THE SCANDINAVIANS IN
NORTH CUMBRIA: RAIDS AND
SETTLEMENT IN THE LATER NINTH
TO MID TENTH CENTURIES

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It has long been recognized that a Scandinavian immigration into northern
Cumbria and neighbouring territories assisted in the process of the
colonization and population of that area. That it was one of the last
immigrations is quite clear, and the chronological parameters for its
occurrence in the tenth century and later are well-established. Also long­
established is the thesis that this immigration was essentially west as
opposed to east Scandinavian in origin, and that the language of at least
sections of the immigrant community had been heavily influenced by
Goidelic Celtic, presumably coming directly from those territories border­
ing the Irish Sea and from western Scotland, where Scandinavian colonists
had already had substantial contact with Gaelic speakers during the ninth
century. These territories must include not only Dublin and the Irish
seaboard, but also Man, the Western Isles, the Faroes and Iceland, and it is
worthy of note that many of the recorded Goidelic names of north-west
England are to be found in Iceland, the Faroes and even Norway.

NORTH CUMBRIA IN THE TENTH CENTURY:
THE INFLUENCE OF NORTHUMBRIA AND STRATHCLYDE

North Cumbria contains some of the scarce good agricultural land in
north-west England,4 and from an early date is recognizable as the
heartland of a politico-social unit. The Carvetii of the pre-Roman and
Roman Iron Age almost certainly provided the substance of the ill-defined
but relatively successful Roman successor state of Rheged, which was only
incorporated into the powerful Northumbrian kingdom after a generation
of conflict and confrontation, possibly by a diplomatic marriage.5 There is
no reason to think that abandonment of the core of good agricultural
terrain took place, and we should expect the Northumbrian absorption to
have exhibited at least some of the characteristics of an aristocratic
takeover.6 However, Northumbrian control of the rural estates and of the
church of northern Cumbria was probably total in the period 650–900.
We should expect to see at least some peasant colonization, and the
establishment of a comparatively dense network of Anglian place-names
occurred.7 These suggest that the bulk of the best farming land in the area
was already settled by 900, and divided into resource territories. The area best suited to agriculture comprises a discontinuous belt of better-drained marls, with the addition of some glacial sands and gravels. These are found on the west coast, across the northern plain and in the major valleys of the Eden, Irthing and Petteril. The distribution of Anglian place-names mirrors that of recorded Romano-British settlements of urban and rural type. Both patterns were conditioned by powerful environmental pressures which tended to concentrate settlement on the scarce terrains suited to agriculture, and neither should be seen as wholly disconnected from the other [Fig. 3.1].

The English kingdom west of the Pennines produced little documentary history and little trace that has so far been isolated archaeologically, outside Carlisle where the recent Blackfriars street excavations produced post-Roman material probably all dating from before 900. The most important body of evidence apart from place-names is undoubtedly the distribution of Anglian artefacts, almost all of which are carved stones,

![Diagram](image)

Fig. 3.1 Distribution of Anglian settlement in North Cumbria. Place-names are derived from post-Conquest sources: only places with the later status of township or parish centres are included.
and which are hardly to be found outside the same fertile belt of territory in which the pre-Scandinavian place-names are grouped.\textsuperscript{10} If these products are representative of the use to which a community has put surplus wealth, their distribution should be broadly analogous with the spread of an Anglian aristocracy (whether secular or religious is unimportant in this context) and of concentrations of the means of producing wealth—that is the most productive and most intensively settled land. These two patterns are closely interdependent and this is hardly likely to be fortuitous [Fig. 3.1].

Anglian occupation and control apparently remained unchallenged in the last quarter of the ninth century when, after the disaster of York's fall in 866, the Northumbrian state was dismembered and partially settled by the Danish armies. However, at least two members of the Anglian aristocracy were in flight to the east by 915 to avoid piratical invasions.\textsuperscript{11} There can be little doubt that these piratical activities were the work of the Norse, who were involved in raiding in the early tenth century in a far wider context than can be dealt with here. That the Norse were also engaged in settlement in north-west England, southern Scotland and perhaps to some extent also east of the Pennines is illustrated by the Ingimundr episode in the Wirral.\textsuperscript{12} The ejection of the Norse from Ireland in 902 released a powerful enemy upon the north, and it was an army from Dublin led by Ragnall that campaigned in Northumbria, Strathclyde and Scotland over the next twelve years. The local response was one of active, though not very effective hostility, with conflicts between the Norse and Scots at Strathearn in 903 and at Corbridge in 914 where the Scots were joined by the men of Northumberland led by Ealdred of Bamburgh.\textsuperscript{13} The Norse could count on the co-operation of at least a sizeable element in the Danish kingdom of York, and obtained control of the kingdom by 915, perhaps as early as 911. Renewed activity in Ireland led to the re-establishment of Viking Dublin under Sigtryggr, brother and eventual successor to Ragnall, on the latter's death in 920, to the York kingdom.

In these circumstances the threat to the northern states was twofold. They were forced to contend with the immediate dislocation and loss caused by substantial and highly mobile raids, and to face up to the medium to long-term prospect of a Scandinavian kingdom based on Dublin and York capable of the military domination of northern England and Scotland and already demonstrating the use to which such a superiority would be put. There are signs that their common interests brought together the 'possessor' states of the north—Strathclyde, Scotland and what remained of English Northumbria, based on Bamburgh in Northumberland and presumably Carlisle in Cumbria. The inadequacy of even this coalition in the face of a Scandinavian soldiery who were at least semi-professional led to a common cause with the only available, militarily powerful kingdom—the rejuvenated West Saxon and Mercian kingdom, whose efforts were also directed against the Scandinavian immigrants in these years. By 918 the English leadership had successfully reduced the Danelaw south of the Humber and incorporated this substantial territory,
however uneasily, into the English state. In the north-west the English response to Scandinavian pressure was less aggressive, with the establishment of the burhs of the Mersey valley from 907 (Chester) onwards into the next decade. In the north-east it was probably the pressure from the West Saxon dynasty that pushed the Yorkshire Danes into open alliance with Dublin, following the English invasion of 909.\textsuperscript{14}

It has been suggested that Aethelflaed allied herself against the Norse with the Britons and Scots,\textsuperscript{15} and although this is unproven, it is at least likely in the circumstances. In this context 'Britons' is a generic term for the inhabitants and rulers of the old-established but ephemeral kingdom of Strathclyde, or Cumbria, which was at this time expanding its area of control into north-west England.\textsuperscript{16} Since such an expansion is germane to an understanding of North Cumbria in the tenth century, it must have an airing in this context, although there is insufficient room to consider the evidence in detail.

It is likely that the disruption of eastern Northumbria in the 860s and 870s left a dangerously exposed Anglian or Anglo-Celtic community west of the Pennines. Given the place-name evidence it seems likely that this community had a comparatively low population density, with substantial tracts of land that saw only minimal exploitation, and it was an area exposed to coastal immigration and cross-Pennine traffic. A comparably exposed Northumberland lost substantial territories to a stronger, local rival in the eleventh century. However, Strathclyde was also under attack in the late ninth century, with the passage of Scandinavian armies in 871, 875, 877 and in the 890s. A small kingdom unable to close access to its own heartland and riverways, it is unlikely to have been ready for vigorous expansion in the south. No records of conflict between Briton and Anglian exist: nor is any likely to have occurred before Brunanburh.

The Cumbrian expansion is clearest in the place-name evidence, which includes Anglian names hybridized by Brythonic speakers [Fig. 3.2]. These are almost exclusive to north Cumbria, concentrated in the Irthing and lower Eden valleys, and suggest that Cumbrian settlement was restricted to the north-east.\textsuperscript{17} It may be significant that a proportion of these place-names are associated with small earthwork sites of a defensive type. A second source of evidence lies in the dedications to St Kentigern (or Mungo), again limited to the Solway Plain and to the Eden valley north of the Eamont. This river would certainly appear to have been a political frontier in 926; eventually to become the county boundary. Most probably an expansion into this area by the comparatively weak Strathclyde kingdom occurred only with the encouragement of the local Anglian aristocracy and with the connivance of the English south of the Mersey, as a response to an immediate threat that the former could not resist unaided, nor the latter successfully combat. The only crisis likely to have been sufficiently dangerous is the arrival of a substantial Viking fleet. The picture of joint action by Mercians, Scots, Britons and perhaps the fleet of the Ulstermen in the campaigns against the Norse in the first two decades of the century is insufficiently documented, but has gained some
credibility. While a renewed British interest in north Cumberland receives some support from the evidence, there is little sign in the place-name evidence of expansion far into Appleby barony, let alone an expansion to the Mersey, a suggestion that Wilson made only fifteen years ago.\textsuperscript{18}

The Norse military threat continued with renewed fighting by the Scots and Bernicians against Ragnall in 918, but the third decade of the century saw a highly significant shift in the balance of power in the north, hinging upon the assumption by Athelstan of the crown of Northumbria in 927, and therefore the dismemberment of the Viking state of Dublin–York. The attitude of the northern states appears to have altered, to fend off their uncomfortably close and powerful southern neighbour, and to do so in alliance with the Dublin Norse. Outside of Bamburgh, resistance to Athelstan can be traced in his expedition against Scotland in 934, and in the alliance of Olafr Gothfrithsson of Dublin with Scotland and Strathclyde in 937, an alliance that was destroyed at the great battle of Brunanburh. In other words, the alliance based upon mutual interests between the northern ‘possessor’ states and the southern English kingdom,
which had been an important factor in the events of the period 900–920, broke down in the decade after 920 as one partner became too powerful. The danger to Strathclyde of a southern monarch in Northumbria is quite clear — not only would an overwhelmingly powerful land force control territory close to its southern frontier, but additionally a cause for conflict already existed in British control, and presumably annexation, of an area arguably an indissoluble part of the old Northumbrian kingdom in Cumbria.

From a position of opposition to the Norse, the Strathclyde kingdom had turned to open alliance with their old enemies. There is no evidence that the Cumbrian kingdom ever abandoned this attitude right up to the death of Owen the Bald in the eleventh century. In contrast, after Brunanburh Scotland appears to have been reconciled to the English interest, and it was only after the absorption of Cumbria that a new aggressive policy developed. It was Cumbria that attracted southern punitive raids in the second half of the tenth century, presumably as a reaction to Norse/Cumbrian raids directed against English and Danish Northumbria to the east. The year 945 saw the invasion of the area by Edmund who made it tributary to the King of Scots, perhaps in an attempt to neutralize the military potential of the local Norse. A further invasion took place under Ethelred in 1000. The Eden/Stainmore route probably provided the normal communication route between Dublin and York — witness the death of Bloodaxe on Stainmore in 954.

There is no direct evidence as to which, if any, of the northern powers controlled north Westmorland. A component part of English Northumbria in the ninth century, the area may have lain outside British authority in 927 when the Eamont meeting took place. In the eleventh century Cumbrian authority probably reached as far as Stainmore, but this may date solely to the period of incorporation in the Scottish kingdom. It is arguable that north Westmorland was a semi-independent buffer area under local Scandinavian control in the second half of the tenth century. It was singled out as a specific area for pillage by Thored son of Gunner in 966, operating out of Yorkshire, and may have been (but probably was not) represented by a petty ruler, Jukil Westmariae, at Chester in 974. If an aristocratic centre is required Penrith, with its unusual collection of carved stones, provides an obvious candidate, despite its lying north of the Eamont.

The tenth century, then, saw a complex pattern of inter-state relations unfold during which there occurred a total reversal in attitudes to the Norse in Strathclyde or Cumbria. There is no sign of local resistance to Norse immigrants after about 920. On the contrary, from what follows, it is possible to see a zoning policy on the part of Cumbrian kings which allowed, or possibly even actively encouraged a Scandinavian aristocracy outside the core of British occupation in the north-east of the county, and which led to concentrations of Scandinavian settlement on the remaining areas of good or adequate land — both on the west coast, where vulnerability to seaborne settlers must have been a significant factor, and in the
landlocked, strategically important buffer area of the Upper Eden valley in north Westmorland. In neither area, but particularly in north Westmorland, is the presence of Scandinavian settlement likely to have been accidental.

SCANDINAVIAN SETTLEMENT

No proven example of a Scandinavian settlement has yet been located in north Cumbria, despite the massive legacy of place-names and the comparatively substantial artifactual evidence for their presence. It can and has been argued that the bulk of Norse settlements underlie existing farm sites, hamlets or villages and as such have either not been discovered, or have been destroyed by later building activity. The comparatively small number of abandoned sites where Scandinavian activity has been suggested are either low-lying earthwork sites, or abandoned stone or earth foundations on the high limestone fells of the Upper Eden. Sites that have many of the characteristics of the well-known excavated Norse settlements, at Jarlshof for example, are now known from aerial photography and field survey work, but the problems of dating such settlements have been amply demonstrated by the excavation of the Ribblehead site, where pre-Viking material provided the only chronological evidence. It is impossible to make assumptions purely on the basis of the size or shape of structural remains, since it has been demonstrated that a rectilinear building tradition was already present in north Cumbria in the second half of the Roman period. In these circumstances, an assessment of Scandinavian settlement has to depend upon the indirect evidence of artefact recovery and place-name survival.

For the presence of Scandinavians in the area before 900, only the Ormside burial provides testimony. Dated to the second half of the ninth century, the burial contained weapons with far-flung comparative characteristics suggesting a warrior’s tomb. The location of the grave, in Ormside churchyard, implies that those burying their fallen were a Scandinavian raiding group unable to guarantee the grave security outside of hallowed land. The burial need have nothing to do with local settlement, and should be seen as an exotic. It is possible that there was significant Viking raiding in the area in the late ninth century — a case has been made for Halfdan’s presence at Carlisle in 875 and a coin hoard (deposition date about 870) has been found at Kirkoswald — but no reliable evidence of settlement has been proffered. The bulk of the artifactual remains are dated to the tenth and eleventh centuries. Most of these are crosses or other sculptured stones, the remainder almost entirely metalwork of military or ornamental function. These products are all essentially aristocratic in origin, in the sense that their ownership and use would not have been common among a peasant class. So far there have been only a handful of further graves located. That at High Heskett, dated to the second quarter of the tenth century, contained no skeleton, but evidence of burning, weapons and a sickle. The location so close to the Roman road suggests another
casualty among a mobile group, comparable to that at Ormside. Only Eaglesfield, south-west of Cockermouth, has what could be described as a cemetery — six skeletons of which only one seems to be of the Viking Age. The remaining Cumbrian examples of reported graves comprise only individual finds from churchyards or elsewhere (Whitbarrow Scar at Witherslack, Aspatria, Brigham and West Seaton).26

If we add burial goods to the distribution of sculptured stones, an informative pattern emerges. The majority are to be found on the narrow, western coastal plain — the poorest part of the crescent of land suited to agriculture — with concentrations around Beckermet and Gosforth and a generous scatter in the lower valleys of the Derwent and Ellen. The only other groups lie in the Eden Valley, at Addingham, Penrith, Kirkby Stephen and Lowther. They are absent from the marginal terrains of the Lakeland massif and concentrated instead in the extremities of the fertile belt as already defined [Fig. 3.3].

A significant number of Anglian production centres were also centres of production in the Viking Age — Beckermet, Brigham, Carlisle, Dacre, Kirkby Stephen, Lowther, Penrith and Workington — and even those

![Fig. 3.3 The evidence for Scandinavian lordship, burial, and artistic patronage in North Cumbria.](image-url)
places where only Viking Age products have been located tend to be grouped in areas where Anglo-Saxon production had occurred. The apparent continuity of production suggests a transfer of patronage to a Scandinavian or Scandinavianized aristocracy via a transfer of estates, involving only minimal disruption in the existing community. Large numbers of Anglo-Saxon place-names survived and it seems likely that large numbers of the Anglo-Saxon peasant communities survived with them, joining the artisans responsible for carving under Norse lordship. The Viking interest in commemorative sculpture even opens up the possibility of local church and clerical survival.

Sculptured stones, then, and to a lesser extent graves and putative graves, have been found solely in the lowlands. While they are not found exclusively on good arable land they are rarely far from it. Their presence suggests a Scandinavian aristocracy in two areas of the fertile terrain, the west coast and north Westmorland. However, in both areas Anglo-Saxon settlement names occupy primary locations and imply the survival of the occupant low-status community. The absence of Viking Age sculpture from the areas where Brythonic place-names are concentrated suggests the exclusion of Scandinavian warriors from estate-holding in those areas. Such a distribution may have been the product of the exercise of Cumbrian royal authority in the tenth century and that of its successors in the eleventh century — the Scottish kings and earl Siward.

Of the sculptured forms, hogbacks are the most likely to represent a secular warrior aristocracy, and their concentration in the west and at Penrith and surrounding areas makes this point most clearly. Gospatric's Charter, a product of the Confessor's reign, implies control over a part of Allerdale and the adjacent area to the east by a representative of English royal authority, acting within those areas which are specifically stated to have been Cumbrian and in which we should expect the strongest exercise of Cumbrian royal authority in the tenth century.

If we compare this picture with that provided by place-name evidence, there are significant differences. Place-names in -by ('by') are the only substantial group with a distribution based on the fertile lowlands [Fig. 3.4]. As settlement names, and as a group in which there are many cases of a Scandinavian suffix combined with another Scandinavian element, they probably represent the primary settlement phase. They are plentiful in both areas where the distribution of sculpture is dense, but they are also common in other areas, in particular around Carlisle. On the north side of the Solway -by names are concentrated in eastern Dumfriesshire again implying Scandinavian colonization close to Carlisle. The distribution of place-name evidence for Scandinavian settlement extends far outside the areas where artefacts are concentrated, however, and unless we are dealing with a grossly distorted pattern of artefact recovery, this would seem to suggest a difference between areas where a Scandinavian aristocracy took root in a context of primary colonization, and others where a comparable colonization failed to generate such an aristocracy. One factor that might help to explain this is the proportion of -by names that can be shown to
occupy primary settlement terrain. On the west coast and in north Westmorland, Scandinavian place-names represent a significant proportion of parish centres and nucleated settlements. In some areas, groups like Kirkby Thore, Appleby, (Temple) Sowerby, Long Marton and Crackenthorpe occupy the best land locally available. This is less the case in the north-east, where a higher proportion of -by names are attached to low status settlements more marginal to the better terrains. Another exceptional area is the upper Eden valley [Fig. 3.5], where -by names predominate among the parish and township names of the high, pastoral terrain between Stainmore and Shap, an area that comprises adequate sheep grazing but poor arable land and one that seems to have attracted little pre-Scandinavian settlement.

Another Scandinavian suffix with a lowland distribution is -thveit, meaning forest clearance, and this is associated almost exclusively with low-status settlements rarely comprising more than townships in the poorer areas of the lowlands — in the areas, for example, later to be incorporated into Inglewood Forest and the West Ward. Their distribution and status suggest dependence on the primary -by settlements. They
may in some cases represent secondary colonization by Scandinavian speakers, but in others the names seem to have been formed by speakers of English using dialect loan words of Scandinavian origin. The pattern of -thveit place-names in Dumfriesshire suggest a similar two-phase colonization, and the names are limited to second-rate sites in the east of the county.31

If we turn to the ‘waste’ lands of Lakeland and the Pennines, place-names with Scandinavian elements form a very high proportion of the total. Typical are names in -bekkr and -fell, but neither type is uniformly the product of Scandinavian speakers. The combination of both suffixes with another Scandinavian element does occur, but the presence of these suffixes combined with English elements north and south of the Solway suggests that both -bekkr and -fell entered the local dialect as loan words and were incorporated into names formulated long after the Viking Age was over. Even so, the presence of purely Scandinavian place-names and the scarcity of purely English place-names of an early type in the ‘waste’
terains would suggest that Scandinavian speakers did provide the initial manpower responsible for settlement and clearance in the high wastes and pastures. The palaeobotanical record certainly supports the thesis of a substantial level of activity in these areas in the tenth century and later. Furthermore, the distribution of inversion compounds not only betrays the western origin of these colonists; it also supports the argument that the initial phase of colonization of the 'waste' lands of the Lakes was contemporaneous with the filling-up process in the lowlands, and therefore probably should be dated to the tenth century. As Ekwall pointed out, the scarcity of Romance elements in inversion compounds suggests the form was already archaic by 1000. The presence of upland names in -ergi ('ergh') probably reflects the same stage in colonization. Even when they occur within the lowlands, these names are always associated with rough pasture lands.

CONCLUSIONS

If we take the combined evidence of place-names and sculptured stones, a three-tier pattern of Scandinavian colonization can be offered as a tentative hypothesis. The most successful colonization occurred in the western coastal plain and in north Westmorland, where Scandinavian farmers occupied a significant number of primary sites, later to become manors or parish and township centres. These areas were the wealthiest under Scandinavian control and supported a warrior class who patronized a local tradition of stone sculpture. Traces of self-government have also been detected, for example in the minor place-name 'Pow Motey' near Aspatria, suggestive of a Moot how. Even in these areas there is evidence that a proportion, at least, of the Anglian community survived the immigration and retained primary settlement sites. Scandinavian settlement names also occupy agricultural land in other areas of the Cumbrian lowlands, but they do not in general appear to have been so successful, and Viking Age sculpture is scarce. The third area of activity is the colonization of the 'waste' in the lowlands and uplands, which for several reasons seems to have been contemporaneous with the occupation of niches in the lowland settlement structure, but which initially met with little competition (except, perhaps, as evidenced by a scatter of Brythonic upland names). This 'waste' colonization produced place-names in -ergi, -theit, -bekkr and -fell, but the process is confused because the last three became local dialect words and were incorporated in place-names of later creation formulated by English speakers. Cumbrian kings may have significantly influenced this pattern of settlement and development.

This poses three final questions. When did this colonization occur? From where did it derive? And what numerical strength and organization did it command? None of these questions can be answered categorically, but the subject matter obligates any commentator to offer some suggestions.

From documentary evidence we know that Dublin Norse incursions occurred in north-west England from about 900, stimulating an English
reaction in Cheshire and Lancashire for perhaps two decades. However, on logistical grounds, the Dublin Norse in exile should not be made responsible for all the Scandinavian colonization in north-west England, although while in exile they may have over-wintered in this area. Whatever colonization occurred before about 920 should probably be placed at their door, but the volte face of Cumbrian royal attitudes towards her neighbours in the 920s and the active alliance with the Dublin Norse in the 930s must have created an environment much more conducive to Norse settlement in north Cumbria. It seems more than likely that substantial settlement had already occurred by the time of the ravaging of Cumbria in 945. The final collapse of Norse influence at York in 954 must also have created conditions far less favourable for Norse settlement in north Westmorland. The majority of primary settlements should, therefore, be placed within the period 900–950.

It is impossible to say from where these colonists set out. The presence of inversion compounds betrays the presence of a contingent from Ireland or western Scotland. Otherwise, there is no clear lead in the place-names — for example there is no clear link with the Western Isles. In general, the place-names fit into a northern English pattern which spreads over Cumbria, Lancashire and north Yorkshire, spilling over into south-west Scotland. We should see west Scandinavians as the core of those responsible, coming from Ireland, Man, Iceland, Norway and the Scottish west coast, but intruders from Galloway and Yorkshire should not be ruled out — the latter particularly in north Westmorland. It is even possible that the balance of recruitment was different in the two main areas of successful settlement.

The numerical strength and organization of the intruders can only be assessed in relative terms. In specific areas they were strong enough to take over primary settlement locations. However, in general this was not the case, and we find Scandinavian settlement confined to a minority of such locations and to a range of alternative, poorer sites. In these circumstances it seems unlikely that we have in north Cumbria the settlement of an army, although the west coast and north Westmorland saw the local development of a warrior class. On the whole, it seems safest to suggest that the immigrants were relatively disorganized, operating in small groups and taking over land that was unoccupied rather than seizing occupied land from the possessor community. The colonization in both lowland and upland within one or two generations suggests comparatively large numbers relative to the size of the local population in north Cumbria in the ninth century, but the immigrants were insufficient totally to swamp the occupant community, or consistently to deny the power of the Cumbrian kings. In any case, during the remainder of the Viking Age there is little sign of a distinctive Scandinavian community, or any evidence that the descendants of the immigrants enjoyed a separate political identity. Indeed, even their ethnic and linguistic identity must have been in question by the end of the period of Cumbrian lordship. It can scarcely have survived in a recognizable form the phases of Scottish and Northumbrian
(or if preferred, Danish) political control that span the remainder of the Viking Age.  

Notes

1 For example, E. Ekwall, *Scandinavians and Celts in the N-W of England* (1918) 8 ff.
3 E. Ekwall (1918) op. cit. 72.
7 For Westmorland, see A. H. Smith, *The Place Names of Westmorland*. 2 vols (1967), and for Cumberland see A. M. Armstrong et al., *The Place Names of Cumberland*. 3 vols (1950—52).
8 N. J. Higham, Rural Settlements west of the Pennines, in K. Branigan (ed.), *Rome and the Brigantes* (1980) fig. 5.1.
9 My thanks to Mr McCarthy for his personal communication.
10 In general, see W. G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age* (1927); R. N. Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England* (1980).
17 E. Ekwall (1918) op. cit. 117.
18 P. A. Wilson (1966) op. cit. 74.
20 For example, N. J. Higham, An early medieval site at Caldbeck, Ravenstonedale, in *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* (1976) LXVI. 214.
21 For example, N. J. Higham, An aerial survey of the Upper Lune Valley, in N. J. Higham (ed.), *The Changing Past* (1979) 34, fig. 4.3.

26 J. D. Cowen (1967) op. cit. 34.


31 Ibid. 103–06.


33 E. Ekwall (1918) op. cit. 62–65.

34 A more extensive study of the Scandinavians in North Cumbria is in preparation for N. J. Higham, Archaeology of Northern England (forthcoming).
Plate V  Anglo-Saxon cross, Irton, West Cumbria: the best preserved pre-Viking cross in the Lake District and surrounding lowlands.