, and to influence the pronunciation of the originally English Gayton and Greasby; as well as establishing a pattern of settlement in the peninsula which can be traced today.[2] Thus, the names indicate that where, as in Wirral, the best land was already occupied, the Norse were prepared to settle in the poorer coastal, or bleak sandstone, districts,[3] and farm their land, establishing a true Norse way of life, with their own þingvollr (Thingwall), which implies that the settlement was a compact organised unit.

But we have already seen from the Third Fragment that some members of the original expedition made a bid for wealth

1. cf. Ekwall (1918), 7.
2. cf. Sylvester, 30;
Collingwood (1908), 193-6.
3. Wharfe, 16 and passim.

and power;and although the attack on Chester of which we are told,failed,the later lists of pre-Conquest Chester moneyers show many Irish-Norse personal names,[1] and Chester trade developed as a result of Norse enterprise.[2] It seems clear,then, that Ingimund and some of his company were not of a type to take willingly to a farming life if a chance of something different presented itself.The presence of Norse-descended moneyers'names in Chester,as in York,indicates a certain financial skill,and a willingness for,and adaptability to,town life.Chester life,in fact,seems ultimately to have been run on Norse lines.[3] But Wainwright's interesting map makes it clear that the Norse settlement never spread inland beyond Wirral[4]. What is the significance of this? Wirral is only about 12 miles by six.Was it adequate for the needs of the settlers,or did they feel themselves bound by trading and other ties to the sea and Ireland;and find,in developing the pre-existing site of Chester,a focus and outlet for their trading energies, making this settlement entirely a part of the Irish Sea culture province? Or is the limited area they occupied explained by Ethelflaed's awareness of the potential danger they represented to her own and her brother's plans,which apparently inspired her fort-building? These forts drove a wedge between Norse in Wirral and Danes in East Cheshire and beyond,[5] and ended any possibility of the Dee or Mersey forming

1.Wainwright(1948),164.
2.Feiling,73.
3.Wainwright(1942),30.
4.ib.37.
5.ib.23.

a route into Northumbria, which, if Angus's dating be correct,[1] was in a state of disorganisation or anarchy after the death of its king, Ethelwald, at the Battle of the Holme in December, 902.

Probably there is some truth in both views. Several years after this, the adventurer Ragnald captured York. There are some grounds for thinking that the Norse reached York from the east coast,[2] but it should also be borne in mind that the coastal districts of south Lancashire[3] and Amounderness show strong signs of a heavier Norse immigration than does Wirral. If we remember also that in 919 Edward the Elder built another fortress at Thelwall, and restored the defences of Manchester, there is a strong probability that the invaders were still coming in from the west, and that, thwarted in attempts to extend their colonies in Mercia, were settling on its borders and keeping up communication with York through the disorganised Northumbrian lands.

Another possibility arises. Ingimund was only one of the chiefs of the original movement.[4] On June 7th, 930, Athelstan gave Amounderness, which he had bought, with its boundaries clearly delimited, to the church of York.[5]

"Ego Aðelstanus, rex Anglorum----totius Britanniae regni solio sublimatus---ad ecclesiam suam in civitate Eboracensi tempore quo Wulfstanum archiepiscopum illuc constitui in loco quem solicolae Aghemundernes[6] vocitant".

1. Angus, 206.
2. cf. Ekwall (1918), 84, 86.
3. ib. 7.
4. Wainwright (1948), 161.
5. Raine, III, 1-5.
6. *sic*, but see p.30, ftn.1.

'Aghemundernes'is a good Norse genitive.[1] Agmund or Ǫgmund may have been one of Ingimund's lochlanns.In any case,Agmund and Ingimund stand out as two leaders,who,before 930,had occupied two coastal areas in the north-west,with river boundaries and with access to the sea.Neither was content,apparently,to control merely his own homestead.We know from the Three Fragments that Ingimund organised his followers to fight for Chester,It is probably safe to assume that Agmund fought for his lands.In Norway and Iceland,the normal home was the single farmstead,and in all the Lake District,there are no corresponding names:no promontory is named after a settler,though both Cartmel and Furness in their present forms are Norse;and it has already been pointed out that no important port or trading centre seems to have been established on the Lake District coast.[2]

What can we conclude from this? Did settlers of the type of Ingimund and his company - men who had already been driven out of Ireland - infiltrate into Cumberland and the Morecambe Bay estuaries at about the same time,or later,when Ethelflaed's forts made immigration further south difficult;or is the Lake District settlement quite distinct? The pollen evidence from Windermere proves some settlement in that area at this time.But the Third Fragment leads us to infer that large-scale immigration, especially if aggressive,does show itself,however obliquely, either in the otherwise unexplained building of defences,or in some other facet of contemporary life.The agitation caused by

1.cf.Ekwall(1922),139,and always,"Aghemundesnes".
2.see above,13.Chester remained the chief port till 1560; cf.Jarvis,128-9.

Ingimund is reflected in the Irish,Welsh and English chronicles, and though south Lancashire and Amounderness were settled without notice from any chronicler,the Thelwall and Manchester defences may witness to the settlers' coming,while Athelstan's charter,even if its twelfth century interpretation is rejected,[1] proves the presence of Norse-speaking peoples in Amounderness before 930.

For the Lake District,there is no parallel to these hints, but inferences may be drawn.It is not until 937 that an entry which may be even remotely connected with the Lake District, appears in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,but some time before this, disturbances were being caused along its coasts by pirates.[2] By 927,Athelstan was taking steps to obtain recognition in the north;[3] in 928,he overthrew the Norse kingdom of York,and between then and his death in 939,became the first southern king ever to reign and hold courts in York.[4] In the Amounderness charter,as on his coins of about the same time,[5] he calls himself "King of all England",though the subsequent events of the reign show that this was a claim rather than an undisputed fact.Can we infer from Athelstan's actions that the prompt measures taken by Ethelflaed and Edward the Elder,had driven the Norse danger further north,beyond the reach of any English government of their time?

The story of Ingimund and of those settlements which some

1.Raine,I,cf.339.
2.see below,34-5.
3.cf.Stenton(1943),336.
4.Stenton,Presidential Address to the Historical Association,Jan.1952.
5.cf.Milne,74.

scholars believe to be associated with it,[1] do not enable us to answer this question;but they make it possible to deduce how an organised Norse invasion might subsequently develop both for peaceful and adventurously-minded incomers.It is clear that the immigrants were attracted by the west-facing estuaries.Some wanted power,but others were prepared to settle permanently on land, however poor,provided that it was unoccupied.The best land was already in Anglian hands.The survival of Norse place-names in Wirral proves that these poor sites were not deserted even after the Norse obtained influence in Chester.In Amounderness,which must have been very marshy,some accommodation seems to have been reached with the Angles to share what land there was,for we have such interesting "doublet" names as Newton-with-Scales,Westby-with-Plumpton,Bispham-with-Norbreck,[2] surely implying that the two races lived side by side.

Further than this,it is not possible to go.The evidence just considered,while giving no direct information about the Lake District,does raise a number of interesting questions and possibilities,which a study of all the available evidence may help to answer.

Two other indirect sources of information remain to be considered.Usually ascribed to Simeon of Durham,is a history of St.Cuthbert incorporating older matter,in which incidents are recorded which may have an important bearing on our subject.

1.e.g.Ekwall(1918),7;and in Darby,155; Wainwright(1945),107-8.

2.Ekwall(1922),150,151, 156.

Simeon was at Jarrow from 1074 to 1083,and certainly at Durham in 1104,when he was one of the few privileged to see the coffin of St.Cuthbert opened.From this fact,his status as a truthful and careful observer and recorder,among his contemporaries,may be gauged.But his authorship of the 'Historia de Sancto Cuthberto' is not certain,[1] though it was clearly written by someone in the north-east,to whom the Lakeland mountains were 'versus occidentem'.[2] Perhaps more important to us than its authorship,is the fact that the evidence likely to be of value to the present study,is incidental to the author's main narrative,and unlikely to be coloured in any way.

The 'Historia de Sancto Cuthberto',then,tells us that in 875 A.D.,Eardulf and Eadred took the body of St.Cuthbert,(buried under the high altar at Lindisfarne after his death in 687,and now in danger from ravaging Danes),

> "et cum eo erraverunt in terra portantes illud de loco in locum per septem annos et tandem pervenerunt ad fluvium qui vocatur Deruntmuthe et illud ibi in navi posuerunt,ut sic per proximum mare in Hiberniam transveherent".[3]

It seems clear from this extract that the west was looked upon as a safe refuge.The monks,with their precious burden,intended to put themselves beyond the reach of the Viking plunderers.But Derwent-mouth,which they must have reached c.882,is on the west coast of Cumberland,and the river faces due west to Ireland.We must conclude that the population

1.cf.Dickinson,49-50;Stenton(1936),xlix.
2.see below,34.
3.Sym.Rolls,I,207.

of this district was Christian and Anglian,and that there was no fear of pagan Vikings there at this time.It is not unlikely that monks from Lindisfarne did not know of the Norse settlements in Ireland when they planned to go there,and it is true that they finally went,instead,to Galloway,but it is obvious that no pains would be spared to ensure the safety of the coffin,and the fact that they reached the Derwent coast,and crossed from there to Scotland,would seem to indicate that neither in the northern part of the district under survey and its sea approaches,nor in Galloway,was there any danger from Vikings as early as this.

The 'Historia' also tells us that,later,in the reign of Edward the Elder,[1]

"Tilred abbas de Hefresham villam quae vocatur Iodene australem emit.Cujusdimidiam partem dedit sancto Cuthberto,ut esset frater in ejus monasterio;alteram apud Northam,ut ibi esset abbas."

In these days,too, "Elfred filius Birihtulfinci fugiens piratas,venit ultra montes versus occidentem et quaesivit misericordiam sancti Cuthberti et episcopi Cutheardi,ut praestarent sibi aliquas terras.Tunc episcopus Cutheardus pro caritate Dei et amore sancti Cuthberti praestitit illi has villas Esington----".

These incidents took place while Cutheard was bishop of Chester-le-Street,so must have been before 915,when Cutheard died.[2] Heversham is an ancient site in Westmorland near the head of the Kent estuary.The departure of its abbot for Norham, together with the flight of an Anglian nobleman from the region, seems to indicate that conditions inferred from the passage

1.ib.208.
2.Hist.Sim.,668.

previously quoted[1], are now reversed;people now flee from west to east to escape from the "pirates",probably Vikings from Ireland,for we are also told that in 914,Man was ravaged by Ragnald,who subsequently became King of York.Campbell's view that there must have been two Ragnalds does not invalidate this statement[2].It is clear that pirate Vikings were operating in the Irish Sea at a time which would explain the fear of pirates among the wealthier classes,which caused at least two of their number to flee eastwards.

Thus,from the evidence of the 'Historia de Sancto Cuthberto',it seems that two important inferences may be drawn:

1. that as late as 882 A.D.,there was no fear of pagan Norse activity on the west coast of Cumberland,where the presumably Christian population was friendly to St.Cuthbert;or along Solway shores,and
2. that before 915,pirate invasions were driving away from the southern part of our area,those whom wealth or position made insecure.

Finally,we must consider a short passage in Snorri Sturluson's "Heimskringla".Snorri was an Icelander but had travelled in Norway and Sweden,and,as he frequently refers to the sources of his narratives,it is clear that although the Heimskringla as we know it,was probably not written down till c.1230,it contains much older material,some of which is still

1.page 33.
2.Campbell,90-91.

in existence and can be compared with Snorri's narrative showing how he dealt with the material at his disposal, and making it possible for his reliability as a historian to be tested. In the Heimskringla is the saga of Harald Fairhair, the first king to bring all Norway under one central government. The result of his policy was that many left the country, while those petty kings who resisted Harald were defeated one by one, and finally a great concourse of people under three kings and four other leaders was defeated at the battle of Hafrsfiord.[1] Hafrsfiord sealed Harald's triumph over his enemies at home, but those who had fled the land rather than submit to Harald continually returned to harry - Vikings raiding their native land. Snorri records that Harald, by annual expeditions drove them away from bases in the islands and skerries near Norway, but seems finally to have decided that his position would only be fully secure when all Norwegian settlements were under his sway. He, therefore sailed west over sea, and cleared Shetland, Orkney and the Hebrides of Vikings; in Scotland he plundered and fought a battle, but before he reached Man, the inhabitants had heard of his advance and had fled with all their goods to Scotland.

This account appears in no other source, and its truth has recently been questioned by Shetelig, who doubts whether the western expedition ever took place.[2] His grounds are that all Icelandic literature explains the settlement of Iceland,

1. Laing, Chaps. III-XIX.
2. Shetelig, I, 22-25.

the Faroes and the western isles as the result of Harald's centralising policy.We know that the first true settlers reached Iceland in 874 A.D.;therefore,by a learned fiction, Shetelig says,Icelandic authors placed the battle of Hafrsfiord in 872.Shetelig would explode the whole theory;he believes the battle was"fought nearly thirty years later".He further points out that archaeological evidence proves that the western isles were settled long before this time,and therefore,the Icelandic authors are wrong.But this argument cannot be considered conclusive;the archaeological evidence and the writings of Snorri are not mutually exclusive.It is in fact reasonable to expect that later emigrants would follow the routes of their farming predecessors,being equally dependent on wind conditions in the North Sea,[1] and hope to win their sympathy as fellow-outcasts,or to intimidate them if need be:we have earlier suggested that dislocation of life in Shetland and Orkney at this period,may have driven the descendants of the first peaceful settlers in the islands to seek homes elsewhere.[2] The Orkneyinga saga does not attempt to describe the beginning of the settlement there;it is throughout a saga of the earls, and assumes an earlier settlement to be understood by the reader.Further,Harald's reputation was made by his activities in Norway;his attacks were launched against recalcitrant Norwegians on isolated islands.No indication is given of the part of Scotland attacked,but it was surely a Viking district.

1.see above,4.
2.see above,12.

Who, then, would be likely to record the battles of pagan and pagan? The final objective appears to have been Man, and Christian Ireland was untouched. If we reject this passage because it is found only in one source, it would be logical to look askance at the Lake District and other west coast and island Norse settlements, which are mentioned in no source at all. But if any other evidence can be found which seems to support Snorri, there is good reason for accepting the passage.

The question of the date of the battle of Hafrsfiord remains. There are no contemporary records in Norway, but Harald and members of his family are mentioned in English sources; the reliable Cuthbertine annals used in northern versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, tell of the choice of Eric Bloodaxe as king, by the Northumbrian witan in 948. Eric's subsequent career is known until his death in 954 A.D.,[1] and the site of the King's court in York can still be seen.[2] Eric, and Hákon, who was brought up at Athelstan's court, were both sons of Harald Fairhair. The Norse sources record that Eric was born soon after the battle of Hafrsfiord, while Hákon was born when Harald was about seventy. Eric became sole ruler of Norway when Harald retired in his favour at the age of eighty. Three years later Harald died, and Hákon hurried home to Norway to oust his brother. Eric's unpopularity as king brought support to Hákon, who was now about fifteen, and Eric fled to England.

In 947, the Northumbrian witan promised to be true to

1. Campbell, 91-97, and cf. Angus, 196-8.
2. Stenton, loc. cit. Now King's Court.

Edred;in 948,Edred attacked their land because they had broken their pledge and accepted Eric as king.Harald,if still alive, would now have been about eighty-five years old;in other words, he probably lived from c.862 to c.945 A.D.Traditionally,the battle was fought when Harald was nineteen or twenty,which would be c.882.Turville-Petre suggests 885 as its probable date, and believes that Icelandic historians have pre-dated events in Norway by ten tears or more,in order to fit in with the traditional,fundamentally sound,chronology of Iceland.[1] If this theory is right,and the battle took place within a year or two of the suggested date,Harald's expedition to the west must have been in the mid or late 880s.We have seen above that the Lindisfarne monks had no apprehension of danger on the western coast or sea in c.882 A.D.To that extent,at least,these independent pieces of evidence confirm each other,and support the later dating of the battle,assuming that the expedition took place at all.This interesting passage is worth quoting in full:[2]

Haraldr konungr spurði,at víða um mitt landit herjuðu víkingar,þeir er á vetrum váru fyrir vestan haf.Hann hafði þá leiðangr úti hvert sumar ok kannaði eyjar ok útsker,en hvar sem víkingar urðu varir við her hans,þá flýðu allir ok flestir á haf út.En er konungi leiddisk þetta þá varð þat á einu sumri,at Haraldr konungr sigldi með her sinn vestr um haf.Kom hann fyrst við Hjaltland ok drap þar alla víkinga,þá er eigi flýðu undan. Síðan siglir hann suðr til Orkneyja ok hreinsaði þar allt af víkingum.Eptir þat ferr hann allt í Suðreyjar ok herjar þar.Hann drap þar marga víkinga,þá er fyrir liði réðu áðr.Hann átti þar margar orrostur ok hafði optast sigr.Þá herjaði hann á Skotland ok átti þarorrostur.En er hann kom vestr í Mǫn,þá hofðu þeir áðr spurt,hvern hernað hann hafði gǫrt þar í landi, þá flýði allt fólk inn á Skotland,ok var þar aleyða af mǫnnum, braut var ok flutt allt fé,þat er mátti.En er Haraldr konungr

1.Turville-Petre,116.
2.Heimskringla,I,120.

gengu á land, þá fengu, þeir, ekki herfang.

"King Harald was informed that those Vikings who were west over sea in the winter, were harrying in the middle of the land. He made a sea expedition each summer and searched the islands and outer skerries, and wherever the Vikings heard of his army, they all fled, most of them out to sea. Then Harald grew tired of this and one summer he sailed with his host (fleet) west over sea. He came first to Shetland and killed there all the Vikings who did not flee away. Then he sailed south to the Orkneys and cleared them all of Vikings. After that he went all the way to the Hebrides and harried there. He killed there many Vikings, those who had formerly ruled over their lið (?boat crews, followers). He fought there many battles and had most often the victory. Then he harried in Scotland and fought battles there. But when he came west to Man, they had heard there what harrying he had done in the land and all the folk there fled to Scotland, with all their cattle and moveable goods, and the island was bare of men. When King Harald came to the land, he seized there no booty."

It is difficult to understand why Snorri described this expedition in such detail, if he had no grounds for doing so. If we allow it a basis of truth for the time being, its value to the present study must depend on the destination of the fugitives from Man. What did Snorri in this context mean by "Scotland"? Collingwood affirms that in 895, when he thinks the expedition took place, the Norse in Man "crossed bag and baggage to the firths and channels of Morecambe Bay and the Solway"[1], which he believes were then "Scotland". They fled because Harald was approaching from the north; they would hardly, then, flee in the direction of his fleet. On the mainland opposite or to the south, there was a reasonable chance of escape. If Harald's expedition

1. Collingwood (1895), 192, seq.

took place at all, Collingwood's argument is valid whatever its date, and whatever the contemporary name of the coastal region to which the fugitives went. Further support to Collingwood's view is given by Snorri's statement that they took all their animals and goods with them. It is reasonable to assume that people so burdened, who apparently panicked and left in a hurry, would sail for the nearest safe refuge: the Cumberland coast is usually within sight of Man. It remains to be seen whether any evidence can be found in the Lake District which supports the theory of an influx from Man about the time when Harald's expedition may have taken place.[1]

The evidence considered in this chapter shows that enough settlers had established themselves in the valleys draining into Windermere by 900 A.D., for their presence to be clearly marked in the changed nature of the Windermere sediments. Yet the evidence from the 'Historia de Sancto Cuthberto' seems to show that there was no fear of Viking activity on the Cumberland coast or in the Irish Sea in the last decades of the ninth century. But sometime before 915, fear was clearly felt by the notables of the north-west coast.

Can these various strands of evidence be reconciled? Are the Viking pirates connected with Ingimund's company, or with another influx of Irish-Norse, whose entry further south

1. see below, 119, 125-6.

Ethelflaed's firm measures had stopped? And can Collingwood's theory that the Manx Vikings fled from Harald Fairhair to the Cumberland and Furness coasts be upheld, or is Snorri's "Scotland" part of the coast we now understand by that name ? It is time to turn to the Lake District itself, and consider what evidence other than the muds, which are accepted for only part of our district, it provides.

Chapter 3.

The lack of documentary evidence for Lake District history makes us very dependent on place-names for information about human settlement in the area. From these, it is clear that Britons, Angles and Scandinavians have inhabited the district. E.T.Leeds'[1] map shows the whole area as still Celtic in the mid-sixth century, and the evidence from place-names supports this. There are no purely 'folk'names in the district; the earliest type of Anglian name found is the habitation-name in ham, names such as Aldingham, Hensingham, Whicham(DB Witingham), indicating that the Angles probably penetrated the district sometime in the seventh century, almost certainly coming from Northumbria, since Bolton(O.E.boþltun), occurs twice, once in Cumberland and once in Furness. There are no known Anglian burial places in the Lake District,[2] which to some extent supports the idea of late arrival, and perhaps it is safe to assume that the Angles were Christians when they came. The distribution of these early names and others such as Rottington, Workington, which are probably not much later, shows that the Angles settled on the drift-covered lowlands around the coast,[3] where there is level ground suitable for ploughing: Anglian economy could not be

1. Leeds, 39.
2. ib., 19.
3. see map 2, and cf. Darby, map, p.95.

adapted to fell country. Occasionally, their settlements, such as Heversham and Broughton-in-Furness,[1] are on typical Anglian sites, at the head of tidal estuaries. Always, they are near water, and take account of dry sub-soil. There is no certain early Anglian name in the fells.

British names, such as Roose, Lamplugh,[2] occur up and down the district, and a great many river-names are British. A few names exist which prove that the old British population survived at least until the Norse came. In Cumberland are Briscoe (O.N. Bretaskógr) and Birkby (O.N. Bretabýr) the latter near the remains of Barnscar, a known British settlement. In Cartmel, Walton (O.E. Walatūn), and a second Birkby are found near together. It is striking that these two names, reflecting the survival of the Britons in both the English and Norse tongues, occur in one of the few districts of our area for which we have any literary reference at all. The 'Historia de Sancto Cuthberto'[3] tells us that:

> "Postquam vero Sanctus Cuthbertus suscitavit puerum a mortuis in villa quae vocatur Exanforda, dedit ei rex Egfridus terram quae vocatur Cartmel, et omnes Britanni[4] cum eo---."

Its author was at pains to record with exactitude the career of St. Cuthbert, and his acquisitions, both in life and posthumously. But 'Cartmel' in its present form is Norse, and could not have existed in Egfrith's day. Therefore, in view of

1. see map 1.
2. see PN Cu, 404.
3. Sym., Rolls, I, 200.
4. sic, but Surtees 51, p. 141, reads correctly "Britannos".

the distribution of Norse place-names in this district,[1] it is worth noting that the British names seem to corroborate the above passage, and show a heavier concentration in Cartmel than anywhere else in our area. None of these names are so situated as to imply that the Britons were pushed into poor districts;[2] there is no very high land in Cartmel, and the British place-names seem to show settlement at points above the marshy valley-bottom, but with distinct advantages. Walton is on the eastern slope of a hill, sheltered from the prevailing winds, and c.100' high. Birkby is 150' high, Cark and Blenket c.50', and High Cark, 250'. It is clear that enough Britons existed to be recognised as a distinct element by both Angles and Norse, and to preserve some place-names in their own tongue, in spite of the two later influxes. The distribution of names in Cartmel certainly gives greater weight to Ekwall's opinion[3] that the Britons continued to live in separate villages or homes, than to Zachrisson's that they all became serfs.[4] The strong probability that the earliest Anglian church in Cartmel was at Kirkhead on the edge of the district,[5] is perhaps a further indication of British settlement in the heart of it. There are, thus, some grounds for thinking that a fairly substantial British element was in Cartmel when the Norse came, and that the passage quoted applies to this region. It is possible that Cartmel (Kart-melr) contains a scandinavianised form of

1. see below, 72, 78.
2. cf. Ekwall (1922), 224; and see map 1.
3. cf. Intro. I, i, 18.
4. Zachrisson, 41, 46.
5. Dickinson, 50.

O.E.ceart.Ceart-mel and Cart-mel are both on record.[1]

Place-names are the clearest indication that Scandinavians settled all over the Lake District.It has been pointed out that cultures on our western seaboard tend to be sea-borne,and that, on grounds of geographical probability alone,the Lake District settlement might be expected to resemble the rest of the culture-province,where the recorded settlements are known to have been Norse.The place-names bear out this theory.Their numbers leave no doubt that a mass influx took place,and from their type,we can safely conclude that the bulk of the settlers were practically-minded farmers;small men,whose ordinary, everyday terms,used to distinguish good land from bad,sheltered spots from windy ones,have in time,become the names of places, showing a settlement here quite different in type from the areas settled by conquering Danes,where their influence on nomenclature was practically confined to the official and landowning classes.[2]

But in dealing with the names,we are faced with the difficulty that many of them are recorded only in comparatively late sources,largely because many refer only to farms,or other small settlements unlikely to appear in early documents.Thus it is necessary to be cautious in using them

1.see Ekwall(1922),195.
2.Mawer(1929),24;but in view of more recent place-name study, where minor names are considered,this opinion should probably be modified(see e.g.PN Northants.,xx-xxii),though clearly it holds good for major names.

as historical evidence.Even in the parts of our area recorded in Domesday,there is little sign of Norse settlement,for Domesday records cultivated land,and there is reason to believe that the Nosse in the fells based their economy largely on sheep.But we are dealing primarily with people,of whose habits and way of life a great deal is known.Therefore, there is good reason to give considerable weight to the evidence of topography in considering the names.For instance, in High Furness is the farm Knapperthaw(<u>Knapthall</u> 1591f.RW 283, <u>Knapathow</u> 1674 ib.32).Ekwall says[1] that the first element here is O.E.<u>cnoeppede</u>,but there is no Anglian settlement in this region at all,and the site is typically Norse.It seems much more likely that this is a strict Norse name,with O.N.<u>knappr</u> as its first element.If so,this name would illustrate the topographical accuracy,which is such a marked feature of Norse names in the Lake District.Thus,when names are recorded late, or fail to show their origin by internal evidence,topography may help to overcome the difficulty of the similarity of Old English and Old Norse.In no case,has a decision of any importance to this study been made without reference to the topography of the site.

Minor names may throw further light on the situation, but have the drawback that they are usually recorded in only one form.But we have earlier seen that the Lake District was isolated by its own mountains from the rest of England,[2] and

1.Ekwall(1922),214.
2.see above,5.

different valleys from each other practically until the coming of the railway along the coast. There is still no main road across the centre of the district, either north-south or east-west. Within the district, the fundamental way of life today, is still that practised by the Norse. No Norman castle is found in the fells. There is little doubt that the dalesmen were left to themselves until the monks came, and their new foundations are usually distinguishable from the earlier settlements. Minor names seem to show that practical farming was still in the hands of the Norse, and there is a strong probability that some of these names survived for centuries. Sometimes, those recorded in medieval sources show indisputable early Norse origin, e.g. <u>Setikonoc</u>, <u>Setforn</u>;[1] but only in the Tithe Award Schedules of c.1836-40, is there a complete record of every field, wood and piece of land in a district. But this is a very late source and its value may be questioned. Yet many of these names are applied to permanent features, which, it seems reasonable to infer, would long keep their original names. Some 15,000 of them in Westmorland and North Lancashire have been studied for this survey,[2] and as the Tithe Award Schedules are accompanied by large-scale maps, often only three chains to a mile, it is possible to check the exact site of every name, and every Norse-sounding name has been so checked. Out of hundreds of examples, in no case has "intake" (sometimes written "intak"), ON <u>inntaka</u>, been

1. see below, 158.
2. The Cumberland names are included in PN Cu.

except of land taken in from the fell;"sour" and "mire", (O.N.saurr,myrr),are invariably used of land near water , usually low-lying and often marked as swampy on the map."Reins" and "rakes" are almost always long,narrow fields,(O.N.rein,reik) "slack"and "flatt" are common(O.N.slakki,flǫt).

The aptness of nearly all these names to their situation implies that some,at least,must have survived from a time when the people who used them understood their meaning. This impression is strengthened by the fact that it sometimes seems possible to tell from the names if land was brought under cultivation late:in High Furness,for instance,where the major names are undoubtedly Norse,the field-names are mainly English,given presumably when the population increased,long after the original settlement.Further,names exist which show clearly that an element was used after its meaning was lost. Ing(O.N.eng),is very common,but occasionally we find names such as Risedale Ing and Risedale Ing Meadow(fields E269,E171 in Dalton)[1].These exceptions are surely striking negative evidence for regarding as significant the examples instanced above,which reflect the nature of the land,and such names as Cringle Mire(field 39 in Troutbeck(We),field 150 in Undermillbeck(We)),which can be paralleled in Iceland -Kringle Mire[2].On the whole,there are grounds for thinking that minor names can be used as valuable contributory evidence.We shall

1.Such names are easily distinguished from the modern type,e.g.Dear Bought,Chintz Pattern,Seldom Dry.

2.Njal,311.

see below that to leave them out of account,may give just as false an impression of the historical situation,as to use them blindly.

One further point of great interest arises from a study of the Tithe Award schedules and maps.Both Gray and Orwin have pointed out that the open-field system is not found in the north-west,and Gray attributes this to Celtic influence, insisting that Cumberland is more Celtic than any county in England.The maps studied bear out Gray's point that no regular three or four field system appears to have existed in our area,though,as Orwin says,in some districts,topography would make it impossible.But neither writer notes that the counties specified,are precisely those in which we know that Norse settlement took place: Lancashire,W.Yorkshire,Westmorland, Cumberland and Cheshire.There is at least some reason for considering that the area with which we are concerned,was influenced as much by the Norse,as by the Celtic pattern of settlement.[1]

We know that the Angles chose fertile lowlands suitable for corn and cattle,and tended to congregate in nucleated settlements.It is fairly certain that the Anglian names marked on map 2 represent the sites chosen by the early

1.cf.Gray,63,242,268,271,414;and
Orwin,59-61,and cf.map,p.65.
But see also Stenton(1943),277-8.

Anglian settlers.It is not so easy to decide whether the Norse, as Ekwall suggests,also settled in villages with Anglian names. Sometimes,the minor names throw light on the situation.For instance,there is reason to believe on archaeological grounds that Norse influence was operating in the Gosforth district well before 1000 A.D.,but the name is recorded as Goseford c.1150(et freq to 1396 FF),and it is not until 1388 that Norse influence begins to show in the form "Gosforth":as late as 1777, both forms are recorded - "Gosforth or Gosford",(Nicholson and Burn).But in c.1260,one certain early field-name,Setkonoc,[1] is recorded there,proving some early Norse influence where the major name was still English.Similarly,Tarngunerigg in Workington,Karkebucholm in Whitbeck,and such names as Gillemihelecroft in Whicham,Gilmyghelcroft in Pennington,[2] give reason to think that if more certain early field-names were known,it would be necessary to modify our map showing the coastlands as mainly Anglian.On the whole,the impression is that when the Norse settled in the lowlands,mutual accommodation could be reached.It is clear that they sometimes established themselves near to Anglian sites in sufficient numbers to change permanently the pronunciation of the Anglian name.Meathop(Midhop c.1185,Mithehop c.1200 CC),was doubtless the only hard,dry land in its district.Yanwath(Euenewit 1150-62 YCh 1241,Yafnewid c.1244 Ken),and Stainton(Cu),[3] are both in a strongly Norse

1.see below,158.
2.see PN Cu,446.

3.This,and Stainton in Furness(see p.52),may be strict Norse names.

neighbourhood.In Furness,with the two village greens practically adjoining are Adgarley and Stainton(now known as 'Stainton').Perhaps this is a "doublet" type of settlement,as noted in Amounderness[1].

But it is in the fell districts that the names best show the type of Norse settler,his mentality and his interests.On all grounds,the fells were fairly certainly Norse.The high proportion of strict Norse names,and the comparative absence of hybrid forms,indicate that the newcomers did not submerge any previous Anglian population here.Trench wrote,"to study a people's language will be to study them"[2].Place-names fossilize certain aspects of language,including personal names,and it is certain that in the fells,the ordinary words of a people's language remain as names to tell us about themselves and their way of life.There is still no word in Norwegian to describe a nucleated village[3],and the independently-named dwellings of the fell areas of the Lake District show the Norse following a pattern of dispersed settlement,essential here as in Norway and Iceland[4],because of the poor soil.Frequently,in the Lake District,thin soil lies directly on rock.Thus,sheep become the mainstay of existence.The frequency of bloomery-sites may indicate considerable iron-working,and it is doubtless safe to assume that the Norse continued to make the iron tools to which they had become accustomed: Furness and West Cumberland

1.see above,32.
2.Trench,109.
3.East,91.
4.cf.Phillpotts,84.

are rich in ore.But there is nothing in the names to give certainty here;[1] many of the bloomeries were developed,perhaps begun,by the monks.At present under investigation[2] is an open-fire bloomery on Walney,thought by Mr.Barnes to have been used by Viking raiders.But there are serious objections to this view.[3] In any case,there is no evidence to show whether the Norse,as seems most likely,produced iron implements for their own use;or to trade.But many factors support a belief that sheep-farming was the chief way of life.[4]

Particularly interesting are the Norse topographical terms.It is clear that terms were never used loosely,but as exact labels.We talk casually about a "valley",but the Norse made a clear distinction between hlíð,slakki and dalr.In the Lyth(hlíð) valley,the element is used precisely as in Iceland, to describe a flat-bottomed valley,whose sides rise suddenly along its length,but not to any great height.Not far from here is Witherslack(viðar-slakki),a shallow,wooded valley,quite different from the true mountain 'dalr',which is used frequently but only in the volcanic-rock areas,never among the gentler Silurian contours.Kleif,fiall and haugr are distinct,too.Kleif is rare,applied in the Lake District only to Claife Heights, the steep hills rising sharply from the west shore of

1.Collingwood claimed to have found one resembling those of Iceland near Coniston,cf.SagaB II,33.
2.March,1952.Inf.ex Mr.Barnes.
3.Would raiders bring the necessary timber from the mainland? The site is a 30'dune,with all objects at one level,having fallen through the sand.B.M.dates merely as "early".
4.see below,151-2.

Windermere.Fiall is adequate to describe Scafell(3210'),but haugr usually implies a low hill,e.g.Picket How(674')[1].Band appear only in its true meaning of a "long,ridge-like hill",as in Bandrake Head(banryghed c.1535 Beck 329,Banryghed 1539 FC II). From the west,Great Gable is clearly Mykelgavel(1338 Cl),O.N. mikill gafl.

Along the coast,Whitehaven was originally Hvíthǫfuðhafn, (Qwithofhavene c.1135,Withofhaven c.1140 StB),named from the viewpoint of those who saw its white cliffs from the sea. Further south is Fleswick Bay(flesiu-vík,at the only point where the St.Bees cliffs are broken by a small stream cutting down to the sea,and where great slabs lie on the beach[2]. Sometimes,a place takes its name from a nearby landslide(O.N. skriða),like the farm Scrithwaite,and Scraithegil(lost). Lowick(O.N.lauf-vík),seems to use vík in its basic sense of "a curve",as it stands above a deep bend in the Crake.Frequently, saurr and leirr label boggy land,(Sawrey,Sowerby,Layriggs):it is rare for sites so named to reach any size.

Sometimes,the names give us a glimpse of the processes of farming.Swithenthate(lost),O.N.sviðinn-þveit,and Sweden(le Swythene)[3],are lands cleared by burning.Barley,oats,leeks and flax were grown.Madder was probably used as a dye[4].(Bigrigg, Haverigg,Haverthwaite,Loughrigg(Cu and We),Linethwaite, Matterdale).Wild apples were among the contents of the

1.cf.PN Cu 390,354.
2.Steers,80.
3.cf.PN Cu 371.
4.cf.Seebohm,116.

Oseberg ship,so perhaps the two Applethwaites(Cu and We)[1] reflect the Norse fondness for this fruit.Angelica archangelica (O.N.hvǫnn)seems to have been grown at Wanthwaite.The custom of hunting and fishing is reflected in Waitham and Waberthwaite, both of which contain O.N.veiði.Trapping was carried on: Gilderskugh(lost),is O.N.gildri and skógr.It is just possible that Stanger,and perhaps Stangrah reflect the custom of eel-spearing.Eels breed in the lakes,and Stanger is on the Cocker, which flows out of Crummock-water.Some of the eel-spears were 30'-long poles,and might,for convenience,be kept near the rivers[2]

The importance of a water-supply is reflected in such names as Trinkeld(Trankelde FC I.424),Þrándi's spring,and Threlkeld,that of the thralls(Trellekell' 1197P(p),Trellekeld 1278Ass).In Dalton,fields 274,275,in the Tithe Schedules are called Yarl Well,and a well is marked on the Tithe Award map in field 275.The use of reeds for thatching is indicated in Thackthwaite,Thackmire(O.N.þakk),and of peeled bark for fodder in Scathwaite(Scafthwait 1246,1272FC,Scafthauith 1248FC II). Goats and horses figure in place-names;pigs figure prominently. It is clear that the haunts of wolves were well-known,(Gatra, Gaterigghow,Hestham,Hestholm(now Derwent Isle),Ullock,Ulpha, Ulgill).The lack of reference to sheep may be taken to indicate their omnipresence,[3] while the numerous names

1.Gjessing,9.
2.cf.Green,13,18 and passim.Near Stangrah is the field-name Groops(O.N.greip).See PN Cu 384,446,449.
3.see below,Appendix.

containing griss indicate that pigs were usually confined to the wilder,unoccupied side-valleys(e.g.Grise-,Grize-dale, Grizebeck).Svín occurs e.g. in Sunbrick(svín-brekka).

Women frequently owned land;lost field-names include Sirithlandes(1338 Cl),Brundeshole(1261 StB).Hingrihow (Ingrehowe 1410 AllerA)still exists,[1] as do the ergs of Sigriðr and Langlif(Sizergh,Langley);but women's names are never found attached to important sites.[2]

Saithegile[3](lost),O.N.seiðr,perhaps gives a hint of heathen customs among the Norse settlers,and so raises the question of the age of the various Kirkbys in the Lake District.O.N.Kirkiubýr occurs frequently;thus it is clear that the Norse became Christian while still Norse-speaking,but the names alone do not enable us to decide at what period in the settlement this took place.

The names discussed above,then,give considerable insight into the Norse way of life,the crops they cultivated, their precise topographical descriptions,and perhaps,the independent status of women.In areas where the population was mixed,there are grounds for thinking that Norse and Angles accepted each other's presence.But none of the names so far discussed help us to date the settlement.If,however,we can find an approximate date for any group of names,it may afford help in establishing which districts were settled at a particular time,and throw light on the period of the settlement.

1.PN Cu 383,430,359.
2.Sizergh was developed by the Normans. 3.PN Cu,428.

In Lake District nomenclature, there is a strong Goidelic element, which Ekwall has shown was introduced mainly by Norse settlers from Ireland.[1] These names form a good starting-point for investigation. Ekwall distinguishes four main types: inversion-compounds, names in -erg, names containing Goidelic personal names, and names containing other Goidelic elements.[2] It is with the inversion-compounds that it is at present proposed to deal.

We know that the Norse began to settle in Ireland from about the mid-ninth century. In time, they would adopt not only Irish personal names - intermarriage was common, and this probably came early[3] - but also the distinctive Celtic way of forming compound place-names, by inverting the order of the elements. But, as Ekwall points out, only long residence in Ireland would so accustom the Norse settlers to the Irish method of forming names that they would take it with them when they went elsewhere. Thus, a name of this type in the Lake District indicates the presence of Norsemen of the second or third generation from Ireland,[4] probably sons of Irish mothers and so with Goidelic names themselves, though still using the Norse tongue. When these names are plotted on the map, we get

1. Ekwall (1918), 51-3, 62-3, 95.
2. ib. 15, 74, 87 and passim.
3. see e.g. Macalister, 218.
4. Ekwall's statement on p.10 is not overlooked here, but all through the book it seems clear that he thinks the bulk of the immigrants were from Ireland (see e.g. pp.53-5, 95), and this view is confirmed by all the evidence studied for this survey. See e.g., p.67, ftn.3, and p.87.

a rough idea of where these Irish-Norse settlers established themselves, the sort of country they chose, and their relative frequency in different valleys. Some of the names have disappeared from the modern map.[1] Therefore, when the approximate site is not known, on map 3 they are placed in square brackets in the appropriate parish.

The distribution map shows that these names frequently occur at the heads of valleys or on high ground. Working westwards round the map, we see that there are two high up the Kent, and a third near its estuary in a region where early human settlement was sparse, owing to the swampy nature of the district. Beyond the Duddon, is a small group in a very exposed coastal area. Odd sites occur along the Cumberland coast, but most of the names support our contention. One is found at the highest habitable point of Eskdale, two high up the Marron; another is on high ground, far up the Cocker, and a small group is found at the head of Borrowdale. Further east, inversion-compounds appear high in the fells to the north and south of Thirlmere, and north and east of Ullswater. Only along the lower Derwent and its tributaries is there any sign of consistent Irish-Norse name-giving.

This distribution raises certain questions: why did these Irish-Norse settlers push right up into the fells, into difficult country almost certainly uncleared before they came, and why does the Derwent string of names peter out at

1. see Note on maps.

Setmurthy and reappear at the far end of Borrowdale, and perhaps by Thirlmere, leaving no traces in the more open country by Bassenthwaite and Derwentwater ?

A third question arises: why are these names so conspicuously absent in Cartmel and Furness, an area covering most of the southern Lake District ?[1] To these three questions, Ekwall would probably reply that the presence of English-speaking neighbours would cause many inversion-compounds in time to revert to the normal Teutonic order.[2] Examples of this can be quoted; e.g. Bek Troyte in Gospatric's charter[3] later became Troutbeck, and the tussle between the two methods can be observed in the early forms of some names, notably St.Bees: Kirkebibeccoch t.Ric.I(1308)Ch, Bechockirke c.1210 StB(p); Kirckebybechoc 1288 Ass, Behokirk 1291 Tax. But the evidence seems to support the view that where Irish-Norse influence was strong, inversion-compounds survived to be recorded, sometimes even in largely English districts, such as the Derwent valley, and among the field-names of the Cumberland coast, where as we have seen, the major names are usually English.[4] But in the whole area of Furness and Cartmel, there is not a trace of an inversion-compound in either place or minor name.[5]

1. see map 1.
2. Ekwall(1918), 65.
3. see Harmer, 423.
4. see above, 48, 51, and see PN Cu, 420, 421 for Croftbladen, Becksonen, two possible examples in Millom.
5. Ekwall(1918), 46 lists Twaitkendenan, which he thinks may have been in Furness. But he does not include it in Ekwall(1922), and Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, VI, 556 does not specify its district

The available material for Furness is very full.The abbey of Furness was Cistercian,and its monks farmed widely in the region,including the fell districts.Details of their activities, and of their dealings with other landowners on the question of boundaries are fully recorded in the Furness Coucher.Thus,there is a good collection of medieval material for this area.In addition,several parish registers are in print,and modern collections of Lancashire place-names,including Ekwall's,have been studied.None of them contains any inversion-compounds for this area.In addition to these,about 10,000 field-names from the Enclosure Awards and Tithe Awards for this region,have been searched.The Enclosure Award varies in the amount of detail given in different parishes,and so in its value as a source,and as there was no Tithe Award for Cartmel,the search here cannot be considered exhaustive;but taking all the available Cartmel names into consideration,the impression is very strong that Irish-Norse influence was practically non-existent.[1]

In Furness,the Tithe Schedules deal exhaustively with the field-names of all but three townships - Colton,Torver and Church Coniston.It has not been possible to find any trace of schedules for these districts;in view of information obtained from the local clergy on the conditions obtaining in these three townships,it seems likely that none have ever existed. To some extent,the deficiency has been made up by a

1.see below,67.

study of the Enclosure Awards which do exist for these areas. It seems, on the whole, fair to claim that the search for inversion-compounds in the Furness and Cartmel area has been very thorough. The unsatisfactory nature of material as late as the Enclosure and Tithe Awards is not overlooked, but we have considered above[1] the possibility of field-names continuing to exist for hundreds of years, and in a largely rural area, like this, the probability is great. In Cumberland, at least two certain early Irish-Norse field-names were recorded less than a century before the Enclosure Award[2] - Tarngunerigg in 1725, Karkebucholm in 1774, and the absence of such names in Furness and Cartmel is not offered here as the sole, but merely as contributory evidence. For the most northerly part of the area, the school-children of Hawkshead have made a collection of some of the modern field-names for the present writer, but again without result. It seems impossible that every trace of inversion-compounds, in early forms of names, or in recently surviving field-names, could have disappeared, if they had existed, in view of the wealth of material available.

If we accept, as seems reasonable, Ekwall's view that the men who brought the inversion-compounds to the Lake District[3] were the sons and grandsons of the earliest Norse settlers in Ireland, they could hardly have reached here before the end of the ninth century or later. But the presence of early Norse

1. p.48-9.
2. see PN Cu, 450, 456.
3. Ekwall (1918), 11.

settlers in Furness and Cartmel is clearly attested by the place and field names. Who, then, is responsible for the Norse-given names which do exist in Furness, and in other parts of our region where few or no inversion-compounds exist?[1] The distribution of the known inversion-compounds forbids us to assume, with Ekwall, that all others have disappeared.[2] The conclusion from this evidence seems to be that the originators of the compound inverted names in the Lake District, were comparatively late arrivals at the time of Norse settlement.[3] Hence, the need to go far up the valleys to find empty land: it is difficult to believe that settlers would choose the barren fell region east of Ullswater, or the far end of the Borrowdale and Eskdale valleys if the more accessible parts were available. Hence the further conclusion that areas which show no sign of inversion-compounds were the earliest parts to be settled, both on topographical grounds, and because it seems reasonable to consider that the longer the residence in Ireland, the greater the influence of Irish civilisation on speech and habits. Thus, this might be expected to show itself more or less strongly, in proportion to the length of stay in Ireland; its entire absence gives grounds for the conclusions suggested above.

But the Wirral and Amounderness settlements have already been discussed,[4] and approximate dates for these settlements

1. cf. maps 2 and 3.
2. i.e. before being recorded. Ekwall (1918), 101, deals very summarily with Furness and Cartmel.
3. but cf. Ekwall, ib., 64.
4. see especially pp. 27-9, 32.

are known. In Wirral, there are no inversion-compounds, and in Amounderness no certain one.[1] Does this, then, imply that the inversion-compound areas of the Lake District were settled later than these areas ? We know that Ingimund's company came from Dublin, a city founded and inhabited by Norsemen. Its inhabitants would thus be much more resistant to Irish influences than would the scattered Norse settlements outside the towns. The existing Norse inversion-compounds in the counties of Dublin, Meath and Wicklow are usually translations of the Irish names.[2] This would not be necessary in a Norwegian town or district. Thus the absence of inversion-compounds in Wirral does not necessarily prove later settlement in Lakeland, but the sites of Norse places in Wirral and Amounderness clearly show that the Irish-Norse incomers stayed near the coast when land was available. Does it then follow that the more accessible parts of the Lake District were occupied when the Irish-Norse came?

When allthese facts are considered together, it seems possible to infer that the inversion-compound name-givers were later than the Wirral settlers, and probably came from different districts: an Irish writing of the ninth century complains of the[3] "hunger and thirst" of the strangers for the green land of Erin, and in view of all we know of the Norse way of life in their native land, it is impossible not to believe that some of them would have acquired land by the late ninth century, and so have adopted the Irish method of speech.

1. see Ekwall (1922), 139-167, and (1940), passim.
2. see Ekwall (1918), 56.
3. Shetelig, I, 67.

Ekwall's second test of Irish-Norse settlement is the element *-erg*. It is defined as a 'shieling, a hill pasture, a hut upon a pasture'[1], and occurs in England only in regions known to have been settled by Norsemen from Ireland.[2] It is not among the elements listed by Moore or Kneen as occurring in Man, and in the Orkneyinga Saga, it is defined as '*erg*, which we (the Norse), call *setr*'. It does not occur in Iceland or the Faroes.

Ekwall claims that the *erg* names occur in the same districts as the inversion-compounds.[3] Their distribution does not entirely support this view.[4] We have seen that thorough search of the Furness and Cartmel material reveals no sign of inversion-compounds, but there are six *erg* names, all in west Furness, and two on the tip of the Cartmel peninsula. In east Furness, no *erg* appears, but there are several *setr* names, compounded with Norse elements, in the fells. In other districts in our area, *ergs* sometimes occur near inversion-compounds, but this tendency can easily be exaggerated on a small-scale map. In the Lake District, the natural region is the valley, and a lake or mountain range is a much truer criterion of distance than mileage: the valley settlement is a unit, and settlers thin out towards the watershed, and look down to the valley for their contacts, not across the watershed. It is notable that in the region where most of the inversion-compounds occur,

1. cf. Ekwall (1940), 160, and Intro. I, ii, 25.
2. Ekwall (1918), 86.
3. ib. 74, 97, 99 etc.
4. compare maps 3 and 4.

along the lower Derwent, there are no erg names at all. It might be argued that many of these Derwent names are in the valley, in unsuitable terrain for an element defined as "mountain pasture". But a survey of the distribution of the element makes it quite clear that it was not confined to mountain areas: the two Winders (vindr erg) in Cartmel, are on marshy coastlands, while Berrier is specifically defined as a "mountain" shieling (berg erg). Still more striking, this common element which was adopted and introduced to England by the Norsemen, is never used in inversion-compounds, whereas setr frequently is. Why did the Norsemen, using an Irish way of forming names, and often Irish elements in them, not use this common, and in the Lake District, well-evidenced element ? The most obvious explanation would be, that though the meaning of erg and setr is understood by the writer of the Orkneyinga Saga and modern authorities to be the same, for the users of the elements there was a distinction. The evidence does not support this view: there is no distinction in the height or types of land to which these elements were applied: Arni's setr (Arnside) and torfi erg (Torver) are both high in the fells, but Einarr's setr (Annaside) and Langlíf's erg (Langley) are on flat land near the sea. Both elements are used with personal names, and both have occasionally been on sites sufficiently important to grow into church villages, (Torver, Satterthwaite). It seems that both elements were used without regard to topography. But their distribution indicates

that there were distinct erg areas and setr areas.This is particularly clear in Furness and Eskdale.Can,we,them, postulate two strata of immigrants from this distribution: a distinction not of use,but of users of the elements ?

Erg is an Irish loan-word;its presence,therefore,does not prove such strong Irish influence as do the inversion-compounds.It appears frequently in Amounderness and once in Wirral.[1] In Amounderness,its distribution confirms the point made above,that it is used regardless of topography.The Wirral and Amounderness settlements can be approximately dated.Thus, there is some reason to believe that erg was coming into use in England by c.902,or shortly after.There are no setr names, and no certain inversion-compounds in Amounderness.This gives extra cause for considering that the distribution of erg and setr in the Lake District is not accidental.

In Wirral,there is one erg only(Arrowe).[2] The evidence from both Lakeland and Amounderness indicates that it is not enough to explain this on grounds of topography.It is more probable that this circumstance reflects the Dublin origin of the Wirral settlers,traders and town-dwellers first,farmers later,in Wirral,by necessity.From this,it might be inferred that frequent ergs imply rural settlers from Ireland.We cannot press this point too far.Irish evidence fails us ,as the

1.see Ekwall(1922),139-167,and (1940),12 and passim.
2.though Wainwright has found the element in field-names; see Wainwright(1943),59-60.

Norse element in the population of Ireland was subsequently submerged;but there are some grounds for thinking that a permanent Norse rural population continued to exist in Ireland after Ingimund's expulsion[1]:Norse power was at its height in Ireland c.918 A.D.,which seems to indicate that the exodus in 902 was not complete.But between these dates,conditions may have been sufficiently unpleasant to drive away some of the Norse dwellers on the outskirts of the towns.

Turning back to the Lake District,it is clear that the Cartmel ergs support the suggestion of a late arrival.They indicate that the sole Irish influence here was on the marshy,windy land by the sea[2].In Furness,there are two ergs on the hill-top above Ireleth.These appear to be connected with a late settlement there.Ireleth is O.N.Ira-hlíð,'the hill-slope of the Irishman(or men)':in view of other evidence, almost certainly 'men'.This is a strict Norse genitive.Thus, a grammatical-Norse-speaking neighbourhood distinguishes from itself Norse settlers with Irish affinities[3].It seems that we have here an indication of Irish-Norse influence coming in late to a district already well-settled,for Ireleth is on the Duddon estuary,on an exposed west-facing site.All other early settlements near it are east and south of the hills.The neighbourhood is low-lying,and still marshy in parts.Field-names recorded in the Tithe Schedules reflect the nature of

1.see above,23 seq.
2.see map 4.

3."Irishmen" here,as in similar names in the north-west,is a nickname for Norsemen from Ireland.

the land: Star mire(fields 1909-1911),Mire Wood(1089,1090 and 1280);eleven adjoining fields called 'Park Moss',ten scattered fields called 'Sour Earth',and two'Sour land'(2255, 2256).Here,too,have been found the only field-names in all Furness which suggest Irish influence - several <u>ergs</u>: Low Arrow(1333 and 1336),High Arrow(1334 and 1335),Tom Arrow(1344), and Near Arrow(1346).It seems,then,that an Irish-Norse colony which was responsible for two of the Furness <u>ergs</u>,[1] established itself about here late,on poor land,avoided by earlier Norse and Anglian settlers.

Further north,are High and Low Bethecar(<u>Bothaker</u> 1509 Beck,304,<u>Betaker</u> 1537 LR),both on ground c.650-700' high.The bleak,upland situation of these places makes it very difficult to believe that the element was here used in the sense of a summer or hill pasture.The valley lands here were well-settled by the Norse,and their richness is in striking contrast to the Bethecar land.It does not seem feasible that the valley settlers would send their animals away from good pastures to this place.Some support to this view is given by the fact that Low Bethecar is not now a farm,but is used merely as barns by Stock farm below it.Bethecar is the only <u>erg</u> name in our area compounded with a Celtic personal name(<u>Bethoc</u>,<u>Beathag</u>).The impression of the site is that it would be a home for some late incomer from Ireland.

The remaining <u>erg</u> sites in Furness are Torver(<u>Thoruergh</u>

1.the two Stewnors(<u>stofn-erg</u>).

1190-9LaCh,Torvergh 1246Ass)[1],and Little Arrow(Little Array 1610, Little Harrow 1671RW 112).Both these are far into the fells,and confirm the impression that the people who gave the erg names in Furness and Cartmel were late comers,who were forced to settle on poor ground,or on high,exposed sites,leaving the good land to the earlier settlers,including Norsemen whose place and field names give no indication that they had ever been in Ireland.Thus,a consideration of the evidence from Amounderness and the Lake District,leaving out of account the odd erg in Wirral,shows that erg names can appear in England in districts where there are no inversion-compounds,and may indicate an earlier stream of settlers;but that in Furness and Cartmel,at least,they seem to be later than other signs of Norse settlement.

Before relating these conclusions to the rest of the Lake District,we have still to consider the relation of erg to setr.It is striking that erg never appears with a Celtic element except in the one instance given above,when it is compounded with a Celtic personal name.Setr is found as a first and last element;in inversion-compounds;and is compounded with both Norse and Celtic elements.Again,it will be convenient to consider first the distribution of this element in Furness, where the situation is uncomplicated by the presence of inversion-compounds.In east Furness,there are five setrs,all compounded with Norse elements.They lie in the heart of the

1.probably here in its true sense of'mountain pasture'.

district between Coniston and Windermere lakes.[1] All the place-names in this region are Norse, and there are no signs at all of Irish-Norse influence. We have seen above[2] that in the Orkneyinga Saga setr is equated with erg, and modern definitions confirm this. But the distribution of the two elements in the Lake District merits further consideration.

Olsen's examination of the setr names in Norway led him to the conclusion that they were secondary and inferior farms, but always involve the idea of permanent human residence in the place. He and Brøgger are agreed that the setr farms in Norway developed between the sixth and eighth centuries,[3] We have seen earlier that it was largely from the overcrowded setr farms that the emigration to Shetland and Orkney took place. Therefore, the element which was secondary and inferior in Norway, in the new area became fundamental and lost its social significance. Brøgger shows that the element long remained in use in Shetland, but that many of the surviving farm-names there, are formed with a personal name which may be that of the original settler. It is thus clear that setr was originally used to indicate a permanent home, and not merely in the sense of a temporary, or summer, mountain site, as it is usually explained in the Lake District.[4] Cleasby confirms this view, giving "seat, residence", as the primary meaning of setr,

1. see map 4.
2. page 64.
3. Olsen, 163, 168, and see p.8 above.
4. see, for instance, Collingwood (1925), 43; Sylvester (1947), 90.

and konungs-setr as an example of this - "king's residence", not "the king's mountain-pasture".How,then,explain the identification of setr with erg in the Orkneymen's saga ?

We have earlier seen that the setr class began to leave Norway c.780 A.D.[1]It is not until much later that an aristocratic class with a different Norwegian background,begins to settle the islands.They did not use setr as a farm name at all.It was the mark of an earlier and inferior population both in Norway and the islands.It is not found in Iceland or the Faroes,both known to have been settled much later than Shetland and Orkney.The Saga was not written down until the early thirteenth century,and then,perhaps in Iceland.[2]Thus,there is no reason from this late definition to suppose that the earliest island settlers did not carry the primary meaning of the element to the Lake District.

We have earlier considered the probability of some of the Shetland and Orkney settlers,or their immediate descendants eventually reaching the Lake District.The question then arises whether early arrivals would come to this southern part,and would go as far into the fells as where the setr names occur. Along the Cumberland coast,there are few good landing-places. The Irish Sea tide from the north,swings south by Rathlin and the Mull of Kintyre,until it meets the northbound tide off the Point of Ayre,when both are deflected eastwards,and enter Morecambe Bay,[3]travelling high up the estuaries.Until the

1.page 8.The development of setr as a farm name was already complete.

2.cf.Taylor,13,333,403.

3.Kelly(1924),2.

viaduct was built, the Kent bore was 3½', which gives some indication of the height of tides in all the estuaries.[1] The Gokstad ship, loaded, needed only 3' of water to float it.[2] Probably, the settlers had smaller ships than this,[3] but until this century, much larger vessels reached Greenodd to collect the products of the cotton-factory at Spark Bridge. Even if the Norse ships penetrated no further than this first break in the longitudinal profile of the Leven estuary,[4] a glance at the map(1) shows that they would be in the heart of the land between Coniston and Windermere. It is notable that there is no Anglian site at the head of the Leven estuary. The Duddon is blocked by Broughton-in-Furness, the Kent by Heversham, and other sites outside our boundary, but Greenodd is at least partly Norse. From here, or some higher point on the river, they could make for high, dry land, by-passing both British and Anglian sites in Low Furness and Cartmel,[5] and avoiding the sphagnum bogs near the estuary.[6] If the early settlers were of the type of those in Shetland and Orkney, it is reasonable to infer that they were not professional sailors, desiring to stay near the sea. Neither would they wish to be within the orbit of their marauding brethren, once they had cleared land, and established crops and animals. The Viking custom of "strand-hogg" had dire results for peaceful farmers. But those who sailed up the fiord-

1. Steers, 92.
2. Wooldridge, 105.
3. cf. Hodgkin, II, 506 and n.36.
4. cf. Wooldridge, 105.
5. see above, 45.
6. sometimes (e.g. Holker moss), 5 miles long, and 20-30' deep. Clearly shown, PearPen, 138 (map).

like estuaries of Morecambe Bay would be protected by its peculiar tide-conditions,[1] avoid the dangers of the boulder-strewn beaches of Cumberland, and its constant exposure to chance raiders, and find empty land in plenty to farm. Further, as the steering-oar of Viking-period ships hung well below the stern, landing from deep river-water involved less danger to the ships, than landing on the beaches. Thus, all external conditions point to this southern district being the scene of the earliest settlement. It remains to consider whether the <u>setr</u> sites would have attracted the earliest permanent settlers.

Satterthwaite(<u>Saterthwayt</u> 1336 FC II), must have meant "<u>setr</u> in a clearing"; this is not a district for pastures. It stands at c.300' in a deep, heavily-wooded valley. It would be sheltered, but not, on the whole, a site which would seem to be outstandingly attractive to a very early settler. But a Roman road seems to have passed near,[2] and may account for this choice. Hawkshead(<u>Hovkesete</u> 1198-1208Ch, orig., <u>Haukesset</u> c.1220 FC) church is traditionally the site of the earliest settlement here.[3] This reasonable theory is based on the further tradition that signs of earth-stockading used to be visible on the morainic hill where the church now stands. The valley-bottom is flat, and still very marshy near the lake. But the church-hill is backed by two others which shelter it from the west wind, and is high enough above the valley-floor (250'), to

1. between tides, the bare sands and shoals are very dangerous.
2. Baines, II, 670, and cf. Collingwood, (1896), 50.
3. see e.g. Cowper, 30.

be out of reach of floods,[1] and have the full benefit of the sun. Hauk's <u>setr</u> seems an ideal site for settlement, and probably an illustration of Brøgger's definition of one of the earliest types of Shetland farm-names - that containing the name of the first settler.[2]

South-east of Hawkshead, overlooking Lake Windermere, is Satterhow[3] (<u>Satterhow</u> 1588 RW 44, <u>--e</u> 1597 HawksheadR), 250' high. Its situation suggests that it would be an excellent site for permanent settlement, sheltered from the west, and on naturally-drained land, high above the lake. Further north, are Arnside (<u>Ernesyde</u> 1537 FCII; <u>Arnesyd</u> c.1535 Beck 329), and Ambleside,[4] (<u>Amelsate</u> 1275Ch, Cl). Arnside (c.600'), is still only a farm, standing on a hill-slope above a valley which in Norse days must have been practically impassable, and where there is still scarcely any human settlement. But the farm itself is on high, dry ground, fairly near Hawkshead, and near the three small tarns (now one), known as 'Tarn Hows'.[5] Ambleside is at the head of Windermere; it could easily be reached by water from the foot of the lake, or from Hawkshead, possibly along a Roman road.[6] It is difficult to guess at the site of the original settlement here; almost certainly it would be further from the lake than the Roman fort, which had proved a very damp and unpleasant

1. see p.22(5), above.
2. Brøgger, 73.
3. a farm till 1911, now modernised. Claimed by the owners to have been founded by "Jan the Norseman".
4. Ambleside is in Westmorland, not Furness, but is geographically in this region. See below, 77, ftn.1.
5. correctly, 'Highlow Tarn'. cf. 1" map.
6. see p.73, ftn.2.

home for its inhabitants.There is high ground and a beck near the old church of St.Anne.Probably the earliest settlement was somewhere about here.[1]

This examination of the _setr_ sites shows that all were suitable for early settlement.When their altitudes are compared with those of the _ergs_ of west Furness,it is at once clear that they are lower;indeed,four are valley sites.But all the settlement in High Furness was Norse;it is a wild and lonely region.Even the activities of the Forestry Commission in recent years have done little to disturb the deep isolation. The Norse sites are scattered,and a farm such as Ickenthwaite, (_ikorni-þveit_),is nearly as difficult to find as it must have been when the land was first cleared.Many of the sites seem to contain the name of the first settler - Finsthwaite, Rusland.The question,then,arises,whether the _setrs_ might have been regarded as temporary,or mountain,farms,or pastures, by these Norse settlers to the south of them.There is nothing in their mutual relation to suggest this.Finsthwaite and Ickenthwaite are both c.300',Rusland is 100' high.This last name is particularly interesting in its relation to the _setr_ names.It is one of the very few '_land_'names in our district with an undoubted Norse first element - _Hróaldr_ or _Hrólfr_ (Rolesland 1336 FC).We saw earlier that the[2] second stratum of emigrants to Shetland in the first phase,

1.Miss Armitt takes a similar view(CWNS VI,1).The ford (Halicar),she mentions,is not on the 6" map,but must have been in this neighbourhood.

2.page 9.

was from the **land** farms of south-west Norway. Olsen defines **land** as "ground on which a farm will be built".[1] It cannot be stated with certainty that Rusland preserves memories of an early settler from Shetland or Orkney, since land is an element common to Old English and Old Norse, but it is striking that this example should occur so near to the district where there is **good reason** for thinking that setr is used in its original sense.

On all grounds, it seems reasonable to accept Hawkshead, Arnside and Ambleside as certain early sites, using setr in its primary sense: two of these contain a personal name, and the third a topographical term. Probably Satterthwaite and Satterhow, considering their geographical situation and their relation to the other sites, are also early settlements. One very important fact stands out: four of the five setrs in this region are in the Windermere drainage area.[2] Most of the Norse sites to the south of them are not. Thus, it is from the neighbourhood of such sites as Arnside, Ambleside, Hawkshead and Satterhow, that some of the pollen evidence which shows disturbance of the surface vegetation, must have reached the Lake. But the pollen which implies human interference, can be detected there by c.900 A.D.;[3] therefore, the land-clearing process must have begun well before this. Thus, all the evidence seems to point to the region between Windermere and Coniston lakes being an area of very early settlement. There are no certain early

1. Olsen, 229-230. 2. Satterthwaite is not. 3. see above, 19; and cf. Pearsall (1949) 24.

sites east of Windermere, and it seems safe to hazard a guess that the direction of advance of settlers from the setr area would be westward along Langdale, keeping south of the fell barrier[1] behind which lie Rydal and Grasmere, presumably settled later, and perhaps from the north. There is nothing in the names to help us here. But it is probably safe to infer that Langdale itself was originally a strict Norse name, notwithstanding the recorded forms of the name (Langedenelittle c.1160 LaCh, Langedena, -dala 1179P, Langedal, 1252 Ch). This is typically Norse country, and there is no early Anglian site hereabouts: it is of interest to note that in Iceland, too, there are two Langdales[2]. Near here is Elterwater (orig. Elptarvatn)[3], further confirming the view that this whole area was one of early Norse settlement, and again showing similarity to Icelandic names[4].

Both in Wirral and Amounderness, we noted that the Norse incomers took the first available land[5]. Can we, on the evidence of the setr names, the Morecambe Bay tides, and the changed nature of the Windermere pollen c.900 A.D., infer that the process was different in the Lake District ? In Wirral, the political situation strongly affected the ingress; in Amounderness, the settlement stretched into the Pennines, where

1. From Hawkshead, the fells appear to rise in an unbroken wall behind Ambleside.
2. Ellwood (1898), 58.
3. cf. Ekwall (1922), 192, and Intro. I, i, 68.
4. Ellwood (1898), 7, 34, 46.
5. see above, 27, 28, 32.

it met both physical and political barriers.But in the Lake District,the valleys were unoccupied,and gave unlimited opportunities to enterprising immigrants.Furness is a natural region with good natural boundaries to east,north and west.We have earlier noted that there was considerable British settlement in Cartmel,and both there and in Low Furness,there were Anglian sites.That Norsemen did settle in these districts, is clear from the place-names,but occasionally these give the impression of an odd Norse settler in an alien community, e.g.Flóki's burg(Flookburgh),with an English second element. There is reason,on all grounds,to believe that the earliest Norse immigrants in this district,took advantage of the empty lands,and established farms early in the high fells. Here,the known intimate relation between the character of the prevailing vegetation[1] and the kind of animal kept,makes it certain that they would concentrate on sheep-farming. Festuca-agrostis grassland,as noted above,[2] with its short turf, is ideal for sheep,which are dependent entirely on plant-food which can be nibbled,and so,essentially animals of mountain and moorland,shunning forests.Probably,they were mainly of value for their milk and wool,as early sheep carried little meat;[3] and we have seen above[4] that numerous names remain to indicate the Norse fondness for pork:and probably also,since pigs are forest animals,the heavily-wooded or forest areas.

1.cf.Clark,129.
2.page 20.
3.Clark,133-4.
4.page 56.There is a Grizedale near Hawkshead.

It has been noted above[1] that setr also occurs in inversion-compounds, which all the evidence seems to show, indicate the presence of fairly late Norse settlers from Ireland. The question, then, arises, whether setr names always show the presence of early settlers with affinities with Shetland and Orkney, or whether the element was separately introduced by the incomers from Ireland.

In Norway, setr passed out of living use before the first emigrants left for the Scottish isles, sometime in the eighth century.[2] There are clear indications that the Norse who settled in Ireland, came direct from Norway. Irish and Norse sources both give the impression that the Irish settlements were the result of organised military conquest. In 836 A.D., the Annals of the Four Masters relate that 60 ships were in the Liffey, and the same number in the Boyne.[3] About 839 A.D., ships of war were given to Torgils, to go "westward on a viking cruise"; he plundered in Scotland, Ireland and Bretland, was "the first of the Northmen who took Dublin", and "was a long time king over Dublin".[4] Later came Olaf the White, nearly a century after setr died out of use in Norway. Both Torgils and Olaf came with royal fleets from the homeland to plunder and conquer a Christian country. Their aims were clearly different from those of the earliest emigrants, and fairly certainly

1. page 69.
2. see above, 70.
3. Annals, 455.
4. Laing, ch. XXXV.

they came from a different social group.We have already seen that no setrs appear in Iceland or the Faroes,[1] and it is worth noting at this point that in Wirral,whose settlers must have been the descendants of some of the Vikings of these years,there are no setr names.It seems,then,that the Norse settlers in Ireland were not users of this element,which was out of date in Norway before they emigrated.Thus,their use of it in inversion-compounds in the Lake District could hardly have been spontaneous.

But no reason has so far been found for thinking that the early Norse settlers in the Lake District were of different social status from the earliest stratum of farmer-colonists in Shetland and Orkney.The types of names discussed above,[2] show their interests as practical farmers,and it has been inferred that there was no plunder to attract pirate Vikings.[3] Like all emigrants of the Viking age,the settlers' object was gain,but gain in ample land for farming,and an independent life.It is fairly clear on chronological grounds that the setr names did not reach the Lake District direct from Norway,and we have just seen that on similar grounds,and also considering the type of settler in Ireland,it is extremely unlikely that they came from there.On the other hand,40% of the old farm-names in Shetland are setr names,and the element lasted in its primary sense there until the

1.page 71.
2.see e.g.,54-6.
3.see above,10-12.

thirteenth century.[1] It is reasonable to believe that those who emigrated again from Shetland, would transfer their most important element there, to the new district, and that, in both Shetland and the Lake District, isolated as they were, this element would live long. Other examples can be found of archaic usages in the Lake District,[2] and setr certainly remained in living use until after the Conquest, for two of the setr inversion-compounds at present under discussion, contain personal names which were not in use in England before that time: setr Godard (Satgodard c.1205 StBA, now Seat How); and setr Alein (Settallian 1783 Donald).

Thus, the interpretation of these setr inversion-compounds seems to be that the element, brought in early, and commonly used, was taken over by the later arrivals from Ireland, and perhaps other Celtic lands, and used by them in forming names in the Irish fashion. In Wirral, where no Norse settlers existed before Ingimund's expedition came, the element does not appear, but in Lakeland, the adaptable Norseman formed inversion-compounds with English, French, Irish, Norse and Welsh elements, as in Croft-morris, craicc-Suthán (Greysouthen), setr-alor (Seatoller), carrecc-bukkr-holmr (Karkebucholm), and the two named above. Thus, there is no reason to doubt that in districts where his native tongue was already in use, he would adopt the element setr. It is noteworthy that nearly all the setr inversion-compounds are in districts of certain early Norse

1. cf. Brøgger, 73.
2. see, for instance, Bugge (1921), 181-2.

settlement.Miterdale(Meterdal 1294 Cl,Miterdale 1334 Ipm), Ennerdale(Anenderdale c.1135 Low.,Eynordale 1322 Cl),and Borrowdale(Borgordale c.1170(n.d.)StBA,Borcheredale c.1210 Fur), all preserve Norse genitives,and it has earlier been pointed out that the distribution of inversion-compounds in Eskdale - Ravenglass on an exposed and sandy site by the sea,and Butterilket at the far end of the valley,seems to show that the valley was well-settled before the Irish-Norse immigration took place.[1] But it is clear that an Irish-Norse immigration which must have been considerable,took place all along this coast,since even field-names are on record,which seem to date from the settlement-period,e.g.Setikonoc in Gosforth(Setikonoc c.1260 StB,Seteknoc c.1240 ib),and Setforn'in Muncaster(c.1215 StB): setr cnocc and Forni's setr. But the grammatical-Norse valley-names here,and Borrowdale, and the distribution of both major and minor inverted names, imply that these valleys were first settled by Norsemen uninfluenced by Celtic civilisation.We can contrast them with other regions in our district,where Celticised Norsemen settled,and where the river-names,too,are inverted e.g. Bec-Snari(c.1203 StBA),Bech-wythop'(1247 FF),Bec-Melbrid (Inq.1273):but in these regions,there are no clear signs of early Norse settlers,untouched by Celtic civilisation.

All these facts strengthen still further the belief formed earlier on the evidence of the distribution of the

1.see p.62.

inversion-compounds, that the Irish-Norse came to a district already inhabited by earlier Norse settlers.

One final group of inversion-compounds remains to be considered - that along the Derwent. There are no setr names at all here, which, from the evidence discussed above, we may perhaps take to indicate that the district was not among the earliest to be settled by the Norse; and possibly still further proof that setr-names point to a stratum of immigrants who came direct from Shetland. Anglian sites are thick in this region, and on the evidence of the 'Historia de Sancto Cuthberto', we are entitled to believe that this was an Anglian, Christian district in c.880. This fact would explain the absence of the earliest stratum of settlers, if, as seems certain, they came as peaceful farmers, seeking empty lands, though at least equal weight must be given to the theory advanced earlier, that the Morecambe Bay estuaries formed the ideal landing ground.

But most of the inversion-compounds along the Derwent seem to belong to the settlement-period, being formed with Irish or Norse personal names, and, usually, a Norse first element, which frequently describes a natural feature, and never a habitation-site, as though the incomers took what they could in a district already well-occupied. Thus we have as first elements, gil, tiǫrn, fit(2), eign, bryggia, and along

the Marron, moldi and snabbi, (gil-Gearran, tiorn-Gunnar-hryggr (field), fit-Brandán, fit-clōh-hōh, eign- and bryggia-Thorfin, moldi-Corcán and snabbi-Maurice). The British river-name, Derwent, has survived here, too, and there is some reason to believe that this valley was avoided by the earliest settlers and later used primarily as a route to the east. This string of names disappears as we follow the river from its mouth. Is it possible to trace a connection between this fact, and the site of the Roman station at Papcastle ? Here, the Roman road branched north-west to Maryport, and north-east to Carlisle. We know that there was a close connection between the Norse in Dublin and those in York, while the Norse kingdom of York flourished. From Derwent-mouth, the Norse could follow the valley to Papcastle, and from there, follow the Roman road to Carlisle, and so join the road over Stainmoor to York, thus avoiding the difficulties of travel through the high fell district.

This theory would to some extent explain many of the points raised above: the lateness and type of Norse settlement in this area, the lack of ergs,[1] the groups of inversion-compounds by Thirlmere and east of Ullswater. The York-bound travellers were doubtless men of the type of Ingimund's company, and probably from the centres of political life in Ireland; not, like our settlers from Shetland, primarily farmers. Perhaps some of them, like Ingimund in 902, "grew weary of war",[2] and took root on the first unoccupied land they found, near to the Angles and the

1. see above, 64-5.
2. Wainwright (1948), 167.

coast.It is not improbable that some attempt was made to reach York by a shorter route than by going right across the sandstone lowlands to Carlisle,and up the Eden valley.Earlier Norsemen had found a way along Bassenthwaite,and named Borrowdale:the groups of inversion-compounds by Thirlmere suggest that Irish-Norsemen tried to reach Penrith and York by Bassenthwaite and the Greta valley,and left stragglers,who may have given these names.The Ullswater group is probably explained in much the same way[1]:settlers,coming in this case, either from the route by the Greta,or perhaps from the Eden.

It is striking that at the other end of our district - the Kent valley - there is a similar cluster of inversion-compounds;and along the Lune.Most of these are outside our ken[2],but it is interesting to observe,that the two valleys where most inversion-compounds occur,both lead out of our district eastwards,and both link with Roman roads.It is, significantly,from Heversham near the Kent estuary,that Abbot Tilred[3] fled sometime before 915 A.D.,to avoid pirates,and at Castlehead,not far away,that a hoard of hidden coins,none of them later than this period,was found[4].It is not impossible that the Lune estuary was used also,by the Irish-Norse invaders,but Athelstan's purchase of Amounderness brought him to the southern shore of Morecambe Bay by 930,and it is possible that ingress by the Kent was preferred,and an easy

1.see above,58,62. 2.and so,not mapped.
3.see above,34-5.
4.VCH La,I,259,and Collingwood,(1927),122.

lowland journey to join the Roman road in Lunedale.The Kent is the easternmost estuary of Morecambe Bay,has kept its British name,and like the Derwent,would enable travellers to strike eastwards by a route which avoids the high fells,and overcomes the difficulty of attempting ingress further south, where,as we have seen,Ethelflaed and Edward the Elder had made preparation to deal with invaders.[1]

Stenton points out that the ease with which communication between Ireland and York was maintained"suggests very strongly that the north-west coast of England was in Norse occupation".[2] The distribution of inversion-compounds gives reason for thinking that they are connected with the traffic between Dublin and York:the suggested routes were both beyond the reach of English authority,and all the inversion-compound sites can be explained in relation to one or other route.All are in areas which would be reached from west-facing estuaries,or by entering the fells from the north,except the Kent group.Here,the grouping throws further light on the absence of inversion-compounds in Furness and Cartmel- nobody wishing to reach Yorkshire would go up either the Duddon or the Leven - but the Kent to the east of these strikes into the heart of the land,and the presence of Anglian sites would not deter aggressive incomers.[3] Near Kent-mouth is Brigsteer(bryggia-Styr),a solitary site in a district where early settlement is practically nil,since the whole valley is

1.see pp.28-9,30 above.
2.Stenton(1943),327.
3.see p.72.

a peat bog.[1] Brigsteer stands at the junction of alluvium and limestone,fairly clearly the choice of a settler with only limited opportunities.

By 927,Athelstan was clearly determined to take a firm stand against these aggressive incomers;thus,we may infer that the influx was becoming dangerous before this.Clearly, the danger was still present ten years later when he succeeded in breaking at Brunanburh,the power of the alliance against him.Then,we are specifically told,the Northmen departed by sea to "Ireland once more in mind abashed".[2] The site of Brunanburh is still not known,[3] but it was surely somewhere in the far north-west,and there is reason to think that some of our inversion-compound-giving adventurers may have been among the combatants.

Combining all strands of evidence so far surveyed, there is reason to think that very early Norse settlement took place in the southern Lake District,and probably also in the valleys converging on Ravenglass;Probably these settlers were peaceful farmers from Shetland and Orkney, whose possession of the best land,judging by the distribution of later erg and inversion-compound sites,was not disputed. Later immigrants apparently came both to settle and to pass

1. see maps 2,3,and PearPen,map p.138. Brigsteer is not,as Ekwall(1918),37, near the Gilpin,but its tributary, Underbarrow Pool.

2. ASC ,II,86-8.

3. cf.McClure,272; Antiquity,VIII,338, XI,283-93.

through the district,using the Roman roads as routes to the Norse kingdom of York.To attempt absolute dating of these events would be rash,but there is no reason to doubt that early settlers may have come south any time after the first Norsemen found their way into the Irish Sea.All the islands off the Furness peninsula have Norse names,of a type which suggests that they were remembered as landmarks,and the river Winster in O.N.is "the left one",as it would be to sailors coming up the Kent,and in relation to the Gilpin.The first Norsemen here must have been explorers ,and there is no reason to assume that their exploration was confined to the areas which were worth plundering[1]:these had to be located.

It is interesting to note that W.B.Kendall places the earliest Norse infiltration in c.870 A.D.,without giving any reason for this dating[2].The evidence of the Windermere sediments indicates that some settlement took place in the south of our region at least,well before 900 A.D.,and it is probable that settlers began to leave the treeless northern isles before the art of boat-building was forgotten.Thus,this unsupported late ninth-century date is probably nearer the truth than the modern view that the Lake District settlements were mainly tenth-century[3];though,as suggested earlier,it is probably wisest to look for some other factor,such as over-crowding or the advent of warring Vikings,as the immediate cause of the incomers' departure from Shetland and Orkney.

1.see Ekwall(1922),200-1,204-5;and above,10-12.
2.unpublished material in possession of Mr.Barnes,Barrow-in - Furness library.
3.see above,12-13,36,39-40.

But we have seen that the names show several strata of immigrants.The settlement of Iceland took sixty winters,and the available evidence from the Lake District place-names seems to show that here,too,the process was long.We do not know whether there was a constant,quiet infiltration,or whether the earliest settlers were long-established before the Irish-Norse influx began.The paucity of such archaeological finds as weapons,and their close proximity,when found,to one or other of the suggested routes to York,[1] perhaps gives further support to the inference drawn from the distribution of place-names,that the early settlers came peacefully,and that the bulk of the inversion-compound immigrants took such land as was left. The distribution of these,together with the reference to pirates in the 'Historia de Sancto Cuthberto'.and Athelstan's actions in 927 and 937,probably make it safe to conclude that aggressive inroads into the north-west began only after the routes further south were blocked,[2] and we may perhaps infer that some of the inversion-compound sites are almost as late as the fall of the Norse kingdom of York.

The _erg_ names remain a difficulty;perhaps some of these show earlier infiltration from Ireland than the inversion-compounds,as suggested above,[3] and as the sites of some of those examined in detail seem to indicate._Erg_ is almost entirely confined to the west of our district,apart from the isolated

1.Shetelig,IV,18,21,45,46,74;and Cowen,170-2,175-6.
2.See p.30 -31 above.
3.see pp.66,69,above.

examples at Berrier and Winder(We),and there is perhaps some reason to think that it was,like the Irish personal names,a temporary fashion,picked up in Ireland,[1] and used sometimes in the Lake District,where topography or the survival of the site indicate,as a settlement-name,or to identify a site which early became a permanent settlement(e.g.Cleator,Stephney,and all but one of the Furness names mentioned above).[2] Possibly some of these show the presence of early settlers from rural Ireland.

But almost always,<u>erg</u> is compounded with a common element e.g.<u>vindr</u>(5),<u>mosi</u>,<u>salt</u>,<u>birki</u>,<u>klettr</u>,<u>stofn</u>(2),and only three times with a personal name,two of them feminine.[3] Many of the <u>erg</u> sites are now unknown:the names remain merely as the names of old parishes(Birker,Salter).Thus,considering the evidence as a whole,it seems that <u>erg</u> is far less significant than <u>setr</u> in the story of the settlement:most <u>setr</u> sites are known,many are important places.But the distribution of <u>erg</u> throughout the district seems to allow the conclusion that it was applied chiefly to pieces of land - emphatically not merely "mountain pastures" - which,to judge by the descriptions applied to them - 'marshy','windy'(Mosser,Winder) - and their positions, were often the poorer areas avoided by earlier settlers.

This is perhaps the most suitable point at which to consider how long the Norse language was spoken in the Lake

1.though <u>Helewynherge</u>(field)in Gosforth,may be post-Conquest.Cf PNCu,397.

2.see above,69,ftn.1.

3.see above,56.

District.Direct evidence is rare,but incidental mention has been made above of place-names which show the survival of Norse elements in name-formation at least until the Norman-French reached the north-west,e.g.Seatallan.[1] The whole mass of Norse field and place-names implies long use of a Norse vocabulary until it had become permanantly embedded in the place-nomenclature of the district.[2] This is further borne out by the great number of strict Norse grammatical forms,and occasional rare words which still survive to describe places.[3]

In the area with which we are immediately concerned,there is a surprising absence of names in <u>by</u>:in the fells,there are none,but names such as Ponsonby,Moresby(<u>Puncunesbi</u> c.1160 StBA; <u>Moresceby</u> c.1160 StB(p)),prove that it was still a living element when these post-Conquest personal names came into local use.Thus,from the distribution of names in <u>by</u>,and the elements with which it was used,it seems possible to infer that Norse-speaking people kept <u>by</u> in living use for a very long period, but with strictly limited meaning:to describe a cluster of homes or a large settlement(Birkby,Kirkby),[4] or with some social significance as 'the lord's house or estate':Croft-morris is near Maurice's <u>by</u>.This perhaps gives further evidence that the early Norse settlers were of a humbler station,calling their own homes <u>þveit</u> or <u>setr</u>:it is notable that nearly all the Wirral Norse names are in <u>by</u>,perhaps further stressing their different origin.[5]

1.see above,81.
2.see above,52.
3,see e.g.67,82; 53-4.
4.see above,44,56.
5.see above,27,79-80;and Wainwright(1948),161-2.

A charter of Henry II relating to Cumberland, preserves O.N. þveitar as an accusative plural('alios thweiter')[1], thus giving some slight evidence that grammatical Norse was spoken as late as this. At Pennington in Furness, is the famous tympanum inscribed in Norse runes[2]. Purely on the evidence of this stone, the sweeping statement has several times been made, that all Furness was Norse-speaking in the twelfth century[3]. Keyser dates the tympanum as "not earlier than 1150"[4]. Thus, even if the runes are regarded as no more a proof of the language spoken, than is a Latin-inscribed foundation-stone of the present day, it is still clear that in the Pennington district, halfway through the twelfth century, someone understood how to cut and read Norse runes. Perhaps this is too cautious. Outside our district, twelfth-century Norse runes are also found at Carlisle, while some of the English runes on the late twelfth-century font at Bridekirk belong to a shortened Viking type[5]. In view of material discussed in the next chapter, it is of interest to note that these short runes were used also in Man. The Pennington runes were intended to give information: "Gamal founded this church. Hubal the mason wrought--"[6], and doubtless the local population understood them. Ekwall takes them,

1. Bugge(1921), 199.   2. now in the church. Illus. VCH La VIII, 340
3. e.g. Collingwood(1925), 78; Ekwall, Intro. I, i, 90.
4. Keyser, xxviii, and f. 137.
5. Bugge, op. cit. 203; Calverley, 68; Talbot Rice, 151.
6. CWNS III, 378-9. Since Talbot Rice has recently (May 1952) given the earlier reading of these runes (cf. Reliquary NS VIII, 200-1) rejected by Collingwood on examining the stone in 1902, it is worth noting that Collingwood, Eiríkr Magnússon, and Dr. Fell, came independently to the conclusion that the above reading is correct.

probably correctly, as a proof that the upper class here was still Norse-speaking,[1] though the inscription itself shows that the language was losing its inflections. But if the inflected language lasted so late in this district where the population was mixed, we are doubtless safe in inferring that in the purely Norse region of the fells, it was in use much longer: sheep terms, in fact, and survivals in local dialects,[2] are in use to this day.

But while giving full weight to the evidence of thousands of late-surviving field-names, and grammatical forms in descriptive language which has been fossilized as place-nomenclature, we must remember that Ekwall draws attention to the absence of late Scandinavian sound-changes in England, though among those he notes at least one is in our district.[3] Further, archaic usages in the Lake District, implying early severance from the main stream of Norse life, have already been mentioned.[4] But it seems more than accidental that Norse influence on language should show itself on monuments in three widely separate districts, and in a document, all of the mid or late twelfth century. Ekwall's argument loses some of its force here, where early records are few:[5] it is worth noting, in this connection, that two Norse test-words, demonstrably in use early (e.g. Gil-Gearran, Bec-Melbrid), do not appear in literary English until the eighteenth century; "gill" is used first by Wordsworth in 1787, "beck" by Southey in 1795.[6]

1. Ekwall (1930), 24.
2. see below 135, 154, and cf. Brilioth and Ellwood (1895), passim.
3. Ekwall, op. cit., 21.
4. see above, 81.
5. see above, 46-7.
6. Pearsall Smith, 52.

Chapter 4.

There are in the Lake District remains of many stone pre-Conquest crosses, one complete cross, and several hogbacks. These are not, on the whole, of high artistic quality, and frequently they are left out of books on pre-Conquest art, or a single example from a site is brought in to illustrate a special point, and the rest of the material at the site ignored. But poor monuments, or the lack of any, though unimportant in a survey of art development, may be vital historical evidence for the type of population in a district. They are unchanged evidence of contemporary ability and taste, and must be taken into account in an attempt to reconstruct early history. There is good reason for thinking that the monuments of the Lake District bear out the conclusions already reached: that the Irish Sea was a Norse sphere, and that the Lake District is culturally akin to other areas around its shores, rather than to the rest of England east of the fells.[1] The closest parallels to local art seem to be in Man, Galloway and Norway itself. But we shall find notable local differences in the type and distribution of the monuments within the district.

In order adequately to examine the significance of the

1. see above, 5, 10.

Lake District monuments, it is necessary to have some idea of the general evolution of Anglian and Scandinavian plastic art. It is not known for certain how the free-standing stone cross originated. Clapham states that in the life of St. Willibald is mentioned the Anglo-Saxon custom of setting up a cross on the estates of noble and good churchmen.[1] Baldwin Brown mentions that wooden crosses were used by itinerant priests.[2] Collingwood draws attention to a cross on a slab from Clonmacnois, which has a spiked end suitable for sticking in the ground, and is perhaps an illustration of this type.[3] It is possible that place-names such as Crossdale, Crosthwaite in the Lake District commemorate preaching-places with such crosses.[4] We know that Oswald set up a wooden cross before the battle of Heavenfield in 634 A.D. Thus, it is clear that the upright cross as the symbol of Christianity was familiar to the Church in England in the seventh century. But the great stone crosses of the next four centuries are unique in Europe: perhaps they combined the symbol of Christianity with the Roman column, under classical influence;[5] or took as their model earlier megaliths. We can only guess. But it is certain that they began as the result of changes in the Church.[6]

In 664, at Whitby, Oswiu decided to adopt Roman Christianity. As a result of this decision, Theodore of Tarsus

1. Clapham, 62, ftn. 2.
2. Arts, I, 255.
3. Collingwood(1927), p. 11, f. 16a.
4. cf. Stenton(1943), 150.
5. cf. Clapham, 133.
6. ib. 58, and cf. KenH, 348.

came to Britain in 669 to organise the English Church and introduce to it the Christian art and civilisation of the Mediterranean.We are concerned here only with the carving of stone crosses which began about now.Perhaps Reculver cross was carved in Theodore's own lifetime.[1] But it is in Northumbria that this art reached its earliest and highest perfection. Northumbria was politically supreme,and suitable stone for carving was easily available: but more important was the enthusiasm for Roman civilisation of two remarkable men, Wilfrid,and Benedict Biscop.Both were frequent visitors to Gaul and Rome,and Benedict had travelled in Theodore's retinue when the Archbishop first came to Britain.It is largely thanks to the efforts of these men that Northumbria became the cultural leader of England in the late seventh and eighth centuries.We can only glance at the stone churches they raised,or whose building they inspired,and which have no parallel in our western district - Corbridge,Jarrow,Monkwearmouth,Escomb,Ripon; and Wilfrid's great church of Hexham,claimed to be the largest north of the Alps,and obviously,from its existing remains,not much smaller than the present abbey.But with the stone crosses we are directly concerned.They became the popular art of the countryside,and influenced all stone-carving until the Conquest.

The most frequent and important decoration on all early crosses was the vine-scroll,plain or inhabited.This,like the

1.cf.Jessup,184-6;Kendrick(1938),115;Arts VI,ii,176.
See also Talbot Rice,97;Saxl,20.

building of stone churches, shows strong classical influence: it is hardly ever found in Scotland or Ireland. Recent investigation seems to show that the vine-scroll came to England directly from Syria, where its nearest prototypes are found in the mosaics of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, and those of the Great Mosque in Damascus.[1] Theodore himself was a Greek, in direct contact with the Hellenistic Orient, and between 686 and 731 A.D., five Syrians were Popes,[2] so there is nothing unlikely in this theory. Brøndsted points to the figures on St. Cuthbert's coffin and the Franks Casket as an instance of what English workmen could do at this period;[3] and we know that foreign workmen were brought to England by Theodore, Wilfrid and Benedict. Perhaps the symbol of the true vine (St. John XV), was intended, since the crosses were witnesses to Christianity. Certainly the motive lasted as long as cross-carving itself, though changing and deteriorating with time, until the memory of its origin was lost, and it remained, as on the eleventh-century shaft at Urswick, in Furness, merely as a pattern in a folk art.

It is not possible, nor necessary for our purpose, to trace all the steps in the development of cross art in Northumbria, but it is useful to note some of its main features. It is clear that the most classical and naturalistic examples come earliest- the inhabited vine at Otley is as naturalistic as that on

1. Kitzinger, 62, 67, 68, and pl. V; Brøndsted, 20, 21.
2. Brøndsted, 31.

Maximian's throne at Ravenna, or the plain vine of the Mshatta facade.[1] But soon, the reality of the vine is lost, and the geometrical lines of the stem are emphasised at the expense of its character as a living plant, as at Rothbury, St. Andrew Auckland, or Croft.[2] This is not the result of bad workmanship; the carving is good. The Croft fragment, especially, is beautifully carved, but it is clear that the carver had never seen a vine. At Easby, new Carolingian influences which must have been copied from small ivories, can be traced;[3] and at Melsonby and Cundall-Aldborough, West-Saxon influences,[4] which are only found around York and Ripon.

On Acca's cross at Hexham, one of the few which can be dated exactly (740 A.D.), the grapes are emphasised at the expense of the leaves. This monument warns us against accepting too simple a theory of development for the crosses, for its complicates double scroll has no fellow in England.[5] We know that Acca visited Rome as Wilfrid's chaplain, and may later have sent for, or given asylum to, fresh foreign workmen, perhaps refugees from the Arab conquerors.[6] It seems certain that a school of carvers existed at Hexham. We can trace its influence at Heversham.[7] This is the only cross in the Lake District which shows strong classical affinities. We know that an Anglian abbey existed here,[8] and apparently produced this

1. cf. Arts VI, ii, pl. LI; Brøndsted, 24-6, 27, 32, 33.
2. Brøndsted, 38, 39, 42.
3. Arts VI, ii, pl. LXIII, LXV. Cross and ivory in V&A.
4. Collingwood (1927) p.16, f.20c; Kendrick (1938), 196-7.
5. cf. Kitzinger, 68-9.
6. Bede, III, 13, V, 20-1; Hist. Sim. 443; and cf. Collingwood (1932), 37.
7. Arts, VI, ii, pl. LXXI.
8. Arts, VI, ii, 211; Kendrick (1938) 153, 202

attractive monument,whose grapes,like those of Hexham,are emphasised,while the leaves are practically non-existent.But the Heversham vine,unlike those of Hexham,is inhabited,and its animals,though true Anglian,are large,and already "preparing for their future freedom as Anglian beasts",and so prove this cross perhaps a century later than Acca's.[1]

This brief sketch of northern English cross art to about the middle of the ninth century,makes it possible to draw important conclusions concerning the Lake District.All around it was the culture of the Northumbrian Golden Age,and examples of what could be done in stone carving.Apart from the crosses mentioned above,there were others at Carlisle and in south-west Scotland,Anglian since the seventh century.[2] We have seen that Northumbrian art was strong enough to absorb into itself influences from the Carolingian Renaissance,and from Wessex,as later it was to survive and triumph over pagan Danish art.[3] But according to the existing evidence,it did not penetrate our district.For the purpose of the present survey,all the monuments mentioned above,have been studied,as well as those of the Lake District,and it seems clear that the Lake District was practically untouched by classical Northumbrian sculpture.Only at Heversham,on the extreme eastern fringe of the district,is there a monument obviously inspired by the early excellence of

1.Arts VI,ii,211;Kendrick(1938),153,202.
2.see below,125-6.
3.see below,106.

Northumbrian art, and even that is a late derivative of the Hexham school. This absence of monuments implies that the Anglian population of the Lake District coasts was indifferent to the contemporary fashion of carving in stone.

We can go a step further. At Irton, on the west coast, stands a fine cross, Anglian because free-armed, but with geometrical ornament in a carpet-like arrangement of panels on both faces, and a Celtic step-pattern[1] quits unlike the deep carving of Hexham or Ruthwell, where the pattern is carved into the body of the cross, and in Kendrick's words, preserves at Ruthwell the "foreign concept of the storied page and flowing scroll"[2]. Baldwin Brown writes, "to diversify a surface is the first instinct of the barbaric artist, to turn nature to an artistic purpose, that of the classical"[3]. Irton shows a survival of love for barbaric art, and a resistance to classical impulses in the midst of our region. When we recall that even in the porch of Benedict Biscop's own church of Monkwearmouth, appear two swan-head-like carvings which Kendrick identifies as barbaric Ribbon-style snakes, and that on Ruthwell cross itself, is a fall-back to barbaric emphasis of gesture in the Magdalen's arm[4], it is not surprising to find barbaric art triumphing in the far west, and long resisting the influence of the foreign classical discipline, which for

1. Kendrick(1938), 201-2.
2. ib.130. The difference is very clear in Clapham, pl.12 and 17.
3. Arts I, 39.
4. Kendrick, op.cit., 120, 129. Cf. Arts II, 125, f.158.

four centuries dominated Northumbria proper. It is interesting to note that Irton is at no great distance from Barnscar and Birkby, where the remains of stone houses show that a considerable British settlement once existed; this must have lasted, in part, at least, until Norse days, since Birkby is O.N. Bretabýr.[1] If Collingwood's theory that a mixture of races encourages art development, is correct, perhaps we may glimpse this at Irton. We do not know who Christianised this district - Ailred and Joceline both wrote in the twelfth century, too late to give detailed information about the movements of Ninian and Kentigern,[2] but Celtic influence is clear at Irton.

It is then, true on the whole to say that Northumbrian art was hardly represented in the Lake District before the mid-ninth century, and that what little art-impulse there seems to have been in the district, was Hiberno-Celtic. A small Anglian shaft with ivy-leaves on one side exists at Waberthwaite, in which Brøndsted sees southern influences, but this is the only known exception. If we look round the district two centuries later, however, there is a wealth of monuments, largely distinct from the line of art-descent in Anglo-Danish Northumbria, and free from any influence of the Winchester school. Though occasionally there is a similarity in certain features, such as a round shaft or a decadent vine-scroll, they cannot usually be

1. see above, 44.
2. Ninian visited Rome and Tours, but this was before the Roman Church as such, attained power in Britain. It is just possible that an odd one of the numerous holy wells dedicated to these saints preserves a genuine tradition of their presence. See McIntire, passim.

directly derived from any English style.We must look elsewhere for their origin.

We know that the Norse began to infiltrate into the Lake District sometime in the ninth century.Reasons have been advanced for a belief that the southern Lake District was settled first,and by humble farming folk.[1] This is strikingly borne out by the evidence of monuments.We have already noticed the eleventh-century decadent Anglian cross at Urswick.[2] This is the only known site in all the southern Lake District where any early monument[3] exists,and here there are two.[4] But it seems possible to infer that Anglian and Norse farmers in this area pursued their farming life,indifferent to,and perhaps ignorant of,the art of stone-carving.If,as we have attempted to show above,these Norse or their families,originally left overcrowded homes in Norway for isolated Shetland before c.800 A.D.,as farmers principally interested in land;and came eventually to a part of the Lake District where the local Anglian population was rustic,and uninterested in contemporary art,[5] there is reason to believe this view correct.Early settlement in the southern Lake District is a certainty,on the evidence of place-names and the Windermere muds,and we shall see below that Norse settlers who were both early and of low estate,could not have introduced the art forms and ideas which we have still to discuss.

For on the west coast,there is a great variety of styles,

1.see above,e.g.46,71-2,76.
2.see p.97.
3.excluding megaliths.
4.see below,114-5,116.
5.see p.100.

all late, and few good, but seeming to show influences from Man, Galloway, Mercia, and Norway itself. Before discussing these in detail, it is useful to comment on the fact that nearly all the monuments with which we have to deal in the Lake District, are found on Anglian sites.[1] This need occasion no surprise: there are no early churches in the fells. The Angles were Christian before the Norse came, and when the Norsemen adopted Christianity, they also adopted the Anglian centres of worship at the mouths of the valleys: the cultural unity of the valley settlement has earlier been pointed out.[2] Doubtless, some of the later Norse immigrants were already Christian when they came to the Lake District,[3] and for long, the ancient Anglian sites were centres of religious life for the mixed population. Hawkshead, for instance until the thirteenth century, buried its dead at Dalton, involving a journey of over twenty miles.[4]

Thus, at many of these Anglian sites exist a considerable number of stone monuments, commemorating both Angles and Norse. In view of the lack of interest in stone-carving implied by the absence of monuments of the earlier period, in the region, it is difficult to believe that the Anglian population suddenly developed an interest in this art unaided. There is some reason to postulate a fertilisation as the result of the mixture of races. The Norwegian love of art is certain, but it was originally quite different in type and intent from that of the Christian west.

1. see map 2.
2. page 64.
3. see below, 109, 111-12.
4. Baines II, 670.

Both in prehistoric and Viking times, Norwegian love of art expressed itself chiefly in ornament, in which animal patterns predominated; human figures were very primitive until the eleventh century, plant ornament was rare. In Norway, c. 800 A.D. there were two chief styles, Salin's style III, peculiar to Scandinavia alone, unlike his styles I and II, which he considers were common to the whole Germanic world, and a new "Gripping Beast" style,[1] in which Baldwin Brown sees a manifestation of the acquisitiveness and restless spirit of the Viking Age.[2] Both style III and the Gripping Beast appear on the carvings of the Oseberg ship and its contents,[3] but the styles never combine.[4] From c.850 however, the date of the Borre ship-find, Brøndsted traces a third style which came into Norway under Irish influence, and emphatically not through the union in Norway of style III and the Gripping Beast.

The close contact between Ireland and Norway at this time has earlier been noted.[5] Irish ornamental work other than crosses was all-pervading in north-west Europe,[6] and innumerable objects of Irish metal-work have been found in Norwegian graves - objects clearly carried off as keepsakes, and not in the ordinary course of trade.[7] There are more in the museums of west Norway than in all the rest of Europe.[8] In Norway, although

1. Brøndsted, 161-3, 167, 171.
2. Arts VI, ii, 159.
3. illus. Strzgowski, pl. xlvii-lii.
4. Brøndsted, 173, 178.
5. see above, 10-11, 79. Cf. Henry, 161.
6. Arts VI, ii, 103.
7. cf. Shetelig, I, 55-6, and Sjøvold, 127.
8. Arts VI, ii, 161.

only the one early example is known,it seems that the Irish animal of the Borre find was transformed from a beast without snout and lappet,[1] into the true Jellinge style,[2] which absorbed some of the characteristics of style III and the Gripping Beast,and came back to the west[3] as the chief feature in a new style characterised by a desire to cover and lavishly over-ornament a surface.

From our point of view,the question of greatest interest is how Jellinge ornament reached the Lake District to appear in stone carving on Christian monuments.In Norway,early Jellinge ornament appears on wood and metal objects,deriving from Irish bronzes.We know that Irish art had practically no direct influence on northern England after the cleavage between the Churches,[4] though an odd example of it exists at Easington in Yorkshire.[5] Irish crosses are too late to have influenced monumental art in England.[6] Thus,though Jellinge ornament is ultimately Irish,[6] it is clear that it was not transformed by the Norse in England,but reached England with them,via Scandinavia.It is further clear that before it could be used on the monuments which we have to consider in the Lake District,the Norse must have become Christians,and have learnt to perform,or to appreciate,the mason's art of carving in stone.

There is no reason to think that the Jellinge style

1.see Shetelig(1948),94,f.18.
2.cf.Brøndsted,271,272.
3.but cf.Shetelig,op.cit.93,95.
4.cf.Clapham(1934),55.
5.illus.Brøndsted,80.
6.cf.Henry,164,166.

reached our district from Danish eastern England, where it is also found, though its influence was felt throughout Scandinavia, and the supreme example of the fully-developed style is the Great Beast of Harald Gormsson's stone monument in Denmark, at Jellinge itself.[1] But this was carved c.980, and is the result of a further transformation of Hiberno-Saxon Jellinge by English influence in the Danish area of England. As noted earlier, the old, firmly-rooted Northumbrian styles triumphed over the incoming pagan art, and the style made little headway in Northumbria:[2] only around York are there clear examples of it.[3] But in the west, as we have seen,[4] the early classical style of stone-carving obtained little hold, and the new Jellinge style marched in to take possession of ground, which, as the Irton cross shows,[5] was already sympathetic to barbaric art.

The best example of Jellinge art in our district, and one of the best in England, is the cross at Gosforth,[6] carved c.1000 A.D. As Calverley long ago pointed out, this is a monolith, not a pagan monument surmounted by a cross.[7] But the subjects carved on the cross are Norse myths from the Elder Edda. Kendrick states that here the Jellinge style "influences the entire decorative ensemble of an ambitious cross",[8] with its flat, sprawling, heavily vigorous ornament. But he is

1. illus. Kendrick(1941), 133.
2. see above, 99.
3. the style is not found in S.England.
4. see above, 99-101.
5. see above, 100.
6. Collingwood(1927), 156.
7. Calverley(1882), 375.
8. Kendrick(1949), 91.

inclined to reject Calverley's stress on the subjects of the carving.[1] Kendrick says that in late work, the cross itself is all-important; the figures are just decoration, whether Christian or pagan. But this fails to explain why pagan subjects appear at all, if they are so unimportant. On some work in the area, it is clear that patterns without meaning to the carver, do survive - at Urswick, already mentioned,[2] whose ugly carving is clearly a degenerate inhabited vine, and at St. Bees, and St. John's, Beckermet, whose lopsided lorgnettes and clumsy leafless spirals have obviously forgotten their origin.[3] But at Gosforth are carefully carved and recognisable figures from Norse myths. This cross is a beautifully-proportioned, finished product, not an experiment. It must have been carved for a Christian population by someone who was familiar with the art of carving in the Jellinge style, and with the Elder Edda, and who, fairly certainly, was himself a Christian.

W.G. Collingwood insists on a study of the materials, technique, and subject-matter of a cross, in order to decide to which group it belongs.[4] If we follow his advice, we find that the Gosforth cross is a round-shafted, wheelhead monolith, on which are carved Norse myths and two varieties of a ring-chain pattern in the Jellinge style. Thus, there are several lines of investigation which can be followed up. If we consider first the subject-matter, we find that the Vǫluspa myths were current

1. Kendrick, op.cit. 59-60.
2. see above, 97; see Collingwood (1927), 53f. 66.
3. see below, 123, and see Calverley, fac. 35.
4. Collingwood (Yks) XIX 269.

in Norway from c.900-1050,or,if distinctively heathen,to c.1000. They flourished during the reign of Harald Fairhair as a result of aristocratic interest in skaldic poetry,[1] and so among the very classes who were ultimately to flee the country rather than submit to Harald's ambition.They were peculiar to the west Norse peoples,and by them were carried to Iceland, where every man of good birth was a skald,and to Britain.[2] This being so,certain points become clear.Both the myths and the Jellinge style became popular in Norway c.900 A.D.,and both were the province of the wealthy,aristocratic and Viking types. Thus,it is reasonable to infer that they were brought to the west as a result of Viking expeditions and settlements, sometime in the tenth century.It then becomes clear that neither the myths nor the style can have been brought to the Lake District by the earliest Norsessettlers,who must have been established in the valleys long before either was popular in Norway,and who,moreover,were hard-working farmers,not of the classes to whom art was important.[3]

Thus,the Jellinge style and the myths must have reached the Lake District with a later stratum of settlers,and by sea. We have already noted that the Jellinge style made poor headway in eastern England:mythical subjects on carved stones are confined entirely to the west,to Cumberland,Westmorland and Lancashire,[4] still further emphasising the distinction

1.Gordon,xxxvii. 2.ib.xliii. 3.see above,102.
4.At Gainford,in Teesdale,is a small carving,which appears to be a "bound devil",(Loki),if Collingwood's identification of a similar carving at K.Stephen,is correct.Cf.CWNS III,380;CWOS VII,300;and cf.Collingwood(1927),158;Kermode(1904),1-2.

between Norse and Danish areas.[1] But when we meet the myths and Jellinge art in the Lake District, it is on competently carved, Christian monuments. There is good reason to think that the myths and style did not come direct to the Lake District from Norway, but somewhere on the way allied themselves to Christianity and the art of stone-carving, and arrived in Lakeland as a fully-fledged, mature form of Christian art. The lateness of the Lakeland monuments to some extent confirms this.

So the problem of how Jellinge art and Norse myths reached the Lake District has still to be solved. Continuing to follow Collingwood's advice, and turning again to the Gosforth cross, we see that in addition to the above features, it also has a wheelhead and two varieties of a ring-chain pattern, which appears in England (and Wales) only in areas where the Norse are known to have settled. At Gosforth are the remains also of two other wheelheads,[2] and one or more of the various features noted appear on several other crosses in our district. The only place, apart from the Lake District, where all these characteristics - myths, Jellinge style, ring-chain pattern and wheelhead - occur together, is Man, where forty-five Scandinavian cross-slabs still survive. Can it then, be inferred that the myths and Jellinge style were introduced to Man by art and myth-loving Norwegians, and subsequently passed on by their Christianised descendants to the Lake District? The possibility of the reverse

1. see above, 5, 46.
2. illus. Calverley, 170.

process must not,of course,be overlooked,but when all the available facts are considered together,it seems unlikely.There can be no doubt that the myths first flourished in the west among an aristocratic population of Viking type,such as we have, in this survey,found no reason to believe ever occupied the Lake District.It becomes,then,of interest to see whether these factors obtained in Man.

We know that Man early received the attention of Viking raiders:Peel was raided in 798,and Dachonna's shrine carried off.The island was already a centre of Celtic Christianity, with an Irish population,and keeils and monuments as in Ireland.[1] There is some reason to think that it had long-standing contact with England - the Anglian king,Osred,fled to Man at the end of the eighth century,[2] and Anglian influences can be traced in the carvings.[3] Now,its good harbours made it ideal for a Viking state,and Norse chieftains began to settle there probably about the same time as in Ireland.[4] It was evidently wealthy enough to be worth ravaging by the Danes in 853.

There is little information for the later ninth century, but as the island gave asylum to the Norse chief Tomrar,who died there after his defeat by the Irish in 869,and to Ingimund on his flight from Dublin in 902,it seems safe to assume a permanent Norse population,with friendly relations with the Norse in Ireland.If Snorri's account is trustworthy

1.Shetelig,I,36-7.
2.Collingwood,Yks.XXVIII,323.
3.Kermode,vii.
4.Shetelig,loc.cit.

the island must have served as Viking headquarters in Harald Fairhair's day.[1] But it is difficult to believe that all the Norse then fled, or fled for longer than the danger-period; perhaps a residuum of the Norse population remained, as we inferred in Ireland in 902,[2] or returned very speedily, since there was clearly a resident, unsubmerged Norse population, to receive Ingimund's company in 902, and to form a basis for a new settlement, which certainly, on the evidence of monuments, took place in the tenth century. The Norse did not easily give up sites which had proved of value, and the forty-five monuments which show strong signs of Scandinavian influence, are clear proof of long settlement in the island, while the subjects and style of many of them, make it certain that tenth-century settlers of the skaldic type, and familiar with Jellinge art, must have reached the island.

Man is only about 25x10 miles, yet it produced at least forty-five costly Norse monuments, many of them inscribed in Norse runes, and leaving no doubt that they were erected by Norse Christians, as at Ballaugh, where the runes read: "Olaf Liótulfson erected this cross to the memory of Ulf his son".[3] We know that Man eventually became a Norse kingdom, and all the evidence from the monuments implies an aristocratic population with wealth and leisure to indulge its tastes. This is the class of people whom we would expect to have brought Norse myths and Jellinge art to the west, but already in Man, we

1. see above, 39-40.
2. see above, 67.
3. Kermode, 156 and pl. XXXII.

find that it is on Christian monuments that they appear.Thus, although it is possible that the Norse became Christians in Man,through proximity to a Celtic population,yet,since all the Manx monuments,except one,are cross-slabs of the Scottish type, Shetelig believes that they reached Man from Scottish territory,and so they may have been already Christians.[1] It is abundantly clear from the Manx cross-slabs,that though they adopted in general the Scottish monumental style,their own tastes and interests are expressed in the carvings.At Braddan, for instance,on the only standing cross in the series,is the true Jellinge dragon,with full round eye,hatched body,spiral joints and typical stylisation.[2] A second monument at Braddan, has precisely the same animal,and further good examples occur at Malew and Michael.These carvings show beyond doubt,the strength of the Jellinge feeling in Man.It is of interest to note that the dragon himself does not appear in the Lake District,though as we have seen,other Jellinge characteristics are prominent.It is at least possible to wonder if this is a further indication of the lateness of our monuments,for as Baldwin Brown points out,the dragon is hardly a Christian symbol.[3] Perhaps,before the Gosforth cross was carved,he had been discarded,whereas the myths,as Calverley's exhaustive analysis shows,are sufficiently like the Christian story,for the carvings to be interpreted according to personal

1.Shetelig I,44;SagaB IX,254;and cf. Shetelig(1948),78-9;Kermode,vii.
2.Kermode,pl.LVII,108abc.See also LVIII,109a;XLIV,94b;XL,89ab;and p.57.
3.Arts VI,ii,230.

preference,without offending either Norseman or Anglian.[1] Dragons in England are best seen at York and Pickhill.[2] Kendrick dates these stones to the second half of the tenth century,[3] that is,after a considerable Norse population had established itself in York,but before the less blatantly pagan Gosforth cross,can have been carved.Is it,after all,possible that these Yorkshire stones are not Danish,but Norse ? There are other reasons for thinking that Manx-Norsemen may have joined in the trek to York.[4]

There is enough variety in the Manx-Norse cross-slabs to enable us to find traces of a process of development.The early ones show Scottish-Celtic patterns,but gradually Scandinavian ribbon-patterns,dragons and myths appear,[5] and eventually,all the characteristics which we noted in the Lake District.[6] Thus,here are further grounds for believing that Man passed on its Norse art to the Lake District,and not <u>vice-versa</u>.We have the further advantage in Man of being able to identify the work of one sculptor,whose carvings are fairly early in the Norse series there.Therefore,from Gaut's work,some idea of the general evolution and dating of the Manx-Norse monuments in Man,may be obtained.[7]

Shetelig considers that Gaut worked from c.930-950.[8] He was clearly an inventor.His work is clear and simple,and no figures at all appear in his carvings,but he invented a complicated

1.Calverley,142-165.
2.Kendrick(1949),pl.LX.The original of LX2,in York,is much more clearly the Manx dragon than this illustration shows.
3.ib.90.
4.see below,116-17,118-19.
5.Shetelig I,44.
6.see above,109, 271.
7.Shetelig,SagaB IX,
8.ib.,255-8.

treatment of the cross-head,which remained peculiar to Man,and[1] he is credited with the invention of the ring-chain,or,at any rate,its introduction to the west:it appears frequently in the[2] Lake District.Thus,another link between Man and the Lake District is found,and again,Man appears to be the giver.The ring-chain pattern occurs eighteen times in Man,first,apparently at Michael,where it is formed of three rings,exactly as on the[3] west side of the Gosforth cross.At Jurby,the whole of one side[4] of the shaft is covered with it,in the Jellinge manner,and[5] exactly as at Muncaster.Maughold is very similar to these,but[6] here,the chain is outlined in double contours.The pattern[7] appears again on the round-shaft at St.Bridget,Beckermet,not now visible on the cross itself;and debased examples of it appear at St.John Beckermet,and at St.Bees.Here,the thin stones[9] and coarse carving alone would prove these stones late.

In Man,the wheelhead is universal.Collingwood believes that it originated there,perhaps deriving from the Galloway Chrismon,since the Chrismon is almost unknown in Anglian art.[10.] But only at Braddan in Man,is it part of a free-standing cross:all others there are slabs.In the Lake District,at Dearham, Brigham,Muncaster,Urswick,and the three at Gosforth,the

1.Kermode,41;cf.pl.XXXVIII,86b, for a very clear example.
2.Shetelig(1948),
3.Kermode,pl.XXX,74b.
4.Collingwood(1927),156;faces from L.to R. :-S,W,N,E.
5.Kermode,pl.XXXIV,81a.
6.Calverley,fac.p.238.
7.Kermode,pl.XXXV,82a.
8.Calverley,32.
9.ib.,fac.p.34;261.
10.Collingwood(1927),137; and cf.2. Cf.Clapham (1934),49.

wheel was part of a free-standing cross.[1] There is no reason to think that this disproves arrival from Man. It seems fairly certain that the Norse adopted the rectangular slab as a result of sojourn in Scottish territory,[2] and the wheelhead in Man. They had no monumental style of their own as early as this,[3] and we can safely infer that they adopted current fashions wherever they happened to be. In the Lake District, at Gosforth and Beckermet,[4] they apparently also adopted the Mercian-type round-shaft, perhaps caring less for the form of the monument, than for the ornament, and its style of carving. There can be little doubt that they brought the ring-chain and wheelhead to the Lake District, on grounds discussed above; and without going into any great detail, it is clear that the myths form another close bond. Heimdall is easily identified by his horn at Jurby and on the west side of the cross at Gosforth;[5] Loki, with the otter and fish, is at Maughold, and with Signy, his wife, and the serpent, again on the west face at Gosforth.[6] Thor, with the ox-head for bait, appears in the top right-hand corner of the shaft at Bride, and more of the story is found on the so-called "Fishing-stone" at Gosforth.[7] On this same 'Thor' stone at Bride, is a cross-hatched stag with a wolf on its back, and the serpent Jormungand.[8] The hart is at Jurby, and the hart and wolf on the south side of the Gosforth cross. Calverley sees in the

1. Calverley, 78, fac. 124, 138, fac. 170, fac. 238; CWNS X, fac. 307, fac. 308.
2. see above, 112, 113.
3. cf. Arts VI, ii, 239-41.
4. Calverley, fac. 26, 32.
5. Kermode, XLIX, 99b; Collingwood (1927), 156.
6. Kermode, XLVI, 96b.
7. ib. XLVII, 97a; Calverley, fac. 168.
8. Kermode, XLVIII, 98b.

socket-carving at Brigham, the Miðgarðsormr, Jormungand, though it cannot derive, as he appears to make it, directly from the Gylfaginning.[1] There are four Sigurd shafts in Man, at Andreas, Jurby, Malew and Maughold,[2] and the same subject occurs, not in our district, but at Halton,[3] which is on one of the suggested routes to York, from it.[4] Further east than this, certain mythical subjects do not occur.[5]

The second stone at Urswick is a wheelhead, and other wheelheads are found at Burton-in-Kendal, and at Gargrave, both outside our district, but also on a possible route to Yorkshire. The ring-chain is found occasionally in Lunedale,[6] and there seems reason to infer a link between Man and York through Craven, and perhaps by Lancaster. Collingwood suggests that the wheelhead at Urswick is on the route to Yorkshire from Ravenglass.[7] On the strength of place-name evidence, it was earlier suggested in this survey, that some of the incoming Irish-Norse probably tried to reach York from the Kent estuary. But these routes are not mutually exclusive. Ravenglass is only forty miles from Ramsay, and would give the shortest practicable sea-route for travellers going southwards to York from Man. If this view is correct, and the Manx-Norse were interested in the route to York via Ravenglass and Urswick, it becomes possible to suggest an explanation for the name "Kirksanton", which would lie on

1. Calverley, 72A, 142.
2. Kermode, pl. XLV, 95a, XLIII, 93a, XLIV, 94a, XLVI, 96b.
3. Calverley, 187. Cf. Ellis, 218-20.
4. see above, 85-6.
5. see above, 108, ftn. 4.
6. e.g. Lancaster, Melling.
7. Collingwood, Yks. XXVIII, 327.

the road from Ravenglass harbour to Urswick.Kirksanton lies to the south of Black Combe,within sight of the sea,and possible raiders.The fell behind it is barren,and on all grounds,it seems to be a late site,even for an inversion-compound But it is also the name of a parish in Man.If this name was introduced to England by Manx-Norse settlers[1],already Christian,the choice of site is explained;there would be little good land as late as this,and the danger from sea-raiders was at least temporarily over.

Considering all the evidence,then,it seems that we must infer that still more immigrants came into the Lake District from Man,comparatively late in the tenth century.It is possible that they were influenced by the Dublin-York traffic,but the culture they brought with them,indicates that they had long been resident in Man,and had come originally from Scotland, not Ireland.We cannot know why they left the island;perhaps that same spirit of independence which had driven their ancestors to leave Norway,drove them to leave Man when the Norse kingdom there was founded;or,as we know that Man already had a Celtic population when the Norse arrived,perhaps the poorer or less powerful element was again crowded out.The great number of surviving Norse monuments,in proportion to the size of the island,implies a large and wealthy Christian Norse population.It is notable that Manx-Norse influence,judging by the monuments,appears to be strongest in England near to the

1.Kermode,4,notes that all but two of the parishes in Man begin with "Kirk".

harbour of Ravenglass. This coast is rarely out of sight of Man, and possibly we may trace here signs of two streams of settlers who crossed the sea from Man, one to scatter and settle along the coast, both in and beyond our district, and clearly, on the evidence of monuments, forming an important part of the population, in spite of the fact that the names of places where their influence can be detected, have usually remained English. Gosforth is the supreme example, with its great cross, two other wheelheads, Fishing stone, and two late hogbacks of a type peculiar to the west coast, and showing Urnes influence;[1] but at Brigham, Muncaster, and outside our district, at Plumbland, are monuments clearly showing Manx and Jellinge influences, and as Brøndsted points out, at Plumbland particularly, only the form of the monument, reminds us that it is not in Scandinavia itself.[2]

The second stream of settlers which it seems possible to trace by the sites of monuments, apparently passed south by Urswick, and almost certainly across the Morecambe Bay sands - until comparatively recently the chief route from West Cumberland and Furness to the south and east,[3] as it avoided the swampy areas of the estuaries and the Lyth valley, where, as we have earlier noted, early place-names are rare, and monuments non-existent. The sands' route is also the shortest, and as the fine modern road is still banked high above the surrounding

1. cf. Kendrick (1949), 125; Collingwood (1927), 168-172.
2. Brøndsted, 205, and cf. Calverley, fac. 253.
3. cf. CWNS XLVI, 79, 92-4.

bog-lands in the Lyth valley,it is not difficult to believe that east-bound travellers would prefer the route across the firm sands,which would take them by Burton-in-Kendal and Gargrave,where wheelheads remain,to York.

This examination of Manx-Norse influence on the Lake District does not give any support to Collingwood's view that by "Scotland",Snorri may have meant the Cumberland coast opposite Man.[1] It is clear that the style of carving ,and the patterns of the Manx-Norse stones,which appear on the Lake District monuments discussed above,could not have been current in Man,until later than Harald'Fairhair's raid is said to have taken place,[2] and we have found reason to believe that some time elapsed before the mature Manx-Norse style reached the Lake District.But in the north of our district,and between there and the Solway,are other stones which show styles and patterns quite distinct from anywhere else in England,and paralleled nowhere but in Galloway.It seems possible to trace some slight connection between these two groups and Man.If by "Scotland",Snorri meant Galloway,or even both sides of the Solway,there is some reason to think that credit can be given to his account on the evidence of monuments.If Snorri's account is rejected,the Norse place-names in Galloway,[3] and the apparent Norse influence on its monuments,have still to be explained.

1.see above,40-41.
2.see above,39.
3.cf.Collingwood(1928),10.

The connection between Galloway and Cumberland is indisputable.At Whithorn,and in St.Ninian's cave at Physgill[1] are found monuments with a pelleted stopped plait.This occurs in England only in Cumberland,at St.Bees,[2] and without pellets, at St.John Beckermet.[3] North of the Derwent,it is found at Aspatria.[4] Also at Aspatria,and at Craignarget in Galloway, occur two very similar stones on which the swastika is carved.[5] There are swastikas also on the 'Kenneth' cross at Dearham,and at Conchan and Andreas in Man.[6] On this latter stone,the swastika is a tiny sign,resulting from the clever cutting of the cross at the top of the ring-chain.Common to all three areas is the loose ring in the plait;in Cumberland,it is found at St.John Beckermet,Workington,and,north of the Derwent,at Crosscanonby.[7]

At St.John,Beckermet,Dearham,Haile,St.Bees,Bridekirk and Aspatria,and perhaps at Distington,[8] are shafts or fragments with and "all-over" design which Kendrick regards as Celtic, because he considers that it perhaps derives from the group of crosses in Galloway,which he calls Celtic,and Collingwood, Anglian.Kendrick puts into this group the Muncaster cross,and the wheelhead cross at Dearham,both of which have already in this survey been grouped with the stones discussed above;both are wheelheads,and both show varieties of the Manx ring-chain pattern.[9] It was earlier noted that the Muncaster shaft and one

1.Collingwood(1927),63.
2.ib.p.64,81a;148,165d.
3.ib.,p.93,116(12).
4.Calverley,fac.18.
5.Collingwood,op.cit.14.
6.Calverley,126A;Kermode LII,62.
7.Collingwood(1928)p.11,f.11a; Calverley,35front,106b,fac.278
8.Calverley,fac.12,38,124; 182,261(Norse).
9.see above,109;see Collingwood (1927),65;Kendrick(1949),63.

at Jurby were almost exactly alike,with a characteristic Jellinge covering of the whole surface.Thus,it is possible to establish a direct link between these two crosses and Man,on grounds of style,pattern and wheelhead.But in Galloway there are no true wheelheads,[1] nor do Norse myths,Jellinge style or ring-chain appear.Collingwood regards the Galloway stones as Anglian because only Anglian runes appear thereon,and beacuse some of them have obviously Anglian motives.In support of this view,we may note that Shetelig comments on the rarity of inscriptions on Celtic stones.[2] Yet the stones clearly show signs of non-Anglian influence,which Collingwood,attributes to the Norse.But the lack of variety in the patterns of the Whithorn series[3] implies that the newcomers had little to contribute,and from this,if settlers came to Galloway from Man at all,we must conclude that it was before the skalds had begun to spread the Norse myths in Man,and before the Jellinge style was popular:perhaps before the fugitives had adopted the Christian habit of raising carved memorial stones,since there is no evidence that the Norse who occupied Man in the ninth century were Christian,and the Knoc y doonee ship-burial,of late ninth,or early tenth-century date,implies otherwise.[4]

But it seems impossible to ignore the evidence of the swastika,which proves the presence,either in Galloway or Man itself,of much-travelled Vikings.It seems most reasonable, on the whole,to think that this emblem, which must

1.Collingwood(1928),15.
2.Shetelig(1948),79.
3.Collingwood,op.cit.,cf.16-21.
4.Kermode(1928),91,and cf. KenH 336 for plan and contents.

have reached the west with the Vikings[1], would appear first in Man, a known Viking centre, and cross from there to the mainland as part of the very slight contribution to the current art of carving in Galloway, which they were able to make. Whether the "all-over" design came in with them, or was a local development, must be left an open question: we know that Galloway was saved from the upheavals which disturbed Anglian design elsewhere in 867, and after Halfdan's raid on Carlisle, in 876, by its secure position beyond the forest of Kirkcudbright, so that new designs must come by sea, or develop locally. It is clear that at the Cumbrian sites mentioned, old Anglian patterns such as the scroll and interlace, were used without understanding by carvers unfamiliar with good Anglian design. This is perhaps a further reason for believing that these monuments were carved as a result of Norse influence from Galloway, for we saw earlier that there are no fine early Anglian monuments in Cumberland, and it is possible that the art impulse was engendered by the blending of two peoples, neither of them, judging by the rude cutting and drill-work of many of the stones[2], experienced in the art of carving. Perhaps this also explains, though it seems unlikely, the choice of a hard white stone for many of these shafts: it is used at Aspatria, Workington, Distington, Haile, St. Bees, Beckermet, one or two other sites outside our district, and nowhere else.

As yet, we have not attempted to date these stones. It seems certain that Norse influence from Man must have reached Galloway before the typical Manx-Norse patterns and style

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1. see Collingwood (1927) 14.
2. see e.g. Calverley, fac. 38; 261 (Norse), especially (c).

were known there.The close similarity between the Craignarget and Aspatria "swastika" shafts,seems to show that the same type of settler must have reached Cumberland about the same time. But when the possible reason for this influx[1] is taken into a account,it still seems reasonable to infer that the Galloway settlement might have been a little earlier:Galloway is nearer to Man than Cumberland,and less exposed.Further,it is clear that in Cumberland,patterns typical of the Whithorn series, sometimes appear on the same stones as patterns which there is reason to think must be eleventh century:the 'Norse' cross at St.Bees,for instance,shows not only the stopped and pelleted plait,spirals,and a lorgnette which is almost slipping off the stone,but also a decadent version of the ring-chain,which,it seems reasonable to infer,makes this carving considerably later than the arrival of the ring-chain pattern in this country, though how much later it is not possible to say,since the craftsmanship of the carver must be considered.But on the whole the appearance of the stone seems to indicate late work,rather than an incompetent carver.

This group of stones is a puzzle.Some of them may be safely placed in the tenth century by the loose ring in the plait[3],and on all grounds none are likely to be earlier.We have just seen that there is a slight indication that the Cumberland group is later than the Galloway group in the fact

1.see above,40.
2.Calverley,261.
3.see above,120.

that these Cumberland stones sometimes show typical Manx-Norse patterns which came into use in Man, at a time which can be roughly dated, whereas the Galloway stones never do. It is, unfortunately, impossible to fill in the gaps in our knowledge from other factors, but some inferences may be made.

It is clear that the outward spread of Manx-Norse influence which was discussed earlier,[1] was eastwards to England. The best harbours in Man are on the English side of the island. On the west side of the island is a second Fleshwick Bay (O.N. flesiu vík),[2] which, like its namesake in Cumberland, would be unsuitable for landing, because of dangerous rocks; perhaps both were given their names as places to avoid.[3] Further, the Vikings who attacked Peel on the west side, in 798, were making for Ireland, not England. The Viking settlement in Man was largely confined to the north of the island, and it seems most likely that Vikings in flight would sail from the sandy bays about here, perhaps Ramsay, or further north, to the nearest part of the mainland, Galloway, a bare 20 miles away, and always visible. From the Isle of Whithorn, at sunset, it seems almost possible to touch Man. It is possible that they reached Cumberland at the same time, as Collingwood suggests,[4] but Galloway was nearer, and perhaps contained fewer people than Cumberland, whose coast, as map 2 shows, was well-sprinkled with

1. see above, 109, 114-117.
2. cf. PN Cu 429, and p. 54 above.
3. see above, 110.
4. see above, 40.

Anglian sites, a fact which was perhaps known to the fugitives. Collingwood points out that they would not wish to flee in the direction of Harald's fleet, but equally we may assume that they would, if possible, avoid a part of the mainland where the Christian population also would be hostile. Further, Collingwood's argument seems to assume considerable fore-knowledge of Harald's approach, and a planned departure from Man. Snorri's account seems to allow the interpretation of a hasty flight, but in boats so loaded,[1] that together with other points noted, seems to make neighbouring Galloway the most likely landfall. From the north of Man, too, one branch of the Irish Sea tide, which divides at St. Bees Head, sweeps up the Solway;[2] possibly the Norse took advantage of it.

Collingwood's opinion, on the evidence of monuments, is that Norse influence spread from Cumberland to Galloway.[3] Here, the opposite view, founded on all available evidence, is taken. It is not a point which can be proved, though the ancient monument-carving tradition of Galloway,[4] contrasts with the lack of known stones in Cumberland. But the main fact is clear: that there was a connection between Galloway and Cumberland, certainly by sea - it is a mere afternoon's sail - which perhaps brought both these areas into an earlier relation with Man, than that discussed earlier in this chapter. The stones themselves imply this, even if Snorri's account is rejected.

Southern Scotland became Anglian shortly after 660, and the settlement was apparently widespread;[5] Whithorn was "in the province

1. see above, 40-41.
2. see above, 71.
3. Collingwood (1928), 13.
4. cf. Collingwood (1927), 1-4.
5. cf. Kermack, 83 seq.

of the Bernicians".[1] By 731, there were enough Northumbrians in Galloway to need a bishop of their own. Pecthelm was appointed[2] and according to Collingwood, the see lasted until 802,[3] when he thinks it was destroyed by the Vikings. This seems to be pure assumption on Collingwood's part. We know that Iona was attacked in 802, and again in 806, but there are traces of at least one bishop, Baldwulf, at Whithorn after 802: Baldwulf is known to have been there till 805.[4] Whithorn is about 3½ miles from the sea. Iona, Peel, Lindisfarne, Jarrow, Monkwearmouth were all easy targets for Viking raiders, because all were clearly visible from the sea. It is not impossible that Whithorn's slightly inland position saved it from raiders. This is a dangerous stretch of coast with bad winds and tides. Vikings coming down the Scottish coast to Ireland could not miss Iona or Peel, but they might hesitate to round Burrow Head in search of Whithorn, even if its existence was known. We cannot know: Galloway certainly seems to have been sacked in 823, but it seems certain that Whithorn was a Christian Anglian site in the 880s when St. Cuthbert's bearers brought his body there.[5] Thus, there seems good reason to think that the Manx Vikings mentioned by Snorri, if his account is genuine, would flee here. Living in Man, they doubtless knew the Galloway mainland, as the Orkney Vikings knew Caithness. The direct route to Man would keep Harald well away from the dangerous rock coast of Galloway. If this view is

1. Bede, III, 4.
2. Bede, V, 23, 24.
3. Collingwood (1927), 111.
4. Sisam, 326, PBA, XVIII.
5. see above, 34.

correct,we can safely infer that the Vikings did not arrive in Galloway until after St.Cuthbert's body had been taken away.But the slightness of their influence on Galloway art would seem to imply that their arrival was not long after this time.Thus,all the known facts seem to agree.[1]

One further point of interest arises.Several of the sites of the Cumberland monuments in this group are in,or near,the Derwent valley.Is there any connection between this fact,and the belief that Norse influence inspired these monuments ? Could Norsemen who had come to revere St.Cuthbert in Galloway, have later sought to hallow the sites through which his body passed ? There is no evidence for this,except in Distington, where the ancient dedication of the church was to St.Cuthbert,[2] but some such connection is not impossible.

As far as we can tell from the existing monuments in the Lake District,interest in the pre-Conquest art of stone-carving came late,and apparently as a result of Norse immigration,since there is little sign of the art in the early Anglian period.It is noteworthy that practically all the monuments discussed are in West Cumberland,and are clearly connected with Man or Galloway;it seems that we have still another proof of the sea-borne nature of culture in our area,and the importance of sea-travel to it.Travelling eastwards,it is clear that distinctively Norse monuments soon give way to stronger Anglian influence,as

1.see above,33-4,121-2.
2.Fair,92.

at Penrith,where both on crosses and hogbacks,Anglian influence is stronger than Norse.Nevertheless,wheelheads,apparently connected with the routes to York,seem to show that the Manx-Norse carried the style beyond our district,and the possibility of their responsibility for the Jellinge stones at Pickhill and in York has been raised.[1]

We must infer further contact with other regions from the presence of Mercian-type round-shafts in our area,notably at Gosforth and Beckermet.This is not the place to enter into the discussion on the origin of this type of shaft - whether from the Dewsbury prototype,or as Talbot Rice suggests,following Collingwood,from a primitive wooden type.[2] From our point of view, the varying types of shaft in the Lake District seem less significant than the styles of carving,patterns and subjects. These lead to the conclusion that sculptured monuments in our area were largely the result of direct or indirect immigration from Man,and in support of this view,it may be noted that in Amounderness,where we know that Irish-Norse immigrants came,there are no monuments,and in Wirral,only very late stones which show none of the typical characteristics of the stones in our area.[3] Thus,it seems that an investigation of the pre-Conquest monuments of the Lake District,gives proof of still another stream of Norse settlers,whose arrival can hardly have been earlier than the comparatively late period when Jellinge art and Norse myths reached maturity in the west.

1.see above,113.
2.cf.Kendrick(1949),72-3;Collingwood(1929),28,and 24-30;and (1927) 5-6,8;Talbot Rice,133.
3.see above,109,114-16,119-20.

Chapter 5.

So far in this study, the evidence of Norse place-names of all types, has seemed to point to an occupation of the Lake District chiefly by farmers who settled and were content to wrest a living from the land under conditions which cannot have been easy. But the monuments do not explain themselves so clearly. Few of them in our district have inscriptions, but it is probably safe to infer that where they occur, they commemorate the upper or wealthier classes in the population. If this is so, it seems that there was some admixture in the population, at any rate of the coastal belt in Cumberland, who had other interests than farming in the high fells, and whose position among their contemporaries was such that they could enforce their views on art styles and subjects on their Anglian neighbours. All the local sculptured stones are late, but none of the evidence at our disposal enables us to decide whether any great men settled in the district, or whether their prominence arose from their industry after arrival. We know very little about the social organisation of our area in Norse days. An occasional ray of light is shed by place-names. Copeland,

for instance, the district between Derwent and Duddon, is O.N. kaupaland,[1] but we do not know when or by whom it was bought, merely that it was while the Norse language was in use. Threlkeld is the "thralls' well",[2] but we do not know who were the thralls. In Aldingham, the Tithe Award Schedule records "Goads Meadow" (field 624), which may derive from O.N. goði, but the isolated form is too late for certainty.

One point of great interest is the varying nature of the lake names: Windermere, Coniston (turstiniwatra), Ullswater, are the lakes of Vinand, Þursteinn and Ulf; but all the other large lakes whose names are pre-Conquest, have either kept their British names (Crummock, Devoke, Derwent), or acquired Norse names which do not contain personal names (Loweswater, Wastwater).[3] No satisfactory explanation can be offered for this, but it seems reasonable to infer that in some districts, great men arose who established their authority over their respective regions, and that where this does not show in the names of lakes or valleys, we may perhaps assume that settlers remained on more or less equal terms. It is perhaps possible to trace some slight link between the distribution of the various types of lake-names and other signs of Norse influence. Where the lake names contain personal names, there is little sign of powerful Norse influence outside the fells,[4] but on the west coast, near

1. PN Cu, 2.
2. see above, 55.
3. see PN Cu, 32-7.
4. see above, 30.

near Wastwater and Ennerdale Water monuments seem to indicate that Norse power showed itself in the coastal area.[1] In Ennerdale, originally "Anund's valley", and later, "the valley of the Ehen", it seems possible to find the temporary importance of a Norse chieftain; here, the lake itself has either lost its earliest name, or been valued less by early settlers than its valley: in 1322, it is Eyneswater, and later, merely Brodwater (1610), or "the lough at Ennerdale" (1777).[2]

Ekwall believes that the Coniston valley may have been a Norse kingdom;[3] while it is interesting to note that the only Norse name in our district which contains any hint of strife, is Orrest Head (orrosta), which overlooks Windermere.[4] Did Vinand perhaps secure his lake after a successful battle ? But if either the Windermere or Coniston districts fell into the hands of Norse leaders, all the evidence considered in this survey makes it extremely unlikely that either lake was named after the original, or even an early, settler. We have no means of dating the period at which these names were given to the lakes, whereas an original settlement of humble farming folk, seems very clear in this area.

Lake District writers have frequently drawn attention to the mound at Fell Foot farm in Little Langdale, and hailed it as

1. A minor point of interest here is the fact that the Lord Muncaster whose property in Langdale was exempted from enclosure in 1858, had the old Norse personal name, Gamel.
2. PN Cu, 34.
3. Ekwall (1922), 215.
4. Collingwood (1925), 57.

the Lake District Althing.[1] Cowper compares its measurements with the Manx Tynwald-Hill, and points out that within half a mile of the site, he found quadrangular structures, which might have been the foundations of booths for the people, as in Iceland. His only hesitation in claiming them as such, appears to be their proximity to a Roman road, for which he believes the Norse had no predilection. But we have found reason in this survey to believe that they made considerable use of Roman roads.[2] Collingwood claims that there is flat ground at Fell Foot for camping, and a line due east to the necessary temple by the stream or well.

It is true that the Fell Foot mound is at a focal point for the Lake District, and is approached on two sides by Roman roads; the site is not dissimilar from Thingvellir in Iceland, though Langdale valley and tarn are both smaller. We know that in regions of Norse settlement in the west a **þingvollr** is frequently found - in Wirral it was the focal point of the settlement.[3] The name survives in Shetland, and in south-west Scotland, and a ceremony similar to the verbal promulgation of laws in Iceland, still prevails in Man. But it is notable that in all these districts, the '<u>þing</u>' name in one or other form, has survived too. Our supposed Thing-stead is merely the mound at Fell Foot farm, which has been fairly recently listed as "unclassified".[4] It is true that the old name may have disappeared

1. see e.g. Cowper, 139-40, CWNS I, 129, 133, 136, 138-9. Cowper (1899), II, 4; Collingwood (1897), 53-5. See also CWOS XIII, 306 seq., SagaB and BNFC for 1896, and CWOS XI, 1.
2. see above, e.g. 73, 84, 88.
3. see above, 27 & ftn. 2.
4. Stenton (1936) 150.

but in an isolated and certainly Norse region like Little Langdale, this seems unlikely. There is no suggestive field-name among those recorded in the Westmorland Tithe Schedules for this valley, though it seems that any such would have more chance of surviving enclosure here than in a lowland district, where we have found that many Norse names did survive.

How then, did this strong tradition arise ? After Ferguson's book was published, as stated earlier,[1] numerous writers published books and articles on the Lake District, in which critical weighing of local evidence was often submerged in a desire to establish the undoubted close connection between our district and other areas of Norse settlement. Here, a close analogy with the Manx Tyhwald is assumed. It is fair to point out that the Lakeland site would be ideal for such an assembly, and the mound as measured by Cowper (not now so obvious), is apparently very similar to that at Tynwald. But would the Norse in the Lake District build an artificial mound? The Law-mount in Iceland is a natural elevation, topped by the stand of the Law-speaker, and in this rocky part of Langdale, there would be no need to build an artificial mound to raise the court above its audience. The very fact of its artificiality seems to tell against its genuineness. Manx Tynwald is in a flat plain, where only an artificial mount could bring the proceedings within the view of every listener. But the Langdale

1. see Introduction.

site,on a known Roman road,and track to the west at all times, has no evidence to support its supposed Norse origin.

If Fell Foot's claim to be a *þingvollr* is dismissed,do we infer that the Norse farmers in Lakeland,did not,as in other areas of Norse settlement,govern themselves through the *þing* ? We have seen earlier in this chapter that very little can be gleaned from our available evidence about the government and social organisation of our region.But we do know that in Wirral, whose Norse settlement has bulked large in this survey,lands were shared out,and a *þing* established,apparently at the focal point of the settlement.But most of the Wirral settlers,as far as we know,arrived from Ireland at about the same time,as fellow-adventurers,and the settlement appears to have been a compact,organised unit.The settlers in Iceland,too,went mainly from Norway,and were chiefly from the upper classes.But the evidence in the Lake District leads to the belief that Norse settlers came at widely different times from different regions, and none direct from Norway.Emigration has a disintegrating effect,and most of our settlers had been filtered through other lands,and seem to have been of different social status from the Iceland or Wirral settlers.[1] Was the Lake District settled by people uninterested in legal procedure,or should we perhaps assume that each separate valley had its own *þing* ? It is interesting to note that in Eskdale the field-name,Doola Ting,[2] still survives.This is the only known *þing* name in the

1.see above,28,46,
2.PN Cu,392.

in the Lake District.An Althing argues a closely organised and unified settlement.Our evidence seems to show different stages of culture in different parts of the Lake District,which implies little contact between them,and perhaps the absence of a central government for the whole area.If this is so,individualism rather than distance of travel,can be held responsible.

It is clear that the evidence at our disposal raises questions which cannot be answered.That a Norse occupation of considerable strength took place in the Lake District,cannot be doubted.The place-names and sculptured monuments prove the importance of the Norse contribution to Lake District life.This is borne out by the thousands of Norse field-names preserved in the Tithe Award Schedules,the technical terms used in sheep-rearing,[1] and perhaps by the local style of architecture,and the ancient local customs of Turbary,Estover,wood-carving and wrestling.[2] Collections of local dialects made by Brilioth and Ellwood[3] show strong Norse influence.Most of the words included in their lists are in current use,and familiar to the present writer.It is notable that the great majority are words connected with farming,or with the ordinary affairs of daily life,e.g. layk,[4] gowk,kirn,kist,addle,flit,cleg,gilte,ling.[5] Not previously noted,to the writer's knowledge,is the use of the haaf-net on

1.see Appendix.
2.see Cowper,157,211,298. 3.see Brilioth,and Ellwood(1895)passim.
4.On Nov.9th,1951,the Hawkshead 'bus driver told a passenger that a local footballer "used to layk for 't County School".
5.Björkman records all these as loan-words,cf.pp.46,69,143,159, 199-225;also haaf,95.

on the Solway for fishing, certainly as late as 1914: it is still in use in Iceland for catching puffins. The large net, fastened to a crossbar at the end of a long pole, was pushed along the sandy sea-bed in front of the wading fisherman.

Thus, varying types of proof of Norse influence in the Lake District are available, but very early in this survey, the deficiencies of the material at our disposal in giving significant, as against sheer weight of evidence, was noted, and this has been pointed out incidentally in dealing with the material throughout the study.[1] We have seen that place-names are not entirely reliable as evidence, particularly if major names only are considered: and in this isolated region where there are strong grounds for believing that the Norse language would live long in the fells, owing to the absence of pressure from the language of English neighbours, the value to this survey of Norse names which may have been given at any time while the Norse language was in use, is limited. Hence, little mention has been made of the element _þveit_, which is of very frequent, but irregular, occurrence. Its distribution gives reason to think that where numerous _þveits_ occur near together, they preserve memories both of the most heavily-wooded districts, and sometimes of the first settlers who tried to clear them. But the element was used so commonly in the

1. see Introduction, vii, 46-7, 56.

district that we can only guess that some of those formed with a Norse personal name,perhaps contain that of the original settler.[1] It is certain that in Furness and near Keswick and Bassenthwaite,where the element is extremely common,the land would have to be cleared before any settlement could take place.

Thus,comparatively few of the Norse place-names have been discussed in detail,because we have deliberately sought to choose those which tell something definite about the nature or time of the settlement,rather than give mere illustrations of its strength.Some conception of this is quickly gained - since names are usually given by neighbours[2] - from the great number of strict Norse names,as against scandinavianised or hybrid forms.No mountain has an early Anglian name,and we have found that British names in the region usually become Norse,not English.[3] Only around Keswick,is there some slight indication that the Norse were perhaps in such a minority that the term "Northmen" is adequate to identify them,[4] (Ormathwaite).

None the less,in spite of the unsatisfactory nature of the evidence available,it seems that some useful conclusions may be reached.It is possible for indirect documentary evidence, and that of place-names to be interpreted in different ways,and monuments cannot tell us the whole of their story,but it has never been forgotten throughout this survey that we are seeking through place-names and other evidence primarily to find

1.see above,75.
2.see Ekwall(1922),242.
3.see above,44.
4.Mawer(1922),20,says that this identification does not occur in Cu,We,La.In the same district are several hybrids e.g.Portinscale,Gutherscale.

out something of the history and living conditions of a people. Thus, considerable importance has been attached to the distribution of place-names on the maps, and to the geographical conditions, type of soil, water-supply and drainage in their neighbourhood: topography does not change, and in this, still partly uninhabitable, region, early settlement must show some relation to the possibility of mutual adaptation and cooperation between man and natural conditions. Further, the area immediately under survey is comparatively small, but in the hope of avoiding mistaken conclusions, an attempt has been made to avoid the pitfall of regarding it as a region unrelated to external conditions and contemporary movements, except in so far as its own geographical and historical circumstances make it so. Of necessity, local evidence has been examined in great detail, and conclusions drawn from it, but when these conclusions have been related to evidence from much wider areas, no serious modification has seemed necessary.

In the Lake District, we have found most significant the place-name elements setr, erg, by, and inversion-compounds;[1] and the Norse myths, Jellinge style, and late Galloway-type monuments.[2] From these, we have found grounds for a belief that Norse settlers came into the Lake District from Shetland; Ireland, perhaps in several streams and at widely different times; Man; and, probably, Galloway. When the results of our investigation

1. see above, 57, 64, 69 seq., 91.
2. see above, 108-9, 117, 120, 123.

into the Lake District Norse settlement are compared with Wirral or Amounderness, they do not conflict with what we know of the Norse settlements in these districts. In Amounderness and Wirral, the Norse are thought to have come entirely from Ireland. Both monuments and place-names can disappear in the course of centuries, but it seems more than accidental that the evidence from which the above conclusions for the Lake District are formed, correlate in every particular with the evidence from Wirral and Amounderness. There are no _setrs_ in Amounderness or Wirral, no monuments with mythical subjects or Jellinge style in Wirral, and no monuments at all in Amounderness.[1] But we have attributed the Lake District _setrs_ to incomers from Shetland, and found reason to think that the element could not have been brought in by settlers from Ireland;[2] and we have concluded that the myths, Jellinge style and ring-chain of many of the monuments of the Lake District, show immigration from Man, of which we find no sign in the other two areas.

_By_ is entirely absent in the fells of the Lake District, where we believe that the population consisted of small farmers, but it is found along the coast, often associated with post-Conquest Norman-French personal names. This seems to coincide with its use in Wirral[3] for the homes of a different social class from that of the bulk of the Lakeland settlers. Similarly, the

1. see Brøndsted, Collingwood (1927), and Kendrick (1949), passim.
2. see above, 81.
3. see above, 27-8, 91.

loan-word erg, which may be the sign of fairly early rural settlers from Ireland, not yet thoroughly Celticised, is found only once among the major names of Wirral, whose settlers seem to have been mainly traders or pirates from Dublin; but is common in Amounderness and the Lake District, to both of which settlers may have come in the years following the upheaval which led to the expulsion of Ingimund's company. Finally, there are no inversion-compounds in either Amounderness or Wirral, which seems to bear out the suggestion[1] that by the time a largely Celticised Norse influx began to pour into England, perhaps attracted by the possibilities of wealth in York[2], the South Lancashire and Cheshire estuaries had become useless as means of ingress for Norsemen hoping to reach Yorkshire, whereas the Lake District was beyond the power of the English government, and offered estuaries from which easy contact could be made with Roman roads leading eastwards, and a population partly of their own race, which could probably be counted upon to remain neutral, if not actively friendly.

When the distribution of the Norse place-names of all three areas, and the sites of the Lakeland inversion-compounds are considered together, it seems reasonable to conclude that we have grounds for believing that the Celticised Norsemen who brought the inversion-compounds to the Lake District arrived much later than Ekwall believes[3] - perhaps, as we have suggested earlier[4], at

1. see above, 89.
2. whose Viking-period archaeological finds are chiefly non-military, e.g. jewels, silver. Cf. Shetelig, IV, 75 seq.
3. see above, 57. 4. see above, 89.

any time up to the fall of the kingdom of York in 954, and probably later still, when the names are distinctively Christian like Kirkbride or Kirksanton,[1] but almost certainly not earlier than 919, when, as we have seen, Edward the Elder was still building defences against aggressors further south;[2] and as long as this easier route was available, it is probable that as much of the journey as possible was completed by sea, and land travel cut to the minimum. Routes through the Lake District would, of necessity, be longer and rougher. This view is to some extent borne out by the fact that it is not until the second and third decades of the tenth century that we find the English government taking action in the far north-west: one of the inferences which we drew from the study of Ingimund's expedition, was that aggressive inroads were recognisable from the action which is taken against them, even if not otherwise recorded in history.[3]

Still another check on the conclusions drawn from the Lake District evidence seems possible. We have formed a belief that the early Anglian population of the Lake District coasts tended to be lethargic and uninterested in the contemporary art of stone-carving, and that the Norse immigrants were responsible for the spread of such culture of this nature as we find there. Collingwood estimates that there are about 1000

1. cf. Ekwall (1918), 63.
2. see above, 29.
3. see above, 30-31.

pre-Conquest stone monuments in Northumbria,[1] most of them Anglian, and writes that good Anglian work is finely carved, usually on thick stones, never has snakes, or beasts biting their necks, and always, whatever its period, shows a feeling for grace of form.[2] All these characteristics are reversed in the Lake District, except at Heversham, and Heversham is on the extreme eastern edge of our area.[3] Thus, the paucity of true Anglian work, and the rude work of the Norse-influenced stones of the Lake District, stand out in even greater contrast when compared with the wealth, type, carving and subjects of monuments throughout Northumbria.

Thus, it does not seem unreasonable to hope that the deficiencies of the evidence at our disposal have to some extent been made up by an attempt to consider the subject from all points of view. The lines of investigation differ widely and each has been followed for its own value and without preconceptions. But certain common points emerge whether the results of examining the strands of evidence are compared with each other, or with Norse settlements elsewhere. Notable among these are the importance of the sea to the Norse settlement in the Lake District, the complex nature of that settlement, and the clear distinction between this Norse, and the Anglo-Danish

1. Collingwood(1927), Preface. 2. Collingwood, Yks. XIX, 271, 274, 282-
3. and was a port. Did the vine-scroll perhaps reach it by sea, the reason advanced to explain its presence in Scottish east-coast regions? Cf. Antiquity XI, 473. 4.

area of England.

It is very clear that during the Viking period, the Irish Sea became a Norse lake, and Norse settlements are found in all the coastal districts around its shores, forming a distinct west-coast culture province, of which the Lake District was a part. Early in this survey, the possibility of something of this nature having happened, was suggested,[1] but detailed examination of the available evidence seems to show that, in addition, the various parts of the Lake District had individual sea-contacts with other regions in the culture-province, thus leading to a more complex Norse culture in the Lake District than in any of the other Norse areas we have discussed. Thus, the southern Lake District seems to have more in common with the first settlement in Shetland than with the west Cumberland coast: we noted earlier[2] that monuments and the element <u>erg</u> are confined almost entirely to the west coast, and indicate the presence of settlers from Celtic lands, while the evidence of the Windermere pollens, the element <u>setr</u>, and the type of Norse place-names in general in the south of the area, seem to show an earlier settlement of Norsemen completely unaffected by Celtic civilisation. There is no indication in the evidence at our disposal that this district was ever influenced to any notable extent by later incomers.[3] Can we perhaps infer from this that

1. see page 5. 2. see above, 89, 102.
3. The few <u>erg</u> sites noted reinforce this view. See above, 67-9.

the region had been fully settled by the earliest Norse arrivals who had the whole unoccupied fell area to choose from, and had undoubtedly taken in this, the most fertile part?; and further, that the notable differences in types of settlers and times of settlement, throw light on the possible absence of a central government for the whole district, which was considered earlier in this chapter ? It is of interest to note that the same feeling of division between West Cumberland and the Furness region, and the region further east again, persists today: there is no tradition of unity.

Thus, while it is true that the Lake District as a whole is connected with a Norse culture-province confined entirely to the western seas, in the district itself we can find traces of four, perhaps five, separate streams of settlers, each bringing its distinctive contribution to some part of our area. All parts of the Lake District were not influenced equally by its position in the culture-province. The west coast shows a great variety of Norse sea-borne cultures, but as we travel eastwards,[1] distinctive signs of Galloway, Manx-Norse and Irish-Norse influence disappear, and it is certain that the heart of the district was far less influenced by successive waves of Norse culture than the west coast. The odd wheelhead cross at Urswick, and the inland inversion-compounds are not real exceptions to this view, since we have found reason to connect them with the

1. No ergs were found in the Westmorland Tithe Schedules, and only one possible inversion-compound, Sykewillans (field 43), in Sockbridge, i.e. near to the Ullswater major-name inversion-compounds.

routes to York,rather than as evidence of settlers who,from the first,intended to stay in the Lake District.

Apart from Shetland,the Lake District Norse settlement is most closely connected with those in Man,Ireland and Galloway.Kinvig points out that megalithic monuments in Man resemble those of Galloway and the lower Clyde region;[1] and that, later,Whithorn priory held extensive lands in Man;[2] so,of course, did Furness Abbey.[3] At any point of history for which we have archaeological or documentary information,some connection between these three areas can be traced.Man is geographically in the highland zone,too,but the Norse incomers there took for themselves the very fertile northern region,[4] and lived in Man as an upper class,so leaving a far slighter impression on the language[5] and population than we find in the Lake District, though the monuments we have discussed,and the single farms surrounded by fields,[6] are distinctively Norse.

All we can learn of the Norse settlement in Man supports the belief that the connection between Man and the Lake District was very real.Fleure adds the interesting detail that a map of hair and eye colour shows similarity between Man and Cumberland as far as the Eden.[7] But it seems clear that the settlements were not similar in type - the Norse in the Lake District did not take land for themselves at the expense of the Angles,nor were they,as in Man,merely an upper class which

1.Kinvig,24-5.
2.ib.40 and cf.1.
3.McIntire,CWNS XLIII,passim.
4.Kinvig,2,15.
5.ib.60.
6.ib.4.
7.Fleure,183.

was subsequently submerged by the previously existing population.[1] There is no known ship-burial in the Lake District, implying the presence of great men, and we cannot identify with certainty any individual of importance there, as is possible with the Manx-Norse kings,[2] and those commemorated by inscribed stones;[3] and in the case of Ingimund, Agmund, and the Norse chieftains in Ireland.[4] In this respect, the Lake District Norse settlement seems most closely allied to Galloway, and we may perhaps deduce that the explanation of the difference lies in the inferences drawn earlier from the evidence, and from such historical knowledge of some of these settlements as we possess, that different types of people, with different objects in view, occupied the various regions. Settlers in Man or Ireland, both already occupied by a Celtic population, would be both prepared and compelled to fight for a share of the good land:[5] thus, we expect them to have come as aggressive invaders, and records confirm this view: in Ireland, in 836, for instance, "both churches and habitations of men, and goodly flocks, tribes and herds"[6] were attacked, but at no time would the Lake District offer such rich bounty to prospective plunderers. On the other hand, it did offer a choice of empty valleys to those who did not wish to fight for lands already in the hands of others - which would explain the apparent absence of any Norse immigrants in the Derwent valley at a time when settlers

1. see above, 121 and ftn. 4.
2. cf. Shetelig I, 34, Kinvig, 51.
3. see above, 111, and Shetelig I, 41-5.
4. see above, 30, 79.
5. see Kinvig, 49-50; Shetelig, IV, 22-6; and p. 7 above.
6. Annals, 455.

may have been already infiltrating into the southern Lake District[1] - but did not shrink from hard work in order to clear and render cultivable those they chose.

But our evidence has also led to the conclusion that several later streams of settlers came to the Lake District from other Norse regions around the Irish Sea;clearly,from the nature of the evidence which proves their presence,coming chiefly from those areas where Norse influence was of an aristocratic nature.Yet we have just noted[2] the entire absence of certain names of outstanding Norse personalities in the Lake District;and earlier in this survey,the distribution of inversion-compounds high up the valleys has seemed to show that the later-comers willingly took the poorer unoccupied land.What do we conclude from this ? In Galloway,where we have some grounds for thinking that the Norse may have arrived from Man as refugees,[3] we find a parallel to the Lake District absence of known outstanding men.Is it possible to conclude that the Norse population of these areas consisted in part of refugees,or immigrants to whom a hard and obscure,but peaceable and free life,had come to matter more,in the case of the Galloway settlers than a hazardous one in Man,among an alien population and perhaps in danger from the vengeance of Harald Fairhair;and in the Lake District,than a hazardous one among the Celtic population of Ireland at a period when Norse

1.see above,33-4,88.
2.page 146.
3.see above,39-40,125.

power was in eclipse there;or later,taking advantage of the considerable traffic between York and Dublin,to better their lot by coming to settle among people of their own race in the Lake District valleys;or later still,coming from Man to escape from the recently instituted monarchy,and the strife associated with it?[1] The nature and distribution of the Lake District monuments and place-names make such an inference feasible.We cannot know how much coming and going took place between Man,Ireland and the Lake District,but since the life they came to was of necessity hard,it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the streams of settlers who colonised the Lake District,shared a common desire to improve their lot,not by gaining wealth or power,but by finding vacant land,and freedom in which to cultivate it.It is very clear that those who took the trouble to clear and drain land in this region,intended to settle permanently:we came early to the conclusion that some time would elapse before their industry brought results;[2] while even under modern conditions,every sheep requires two acres of fell.

Thus,the evidence we have examined leads to the conclusion that all the streams of Norsemen who settled in the Lake District sought primarily a free,though hard and humble life.Braekstad points out that Norway is perhaps the only European country whose peasants have never been serfs,[3] and it

1.see Kinvig,50;Shetelig I,143.
2.see above,21(2),(3);and see Appendix for examples of the proportion of cultivable land a century ago.
3.SagaB I,24.

seems possible to trace in their descendants in the Lake District a determination to preserve that freedom,which brought the various streams eventually to the Lake District from other western areas where conditions were becoming increasingly difficult owing to the presence of a Celtic population or the rise to power of their own countrymen who sought to rule over their fellows.This view seems to be more in accord with the available evidence ,than Collingwood"s view that our settlers,who,as we have seen,had already been filtered through Shetland,Man,Ireland or Galloway,were immediately "pirates turned ploughmen"[1]:unless some of the inversion-compound name-givers on the fringes of the district can be so described;especially as it seems certain that there was a permanent Norse population in the Lake District well before 900 A.D.,which apparently settled on high,but not barren, ground,sometimes naturally drained,[2] and in marked contrast to the setr areas of Norway,which Ahlmann and Du Chaillu say are high above the isolated farms,and beyond the limit of the growth of grain.[3]

This view is not undermined by the fact that in the second decade of the tenth century,we find Athelstan turning anxious eyes on the north-west,and finally taking action: rather the reverse.[4] Both in 927 and 937,we find him on the

1.Collingwood(1896),52.
2.cf.p.22(5),above.
3.Ahlmann,119;Du Chaillu I,280.
4.see above,140-1.

bounds of our district, in 927, significantly, near Penrith;[1] and during these years, his fleet patrolled the western sea.[2] Was the river Eamont the boundary of the land over which he claimed authority,[3] and can we infer that while he attempted to prevent Norse adventurers from entering England, and reaching Yorkshire, by his fleet, and by military action east of the fells, the peaceable Norse farmers in the distant valleys beyond the watershed, were left to themselves throughout all the disturbances ?

We cannot answer these questions, but it is clear that the Norse settlement in the Lake District stands in striking contrast to the Anglo-Danish area of England, where the Danes were absorbed into the population within fifty years,[4] and have left little distinctive sign of their influence; whereas in the Lake District, as late as 1777, Nicholson and Burn could still write, "every man lives upon his own small tenement";[5] and where the long-lasting Norse sea-borne culture has left a permanent mark on the carvings, place-names, dialect and way of life of the district.

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1. at Eamont Bridge.
2. Collingwood (1927), 124.
3. cf. Stenton (1943), 328, 336.
4. Stenton, TRHS, series IV, XXVII, 11.
5. Nicholson and Burn I, 9.

Appendix.

We have noted in this study that while animal-names are common in the Norse place-names(e.g.(v)rein-nes-hals,hjartar fiall,and see pp.55-6 above),and even pigs were sufficiently localised to appear in place-names,there is nowhere any reference to sheep.[1] This suggests that they were too common for purposes of identification,and the natural vegetation of the district supports the view that from their first coming, the Norse in the fells based their economy on sheep.The following lists,showing the proportion of cultivable and good pasture land,and of fell or moor suitable only for sheep,under comparatively modern conditions,are taken at random from the Furness Tithe Award:-

	Dunnerdale	Lowick	Kirkby Ireleth
Arable	140	300	3000
Meadow or pasture	1030	790	400
Woodland	230	10	230
Uncultivated moor	1250	800	3200
Total acreage	2650	1900	6830

1.see also pp.20,21-2, 53,78,148.

The necessary connection, in days before the introduction of fodder crops, between the type of animal kept and the vegetation available, has been stressed;[1] the short fell grass would be useless for cattle, which require long herbage around which they can curl their tongues, whereas sheep are essentially nibblers.[2]

Sheep are still the mainstay of life in the region today, but nothing is known for certain about the origin of the local breed, the Herdwick, which conforms to no known breed. There are, however, two traditions in the Lake District relating to these small, gray-faced, hardy sheep:-

a) that they came with the Norsemen.
b) that they swam ashore from a wrecked Armada galleon.

We can dismiss (b) without any doubt. There is no record of any Armada wreck on this coast, in the Port Commissioners' Records or elsewhere;[3] and a wool industry producing poor quality wool, which must have come from very similar sheep to these, if not from these, is known to have flourished in the district since monastic days. The abbot of Furness exported wool on his own account from Roa Island,[3] and the Close Rolls give 600 sacks as the official export for 1338 from Cumberland, Westmorland and Northumberland.[3] Kendal's motto, "Wool is our bread", and emblem of wool-hooks and teasle, date at least from Edward III's time.

1. see p.78, and ftn.1.
2. cf. Russell, 38.
3. Inf. ex Miss M.C. Fair. Cf. Cunningham, 'Growth of English Industry and Commerce' (1927), I, 630, Williams, 297.

More important, still, is the fact that the sheep are clearly a hardy northern breed. A good deal of crossing goes on nowadays, often with Swaledales,[1] to increase the quantity of wool or mutton, but only on the fringes of the fells: only Herdwicks have the necessary stamina for the high fells. The "Westmorland Gazette", for instance, on March 1st, 1952, recorded that a Herdwick recovered alive from a deep snowdrift near Howtown, "--had been buried for a month---. After we got it out and massaged it, the sheep immediately began to eat grass and should soon be alright". Similar cases are on record; the chief danger when the sheep are long buried, is blindness,[2] but of their hardiness, there is no possible doubt.

Is it, then, possible that Herdwick's ancestors were brought to the Lake District by the Norse ? Fraser Darling, giving no source, says that they brought the Soay sheep to St. Kilda,[3] and Brøgger points out the importance of sheep-grazing in Shetland;[4] while on Ronaldsay in Orkney, the same method of identification by lug(ear) marks is used, and in some cases the same marks, as in the Lake District.[5] Both in the Lake District and Orkney, a strict record of these marks is kept, no new ones may be made, and the whole system is very similar to that in force in ancient Norway for the marking of reindeer.[6] In Norway, the mark was a lawful proof of ownership, inherited by each family from its ancestors; in the Lake District, the sheep are

1. e.g. at High Nook, Ambleside, and Crosscanonby. How Farm, Hawkshead, crosses with, and is changing over to, Wensleydales. None of these are in the high fells.
2. Inf. ex Mr. Bulman. 3. Fraser Darling, 211. 4. Brøgger, 33.
5. see Lamb(1937), passim; Spence, fac. 24, and passim; Marwick, 155-6.
6. Du Chaillu, I, 314, II 168.

let with the farm, and each stock has its own lug-mark which is carefully recorded in the Sheep Book. Thus, a farmer with more than one stock, or with two or three farms, like Mr. Bulman of Dungeon Gill, who runs sheep in Langdale, and at two farms in Eskdale, has a different mark for each stock.

Terms used in sheep-farming show Norse influence, too. Every sheep has a "smit" (smoot in Eskdale) mark; they are 'clipped', never 'shorn'; the young 'gimmer' lamb becomes a 'hogg' after one clipping, later a 'twinter' and a 'trinter'. All these terms of reference are familiar to the modern Icelander, and lug-marks, of which it has not been possible to obtain details, are used there.

Commonly known among Lakeland farmers is the old method of counting sheep,[1] though none have been found who still use it.[2] Collingwood considered that the survival of Celtic numerals indicated that the Lakeland Norse employed British shepherds,[3] but judging by the considerable correspondence in the "Sunday Times",[4] on and about June 10th, 1945, the numerals are not peculiar to, nor particularly significant for, the Lake District.

Graham Clark points out the intimate connection between forest clearance, the advance of sheep and the development of a wool industry.[5] There is no doubt that the monks improved the existing sheep in the Lake District, and Herdwick bones examined

1. see Ellwood in CWOS III, 385; and cf. Stenton (1943), 311.
2. In April, 1945, the Crosthwaite (We) farmer, ceased to sell milk because he had "only yan cow".
3. Collingwood (1897), 51.
4. Claiming the numerals for the counties of Durham, York, Cambridge; and E. Scotland.
5. Clark, 135.

in Cambridge are stated to correspond more nearly with sheep bones from a medieval abbey, than with more primitive types.[1] But the ruff of coarse, dark hair around neck and shoulders supports the theory that Herdwick is a primitive breed.[2] Other peculiarities are a first pre-molar with a different number of cusps from other breeds,[3] and 14 pairs of ribs instead of the normal 13. These heaf-going sheep have, too, a pronounced territorial instinct, and a ewe brought in for lambing will always take her lamb back to her own patch of fell, perhaps on a farm of 3000 acres; or, if sold, will return to it if possible, sometimes from 30 miles away.[4] But Herdwick equates with no known breed of survival sheep. There is no physical resemblance to the Mouflon (ovis musimon), or its close relative, the Soay, sheep; nor to the Turbary (ovis aries palustris), or the related Shetland, sheep.[5] Nor does Herdwick resemble the silky, long-haired Icelandic sheep.

Some attempt is being made at the present time to find mutton bones from the Roman fort at Hardknott, in the hope that the ancestry of the Lakeland sheep may be taken a step further back. The term "Herdwick" certainly goes back to the twelfth century, but it is not until 1794 that the sheep are recognised as a distinct breed.[6] In the absence of certain information, and

1. Inf. ex Miss Fair.
2. Smithies, 307.
3. Inf. ex Miss Fair.
4. Mr. Bulman's have returned from Barrow, i.e. about 22 miles. Cf. Lamb, 17.
5. see Ritchie, 35-42.
6. Lamb, 3.

in view of all the evidence considered in this survey,it seems possible to advance the theory that if Herdwick's ancestors were brought to the Lake District at all by the Norse,it is most likely that the farmer-immigrants coming from the far north would do this.Modern instances are known of trussed animals still being taken from Irish islands to the mainland by sea,[1] and several similar instances are on record in the Landnámabók;while at least one Icelander took a white bear on his travels.[2] It is notable that both traditions bring the sheep to the Lake District by sea.It is unlikely that the Norse would bring flocks of sheep with them,but it is not impossible that they would bring some ewes,for an immediate supply of milk and wool,and perhaps stock rams with which they could develop an assumed native breed,indigenous in the fells.[3]

1.Lethbridge(1950),34.
2.Gordon,111-17.
3.cf.Gilbert,67,in Darby.

List of Inversion-compounds

Where the page number only is given, the name is taken from PN Cu. 'Ekwall' here is Ekwall(1918).

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Arnside	Ekwall(1922),219.
Fornside	312
Hawkshead	Ekwall(1922),218.
Satterhow	Ekwall(1922),219
Satterthwaite	Ekwall(1922),219.

and names marked A in the inversion-compound list,p.157.

Abbreviations

Ant.	Antiquity, Gloucester, (1927-).
BM	British Museum
BNFC	Transactions of the Barrow Naturalists' Field Club, Barrow (1896-).
c.	circa
CMH	Cambridge Medieval History (1911-36).
Cu	Cumberland
CWOS, CWNS	Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Old series 1876-1900, New series (1901-); Kendal.
Darby	A Historical Geography of England before 1800, ed. H.C. Darby, Cambridge, 1936.
DB	Domesday Book.
E	east
ed.	editor(ed)
EHR	English Historical Review, London (1886-).
EPNS	English Place-Name Society, Cambridge (1924-).
f.	figure
fac.	facing
ftn.	footnote
illus.	illustrated(ion)
inf.	information
Intro.	Introduction to the Survey of English Place-names, in 2 parts, EPNS, vol. I.
La	Lancashire
LCA	Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, Manchester (1883-).
LCH	Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Historical Society, New series, Liverpool (1885-).
LPRS	Transactions of the Lancashire Parish Record Society.
N	north
n.	note
O.E.	Old English
O.N.	Old Norse
O.S.	Ordnance survey
PBA	Proceedings of the British Academy, London (1901-)
PN	place-names
pl.	plate(s)
Revue Celtique	Revue Celtique, Paris (1870-1934)
tr.	translated(ion)
TRHS	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, IVth series, London.
Reliquary	Reliquary, New series (1895-1909), London.
S	south
SagaB	Saga-book of the Viking Club, London, (1895-).
V&A	Victoria and Albert museum, London.
VCH	Victoria History of the counties of England.
We	Westmorland
Yks	The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, London (1869-)

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Keswick	O.S. Sheet 82, 1947.	1/63360.
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Useful regional maps, especially geological, are also found in Marr's Cumberland, Westmorland, and N.Lancashire.
O.S. 6" maps have been consulted for the whole area.

Tithe Award Maps and Schedules.

Lancashire townships:-

Aldingham
Angerton
Dalton
Dunnerdale
Hawkshead
Lindale and Marton
Lowick
Kirkby Ireleth
Osmotherley
Pennington
Seathwaite
Subberthwaite
Ulverston
Urswick
Walney.

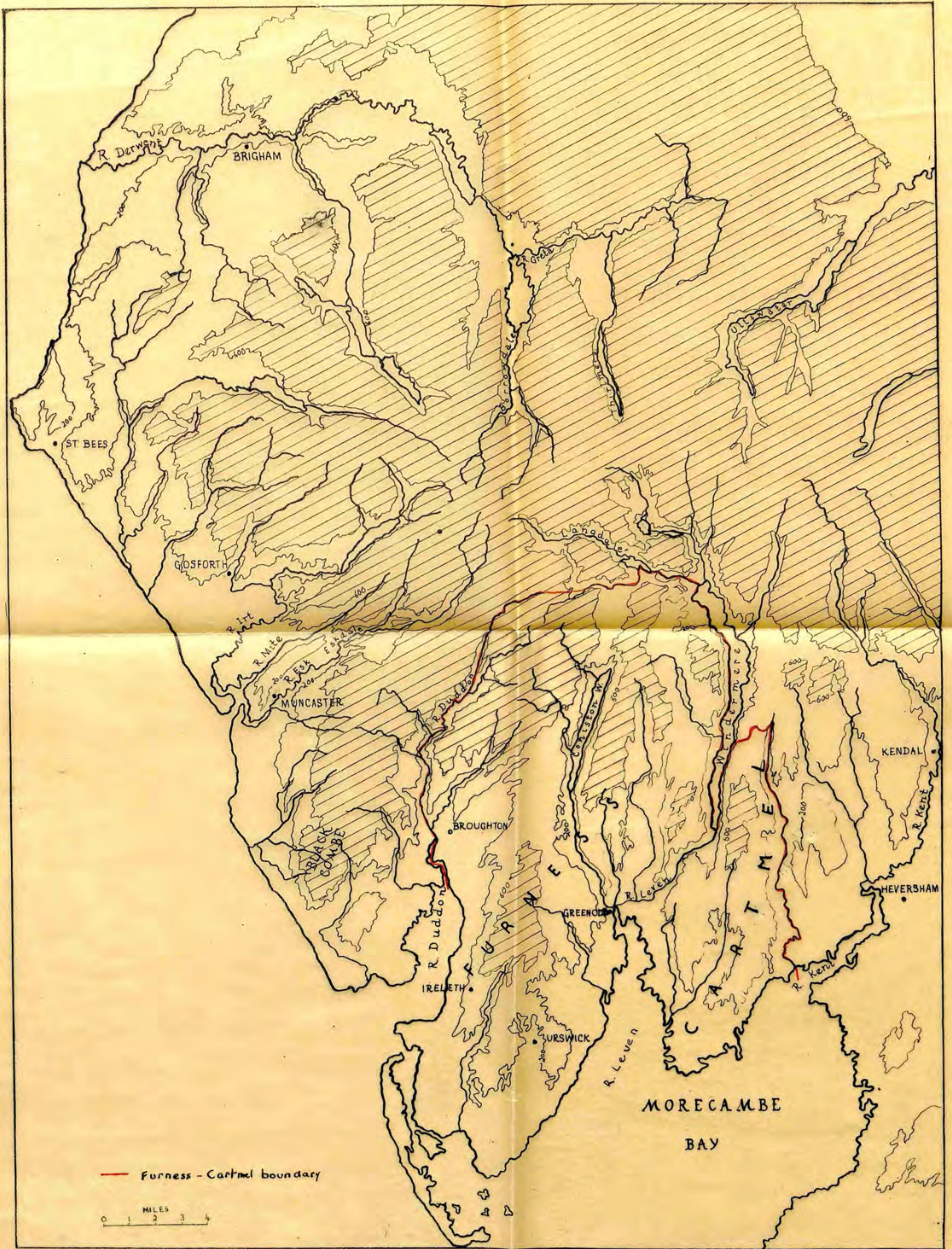
Westmorland townships:-

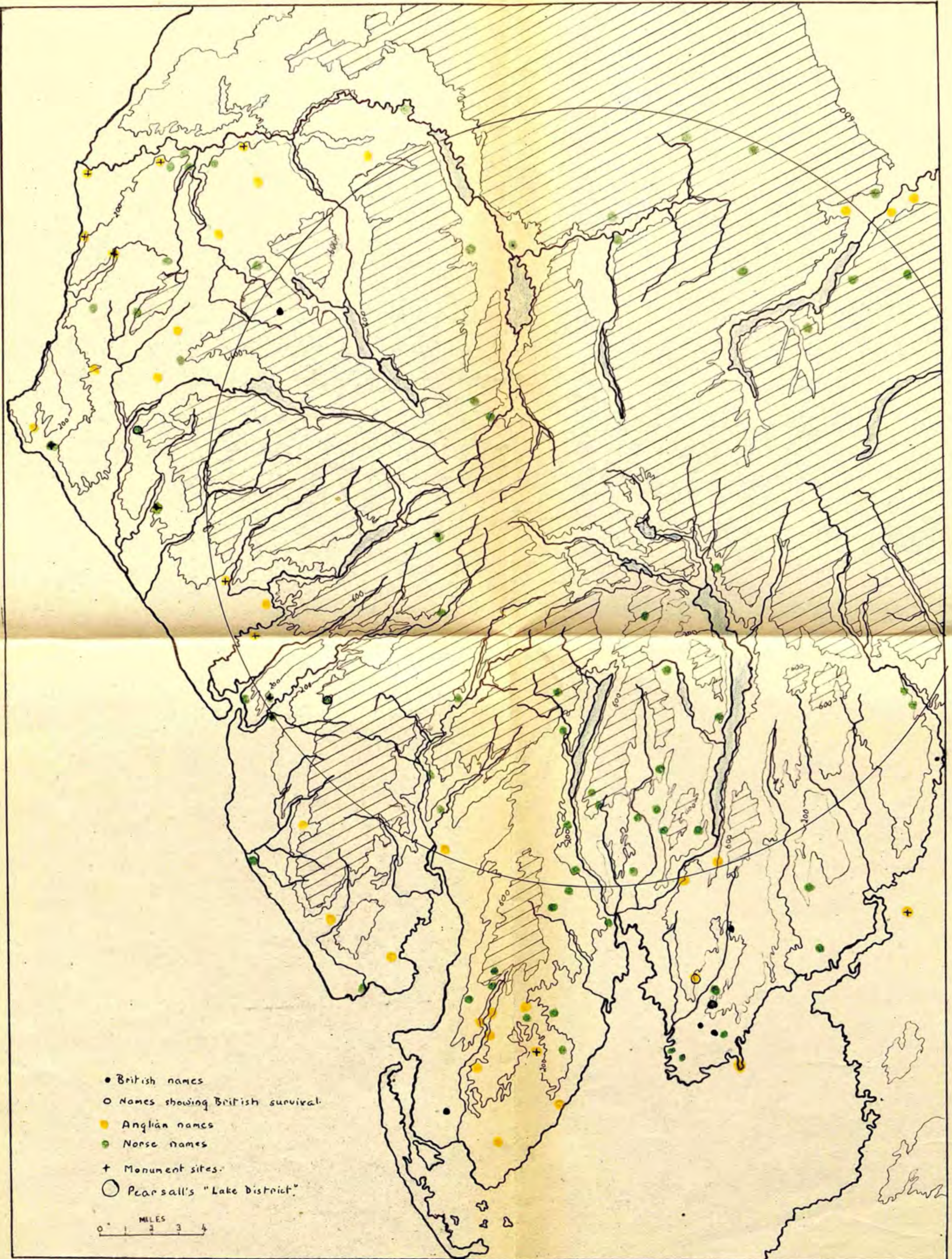
Ambleside above Stock
Ambleside below Stock
Applethwaite
Eamont Bridge and Yanwath
Grasmere
Hartshop and Patterdale
Haverbrack
High Barton
Langdale
Low Winder
Martindale
Meathop
Rydal and Loughrigg
Sockbridge
Troutbeck
Undermillbeck
Witherslack

Enclosure Award Maps and Schedules.

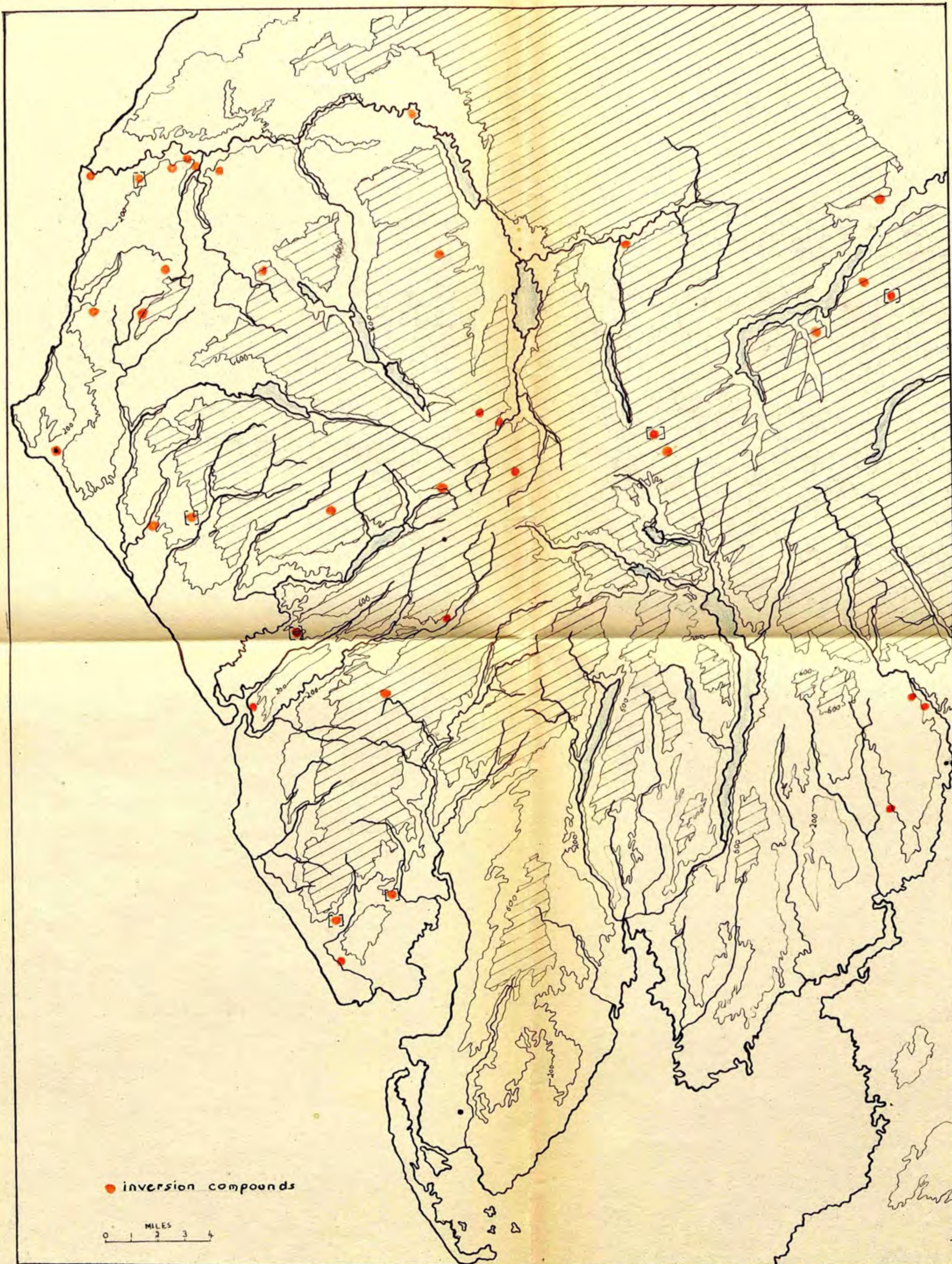
Lancashire townships:-

Broughton, Manor and township.
Cartmel, including Upper and Lower Allithwaite, Upper and Lower Holker, the Broughtons, Staveley.
Church Coniston (Tilberthwaite Fell).
Osmotherley and Mansriggs.

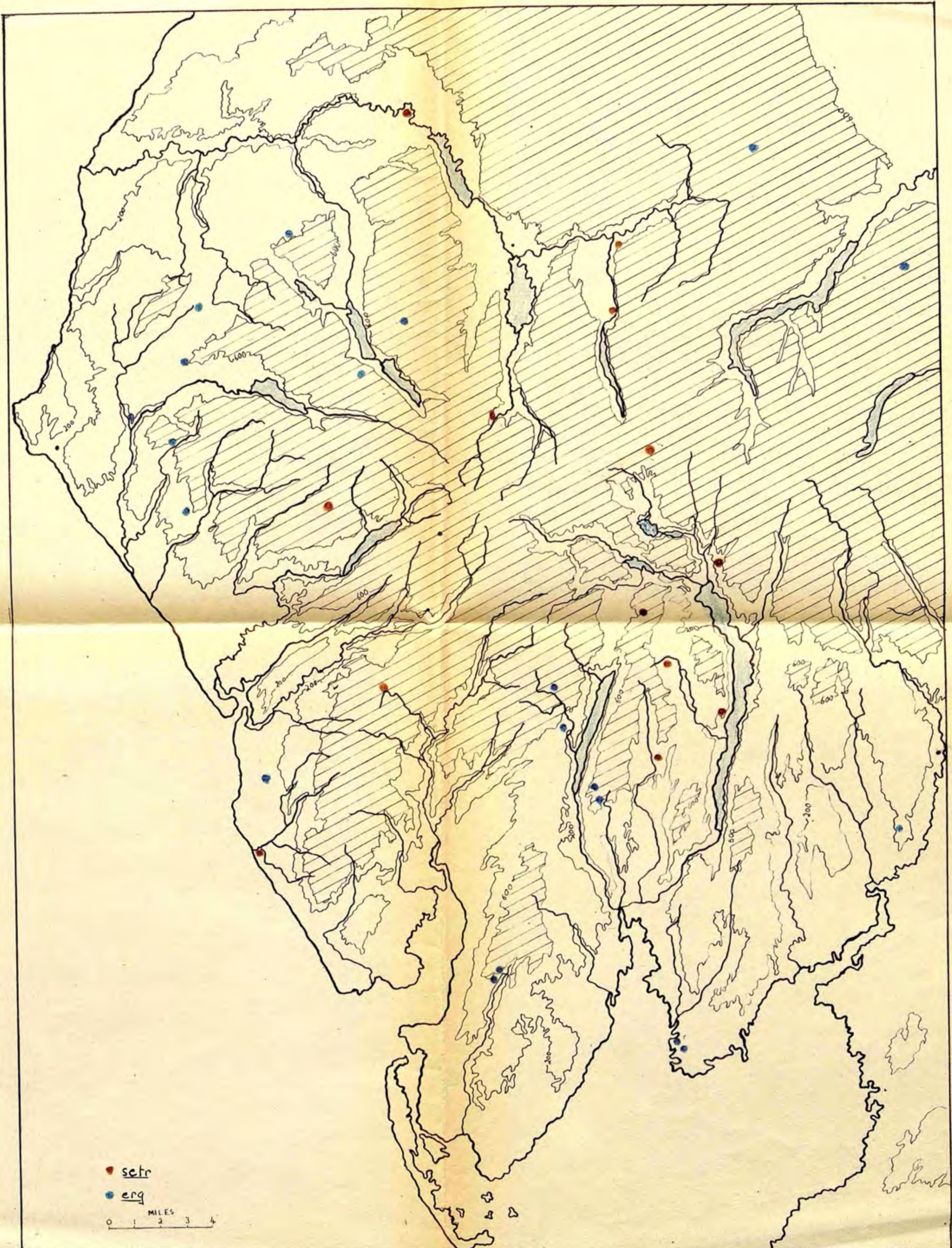

R. Derwent
BRIGHAM
ST. BEES
GOSFORTH
R. Irt
R. Mite
R. Esk
Eskdale
MUNCASTER
R. Duddon
BLACK COMBE
BROUGHTON
R. Duddon
IRELETH
URSWICK
GREENODD
R. Leven
R. Leven
Coniston W.
Windermere
Langdale
Borrowdale
R. Greta
Ullswater
KENDAL
R. Kent
HEVERSHAM
R. Kent
FURNESS
CARTMEL
MORECAMBE
BAY
Furness - Cartmel boundary
MILES
0 1 2 3 4



MAP 2.



MAP 3.



MAP 4.