

‘Normanisation’ and the Scottish Occupation of Cumbria under
David I, c.1135-1153



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Master's Degrees by Examination and Dissertation

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Thesis Abstract

'Normanisation' and the Scottish Occupation of Cumbria under David I, c.1135-1153

The thesis examines the Scottish occupation of Cumbria between 1135 to 1153, with the development of 'Normanisation' under the authority of David I (1124-1153). In particular, the dissertation raises questions on interpretation and the problems these pose to future scholarship.

This thesis shows how the late progression of 'Normanisation' had impacted the status of Cumbria but witnessed the prosperity of Carlisle under Scottish rule.

The core primary source is the *Written Acts and Charters of David I of Scotland and his son Henry earl of Northumberland*, edited by Geoffrey Barrow. Secondary sources on Cumbria include Henry Summerson's *Medieval Carlisle*, Richard Sharpe's lecture, *Norman Rule in Cumbria, 1092 - 1135* and Richard Oram's *David I: The King Who Made Scotland*.

In the first chapter, the dissertation explores the Cumbrian identity and the importance of preserving cultural identity in times of conflict. Importantly, the chapter analyses the distinction between the Cumbrians and Normans. It will explore the changes during the medieval period with the continual shift in power.

The second chapter explores monasticism and the Church's significant role in developing societies. It examines the early evidence for religious activity and why it was important for the Norman to adopt ancient cults. The chapter studies monastic colonialism and why this was important in developing a strong Norman presence. Furthermore, examining the political significance of creating the Diocese of Carlisle. Additionally, the chapter explores monastic dissemination and the rising power of the Cistercian Order.

Chapter three explores the 'Davidian Revolution' and its application in the development of Cumbria. The chapter examines David's 'new men' who were vital in building the Cumbrian frontier. Additionally, the section studies Carlisle as the hub of administration in the west and why this is a complex topic. Finally, feudalism and the changing status of Cumbria as a merger state.

Introduction:

Although the Norman seizure of Carlisle in 1092 by William II established the Norman interest in the north-west of England, the interregnum of Scotland (1135-1157) distinguished Cumbria as a developing 'Normanised' state. Though a brief interval, the Scottish occupation of Cumbria is vital in the study of Cumbrian history. It is impossible to separate the history of Scotland from Cumbria because the two have a shared past. Nevertheless, historians have approached Cumbrian history separately from Scotland, neglecting the broader significance of the north-west during the twelfth century. David I of Scotland (r.1124-1153) seized Carlisle in 1135, soon after the death of Henry I of England (r.1100-1135). The death of Henry created a crisis of succession with his supporters divided between his daughter (and heir) Matilda (c.1102-1167) and his nephew Stephen of Blois (r.1135-1154). The discord resulted in a civil war known as the Anarchy, or the 'nineteen long winters when Christ and his saints slept'.¹ The debacle in England gave Scotland the opportunity to seize Carlisle. While England's attention was focussed on Stephen's swift coronation, David's was able to successfully acquire Cumbria as part of his Scottish domain. The seizure of Carlisle was a milestone in Cumbrian history by becoming a major centre of political power and changing its status from a 'colony' into a merging state.

One key topic which emerges in the study of Cumbria is the concept of the borderlands. It is a defining periphery between Scotland and England, separated by the

¹ The term the Anarchy was first devised in the nineteenth century by John Round a student of William Stubbs who analysed the period in his 1874 volume the *Constitutional History of England*. The testimony of the 'nineteen long winters when Christ and his saints slept' is referred to in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* as the nineteen long winters of sin referring to the instability and long periods of military activity. See: 'AD. 1137', the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, [Online ed.], (Yale: Lillian Goldman Law Library, Yale Law School, 2008), <<https://avalon.law.edu/medieval/ang12.asp>> [accessed on 12 June 2022].

Solway Firth to the west and the river Tweed to the east. In the twelfth century, the border was not fully fixed until 1746 when Berwick-upon-Tweed was annexed to England. Jamroziak stresses in her article ‘Holme Cultram Abbey: A Story of Success?’ that Cumbria in the twelfth century was on the same side of the borders as its Scottish counterparts.² Specifically, the Scottish occupation of Cumbria absorbed the Solway Firth into Scotland, nonetheless it remained arbitrary at this time. Therefore, researchers approaching the topic of borderlands should be aware of the subjective nature of the border regions.

The recent study on Cumbria has identified several key topics, including the Battle of Carham in 1018 which defined what became the ‘fixed border’ under the Treaty of York in 1237.³ McGuigan and Woolf published *The Battle of Carham: A Thousand Years On*, examining the Anglo-Scottish borders and the wider context of Cumbria, and its international relationship with England and Europe.⁴ Furthermore, Stringer has researched extensively on the subject including his article, ‘State-Building in Twelfth century Britain,’⁵ which explores in detail the Scottish occupation. Additionally, Stringer and Jotischky’s book, *Normans and the Norman-Edge*,⁶ highlights Cumbria as a frontier zone, which became a hub of cultural diversity.

Since the collapse of the Roman administration in the fifth century, Cumbria was comparable to the rest of post-Roman Britain, where it was subject to the changes in

² E. Jamroziak, (2008) “Holme Cultram Abbey: Story of Success?”, *Northern History*, Vol. 45, Issue 1, pp.27-36, (p.28).

³ The *Treaty of York* resulted in an agreement between Alexander II of Scotland and Henry III that Scotland would not impose any further claims to the northern territories of England. See G. Donaldson, (ed.), *Scottish Historical Documents*, (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1970), pp33-34.

⁴ N. McGuigan and A. Woolf, (ed.), *The Battle of Carham: A Thousand Years On*, (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2018) is the product of research undertaken on Carham to celebrate its thousand-year anniversary.

⁵ K. Stringer, ‘State-building in twelfth-century Britain: David I, King of Scots and Northern England,’ *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England, 1000-1700*, ed. by John C. Appleby; Paul Dalton. (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1997), p. 40-62.

⁶ Keith J. Stringer and Andrew Jotischky, eds., *The Normans and the “Norman Edge”: Peoples, Politics and Identities on the Frontiers of Medieval Europe*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2019).

authority. The Cumbrian people experienced several transitions, including the Kingdoms of Rheged, Strathclyde, the Scots, and the subsequent Norman Conquest. The change in authority bound the people, and Cumbria became an autonomous territory. Researchers have attempted to explore in detail the impact of these transitional periods, which are vital to future studies in forming the borders under David I of Scotland.

The study of Cumbria is an expansive topic, and the dissertation aims to explore topics within the wider field of research. The dissertation will explore the periods between 1135 to 1153 to tackle the significance of David I and his innovations in Cumbria. The paper will also focus on ‘north’ Cumbria as a distinctive territory, which was absent in the *Domesday Book* of 1086.⁷ Due to Cumbria’s absence, historians have viewed the Normans perception of Cumbria as insignificant, which the dissertation will aim to unravel. The *Domesday Book* names Ulverston, Furness, Sowerby, Dalton, Roose and Gleaston in the Yorkshire survey,⁸ which were regarded as ‘south’ Cumbria. North Cumbria (fig. 1) was deemed as part of the Scottish crown under Máel Coluim III,⁹ which highlights its absence from the ‘great survey’. The demography of the Scottish domain in Cumbria is a challenging subject as land distribution was in ‘satellites’ rather than in confined regions. David controlled areas in the Carlisle district, the Solway basin and Westmorland and Appleby. Therefore, the dissertation will concentrate on the demography of the Solway coast. The paper will stress the autonomous nature of the Cumbrian people as culturally different from Norman England. Therefore, the

⁷ The *Domesday Book*, also known as the ‘great survey’ catalogues the annual value of landed property to its lord, and the resources of land, manpower and livestock of where the income is derived. See N.J. Higham, ‘The Domesday Survey: Context and Purpose’, *History*, vol. 78, No. 252 (February 1993), pp. 7-21, (p.7).

⁸ ‘Domesday Book: Yorkshire’, *Open Domesday*, [online], <<https://opendomesday.org/book/yorkshire/08/>> [accessed 21 November 2022].

⁹ Máel Coluim III [Malcolm III], King of Scots (r.1058-1093) was the father of David I and his brothers Edgar and Alexander. He died in 1093 at the Battle of Alnwick.

dissertation will focus on the growth of ‘Normanisation’ between 1135 and 1153 and assess overall, Cumbria beyond its status as a frontier region.

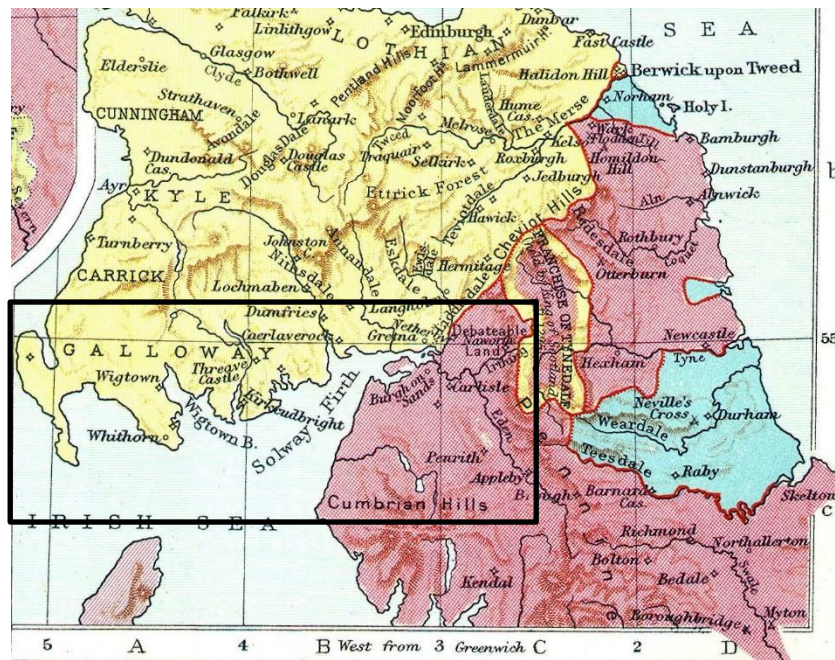


Fig. 1: Map of Britain, highlighting the area defined as ‘north Cumbria’ under Scottish occupation.¹⁰

‘Normanisation’ is defined as a people who are brought under the influence of the Normans. ‘Normanisation’ like the definition of ‘Romanization’ is a problematic term as it does not necessarily mean to be completely under the power of the Normans. In contrast to the Normans, Graham describes that applying a single identifiable way of characterising the idea of a ‘Romaness’ as alike to ‘Normaness’ is problematic in itself.¹¹ An issue which is easily applied to defining the idea of ‘Normaness’. The concept of ‘Normanisation’ is developed by Ritchie in his book *the Normans in Scotland*¹², where he

¹⁰ Anon, ‘Map of the Scottish Borders with annotations by author,’ *Heritage History*, (2016), Source: < <https://vitabrevis.americanancestors.org/2016/03/irregular-border-marriages-scotland/> > [Accessed on 5 October 2022].

¹¹ E Graham, ‘The Romanization Debate’, in *Archaeology of the Roman World: AR2556*, (School of Archaeology and Ancient History, University of Leicester, 2017), p.35.

¹² See R.L.G. Ritchie, *Normans in Scotland*, (Michigan University Press, 1954), pp.160-175.

explores the migration of the Normans into Scotland later described as the ‘Davidian Revolution’.¹³ There is generally a lack of further research on the ‘Davidian Revolution’ in the context of the north of England, which is key to applying Ritchie’s study to Cumbria. To tackle these issues, I aim to understand the extent of the ‘Davidian Revolution’, which includes the creation of Carlisle as the administrative centre of the west; the impact of external features in the colonisation of Cumbria, including the church; the migration of Normans and the Scottish influence on ‘feudalism’. Consequently, the dissertation will discuss the economic and political status of Cumbria which is vital in the study of David I.

The focus of the dissertation is to identify firstly, David as an important contributor to the development of Cumbria as Norman territory. Secondly, the prosperity of Cumbria is subject to Carlisle as a royal seat.¹⁴ Thirdly, the complexities of ‘multiculturalism,’¹⁵ and how this affected Norman presence in the north-west. Fourthly the contribution of the church in developing the landscape into a key economic power.

The objectives of the study are to encourage researchers to consider the wider significance of Scotland and its extended boundaries, additionally to define how we understand these borders, and to reflect on Cumbria as a complex subject. It is an area which deserves further attention, including the deeper exploration of the socio-cultural identity of the Cumbrian people.

¹³ ‘Davidian Revolution’ is a term developed by G.W.S Barrow in *David I (1124-1153): Balance of Old and New*, (Reading: University of Reading, 1985), pp. 9-11 and M. Lynch in *Scotland: A New History*, (UK: Pimlico, 1992), p.80.

¹⁴ The subject of Carlisle as the seat of administration in Scotland is explored in Henry Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle: The City and the Borders from the Late Eleventh to the Mid-sixteenth Century*, (Cumbrian and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 1993), where he highlights that David made Carlisle, ‘a sort of capital centre,’ p.41; and Richard Oram, *David I: King Who Made Scotland*, (Stroud: The History Press, 2008), p.82, where he stresses the need for a ‘major royal centre.’

¹⁵ The use of the term ‘multiculturalism’ refers to the amalgamation of culture within the district of the north-west. Although the term emerged in the twentieth century, by Horace Kallen in 1915, the concept of it is relevant within the medieval context as the bringing together of cultures.

I will divide this dissertation into three sections with the aim to argue that ‘Normanisation’ grew extensively during the Scottish occupation. Section one explores Cumbrian identity, including the changes in administration, and the integration of Normans into Cumbrian society, and the influence of Scotland resulting in the prosperity of Carlisle, and Cumbria’s changing status. Section two will explore monasticism and the development of religious activity. It will investigate monastic colonialism and the development of international orders which shaped the region. The chapter aims to look at case studies of the abbeys of Wetheral and St. Bees, the creation of the Diocese of Carlisle, and the arrival of the Cistercian order. Furthermore, it will study the impact of church power, including the status of ecclesiastical authority over Cumbria. Finally, it will examine the external conflicts beyond Cumbria, including the relationship with the archdiocese of York. Section three will study the Davidian Revolution in Cumbria, including the many innovations introduced by David I, and the ‘feudal’ structures which dominated twelfth century Scotland.

The subject of ‘feudalism’ is a problematic term within historical research, as it presupposes an absolute way of organising society. Furthermore, it is argued to whether it was the most effective form of organising society. ‘Feudalism’ in principle was a way of structuring society through the relationships of those holding land in the exchange of service to the crown. Therefore, I will discuss, the importance of loyalty between the king and his kinsmen which was essential in the building of a strong frontier.

Finally, the conclusion will assess the significant role which David I played in the progression of ‘Normanisation’ in Cumbria, highlighting the importance of Scottish authority and what this can reveal about the wider context of Cumbria as a developed and prosperous state. As a result, the dissertation will draw conclusions to the extent of

‘Normanisation’ during the occupation of Scotland, and to highlight the interregnum as a crucial period in the history of Scotland, but also Cumbria.

Chapter 1:

Integration and Change:

The Identity of the Cumbrian People in the Medieval Britain

The ‘Normanisation’ of the Solway coast was most progressive during the Scottish occupation. The chapter will address ‘Normanisation’ through cultural identity and the changes that impacted Cumbrian society. The chapter aims to explore how cultural identity affected the transition into the Norman administration and whether David I made changes to the Cumbrian way of life. The chapter intends to explore in detail Cumbrian identity, including the adjustments of administration and the balance between Norman migration and how the Normans integrated with the Cumbrians. Additionally, the chapter will propose the extent of Scotland’s influence, which resulted in the prosperity of Carlisle and Cumbria’s changing status.

Identity is defined as ‘who or what a person is’¹⁶ or ‘the same,’¹⁷ which is a challenging definition as it is a national identity rather than local identity. A national identity can be divided regionally through ethnicity, employment, environment, and language. The chapter aims to argue that Cumbrian identity is a multi-faceted topic and requires in-depth study to understand it more fully. The section will demonstrate the slow development of ‘Normanisation’ through a brief study of the key periods of political change. Moreover, it will highlight the preservation of local identity, which is due to the

¹⁶ ‘Identity’, *Cambridge Dictionary* [Online ed.]. (2013), Available at: <<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/identity>> [Accessed: December 29, 2022].

¹⁷ ‘Identity,’ *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*, [Online ed.]. Edited by T.F. Hoad, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). Available at: <<https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780192830982.001.0001/acref-9780192830982-e-7482>>. [Accessed 27 Dec. 2022].

progression of adopting Norman culture. Furthermore, it will explore how Scotland had modernised Cumbria through the implementation of Norman settlements.

The arrival of the Normans in the late-eleventh century changed the dynamics of Cumbrian society which rapidly occurred and altered Cumbrian identity. Cumbria (like many border regions) was utilised as a military frontier, and this played a vital role in how Cumbrian identity was shaped. Consequently, the chapter aims to understand what elements had influenced the Cumbrian identity and why in scholarship this is a challenging topic. The historical past influences how identity is formed, which is further complicated by people living on frontiers. Cumbrians were not unique in identify themselves nationally or locally, moreover this is circumstantial of people in border regions. The chapter aims to disentangle the idea of national and local identity and to understand the need to preserve border characteristics.

One key feature of identity which will be explored in the chapter is the value of language as a component of identity. It will underline the determination for preservation of language as a mark of defending identity. The Cumbric language which survives in placenames is a Celtic language closely associated with old Welsh and part of the Brittonic subgroup.¹⁸ Cumbric was spoken in the kingdoms of Rheged, Elmet, Gododdin and Strathclyde,¹⁹ an area which is known as the *Hen Ogledd* – the old north. The chapter will aim to acknowledge how fundamental the roots of the old kingdom had played in the development of ‘Normanisation’. Furthermore, highlighting the connection to the old kingdoms of *Hen Ogledd* and why the language had survived until the fourteenth century.

¹⁸ Brittonic emerged as a spoken language during the Iron Age and Roman period. Q-languages are identified as Cornish, Welsh, Breton, Cumbric and Pictish.

¹⁹ Rheged encompassed Dumfries and Galloway to the north and may have stretched as far south as Rochdale in Manchester. Elmet refers to areas of Yorkshire, including West Riding, West Yorkshire, South Yorkshire, and North Derbyshire. Gododdin includes south-east Scotland and north-east England. Strathclyde incorporates the Clyde valley, south-west Scotland and north-west England.

Scholars have attempted to map life on a frontier and how this shapes the development of people. McGuigan explores in his doctorate thesis, *Neither Scotland nor England: Middle Britain, c.850 -1150*, the political changes and how these influence the identities of the borderlands. The thesis highlights the changes from one local power to another and the distinctiveness of later definitions which are 'alien' to the classical distinctions.²⁰ In other words, the corruption of identity has been modelled by past histories, and 'created' as a form of identity to suit the purpose of local patriotism.

This chapter aims to explore in detail how cultural changes have impact ethnicity and identity, and to understand why it is important to preserve borderland identities in a time of conflict. It aims to argue that 'Normanisation' brought cultural changes, but also economic growth and financial prosperity. It will explore this through the shift of authority from the ancient kingdoms of Rheged, Strathclyde, and the Scots to the expansion of the Normans, and the subsequent Scottish occupation under David I. As a result, it will understand Cumbrian identity and the problems which are presented more fully.

What it means to be Cumbrian?

The study of social identities in the past or present requires acknowledging what it means to belong within a multicultural society. Modern sociology stresses that it is 'people who make society and practices inherited from the past. As practices change so does the structure'.²¹ The identity of the Cumbrian people is an amalgamation of

²⁰ N. McGuigan, *Neither Scotland nor England: Middle Britain, c.850-1150*, (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of St. Andrews, 2015), p.3. <<https://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/handle/10023/7829>> [Accessed October 2021].

²¹ D. Inglis and C. Thorpe, 'Structurationist Paradigm,' in *an Invitation to Social Theory*, (2012), pp. 208-234, (p.208).

incomers and those historically rooted in Cumbria. The concept of Cumbrian identity has received some academic attention in recent times.²² Consequently, the lack of resources before the twelfth century makes any study of Cumbrian identity challenging. The earliest known document is the Gospatric writ,²³ which dates from 1050 to 1170. However, the details in the parchment provide little information about who the Cumbrians are. McGuigan stresses in his doctorate that the limited source material in the eleventh century suggests Cumbria was the subject of the Scottish ruling dynasty.²⁴ This suggest that culturally Cumbria was closer to Scotland than it was to England. If there is limited written evidence of the Cumbrian people before the twelfth century, how is it possible to establish a case for identity? Cramp emphasising that documentary and place-name research has been crucial in creating a framework, but the framework has notable gaps and weaknesses.²⁵ Placenames are key to understanding the demography of the inhabitant of 'middle-Britain'.²⁶ Linguists have identified Cumbrian placenames as a sister-language of old Welsh, with roots in the Brittonic language. The evidence has revealed Cumbric in the Clydesdale region of Scotland and as far south as Lancashire and the Yorkshire Dales. Cumbric is located within the Kingdom known as *Hen Ogledd* (fig. 2) and the links to old Welsh offers the opportunity of further research. For example, the

²² The study of Cumbrian identity has been explored by Stringer in his chapter, 'The Normans and the Norman Edge'; Fiona Edmunds 'Carham: the Western Prospective', in *Battle of Carham, A Thousand Years On*; Neil McGuigan, 'Neither Scotland, Nor England'; and Dauvit Broun, 'Kingdom and Identity: A Scottish prospective', in *Northern England and Southern Scotland in the Central Middle Ages*, (Woodridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2017).

²³ Gospatric Writ states that a man named Thorfynn mac Thore is 'free of all things' belonging to Gospatric's in Allerdale, Cumberland, and his men are likewise free at Cardew (Carlisle) and Cumdivock (near Dalston). The dating of the document has been attributed to James Wilson in 'A Letter of Gospatric,' *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1, (1903), pp. 62-69.

Published by; and further examined by Charles Phythian-Adams in *Land of the Cumbrian: a study in British provincial origins, A.D. 400-1120*, (San Francisco: Scholar Press, 1996).

²⁴ McGuigan, *Scotland nor England*, p.136.

²⁵ R. Cramp, 'Whithorn and the Northumbrian Expansion Westwards,' *Whithorn Lecture Series*, 17 September 1994, p.1.

²⁶ 'Middle Britain' is a term which defines the borderlands of Scotland and England. The dissertation uses 'north Cumbria' as a way of describing the area as a part of Middle Britain.

*Book of Aneirin*²⁷ and *Taliesin*²⁸ are believed to have been written for Cumbric-speaking patrons, specifying the language and its preservation throughout the medieval period²⁹. Consequently, Cumbric is found in the twelfth-century Scottish text *Leger inter Brettos et Scottos*³⁰ which draws on some Cumbric words. The document, which is attributed to the reign of David I, is one of many important texts which identifies that the Cumbrians had a distinct identity, including the account of the Battle of the Standards found in the *Hexham chronicles*. Therefore, it is important to stress the value of language and placenames in the understanding of Cumbrian identity.



Fig 2: Map of northern England and central and southern Scotland detailing the language zones. Zone I
overs the kingdoms of Rheged and Strathclyde where the majority of the Cumbric language is found,
(2015).³¹

²⁷ Aneirin is referred to as a bard or a court poet in the Kingdom of Hen Ogledd, possibly of the Gododdin tribe in Edinburgh. The Book of Aneirin is a late-thirteenth century text containing old and middle Welsh poetry attributed to Aneirin

²⁸ The Book of Taliesin is a mid-fourteenth century manuscript containing the oldest poems in the Welsh language and date as far back as the sixth century and to the poet himself Taliesin.

²⁹ Whaley, N., 'Cumbric: An Introduction', *The Old North*, (2015). <http://old-north.co.uk/wordpress/?page_id=25>. [28 June 2022].

³⁰ *Leger inter Brettos et Scottos* translates as the law of the Brets and the Scots, dating from the twelfth century. Although only a small fragment survives, it details penalties such as homicide, death, and family disputes. The fragments highlight Scotland as a kingship-based society where the family are held accountable for any transgression from other members of the family.

³¹ Whaley, N., 'Map of the Cumbric Region', *The Old North Project*, (2015). <http://www.old-north.co.uk/Holding/lang_intro.html> [Accessed 4 January 2023].

The identity of the borderers is both complex and problematic. In comparison to Cumbria, the University of York recently conducted a detailed research project to understand how ‘Berwickers’ identify themselves. *The Debatable Land: National and Local Identity in a Border Town*, distinguishes that based on historical claims of identity, the people of Berwick identify as neither Scottish nor English. As a result, Berwickers form a local, but unique identity rather than a national one. The project highlights that interest in border towns and territories is generated by political curiosity, reinforced when a border is subject to disputes or conflict.³² The project emphasises the active use of boundaries as frontiers and how this influences ethnicity and identity. Berwickers define themselves on several factors, including the historical past, but also location. For instance, which side of the river Tweed they are born on and whether they feel more drawn to England or Scotland. Similarly, to Berwick, the Cumbrian people are drawn into national or local identities. Historically, the Cumbrians were held under the authority of past dominant Scottish kingdoms, therefore, they were naturally drawn to an identity closer to Scotland than England.

One of the key subjects in Cumbrian identity is the ancient territory known as the debateable lands, which is a contested subject in recent scholarship (fig 4). The name ‘debateable’ suggests disputed lands, but also an area where law and order does not exist. The area lies between England and Scotland, extending from the Solway Firth (near Carlisle) to Langholm in Dumfries and Galloway.³³ Robb emphasises that the debateable lands (fig. 3) are the oldest detectable territorial division in Great Britain and today the

³² R. Kiely, R. D. MacCrone and *et al*, ‘Debateable Land National and Local Identity in a Border Town’, *Sociological Research Online*, Vol.5, No.2, (2000). <<https://www.socresonline.org.uk/5/2/kiely.html>> [Accessed 6 September 2022].

³³ D. O’Sullivan, *The Reluctant Ambassador: The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Chaloner, Tudor Diplomat*, (Gloucestershire, Amberley, 2016). p. 70.

boundaries have been lost in the national border, meaning it remains disputed.³⁴ It is important to emphasise that Cumbrian identity is formed by its distinctiveness from Scotland and England. Nevertheless, Cumbrian identity is challenging as the areas included in the ‘debatable lands’ are, in law, neither Scotland nor England. Cumbrian identity is formed by the uniqueness of the people, both culturally and politically. Consequently, the subject remains challenging and is not easily resolved by a single conclusion.

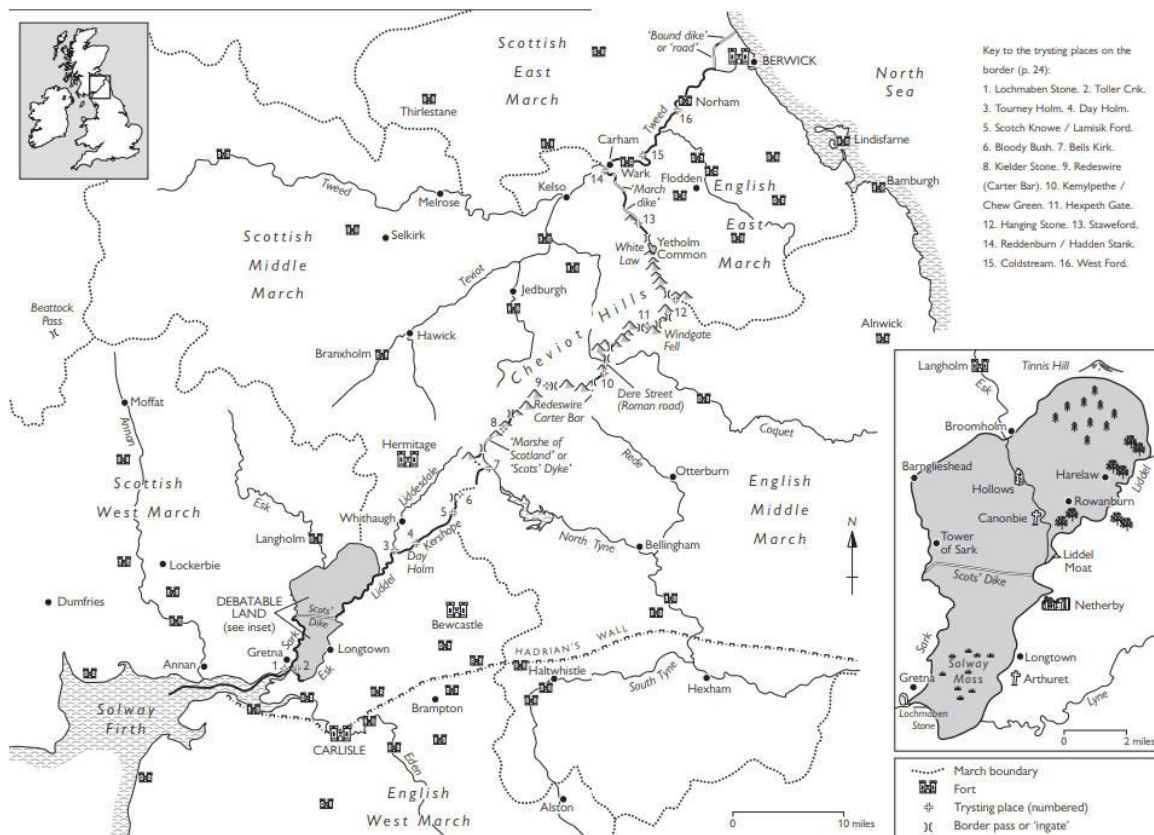


Fig 3: Map of identifying the location of the ‘debatable lands’ and the close up of its boundaries.³⁵

³⁴ G. Robb, *The Debatable Land: The Lost World Between Scotland and England*, (London: Picador, 2018), p.5.

³⁵ G. Robb, ‘Map of the Debatable lands’, *The Debatable Lands*, p. 5.

A feature of Cumbrian identity in the twelfth century is the division between the Cumbrians and the ‘men of Carlisle’.³⁶ In contrast to the Cumbrians, the ‘men of Carlisle’ represent the Norman migrants who inhabit Carlisle. Sharpe in his lecture the ‘Norman Rule in Cumbria, 1092-1136,’ stresses the distinction between the royal burgh, where the linguistical identity of the population was British, Norse, Irish and English names.³⁷ For instance, the men residing in Carlisle represented those who garrisoned the castle. As a result, the ‘men of Carlisle’ signified colonialists whose main function was to guard and manage the frontier and were significantly different from the Cumbrian people.

The evidence for the ‘men of Carlisle’ is recorded in historical records, stressing the ethnic separation between the Normans and those of local stock. Medieval chronicler, Richard of Hexham wrote in his account of the Battle of the Standard³⁸ the classification of the Cumbrians separately from the Scots, English and the Normans:

The infamous army (of David I) received accessions from Normans, Germans, and English, from the Northumbrians and Cumbrians, from Teviotdale and Lothian, from the Pict, commonly called Galwegians, and the Scots.³⁹

Therefore, from the account, it is crucial for historians to understand that the Cumbrians and the ‘men of Carlisle’ were culturally different. Throughout the period, it was not uncommon for people to be distinguished differently from national identities.

³⁶ Richard Sharpe explores the subject in detail in his paper, *Norman Rule in Cumbria*, (Kendal: Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Soc, 2006), pp.26-27, p.43, p.49.

³⁷ R. Sharpe, *Norman Rule in Cumbria*, pp.48-49.

³⁸ The Battle of the Standards which took place in 1138 on Cowton Moor near Northallerton in North Yorkshire. The battle between David I of Scotland and William of Aumale (who represented King Stephen’s army). The battle had two aims for David, firstly to expand his realm and secondly to support his niece and the Angevin side. The result of the battle was a failure for Scotland. The name of the battle refers to the standard banners which were used representing the churches of Riipon, York, Beverely and Durham.

³⁹ Richard of Hexham, ‘Battle of the Standards,’ *The Church Historians of England*, translated by Rev J. Stevenson, Vol IV, part 1, (London: U.K, Seeleys Publishers, 1896), p.43.

The Cumbrians, like the men of Galloway and Moray who were hired at the battle as mercenary soldiers. The Cumbrian's had a duty to their lord for military service but were not identified equally to the Norman soldiers at Carlisle. Significantly, the twelfth century reveals a tolerance to the Normans as understood by the historical accounts, but not a complete integration. For instance, Carlisle is the military or the defence, and the Cumbrians are the local people. Therefore, both the Cumbrians and the men of Carlisle co-exist, but have different functions in society.

One of the features of Cumbrian identity is the Cumbric language which rural communities preserved. The arrival of the Normans in Carlisle in the late-tenth century would have forced Cumbric speakers to the upland rural communities, meaning the language was dominant by French in the urban areas, and eventually Cumbric disappeared. Sharpe highlights from the sources that many of the inhabitants in Carlisle were of Norman, British, Norse and Irish decent, which emphasises the changing movement of the Cumbrians from the towns such as Carlisle to rural settlements.⁴⁰ Cumbric began to slowly vanish from specific areas in Cumbria around the twelfth century when it became 'wedged' between Gaelic, English, Norse and French speakers.⁴¹ Consequently, the strong Norman presence would see the eventual disappearance of Cumbric. However, the continual use of Cumbric in the fourteenth century was reserved for a scholarly reader suggested by its application in manuscripts. Nevertheless, the disappearance of Cumbric as a spoken language in the twelfth century, witnessed the survival of Cumbrian identity. Furthermore, it stresses the importance of preserving Cumbrian culture under supreme power. If the Cumbrians adopted French as the spoken

⁴⁰ Sharpe, *Norman Rule in Cumbria*, pp.48-49.

⁴¹ N. Whalley, 'The Old North: The Celtic History of Ancient Britain', *The Old North*, (2015). <http://old-north.co.uk/wordpress/?page_id=25> [Accessed 7 August 2022].

language, then this alludes to a form of ‘Normanisation’ where the people of Cumbrian had tolerated the Normans, yet culturally they were still distinguishable from the Normans.

Historically, Cumbria was regarded as a 'buffer zone', meaning it was vulnerable to invasion. Since the earliest records of Cumbria, it was utilised as a frontier, where the natural defences created a border between the two kingdoms. Cumbria is described as ‘mountainous with the Solway Firth and characterised by lowland hills and small mountains, while the Solway Basin has salt marshes and wetlands. In the hills towards the south-eastern parts of the plain, woodlands are common and river valleys are pronounced’.⁴² The earliest inhabitants of Cumbria are recorded in the *Harleian genealogies*,⁴³ a collection of Old Welsh ancestries naming the first rulers of the Kingdom of Rheged (fig. 4). Rheged is known to have existed during the post-Roman and early medieval age, dominating the majority of Dumfries, Galloway, Cumbria and Lancashire. Although historians have speculated its seat at Cumbria, current research has suggested the stronghold was close to the Gatehouse of Fleet in Galloway.⁴⁴ The disappearance of the Rheged in the seventh century is interpreted as an absorption rather than an act of conquest by the Kingdom of Northumbria. Bede wrote in the eighth century:

⁴² Natural England, *Solway Basin*, 2015. < <http://publications.naturalengland.org.uk/publication/5276440824119296?category=587130> > [Accessed on 29 September 2022].

⁴³ The *Harleian Genealogies* are a collection of manuscripts which include chronicles derived in St. David's in Wales known as the *Annals Cumbriae*; the *Historia Brittonum* which is a *Genealogy of the Brittonic people* and a collection which chronicles lesser-known rulers of Hen Ogledd and Wales.

⁴⁴ Ronan Toolis and Christopher Bowles with GUARD Archaeological services have identified the possibility of an important royal seat at Trusty Hill in Galloway. Toolis and Bowles have published their findings in *The Lost Dark Age: Kingdom of Rheged: The Discovery of the Stronghold at Trusty Hill, Galloway*, (Oxford, Oxbow, 2017).

Oswy, brother to the former (Oswald), held almost the same territory. The latter made tributary even the tribes of the Picts and Irish who inhabit the northern parts of Britain⁴⁵.

Bede highlights the transfer of power, rather than an invasion, and the expansion of Northumbria was an alliance rather than conquest.

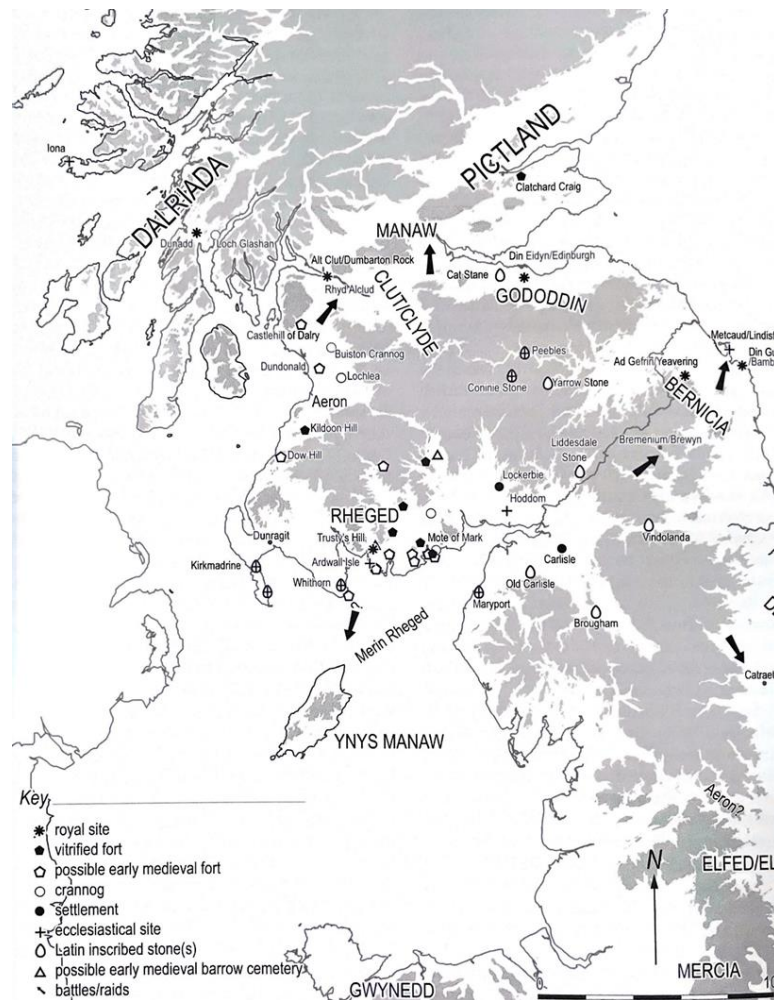


Fig 4: Map of the Kingdom of Rheged and neighbouring kingdoms, ca. sixth and seventh centuries, (2017).⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Bede, 'II.V', edited and translated by B. Colgrave and J. McClure, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People of Bede*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p78.

⁴⁶ R. Toolis and C. Bowles, *The Lost Dark Age: Kingdom of Rheged, The Discovery of a Royal Stronghold at Trusty Hill, Galloway*, (Oxford: UK, Oxbow, 2017), p.148.

The arrival of the Norsemen witnessed the change of borders in the Kingdom of Northumbria, which resulted in the settlement of the Norse people as evident in the recent discovery of the Galloway Hoard.⁴⁷ The development of Cumbria after the Vikings led to the rise of the Kingdom of Strathclyde. *Alt Clut*⁴⁸ which is identified as the original seat of the Kings of Strathclyde; however, historians are unsure where the boundaries of Strathclyde are. Skene wrote that Strathclyde included the English territory of Cumbria and Westmorland, except for Allerdale and Kendal; as well as Dumfries, Ayr, Renfrew, Lanark, and Peebles in Lowland Scotland.⁴⁹ McGuigan highlights that in the twentieth-century scholars aimed to be more specific about the boundaries of 'Greater Cumbria.'⁵⁰ For instance, Rollason has argued that Strathclyde was a 'sub-division of the Kingdom of Scots, with Stainmore in the Eden District of Cumbria functioning as the southern border between the Scottish and English realms'.⁵¹ What is stressed by Rollason is Strathclyde is Cumbria and its inhabitants are the Cumbrians. Therefore, the boundaries of Strathclyde were more expansive than previously thought.

The Battle of Carham in 1018 which defined the modern-day fixed border, was for medieval chroniclers not a significant event.⁵² Strathclyde would eventually disappear in 1054 when it was 'conquered' by the Gaelic-speaking Kingdom of Alba in the eleventh century and became part of the Kingdom of the Scots. Fiona Edmunds highlights that as

⁴⁷ The Galloway Hoard found in 2014 by amateur detectorist included artefacts most from the Viking Age, but also Anglo-Saxon finds from approximately the tenth century.

⁴⁸ *Alt Clut* is the Brittonic term for Dunbarton Castle. The Kings of Strathclyde dominated Dunbarton until the ninth century.

⁴⁹ W.F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland: A History of Ancient Alba*, (Edinburgh: D Douglas, 1886), p.235–36.

⁵⁰ N. McGuigan, *Neither Scotland nor England*, pp.112–113.

⁵¹ D. W. Rollason, *Northumbria, 500-1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p.275.

⁵² Sources relating to the Battle are minimal, when it is mentioned, it is overshadowed by other events – See the Symeon of Durham, *Monachi Opera Omnia*, edited by T. Arnold, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp.155–156. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* does not make any reference to the battle. For further information see A. Woolfe, *From Pictland to Alba, 789-1070*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p.238.

pressures from the east and the west, the Cumbrians were prompted into an alliance with the Scots.⁵³ Therefore, the decision to be part of Scotland, which was initiated by politics, but also the shared history with Scotland. Strathclyde which was a sub-division of the Kingdom of Scots, where Strathclyde eventually became part of Scotland. Subsequently, the boundaries changed again, and resulted in Cumbria becoming a sub-division of Scotland and once again was utilised as a frontier.

1092 and the Norman Occupation of Cumbria:

The Norman Conquest of England in 1066 and the subsequent distribution of the *Domesday Book* were defining events in eleventh century England. However, in the Norman world, the north-west was viewed differently. Cumbria was regarded as a 'no man's land', and not included in the "great survey" of England. Lancashire and some provinces in 'south' Cumbria⁵⁴ were amalgamated in the Yorkshire survey. The castle at Richmond operated as the garrison of the north-west, which marked the frontier between England and Scotland. Groundwater stressed that the Normans had little interest in Cumbria at this time because the agricultural land was not profitable.⁵⁵ The absence of Cumbria in the *Domesday Book* is more political than financial, as it was part of the Scottish kingdom and not of England. The death of Máel Coluim III in 1093 and the weakening of Scottish power in the north-west had motivated Norman interest in Cumbria. The seizure of Cumbria had changed the boundaries of the English frontier

⁵³ F. Edmunds, "Carham a Western Prospective", in the *Battle of Carham, A Thousand Years On*, edited by N. McGuigan and A. Woolf, (Edinburgh: Birlinn Press, 2018), pp.79-94, p.90.

⁵⁴ South Cumbria is areas defined in the *Domesday Book* as part of Yorkshire survey. For the dissertation, this area is defined outside of the Scottish realm, 1135-1153.

⁵⁵ K. Henton, "The Tiny 'country' between England and Scotland", *BBC Online*, (2020).
<<https://www.bbc.com/travel/article/20200504-the-tiny-country-between-england-and-scotland>>
[Accessed 1 February 2022].

which resulted in the building of Carlisle castle in 1092. The construction of the castle was a political manoeuvre, namely due to the threat of invading Scots, and a retribution for the loss of Cumbria.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* records that William II had ‘with a great army went north to Carlisle, and restored the city and erected the castle, and drove out Dolfin who had ruled the country, and garrisoned the castle with his men’.⁵⁶ The ‘removal’ of Dolfin,⁵⁷ was not an aggressive seizure and he escaped and lived in exile in Scotland.⁵⁸ Nonetheless, this interpretation is problematic for a number of reasons: firstly, the seizure suggests a simple transfer of power, secondly, the ‘driving out’ lessens the experience of the conquest of the Cumbrians, and thirdly, the events of 1092 is diminished by the medieval chronicler. Although narratives from the chronicles should be treated with caution, especially the disregard of the Cumbrian experience of events. What is confirmed by modern perception of the transfer of authority is the declining power of Máel Coluim III in Cumbria, which had contributed to the Norman occupation.

The late eleventh century saw an insurgence of Norman migrants to the Solway coast region. The *Domesday Book* lists Roger de Poitou⁵⁹ and Count Alan⁶⁰ as holding

⁵⁶D.C. Douglas and G.W. Greenaway, *English Historical Documents: 1042-1159*, (Routledge, 1995), p.169.

⁵⁷ Dolfin of Cumberland (fl.1092) was possibly the son of Gospatric, the earl of Northumberland, and the brother of Gospatric II and Waltheof, Lord of Allerdale.

⁵⁸ W. Kapelle, *Norman Conquest*, (London: Croom Helm Ltd, 1979), p. 151.

⁵⁹ Roger de Poitou, (d.1140), acquired estates in Salfordshire, Essex, Suffolk, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, Hampshire and North Yorkshire. The *Domesday Book* lists ‘inter Mersam et Ripam,’ as the principal location of his lordship which constitutes as Lancashire, Merseyside, and Greater Manchester today. See: ‘Roger de Poitou’, *Open Domesday*, <<https://opendomesday.org/name/roger-of-poitou/>> [Accessed 12 December 2022].

⁶⁰ Count Alan of Brittany, was tenant-in-chief at the time of the *Domesday Book* and held lands directly from the crown and was granted a lordship in Yorkshire. At the time he was granted lands in Yorkshire, the area had suffered from the ‘Harrying of the North’ in 1069-70, where the land is described as ‘waste’, although this may not necessarily be the case. See: ‘Count Alan of Brittany’, *Open Domesday*, <<https://opendomesday.org/name/count-alan-of-brittany/>> [Accessed 12 October 2022] and ‘Domesday Project,’ University of Hull, <<https://www.domesdaybook.net/domesday-book/data-terminology/administrative-units/land-of-count-alan>> [Accessed 1 January 2023].

lands in Cumbria before 1092. Ivo Taillebois, the Lord of Spalding,⁶¹ was gifted the barony of Kendal which included substantial lands in Westmorland. The records also state he was endowed with lands in Ribblesdale and Lonsdale by William II for his 'services as the royal steward.'⁶² Taillebois's duty as lord of Spalding afforded him the responsibility of the king's representative in Cumbria. Sharpe maintains that the endowments were granted at the same time when the king seized Carlisle, encouraging his tenants to migrate from Lincolnshire to Cumbria.⁶³ Yet, it should be noted that Cumbria was not secured by a single landowner and was regarded as a 'colony' of the Normans. What this indicates is when Earl David was granted the *Principis Cumbriae* in the 1120s by Henry I,⁶⁴ Cumbria was still fragmentary and treated as an outpost for Henry I.

The death of Ivo Taillebois in 1094 saw the transfer of power to Ranulph le Meschin. Ranulph is noted as an important military commander at the Battle of Tinchbray in 1106.⁶⁵ Ranulph who is recorded as a close childhood companion to the future Henry I may have influenced his position in Cumbria. Yet, Sharpe stresses that Ranulph was not a courtly man or an established member of the royal court, and rarely

⁶¹ Ivo Taillebois received what is now the Yorkshire Wapentake of Ewecross [which included Clapham, Horton-in-Ribblesdale, and Burton-in-Lonsdale], the southern half of the present county of Westmorland known as the barony of Kendal. See: S. J. Tait, *Medieval Manchester and the Beginnings of Lancashire* (Manchester, 1904), 158–9; Sharpe, *Norman Rule in Cumbria*, pp. 38–39.

⁶² P. Dalton and J.C. Appleby, *Outlaws in Medieval and Early Modern England: Crime, Government and Society, c.1066–1600*, (Farnham, UK, 2009), p.26.

⁶³ Sharpe, *Normans Rule in Cumbria*, p.51

⁶⁴ Prior to David's acquisition of the Lordship of Cumbria, he was granted the southern part of Scotland by his elder brother Edgar as part of his inheritance. His successor Alexander I had refuted this claim and also making David his heir. David who had received the earldom of Huntingdon with his marriage to Mathilda, Countess of Huntingdon in c.1113. Henry had plied pressure on Alexander to not only provide David with his inheritance as heir but granted him Cumbria with the exit of Ranulph de Meschin the first Norman Lord of Cumberland.

⁶⁵ The Battle of Tinchbray in Normandy was a pivotal battle between Henry I and his eldest brother Robert Curthose, the Duke of Normandy. The result was the capture of Robert and his imprisonment at Devizes Castle in Wiltshire and his transfer to Wales where he died in 1134.

appeared in historical documents.⁶⁶ The narrative that Ranulph was the ‘strongman’ of the north-west originated in the *Chronicon Cumbriae* in the *Wetheral cartulary*.⁶⁷ The narrative is regarded as a fabrication motivated by chroniclers at Wetheral Priory who wanted to honour its patron. What is key is the vital role Ranulph played in the early phase of Norman Cumbria under Henry I, but it may have been less significant in the wider history of Norman England. His role in ‘Normanising’ Cumbria is difficult to determine, yet, his role within Cumbria would pave the way for a new lord of Cumberland when Ranulph acquired the earldom of Chester in c.1121.

The Princeps Cumbriae and the Scottish Occupation

The transfer of power between Ranulph le Meschin and Earl David of Huntingdon remains problematic. The issues are subject to the nature of the transference of the lordship of Cumbria, which presents several disputes. Firstly, historians accepted that Ranulph was removed from Cumberland and later provided with an earldom at Chester. Secondly, the change in relations with Scotland meant a more experienced lord was required. Thirdly, Ranulph was offered the position of Chester and it was not a degrading of his position in Cumbria, but a welcoming offer. There was no guarantee what the reason was, but the political situation in Cumbria made it the perfect opportunity for Henry I. As lord of Cumberland, Ranulph held the power of a lordship, the same as he did in Chester, but in Cumbria, it was more or less ‘outside’ of the Norman territory. Furthermore, Ranulph le Meschin did not hold the same powers of authority as Earl

⁶⁶ Sharpe, *Norman Rule in Cumbria*, p.44

⁶⁷ Sharpe highlights in his notes that the *Chronicon Cumbriae* represents an unreliable character of Ranulph le Meschin in the *Wetheral cartulary*, which had misled Dugdale and many who used his *Monasticon*. W. Dugdale and R. Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1655–73). For further information, see: Sharpe, *Normans in Cumbria*, p.43 and p.46.

David. The earl was not only familiar with the court and held influence there, but he designed his earldom as a quasi-independent state. In other words, it was independent to a point but under the authority of England, which stresses Cumbria as a ‘colony’ rather than part of the Scottish domain. Additionally, Sharpe stresses that there is no evidence that Ranulph was removed from Cumbria, but his acquisition of Chester would have been ‘like all earldoms an office’.⁶⁸

The transfer of power between Ranulph and David should not overlook the major restructuring of Cumbria by Henry I. The death of Henry’s illegitimate daughter and Queen of Scots Sybilla⁶⁹ in 1122 was a political setback, but also an emotive one for Henry. Henry lost his wife Edith-Matilda (sister of David I) in 1118 and his son William Ætheling in the White Ship Disaster of 1120.⁷⁰ England was already in turmoil and Henry needed reassurance for the future of his kingdom. Sybilla was the mechanism that kept England and Scotland (at times) in peace, but once she died, it broke all ties with Alexander I of Scotland. Henry made two significant improvements to Carlisle in 1122, firstly he strengthened the walls of the town, and secondly, he founded the Augustinian house of Carlisle Priory (see chapter 2). Ranulph as a military man had little experience in dealing with the Scots, as a Norman he would have been viewed as an enemy rather than an ally. David, the youngest brother of King Alexander had good breeding, he was an educated Scoto-Norman prince, his lineage was Saxon and Gaelic, and under Henry’s influence, a prime candidate to be the new lord.

⁶⁸ Sharpe, *Norman Rule in Cumbria*, p.51-52

⁶⁹ Sybilla was the daughter of Lady Sybilla Corbet of Alcester, mistress of Henry I. Sybilla the younger married Alexander I in 1107, but the marriage did not produce an heir.

⁷⁰ The White Ship disaster refers to the sinking of the vessel carrying aristocratic nobles, including Henry I’s heir William whilst travelling from Normandy to England. The disaster resulted in Henry I designating his daughter Matilda his heir.

Ritchie describes David as a ‘Scot by birth, a Norman by adoption, a knight, a man of law, a man of conscience, anxious to do what was chivalrous and right and just’.⁷¹ David was influential in the royal court and recorded as sitting beside the king and when Henry demanded the support of his ‘new men’ to accept his daughter as his heir, David was the first to stand in support.⁷² David secured his position as a Norman magnate through an advantageous marriage to the widow of Simon de Senlis.⁷³ Maud was the daughter of Waltheof, the earl of Huntingdon and Northampton.⁷⁴ Maud was through her mother, Judith of Lens (d.1086), the niece of William I, making her the grandniece of the king.⁷⁵ The marriage would bring with her the earldom of Huntingdon and Northumbria and secure David’s position in Henry’s court. Traditionally to be Norman was to be born in Normandy, but it was also to accept the ‘style, custom and language of the Normans.’⁷⁶ During his time in the English Norman court, David achieved the distinction as a Norman earl, but this becomes an awkward image when he became king of Scots. As *Princeps Cumbriae*,⁷⁷ he was exclusively a Norman lord, but when he seized Carlisle in 1135, as both king of Scots and ruler of Cumbria, his identity was a fusion of Scot and Norman.

⁷¹ R.L.G. Ritchie, *Normans in Scotland*, (University of Michigan, 1954), p.179.

⁷² C. Hanley, *Mathilda: Empress, Queen, Warrior* (New York: Yale, 2019), pp56-57.

⁷³ Simon I, Earl of Huntingdon died sometime between 1111 and 1113 who was the third son of Laudri de Senlis, sire of Chantilly and Ermenonville in Picardy. It was Maud who held the lands in Huntingdon-Northampton and as jure uxoris held legal rights over her lands.

⁷⁴ Waltheof of Northumbria (d.1076) described as a Saxon earl who maintained influence after the Norman Conquest. He was the only aristocrat to be executed during William I’s reign, which was the result of a revolt against King William, known as the *Revolt of the Earls* (1075).

⁷⁵ M. Strickland, "Senlis, Simon (I) de", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004.

⁷⁶ Anon, “Norman People”, *Britannica* [Online ed.], (2022). < <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Norman-people> > [Accessed 15 November 2022].

⁷⁷ *Princeps Cumbriae* or the Prince of the Cumbrians which Oram describes as a ‘quasi regal title’ See, Oram, *David I: the King Who Made Scotland*, p. 63.

Carlisle: Norman or Scottish capital?

The Scottish occupation defined Carlisle as a royal centre which not only raised the status of Cumbria, but also the prosperity of the town (fig.5). The new status reinforced Carlisle as a fortified border town, as we find at Berwick-upon-Tweed. The accessibility of the ancient roads which entered Carlisle made the town an important trade route and a military outpost in times of combat. People could move freely between Cumbria and Scotland which benefitted the town economically and politically. Henry Summerson highlights that Carlisle's strategic importance as a royal fortress was 'best placed for controlling and patrolling the western provinces, brought about by the intervals and good fortune.'⁷⁸ The civil war in England meant the King of Scots needed to safeguard his boundaries and this meant a growth in employment to garrison his frontier. The changing status of Carlisle brought about tradespeople to supply the king and feed the soldiers. The prosperity of the town also meant supplying clothes and food, guild services for the repairing of weapons and armour, and horse shoeing.⁷⁹ David is documented as employing men from Europe,⁸⁰ which highlights the king in building his empire of many diverse cultural backgrounds and at this stage making Carlisle the centre of 'multi-culturalism'.

⁷⁸ H. Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle: the City and the Borders from the Late Eleventh to the Mid-sixteenth Century*, (Cumbrian and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 1993), p.44.

⁷⁹ Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle*, p.45.

⁸⁰ Richard Oram writes in his book, *David I: The King Who Made Scotland*, (Stroud: History press, 2008), p.194, European workers increased the 'cultural fabric of his kingdom.'



Fig. 5: Author, Carlisle Castle, Carlisle, Cumbria, (2019).⁸¹

David utilised the natural resources which could offer a more sustainable kingdom. The acquisition of Carlisle also brought with it the Alston silver mines which were prized by Henry I for the high-quality silver content.⁸² Alston which was mined for lead in Roman period was reopened by Henry I in 1122 when he directed his interests in Cumbria. The acquisition of Cumbria and Westmorland by David in 1135 meant that the mine lay within the boundaries of David's realm. The silver production would see the distribution of the first Scottish coins, symbolising Scotland's autonomy, and national identity. The distribution of the coins operated on a national and local level as suggested by Savage in his paper 'the circulation of coins of David I, Prince Henry and Malcolm IV'. Savage stresses that one of the theories for the lack of coin hoards is due to the civil war which made it dangerous to travel beyond the local.⁸³ Although, the wide

⁸¹ Author, Carlisle Castle, (Carlisle Castle, Cumbria 2019).

⁸² R.A Fairbairn, *The Mines of Alston Moor*, British Mining, No.47, (Keighley, Northern Mine Research Society, 1993), p.12.

⁸³ C. Savage, 'The circulation and impact of the first native Scottish coinage of David I, Prince Henry and Malcolm IV', *British and Royal Numismatic Society Joint Summer Conference*, (2018).

distribution of coins are found across England, the coins may have been culled for the silver (fig.6). Fairbairn stresses that nothing is known about the mines after the Norman Conquest, although coins have been found in old workings on Browngill Vein in Cumbria, which date from the reign of William II. The earliest written evidence is in 1130 which refers to the Carlisle silver mine where it was leased for one hundred shillings per annum.⁸⁴ Scotland was becoming a wealthy and sustainable country partly due to the innovations which David had adopted into Cumbria.

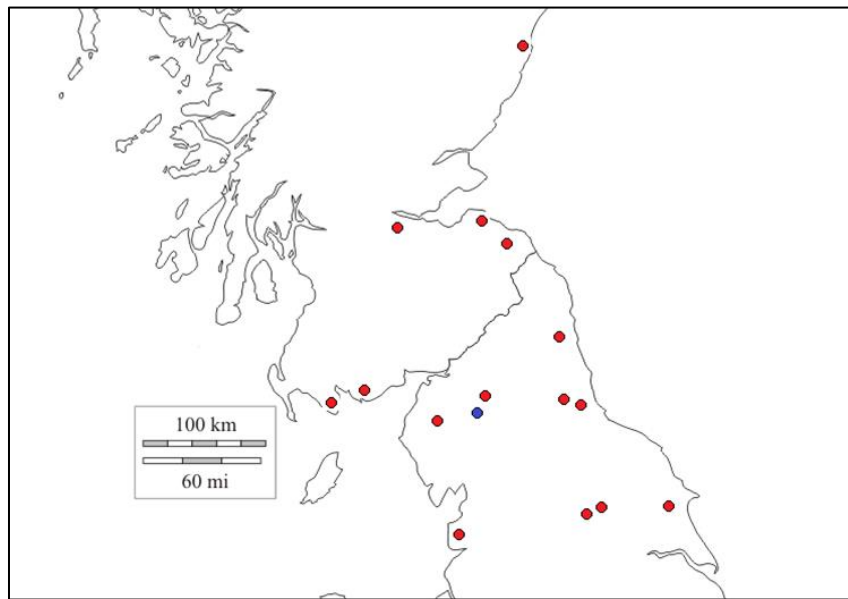


Fig. 6: The distribution of David I coins in England and Scotland, (2018).⁸⁵

Cumbrian identity in the twelfth century is a multi-faceted topic that presents several complex issues. The question of whether Cumbria was ‘Normanised’ under the Scottish occupation is challenging because of the changing status of authority. The slow growth of Norman power in Cumbria saw the preservation of Cumbrian identity. Although the seizure of Carlisle by William II began the reshaping of Cumbria, there was

⁸⁴ Fairbairn, *Mines of Alston Moor*, p.12.

⁸⁵ Savage, C., ‘The Distribution of David I Coins in England and Scotland,’ *Circulation and Impact*, (British Numismatic Society, 2018).

no evidence of direct royal influence until the seizure by David I in 1135. Therefore, it was not necessary to alienate the Cumbrian people or impose military control on the people. The Cumbrians retained their autonomy well into the twelfth century and even with the Scottish occupation. Therefore, it was better to be allies to the people rather than enemies. In the wider context of 'Normanisation' the Cumbrian people were not automatically 'conquered', but what is clear is a tolerance towards the Norman migrants. Yet, the innovations developing in Carlisle during the reign of David I placed Cumbria firmly as a Scoto-Norman province, and subsequently, a progressively Norman state.

Chapter 2:

Living on the Edge: Monasticism on the Frontier

The Church was instrumental in bringing Norman culture to Cumbria by placing monastic houses strategically. The seizure of Carlisle in 1092 witnessed changes in the management of the frontier with the construction of Carlisle Castle. As a result, more Normans were able to populate the capital. The Norman kings are recorded as spending very little time in the north-west,⁸⁶ resulting in the use of representatives to manage the area. Therefore, monasticism could become an essential vehicle in bringing Norman culture and integrate 'Normaness' into a developing territory (fig.7). It is of no coincidence that in the early phase of Henry I's reign, the arrival of the first Benedictine monks to Cumbria took place. Henry had granted the Archbishop of York ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Cumbria in 1101, and within a decade the first 'cell' of St Mary's monastery in York was established. Henry I paved the way for York to dominate Cumbria and during the remainder of his reign would witness the establishment of a new diocese. As a result, the arrival of the first Benedictine monks from York was as much an act of politics as piety. Therefore, the chapter will explore monasticism as an instrument in bringing Norman culture to Cumbria and to understand, in detail what changes the Church made.

In c.1112, the abbey of St. Mary's in York founded the first subordinate priory at Wetheral. The abbey symbolising the Church as a vehicle to spread Norman culture, in addition to the Archbishop of York's ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Cumbria. David I founded a single abbey at Holme Cultram in 1150, representing a statement of his

⁸⁶ Keith Stringer writes that the presence of David I was 'felt more than any kings before him.' See Stringer, *State-building in the Twelfth Century Britain*, pp.47.

authority in Cumbria. The establishment of Holme Cultram was by no means accidental and would have been well coordinated. Holme Cultram was founded at a time when David was planning his future in Cumbria. In 1149 he invited his nephew, Henry of Anjou (the future Henry II) to attend a pre-knighting ceremony. The event was exploited by the King of Scots to ensure that when Henry became king, he would ensure Cumbria remained in Scottish hands.⁸⁷ The location of Holme Cultram was therefore a great statement of his power as overlord and Cumbria as property of Scotland.

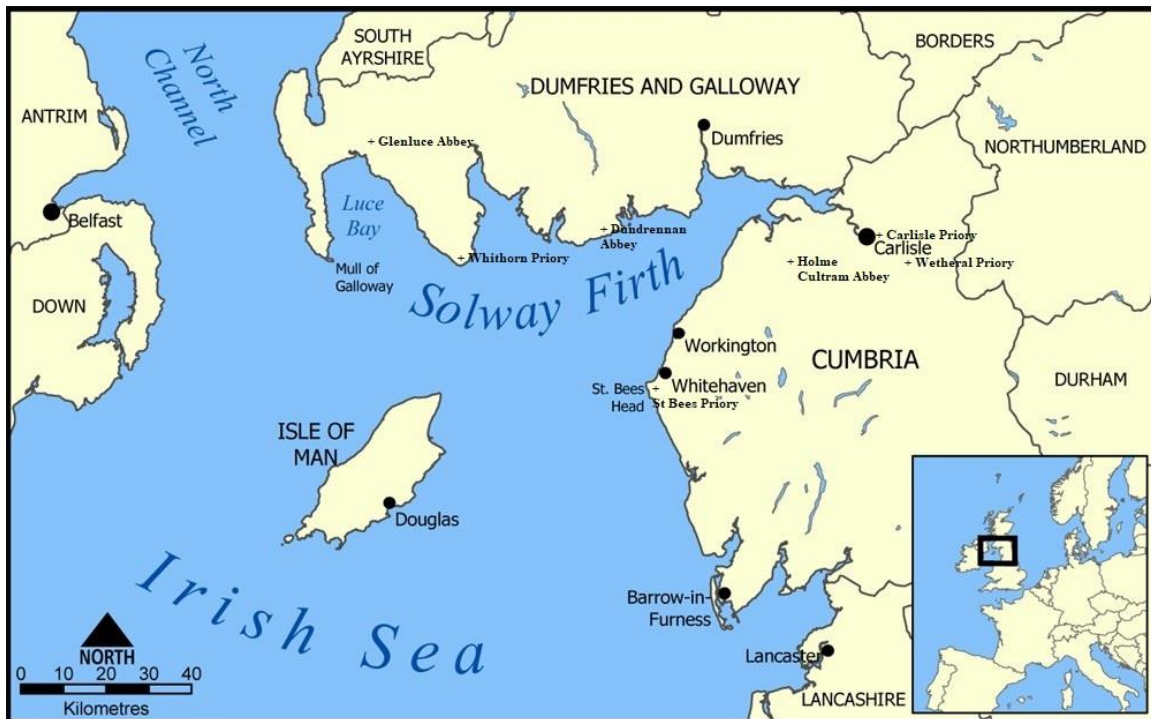


Fig. 7: Norman Einstein, Map of monastic houses in Cumbria and south-west Scotland, before 1200 (2005). Additional annotations by the author to highlight the monastic houses on the Solway Firth (2023).⁸⁸

⁸⁷ R. Oram, *David I: The King Who Made Scotland*, (Stroud: History Press, 2008), p. 204.

⁸⁸ *Map of the Solway Firth* by Norman Einstein, (2005). <
<https://www.patheos.com/blogs/anxiousbench/2014/02/ninian-and-finnian/>> [Accessed on 12 January 2023].

One feature of 'Normanisation' was the trade routes, which the monasteries utilised. Trade routes provide good networks for travel between towns, districts, and countries. Moreover, the roads were also fundamental in times of war, where monastic houses became symbols of military power. David I established the Cistercian house of Melrose Abbey in 1136 and the Augustinian house of Jedburgh Abbey in 1138. The two abbeys were located close to Dere Street, the ancient Roman road,⁸⁹ and exploited the monasteries as frontier strongholds. Oram and Fawcett describe the Cistercians in the book *Melrose Abbey*, as 'frontier men' regarding their significant role on military borders.⁹⁰ For instance, the abbeys were also military fortifications to protect David's key seats of administrative power. Additionally, David made use of central roads to access England and Scotland and it was not coincidental that he placed his border abbeys close to Dere Street (fig. 8). Similarly, the Normans used central routes to implement 'Normanisation' through economic means, the monasteries becoming important tools in local business. Additionally, monasteries were a source of social care and had a vital role in the economics of the local and broader community. The monasteries, therefore, had a symbolic relationship with civilian settlements around them. In other words, they were vital to the functioning of society.

The Church utilised its role in society as a vehicle for bringing Norman culture in Cumbria. The late-eleventh century witnessed the integration of Normans into communities that had strong ties to their ancient religious traditions. The development of the local cults of saints was central to local communities. The strong religious belief in local saints presented challenges when the Normans wanted to reform religious life in

⁸⁹ Dere street is identified as the modern A68 road which runs from York to the south, crossing at Corbridge in Northumberland and to central Scotland at the Antonine wall. The road was an important Roman road network which continued into the medieval period.

⁹⁰ R. Oram and R. Fawcett, *Melrose Abbey*, (Stroud: The History Press, 2004), p.17.

England, Scotland and Wales. Therefore, the chapter will explore why it was important for the Normans to draw on religious activity of the past to integrate themselves into Cumbrian society.

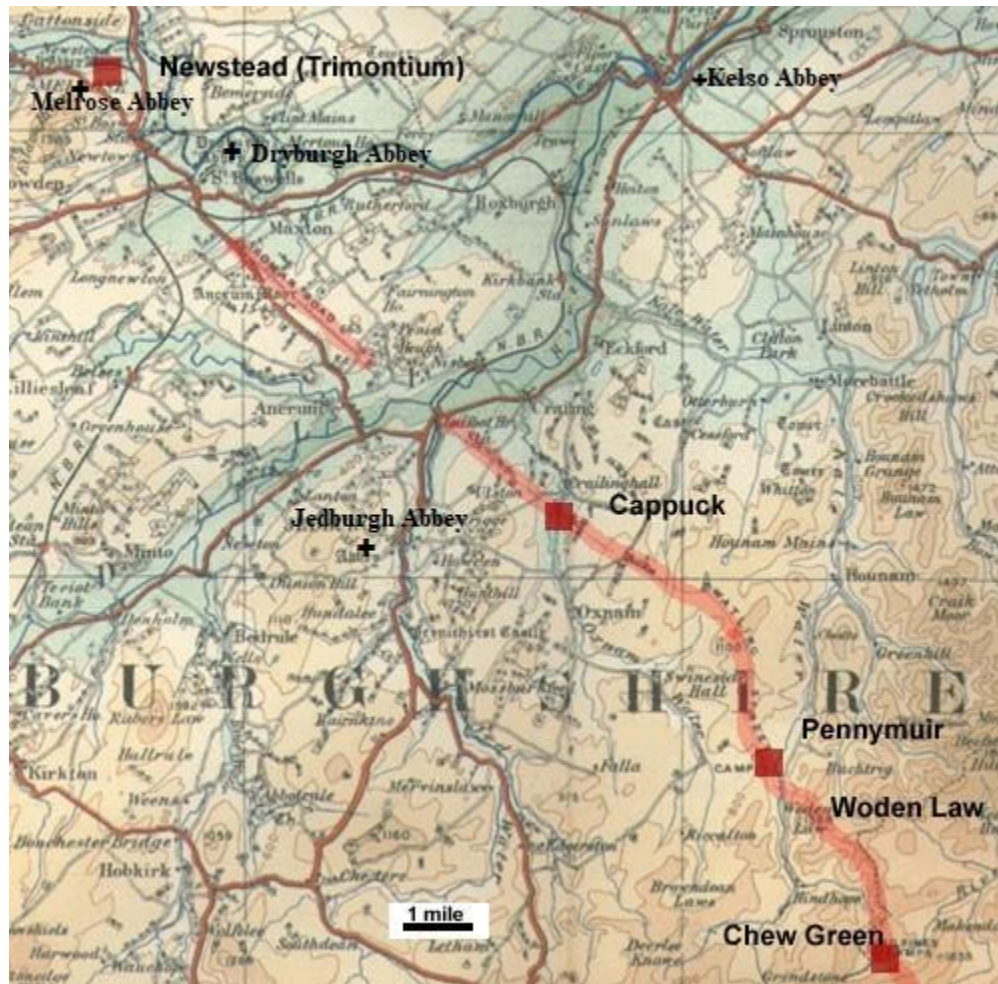


Fig. 8: Map of the Scottish Borders and the monasteries which were located close to Dere Street (1922).⁹¹Including additional annotations to highlight the location of the border abbeys, (2023).

The Normans were conscious of the value clerics could bring to military zones. For example, they could provide accommodation and offer provisions for the soldiers.

⁹¹ 'Map of the Roman Roads between England and Scotland'. Annotated by author of the monasteries located close to Dere Street, (2023). Based on the quarter-inch OS map, 1922. See: 'Roman Networks', *Old Roman Roads*, (2014) <https://oldroadsofscotland.com/roman_roads_known.htm> [Accessed 18 January 2023]; J. MacDonald, 'Old Roman Road' of the Ordnance Maps of Scotland', *Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (2020) The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland [data-set]. York: Archaeology Data Service [distributor], pp. 317- 28. <<https://doi.org/10.5284/1000184>> [Accessed 18 January 2023].

Moreover, bishops were more than church men, they were senior politicians and great administrators. Henry I's interest in Carlisle in the 1120s led to the strengthening of the town walls which in turn changed the status of Cumbria. The development of the town represented the changing relationship with Scotland. The political alliance between Henry I and Alexander I had declined with the death of the Queen of Scots, Sybilla. Furthermore, Henry established Carlisle Priory in memory of his deceased wife and son. Additionally, Henry I was instrumental in creating the Diocese of Carlisle in 1133, a symbol of two powers in England: the crown and the Church.

This chapter will analyse the founding of the priories of Wetheral and St Bees and the significance of the Archbishop of York's colonial enterprise in Cumbria. The chapter will examine the Church's political role locally and in the wider context of England, including the founding of the Diocese of Carlisle and the relationship between the Cistercians and David I. It will aim to understand the broader significance of monasticism as an instrument of 'Normanisation', including the vital role the Church played in Cumbrian society and the broader political conditions which fuelled the changes in Cumbrian life.

The Emergence of the Christians: The Cult of St. Bega:

The Church was a vital in building Cumbria as a Norman state. The Normans were suspicious of local saints, which were central in the beliefs system of the Anglo-Saxons.⁹² Therefore, the Normans set about imposing reforms of Christianity by

⁹² Although the term Anglo-Saxon is used, it should be noted that in current scholarship, the term is contested by Susan Oosthuizen who argues that Anglo-Saxon is ambiguous expression. This is due to the cultural differences before the 900s with the existences of the seven kingdoms of Britain. See S. Oosthuizen, *The Emergence of the English*, (Leeds: ARC Humanities Press, 2018).

replacing ancient shrines and churches with Norman monastic buildings. As a result, William I of England was able to enforce Norman ideas of monasticism in his bid to ‘Normanise’ his kingdom. Consequently, monastic buildings could operate as political statements, and it became apparent that King William embraced the local cults with Norman reforms in the local communities. For instance, the community of St. Cuthbert or the *Haliwerfolc*,⁹³ defined as the ‘people of the saint,’ refers to a special bond between the *Haliwerfolc* and Cuthbert. Cuthbert would protect his people from outside threats and reward their devotion by using his saintly power to defend his people and lands and punish those who would harm them. As a result, William de St. Calais (fl.1080-1096) was elected as the second Norman Bishop of Durham after the murder of his predecessor Bishop Walcher.⁹⁴ William de St. Calais was instrumental in developing Durham as a political stronghold and understood the balance between the historical past and the Norman present. He recognised the people were bound by their local saints and applied this bond in his church at Durham. As a result, this form of ‘conquest’ was essential in the developing of ‘Normanisation’ in Cumbria. The interest in local cults was important in the revival of Whithorn Priory in 1128 and the Priory of St. Bees in the 1120s.

St. Bees Priory, located on the Solway Firth, claims to be the site of the original chapel of St. Bega. The earliest historical reference to Bega is found in the thirteenth-century manuscript the *Vita et Miracula Sancta Bege Virginis in Privinci*

⁹³ The *Haliwerfolc* firstly appears in Symeons *Libellus de exordio*, initially referring to the monks of St. Cuthbert at Lindisfarne and Durham, later developed as the people who lived between the Wear and the Tees. See R.F. Vert Jr, ‘Symeon’s Libellus and the Identity of the Haliwerfolc’, Issue 23: *Myths and Nation*, The International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 2015. < https://www.gla.ac.uk/media/Media_404377_smxx.pdf > [Accessed 9 March 2022].

⁹⁴ Bishop Walcher was the first non-Saxon cleric sent to Durham after the Harrying of the North, 1069 to 1070. He was murdered by the Northumbrians at Gateshead when according to Symeon of Durham two of his henchmen murdered a local nobleman named Ligulf and the Northumbrians retaliated by burning Walcher’s men in a nearby church. Walcher was forced out of the blaze and was killed alongside other men on 14 May 1080. See H. Leyser, ‘Walcher, Earl of Northumbria’, *The Oxford National Biography*, [online ed.], < <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28428> > [Accessed 16 January 2023]; Symeon of Durham, *Opera Monachi Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, c. 58, edited by T. Arnold (UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Northanhimborum.⁹⁵ In the *Vita Sancta Bege*, St Bega is the daughter of a Irish king, who devoted her time to God. The King of Norway asks for her hand in marriage, but as she wishes to dedicate her life to God, she flees Ireland.⁹⁶ However, any understanding of the historical Bega is problematic as little evidence survives. The sixteenth-century historian John Leland claims, 'Bega at first built a humble little monastery in Coupland . . . where there are now so many monks of St. Mary's, York, commonly called Sancta Beges'.⁹⁷ The cult of St. Bega therefore became an important tool for the Norman Archbishop of York to integrate reformed Christianity into Cumbria. Evidence for the cult of St. Bega is complicated, as the dating of Bega by medieval chroniclers misinterpreted her at Hartlepool. It has been suggested that the cult existed before the reign of Henry II and sometime after the ninth century. Clare Downham has implied that the veneration of St. Bega already existed in Ireland, and the cult had come to Cumbria and not by Bega herself.⁹⁸ This claim is significant as it would explain why the only evidence of her existence is in the *Vita* and vague local knowledge of a chapel. The founding of the Priory of St. Bees identifies that the cult was flourishing under the Normans, who saw the veneration of Bega as significant to the integration of the Norman clergy into the area. The building of the Norman monastery on the site of the former chapel was a crucial part in acknowledging traditions within the area. For example, this form of integration of local

⁹⁵ *Vita et Miracula Sancta Bege Virginis in Privinci Northanhimborum* is a collection of Saints Lives which was originally held in the monastic library at Holme Cultram. John M Todd highlights in his article "St Bega – Cult, Fact and Legend," that the writer of the *Vita* confused her existence in the seventh century as the founder of Hartlepool Abbey. See: J.M. Todd, 'St Bega – Cult, Fact and Legend,' *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, Volume LXXX, (1980). <<https://www.stbees.org.uk/home/village/published-booklets/st-bega-fact-cult-or-legend/>> [Accessed 17 September 2021].

⁹⁶ C. Downham, 'St Bega: myth, maiden, or bracelet? An Insular cult and its origins', *Journal of Medieval History*, 33 (2007) 33-42, p.35.

⁹⁷ Leland, *Collectanea*, I. 25; 'Houses of Benedictine monks: The Priory of St Bees', in *A History of the County of Cumberland*: Volume 2, ed. J Wilson (London, 1905), pp. 178-183. <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/cumb/vol2/pp178-183>> [accessed 27 November 2022].

⁹⁸ Downham, *St Bega*, p.36.

cults and reform was key to 'Normanising' the people, without threatening identities. Therefore, the re-establishment of Whithorn Priory and St. Bees was integral to the acceptance of a changing society.

Benedictine Growth: York St. Mary, Wetheral, and St. Bees:

Wetheral Priory is the first of two subordinate priories of St. Mary's in York. Wetheral Priory (fig. 9) was founded between 1106 and 1112 by Ranulph le Meschin, the Lord of Cumberland, who granted 'the manor and the lands of Wetheral and Warwick to Stephen Abbot of York.'⁹⁹ The earliest record of the priory is in the *Wetheral cartulary*, which is problematic due to historical amendments of older material. Wetheral as a subordinate cell of York St. Mary's, was not financially independent, and was required to pay a sum of its annual revenue to York Abbey. What this highlights is the financial authority which the Archbishop of York held over the priory, meaning properties were held by the York St. Mary's and not by Wetheral. The foundation charter names Abbot Stephen of York, receiving the manor of Wetheral with the agreement that Ranulph le Meschin, and his family could use the manor at their disposal. Manorial grants meant the lord of the manor, whether a private person or a religious institution, had a separate jurisdiction which was independent of other judicial authorities.¹⁰⁰ As a result, the claim of goods is between the landowner and the dependent and any grants are held outside of ecclesiastical law. Consequently, the abbot of York held supreme financial authority of the manor and the lord held no legal right to any financial benefits it produced. This highlights St. Mary's Abbey having a crucial financial privilege at Wetheral.

⁹⁹ 'Foundation Charter', *The Register of the Priory of Wetheral*, Translated by J.E Prescott, (London, E. Stock, Kendal, T. Wilson, 1987), p.1-2.

¹⁰⁰ *The Register of the Priory of Wetheral*, pp. XXI

Another feature of ‘Normanisation’ is the role of benefactors which bonded a specific patron to a monastic house. Monasteries not only attracted Norman proprietors but would also see local landowners enjoying the privileges as patrons. The *Register of Holme Cultram* lists amongst its main donors, Waltheof, the Lord of Allerdale.¹⁰¹ Waltheof was the brother of Dolfín of Cumbria (see chapter 1) and whose family had been present in Cumbria since the arrival of the Kings of Strathclyde. To claim a local lord, no matter the ranking, reveals the relationship between non-Normans and the Normans. Therefore, highlights the method of monasticism was beneficial in ‘Normanising’ Cumbria. Furthermore, monastic houses could benefit financially from holding a high-ranking patron, enabling the monasteries to gain more properties, and spread their influence further. Ranulph le Meschin was one of Wetheral’s most important benefactors, and as the Lord of Cumberland, he held the responsible of patron. When David I became the *Princeps Cumbriae*, he was expected to assume the same role. The *Register of Wetheral Priory* affirms that David made grants to Wetheral Priory, including a charter granting the ‘Abbot of York and St Mary’s Abbey alms to the town Karkarevil.’¹⁰² The grants to Wetheral would therefore be directed towards York Abbey as Wetheral was not an independent monastery. Benefactors were fundamental in the dynamics of the monastic environment, offering substantial grants in return for spiritual gifts such as prayer. Grants could be wide-ranging, from tithes to agricultural assets and

¹⁰¹ ‘No. 197: Holme Cultram Foundation Charter’, in *the Charters of David I: The Written Acts of David I King of Scots, 1124-53, and of his son Henry, Earl of Northumberland, 1139-52*, edited by G.W.S Barrow, (Boydell Press, 1999), p.150-151.

¹⁰² Wilson suggests Karkareville is the name of Annan but has been unable to verify this. See: *The Register of the Priory of Wetheral*, p.194-5. However, the *Register of Holme Cultram*, names a Kirkconnel in Galloway, see, ‘The Register: Kirkconnel (Galloway)’, in *Register and Records of Holm Cultram*, ed. Francis Grainger and W G Collingwood (Kendal, 1929), pp. 47-48. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/n-westmorland-records/vol7/pp47-48> [accessed 16 January 2023]. Barrow suggests that the name may refer to the lands in Querqueville in Normandy where Robert de Brus held estates in Brix: See ‘No. 1’ in Barrow, *The Charters of David I*, p.53. However, Blakely argues that in 1124 it would not be possible for David to provide Robert de Brus lands in Normandy. See R. Blakely, *The Brus Family in England and Scotland, 1100-1295*, (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press: 1995), pp. 8–27, (p.22).

even road access where permission was required.¹⁰³ In some cases, benefactors would view their role as patron from an investment point of view, such as granting land in return for other properties. Therefore, David may have assumed the role of patron to the priory of Wetheral after the departure of Ranulph le Meschin in c.1121. Subsequently, this means that David was able to draw on the principles of ‘Normanisation’ during this period. Additionally, at this time, David was the *Princeps Cumbriae* and held limited authority as a Norman lord. It was when he became the King of Scots that he was able to develop Scottish ‘Normanisation’ as he had achieved in his kingdom.



Fig.9: Author, Remains of the gatehouse of Wetheral Priory, Cumbria, (2021).¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ *The Register and Records of Holme Cultram* records that between 1271 and 1293, Matillis de Multon, lady of Gilsland, granted the monks right of way through Gilsland on journeys to Newcastle, for the soul of her late husband Sir Thomas de Multon. See: ‘100b. (D. art. 81), The Register: Newcastle-upon-Tyne’, in *Register and Records of Holm Cultram*, ed. Francis Grainger and W G Collingwood (Kendal, 1929), pp. 38-39. *British History Online*, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/n-westmorland-records/vol7/pp38-39>> [accessed 18 January 2023].

¹⁰⁴ Author, *Wetheral Priory Gatehouse*, (Wetheral Priory, Cumbria, 2021).

Another feature of ‘Normanisation’ is the construction of Norman churches on the site of older religious buildings. During the development of reforming the Church in Britain in the late eleventh century, the Normans set about demolishing Anglo-Saxon churches and replacing them with Romanesque buildings. For example, the Normans destroyed the Anglo-Saxon abbey of Winchester to build a new seat for the Norman bishops of Winchester (fig. 10). The destruction of pre-existing churches was symbolic of infusing Norman culture in the form of architectural distinction. St Bees Priory as examined previously, was constructed on the site of a former chapel. In contrast to Wetheral Priory was built on a location where no known religious activity exists. The proximity to Carlisle reinforced Norman presence on the Solway coast, but it was already a location which had been familiar with the Normans since the late eleventh-century.



Fig 10: John Crook, *The foundations of the Anglo-Saxon minster at Winchester*, 2018.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ John Crook, *The Old Minster of Winchester*, in *The Search for Winchester's Anglo-Saxon Minsters* by M. Biddle, (Winchester Excavation Committee, 2018), p34.

The priory of Wetheral had a different relationship to York Abbey and the Archbishop of York, in comparison to St. Bees. St. Bees was founded in an area which was in Coupland, a district held by the Archbishop of York. Furthermore, it was established jointly with the Lord of Egremont, William le Meschin, who was the younger brother of Ranulph le Meschin. The establishment of St. Bees was at a crucial time in Cumbrian history when Thurstan, the Archbishop of York, (c.1070-1140) was taking an interest in expanding his influence in the north-west. Although no foundation charter has survived, a date of c.1120 has been suggested due to a donation by Goddard, Lord of Millon of the churches at Bootle (Merseyside) and Whicham (Copeland).¹⁰⁶ However, there is a surviving charter which describes the intention of founding a priory at St. Bees but no officiating of its establishment.¹⁰⁷ What is key in the founding of St. Bees is the significant relationship between Cumbria and York which highlights the ecclesiastical power of the archbishop. The Archbishop of York appears to have a particular grip on Coupland which undermines any secular power which the Lord of Egremont could evoke. Importantly, sanctions which destabilised any secular authority. For instance, William le Meschin's involvement may be due to the family owing York Abbey a form of obligation.¹⁰⁸ However, the records do not confirm what the obligation entails, which is more likely a financial endowment.¹⁰⁹ These types of obligations meant York could enforce legal rights against the landowners. The same issues are apparent in areas within

¹⁰⁶ Goddard Boyville, 2nd Lord of Millon, Dapifer of Millon (d.1138) his donation includes two manses, tithes, and parishes. See: 'Houses of Benedictine monks: The priory of St Bees', in *A History of the County of Cumberland: Volume 2*, ed. J Wilson (London, 1905), pp. 178-183. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/cumb/vol2/pp178-183> [accessed 2 January 2023].

¹⁰⁷ Wilson, *The Register of the Priory of St Bees*, British History Online.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, British History Online.

¹⁰⁹ *The Register of St. Bees* confirms that William Le Meschin granted six carucates of land in Kirkby (Cherchebi) and the manor belonging to William the Bowman (Balistarius) and further gifts made by any of his knights on his land. See Wilson, *Register of St Bees*, British History Online.

the Scottish domain, where Thurstan of York contested any attempt of secular control over his authority. For example, David attempted to have himself anointed by the Archbishop of St. Andrews without the agreement of Thurstan.¹¹⁰ The departure of Ranulph le Meschin in the early 1120s added further complications for the Archbishop of York with the elevation of David as the *Princeps Cumbriae*. In the 1120s the relationship between David and Henry I was beginning to breakdown when the King of England commissioned the building of the castles of Norham and Wark.¹¹¹ The relationship between David and Thurstan had historically been complicated and when he became King of Scots these problems exacerbated.

The Winchester Accord and Crisis for Authority

The inauguration of David in 1124 was a time of unease for Henry I and the Archbishop of York. David made it his mission to make the church one of his top priorities and saw reform as central to his duty as a king.¹¹² However, David would struggle in his ambitions for the Church in his domain as the Scottish ecclesiastic affairs were subject to the Archbishop of York. The contentious relationship with Thurstan of York would be further undermined in Cumbria as he held no ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the north-west. Jocelin of Furness had emphasised that ‘as long as Cumbria existed, any secular authority was subject to the church.’¹¹³ What is stressed by Jocelin is the

¹¹⁰ It was the privilege of the Archbishop of Canterbury to anoint kings, without prior consent it was not legal. However, in the absence or agreement of Canterbury, York was given this honour.

¹¹¹ Judith Green writes that there was a concern over the security of the frontier which saw the building of the two castles at Norham and Wark. See J. Green, ‘Anglo-Scottish Relations, 1066-1174’ in M. Jones and M. Vale (ed.), *England and Her Neighbours*, 1066-1453, (London, 1989), pp.53-72 and 60-61.

¹¹² Oram, *David I*, p.79.

¹¹³ N.F. Shead, ‘Origins of Medieval Diocese of Glasgow’, *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol.48, No.146. Part 2, (Oct 1969), pp. 220-225, (p.222); R. Sharpe, *Norman Rule in Cumbria*, p.29.

monarchy as a secular power held no jurisdiction over the Church, therefore, David power is subject to the Church. The Church had to the power to make a king but could also unmake a king. For instance, the initial support for King Stephen at the beginning of his reign soon declined by the end of the 1130s. The destruction of many religious buildings led to the king losing support from the Church. Therefore, David had to resign to the fact that as king he held no authority over the Scottish churches, which weakened his position as King of Scots.¹¹⁴ Scotland's weak position in ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland was the result of the *Winchester Accord* in 1072,¹¹⁵ where it was decided on who held supreme power in England and what dioceses would be assigned to each archbishopric.¹¹⁶ The Archbishop of York was resigned to holding authority over Durham and the Scottish Church, which proved to be disputed as it meant Canterbury held more power over ecclesiastical matters.

In the late eleventh century the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lanfranc embarked on reforming the English church. Lanfranc wanted to create a structured and orderly church life where the bishops would make professions of obedience to him.¹¹⁷ The Saxon bishops were replaced by Norman clerics and this was a move towards reforming England, the Church being a crucial part in this vision. The seizure of Carlisle in 1092

¹¹⁴ Lanfranc, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had referred to Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* to justify his claim that Canterbury held authority over all the churches in the British Isles. See Barlow's *The English Church 1066-1154*, (London: Longman, 1979), p.31. Hugh the Chanter stressed that a single primacy is essential for the stability of the kingdom; otherwise, the kingdom would be troubled by division', see Raine, *Historians of York*, Vol II, (London: Longman, 1879), pp. 200.

¹¹⁵ The *Winchester Accord* is an eleventh century document which establishes primacy over the English Church. The *Winchester Accord* was the result of a dispute by Thomas Bayeux of York who refused to accept the *Archbishop of York* as the supreme power.

¹¹⁶ Canterbury: London, Winchester, Worcester, Lincoln, Chichester, Exeter, Lichfield, Hereford, Salisbury, and Bath and Wells.

¹¹⁷ H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'Lanfranc,' in *Oxford National Biography*, [Online ed.], (2004), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16004>> [Accessed 29 December 2022].

reaffirmed the See of Lindisfarne¹¹⁸ holding jurisdiction over Cumbria, which was subject to ancient boundaries. The See of Lindisfarne claimed historical rights over Cumbria which was the result of an ancient grant under the Kingdom of Northumbria.¹¹⁹ Symeon of Durham wrote in his *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*¹²⁰ that Carlisle was the property of not only 'Holy Cuthbert, but of his community.'¹²¹ McGuigan highlights that this strand of myth-making should be seen in the context of other Durham texts where the description of the Diocese of Lindisfarne at Norham was altered to add Carlisle.¹²² Consequently, in 1101,¹²³ Henry I and the Bishop of Durham, Ranulph Flambard had a dispute regarding finances and resulted in his removal from Durham, and Henry transferred the Cumbrian churches to the Archbishop of York.¹²⁴ The transfer to York would witness a surge of monastic houses and a strategical Diocese of Carlisle in 1133. David was able to exploit the disagreement between York and Durham by Glasgow making its own claim to Cumbria. Robert Capellanus,¹²⁵ the Bishop of Glasgow claimed the region was part of the ancient Kingdom of Strathclyde and therefore preceded both Durham and York. Richard Oram stresses that David's motives and his interest in the

¹¹⁸ The See of Lindisfarne when it transferred its seat at Durham became known as the see of Durham. The David I charters demonstrate the change of grantee from the community of the monks at Lindisfarne to Durham. See, GWS Barrow, 'No. 31 and 32,' *The Charters of David I and Henry Earl of Northumberland*, p.61.

¹¹⁹ N.F Shead, 'Origins of Medieval Diocese of Glasgow', *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol 48, No.146, Part 2, (Oct 1969), pp220-225 (p.222); R. Sharpe, *History of Cumbria*, p.29

¹²⁰ *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* is a historical account on the bishops of Lindisfarne, Norham, Chester-Le-Street and Durham. The accounts begin with the life of St. Cuthbert were completed after 1031.

¹²¹ R. Sharpe, 'Symeon as Pamphleteer' in *Symeon of Durham: Historian of Durham and the North*, *Studies in North Eastern History 1*, edited by D. Rollason, (ed.), (Stamford, 1998), pp. 221-229.

¹²² N. McGuigan, *Neither Scotland nor England*, p.201

¹²³ William Rufus had reaffirmed Durham as the authority in Cumbria, when the Bishop of Durham Ranulph Flambard had parted ways with Henry I, the king transferred power to York. See Vaughn, *Anselm and Bec and Robert of Meuland*, p.222; F.A. Mason, "Ranulph Flambard", *OND*, (2004)

¹²⁴ The Bishop of Durham Ranulph Flambard, was removed from Durham when he was accused of extortion by Henry I. The details of the circumstance are recorded in Symeon of *Durham's Libellus de Exordio*, which led to the loss of Teviotdale and Carlisle, See McGuigan, *Scotland nor England*, p200.

¹²⁵ Robert Capellanus (d.1147), a Tironensian cleric, was a chaplain and close advisor to David I before he was elected as Bishop of Glasgow.

Cumbrian church were more politically motivated than ecclesiastical.¹²⁶ The motives for Cumbria as part of the Scottish domain would mean David could claim complete power within the boundaries of what he saw as his kingdom. Until 1135 he could only claim Cumbria as an independent lordship from Scotland, but meant he had to accept the English crown as its authority.

To further complicate David's power in Cumbria, the reforming of the bishopric of Whithorn in 1128 witnessed the first bishop Gilla-Aldan swearing his oath of obedience to the Archbishop of York.¹²⁷ Gilla-Aldan's election is believed to have had no Scottish involvement in the consecration,¹²⁸ which identifies England as the superior power in Galloway. The consecration by the Archbishop of York reinforced Thurstan's authority and weakened David's rule. Oram highlights that in Galloway, the relationship with Scotland before 1130 is uncertain, and Fergus, Lord of Galloway saw more value with ties to the Isle of Mann and York, than an overlordship with Scotland.¹²⁹ Therefore, the choice to accept the Archbishop of York as the superior church fitted with the need for Galloway to retain its independence from Scotland. Galloway which had viewed itself as an independent lordship and held firm to its autonomy, had made its own political statement against the King of Scots, who could threaten Galloway's independence. Therefore, any grand aim that David had in Cumbria would need to accept that the

¹²⁶ Oram, *David I*, p.68

¹²⁷ According to Richard Oram, in his journal article 'In Obedience and Reverence: Whithorn and York, c.1128-1250', *The Innes Review*, Volume XLII, No. 2, Autumn 1991, 83-100, p84; Skene claimed that prior to the revival of Whithorn Priory, Galloway fell under the jurisdiction of Glasgow, See Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, p.375; See: Dowden and Maitland, *Bishops of Scotland: Being Notes on the Lives of All the Bishops, Under Each of the Sees, Prior to the Reformation*, (Glasgow: J Maclehose and Sons, 1912), p.354. < <https://archive.org/details/bishopsofscotland00dowdrich/page/354/mode/2up?q=whithorn> > [Accessed 2 December]. 2022< <https://archive.org/details/bishopsofscotland00dowdrich/page/354/mode/2up?q=whithorn> > [Accessed 2 December 2022].

¹²⁸ Oram, *Obedience and Reverence*, p.88.

¹²⁹ R. Oram, 'The Lordship of Galloway: 1000-1250', *Unpublished PhD thesis*, (University of St. Andrews, 1988), p. iii.

Church functioned differently, and he could only hold secular power and not ecclesiastical authority.

Diocese of Carlisle

Since 1122, Henry I was enthusiastic about improving religious presence in Carlisle, and instrumental in the founding of Carlisle Priory (fig 11). Royal patronage was as much a political action as it was a pious one. Hodgson highlights that patronage was an important element of lordship and a symbol of the donor's rank. Benefactors were able to exploit the power of ecclesiastical patronage and its role in establishing political power.¹³⁰ For instance, the funding of Carlisle Priory was due to a man named Walter the Priest,¹³¹ which resulted in the incorporation of the churches of St. Mary's and St. Cuthbert's to finance the construction.¹³² Carlisle Priory was established by canons of the Austin order from Arrouise Abbey in France, credited for adopting an austere and ascetic way of life.¹³³ The Augustinians chose to renounce personal property but undertake a range of pastoral duties including charity work, education, and healing. Cumbria was dominated by monks of the Benedictine order, which highlights the changing characteristics of monasteries in the mid-twelfth century. For instance, the Augustinians and the Premonstratensians whose goals was in pastoral care, and the Cistercians who changed the agricultural landscape. Monasteries were becoming a vital part of urban society and important to the 'Normanisation' of Cumbria.

¹³⁰ V. Hodgson, *The Cistercian Abbey of Cupar Angus: c.1164-1560*, PhD, University of Stirling, 2016, p.103

¹³¹ Walter the Priest

¹³² D.W.V. Weston, *Carlisle Cathedral History*, (Carlisle: Bookshelf, 2000). p.9-10.

¹³³ J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300*, Cambridge Medieval Textbook, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p.52.

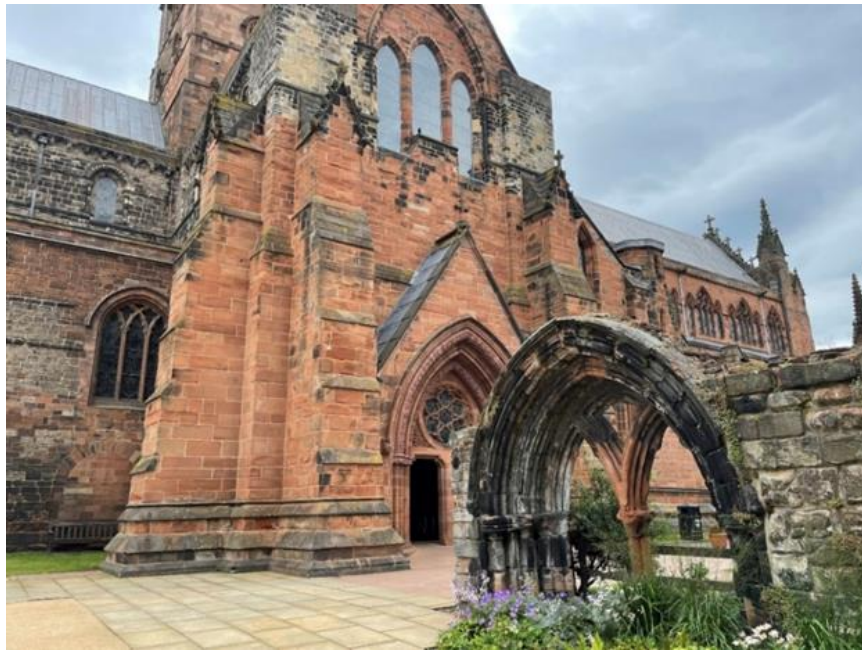


Fig. 11: Author, Carlisle Cathedral from the remains of the cloister wall, (2021).¹³⁴

The transfer of Ranulph le Meschin to Chester in the early 1120s witnessed a change in authority in the north-west. Although in principle, David became Henry's 'new man' in Cumbria, it was around 1121 and 1122 when a rift between the two men developed.¹³⁵ Scotland remained subject to England and moreover, David held no legal ecclesiastical power over Cumbria. In 1133 Carlisle Priory became the seat of the newly created Diocese of Carlisle. The establishment of the diocese was a turning point in the 'Normanisation' of Cumbria, and a clear political statement of authority by Henry I. The diocese ensured two objectives, firstly Glasgow and Durham could no longer make any claim of authority, and secondly, the Archbishop of York successfully gained another subordinate diocese. Due to the nature of politics and increasing pressures from Scotland, obedience was essential from the first bishop. Æthelwold of Nostell Priory was known to

¹³⁴ Author, Carlisle Cathedral from the Cloister, (Carlisle, Cumbria, 2021).

¹³⁵ Richard Oram refers to a disagreement over the settlement in 1113 between Henry I and Alexander I. It was in 1122 which saw the construction of Norham Castle and Wark Castle due to concerns over stability of the frontier. See Oram, *David I*, p.70.

Henry I, where records suggest he was the king's advisor, having been selected by William of Corbeil, the Archbishop of Canterbury.¹³⁶ Nevertheless, Æthelwold was embroiled in deceit, where the records disclose that he continued his position as prior of Nostell, while he was bishop of Carlisle. Summerson highlights Æthelwold was able to continue as prior, where he was given a special dispensation by Pope Calixtus II because of the poverty of his new house.¹³⁷ The holding of more than one office known in canon law as pluralities was in the early church forbidden. Although it was regarded as an abuse, Episcopalians contended that there is no impropriety in a presbyter to hold more than one ecclesiastical office.¹³⁸ However, a bishop could not hold two dioceses, yet in England if a clergy held one office in a deprived diocese, he was able to continue to hold a further office in another diocese. In the case of Æthelwold, he was given a dispensation, and because he regarded Carlisle as a poor diocese, he was able to continue his role at Nostell. Consequently, the networks which Æthelwold had assumed through the crown and within the church, meant he was able to exploit the rules, whether or not Carlisle was poor, or whether the new position of bishop made it possible for him to avoid clerical sanctions.

Æthelwold's election as the first bishop of Carlisle would have been a welcomed appointment by King David. Æthelwold who was known to David through his

¹³⁶ William of Corbeil, an Augustinian canon and elected archbishop in 1123. He was embroiled in a dispute with Thurstan of York over the primacy of Canterbury. He was instrumental in selecting King Stephen as king. His connections to both Henry I and the Augustinian order is key to his relationship with Æthelwold.

¹³⁷ Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle*, p.35; Dickson, *the Origins of Carlisle Cathedral*, Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, (1945), p.141.

¹³⁸ Coriden writes that in some cases members of the papal curia had more than fifteen offices which meant they had substantial income streams across Europe. In some cases, the members had not visited any of the offices, which meant they were unable to fulfil duties of that office. See J.A., Coriden, *An Introduction to Canon Law*, (New York, Paulist Press, 1990), p.20.

<<https://archive.org/details/introductiontoca00cori/page/20/mode/2up?q=pluralism>> [Accessed on 2 January 2023].

involvement in the revival of Scone Abbey.¹³⁹ The new bishop was also acquainted with the king's stepson, Waltheof during his time at Nostell Priory.¹⁴⁰ The birthplace of Æthelwold is unclear, but of English origins,¹⁴¹ where he successfully built a career in the church. Therefore, due to the networks he had acquired during his career, Æthelwold's appointment was ideal, as it meant keeping the peace on the 'unruly' borders. Yet, this does not mean there were not disputes between the new bishop and the King of Scots. For instance, Carlisle, as Summerson stresses, had accepted Scotland as 'its political overlord.'¹⁴² What the statement highlights is the blocking of any political interference by David on ecclesiastical matters. The tensions emphasise a clear distinction between what power David had as ruler and what he did not over the management of the church. In terms of 'Normanisation,' if the king accepted the Archbishop of York as the church authority, it meant that David could continue to develop Carlisle even under such restrictions.

Piety and Politics: Henry Murdac and the Cistercians:

The Cistercian order first arrived on the Solway coast at Dundrennan, founding an Abbey in 1142. It was established by Fergus of Galloway and King David, with monks from the Yorkshire abbey at Rievaulx.¹⁴³ The Cistercian monasteries are described as 'colonial centres controlling and extracting from the surrounding territories, developing

¹³⁹ Scone Abbey was reformed in 1114 to 1122, but it is believed that it may have been the centre of the Culdees who ascetic communities in early medieval Ireland, Scotland, Wales and England.

¹⁴⁰ H. Summerson, 'Aethelwold,' *Oxford National Biography*, (2004).
<<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/50338>> [Accessed 14 April 2022].

¹⁴¹ Summerson suggests that Aethelwold was the son of English parents and may be from Yorkshire. See: Summerson, *Aethelwold*, *Oxford National Biography*.

¹⁴² H. Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle*, p.44.

¹⁴³ Rievaulx Abbey founded in 1132 by monks from Clairvaux Abbey in Burgundy. The monastery is located four miles from Helmsley Castle the home of Rievaulx's patron Walter Espec.

an operating technology of control at their disposal'.¹⁴⁴ The monks established themselves as great technicians by remodelling the landscape to be self-sufficient. Although the Cistercian economy was land-based, they drew income from other sources such as tolls, and engaged in the economic market.¹⁴⁵ The Cistercians aimed to live the monastic life as it had been in Saint Benedict's time, and in some cases would go beyond austerity. One feature of the Cistercians was the return to manual labour, and a characteristic of Cistercian life. Two of the key texts of the order were the *Exordium Parvum* and the *Carta Caritatis*¹⁴⁶ which detail the history of the order and set guidance on day-to-day management and the regulations, such as the interpretation of the *Rule of St. Benedict* and ceremonial practices.

A feature of monastic 'Normanisation' was the growth of the Cistercian order, which had developed the monastic landscape in northern England and Scotland. The Cistercians rise to power in the 1140s, and the involvement in politics across England, had been due to the important network they had achieved. Therefore, at this time the Normans had become fully integrated into England and the Cumbrians had accepted Norman authority as the status quo. Consequently, the ecclesiastical politics was in turmoil when in 1140, Thurstan of York, who had resigned from his position as archbishop and later died. The resignation of Thurstan and the appointment of a new archbishop took a year to complete, which was due to lengthy discussion of who should succeed the former archbishop. The election was fraught with complications due to the

¹⁴⁴ L. R. Leland, *Technologies of Control: Cistercian Colonialism in Northern France, Occitania, and Catalonia, 1115 -1314, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis*, (Brown University, 2021), p.7.

¹⁴⁵ J. Burton and J. Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, (Boydell Press, 2011), p.150.

¹⁴⁶ The *Exordium Parvum* documents the early history of the Cistercians incorporating letters and documents with narratives. The *Carta Caritatis* is the constitution of the Cistercian Order, translated as the Charter of Charity.

political sphere at the time. Waltheof the prior of Kirkham Priory¹⁴⁷ was a firm favourite, however, his family connections to the Scottish crown had prohibited the election. Moreover, King Stephen and his brother Henry, Bishop of Winchester sought to make their nephew Henry de Sully,¹⁴⁸ the new archbishop. The Pope rejected the election when Henry de Sully refused to resign from his abbacy at Fécamp abbey.¹⁴⁹ Eventually, William Fitz Herbert would be elected in 1141. The election would be met with controversy, namely the Cistercians who were the newly arrived monastic order to York, who believed he was self-serving in his role and accused the archbishop of simony.¹⁵⁰ The dispute over William included some key member of the church council in Yorkshire: William, precentor of York, William, abbot of Rievaulx, Richard, abbot of Fountains, Waltheof, prior of Kirkham, and Cuthbert, prior of Guisborough.¹⁵¹ What this highlights is the political position of the Cistercians, even at this early stage in the growth of the order in the north of England. Cumbria who had built a strong relationship with York and were embroiled into the foray, which highlights the event as a ‘Norman affair’ dominated by Norman clerics. Significantly, William Fitz Herbert was disposed in 1147 by the Cistercian pope, Eugenius III, a former student of Bernard of Clairvaux, who was possibly the instigator in the removal of Archbishop William.

To further any discontent in the archdiocese, William Fitz Herbert was superseded by Henry Murdac, a Cistercian cleric. The consecration of Henry Murdac was met with

¹⁴⁷ Kirkham Priory in North Yorkshire is an Augustinian house founded by Walter Espec in the 1120s. Walter Espec was founder of Rievaulx Abbey and lived in Helmsley Castle close to Rievaulx. Kirkham became the family burial site for the descents of the L’Especes, the de Roos.

¹⁴⁸ Henry de Sully (d.1189) was the son of the eldest brother of King Stephen and Henry de Blois the Bishop of Winchester. Henry who was a Cluniac monk and failed in the nomination as the Bishop of Salisbury in 1140.

¹⁴⁹ J. Burton, ‘William of York [St William of York, William fitz Herbert]’, *Oxford National Biography*, [online ed.], (2004). Available: < <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9606> > Accessed on 4 January 2023.

¹⁵⁰ C. Norton, *St William of York*, (York: York Medieval Press, 2006), p.76.

¹⁵¹ J. Burton, ‘William of York, [St. William of York, William Fitz Herbert]’, *Oxford National Biography*, [Online ed.], (2004), < <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9606> > [Accessed 2 January 2023].

objections from the senior members of the diocese, including Hugh de Puiset, the treasurer of York (and future Bishop of Durham), and Robert de Gant, the Dean of York.¹⁵² What is key in the election of the Hugh Murdac in 1147 is the political role of the Cistercians who were involved in manipulated the ecclesiastical environment of the mid-twelfth century. The order proving to be one of the most influential and highly regarded by their patrons, who saw the benefits in supporting such a growing monastic order. The Cistercian presence in Yorkshire therefore became crucial in the continuing bond with Cumbria and David I.

One of the key features in the development of 'Normanisation' is Bernard of Clairvaux who was primarily responsible for the rapid spread of the Cistercian order in northern England. Hollister emphasises that the key to Bernard's success was the political network that he had built and encouraging senior political figures to support the Cistercians.¹⁵³ David who had formed a friendship with Bernard had supported his aims of founding the first Cistercian house in Scotland at Melrose in 1136. These bonds which Bernard and David had forged would be prime to Cistercians power in the 1140s. The interest David had with the Cistercians and the characteristics of the order, was crucial in the colonial development in his domain. David who seems to have accepted his limited power in the management of the church in Cumbria, had built an important bond with Henry Murdac, who was successfully elected as the Archbishop of York. Henry who entered the Cistercian house at Clairvaux before 1134 had made an impression on Archbishop Thurstan and secured a promotion in the York chapter.¹⁵⁴ There is little doubt

¹⁵² J. Burton, 'Henry Murdac, abbot of fountain and Archbishop of York', *Oxford National Biography*, [online ed.], 2004, < <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19557> > [Accessed 2 November 2022].

¹⁵³ C.W. Hollister, *The Making of England, 55 BC to 1399. Volume I of A History of England*, edited by Lacey Baldwin Smith (Sixth Edition, 1992 ed.), p.209.

¹⁵⁴ D. Knowles, David, V.C.M, London, C. Brooks, *The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales, 940–1216*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p.239

that Bernard played a key role in Henry's election, which was strategic for the Cistercians in Yorkshire. Murdac was a controversial figure during the civil war and exploited the conflict between David and Stephen to gain power in York. In 1149, David invited Murdac to Carlisle Castle with the intention of discussing an invasion of York, and to secure his archbishopric. Retrospectively, David had also invited Henry of Anjou, to ensure Cumbria remained in Scottish hands. The network which David had developed was key to the growth of 'Normanisation' and would develop further with the founding of the first Cistercian house in Cumbria at Holme Cultram.

Holme Cultram and Saint Waltheof

The founding of Holme Cultram in 1150 (fig.12) represented two key features, firstly it was making a statement of Scottish power in Cumbria, and secondly, it emphasised the Cistercian network with Melrose Abbey at the centre. David supported the founding of five Cistercians abbeys in Scotland: Melrose Abbey (1136), Newbattle Abbey (1140), Dundrennan (1142) Kinloss (1150), and Holme Cultram (1150). The abbeys were placed in strategic locations and the monks were considered as 'pioneers or frontier men,'¹⁵⁵ guarding major routes and military frontiers. The location of Holme Cultram is vital to understand its history as a 'frontier abbey', where it was strategically placed close to the Solway basin. Evidence for the early history of the abbey is problematic for two reasons, firstly, it was short-lived as a Scottish abbey, having been

¹⁵⁵ Richard Oram used the term frontier men to describe the Cistercians who lived on the edge of borderlands. See R. R. Fawcett and R. Oram, *Melrose Abbey* (Stroud, History Press, 2004), p.17; Jamroziak described Holme Cultram as the 'ultimate frontier abbey' due to its location close to the Solway and how it was utilised in times of war, see JE. Jamroziak, 'Holme Cultram: A Story of Success?', *Northern History*, 45:1, 27-36, p.28. <DOI: 10.1179/174587008X256593> [accessed 14 January 2023].

part of the confiscation of Cumbria by Henry II in 1157,¹⁵⁶ and secondly, only a total of four charters are known to exist before 1157, including the affirmation of grants by Malcolm IV between 1154 and 1157.¹⁵⁷ The foundation charter was discovered in the nineteenth century, and confirms Henry, Lord of Cumberland and son of the king, 'two-thirds of Holme to the monks there and Alan Fitz Waltheof, Lord of Allerdale one-third to the monks at Holme'.¹⁵⁸ Academic research on Holme Cultram as a Scottish abbey is limited and it is generally viewed from an English perspective. Grainger and Collingwood stress that in 'ecclesiastical matters there was little difference between the two groups of the population which later became Scottish and English on two sides of a defined border'.¹⁵⁹ In other words, it is impossible to assert that Holme Cultram was different because of the shift in the borders of England and Scotland. However, this argument assumes that there is no cultural attachment to monastic houses that they are independent of the locations which they sit.

The network of Cistercians was prime to the successful movement throughout Scotland, but it was also the nature of how they functioned politically. The Anarchy was a time when secular conflicts were intertwined with ecclesiastical affairs. After the rejection of Waltheof's bid for archbishop at York, his network within monastic and secular circles would prove beneficial. Waltheof who was of noble birth was the second son of Matilda the countess of Huntingdon and Northampton and Simon de Senlis.

¹⁵⁶ In 1157, Malcolm IV had become embroiled in a war against Henry II and internal conflicts in Scotland. This resulted in Henry seizing Cumbria and Northumberland from the Scots. Henry came to an agreement with Malcolm that he would allow the King of Scots to retain the earldom of Huntingdon.

¹⁵⁷ Two charters exist relating to Holme Cultram before 1153, the first was to confirm two-thirds of Holme Cultram to the monks, the second was the third part of the town: See G.W.S, *The Charters of David I and Henry Earl of Northumberland*, p.150-151. Lawrie writes that after Henry II had taken Cumberland from Malcolm IV, he renewed endowments to Holm Cultram. See A.C. Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters: Prior to AD 1153*, (Glasgow : J. MacLehose and Sons, 1905), p.437.

¹⁵⁸ "Charter No. 198", *Charters of David I*, translated and edited by G.W.S Barrow, (Boydell, 1999), p.150.

¹⁵⁹ 'The Register: The Foundation Charter' in *Register and Records of Holme Cultram*, ed. F. Grainger and W.G. Collingwood, (Kendal, 1929), pp.91-92.

Waltheof's eldest brother, Simon would inherit the family estates on his mother's side and would also see his step-brother Henry become the heir to the Scottish throne. After the failed election at York, Waltheof entered the Cistercian abbey of Warden in Bedfordshire before he joined Rievaulx Abbey. However, Norton highlights that the only evidence for Waltheof's election at York is found in the thirteenth century text, *Vita Sancti Waldevi* by Jocelin of Furness,¹⁶⁰ which poses problems as the narrative attempts to explain his election at Melrose Abbey, and secondly the relationship with King David and the politics around his time in Yorkshire.

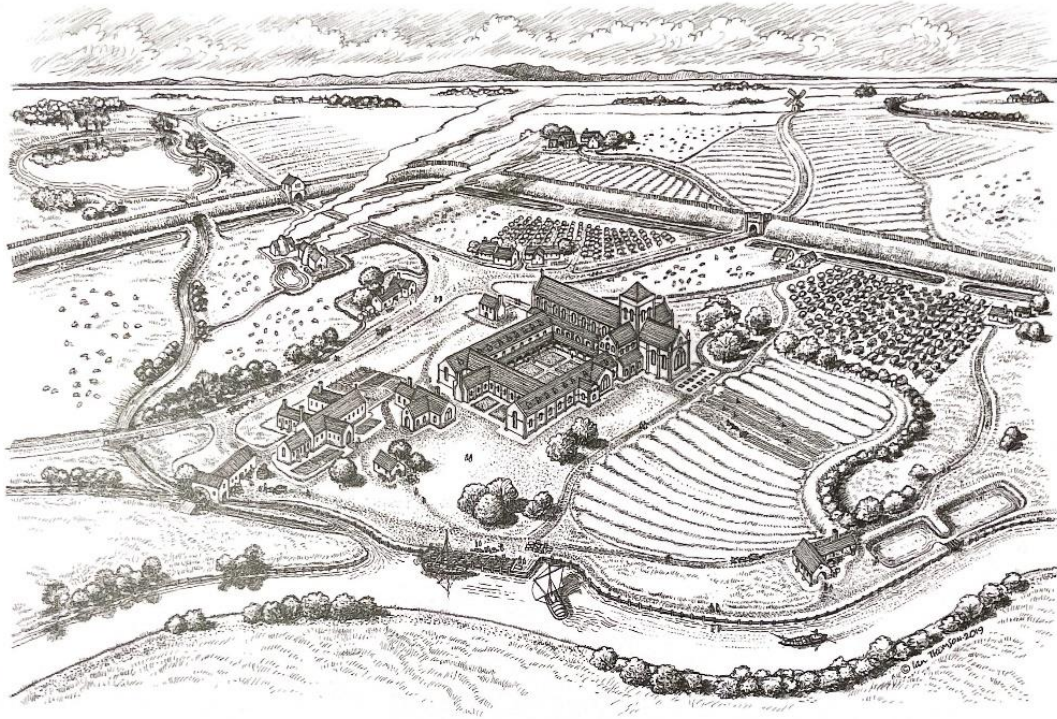


Fig. 12: Ian Thompson, *Reconstruction of Holme Cultram Abbey in the Medieval Period, Abbey Town, Nr Wigton, Cumbria*, 2019.¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ See note in Norton, *St. William of York*, p.80.

¹⁶¹ I. Thompson, 'Reconstruction of Holme Cultram Abbey in the Medieval Period,' *Holm Cultram, Abbey*, (Abbeytown, Near Wigton, Cumbria, 2019).

Waltheof was already connected with Rievaulx, through his tutor Ælred of Rievaulx who had spent much of his youth in the royal court in Scotland. In 1148 Waltheof became the Abbot of Melrose and soon after his death was made a saint, achieving a small cult following. Furthermore, Waltheof would have been instrumental in the founding of Holme Cultram in 1150, (although not named) as he was installed at Melrose during this time. The Cistercian monastic structure was based on the idea of a family tree, with Cîteaux in Burgundy at the centre. Therefore, Melrose as the motherhouse would have been actively involved with Holme Cultram, including the site, providing monks to begin the monastic community, and receiving annual fees.¹⁶² Norton stresses that Waltheof was a very different type of cleric who was sympathetic to reforming monastic orders,¹⁶³ which would explain why he entered the Cistercian abbey at Warden soon after the rejected election at York.

The church was vital in the ‘Normanising’ of Cumbria, where the clergy could be integrated into the community easier than the crown. 1133 proved to be a turning point in the Norman power in Cumbria. The creation of the diocese reaffirmed the archbishop as the dominant church figure and further removed any attempt by Scotland to claim authority. The Archbishop of York dominated Cumbria with the founding of the priories of Wetheral and St. Bees, placing the archbishop's authority firmly at the centre of the north. Any political conflicts between the Archbishop of York and Scotland made David's innovations impossible. Holme Cultram was symbolic of David's authority where he could make a political statement of his power through the founding of a monastery and

¹⁶² Traditionally the Cistercian process of establishing a new abbey was a lengthy process. *The Summa Carta Caritatis* lists an oratory, a refectory, a dormitory, a guest house, and a gatehouse, ‘so that the monks may immediately serve God and live-in religious discipline’ as its prerequisites. See “Summa Carte Caritatis, Chapter IX”, in *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux: Latin Text in Dual Edition with English Translation and Notes*, edited by C. Waddell, (Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses, 1999), p.17.

¹⁶³ Norton, *St. William of York*, p.81.

invoke 'Normanisation'. However, any conflict with the Archbishop of York weakened David's ambitions for the churches in Cumbria, meaning if 'Normanisation' was achieved it was without secular interference, but utilised by the Church. Furthermore, monastic colonialism seems to be the move towards 'Normanisation,' but this did not necessarily mean David would succeed as complete overlord. The Diocese of Carlisle was the turning point in the establishment of Norman control, but it would be far from concluded.

Chapter 3:

Building a Frontier: The Davidian Revolution in Cumbria

‘Normanisation’ is a problematic term due to the challenges in the status of Cumbria. The late acquisition meant the region was less developed as a Norman state compared to other areas such as Northumberland and southern Cumbria.¹⁶⁴ Since 1092, Cumbria’s position in England was that of a colony as evident in the dissemination of land to feudal lords, and the lack of strong royal presence until 1124. Feudalism as a system proposes to establish a structure of society, which ‘aristocracy built their power and privileges, labour and wealth and were linked to the way the land was settled and manipulated.’¹⁶⁵ Therefore, feudalism as a construct was the most practical form of managing land distribution, although it was not necessarily a functional construct. In fact, feudalism is a combative term as it was not a developed form, and ‘the relationship between the nobles and the nobles and peasants was less important’.¹⁶⁶ What the argument expresses is feudalism is not a good analysis of social structure of England after the Conquest. Subsequently, the application of feudalism in Cumbria as a concept is even more problematic due to the area not being unified under a single administrator. The records according to Sharpe suggest the administrator was from outside of Cumbria in Northumberland, and managed as a territorial unit less than a fully developed shire.¹⁶⁷ As

¹⁶⁴ Southern Cumbria refers to the area which was part of England before 1092. See G.W.S Barrow, ‘Pattern of Lordship’, p.122, 123, which lists Kentdale, Kirby Lonsdale, Cartmel and Kendal.

¹⁶⁵ ‘Land Tenure’, in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, edited by R. Bjork, (Oxford University Press: Oxford Reference, 2010).

<<https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662624.001.0001/acref-9780198662624-e-3392>>. [Date Accessed 20 Jan. 2023].

¹⁶⁶ S. Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence of Reinterpreted*, (OUP, 1994), pp.1-3, 10.

¹⁶⁷ Sharpe, *Norman Rule*, p.16.

a result, the status of Cumbria until 1135 was regarded as a colony of the Norman monarchy rather than a union.

This chapter will explore the question of feudalism through a Scottish perspective, which became known as the 'Davidian Revolution'. To achieve this, it will explore three case studies of dominant figures in the Scottish court: Hugh de Morville, Robert de Brus, and Walter Fitz Alan, who were regarded as David's New Men. Additionally, it will highlight the merger of Cumbria as a Scottish settlement and explore in detail Carlisle as the centre of administration in the west. It will emphasise the vital role of the Davidian Revolution within a Cumbrian context and the integration of Cumbria into the Scottish realm.

Carlisle Castle: Garrison or Seat of Royal Power

The seizure of Carlisle in 1135 is a challenging subject as there are few records documenting the transfer from England to Scotland. The medieval chronicler, Henry of Huntingdon writes in his *Historia Anglorum*¹⁶⁸ that the King of Scots asked for shelter for himself and his men at Carlisle castle, then once admitted seizes the town and proclaims Scotland its overlord.¹⁶⁹ The historical sources are general problematic as the authors present biased accounts of events. In the case of Henry of Huntingdon who writes more favourably to King Stephen, and the author generates his own opinions on the event: 'what he (King David) has taken in trickery, I will take in victory'.¹⁷⁰ The narrative of the

¹⁶⁸ The twelfth century manuscript, *Historia Anglorum* was commissioned by Bishop Alexander of Lincoln to compose the history of England from its early history to his own time. Henry used several sources to write his *Historia* including Bede, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, the works of Saint Jerome and Gregory the Great.

¹⁶⁹ Henry of Huntingdon, 'X.4', in *The History of the English People*, Volume 1, edited and translated by D. Greenway, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p.707.

¹⁷⁰ Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, p.707.

capture is deceiving because David as the *Principis Cumbriae* would have operated the Cumbrian frontier from Carlisle (fig.13). Although, Summerson notes that before 1135, Carlisle Castle would have contained the sheriff's office and after the seizure would have acted as a capital for his western lands.¹⁷¹ Nevertheless, David would have been a familiar face to the people in Carlisle as Henry I's man in Cumbria.

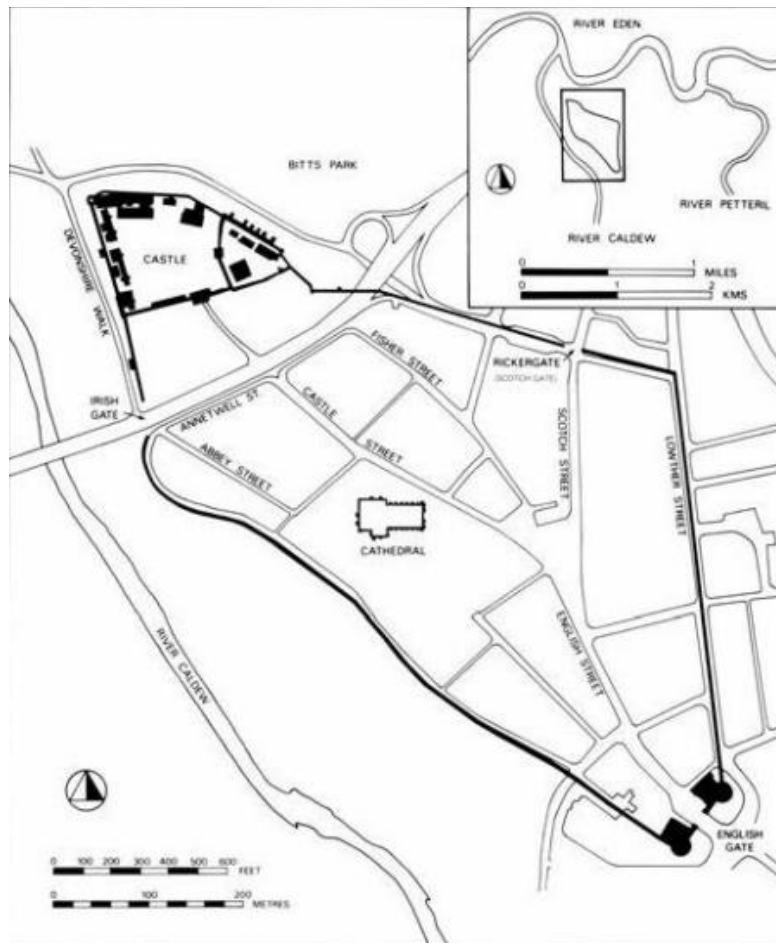


Fig. 13: McCarthy and Summerson, *Map of the Medieval Defences at Carlisle*, English Heritage, (1990).¹⁷²

The Cumbrians would have viewed David as a new colonial master, whilst the 'men' of Carlisle saw it as a new transfer of power. The Normans who lived in the town

¹⁷¹ M, McCarthy, M., Annis, R., Summerson 'The Medieval Defences at Carlisle', in *Carlisle Castle: Survey and Documentary History*, (English Heritage, 1990), p.121.

¹⁷² McCarthy and Summerson, *Carlisle Castle*, p.2.

did not appear to have retaliated against David, and no record of conflict emerges. The struggles in the south between King Stephen and Empress Matilda may have created the opportunity for the seizure in 1135. Subsequently, a Scottish takeover may have been a safer option as Norman settlers may be concerned over their position in the north-west and acquisitions. For the people in Cumbria, the civil war was a 'southern issue' and as the English monarchs spent little time in the north, there was no need for hostilities against David. David who was active in Cumbria could offer more lands in Cumbria and in Scotland. Therefore, the transfer of power to David presented economic and political benefits to the Normans who occupied Cumbria.

At the time of the seizure in 1135, Carlisle Castle was already a well-established garrison. David bringing Carlisle into his realm offered opportunities to expand his domain and to create a central base for managing his frontier in the west. Carlisle would also prove to be both strategic and profitable, thus providing the King of Scots the opportunity to develop the Cumbrian capital further. Summerson writes that David had strengthened the walls of the town, with the expectation that Stephen's would attempt to retrieve Cumbria. Therefore, Carlisle as he stresses was not just a fortress but acted as a capital for his western lands.¹⁷³ The status of Carlisle is generally a one of contention amongst contemporary historians, who have made claims that it may have been the seat of Scottish administration. Stringer stresses that David spent as much time in Carlisle as he did at Newcastle ¹⁷⁴ which makes it difficult to suggest that he was more favourable to Carlisle. This suggests that there is no evidence where he based his court as no record confirm such a claim. Barrow emphasises that the lack of records makes it 'unsafe to

¹⁷³ McCarthy, Annis, and Summerson, *Carlisle Castle*, p.121.

¹⁷⁴ Stringer, *State-building in the Twelfth Century Britain*, pp.47.

place his seat at a single place'.¹⁷⁵ Similarly to medieval kings who were 'mobile,' David moved frequently between England and Scotland. Although there are disagreements regarding where David had built his administration, it is impossible to know where he considered his central seat of power in Scotland. Summerson highlights that Carlisle was an 'important capital city of some distinction and a centre of Scottish power, it was politically and economically important, and David spent a great amount of time there'.¹⁷⁶ What Summerson is highlighting is Carlisle's status is changing from a lordship to a royal seat. In fact, it is more reliable to stress Cumbria operated as the hub for the west of his realm.

Building the Frontier: 'New Men' of the West

One important argument is the question of why it was necessary to create a Davidian frontier. Although the seizure of Carlisle in 1135 could result in a political repercussion from King Stephen, David was able to build a strong frontier representing his status and power. The *Durham Treaty* of 1136 emerged after David seized Wark, Alnwick, Norham, and Newcastle. The treaty resulted in Stephen forcing a truce, which allowed David to retain Carlisle, parts of Cumberland and Lancashire, and Doncaster. But the result also meant he had to return his other acquisitions of Alnwick, Norham, and Newcastle.¹⁷⁷ It was a convenient shift when David provided Hugh de Morville, the Lordship of Westmorland and Appleby castle his seat in England. Hugh is recorded as a vassal of David in Huntingdon, acquiring estates at Bozeat in Northampton and

¹⁷⁵ G.W.S Barrow, 'David I: The King Who Made Scotland,' *Innes Review*, Vol.56, No 1., pp.91-94, (p.93).

¹⁷⁶ Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle*, p.41.

¹⁷⁷ E. King, *King Stephen*, Yale English Monarchs Series, (Yale University Press, 2012), p.54.

Whissendine in Rutland.¹⁷⁸ Hugh de Morville's family emerged from an obscure knightly class and in the early twelfth century had become obsolete in Normandy, but de Morville rose to the highest baronial rank in the Scottish realm.¹⁷⁹ Hugh de Morville successfully gained the title of Constable of Scotland, which was a highest-ranking position above other titles except for the crown, and was crucial to the conduct of royal business.¹⁸⁰ Subsequently, David also had issues within his Scottish domain which reinforced his need to build a strong frontier centred in Cumbria. Barrow highlights in his article, 'King David, Earl Henry in Cumbria,' that the building of a strong Scottish frontier was not only to control the Gaelic and Scots magnates but also to create a firm border against Galloway with the support of his strong warband.¹⁸¹ This warband would dominate the Solway and be define David's military frontier.

During David's time in the English court, he counted himself as one of Henry's 'new men' which the Scottish king had developed in his own court. The king specifically chose the men, and many had known David in England. The New Men were not aristocratic and regarded as belonging to the military class. These New Men held little or no titles due to their social standing or because they were not destined to receive such privileges, and to a lesser extent they were of low-ranking class. David could offer the opportunity of titles and estates in return for loyalty and the protection of his borders. In England, Henry's barons were distributed across England to guard various strategic shires representing the king's law. Many of these men were employed as sheriffs, shire justices, and constables, as custodians, farmers, and conveyers of treasure, both in England and in

¹⁷⁸ K. Stringer, 'Morville, Hugh de (d. 1162),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.), (2004), < doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/19378> [Accessed 25 November 2021].

¹⁷⁹ G.W.S. Barrow, 'The Colonialists: The Great Lords and their Families,' in *The Anglo- Norman Era in Scottish History*, Ford Lectures, University of Oxford, (Clarendon Press, 1980), pp. 61-92, (p.74).

¹⁸⁰ A. Bruce, *Keepers of the Kingdom*, (London: Cassell, 2002), pp.60-61

¹⁸¹ G.W.S Barrow, "David I, Earl Henry and Cumbria", *Transactions of Cumbria and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, (1999), series 2, vol 99, pp.117-128, (p.117).

Normandy.¹⁸² The act of loyalty would come with a cost, in the form of gifts. David who was a member of Henry's close retinue had benefitted as the brother of the Queen, Edith-Mathilda. His sister had pressured the king to permit the marriage to Matilda, countess of Huntingdon, gaining the lordship of Northumberland. The idea of 'gift-giving' as an act of loyalty is rooted in ancient Germania, where Roman historian Tacitus writes of the *comitatus* whose duty it was to 'defend to protect, to ascribe one's brave deeds to his renown, is the height of loyalty. The chief fights for victory; his vassals fight for his chief.'¹⁸³ Although much of the medieval idea of the *comitatus* is sourced in Anglo-Saxon Heroic poetry, medieval kings were drawn to the idea of loyalty for rewards. For instance, the Battle of Tinchbray in 1106 benefitted several of Henry's loyal vassals, for example, Robert de Brus (c.1070 -1141) had gained his Yorkshire estates, including Skelton. Robert whose family hailed from Brix in Normandy and whose ancestral home was close to Querqueville near Cherbourg (fig.14), where David held a modest duchy.¹⁸⁴

Robert de Brus's position as Lord of Skelton resulted in the acquisition of a lordship at Annandale, granted to him by David. The motive for placing him at Annandale was what Barrell highlights as a 'Bulwark against any potential incursions from Galloway'.¹⁸⁵ Annandale is in a prime location to the south-east of Galloway and within close proximity to Carlisle. De Brus as a frontier man represents what Stringer and Barrow conveyed by reinforcing kingly power around Galloway.

¹⁸² H.F.Doherty, 'Henry's New Men.' *Oxford National Biography* [Online ed.], (2004). <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/95593>> [Accessed 7 January 2023].

¹⁸³ Tacitus, Germania, 'the Warlike Ardor of the People, Chapter XIV', in *Tacitus, Agricola and Germania* by Tacitus, edited and translated by J. Rives and H. Mattingly, (London: Penguin, 2010).

¹⁸⁴ R. Blakely, *The Brus Family in England and Scotland, 1100-1295*, (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press: 1995), pp. 8–27, (p.22).

¹⁸⁵ A.A.M Barrell, *Medieval Scotland*, Cambridge Medieval Textbooks Series, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.28.



Fig. 14: Map of Saint-Lo shows the lands which were granted to Robert de Brus by David I.¹⁸⁶

The earliest record of Robert de Brus in Scotland is the 1124 charter granting Robert the lordship of Annandale:

All it's (Annandale) land from the boundary of Dunegal of Stranit to the boundary of Ranulph Meschin . . . and grant that he should hold and have that land and its castle well and honourably with all its customs, namely with all those customs which Ranulph ever had in Carlisle.¹⁸⁷

The grant is problematic as evidence suggests Robert de Brus was already settled in Annandale at the time of David's inauguration. The *Wetheral cartulary* names a grant to Robert de Brus in the town of Karkarevil in prayer for David and his family. Wilson identifies Karkarevil in Annandale.¹⁸⁸ However, Barrow suggest it refers to Querqueville

¹⁸⁶ Anon, 'Querqueville, France', *Oust-France blog*, (2006). < <https://www.ouest-france.fr/leditiondusoir/2015-07-15/le-fort-de-querqueville-lache-par-ses-propietaires-c7de45c4-88be-43b3-9075-d6bd05ced820> > [Accessed 6 January 2023].

¹⁸⁷ "1124 Charter of David I to Robert de Brus", *Scottish Historical Documents*, edited and translated by G. Donaldson, (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1970), p.24.

¹⁸⁸ Blakely, *The Brus Family*, p.22.

in France, which Robert de Brus was granted by David. Yet, Blakely argues that at this time, David was not able to make a grant in France, therefore, it would explain that Karkarevil was either Annandale or in Cumbria.¹⁸⁹ Additionally, the detail of the charter fails to correspond to a date of 1124, but suggests the information was copied from an earlier charter. Ranulph le Meschin is named at Carlisle, which at the time of the inauguration in 1124, he was no longer Lord of Cumberland. Therefore, the 1124 charter is a reaffirming of Annandale to Robert de Brus by David. Duncan stresses an earlier grant was produced as only Normans held the authority to build castles, and the nature of the charter represents this to its fullest.¹⁹⁰ David needed to build a strong frontier in the west and with Carlisle as the central stronghold, it was vital to reinforce his power with important and reliable men.

The Davidian Revolution: A Scottish perspective on Feudalism

David spent much of his youth in the English court, having been exiled as a boy.¹⁹¹ Therefore, he was educated on the Norman societal structures. Feudalism and the process of 'Normanisation' within the structure of society was due to two specifics, firstly, it was essential to bring administrative practices into districts where there was no Norman presence. Secondly, castle-building represents a firm statement of 'Normanisation' as denoted by the building of castles at Norham, Wark-on Tweed and Carlisle Castle. In Scotland, David introduced a form of feudalism to initiate what

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p.22.

¹⁹⁰ A.A.M Duncan, 'Brus, Robert of Annandale' *Oxford National Biography*, [Online ed.]. (2004), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3748>> [Accessed 1 August 2022].

¹⁹¹ In 1093 King Mael Coluim III died at the Battle on Alnwick and Turgot of Durham records of her dying from grief. The death of the King and Queen led to the brother of Mael Coluim, Domnall II claiming the throne, resulting in David and his siblings being exiled from Scotland.

became the Davidian Revolution or the Davidian frontier.¹⁹² The Davidian innovations changed the political structures, including the creation of the burgh system and the building of royal castles,¹⁹³ where he implemented what were the Norman ideas of townships. The records on any Norman presence in Scotland before 1124 is obscure, yet there may have been some Norman settlers during the reign of Máel Coluim III, but these were not colonialist, but migrants who infused themselves into Scottish society.¹⁹⁴

The application of the Davidian Revolution in Cumbria involves understanding the shift from a 'colony' to being fully integrated into Scotland as a merging state. The *Treaty of Durham* in 1136 which secured Cumbria as part of Scotland at this point. This agreement was distinctive as it changed Cumbria from a frontier (although it continued to be used as a border region), to a Scottish province. Summerson emphasises that Carlisle was an 'emerging city attracting a wealth of townspeople, guilds, and incomers who sought to expand their wealth'.¹⁹⁵ The seizure of Carlisle meant tradespeople could move freely between Cumbria and Scotland without the restriction which they had before. The borders were a customs barrier, meaning merchants were scrutinised between the movement between England and Scotland. Furthermore, politics and war would make any movement between realms difficult. Therefore, this meant Cumbria could become more sustainable through domestic and international financial growth. Additionally, making Scotland more sustainable and Cumbria as part of this financial development. David had already made Roxburgh, Stirling, Edinburgh, and Berwick hubs for

¹⁹² The definition of the 'Davidian Revolution' was first constructed by Barrow and Lynch to describe the underpinning and development of Later Medieval Scotland. See Barrow, *Balance of Old and New*, pp.9-11 and Lynch, *Scotland: A New History*, p.80.

¹⁹³ Barrow, *Balance of Old and New*, p. 11.

¹⁹⁴ Oram, *David I*, p.75.

¹⁹⁵ H. Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle*, p.44.

administration, Carlisle gave him a stronghold in the west which he did not have as the *Principis Cumbriae*.

The adoption of David's New Men in Scotland and their function were influenced by Henry I's achievements in England. Many of these men were given key titles and estates in England. Consequently, the Norman migrants were already acquainted with David. The politics in England during the civil war changed the dynamics in the political landscape. The networks which David had fostered, changed the balance of power in Scotland. Walter Fitz Alan who was the second son of Walter Fitz Flaad¹⁹⁶ was invited to Scotland by David and acquiring the title of *dalpfir*.¹⁹⁷ Walter Fitz Alan became royal steward in 1150 acquired estates in Strathgryfe, Renfrew, and North Kyle.¹⁹⁸ His position as *dapfir* meant he was responsible for the management of the royal household, a title which may have been granted for his support at the Battle of the Standard in 1138. One of the key estates he had acquired was in Renfrew in the Clyde region, which would become the seat of the Fitz Alans (the later High Stewards of Scotland).

Walter Fitz Alan who acquired Renfrew and Irvine dominated the northern Galloway frontier. Although this area is outside of the Solway coast, it is significant to emphasise how David is building his frontier. To apply the structure of the north Galloway frontier, enables researchers to understand the fortification of Annandale, Carlisle, and Westmorland. Keith Stringer stresses that the possession of Carlisle enabled

¹⁹⁶ Walter Fitz Flaad (d.1121) was part of the entourage of Queen Edith-Matilda when she married Henry I, hence the association between David and the Fitz Alans.

¹⁹⁷ Walter Fitz Alan is granted the title of a *dapfir* or steward in 1150. See document 3/547/8 (Melr. Lib., no. 66) 'for the salvation of himself and all his heirs, in free, pure and perpetual alms, the whole land of Mauchline (Ayr) by the bounds which Donald and Gilbride perambulated by his order between the land of Machline and the land of Gilbert son of Richer, by stated bounds'. Available: <www.poms.ac.uk/record/source/5003/> [Accessed 31 December 2022].

¹⁹⁸ Barrow, *Patterns of Lordship*, p.131

David to impose himself on Fergus, Lord of Galloway¹⁹⁹, highlighting that the king was able to reinforce his power around Galloway. Consequently, there is little evidence for an early fortress constructed by Walter Fitz Alan, but historians have suggested that Dundonald Castle in Ayrshire was commissioned by him (fig.15). Dundonald, is located within the heart of the North Kyle region of Ayrshire. To the north of the river, Ayr was Kyle Stewart, identified as lands held by the Fitz Alans since the twelfth century. To the south was Kyle Regis or King's Kyle, lands historically retained by the monarch under royal authority from the royal castle at Ayr.²⁰⁰ Furthermore, the positioning of Dundonald occupies a prominent position on the summit of a hill overlooking the village of Dundonald.²⁰¹ No archaeological remains have survived of an earlier castle, but archaeologists have suggested it was more likely a motte and bailey type.²⁰² To the north of the Kyle region were the estates of Cunningham which were granted to Hugh de Morville, the Constable of Scotland.²⁰³ The boundary between Galloway and Ayrshire was vital and reinforced the northern frontline. Hugh who built a garrison along the river Irvine, which defined the boundary between North Kyle and Cunningham. This is crucial as it emphasises a double fortification to the north, but also the lands would be utilised to guard the coast in case of any trouble from the western isles.

¹⁹⁹ Stringer, *State-building in the Twelfth Century Britain*, p.61.

²⁰⁰ W. S. Douglas, *In Ayrshire; a descriptive picture of the County of Ayr, with relative notes on interesting local subjects, chiefly derived during a recent personal tour*. (Kilmarnock MacKie & Drennan, 1874), p. 2. <<https://archive.org/details/inayrshiredespart100dougouft/page/2/mode/2up?view=theater>> [Accessed on 23 November 2022].

²⁰¹ Hutchinson, C., 'Illustration of the first castle at Dundonald (c.1250),' (2009), SCRAN. <<https://www.scran.ac.uk/database/record.php?usi=008-001-044-428-C&scache=2y06qvhxcs&searchdb=scrans&PHPSESSID=frfjro6bioel9min7g1vuhitv4>> [Accessed 16 November 2022].

²⁰² R. Close and A. Riches, *The Buildings of Scotland Ayrshire and Arran*, (Yale University Press, 2012), p.305

²⁰³ K. Stringer, 'Hugh de Morville', in *Oxford National Biography*, (Online ed.), (2004), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19378>> [Accessed on 4 May 2022].

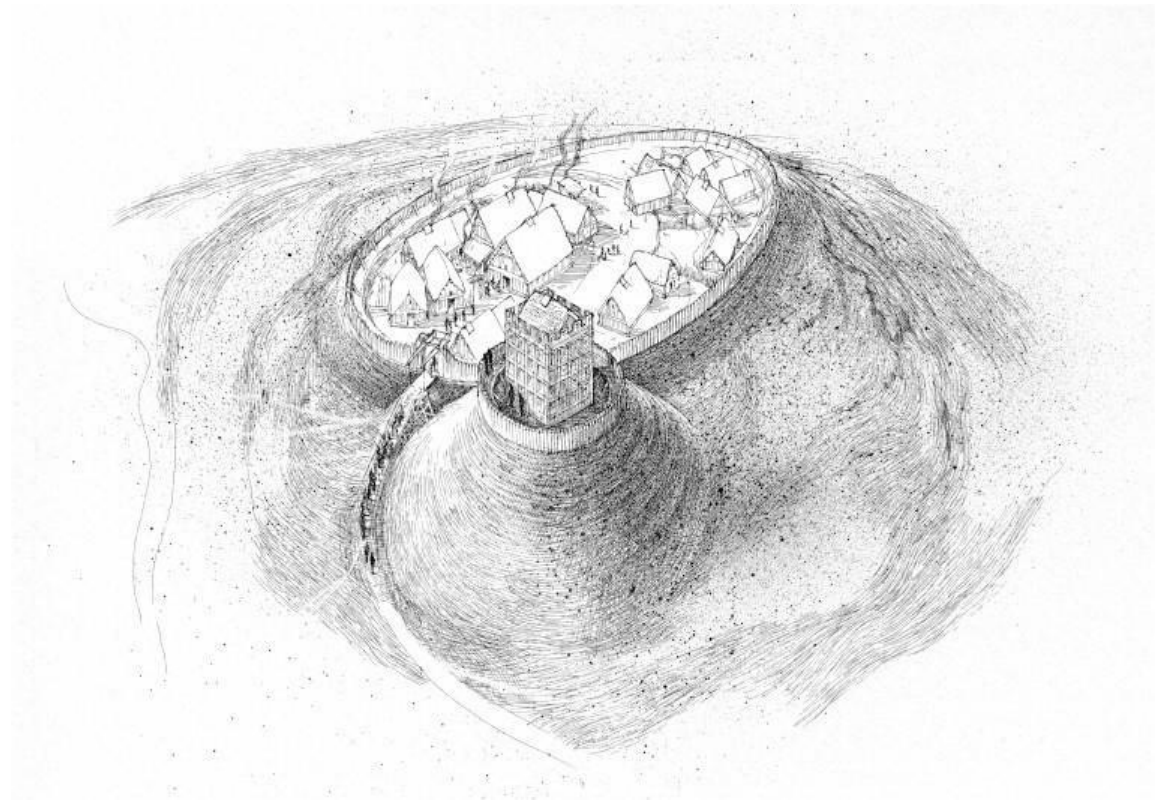


Fig 15: C. Hutchinson, *Illustration of the first castle at Dundonald (c.1250)*, by Chris Hutchinson, (2009).²⁰⁴

Westmorland operated as a key stronghold bordered Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cumberland, and Durham, establishing a strong frontier between England and Scotland. Hugh de Morville was made David's strongman in Westmorland, where he acquires the powerful lordship. Stringer indicates that there is evidence to suggest Hugh was granted Westmorland in 1141 when David's household had switched from 'war enterprise to the political consolidation of the Scoto-Northumbrian realm'.²⁰⁵ Comparatively to north Ayrshire, de Morville's castle at Appleby was situated on a 'hill at the south end of

²⁰⁴ C. Hutchinson, 'Illustration of the first castle at Dundonald (c.1250),' *Historic Environment Scotland* (2009). <<https://www.scran.ac.uk/database/record.php?usi=008-001-044-428-C&scache=2y06qvhxcs&searchdb=scran&PHPSESSID=frfjro6bioel9min7g1vuhitv4>> [Accessed 16 November 2022].

²⁰⁵ Stringer, *Hugh de Morville*, Oxford National Biography.

Appleby overlooking the river Eden which runs alongside the estate'.²⁰⁶ What this emphasises is the way David and his New Men manipulated the natural defences to create a strong frontier. Furthermore, developing from his innovations of the royal castles he commissioned, he was able to apply the same strong frontier to the west. Therefore, it is the development of Carlisle as the hub of the west with the reinforcement of garrisons to strengthen the frontier. From the evidence of the strongholds in Scoto-Galloway frontier, it can be hypothesised that his concerns were in the west, and to stabilise his kingdom had to depend on Cumbria.

‘Normanisation’ during the reign of David I was at its most progressive after 1135. The migration of his New Men had made it possible to defend and stabilise his kingdom. The seizure of Carlisle in 1135 was significant as it allowed David to affirm his position in Cumbria and emphasise his royal power. ‘Normanisation’ in Cumbria was made possible by the management of the Cumbrian-Galloway frontier. Socially the Cumbrian people adopted the Norman structure of society which had benefitted the people, but they were not fully integrated as ‘Normans’. Centralising his western frontier at Carlisle saw the prosperity of the town grow and reinforced the position of Cumbria’s status as a merger rather than a ‘colony’ which continued when Henry II confiscated Cumbria in 1157. Therefore, the subject of ‘Normanisation’ is more complex as evident in the changing powers. But it is the change in social structure which allowed David to successfully merge the region as part of his kingdom and where he developed it into a key stronghold in the twelfth century.

²⁰⁶ Anon, ‘Appleby Castle,’ *Historic England*, (1985) <<https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000659>> [Accessed on 3 September 2022].

Conclusion:

Although the seizure of Carlisle was crucial to the Norman expansion in the north-west, the development of Cumbria was at its most progressive under the Scottish occupation. It can be agreed that William II's expedition to Carlisle in 1092 was a significant event and saw a crucial period of change. For instance, the moving of the north-west frontier from Richmond Castle to Carlisle, and securing Cumbria as the military outpost. Yet, the assumption that the seizure in 1092 as symbolic of the 'Normanising' of Cumbria is problematic. This dissertation argues that it was during the Scottish occupation which saw Cumbria established as a Norman province. Additionally, the thesis emphasises Cumbria's status from a colony to a merging state of Scotland. However, this assertion should not minimise the importance of 1092 and the early development of Cumbria in the late-eleventh century.

The dissertation highlights the Scottish occupation as an interregnum which lasted eighteen years, where Carlisle become an important centre of power. The innovations which David I had introduced impacted Cumbria culturally, politically and economically. The period of the interregnum was a significant period in the 'Normanisation' of Cumbria, and the focus of the thesis. One of the key issues which dominated the research was the term 'Normanisation' within a Scottish context. The dissertation explores the impact Norman administration had in the wider context of Cumbria. Furthermore, building a strong case for 'Normanisation' under David I. Therefore, in conclusion, the dissertation explores three topics of interest: integration and change: the identity of the Cumbrians in Medieval Britain; living on the edge: monasticism on the frontier; and, building a frontier: the Davidian Revolution in Cumbria. The topics endeavour to stress the Scottish occupation as key to the progression of 'Normanisation' in Cumbria.

Chapter one examines the significant changes which occurred in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. I applied a brief overview of Cumbria in the early medieval period in an attempt to understand the rapid changes of authority before 1135. The chapter explores the distinctiveness of the Cumbrian people and why it was crucial to preserve Cumbrian local identity. The weakness in the sources has resulted in the dependency on placenames, which was vital in understanding the Cumbrian identity. The relationship between the Cumbric language and old Welsh is crucial evidence, where old Welsh manuscripts identified the earliest rulers of the Kingdom of Rheged. Additionally, the chapter observes the distinction between the ‘people of Cumbria’ and the ‘men of Carlisle’, which identifies the Cumbrians separately from the Norman migrants. The chapter studies the seizure in 1135, which witnessed the key changes in Cumbrian society, such as the spread of the Norman innovations of townships. As a result, the chapter has highlighted the important changes which David I had introduced to Cumbria, through his Norman education which combined Scottish and Norman ideas of society.

Chapter two explored the crucial role the church plays in the ‘Normanisation’ of Cumbria. The founding of Wetheral Priory and St Bees Priory became a vehicle for the spread of Norman culture and a means of integration. To understand the impact of the church, the chapter examines the cult of St. Bega and how the Normans could utilise ancient cults to integrate themselves in society. Furthermore, the chapter examined the evidence for religious activity, which laid the foundations for the development of monasticism in the twelfth century. The chapter analyses the impact of the *Winchester Accord* and the debate over ecclesiastical authority between the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Durham and the Bishop of Glasgow. Therefore, establishing the impact of the dispute and how this would affect the progression of ‘Normanisation’ under Scottish rule.

Moreover, David's position was consolidated by the Bishop of Whithorn when he supported the Archbishop of York as supreme authority. In addition, the chapter studied the creation of the diocese of Carlisle highlighting this as a turning point in the changing status of Cumbria as 'Norman'. The chapter, further explored monasticism through the arrival of the Cistercians, including the election of Henry Murdac and the changes in the political sphere in the north. Furthermore, the chapter explores the founding of Holme Cultram which became an important symbol of Scottish power in Cumbria. It has attempted to understand the importance in networking which is key to the rapid growth in the Cistercian order. The important theme is the wider context of Cumbria and its relationship with the Archbishop of York, which was fundamentally 'Normanisation' of the north-west.

Finally, chapter three aimed to understand the impact of 'Normanisation' within the context of a military frontier. It explores the Davidian Revolution and the innovations which David I applied to 'modernise' his kingdom and Cumbria. Consequently, the chapter explores Carlisle as the a seat of administration which challenges our understanding of medieval Cumbria. To understand the importance of Cumbria at this time, the chapter explores 'Normanisation' and the New Men. For instance, the chapter investigates the three senior members of David's administration: Robert de Brus, Lord of Annandale, Walter Fitz Alan, the royal steward, and Hugh de Morville, Constable of Scotland and Lord of Westmorland. These men were crucial in strengthening the boundaries and vital to 'Normanising' Cumbria. Furthermore, it focuses in detail on the question of Cumbria transforming from a colony to a merging state as emphasised by the Davidian Revolution. Therefore, underlining the progressive changes which occurred during the Scottish occupation.

The dissertation has examined the case that ‘Normanisation’ was at its most progressive during the Scottish occupation. The focus of the dissertation on the Solway coast region indicates that there are many important factors to consider in the study of ‘Normanisation’. In contrast there are several limitations to the topic which highlights the complexities of studying Cumbria. The research into the history of Cumbria has revealed limited source material, meaning the subject brings challenges. Yet, contemporary research has revealed a complex history with many fissures, but also opportunities to understand Cumbria in more depth. The understanding of Cumbria during the twelfth century is important to academic research as it highlights the changing status of Cumbria from a Norman colony to a merging state in the Scottish domain. The research into the innovations of David I have been subject to Scotland, and not applied to Cumbria as a part of Scotland. Yet, the development of Carlisle and the establishment of Cumbria as the seat of David’s administration in the west highlights the significance of Cumbria in Scottish history. It is therefore impossible during this period to separate Cumbria from Scotland and Scotland from Cumbria. The next step in research is to consider the topic beyond the north-west and widening the study to incorporate the Anglo-Scottish borderlands to the east. Furthermore, a detailed study of the Davidian Revolution would be beneficial to understand the reign of David I beyond Scotland.

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