

**MARK WOOD**

**BERNICIAN NARRATIVES:**  
**PLACE-NAMES, ARCHAEOLOGY**  
**AND HISTORY**

**PhD**

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**GENERAL CONVENTIONS,**  
**ABBREVIATIONS, SYMBOLS AND TERMS**

**General conventions**

**Citation of forms in early or foreign languages**

Letters, words or early spellings of names are always in italics.

þ (thorn) and ð (eth) - OE / ON graphs; these are represented as *th* throughout the thesis;

æ (ash) is represented as ae

ß in Primitive Welsh form is reproduced as B

Length marks or macrons on OE vowels, e.g. on OE *hām*, are not indicated in the thesis (the short dash or macron above Old English vowels, as in *ā* or *ō*, indicating long vowels)

**Dates**

(1183) c.1320 indicates a document of 1183 in a copy of c.1320.

All centuries and dates are AD unless otherwise specified.

**Abbreviations**

abbrevs. - abbreviations

adj. - adjective

Brit. el. - British/ Brittonic element

c - century as in 11th c (in Tables)

c. - Lat. *circa* 'about', as in c.1230.

cent. - century

cf. - Lat. *confer* 'compare'

dat. - dative, a grammatical case, often used after prepositions, in OE and ON

def. form - definite form

dimin. - diminutive

DNB - Dictionary of National Biography

Du - Durham (the pre-1974 county)

ed(s). - editor(s)

e.g. - for example

EPNS - English Place-Name Society

fig. - figure

Fr - French

ft - feet

gen. - genitive, a grammatical case, normally indicating possession, in OE and ON

hab. - habitation: village, hamlet, farmstead or house

HSC - *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*

intro. - introduction

Lat. - Latin

loc. - locative, a grammatical case

m - metre

ME - Middle English, the language c. 1100- c.1500

misc. - miscellaneous

ModE - Modern English, the language from 16th c. to present

Nb - Northumberland (the pre-1974 county)

nom. - nominative, a grammatical case expressing subject, in ON or OE

OBrit. - Old British

O.Bret. - Old Breton

OE - Old English, the language to c. 1100

OFr - Old French

ON - Old Norse

ONorthumbrian - Old Northumbrian

OS - Ordnance Survey

OW and OWelsh - Old Welsh

pers.comm. - personal communication

pers.n. - personal name (only used in the Tables)

pl. - plural

p.n. or pl.n. - place-name (only used in the Tables)

PrW - Primitive Welsh

q.v. - Lat. *quod vide* 'which see', used in cross-referencing

R. - River

[*sic*] - Lat. 'thus', indicating that a form, though suspect, is correctly copied from its  
source

sing. - singular

transl. - translator



W - Welsh

### Symbols

\* - a linguistic form which is deduced (often from place-name evidence) rather than directly recorded. It is a hypothetical form, i.e. a word, pers.n. or pl.n. not recorded outside place-names.

### Terms

**affix** in general usage, a prefix or suffix, but in relation to p.ns, usually an additional word or phrase which distinguishes one place from other(s) of the same name, or parts of a place one from the other, e.g. (High) and (Black) Callerton

**Anglian** as linguistic term: the Old English dialects of the Midlands, northern England and parts of southern Scotland, or the speakers of such dialects;  
as historical label from Bede attached to material culture and its distribution in the north and east of England

**appellative** a common noun, referring to a member of a class, as distinct from a proper name

**back-formation** a name extrapolated from another; especially common in the case of river names extrapolated from settlement names

<b>British</b>	British (language), referring to the early phase of <b>Brittonic</b>  in early medieval studies the term is used as a  shorthand in archaeology to distinguish between areas of  Germanic material culture and those without: British (or  <b>Celtic</b> ).
<b>Brittonic</b>	the <i>p</i> -Celtic group of languages comprising > Cumbric,  Welsh, Cornish, Breton, and their ancient common  ancestor, British
<b>Celtic</b>	the language group comprising the <i>p</i> -Celtic Brittonic and  (on the continent) Gaulish, and the <i>q</i> -Celtic Gaelic
<b>cognate</b>	corresponding word(s) or sound(s) in different but  historically related languages
<b>compound</b>	a name formed from two or more elements joined  together, as opposed to a simplex name. The first element  may be a noun referring to some kind of vegetation, animal  or human activity, a descriptive adjective, river name,  personal name or tribal name. It usually defines or  characterises the second element, and is often termed the  <b>specific</b> . Normally the second element is a common noun  that refers to some kind of natural feature or habitation; this  is often termed the <b>generic</b> .

<b>diminutive</b>	an <b>affix</b> added to a word to convey the meaning small
<b>element</b>	a constituent part of a compound or the sole constituent of a simplex name
<b>etymon</b>	root or original word from which a name or element is derived
<b>folk etymology</b>	the reforming of a name by speakers, often in order to make it comprehensible
<b>generic</b>	see <b>compound</b>
<b>Germanic</b>	in linguistic terms: the language group to which OE and ON (as well as languages including Dutch and German) belong, although ultimately a linguistic label is correlated to geography and material culture
<b>hybrid</b>	a name composed of elements which originated in more than one language
<b>inversion compound</b>	a place-name in which a personal name or other specific follows the generic or main element
<b>patronymic</b>	derived from the name of its bearer's father

<b>Pre-English</b>	used in the thesis in a toponymic context to describe place-names coined before English place-naming
<b>reflex</b>	the descendent or later stage of a word or sound, e.g. ModE <i>oak</i> is the reflex of OE <i>ac</i>
<b>secondary name</b>	one formed from an existing name
<b>simplex</b>	a name consisting of one principal element
<b>specific</b>	see <b>compound</b>
<b>topographic</b>	relating to landscape
<b>transferred name</b>	a name transplanted from one place to another

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# **VOLUME I**



## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

#### Section 1:

##### Introduction

This thesis concerns **Bernicia** and the transition from a Roman-dominated frontier zone at the beginning of the 5th century to an Anglian kingdom by the early 7th century.

This is a period of great change and complexity where the current state of knowledge is limited and unsatisfactory. There is considerable scope for new research to contribute towards knowledge and understanding of this difficult area of transition. To achieve this aim, an interdisciplinary approach is adopted here that maximises existing evidential sources but focuses particularly on place-names, something that has not been done before.

The name Bernicia is a latinisation of OWelsh *Beornica*, *Berneich* and *Birneich*, and OE *Beornice*. Bede refers to the people of Bernicia as the *Bernicii* in the *Ecclesiastical History of the English people* (c.731 AD) (Book II, 14, Book III, 1).

Recent scholars have rejected, for etymological and phonological reasons, a derivation from *\*Brigant-* and the Romano-British tribal name *Brigantes*. An alternative suggestion is a derivation from PrW *\*Bernecc*, *\*Birnecc* 'the land of the mountain passes' < Brittonic *\*Bern-* *Birnaccia* from Celtic *\*berna*, *\*birna*, as in Old Irish *bern*, Gaelic *bearn* 'a gap, a mountain pass' (Jackson 1953: 701-5, Watts 2004: 52). My view is that this latter suggestion is correct as it corresponds to the probable topography of the Bernician core territory (discussed in chapter 6).

Historical sources imply that the kingdom of Bernicia had been established by the late 6th or early 7th century, a regional hegemony with a permanent dynastic Anglian hierarchy that controlled an area of territory. This territory is not clearly defined by these early sources, but suggestions by scholars for a northern boundary by the beginning of the 7th century include the Firth of Forth, the River Tweed or Tweed valley, and a southern boundary on the River Tyne, River Tees or Tees valley (this issue is considered in chapters 3 and 6, but references include Blair 1984: 46, 53-5, 157-8, and Cramp 1988: 74). For the purposes of this thesis (for the reasons explained in chapter 3), the territory is taken to extend from the Tees valley to the Firth of Forth, that is, north-east England and south-east Scotland. The western boundary is assumed not to extend beyond the Pennines, although by the 7th century the area of present-day Cumbria may have been under Anglian control.

Bernicia should be distinguished from Northumbria. There was a process of expansion beginning in c.604 AD with Bernicia's annexation of Deira (the Anglian kingdom to the south), that led to the formation of a federated over-kingdom north of the River Humber. Only in the late 7th century was the folk-name *Nordanhymbre* 'Northumbrians' coined, and this was adopted by Bede in the early 8th century to describe this kingdom as *Northanhymbra*, and its people as *Nordanhymbri* or *Northanhymbri*, genitive plural *Northanhymbrorum* (Hunter-Blair 1984: 99, 104, Higham 1993: 1).

The thesis is organised into three parts. A significant part of it is a historiographical

study (chapters 2 and 3) that identifies and analyses the narratives and main story lines constructed about Bernicia. These attempt to combine archaeological and historical narratives but the problem is that the evidence is sparse, therefore I want to maximise both archaeological and historical evidence by evaluating its historiographical background. This involves a critical study that traces the development of ideas and themes, and the reasons for their development. This is set within the context of the Anglo-Saxon transition in England and developments in Anglo-Saxon studies from the 16th century. Key contextual influences are examined regarding the construction of the narratives, including the changing relationship between the historical and archaeological discourses, and the socio-political background of scholars.

There is no need for a literature review at this point, although two works can be highlighted, B. Hope-Taylor's *Yeavinger* (1977), a pivotal narrative constructed about Bernicia, and D. Rollason's *Northumbria, 500 - 1100* (2003), one of the most recent narratives (they are more thoroughly considered below). In both cases they are dominated by archaeological and historical discourses. Despite the limited nature of the existing evidence, they virtually ignore another evidential source, place-names. The second part of the thesis (chapters 4 and 5), focuses on this previously unexploited evidence because, crucially, the one certain change in Bernicia in this period was language: from a Brittonic to Germanic-based language. Place-names are an indicator of language shift, therefore an analysis of changes in place-naming could potentially provide new data about the Bernician transition. Although place-name evidence is itself problematic, particularly for Bernicia, by devising a methodology that minimises



these problems and maximises the data that can be obtained, an analysis and interpretation of the distribution and chronology of early Anglian and pre-English place-names is possible.

The third part of the thesis (chapter 6), pulls together and integrates the toponymic, archaeological and historical discourses, and seeks to reconcile the different narratives that arise from them. A single coherent, concluding narrative cannot be constructed to explain the transition in Bernicia. Instead, alternative narratives and story lines may be constructed from the different perspectives that come from the comparison and integration of the different evidence-types: place-names with archaeological (early Anglian, Roman and British), landscape and boundaries, environmental, and soil and geological evidence. This integrated evidence (and any narratives derived from it) is compared to the archaeo-historical narratives highlighted in the historiographical study.

## **Section 2:**

### **Theoretical foundation**

#### **1.2.1 Introduction: linking historical and archaeological theory**

My theoretical position can be summarised as post-modern, moderately relativist, and reflexive. I will consider here the theoretical background that provides the foundation for my views and underpins my methodological approach. Developments in historical theory provide an important foundation to my theoretical position. This is because my thesis concerns historical archaeology, where both history and archaeology are relevant to constructing a story about the past. The historical past contains written sources but

people also continued to make and use artifacts which could be recovered by archaeology (Moreland 2001: 26). A post-modernist connection between historical and archaeological theory has been established by scholars. For example, Matthew Johnson in *Archaeological theory: an introduction* (1999) suggests that many historical archaeologists apply historical theory to an archaeological context, and acknowledges that the post-modernist ideas he applied in archaeological theory were either derived from or influenced by historical theorists (1999: 19).

The key issue is the relationship between archaeology and history, particularly the textual connections between archaeology and writing. Narrative and text are key to the construction of the past by both historians and archaeologists. For both history and archaeology a text is created, with the same theoretical implications. Archaeologists must construct a narrative for the material artefacts excavated. These points are also made by M. Shanks and C. Tilley in *Social theory and archaeology* (1987), who argued that the archaeological past must be written, therefore an archaeological text is constructed from the material record (1987: 13): 'the archaeological text is a medium for the inscription of the artefact' (ibid.: 25). Tilley, in *Material culture and text* (1991), believed that material culture is 'written' because both history and archaeology convert material into writing (1991: 17). Similarly, S. Tabaczyński, in 'The relationship between history and archaeology: elements of the present debate' (1993), viewed archaeological material as textual because excavated evidence is meaningfully constituted and therefore is comparable to texts (1993: 4).

John Moreland focuses on this issue, and convincingly argues in *Archaeology and text*



(2001) that material culture may be read as texts and texts may be seen as material culture. As both archaeology and history are connected by text, a clear-cut distinction does not exist between the archaeologist studying objects and the historian studying words (2001: 9, 26). Consequently, in the study of the past there is not a genuine dichotomy between history and archaeology, and, as Moreland points out, it is entirely appropriate to apply historical theory to an archaeological theoretical context (ibid.: 112, 117). He has continued to promote similar views in *Archaeology and texts: subservience or enlightenment* (2006).

It should however be pointed out that other scholars have questioned an interrelationship between history and archaeology. For example, G. Halsall separates these disciplines because he views them as having different types of evidence: written records and excavated data (1997: 805).

### 1.2.2 Theoretical philosophers

The works of philosophers such as Nietzsche, Barthes, Foucault and Derrida provided the foundation for the theories developed by historical theorists, and were also a major source for post-processual archaeological theory (Halsall 1997: 814).

It is not within the remit of this thesis to analyse these works in detail, therefore extensive use has been made of Alun Munslow's *Routledge companion to historical studies* (2000), who provides a useful analysis of these theoretical developments.

These theories belong to the context of post-modern thinking that, although rising to prominence in the late 20th century, has its foundations much earlier, back to the

philosopher Giambattista Vico (1668-1744) and to European historical philosophers such as Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900). Before considering the theories of Nietzsche, the terms 'The Enlightenment', 'Modernism', 'Post-modernism' and 'Relativism' are defined. For this, as they are adequate for the purpose, I use the definitions provided by Johnson (1999) and Munslow (2000).

The Enlightenment of the 17th and 18th centuries put forward the idea of progress in human history: scientific progress, social evolution, and absolute morality derived from religious, nationalistic and ethnic claims. Reason allowed the study of human affairs in a rational and objective manner. There was a belief in a 'real world' where meanings could be fixed which were independent of text or what we write about it the world (Johnson 1999: 162-3).

Modernism is the cultural product of the Enlightenment. It produced certain ways of thinking about how we create knowledge (Munslow 2000: 188), and has been loosely referred to as a belief in science, truth and progress (Johnson 1999: 193). It consisted of a widespread intellectual, cultural, technological and scientific movement in the 18th and 19th centuries, an era of technological and scientific change (although as a distinct movement it started in the 19th century, with Romanticism coming between it and the Enlightenment). New ideas of empiricism, positivism and liberal humanism were developed. It influenced history to create historicism, a modernist history that sought meaning in the pattern of past reality. Key features included a past reality that is knowable, and objectivity and the historical truth that can be found by the historian.

The objective historian was therefore able to recover that which is gone (Munslow 2000: 1, 3, 4).

Post-modernism is a reaction against, and an attack upon, modernism. It was defined by the French philosopher François Lyotard as incredulity toward the meta-narrative (a big story or grand claim of absolute truth) (Johnson 1999: 162). It promoted relativism and reflexivity rather than objective discovery of the truth (Munslow 2000: 188), and attacked the idea of human progress, scientific method and final reference points. Instead, post-modernism emphasised the idea of fluid, unstable meanings (Johnson 1999: 163-4).

Relativism means that all possible views of the past are of equal value, there being no objective way to judge between them. There is therefore no single correct view (Johnson 1999: 172, 193).

The theories of German philosopher Nietzsche (1844-1900) were highly influential on philosophers and historians in the 20th century. He rejected the modernist conception of history as the way to the truth, instead arguing that history is made up of interpretations largely determined by our cultural situatedness, perspective and/or bias. He argued that there were no absolutes, facts or answers, instead all is fiction and false. His scepticism of history, historians and their claims of truth was grounded in his belief that knowledge is a construction of time, place, discourse and ideology, and that interpretations depend on personal perspective, psychological need, ideological orientation, desire for power, and/ or cultural situation (Munslow 2000: 11, 174-5,



177).

The French literary theorist and cultural critic Roland Barthes (1915-1980) examined the relationship between language, literature and historical narrative, and had similar post-modernist views to those of Nietzsche. These include, that historians do not have access to a real past, and that rather than objective history and historical facts, historians translate the past into a narrative of historical interpretation, a written history that contains myth and ideology. This historical narrative cannot be easily separated from its content or its historicity: its conceptual, ideological, social and cultural frame of reference (ibid.: 31-2).

The French philosopher of history Michel Foucault (1926-1984) and the philosopher Jacques Derrida (1930-2003) also acknowledged the influence of Nietzsche.

According to Foucault, history is nothing beyond the historian and the narrative, the written text, that he constructs. The only order or pattern in the content of the past is that provided by the form of history written. The historian is not disinterested, objective or neutral but instead is influenced by the interests of the present that he projects onto the past. It is not possible to locate historical truth, as history is always changing, and there is no clear distinction between history, ideology and fiction (ibid.: 109-111).

Similarly, Derrida cast doubt on empiricism, facts, inference, truth, objectivity, and knowable historical reality. He redefined writing to mean any manifestation of language that leaves a trace or inscription (1976: 46-8, Layton 1997: 201), and argued that writing is the condition for the creation of history, and that history cannot reach definitive answers through the evidence, as to what the past actually was (Munslow

2000: 74-5).

### 1.2.3 Historical theories

The majority of historical scholars, such as G.R. Elton (1921-1994), continued to promote a modernist vision of historical study. In *The practice of history* (1967) Elton opposed post-modern, relativist historical theory, and was especially critical of the views of E.H. Carr (discussed below). He believed that 'the search for history . . . amounts to a search for the truth', and although acknowledging the post-modern debate, considered that there is the possibility that historical truth can exist (1967: 51-2). He argued that a history can be constructed that is objective and independent, because the professional historian through learning and scholarship can isolate him/herself from influences and biases (ibid., 1967: 61, 87). As Munslow sees it, Elton believed that a rational and impartial empirical study of evidence by the historian could reconstruct the past to get to the objective truth. History was therefore both accurate and insulated against social theory and ideological relativism (2000: 79).

Despite this, there were some historical theorists, principally R.G. Collingwood (1889-1943), E.H. Carr (1892-1982), and H. White (1928-), who adopted ideas compatible with late 20th century post-modern theories. Collingwood, an influential philosopher of history, in his principal work *The idea of history* (1946), expressed views that were very similar to those of the philosophers considered above. To Collingwood, historical enquiry involved the historian re-enacting past thought and reconstructing history by using the powers of his/her own mind, in the context of his/her



own knowledge of politics and philosophy (1946: 8, 215). There is no final historical truth that is accessible to the historian, and no fixed points or historical facts or ready made data in historical authorities (ibid.: 235, 242). Instead, historical thinking is an act of imagination in the mind of the historian who uses this in historical enquiry and construction. He resembles a novelist and exercises a degree of subjectivity (ibid.: 244-5, 247, 292). Collingwood pointed out that, as a consequence, there was a process of constant re-writing of history by new generations of historians (ibid.: 248). However, he was not a total relativist and emphasised that despite historical imagination being essential, the form of history would always be constrained by its content (ibid.: 49).

Carr, a historian (particularly of Russian history), in his primary work *What is history?* (1961, 2nd edition 1986), expressed similar views to Collingwood. Although he was considered a relativist by his contemporaries (such as Elton) he did not believe that there was no certainty in historical meaning and that history was the fabrication of the historian (Munslow 2000: 35-6). He did however claim that there was no absolute truth as humans are too entangled in the circumstances of time and place (that is, present-day contextual influences) to attain it. History is a dialogue between the historian and his/her facts, where the objective truth cannot be attained, only a partial approximation (ibid.). Thus like Collingwood, he did not propose total relativism, suggesting instead that the evidence historians worked with imposed limitations on what it was possible for them to say (ibid.: xii, xxi, xxxiii).

The American historian Hayden White adopted many of Collingwood's theories, but his

emphasis in his key work *Metahistory* (1973) and later works *Tropics of Discourse* (1978), and *The content of form* (1987), was on historical work being treated as a verbal structure in the form of a narrative prose discourse. The past was a narrative structure that was artistic, poetic and linguistic in nature, and historical reconstructions were fictive in character (1973: 2). As with the other post-modern theorists, he argued that historical narrative interpretation, due to distinct political and ideological influences, is not neutral or objective. There is always an ideological aim because history is always written for someone (1987: 80-1, 1978: 104).

A point that White makes, that forms a key part of my theoretical approach, is his view that there is only a philosophy of history: a historiography (1973: ix). This is the study of historians and the writings of historians. White went on to say that to create his own narrative, the historian must examine existing narratives to give a picture of the historical milieu (1978: 89). Therefore the only way to study the past and construct narratives is to analyse, deconstruct and historicise previous and current narrative interpretations, especially those that do not question the conditions of their own making and the influences upon them.

Having considered the theories of these two sets of scholars, and as a way of outlining my theoretical views, I shall make a number of post-modern and overlapping statements regarding the interpretation of the past.

- There is no final, objective truth that can be located. There is no final solution or conclusion.

- There is no final version of the past, no value-free, neutral past. Instead there are many different pasts.
- The past is constructed by, and does not exist beyond, the historian. But the historian does not have access to a real past.
- History is not truth, it cannot provide definite facts or answers about the past.
- History is a narrative interpretation constructed by the historian about what he/she believes the past is about, but no single interpretation can be definitive.
- The narrative description of the past by historians is not objective; it is an ideology that is constructed in the present and projected onto the past.
- History is an imaginary, fictional narrative.
- As a narrative constructed by the historian, history is not permanent and is constantly changing.

#### 1.2.4 More recent writers about history

Scholars such as N. Morley, A. Munslow and K. Jenkins have written about history, and particularly historical theory in the last two decades. Their views derive for the most part from the post-modernist theories of the historical philosophers considered above. I will focus on certain themes that they develop. As these theories are still opposed by the majority of historical scholars, the views of two of these, A. Marwick



and R.J. Evans, are considered first.

Significantly, although both these scholars criticise the post-modernist approach to history, they accept some of the principles developed by post-modernist historical theorists. Marwick in *A new nature of history* (2001) insists that history is still an objective discipline as far as possible (ibid.: 38), and that historians produce actual knowledge about past reality based on evidence (2001: xii, xiii, 3). Yet, he acknowledges that the personal and political views of historians enter into the history that they write. He accepts that history is socially influenced, and that historians are subject to social and career pressures, and follow intellectual and scientific fashion (ibid.: 7, 11). As a consequence of this, he adopts a view familiar to post-modernists, that historians should be openly reflexive and articulate about their assumptions and methods (ibid.: 8, 19, 108).

Evans is considered by most scholars to be a critic of post-modernism and relativism. But, in *In defence of history* (1997) he rejected historicist empiricism and attacked the modernist theories of Elton, particularly the view that there can be historical objectivity and that historians not only should but are able to divest themselves of present-day beliefs and ideas when studying documentary sources. He argued that the truth about the past could not be discovered by evidence; instead, what historians write is a result of a dialogue between their own purposes and ideas and what they find in sources (1997: 230, 254-5, 268-9)

These views can be compared to those of Munslow in *Routledge companion to*

*historical studies* (2000). A summary of his post-modernist views is that: rather than the existence of an objective knowable past reality, there was nothing but a 'past-as-history', a past constructed as a text through the imagination of historians, and nothing beyond their own interests (ibid.: 9, 12, 17). Historians do not discover a real past, instead, for contemporary cultural, linguistic, conceptual, discursive and ideological reasons, they create and impose a narrative on what they believe the past is about (ibid.: 18, 110, 226). Despite these views Munslow is not a total relativist, and it is possible to see convergence with some of the views of a scholar such as Evans. For example, he believes that a real past exists and influences (although does not determine) history. It is only accessible as an interpretive text that is constantly rethought and revisioned in the present (ibid.). Also, by making the same point as Marwick that historians should reflect upon their own historical thinking and must be self-reflexive to understand their own purposes (ibid.: 48), he emphasises the importance of this approach for the study of the past.

Both Morley and Jenkins adopt the views of White on historical theory and the past. Morley, an ancient historian and disciple of White, applies post-modernist principles to the context of Greek and Roman history in *Writing ancient history* (1999). Therefore, he regards writing history as only an account of the past rather than the past itself, with different groups and people seeking to have their version of events accepted as the true account of the past (ibid.: 14, 20, 49). But, like Munslow, he is not a total relativist. He distinguishes history from fiction by their different styles and forms of writing, and history from propaganda because although there is not an objective history that was



free from external influence and bias, there is not the deliberate bias found with propaganda (although he acknowledges that these distinctions are not clear cut) (ibid.: 30, 35, 89). Jenkins argued for the need to be reflexive and post-modern in *Re-thinking history* (1991: xvi). He defined history as a narrative and literary text that is composed and written about the past by a historian, and carries the author's philosophy on the world, but is not the same as the past reality. The truth of the past cannot be known as it is gone and cannot be checked against a real past (ibid.: xi, 8, 11). History therefore always has a purpose, an ideology, and is always for someone, but has different meanings to different people or groups (ibid.: xiii). There may be one past but there are many histories, because different historians interpret the same phenomena in different ways (ibid.: 6, 11, 14, 16).

An important theme is the academic position of power. In a post-modern context the academic establishment occupies dominant positions of power in the construction of the past. There is a predisposition to assume that narratives created by academics are privileged as 'proper' interpretations of the past to the exclusion of others that are not constructed within the academic establishment. There is therefore a realisation that the past is composed of dominant ideologies and narratives constructed by a privileged and dominant group in society (a group predominately liberal, politically to the left, and middle or upper class). This is also highlighted by Morley and Jenkins. According to Jenkins, professional historians and institutions occupy a dominant position and exert ideological influence on history (1991: 25, 27-8). Morley argues that professional historians are considered to have expert knowledge and training, and therefore

construct 'proper' (respectable, academic) history. They monopolize the truth in past accounts (1999: 21, 28, 46-7).

There are numerous different and competing versions of the past, and, as pointed out by Jenkins, some are dominant, others marginal (1991: 30). There are a number of reasons for this, many of which are linked to academic dominance, and some are highlighted here. First, narratives produced by scholars feed off each other and are self-perpetuating (a good example of this is the theme of Angles as pirates in coastal strongholds in Bernicia). Second, scholars compete against each other with narratives that are constantly re-written and re-thought by new generations of scholars who develop new and reject old ideas. There is a modernist academic assumption of 'progress' in the interpretation of the past, where the narratives constructed today are superior to those of yesterday. As a consequence there is a constant publication of new narratives, most of which assume a superiority over those of their predecessors. A further reason is that different groups want their version of events to be accepted as the true account of the past, so as to create their own identities. Jenkins suggested this, stating that certain groupings construct their own histories and interpretations of the past to create their own identities (for example feminist histories) (ibid.: 21, 23). That some narratives are dominant and become accepted as the 'correct' interpretation of the past, while others are marginal, can also be due to the way that scholars write their texts, and the personal reputation and status of the writer. These factors create plausibility and persuade the reader that a particular narrative about the past is the correct one.



The continuing socio-political intellectual struggle drives changes in narrative reconstructions of the past, while the socio-political present determines what is an acceptable or unacceptable version of the past. Professional academics are as subjective, and as influenced by their own personality, biases and pre-conceptions, as anyone else because they are situated in the socio-political present. This view, that present-day socio-political contextual influences are integral to the construction of the past by professional academics, is supported by Jenkins. He argues that historians cannot therefore construct an objective past because they are not disinterested and neutral, instead, their viewpoints (of their present) shape the choice and interpretation of historical sources (1991: 13, 15). The socio-political influences on academics include their own values, positions and ideological perspectives, together with the pressures from family, friends, work place, peer group, institutions and publishers (ibid.: 25, 27-8). The importance of these influences is corroborated by J. Tosh in *The pursuit of history* (2000) who states that the representation and recreation of the past was the work of historians who are influenced by present-day concerns and socio-political context, and by what their predecessors have written (2000: viii, ix, 32, 37).

These themes, particularly the influence of socio-political context on professional academics, make the analysis of the narratives of these academics and the circumstances of their construction so important to the study of the past. Crucial to this is the historiographical approach promoted by White and developed by Jenkins, who viewed the study of history (the past) as necessarily a study of historiography (that is, historians), and that therefore there is a need to historicise history (1991: 14, 19).

Jenkins argues that a detailed historiographical study is required to examine how previous and current histories have been constructed. This is necessary because the past can only be constructed from layers of previous interpretation, and the accuracy of historical interpretations can only be judged against other interpretations (ibid.: 14). Associated with this is the need for a historian to develop a self-conscious reflexivity (ibid.: 69), and to deconstruct and historicise all interpretations, particularly those that fail to question the conditions of their own making, the influences upon them, their ideological presuppositions, and their own historical moment (ibid.: 81).

#### 1.2.5 Post-modern theory in an archaeological context

Thus far post-modern theories have been considered in a historical context. They will now be considered and applied in an archaeological context. Guy Halsall provides an acceptable definition of archaeology, 'the study of the unwritten material records of the human past' (1997: 805). Only some archaeologists and archaeological theorists have adopted post-modern, relativist, reflexive theory. Many more oppose these views. This debate centres around the processual and post-processual approaches to archaeology.

Processualism is linked to modernism with its belief in science and truth. It is a broadly positivist approach that aims for an objective, scientific account of the past that eliminates subjective bias. There is a belief in objective facts and the value-free archaeological object, upon which archaeological knowledge is entirely dependent (Shanks and Tilley 1987: 6, 9). It should be noted that Shanks and especially Tilley come from an anthropological background. I have made it clear above that I do not



believe this approach is suitable for historical archaeological studies, instead it is more relevant to prehistory. This supported by Halsall who views processualism as 'anti-historical', in its refusal to deal with written data in historic periods (1997: 813).

Post-processual, relativist and reflexive archaeological theory borrows heavily from post-modern historical theory. Archaeological theorists make, in many cases, explicit use of the works of historical theoretical philosophers. Halsall, a critic of post-processualist and relativist theory, simply defines post-processualism as an opposition to processualism rather than a 'school' of thought (1997: 813-4). Key features of post-processualist theory, according to Halsall, are that material culture is actively and meaningfully constituted, meaning that as people use material culture actively within social relations, material culture can be read as a discourse. Also, archaeologists should consciously reflect on what they are doing (ibid.: 814-15).

In 'Archaeology and historiography' (1997), Halsall's main objection to post-processualist theory was the danger of unrestrained relativism, which entails that there are a number of individually constructed pasts, and that one reading of the past is as good as any other, as this could lead to extreme and politically unacceptable views of the past, for example Nazism. In fact, he accepts that the formation of archaeological data is biased because the way that data is observed, excavated, recorded and published depends on the archaeologist, their theoretical stance, and the present-day influences upon them. The major difference is Halsall's view that there is a real past that is obtainable. He argues that there is a body of data independent of the theoretical viewpoint, making it possible to accept or reject theories about the past depending on

how they 'fit' with this body of data. (ibid.: 814-16). Similar views were expressed by Hodder in *The Archaeological process* (1999). He argues against total relativism in the interpretation of the archaeological past, instead believing that there was a real past and material reality (1999: 159).

Recently, J. Thomas in *Archaeology and modernity* (2004) highlighted the interconnectedness between archaeology and the modern experience, and therefore the danger of the present, 'modernity', being imposed on the past (2004: x, xi).

Data is continuously caught up in archaeological interpretation, and depends on ways of thinking that are specific to the modern western world.

The post-processual approach is illustrated by the work of Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley in *Social theory and archaeology* (1987), who develop post-processual and relativist theories and apply them to an archaeological context. For example they argue that as the past cannot be known with certainty, it is not possible to impose our own interpretations on archaeological data and present them as truth (1987: 192). They view the archaeological record as only providing answers to the subjective questions of archaeologists, and excavation as neither neutral or passive. Subjective decisions are also made about what to include in archaeological reports (1987: 9, 13, 18, 26). Archaeological knowledge therefore arises from the present, and is determined by socio-political conditions and practice that influence the position of the archaeologist (ibid.: 22, 26, 197, 200). These theories are similar to those seen above in a historical context, and they similarly comment on the power of the academic community over, in



this case, the archaeological discipline (ibid.: 193, 198). They do also moderate their relativism by acknowledging that there is a material resistance to the past, and not anything can be said about it (ibid.: 199). However, in *Material culture and text. The art of ambiguity* (1991), Tilley reinforces the post-processual, relativist message by reminding us that it is impossible to produce a totalizing account of the past: one truth and one past. Instead there are numerous accounts of the past and no final coherent solution or absolute conclusion (1991: 172).

Moreland makes his post-processualist position clear when he states that there cannot be a single reading of the past because of our situatedness in the present. The past is multi-vocal, and present-day influences, interests and experiences produce a multitude of histories. In an archaeological context, the past can never be known as it really was because the same object or artefact can be read differently by different people, and because of the incompleteness of the archaeological record (2001: 117). But, he is not an extreme post-modernist. Instead he expresses the moderately relativist view that there is a past reality that shapes what histories can and cannot be legitimately written. He suggests that accumulated knowledge and evidence of the past provides networks of resistance, and this prevents any reading of the past being as good as any other (ibid.: 117). In *Archaeological theory: an introduction* (1999a), and 'Re-thinking history' (1999b), Johnson is similarly critical of unrestrained relativism (1999a: 229), arguing that we cannot make up whatever stories suit us in the political present, instead there are better and worse interpretations of the past (ibid.: 170, 172). He uses the post-modernist theory that there is no one view of the past as the past is not

independent of political present, to suggest that archaeology is intrinsically political. Archaeologists and therefore archaeological interpretation of the past are unavoidably influenced by the social, political and cultural context (ibid: 167-8, 170, 175, 229). Material culture is subjectively constituted and therefore cannot be unbiased 'raw data' (ibid.: 175, 1999b: 26).

I reject modernist views and do not consider that a real past is obtainable due to the present-day socio-political influences on archaeologists, not to mention the incompleteness of the evidence. There is no absolute objectivity or non-political past. Interpretations of the past are instead inseparable from the present and are determined by socio-political context. A moderately relativist approach seems more appropriate, where although a number of accounts of the past can be constructed, there is a material reality and resistance that makes some accounts more acceptable than others. This exerts an influence on the construction of narratives about the past, and limits what can be said. History and archaeology are constrained by their content. In many ways my views follow those expressed by scholars such as Moreland (2001) and Johnson (1999a) and (1999b).

#### 1.2.6 My theoretical position and the study of Bernicia

The theoretical position summarised above underpins my approach to the study of Bernicia, outlined in section 1. In the interests of being self-reflexive I will mention socio-political factors that may have influenced my theoretical views, although of course these are entirely subjective opinions expressed by myself. I am socially lower middle class, received my secondary education in a comprehensive school, and do not



hold any political views whether left or right (although arguably this itself is a political view). My experience as a solicitor has, I believe, influenced my post-processual, moderately relativist approach. In practice the 'law' (legal statutes and case law) is open to different interpretations, and alternate stories and arguments can be constructed from it to support a particular point of view (although the 'law' restricts the construction of just any story). A further key influence is the theoretical views of my supervisor Kevin Greene at the University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. These he describes as a scepticism that final answers and truths can be reached, but a belief that, while there are no wholly right and wrong answers, somewhere there is a real past that prevents just any stories being accepted as correct (he is influenced by the views of Morley, Munslow and White etc). The strong physical and emotional links that I have with north-east England, having been born and grown up in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, influence my interest in the history and archaeology of the region.

Therefore, adopting a post-modernist, moderately relativist approach to study the Bernician transition (at least from an archaeological and historical perspective) provides the foundation to the first part of my thesis, the historiographical analysis. An initial observation is that there are numerous different narratives (or pasts) constructed since the late 18th century (and especially since the late 20th century) but, as noted in section 1, derived from a very limited body of evidence, whether archaeological, historical or other. The evidence does not support the number of narratives constructed. Certain narrative themes are chronologically long-running and have remained static for centuries, but there are also changes in narratives, some gradual,

others rapid. These new narratives may be due to evidential developments such as archaeological discoveries, but others are merely different ways of telling stories about the same evidence, and therefore other socio-political reasons for these narrative changes need to be sought. Only by identifying these narratives and the reasons and factors behind their development, by reflecting upon and seeking to understand how and why they were constructed, is it possible to study the Bernician transition. Of course, being openly reflexive I realise that my analysis is itself subjective and influenced by my socio-political context.

## **CHAPTER 2:**

### **A HISTORIOGRAPHY OF ANGLO-SAXON STUDIES**

#### **Section 1:**

##### **Introduction**

This chapter explores socio-political factors underlying narratives about Anglo-Saxon England constructed by historians and archaeologists from the medieval period to the present. The selection of these factors is influenced by my approach explained in chapter 1; particular significance is attached to the emergence and meaning of the term 'Anglo-Saxon', and its recent decline. The work of a selection of individual scholars will be examined to identify the general themes that provide the context for my detailed analysis of narratives about Bernicia from the 5th to the 7th centuries. In my view, three elements have been most important in constructing the dominant narratives: (1) the classical tradition; (2) the socio-political circumstances of historians, antiquarians and archaeologists; and (3) difficulties in relating material remains to texts.

The central theme is the gradual disappearance of the 'Anglo-Saxon' concept (the idea of an Anglo-Saxon or Germanic ethnic identity or race). This concept was partially created by the classical portrayal of the Germanic people, but the main creators were early pre-Norman historians, particularly Gildas and Bede. They constructed influential narratives that distinguished between Anglo-Saxon and British people. Although Bede divided the Anglo-Saxons into three races (I,15), he classified all as ethnically Germanic people distinct from the British (McClure and Collins 1969:

27). Anglo-Saxon England as a single racial and political identity did not exist until the 10th century. A narrative myth was established of an Anglo-Saxon racial grouping and of oppositions: Anglo-Saxons versus British. English historians, in a complex process taking place from the 16th to 18th centuries, accepted and developed this mythological narrative, due to the classical and socio-political influences upon them.

From the 19th century this narrative has been questioned and increasingly challenged. This has coincided with the emergence of archaeology in Anglo-Saxon studies. The conflict between written and material evidence had existed for some centuries, but it was only when Anglo-Saxon material evidence was recognised and interpreted in the 19th century that a challenge to historical evidence was initiated. Initially the debate was about how to fit archaeological evidence into the historical narrative framework, with historical evidence accepted as fact. However, subsequently as the archaeological discipline has matured and become more self-confident, there has been a transition where the dependence of archaeology upon historical evidence and a historical framework has gradually decreased. This has led to the dominance of historical narratives being increasingly challenged. This process began in the mid 19th century, continued slowly into the early 20th century, increased after World War II, and has accelerated since the late 1980s, in part driven by socio-political influences.

A consequence of this process is a narrative transition that stressed continuity and British population survival and then questioned the whole concept of Anglo-Saxons and British as separate ethnic identities and races. Ethnic and cultural distinctions were broken down, with Anglo-Saxon and Romano-British categories becoming



more fluid. Concepts of 'Dark Age' and 'Migration period' studies have emerged, historical concepts such as 'Late Antiquity', and from the 1990s 'early medieval' archaeology. Common to all of these is the shift of emphasis towards the period as a whole, or aspects of the period, rather than ethnicity or races. There was more fluid and complex change with less defined categorisation, and creation of transitional periods such as the 'post-Romano-British'. Within archaeology this can be placed into the theoretical context of post-processualism, and has become the dominant narrative from the late 1990s.

## **Section 2:**

### **Written text and developments in Anglo-Saxon narratives to the mid 19th century**

#### **2.2.1 The dominance of written text**

The dominance of written text with regard to the narrative developments in this period is briefly summarised here (these developments and the socio-political reasons for them are examined in more detail below). Until the mid 19th century there was almost total dominance of written text in studies and the construction of narratives about the Anglo-Saxon past. Material remains were not thought to contribute anything to this, and therefore were virtually ignored.

The Humanist tradition emphasised the importance of written text to study the past. Correspondingly, as Moreland suggests, there was an assumption that material sources were not important, that physical remains were the 'handmaidens of history'

(2001: 10, 43). For example the Danish antiquarian Ole Worm in *Danicorum Monumentarum Libri Sex* (1643) relied on written historical sources to interpret the past rather than material objects.

However the importance of the written text had been established before the rise of Humanism. In the Anglo-Saxon period early scholars relied totally on written sources to study the past. Bede constructed his narrative *Ecclesiastical history of the English people* (c.731 AD) from a limited range of mainly classical and biblical texts, and relied on the narrative by Gildas (probably early 6th century), the *De Excidio Britanniae et Conquestu* as one of the few sources available for a history of 5th and 6th century Britain (Dumville 1977: 191-2). Continental sources such as those of Zosimus and Procopius, the *Gallic Chronicles* and Constantius' *Vita Sancti Germani* were virtually unknown in Britain. Later, in the 9th century, the writers of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *Historia Brittonum* and *Welsh Annals* relied heavily upon Gildas and Bede when covering the 5th to 7th centuries (Sims-Williams 1983: 26).

By contrast, in the post-Conquest period there was only limited study of the past using written texts (principally the Bible), and instead, mythology, folklore and associated landscape features were relied upon. However in the mid 15th century the invention of printing, by Johann Gutenberg in Mainz, led to the widespread dissemination of and therefore greater access to written works (including classical and biblical texts) by academic rather than ecclesiastical scholars of the past. This, coupled with Humanist thinking, encouraged scholars to make greater use of, and,

place greater reliance upon written texts for the study of the past, including Anglo-Saxon studies.

In 16th century England the study of the Anglo-Saxon past required source material. The obvious materials were, by now, the more widely available classical and pre-Conquest texts whose reliability as fact were assumed. For example William Camden derived his ideas and constructed his narratives from the written narratives of early historians, particularly Bede.

This situation continued into the 17th century where Anglo-Saxon studies were entirely based on pre-Conquest texts. At Cambridge University John Smith studied Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and Thomas Gale studied the manuscripts of Gildas, Nennius and Eddius (Douglas 1939: 71). Subsequently at Oxford University scholars such as William Somner completed the first comprehensive Anglo-Saxon dictionary in 1659, and Humphrey Wanley produced a catalogue of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. George Hicks studied the Anglo-Saxon legal system, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and produced the first Old English grammar *Institutiones Grammaticae* in 1689 (ibid.: 62, 63, 78).

During the Intellectual Revolution of the 18th century material remains became more important for the study of the past, although only if in the period under study there was no written textual evidence. If there was (as in the Anglo-Saxon period), then the written word remained pre-eminent (Moreland 2001: 63). Therefore any chronological framework for the Anglo-Saxon past still relied upon written sources.



For example in Edward Gibson's 1695 edition of Camden's *Britannia*, mostly historical material was added to the Anglo-Saxon chapter.

Even at the turn of the 19th century, scholars such as Sharon Turner in *History of the Anglo-Saxons* (1799-1805) relied entirely on written sources: classical, pre-Conquest, and particularly the post-medieval narrative texts of scholars such as Camden. To quote Sims-Williams, 'the narratives of these later historians merely retold the narratives of Bede and Gildas and added picturesque details' (1983: 1).

### 2.2.2 Classical beginnings

Classical influences provide a foundation for the construction of narratives about Anglo-Saxon England. 'Classical' is defined as meaning Greek and Roman up to late Imperial date. Classical traditions did not disappear between the Roman period and the 19th century, but took different forms in the early Church, the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. Up to the 1600s classical sources were relied upon, but subsequently scholars began to think they could do better and developed new ideas and narratives.

European study of the past originated with the appreciation by Classical Greece and Rome of history and ethnography, for example Hesiod in his *Works and days* (107-108) proposed gold, silver, bronze, epic hero and iron stages within a sequence tracing the decline of man (Sinclair (ed.) 1932: 15).

In the classical period there were commentaries upon Germanic people: Julius



Caesar in *De Bellum Gallicum*, VI,4, stated 'they spend all their lives in hunting and war-like pursuits and inure themselves from childhood to toil and hardship'; 'Germans are not agriculturalists'; 'the various tribes regard it as their greatest glory to lay waste as much as possible of the land around them and keep it uninhabitable'; 'Germans endure a life of poverty and privation, with no change of diet or clothes'. Tacitus in his late first century *Germania*, chapter 4, contrasted the valiant and virtuous Germans with corrupt Roman society, the Germans 'never contaminated themselves by intermarriage with foreigners, but remain pure of blood, distinct and unlike any other nation'. Caesar and Tacitus mostly based their comments on those of earlier Greek writers such as Posidonius, fragment 73 (Edelstein and Kidd (eds.) 1972: 138). These authors constructed narratives within their socio-political present, for example with Tacitus moralising and exaggerating Germanic virtues to make a political point about Imperial Rome (Sklenar 1983: 24).

The idea that the Germans were primitive and warlike, and that there were distinct races of Saxons and Celts, had a far-reaching effect upon the views of subsequent scholars as to how Anglo-Saxons were represented.

### 2.2.3 Socio-political influences and pre-Conquest narratives

Knowledge of classical sources was retained by the secular elite and religious communities in the pre-Conquest period, and crucially influenced the construction and content of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Bede is a prime example of a scholar who used classical sources as a model for much of his *Ecclesiastical history*. His description of the raising of the cross by Oswald at Heavenfield (III, 2) (McClure and Collins 1969:

111-112),<sup>5</sup> derived from Rufinus' translation of Eusebius' account of Constantine's victory at the Milvian Bridge, and almost all of chapter 2 was taken from *Orosius*, 6, 7, 9-10 (Cramp 1965: 4-5). The reason for this was that Bede relied upon the libraries of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow monasteries for his source material. Biscop and Ceolfrid had filled these libraries with classical works, and there was a lack of any other models for his narrative.

Ecclesiastical historians of the 8th and 9th centuries were influenced by the socio-political context of their own time. They constructed ideological narratives that justified and promoted the interests of the ecclesiastical and secular elite, and were adapted to suit current political and social needs (Yorke 1993: 48).

Gildas' *De Excidio Britanniae et Conquestu* is an influential text for its portrayal of the British and Saxons, and for dating events. It is an allegory and political sermon, with Gildas' primary objective being to condemn the British rulers for their corrupt leadership and moral failings, and describe their punishment by God. He invoked the Saxon onslaught as the instrument of God's punishment, with the British being slaughtered and enslaved, and their towns destroyed, while the survivors fled to the mountains. Gildas also described the British as an inherently unmartial race incapable of warlike qualities and of opposing external aggressors, in contrast to the Romans, Picts, Scots and Saxons. This narrative underpinned every history of the sub-Roman period from Bede to the *Historia Brittonum* and beyond, as the only major source for the 5th and 6th centuries.

Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* is a history of the English church, but is written for the contemporary Northumbrian secular elite, and is laced with his personal views and political motives. He sought to promote the history of the royal dynasty to legitimise and reinforce its position. His version of the past is also dominated by the growing power and status of the Church, which he sought to enhance by making its role central to the history of England. Bede was overtly nationalistic, creating the concept of the English as a nation, and emphasising racial aspects by denigrating the British and promoting the Anglo-Saxon race (I, 22, 36). Indeed Goffart suggested that although Bede recorded and interpreted the past, his narrative constructs were conscious, deliberate plots (1988: 16, 17). The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* used Bede and Gildas' works as its sources for the 5th and 6th centuries, but from the mid 7th century some entries derive from contemporary annals.

These works exerted a huge influence upon the construction of later narrative histories about the Anglo-Saxon past as they were relied upon as primary sources and as accurate recordings of historical events. This influence is still with us today.

#### 2.2.4 The medieval view of the past

In medieval Europe the interpreters and creators of the past were usually church scholars who were dominated by the Bible and the interests of the Church, but who continued to have access to classical sources (Sklenar 1983: 6,11). Other sources included pre-Christian Celtic mythology and folktales. In Norman England early-medieval folktales and heroic poetry were suppressed and instead medieval

chroniclers during the 11th to 16th centuries constructed a largely mythic, imaginary and British past that ignored the Anglo-Saxons (Trigger 1989: 45). For example Geoffrey of Monmouth in *Historia Regum Britanniae* (1135) incorporated Arthurian legend and the supposed Trojan origins of Britain (Schnapp 1993: 97), and this was widely accepted as a historically true account of the British past (Kendrick 1950: 11). Political and nationalistic factors underpin this work as Geoffrey, a Welsh cleric, wished to support the ruling Norman group (Macdougall 1982: 1).

#### 2.2.5 The emergence of an Anglo-Saxon past

The Renaissance, beginning in the 14th century in northern Italy and spreading across Europe by the 16th century, was initiated by socio-political and economic changes that included the growth of the middle class, a decline in feudalism and the development of state consciousness. The study of history was integral to the Renaissance state. These changes led to intellectual changes collectively called 'Humanism' which involved turning from religious themes to the objective and critical study of human life and nature. Integral to this was a new way of thinking about and studying the past (Styles 1956: 49-50, Sklenar 1983: 20). These changes in turn stimulated religious change in the form of Protestantism.

In England a complex intertwining relationship between politics, religion and nationalism influenced the interpretation of the past. The political ambitions of the elite and royalty were a crucial influence directing research into the past. In the reign of Henry VII (Henry Tudor, 1485-1509) and the early reign of Henry VIII (1509-1547), there was a deliberate political policy to emphasise their Welsh/ British roots



and legitimize their dynasty by linking it to an Arthurian mythic British past. Henry VIII then initiated political change by breaking with Rome, rejecting papal authority, seeking to establish the independent power of his kingship, and enhance his personal reputation within Europe (Macdougall 1982: 17). As part of this process he directed Polydore Vergil to produce the *Anglia Historia*, a Humanist history of England, which challenged and rejected the idea of a mythic Trojan, British and Arthurian past. A further effect was the Reformation of the Church of England, the dissolution of the monasteries between 1536-39, and the dispersal of their libraries. Many Anglo-Saxon documents then came into circulation, both stimulating interest in, and providing the means to study, the Anglo-Saxon past, although Classical textual descriptions of Germanic peoples continued to influence perceptions of the Anglo-Saxons.

This material was used to justify the independence of the Reformed church. John Bale, a Protestant bishop and reformer used Anglo-Saxon history to argue for an English church independent of Rome. John Foxe, an early Elizabethan scholar emphasised a historical Anglo-Saxon past and a hero, King Alfred (ibid.: 34, 36).

This gave rise to the Anglo-Saxon studies of the Parker circle, an interlinked group of scholars who were politically directed by the policies of Elizabeth I, but also motivated by their own Protestant, anti-Catholic religious fervour. They were headed by Matthew Parker, the first Elizabethan Archbishop of Canterbury, and a Protestant theologian scholar who defended the Reformed church by seeking to demonstrate its continuity with the Anglo-Saxon church, and that papal supremacy was a late innovation (Berkhout and McGatch 1982: ix; Macdougall 1982: 26, 38, 39).

Other 16th century scholars included Laurence Nowell who transcribed Old English texts (Douglas 1939: 61), and William Lambarde who published *A Perambulation of Kent* (1576), a survey using Anglo-Saxon documents.

#### 2.2.6 Anglo-Saxon myth creation and William Camden

William Camden, a school master born 1551, was the first scholar to analyse the origins of the Anglo-Saxons and emphasise their importance to the history of England. He wrote two key narratives, *Britannia* (1586) and *Remains concerning Britain* (1605).

*Britannia* was predominately a topographic study of Roman Britain and the classical past, as Camden's primary objective was to demonstrate that Britain had a rich Roman heritage with roots in the Roman Empire, comparable to other European countries (Piggott 1976: 12). However he also emphasised the courage and valour of the Anglo-Saxons and their Germanic origin, their 'moral and martial virtues', and was enthusiastic about the *Adventus Saxonum*, describing the Anglo-Saxon victory over the native inhabitants as entire and absolute, 'all conquered except a few who took refuge in the uncultivated Western parts, yielded and became one nation with them, and embraced their laws, name and language' (Gibson ed. 1695: cxxvii).

In *Remains concerning Britain*, Camden described the Anglo-Saxons as 'this war-like, victorious, stiffe, stout and rigorous nation', and 'the Angles, Englishmen or Saxons, by God's wonderfull providence were transplanted hither of Germanne',

and 'who in a short time subduing the Britons and driving them into the mountainous Western parts made themselves a complete conquest, absolute Lords of all the better soyle thereof...' (Dunn ed. 1984: 16).

Camden's primary motivation for writing these narratives was nationalism and patriotism rather than religion, which he makes clear by stating in *Britannia* that his works were produced through a common love of the country and the glory of the British name (1695: xxx). He was however also part of the Parker circle and was influenced by their Protestant views and pro-Anglo-Saxonism. He was also familiar with, and influenced by continental historical scholarship such as Jean Hotman and the Dutch geographer Abraham Orelus, and the works of contemporary German and Italian Humanists, for example Peiresc (Schnapp 1993: 140). There is a link with the classical past as both Camden and the German Humanists studied classical literature. Nationalistic influences emerged with German Humanist studies of their past, particularly their study of *Germania*, re-discovered in 1451 and subsequently printed. Martin Luther used classical sources to extoll the racial superiority of the German people and create the national myth of a glorious and independent German past. These ideas influenced contemporary English scholars because London was a favoured refuge for German Protestants (Sklenar 1983: 24). Camden adopted this German national mythology and linked it with the origins of England. These influences contributed to the emphasis he placed on the Anglo-Saxon origins of England, the conquest by large numbers of Anglo-Saxons that was reflected in language replacement, and therefore the inheritance of these Germanic advantages.



Similar views were expressed by Richard Verstegen in *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* (1605), where he praised the Germans, from whom Englishmen are descended, and minimized the significance of the Danes and Normans because they were in limited numbers (Macdougall 1982: 48). A narrative myth was created by Camden, and also Verstegen, that was hugely influential upon subsequent Anglo-Saxon scholarship.

#### 2.2.7 Socio-political influences and narratives in the 17th to 18th centuries

Classicism formed public taste and dominated education during the 17th to the end of the 18th century. In the late 18th century it also dominated architecture in the form of Neoclassicism. This context in turn influenced Anglo-Saxon studies. Classical literature laid the foundations for the construction of narrative myths giving a certain image of the Germanic people which was accepted and adopted by Humanist scholars (particularly in Germany), and in England was applied to, and influenced the perception of, the Anglo-Saxons. One view developed in this period and linked to the classical influence was that the Anglo-Saxons were barbarous, ignorant and primitive, and that they were destroyers rather than creators of art and culture (Hunter 1971b: 185). This is seen with scholars such as William Stukeley whose negative views towards the Anglo-Saxons and their culture was due to the influence of classical literature. Eighteenth century ideas were also derived, at least partly, from classical literature. Intellectuals such as Montesquieu praised the superior English political system inherited from the forests of Germany (Berkhout and McGatch 1982:



81). Montaigne and Rousseau viewed German society as idyllic, containing unspoilt children of nature (Sklenar 1983: 42), and Edward Gibbon's *Decline and fall of the Roman Empire* (1776) contrasts Roman decadence with the vigour of the Germanic invaders.

From the 17th through to the 19th century there was a recurring battle between a mythic British and Anglo-Saxon past due to socio-political factors. The close association between parliamentary politicians and Anglo-Saxon antiquarians politicised Anglo-Saxon studies in the 17th century, while James I and royalists relied upon a mythic British past to legitimise his rule (Macdougall 1982: 51). During the reign of King Charles I, this conflict between Crown and parliament worsened. Parliament believed (erroneously) that by studying the Anglo-Saxon past and its laws it could limit royal power, that Saxon kingship was dependent upon the people and therefore current freedoms could be associated with an Anglo-Saxon past (ibid.: 53-55, 61). On the Restoration of Charles II in 1660 a mythic British past was favoured over Anglo-Saxonism, but in the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the Anglo-Saxon origins of King William III, the defender of Protestantism, were emphasised (Berkhout and McGatch 1982: 78).

In the 18th century there was less religious fanaticism (Trevelyan 1978: 297), and the key influence upon Anglo-Saxon studies was political, particularly the development of nationalism and patriotism, which, although existing for centuries, became more focused on Britain, the nation-state, and its values and institutions. There was continuing interest in the origins of the nation, especially the pre-Norman

period, and an emphasis on the Germanic nature of England, its parliament and legal system. Lucy has suggested that the Act of Union with Scotland in 1707 influenced this increased sense of 'Britishness' and nationhood (2000a: 159). The primary example of a historical narrative from this period is D. Hume's *The history of England* (1762) which depicted large numbers of Germanic tribes exterminating or driving out the native British, a narrative view little changed from earlier centuries. The French Revolution of 1789 and the Napoleonic Wars heightened nationalism, patriotism and ethnic and racial views in Europe because this was regarded as a war between nations, people and their institutions and beliefs (Trigger 1989: 618). In Britain at the turn of the century, Anglo-Saxon studies were both influenced by, and used to reinforce, this socio-political contextual situation.

Sharon Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons* encapsulated these socio-political changes, particularly his use of Anglo-Saxon studies to support nationalism and patriotism. As a 'Germanist' historian he regarded the Anglo-Saxons as brutal and primitive, but with the Germanic virtues of courage, individual independence and political liberty; he maintained that the English nation and character were inferior to none, and that this was derived from their Anglo-Saxon ancestors (Lucy 2000a: 159-60).

### **Section 3:**

#### **Material remains and Anglo-Saxon studies to the mid 19th century**

##### **2.3.1 Introduction**

Having discussed the dominance of the written text and the socio-political background of the developments in narratives about the Anglo-Saxon past up to the mid 19th century, this section discusses the use of material remains in Anglo-Saxon studies. This key theme is intertwined with the socio-political influences discussed above. It traces developments from the initial non-use of material remains to study the past, to their use in studying the past, but not the Anglo-Saxon past, the reasons why Anglo-Saxon remains were not identified, through to the excavation and identification of Anglo-Saxon remains by the mid 19th century, although because of the domination of written text, historical evidence, these remains were still not used to construct narratives about the Anglo-Saxon past.

##### **2.3.2 The post-Conquest period to the 16th century**

In the medieval period excavation and antiquarian study was for political, commercial or religious reasons (a pursuit of treasure and relics), rather than to discover the past (Sklenar 1983: 18, Schnapp 1993: 97), for example the supposed excavation of the remains of King Arthur by monks at Glastonbury in 1191 AD (Schnapp 1993: 97). Exceptions included the illustrated catalogue of antiquities by Matthew Paris, and the 15th century topographical survey of Bristol and Itinerary by William of Worcester (Kendrick 1950: 18, 29).

In the 16th century antiquarianism developed and there was limited study of the physical remains of the past. The antiquary aimed to gather and present common objects chosen for their individual qualities and because they symbolised a lost invisible world (Schnapp 1993: 40). The first English antiquarian, John Leland (1503-52 AD), discovered and observed historical landscape, and planned the *De Antiquitate Britanniae*, although he abandoned this in 1550 (only a prologue appeared in 1546) (Schnapp 1993: 139-140). He surveyed Britain topographically but although he noted physical remains such as Hadrian's Wall and Offa's Dyke, his survey primarily consisted of studying historical documents from libraries and dissolved monasteries. Leland's survey led to the study of physical remains in the landscape by antiquarian topographers such as John Stow, Sir Robert Bruce Cotton, and particularly Camden, whose *Britannia* became the 'bible of British archaeology' (Schnapp 1993: 139). However they too mostly relied upon historical documents, and were concerned with visible Roman and prehistoric remains rather than less visible Anglo-Saxon remains (Daniel 1975: 18).

### 2.3.3 The 17th and 18th centuries: socio-political influences and the use of material remains to study the past

Antiquarianism continued from the 16th century with little change, except that county gentlemen began to study topographically the material remains of their local area, for example Sir John Oglander's excavations of ancient monuments on the Isle of Wight in 1607 (Schnapp 1993: 141). The Enlightenment of the 18th century resulted from the emergence of the Scientific revolution in the 17th century where there was a move from



religious towards secular and rational explanations for natural and man-made phenomena of the world. Francis Bacon urged pragmatic observation, description, experiment, interpretation, objective recording and ordered classification. This new thinking led to the flourishing of studies of topography and material remains as sources of knowledge to interpret the past (Piggott 1976: 2, 101), such as by Robert Dugdale, John Anstis, Robert Plot and Edward Lhwyd.

One of the main conduits between this Intellectual Revolution and the study of the past in England was through the Royal Society, which was formed in the 1640's to study natural history and landscapes, but which also studied the material objects of the past, and facilitated the exchange of ideas between antiquarians (Hunter 1971a: 115).

These trends continued in the 18th century but were accelerated by socio-political developments later in that century. The wealth and security of the gentry and nobility generally increased, giving greater leisure opportunities for antiquarian or historical studies. Communications were improved, as were publishing and printing, which led to a greater dissemination and exchange of ideas. The early 18th century saw the development of the study of material remains through fieldwork culminate in William Stukeley's studies of Avebury and Stonehenge. A further influence in the late 18th century was Romanticism, a trend of ideas where there was a pre-occupation with horror, evil, natural beauty and decay. This led to an increased interest in fieldwork, although there was not a very critical approach. There was a preoccupation with the discovery and excavation of graves, including barrows and cremation graves, as these were deemed romantic (Sklenar 1983: 67). There was also a rise in collecting,

both of classical art and unusual objects of curiosity (considered in more detail below). As a consequence of these factors there was a great increase in the excavation of material remains, particularly from graves, both to obtain artefacts and to study the past.

A further consequence was the exposure and collection of Anglo-Saxon materials, although they were unrecognised as such and instead were interpreted as Roman. Hence in this period Anglo-Saxon material remains were ignored and at no time were they used to study the Anglo-Saxon past. The reasons for this are considered below.

#### 2.3.4 The invisibility of Anglo-Saxon material remains

There had been looting and collecting of classical antiquities, architectural remains and treasures by Byzantine Emperors, Theodoric and Charlemagne for their palaces and churches. Schnapp describes this as a 'hunger for classicism and a lust for treasure' (1993: 92-3). This interest in Greek and Roman remains continued into medieval times (ibid.: 94). By the late 15th century, classical influence stimulated interest in material remains and collecting those remains. The Popes, then other elite dilettanti, began collecting classical objects in Rome, not to interpret the past but for commercial or aesthetic reasons. This activity spread to northern Europe and by the 16th century material remains had become important sources of information about the classical past (Sklenar 1983: 28, Daniel 1975: 15, 17).

A cultural trait of the Enlightenment was an obsession with and a taste for Graeco-Roman antiquities and monuments (Schnapp 1993: 262). In Britain, interest in

classicism promoted the study of visible antiquities. Individuals who could not travel abroad to study and collect classical antiquities instead focused on the highly visible Roman remains of Britain (Sklenar 1983: 27). In 17th century England the elite collected and imported classical art antiquities. In the 18th century the excavations of Pompeii and Herculaneum stimulated a new wave of interest in classical art, architecture and antiquities (ibid.: 1983: 47). By the end of the 18th century in England there was intensive collecting of classical antiquities to fill cabinets of curiosities.

One effect of this classicism was that there was an obsession with discovering Roman antiquities in England, and this was compounded by the absence of visible, identifiable Anglo-Saxon remains in the landscape compared to Roman or even prehistoric remains. There was a consensus negative view towards the Anglo-Saxons and their culture, linked to the influence of classicism and classical literature, that they were barbarous, ignorant, primitive, destroyers rather than creators of art and architecture, and could not build walls with stone, compared to the more advanced Romans (Hunter 1971b: 185). Classical writers had also referred to cremation graves, and therefore it was assumed that any cremation graves found were likely to be Roman, not Anglo-Saxon.

The principal antiquary of the 17th century was John Aubrey (1626-97), and his views and publications were typical for this period. He was an impoverished gentleman who was at the centre of British intellectual circles (Schnapp 1993: 190),

and was an active member of the Royal Society which at this time was dominated by the classics and the study of Roman material remains in England. Aubrey was noted for his careful observation of landscape and material remains rather than written sources to interpret the past, and his *Monumenta Britannica* manuscript, although unpublished was circulated and was one of the most important archaeological works of the 17th century (ibid.) In it he described field monuments and antiquities from the prehistoric to the Middle Ages (Piggott 1976: 16). However it contained hardly any mention of Anglo-Saxon remains except for Offa's Dyke, coins, and Danish and Saxon burial mounds (Aubrey 1981: 688). According to Aubrey the Anglo-Saxons were barbarous and ignorant. By contrast the Romans brought excellence to Britain such as architecture, which degenerated thereafter under the onslaught of barbarity (Hunter 1975: 184-5).

In the 18th century this lack of interest in and recognition of Anglo-Saxon remains continued. Although the Society of Antiquities had focused on heavily politicised Anglo-Saxon studies in the 16th century until closed down by James I, by the 1730s, after its reformation, the study of classical antiquities dominated, in part because of the publication in 1732 of Horsley's *Britannia Romana*. Visible Roman and prehistoric remains were studied, but less visible Anglo-Saxon remains continued to be ignored. The most prominent antiquarian in the 18th century, William Stukeley (born 1687), a middle class doctor, combined knowledge of the landscape with acute observation, and concentrated on fieldwork that investigated prehistoric remains. By 1728 he had become a vicar and his main interest was in reconstructing



the imaginary world of the druids and a mythic British past. He sought, along with many other scholars at this time, to combine the ancient history of the nation with a sacred history (Schnapp 1993: 217-18). This idea of the Celts and Druids as the civilisers of Britain reinforced his classically-derived negative views of the Anglo-Saxons.

### 2.3.5 The discovery of Anglo-Saxon material remains

Anglo-Saxon remains which were discovered but not correctly identified as such include a cloisonne pyramid found in Dorchester and exhibited in 1776 (Bruce-Mitford: 1974: 266), and objects from barrows excavated at Chartham, East Kent in 1730 by Charles Fagge and Cromwell Mortimer, which were interpreted as evidence of a battle between the British and Roman army of Julius Caesar, rather than as Anglo-Saxon artefacts (Jessop 1950: 70). The key scholars involved are, in the 17th century Sir Thomas Browne (1605-1682), and in the 18th century Bryan Faussett (1720-1776).

Browne published *Hydriotaphia* in 1658, in which he described the excavations at Old Walsingham, Norfolk. He interpreted the urns and other material remains as examples of 'the power and culture of Rome' and assumed that probably people who burnt their dead with urns were Romans or Romanized Britons (Browne 1658: 20, 30), despite speculating that the remains could be British, Danish or Saxon because they also burned their dead (ibid.: 27, 29). He was aware of Ole Worm's statement about the excavation of urns with bones and artefacts in Norway and Denmark (ibid.: 30), and knew about the discovery of Childeric's grave at Tournai, Belgium (Dixon 1976:

76). Also as a member of the Royal Society he knew of the works of Saxonist scholars, and had checked Leland's references to Anglo-Saxon burials. His interpretation seems perverse but may be explained as an example of the influence of classicism. Browne was a physician who had received a classical education, indicated by his extensive classical quotes in *Hydriotaphia*: a primarily classical narrative about his experiences and a meditation on life and death, including funerary customs (Schnapp 1993: 196). As Moreland suggests, the whole social context surrounding Browne was dominated by classicism (2001: 64).

Faussett excavated graves and burial mounds at sites in Kent between 1757 and 1773, his observations eventually being published in *Inventorium Sepulchrale* (1856). Although these sites were Anglo-Saxon, Faussett interpreted them as Roman or Romano-British. He did not recognise any of the artefacts he collected as Anglo-Saxon (Faussett 1856: xix). For example he stated that the Kingston Down cemetery 'might have continued to be a burial ground after the arrival of the Saxons' but 'nothing I have discovered here seems to belong to that people' (ibid.: 38, 39). Fausset's interpretations were influenced by classicism. He was a member of the Society of Antiquities at a time when it tended towards Graeco-Roman taste and whose members were 'gentlemen well versed in Greek, Roman and English antiquities' (Evans 1956: 118). He only excavated within Kent, which limited his ability to make comparisons, and relied upon Dr. Plot's identification of Roman pottery styles to interpret the pottery from his excavations as Roman. His collecting of numerous artefacts that he believed were Roman reflects the contemporary

classical collecting tradition.

Any Anglo-Saxon objects that were identified correctly were 'historical', inscribed, such as jewellery, carved monuments and coins. An example is the Alfred Jewel, found in 1693, and identified by its inscription as Anglo-Saxon (Piggott 1976: 13).

The one exception to this general lack of identification of Anglo-Saxon remains was the late 18th century work of the antiquarian James Douglas.

#### 2.3.6 James Douglas: pioneering the identification of Anglo-Saxon material remains

James Douglas (1753-1819) excavated Anglo-Saxon barrows in Kent in 1780, and in 1793 published *Nenia Britannica, the sepulchral history of Great Britain*, which described and illustrated the graves and artefacts found. He was the first antiquary to recognise Anglo-Saxon artefacts by their design form, and to use objects to interpret, classify and ask questions (Jessop 1975: 75, 176). Douglas's life and social background provide clues to understand the reasons for this, despite the surrounding socio-political context of Romanticism and Classicism. As a child he collected antiquities, particularly Roman pottery, then later travelled around Europe, and in the 1770s excavated Roman furnished barrows (ibid.: 18-19). On his return to England he joined the army, was elected to the Society of Antiquaries in 1780, and in 1783 was ordained in the church. He excavated widely in England, particularly Roman pottery and cremation urns from Canterbury, Rochester and Chatham (ibid.: 55, 64). He also read antiquarian and county historical works extensively. His wide experience (in contrast to the lack of such experience by Browne and Fausset)

enabled him to compare his excavated material with continental and Roman remains, and therefore to distinguish Anglo-Saxon remains from Roman.

However Douglas's impact upon Anglo-Saxon studies was minimal. He did not use the material evidence (except possibly for inscriptions and coins) to interpret the Anglo-Saxon past. Only in the mid 19th century was his work on Anglo-Saxon material remains recognised, and the importance acknowledged of the *Nenia Britannica* as a source of Anglo-Saxon antiquities.

### 2.3.7 Anglo-Saxon material remains in the first half of the 19th century

In the early 19th century there was still a question mark over the identification of Anglo-Saxon material remains. This was still the period of Romantic British archaeology where individuals sought to recover and analyse objectively the material traces of ancient times (Schnapp 1993: 39), but focusing on a British past. Following on from the tradition of Faussett and Douglas, 'gentlemen enthused by the opening of graves' (ibid.: 282), individuals such as William Cunnington (1754-1810) and Sir Richard Colt-Hoare (1758-1838), who surveyed Wiltshire, emphasised grave opening but could not distinguish Anglo-Saxon from prehistoric burials.

However, driven by social changes in the leisure time of the Victorian middle class, there was an increased interest in archaeology including the founding of the British Archaeological Association in 1844 and the growth of local archaeological societies from 1845 (Daniel 1967: 126). This, together with the discovery of sites due to road and railway construction, meant that from the 1840s the excavation and publication



of Anglo-Saxon material remains became more common. Anglo-Saxon remains were identified in this period because of developments in archaeology such as the typology and seriation methods developed by Thomsen and Worsaae that were adopted and applied to the descriptive classification of artefacts (ibid.: 7, 91), and because of socio-political influences (considered in section 4 below) that stimulated interest in the material remains of the Anglo-Saxons, and their identification.

Examples of these publications include: J.Y. Akerman's *An archaeological index to remains in antiquity of the Celtic, Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon periods* (1847), a survey of Anglo-Saxon excavations and material, which applies typology to distinguish, describe and catalogue Anglo-Saxon remains (1847: 126). Thomas Bateman (1821-61) in *Ten years diggings in Celtic and Saxon grave hills* (1861), distinguished Anglo-Saxon from Celtic barrows in the Derbyshire Peak District, and described and compared the artefacts found with Continental material published by Worsaae (op.cit.1861: xiii, ix, 30). C.R. Smith catalogued and described Anglo-Saxon remains in his *Collectanea Antiqua* (1848-80), and published Faussett's *Inventorium Sepulchrale* which he identified as Anglo-Saxon remains (Smith 1856: xii). Also, W.M. Wylie's *Fairford graves. A record of researches in an Anglo-Saxon burial place in Gloucestershire* (1852), and Lord Londesborough's *An account of the opening of some tumuli in the East Riding of Yorkshire* (1852).

By the mid 19th century there was widespread excavation, identification and publication of Anglo-Saxon material remains, however common to all was a lack of interpretation or any attempt to construct narratives, except for a couple of minor

exceptions: Akerman (1847) interpreted the supposed continuation of Romano-British pottery forms to mean that the Anglo-Saxons subdued rather than exterminated the British (op.cit. 123-4). C.R. Smith on publication of Faussett's work argued that Britain was gradually subjugated by successive Teutonic tribal immigrations (op.cit. xii). Both scholars relied upon historical sources for these interpretations.

As discussed in section 2 above, Anglo-Saxon studies and the construction of narratives were surrounded by a historical framework, an agenda set by historians that determined the questions asked and any interpretations reached. Narratives were constructed by historians while archaeologists generally only described the excavations and the material discovered. Antiquarians such as Bateman and Smith regarded the construction of historical narratives as best left to historians.

## **Section 4:**

### **Culture-historical studies and narratives about the Anglo-Saxon past**

#### **2.4.1 Introduction**

This section traces the development of Anglo-Saxon studies and the construction of narratives from the mid 19th century to the late 20th century, characterised by a culture-historical approach that used historical written text and archaeological material remains, although written text was dominant and determined the questions asked and interpretations made. There was an increasing use made of archaeological evidence to construct narratives, and reliance upon written text was increasingly

questioned. The narratives and narrative themes in this period are considered together because the basic methodology remained the same. Only through changes in the socio-political context did different ideas emerge.

#### 2.4.2 The socio-political context of the 19th century

There was a continuing classical influence in the 19th century and this legacy lasted into the 20th century. A classical education was provided in public schools such as Eton that dominated the educational system (Trevelyan 1978: 456). Until the end of that century, classicism dominated at Oxford and Cambridge universities, and therefore must be regarded as a significant contextual influence upon scholars.

This is seen in narratives that continued to adopt the negative classical view of the Anglo-Saxons, of brutal, barbaric, primitive destroyers, as well as the classical descriptions of Germanic virtues, and racial distinctions, with the Anglo-Saxons as an identifiable race. Examples are in Turner (1799-1805), T. Wright's *The Celt, the Roman and the Saxon* (1852), and particularly the narratives of the 'Oxford School' of historians of the late 19th century. In the 20th century, Leeds' interpretation of the sunken-floored building evidence from Sutton Courtney was conditioned by the classical legacy. He assumed that Anglo-Saxons lived in hovels and therefore did not look for large timber halls.

As previously mentioned, the events at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries generated nationalistic influences that focused on Britain, the nation, the state and its values and institutions. This influenced Anglo-Saxon studies by focusing

on the origins of the nation, and particularly its Germanic nature (Trigger 1989: 618, 2006: 213-4). Turner (1799-1805) encapsulated these socio-political changes, particularly his use of Anglo-Saxon studies to support nationalism and patriotism.

These views developed through the first half of the 19th century. There was a pride in Britain, its Empire, its prosperity, and a superiority over other nations. From foundations in the 18th century with the agricultural revolution, industrial revolution, and rapid population growth, confidence was generated through social and economic change, technological progress, and an expanded, economically powerful and prosperous middle class (Trigger 1989: 85, Trevelyan 1978: 298). This contributed towards a social and intellectual emphasis on human progress, particularly in the context of the history of the English becoming the greatest people in the world. Anglo-Saxon studies and narratives were integral to this socio-political context. As MacDougall argued, the success and progress of Victorian Britain was linked to England's Anglo-Saxon origins, consisting of almost pure Germanic blood, and the virtues of law and government derived from them (1982: 91).

A further literary, intellectual and political influence, that conveyed patriotic values and ideology was nostalgic Romanticism for an era of past Germanic and Scandinavian glory, with increased interest in heroic literature and in certain archaeological remains that became symbolic in Romantic literature: burial mounds, ships, drinking horns and winged helmets etc. In Britain this is reflected in Turner's work, which further promoted a Romantic interest in Germanic origins and literature



and its picturesque mythology, for example William Morris's *The story of Sigurd the Volsung and the fall of the Niblungs* (1862). This in turn stimulated and influenced Anglo-Saxon studies (Mjoberg 1980: 225-6, 233).

Intellectual movements emerged in the 19th century including ethnography, ethno-anthropology and Darwin's theory of natural selection. These contributed to the emergence and development of racial theories and doctrines which were integral to ideas of nationalism, cultures, ethnic groups and distinct races (Trigger 1989: 112, 148, 2006: 170).

These 19th century socio-political contextual influences were integral to developments in Anglo-Saxon studies and the narratives constructed, and ideas and themes collectively called 'Anglo-Saxonism'. Ethnic and racial distinctions between the Anglo-Saxons and British were entrenched. The Anglo-Saxon origins of England were emphasised, with the extermination of the British by large numbers of Anglo-Saxons. The virtues of the Anglo-Saxons were highlighted, and these Anglo-Saxon and 'English' characteristics were compared favourably to those of the Celts (Lucy 2000a: 161-2). This idea of Anglo-Saxons with their virtues, their society embodying civil and religious liberties and superior government, and their respect for the law, reason, love of freedom, was combined with the idea of England and the Empire, English progress, success and superiority. Historical and archaeological evidence was used to emphasise and reinforce these ideas.

An additional key influence was religion. The Established Church had a puritan,

biblical and highly moral outlook, and self-righteous confidence. It contained the traditionalist High Church and Oxford Anglo-Catholic religious movement, and the Low Church of the evangelicals and worshippers of the upper and upper middle classes (Stamp 1979: 158). The elite, royalty and political leaders such as Gladstone (although Non-conformist) and Salisbury (Trevelyan 1978: 59), held these religious views which were integral to Anglo-Saxon studies, particularly the 'Oxford School' of scholars who were all clerics of the High Church, and in the 'Anglo-Saxonism' of the 1860s and 70s (Lucy 2000a: 161).

#### 2.4.3 Anglo-Saxon studies and narratives in the 19th century

In the second half of the 19th century Anglo-Saxon narratives were dominated by the 'Oxford School' of historians, principally: E. A. Freeman (1869 ) (1872) and (1878), W. Stubbs (1880) and J.R. Green (1874) and (1881). They are a product of the socio-political context and 'Anglo-Saxonism' described above, and their views and narratives are little different from those of Turner. Although some account was taken of archaeological evidence as background detail, this was totally subordinate to historical sources. Edwin Guest also adopted historical mythology as fact, which in turn influenced these historians. These scholars emphasised that the origins and achievements of the English nation derived from the Teutonic excellence of their ancestors, and that Anglo-Saxon invaders had slaughtered, exterminated and driven out the British to create a pure Germanic nation.

Freeman stated in *Old English history for children* (1869) that 'Our forefathers really became the people of the land in all that part of Britain which they conquered'

and 'were thus able to grow up as a nation in England, and their laws, manners and language grew up with them, and were not copied from those of other nations', 'there seems to have been hardly any Welshmen left in the English part of the country except those who were slaves' (1869: 28). In *Old English history* (1878) he championed Teutonic excellence, stating that there was an unbroken line from Victorian England to the Teutonic people who conquered England and killed, drove out or enslaved the British (MacDougall 1982: 100).

Green, in *A short history of the English people* (1874) stated 'the English Conquest was a sheer dispossession and slaughter of the people whom the English conquered' and 'the new England... was the one purely German nation that rose upon the wreck of Rome' (1874: 9, 11). In *History of the English people* (1881) he promoted an optimistic view of the future as moral and political progress, and emphasised Anglo-Saxon virtues and their institutions, from which stemmed the immense achievements of England (Macdougall 1982: 101).

Stubbs in *The constitutional history of England* (1880) also promoted Anglo-Saxon virtues, maintaining that the English were of almost pure Teutonic origins and descent, with only the smallest intermixture of foreign or earlier indigenous elements: 'the political institutions that we find established in the conquered land... are the most purely German institutions that any branch of the German race has preserved' (1880: 2, 6).

One reason for the dominance of the 'Oxford School' and their narratives was that the



few individuals who were involved in Anglo-Saxon studies, usually were from the upper middle class and Oxbridge-educated. This social interconnection facilitated a mutual exchange of similarly socio-politically influenced ideas, inevitably producing similar narratives. The 'Oxford School' were a group of friends of similar social backgrounds. An additional factor behind the acceptance of their narratives as the correct version of the past was their great popularity, due to their accessibility and large print run, for example Green's *Short history* (1874) sold hundreds of thousands of copies (Gooch 1952: 331).

#### 2.4.4 John Mitchell Kemble (1807-1857)

In the 19th century, although the views of the High Church and 'Anglo-Saxonism' were dominant, there was the religious influence of the dissenting church which had risen in the 18th century. This church, particularly Methodism under John Wesley (1703-91), emphasised self-discipline, industry, selflessness, thrift, evangelism, superstition and puritanism (Stamp 1979: 155-8). This, together with the development of political radicalism, utilitarianism and liberalism in the 19th century, influenced scholars such as John Kemble.

Kemble was a key individual in the development of Anglo-Saxon studies, pioneering a culture-historical approach, and using material remains to construct narratives that contained different views and ideas from those of his contemporaries. The reasons for this derive from his background. He was a political radical who opposed the established church, royalty and aristocracy, and supported the working class and



peasantry. Contemporaries regarded him as argumentative, egotistical and arrogant, but was forceful and was not afraid to hold independent and contrary views (Ackerman 1982: 167). Due to his political and religious views he was constantly excluded from professorial positions at Cambridge. He was therefore on the periphery, not the centre of academia.

Kemble was from a famous acting family and was classically educated at an independent Grammar school by Dr. Malkin, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and subsequently Professor of history at the University of London. Kemble studied at Trinity college, Cambridge, but instead of the standard church studies concentrated upon languages (Wiley 1979: 172-8). A formative influence on him was his decision to study philology and Germanic studies under Jakob Grimm at Göttingen, Germany. Since the early 19th century the trend in Germany towards national cultural independence and study of non-classical, barbarian origins, was seen as dynamic (Lucy 2000a: 160). He became interested in fieldwork in the 1840s and excavated and analysed barrows at Lüneburg, Germany (Whiley 1979: 228).

Kemble's narratives were different because he argued that Germanic population movement into England was a gradual process over time, not massive Anglo-Saxon immigration and population replacement in the mid 5th century. He further argued that the British population was not exterminated; rather, 'the mass of the people, accustomed to Roman rule or the oppression of native princes, probably suffered little by a change of masters, and did little to avoid it' (1849: 20).

However, Kemble was not immune to the socio-political influences of 'Anglo-Saxonism', and because of his continental background expressed 'Germanist' views. He, like his contemporaries, regarded everything best in English society as having a Germanic origin, and believed that Saxon social organisation developed into the legal and political structures underlying England's progression to Imperial greatness (Macdougall 1982: 96). He distinguished ethnic and racial groups, the Anglo-Saxons and British, and assumed that migrations took place.

One effect of his continental archaeological background (although he also excavated in England), was Kemble's construction of historical narratives from archaeological evidence using typology and comparative studies. Despite his expert knowledge of Germanic studies, including philology, mythology, literature, folklore and historical sources (Sims-Williams 1983: 2), he promoted the use of archaeological rather than historical evidence in Anglo-Saxon studies. This is seen in his archaeological publications *The Saxons in England* (1849), *Horea Ferales* (1863), and particularly *On mortuary urns* (1855), where by arranging and comparing types of artefacts from different countries, he concluded that there were similarities between Anglo-Saxon and northern German pottery. He was the first scholar to criticise the accuracy and reliability of historical texts and their dominance over Anglo-Saxon studies. He argued in 1849 that the historical accounts were devoid of historical truth in every detail (1849 I: 16), and in 1863 that the texts were biased and written long after the event (1863: 90). This led him to question historical 'facts' such as the 'Adventus Saxonum', instead arguing for a gradual influx of Germanic people in the mid 5th

century, in greater numbers than usual, but not massive Anglo-Saxon immigration and population replacement (1863: 90). Despite these criticisms, however, Kemble still relied upon historical sources to provide a framework for his interpretations, therefore distinguishing ethnic and racial groups in the material evidence, such as between the Anglo-Saxons and native British.

Kemble was ahead of his time, and narratives of the majority of Anglo-Saxon scholarship, particularly those of the 'Oxford School' and Edwin Guest, were preferred. It was not until the last decades of the 19th century that his views and methodologies became more acceptable to the academic community

#### 2.4.5 Narratives and socio-political developments at the end of the 19th century

From the 1860s socio-political changes caused a decline in national self-confidence. In particular the agricultural collapse of the 1870s and 80s led to more social unrest and class conflict. The Liberals under Gladstone came into power, and with them a social, political and intellectual liberalism that emphasised morality and conscience, and maintained that the rights of the primitive savage in places such as Africa equalled those of the English.

One indirect effect of this was to reinforce existing Anglo-Saxonist narratives because the conservative elite (leading figures in towns and villages were still likely to be clerical and conservative Tories) emphasised racial themes and nationalism to persuade the population to take pride in the common history and heritage of the state (Wailes and Zoll 1995: 23, Trigger 1995: 268).



However the more liberal attitudes of the late 19th century were reflected in the less extreme 'Anglo-Saxonist' narratives now constructed by scholars at Oxford.

Freeman and Stubbs modified their views and now suggested that the British were not totally exterminated (Lucy 2000a: 161-2). In *Fifty years of European history: Teutonic conquest in Gaul and Britain* (1888) Freeman stated 'I must strongly insist on the survival of a large British element in a large part of what we now call England' and 'I think we may say that this fashionable doctrine of the extermination of the elder British population has never really been taught by anyone' (1888: 91).

Stubbs more grudgingly stated in *The constitutional history of England in its origin and development* (1896-7) that the Germanic conquest and colonisation of Britain by the mid 5th century involved the British fleeing or being killed or succumbing to famine or disease, though many did survive in a servile condition. Despite this, he argued that there was no continuity, with little surviving Roman influence, and no mixture of races as the British and Anglo-Saxons did not intermarry (1896-7: 65-7).

The dilution in emphasis on the Germanic racial origins of England may also have been due to comparisons that were increasingly made in the late 19th and early 20th century between the British Empire and Imperial Rome. Examples include, H.M. Scarth's *Early Britain, Roman Britain* (1883), F. Haverfield's 'The Romanization of Roman Britain' (1905), and C. Lucas's *The British Empire* (1915). Hingley has suggested that greater emphasis was placed on a Roman inheritance for modern England and the English character, and that rather than purely Anglo-Saxon origins a mixed genetic



inheritance of Britons, Romans, Anglo-Saxons and Danes was envisaged (2001: 145-7).

Intellectual developments influenced Anglo-Saxon archaeological studies, with the development of typology and the study of artefacts at the end of the 19th century, for example by Pitt-Rivers. In the 1880s, Oscar Montelius (1843-1921) analysed the variation in form and decoration of artefact types, and developed typologies and regional chronologies for prehistoric northern Europe (Trigger 1989: 624, 2006: 224-7), as well as analysing early medieval material. He also developed and adopted diffusionism as a dating mechanism for studying foreign artefacts. There was a recognition that evidence existed for spatial and temporal variation in archaeological data.

The socio-political context of nationalism, racism and ethnicity encouraged the assumption that artefacts and their distributions could be used to distinguish races and cultural groups, and therefore trace the past of 'national' groups or peoples. Historical sources described distinct peoples and therefore historical archaeologists expected to discern tribal differences in the excavated material.

This foundation to the culture-historical approach was refined in 1895 by Gustaf Kossinna (1858-1932) and fully applied by the early 20th century. Kossinna suggested that the archaeological study of diagnostic artefacts could isolate cultural areas which could be identified with specific ethnic and national units, and geographical areas of particular peoples and tribes. Artefacts and identities were

linked using history, and cultural and ethnic groups were distinguished through the interpretation of artefact assemblages (Trigger 1989: 163-5, 2006: 235-7). Kossinna's diffusionist ideas stemmed from his reliance on historical sources, including classical references to early medieval folk migrations and population movements, and his studies of early Germanic history and origin myths.

By the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century a culture-historical approach to constructing narratives about the Anglo-Saxon past by archaeological scholars had become established.

#### 2.4.6 20th century culture-historical narratives

For much of the 20th century a culture-historical methodology continued to dominate Anglo-Saxon studies, combining historical and material evidence to interpret the past. The questions asked, interpretations made and narratives constructed were dominated by a historical framework, with material evidence remaining subordinate to this. Certain culture-historical themes continued to dominate, including the ethnic and racial distinctions between the Anglo-Saxons and British. However there was an increasing maturity and self-confidence in Anglo-Saxon archaeological studies, with greater reliance placed on archaeological evidence to construct narratives, and a trend towards questioning the reliability of historical sources by archaeologists. The narratives contain similar themes as before but with some differences concerning the nature of the Anglo-Saxon takeover and British survival, due to socio-political contextual influences.

These points are illustrated by the approaches taken by Chadwick (1907), Baldwin-Brown (1903-15), Smith (1923) and Leeds (1913). Chadwick criticised historical sources, but still accepted Anglo-Saxon and British racial divisions, and the notion that archaeological evidence supported literary sources in their descriptions of Anglo-Saxon society (1907: 54, 71-3). Baldwin-Brown criticised historical evidence as little more than legend, and believed that archaeological evidence provided more accurate information about the English conquest and settlement (1915: vol.3, 47-8). He used the distribution of buckles to argue for Germanic invasion and migration up rivers, but still relied on historical evidence to interpret this data. Smith also questioned the accuracy of historical evidence, but his interpretations from typological surveys of artefacts stemmed from historical evidence (1923: 1-5). Similarly, Åberg (1926) dated and produced typologies for Anglo-Saxon burial artefacts using historical narratives, and from this believed that he could isolate cultural groups and their interactions (1926: 1).

E.T. Leeds argued against the pre-eminence of historical sources, considering them biased, inaccurate and not contemporary (1913: 9-10). He instead emphasised the construction of typologies of artefact types and mapped their distribution to interpret settlement patterns. However he still used historical and archaeological evidence to construct narratives and relied on historical sources to frame his questions and archaeological interpretations, such as his acceptance of Anglo-Saxon and British racial distinctions and equating the absence of British material evidence to the non-survival of the British population during the Anglo-Saxon takeover, which supported



historical accounts (1913: 13-14, 23, 32). Similar approaches were adopted in his 1912 and 1936 works.

Similar culture-historical narratives were constructed into the 1950s and 60s, for example S.C. Hawkes' 'The Jutes of Kent' (1956) and S.C. Hawkes and G.C. Dunning's 'Soldiers and settlers in Britain, fourth to fifth century' (1961). Myres in 1969 compared pottery distribution based on decoration and shape with historical evidence to provide information about the origins and distribution of Anglo-Saxon settlers, their relationship to the pre-existing population, and social and economic developments (Myres 1969: 11, Arnold 1988: 10). Historical evidence dominated his interpretations, for example his distinct phases of Roman, Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon settlement. His approach remained the same even in his 1986 rewrite of *Roman Britain and the English settlements* (1936).

Also throughout this period, historians increasingly used archaeology to provide details for their narratives, although entirely subordinate to written sources. For example Crawford (1928) used archaeological evidence of different agricultural systems and settlement discontinuity to reinforce the historical narrative (1928: 178, 181). Stenton (1943) treated historical accounts as factual but acknowledged that archaeological evidence from the Thames valley indicated Anglo-Saxon settlement earlier than historical evidence records (1943: 18).

#### 2.4.7 20th century socio-political influences and Anglo-Saxon narratives

In the first half of the 20th century, anti-German sentiment, the two world wars, and



particularly Nazism were key influences behind the decline in popularity of the 'Anglo-Saxonism' of the 19th century, and the narrative trend among historical archaeologists to place less emphasis on Germanic virtues and excellence, and the Anglo-Saxon origin myth of England and Britain. Anti-German feeling could have seemingly opposing manifestations: either de-emphasising the importance of the Anglo-Saxon invasions or portraying them more negatively than previously. This was also a factor behind the narrative trend that emphasised British population and cultural survival and its contribution towards the origins of Britain, although this had its foundations in the late 19th century (as described above).

Lucy links the narrative changes closely to this anti-German context and argues that the emergence of narratives about invasion by large organised Anglo-Saxon armies (for example by N. Åberg in *The Anglo-Saxons in England* (1926)), coincided with the increasing conflict with Germany in the early 20th century (2000a: 163). Criticism of Anglo-Saxon and Germanic material culture as crude also reflected the socio-political attitudes current at the time of World War II (ibid.: 165), although clearly classicism was also a factor. However there were other contextual influences of equal importance, such as the political changes that took place at the end of the 19th and early 20th century with the rise of socialism and the formation of the Labour Party in 1900. In the early 20th century, there was greater sympathy for the working class, the Liberals were in power, and there was social reform with recognition of trade unions and workers rights. Labour formed a government in 1924 and there was widespread labour discontent including the general strike of 1926 (Ridley 1981: 264-5,

286). There was a socio-political emphasis on the working class, and as 'Anglo-Saxonism' had been heavily linked to upper and upper-middle class ideas, there was less emphasis on such views. This may explain the narrative trend towards British survival as the lowest class, forming the majority of the population, and narratives describing masses of Anglo-Saxon peasantry migrating to England to settle.

After World War I there was a loss of confidence and self-righteousness among the British establishment due to the huge numbers of casualties. There was also a decline in nationalistic, imperialist and colonialist views, coupled with the decline of Britain as a great power, the loss of an Empire, economic depression, and a deep seated insecurity (MacDougall 1982: 128, Berkhout and McGatch 1982: 129, Ridley 1981: 279, 285). 'Anglo-Saxonism' and the narratives associated with it were now regarded as politically incorrect, and declined in popularity in a process originating in the late 19th century but that accelerated through the 20th century especially after World War II.

Given this socio-political context, it is perhaps surprising that there was not greater narrative emphasis on British survival. Instead the majority of culture-historical scholars chose to describe discontinuity, non-British survival and population replacement by large numbers of Anglo-Saxon invaders and settlers, a narrative trend that increased as World War II drew closer. Possibly this is the true legacy of anti-German feelings, reflecting the fears of a British population increasingly threatened with invasion and destruction by Germany. An analysis of narratives

illustrates these points.

H.M. Chadwick (1870-1947) in *The origin of the English nation* (1907) argued that the Germanic invaders were only one addition to the ethnic composition of England; the dominant element remained Celtic (1907: 181-2). He stressed British population survival and downplayed Germanic domination of English origins. He highlighted the Anglo-Saxon legal codes that suggested a greater number of Celtic people survived in Anglo-Saxon society than previously thought (Berkhout and McGatch 1982: 128). He followed the late 19th century narrative emphasis on British survival, but also had a background of editing early British historical studies, which may have influenced his narratives. Similarly, R.A. Smith in *A guide to the Anglo-Saxon and foreign Teutonic antiquities* (1923) argued for British survival as a lower class in Anglo-Saxon regions (op.cit.: 7-8).

There are scholars who seem to have changed their views due to the socio-political context. G. Baldwin-Brown (1849-1932), Professor of Fine Art at Edinburgh University, in *The arts in early England* volume 2 (1903), used archaeological evidence to argue for discontinuity with the Roman past due to Anglo-Saxon invasion and conquest (op.cit.1903: 53). However in Volume 3 (1915) he stated that the Romano-British population survived and that few scholars believed that the Anglo-Saxons exterminated the British (op.cit. 1915: 50). He downplayed a Germanic contribution to English origins. This change in views coincided with the first year of warfare against Germany, although Brown still supported discontinuous change and no Anglo-Saxon and British intermarriage (op.cit.1903: Vol.3: 51-2).



E.T. Leeds in *The archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon settlements* (1913)

constructed a narrative of discontinuous change, with little Roman culture surviving, to explain the Anglo-Saxon takeover and settlement (1913: 13-14). He interpreted the Anglo-Saxon invasion as initially hordes of pirates seeking plunder, and a later peasant migration seeking land. Leeds repeated this narrative in *Early Anglo-Saxon art and archaeology* (1936). However he argued for continuity in *The distribution of the Angles and Saxons archaeologically considered* (1945) during World War II, stating that 'few people believe the British were exterminated, there was regional variation, with some British survival' (op.cit.: 4).

Leeds and his narratives were so highly regarded that they gained precedence over others, and subsequent archaeologists adopted his methodology and interpretations.

An example of this, and of how culture-historical narratives were long-running, are the works of Myres. In *Roman Britain and the English settlements* (1936)

Myres followed Collingwood's view that Roman Britain was replaced by a resurgent Celtic sub-Roman political fabric, and suggested that this interim phase was replaced by a discontinuous Anglo-Saxon phase (Collingwood and Myres 1936: 313).

However he qualified this by suggesting that Anglo-Saxon settlement varied in different areas of England, some organised, others piecemeal and gradual, with greater numbers of the British population surviving. He expressed similar views in his 1969 narrative (although mostly based on research before World War II), envisaging a complex transition with initial post-Roman continuity, then Anglo-Saxon settlement



by invasion and migration in the late 5th century away from Roman or post-Romano-British sites (1969: 63). Even in his 1986 rewrite of his 1936 work, Myres' narrative remained the same, that Anglo-Saxon invaders replaced the British population, and that although there was initial continuity of settlement and burial in the early 5th century, late in that century there was discontinuity due to Anglo-Saxon invasion, migration and settlement (1986: 25). However it was criticised by contemporary scholars as outdated.

Culture-historical narratives continued to be constructed in the late 1970s, such as C. Hills' 'The archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England in the pagan period: a review' (1979). She interpreted archaeological evidence as supporting large-scale Anglo-Saxon migration that replaced most of the British population and absorbed the remnants. The surviving British adopted Anglo-Saxon culture, although not all the occupants of Anglo-Saxon graves were of unmixed Germanic blood (op.cit.: 312-3).

The culture-historical approach of archaeologists converged with the narratives of historians who stressed discontinuous change, with or without British survival.

According to Trevelyan in *History of England* (1926), the Anglo-Saxons totally replaced the British, who were slaughtered or displaced through conquest, invasion and settlement (op. cit.1926: 28-35, 45). Crawford in *Our debt to Rome* (1928), argued for Anglo-Saxon immigration and slaughter of the Romano-British on a large scale, but believed there was some British survival, probably as slaves (op. cit.: 178, 181). Stenton in *Anglo-Saxon England* (1943) also argued for a large-scale Germanic migration and invasion by peasant farmers, with little British survival (1943:

18). Similar culture-historical views continued to dominate into the 1950s and 1960s, for example D. Whitelock's *The beginnings of English society* (1952) and H.R. Loyn's *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman conquest* (1962).

## **Section 5:**

### **Narrative developments in the late 20th century**

#### **2.5.1 Introduction**

There were great changes in the development of narratives in the late 20th century. Key factors in these changes were intellectual developments in archaeological studies and influences from the socio-political context of this period. However these different narratives were in most cases embedded in processes continuing from the 19th century, the most fundamental being the change in the relationship between material remains and written text in Anglo-Saxon studies.

#### **2.5.2 The dominance of material remains**

From the 1980s archaeologists increasingly questioned the reliability of historical written sources. The effect of this was to question the historical framework that defined their questions, methodology and interpretations. Material evidence was made the starting point in Anglo-Saxon studies and for the construction of narratives. Different social and economic questions were asked, for example about the Anglo-Saxon family, society, community and social structure, that could only be answered by archaeology.



The reason for the acceleration of the process of increased reliance on archaeological evidence to construct narratives was in part due to historians. From the 1970s, partly through the influence of the intellectual developments outlined in chapter 1, there was a new analysis by historians which involved the critique and deconstruction of historical sources and questioning their reliability and veracity. They were no longer regarded as describing historical fact. New questions were asked of the sources such as how, why and for whom were they constructed, and of the motivations of the writers themselves. Clear examples of this are contained in D. Dumville's 'Sub-Roman Britain: history and legend' (1977), although he concluded that historical sources provide the only way to construct a historical narrative (1977: 191-2), P. Sims-Williams's *The settlement of England in Bede and the Chronicle* (1983) and N. Howe's *Migration and myth-making in Anglo-Saxon England* (1989); both of these concluded that historical sources should not be accepted as historical fact (1983: 40, 1989: 62, 70). Other examples include B. Yorke in 'Fact or fiction? the written evidence for the 5th and 6th centuries AD' (1993), who regarded historical sources as 'factional': not completely fictional, and retaining some value (1993: 49); N.J. Higham, who addressed this issue in his critique of the historical sources for King Arthur, in *King Arthur. Myth-making and history* (2002: 98); W. Goffart (ed.) in his deconstruction of Bede's narratives in *The narrators of barbarian history AD 550-800* (1988).

As well as the increasing perception of unreliability of historical evidence, a second factor was the increase in the publication of Anglo-Saxon archaeological evidence,



particularly regarding excavations of settlement sites, for example Yeavinger, West Stow and Mucking, published in 1977, 1985 and 1993 respectively. The consequence of this was to provide more material data to construct narratives from, and this, together with the problems with historical sources (these sources had not been added to), promoted the construction of narratives that put the archaeological evidence first.

However, more important than these factors was a theoretical development in archaeology pioneered in the 1960s by Lewis Binford: processualism. It explained societal change by taking a scientific approach. Societies were viewed as systems and the inter-relation between components were examined to understand how the system worked. This encouraged a socio-evolutionary view of endogenous change from within the system due to dis-equilibrium rather than imposed from the outside. An important consequence of processualism was that the culture-historical approach to archaeological study was rejected. The effect of this was that the archaeological reliance on a historical framework was, in many cases, loosened or even discarded entirely. This in turn led to the rejection of certain key narrative themes, and the development of others.

### 2.5.3 Processualism, socio-political context and narrative developments

Processualism only gradually influenced Anglo-Saxon studies and narratives, and only became widespread in narratives from the 1980s. It only partly explains the development of different narratives from the 1950s, which were also determined by their socio-political context.

The rise of the welfare state after the second world war represented a very different socio-political context compared to the 19th century when 'Anglo-Saxonism' and the 'Anglo-Saxonist' narrative myths were at their height, and accelerated their decline in popularity. This ultimately led to their widespread rejection in the late 20th century as 'politically incorrect'. The previously accepted ideas of an Anglo-Saxon invasion and migration, with British population replacement and Germanist views, were perceived to be grounded in 19th and early 20th century nationalism, imperialism and racism, and so were rejected. A further factor suggested by H. Härke in 'Archaeologists and migrations: a problem of attitude' (1998) is British insularity from the rest of Europe, having not suffered recent invasions (1998: 19-20). Further, Britain's relationship with Europe and our role and identity in the European Union contributed to an emphasis- as a reaction upon- indigenous British studies, and internal, insular continuous change rather than change due to a wider external 'European' period of transition. Narratives sought to define a 'British' identity rather than integrating into a European post-Roman narrative history. Härke argued that the recent disbelief in the scale of Anglo-Saxon immigrations, and the current rejection of migration, invasion and population replacement as explanations for change is shaped by these present-day socio-political concerns (1998: 19).

With regard to the issue of change, narratives from the 1950s focused more on continuity than discontinuity, and this theme reinforced and was integral to the existing narrative trend of the survival of the indigenous British population. Processualism further reinforced these narrative trends from the 1980s by making explanations for

change involving continuity more popular, and by emphasising internal causes of technological and social change (Greene 2002: 244). External change by diffusion, migration and invasion was rejected. The social context of evidence was analysed, and new questions were asked about the Anglo-Saxon family, society, community and social structure (Hamerow 1994: 166).

In the 1960s and 70s there was a rise in archaeological studies of the Celtic West, principally by Alcock and Thomas. There were widely publicised works that focused upon the British and Celtic point of view, and sought to explain 'what the British were'. A further archaeological trend in the 1980s was post-colonialism in Romano-British archaeology regarding the independence from Empire and comparisons between the ending of the Roman and British Empires and the consequences for the former subjects. These developments, both socio-politically influenced, contributed to changing perceptions of the Anglo-Saxon transition and to a generation of different narratives by moving the focus of 'Anglo-Saxon' studies towards British continuity and internal change.

Early examples of these narrative developments are *Dark Age Britain: studies presented to E.T. Leeds* (1956), a collection of essays with a general theme of continuity and where Anglo-Saxon studies were placed alongside Romano-British, Celtic and sub-Roman studies in a 'Dark Ages' period. One paper by Myres discussed Romano-British survival and integration with the Anglo-Saxons. Continuity was also the theme in *Roman and Saxon Withington* (1957), where Finberg identified Anglo-Saxon boundaries that descended intact from the Roman



period, and in 'Soldiers and settlers in Britain, fourth to fifth century' (1961), S.C. Hawkes and G.C. Dunning argued that the scarcity of Germanic burials indicated few Germanic settlers and no mass migration (Hamerow 1994: 165). Wilson (ed.) in *The archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England* (1976) focused on the Dark Ages and continuity of organisation and settlement, with gradual Anglo-Saxon settlement and British survival. Wilson opposed a culture-historical approach and dependence on historical sources to answer social and economic questions (Dickinson 1983: 36), but still clearly distinguished between the material culture and political organisation of the Romano-British and Anglo-Saxons (1976: 4-6).

Examples of processualist influence in Anglo-Saxon studies include narratives mostly dating from the 1980s that explain continuity by suggesting that there were only small numbers of Anglo-Saxons, possibly an elite. C. Arnold in *Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England* (1984) did not use historical sources in his arguments and suggested that the evidence of a small number of Germanic, mainly male burials indicated the involvement of only a few elite Anglo-Saxons. N. Higham in *Rome, Britain and the Anglo-Saxons* (1992) emphasised indigenous processes of social change rather than migration, and this involved small numbers of Anglo-Saxon migrants and warrior groups taking over the Romano-British elite and their estates (1992: 92). Other clear examples of processualist narratives include those by R. Hodges in *Dark Age economics* (1982) and *The Anglo-Saxon achievement* (1989) who regarded the Anglo-Saxon period as a period of prehistory and constructed narratives on social and economic themes. From archaeological evidence of trade he analysed models of

economic development and favoured continuity between the British and Anglo-Saxons, with little migration (1989: 34). In *Archaeology of the early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms* (1988) and (1997) there was a quantitative analysis of cemeteries to explain early Anglo-Saxon social structure and change by Arnold (1997: 14). C. Scull, in *Archaeology, early Anglo-Saxon society and the origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms* (1993), promoted generalizing models that focused on internal factors of change including social, economic, exchange and political developments (1993: 67). His narrative themes included continuity of Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon settlement distributions, and survival of Romano-British social structures, organisation, and Christianity. As post-Roman and Anglo-Saxon societies were similar, this facilitated an Anglo-Saxon political takeover (1993: 70).

#### 2.5.4 'Early medieval' and 'late Antique' narratives

One consequence of the questioning of the reliability and accuracy of historical sources and the abandonment of the culture-historical methodology was that the historical framework which included cultures, peoples and ethnic groups, was rejected by some archaeologists. Without this historical framework there was a move away from attempting to identify in material evidence Anglo-Saxon and British ethnic and racial groups (Hamerow 1994: 166, 173). Written sources, it was maintained, created ethnic divisions.

Therefore processualist archaeologists such as Arnold in 1988 and 1997 concentrated on questions involving social structure and change rather than seeking to

recognise British and Anglo-Saxon material culture (1997: 14). Esmonde-Cleary (1989) and (1993) also criticised reliance upon written sources and the assimilation of archaeology into a historical framework and narrative (1989: 90). Similarly Higham (1992) argued that historical evidence was mythic, as were ethnic and cultural divisions (1992: 92).

The emergence of multi-cultural and post-modern themes since the late 1980s ran side by side with the rise of post-processualist theory, and included a review of the concepts of gender and ethnicity. Post-processualism was only widely applied by archaeologists from the 1990s. It influenced Anglo-Saxon archaeological studies from the mid 1990s with an increased pre-occupation with ethnic identity, gender, space and ritual. Building on the themes developed by processualist narratives, post-processualist narratives described complex transitions involving societal change, and questioned ethnic and racial distinctions by rejecting the idea of 'Anglo-Saxons' and 'British' as distinct races.

Explanations for change included a more complex transition involving regional variability and both continuous and discontinuous change. Both K.R. Dark in *Civitas to kingdom* (1994) and Esmonde-Cleary in *The ending of Roman Britain* (1989) suggested that there was discontinuity between Roman Britain and Anglo-Saxon England but continuity between an interim post Romano-British period and the Anglo-Saxon period. Esmonde-Cleary argued that there were small numbers of Anglo-Saxons, assimilation, acculturation, and imposition of Anglo-Saxon language, law, political system and material culture on a much larger population. H. Hamerow in



*Migration theory and the migration period* (1994) rejected archaeological interpretations of material culture based upon Anglo-Saxon and Romano-British ethnic divisions, and constructed a more sophisticated analysis and explanation which included regional variation with both discontinuous Anglo-Saxon intrusive migration and indigenous continuous development with a small nucleus of Germanic overlords. She argued that material evidence demonstrated assimilation of the native population who regarded themselves as Anglo-Saxon (1994: 168).

These narratives were proposing alternative frameworks and rejecting assumptions that 'Anglo-Saxons' and 'Romano-British' are ethnically defined races that can be identified and distinguished archaeologically from their burial practices and grave goods, therefore setting the agenda for archaeological questions. This opened the way for distinctive new approaches such as that of Esmonde-Cleary who in 1993 took a 'Roman perspective' and suggested a 'Late Antique' approach to the 4th to 7th centuries, where conventional chronological and cultural boundaries were broken down and there was no separation into distinct cultures and peoples (1993: 91, 97).

S. Lucy in *The Anglo-Saxon way of death* (2000a) and 'Early-medieval burials in East Yorkshire, reconsidering the evidence' (2000b) took an 'early medieval' approach to the 5th to 7th centuries (adopting a 'medieval perspective'). She argued that as previous interpretations and narratives were framed in terms of migrations, invasions and population movement that relied on socio-politically influenced historical sources, they should be rejected as an explanatory mechanism. The term

'early medieval' should be used rather than 'Anglo-Saxon' to describe the period or to date material culture, due to the fluid and ambiguous nature of ethnic identity (2000b: 16, 17).

#### 2.5.5 Conclusion

Certain narrative themes have been dominant since Anglo-Saxon studies began in the 16th century, and have essentially alternated between an Anglo-Saxon and British past. There has been a process dating from the late 19th century of narratives moving towards an indigenous British past after a long period of Anglo-Saxon narrative domination. By the last decade of the 20th century and into the 21st century, the dominant narrative theme has focused on internal, indigenous processes of social change between the 5th and 7th centuries, and the idea of a non-ethnic past. This is the logical result of the narrative developments analysed in this chapter, the attempt to exterminate the 'Anglo-Saxons' in this transitional period as effectively as the 'Anglo-Saxonist' narratives attempted to exterminate the British.

These developments are dominated by the attempt since the 19th century to reconcile material remains with a historical framework, and the changing relationship between written texts and material remains. The transition from the dominance of historical text to the dominance of archaeological remains has led to the construction of different narratives. Socio-political influences have also been shown to be integral to the development of narratives. There is a continuing socio-politically influenced process of scholars constructing politicised narratives to promote their own agendas. The assumption generally made is that today's narratives are superior to

previous narratives, but in fact only different stories are being told, influenced by different socio-political contexts. Today's narratives are just as socio-politically influenced as those of the past, but this is more difficult to see as we are immersed in today's context.

Given the dominance of certain narrative themes in 'Anglo-Saxon' studies, other narratives are out of favour. They do however exist and the narratives of H. Härke in the 1990s provide one example. Härke supports discontinuity, large numbers of Anglo-Saxons, British population replacement, and in ' "Warrior graves?" The background of the Anglo-Saxon weapon burial rite' (1990) uses a historical framework to distinguish cultural and ethnic groups in burial evidence, and argues that this evidence shows the Anglo-Saxons had weapons and were taller, and the British were shorter and without weapons. This however is a minority view among the dominant narratives of today's academic community.



## **CHAPTER 3**

### **BERNICIAN NARRATIVES**

#### **Section 1:**

##### **Introduction**

This chapter presents a chronological analysis of the development and construction of narratives about the origins of Bernicia, from the earliest historians of the 6th century to the present. This is set within and contrasted to the wider context of Anglo-Saxon studies considered above. A post-modernist, post-processualist approach is adopted, where the development of narratives and the ideas contained in them are seen as dependent upon and influenced by the present in which they are constructed. This is reflected in two main themes that dominate: the conflicting relationship between material evidence and written evidence, and socio-political and intellectual influences. Narrative themes are traced and analysed, including the question of indigenous survival and its influence upon the origins of Bernicia, and the nature of the Anglian takeover of Bernicia. It should be noted that place-name studies are not discussed in this chapter because they make only a negligible appearance in later narratives, and I look at these in chapter 4.

#### **Section 2:**

##### **The development of historical narratives**

###### **3.2.1 Introduction**

Narrative developments are traced in this section from the early historical narratives of

the 6th to 9th centuries, to the end of the 18th century. The key theme is the total dominance of historical textual sources.

### 3.2.2 Early historical narratives

The historical source material for early Bernicia is scarce. Of the English sources, Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History* (Book 1, chapter 34) made only one reference to Bernicia before the 7th century:

...At this time Aethelfrith, a very brave king and most eager for glory, was ruling over the kingdom of Northumbria. He ravaged the Britons more extensively than any other English ruler ... For no ruler or king had subjected more land to the English race or settled it, having first either exterminated or conquered the natives (McClure and Collins 1969: 61-2).

The wording of this passage has greatly influenced subsequent narratives with its emphasis upon the Anglo-Saxons conquering, killing and driving out the British from their lands.'

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (Winchester (A) manuscript) composed in the reign of King Alfred at the end of the 9th century (transl. and ed. Swanton, ed. and transl., 1996: xviii), states that under the date 547 AD:

'Here Ida, from whom originated the royal family of the Northumbrians, succeeded to the kingdom and ruled twelve years. And he built Bamburgh, which was first enclosed with a stockade and thereafter with a wall' (ibid.: 16).

Referring to kingship in late 6th century Bernicia, it states that in 560 AD: '...Aelle succeeded to the kingdom of the Northumbrians, Ida having passed away, and ... ruled thirty years', and in 588 AD: 'Here King Aelle passed away, and after him Aethelric ruled for five years' (ibid.: 18).

The most important early source for Bernicia is British, the *Historia Brittonum* (ed. and transl. Morris (1980). This is an anonymous work (not by Nennius, though attributed to him) composed in c.829-30 AD at the court of Gwynedd (Higham 2002: 98). It was assembled from a variety of sources, including Bede and Gildas, by Welsh scholars who projected a British perspective, and is not free of political pressures or propaganda (ibid.: 77).

#### Paragraph 56

'On Hengest's death, his son Octha came down from the north of Britain to the kingdom of the Kentish men ... and they brought over their kings from Germany to rule over them in Britain, until the time when Ida reigned, who was the son of Eobba. He was the first king in Bernicia, that is, Berneich'.

#### Paragraph 57

'The kings of the Bernicians. Woden begot Baeldeg, begot Beornec, begot Gechbrond, begot Alusa, begot Ingui, begot Aethelbert, begot Eobba, begot Ida. Ida had twelve sons, named Adda, Aethelric, Theodoric, Edric, Theodohare, Osmera, and one queen, Beornoch [who was their mother, and six sons from his concubines, Occa,] Ealric, [Ecca, Oswald, Sogor, Sogethere]. Aethelric begot



Alfred; he is Aethelferth the Artful, and he has seven sons...'.

#### Paragraph 61

'Ida, son of Eobba, held the countries in the north of Britain, that is, north of the Humber Sea, and reigned twelve years, and joined Din Guaire to Bernicia, and these two countries became one country, namely Deur and Berneich, in English, Deira and Bernicia'.

#### Paragraph 63

'Adda, son of Ida, reigned eight years; Aethelric, son of Ida, reigned four years, Theoderic, son of Ida reigned seven years. Freodwald, [son of Ida] reigned six years, ... Husa reigned seven years. Four kings fought against them, Urien and Redderch Hen, and Gwallawg and Morcant. Theoderic fought vigorously against Urien and his sons. During that time, sometimes the enemy, sometimes the Cymry were victorious, and Urien blockaded them for three days and three nights in the island of Lindisfarne...'

'Aethelferth the Artful reigned twelve years in Bernicia and another twelve in Deira. He reigned twenty four years in the two kingdoms, and gave Din Guaire to his wife, whose name was Bebbu, and it was named Bamburgh from his wife's name' (Morris 1980: 37-8).

Further, paragraph 38 was adopted widely in subsequent narratives although it does not mention Bernicia specifically:

'Hengest said to Vortigern...I will invite my son and his cousin to fight the Irish, for they are fine warriors. Give them lands in the north about the wall that is called Guaul. So he told him to invite them, and he invited Oetha and Ebbissa, with forty keels. They sailed round the Picts and wasted the Orkney Islands, and came and occupied many districts, beyond the Frenessican Sea, as far as the borders of the Picts'.

There are no other written sources that discuss Bernicia. Gildas's *The Ruin of Britain* referred to the British and Anglo-Saxons in England generally, not to Bernicia. The *Gododdin* poems only mentioned Brynaich (Welsh for Bernicia) in paragraph 6 when referring to the 'men of Deira and Bernicia'. There are no classical continental references to Bernicia.

The reliability of these sources and their use of earlier source material has been discussed in chapter 2. Barbara Yorke in 'Fact or fiction? The written evidence for the 5th and 6th centuries AD' (1993) argued that these early historians used a mixture of 'real fact' and mythological fiction as source material for their narratives. Contemporary events or politics may have been referred to and projected back to the 5th and 6th centuries. Germanic people had common conventions and myths, such as explaining the foundation of a political unit by ancestors of the ruling royal dynasty arriving in a small number of ships, and being descended from the gods. Up to the 6th century accounts of the past were probably transmitted orally, but by the early 7th century when the Christian church became established in Bernicia, ecclesiastical communities may have kept written records of past events (1993: 46-9).

Despite their scarcity and modern criticism about their reliability (such as Higham's point that paragraph 38 of the *Historia Brittonum* suggested a story developed far beyond its origins and probably linked to the rise of the Bernician kings in the 7th century (2002: 77,133-4), the important point is that later historians accepted these narratives as fact and used them as the foundation for their own narratives about Bernician origins.

### 3.2.3 Bernician narratives: the early years

The narratives of the pre-Norman period described above were rediscovered and revived from the 16th century, and with classical accounts they provided the only source material for Anglo-Saxon studies and for narratives about Bernicia. Camden's *Britannia* (1586) provides the starting point for the historical study of Bernicia, although his views on the Anglo-Saxon takeover of England were applied countrywide with no regional variations. In his introduction Camden quoted Ninius (his spelling) (*Historia Brittonum*) and particularly Gildas' description of the destruction of Britain and their portrayal of the British and Anglo-Saxons. The natives are described as cowardly and it is claimed that the:

'Saxons put the inhabitants to the sword, laid waste their lands, razed their cities, dispossessed the Britons of the best part of the island' (ibid.: cxxiii).

Camden's views of the Saxons as valiant, strong, hardy and courageous derived from early historical and classical sources (ibid.: cxxvii). He did not describe the early



history of Bernicia, only stating that the Kingdom of Northumberland was occupied by the East Angles (ibid.: cxxxiv). In his topographic studies of Northumberland and Durham he noted features of interest, but only Bebbaburg (Bamburgh) related to the Anglo-Saxons. Quoting Bede, Camden stated that the castle was besieged and burned by Penda, and also that Florilegus (or Matthew of Westminster) tells us:

'twas built by Ida the first king of Northumberland who first fenced it with a wooden empailure, afterwards with a wall' (ibid.: 847).

The dominance of classicism up to the 18th century held back the study of Bernicia because antiquarian and historical studies in north-east England focused on the Roman and to lesser extent prehistoric periods due to the visibility of their remains and monuments in the landscape. In *Britannia Romana* (1732) the Northumberland scholar Rev. John Horsley (1685-1732) was only concerned with the Roman remains of Britain, and although he described the end of Roman Britain, he did not mention the Anglo-Saxons or Bernicia. This classical dominance is also seen in the first work to focus on Northumberland, *The natural history and antiquities of Northumberland* (1769) by J. Wallis (1714-1793). This was not a narrative about Bernicia, instead it was typical study of its time, a topographic county survey combining natural history with antiquities that was based on the works of Robert Plot. In his tours he described towns, villages and features, and distinguished material remains as Roman, Saxon and British, but concentrated on and praised the Romans and their remains. Wallis's few references to Anglo-Saxon history or antiquities were derived from early historical sources: to Ida building Bamburgh and enclosing it with

wooden pales then in stone (1769: 398-9), and to Yeavinger which he identified as Bede's Ad Gefrin, a royal manor of Saxon kings (ibid.: 481).

*The history of England* (1761), by David Hume, the volume concerning the period from Julius Caesar to Henry VIII, replaced *Britannia* as the foremost narrative on the Anglo-Saxons in England. This highly regarded work was a political history but also remarked on social and economic conditions. Hume relied totally on Camden and early historical sources, particularly the *Historia Brittonum*, para. 63, to construct a narrative describing how the Saxons arrived in Northumberland in the 5th century but were strongly resisted by the Britons until 547 AD when Ida brought over reinforcements from Germany and an English conquest was achieved.

This theme of strong British resistance to the Anglo-Saxons compared to the rest of England, and to a British background to Bernicia, was adopted and reinforced by Turner (1799-1805) (see chapter 2). In volume 1 Turner referred to Bernicia:

'In 547 Ida led to the region between the Twede and the Firth of Forth, or accompanied a fleet of 40 vessels of warriors, all of the nation of the Angles \* Sp. (Nennius calls him the first king of Bernicia) 12 sons were with him. The chieftains associated with him, or who afterwards joined in his enterprise, appointed him their king' (ibid.: 284).

'That part of Britain, between the Humber and the Clyde, was occupied by Britons, but were divided into many states. The part nearest the Humber, was

called Deifyr by the ancient natives, which, after the Saxon conquest, was named Deira; and north of Deifyr was Bryneich, which became latinised into Bernicia' (ibid.: 285).

'The defence of the Britons, according to the poems which remain in the manuscripts of their ancient poets, appears to have been peculiarly vigorous in these districts, and their warriors received a liberal need of praise, from the bards whom they patronized' (ibid.: 287).

'The progress of the Angles in the north was slow and difficult. The Britons appear to have fought more obstinately in these parts than in any other. Sometimes the Britons, sometimes the Angles conquered' (ibid.: 302).

'The Britons were driven out of their ancient country, they had retired to those parts of the island, which, by mountains, woods, marshes and rivers, were most secluded from the rest' (ibid.: 322).

Turner combined British and Anglo-Saxon early historical sources to construct his narrative but he derived his British emphasis from the passages in the *Historia Brittonum*. Although he did not describe a British origin or social and cultural contribution to Bernicia, or any form of continuity, he did praise British heroism and fighting qualities (in contrast to his description of the British in the rest of England), and that they heavily resisted and vigorously fought the Angles, before being driven out. He described in detail how the British originally controlled Bryneich, their conflict with the Angles to determine who controlled Bernicia, and their poetry and



warleaders (ibid.: 284-302).

#### 3.2.4 William Hutchinson

The first historical narrative where a major part concentrated upon early Bernicia was *A view of Northumberland, with an excursion to the abbey of Mailross in Scotland* (1776) by William Hutchinson (1732-1814). Like Hume, Hutchinson constructed his narrative from early historical sources and previous narratives. He corresponded with Wallis and used his 1769 work to similarly identify Milfield and Yeavering as Saxon palaces. He relied on the narratives of Gildas and Bede to express anti-British views and state that the British could not defend themselves and ran to seek refuge in mountains, hiding in forests and caverns from attacks by the Picts and Scots (ibid.: iv). He described them as 'selfish, ungenerous and jealous', claiming that the 'abjectness of the Britons was despicable' (ibid.: vi), and that they were factionalised, depressed, and had no force of arms to resist the Picts and Scots. 'If we inherit anything from the Britons it is their ferocity, instability and ingratitude' (ibid.: vii).

In contrast he stressed the virtues, courage, fortitude, martial qualities and heroic nature of the Anglo-Saxons, 'a brave and warlike people inured to arms', who provided the advantages of the common law and a constitution. Hutchinson attacked historians who criticised the Anglo-Saxons as cruel and unjust, who made excuses for British errors or their 'despicable impotence' (ibid.: iv), and 'who ignored the indignities and injuries by the Saxons from the Britons' (ibid.: vi). These views

were expressed before the 'Anglo-Saxonism' of the 19th century (defined in chapter 2) and stem from the 'Anglo-Saxonist' narratives of the 16th century, particularly those of Camden.

There was an apparent contradiction between these views and Hutchinson's narrative about Bernicia that emphasised the British contribution:

'...that for Saxon help, the land was given to them by the British and that the country lost and deserted in the north provided them with settlements' (ibid.: v).

'Hengist decided to take possession of Northumberland and subjugate the Britons and still Pict attacks. Hengist sent his brother Octa and his son Ebussa to subdue them. They came direct from Germany with a Saxon band and took over Northumberland in 454 AD' (ibid.: vii).

'there was then fifty years of struggles against the British, the Britons remained unsubdued and the Saxons unexpelled' (ibid.: viii).

Relying on the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, he stated that in 547 AD Ida with twelve sons and large reinforcement landed at Flamborough Head. With the Saxon countrymen already there they together drove the Britons from Bernicia, the natives fled (ibid.: viii). 'The best authorities concur that Ida was the first who assumed the title 'king' over the Northumberland colony' (ibid.: viii). Hutchinson argued that this use of 'king' was against the Saxon constitution, but 'they probably desired to imitate British customs, in order to conciliate the natives to their government' (ibid.: xi).

He also recounted how 'Ida repaired and enlarged the outworks and enclosed the whole with a wall at Beddanborough and held an independent crown', and:

'his reign was full of warfare against the Britons issuing from concealment to attack the borders, but in his twelve year reign the Britons did not gain any considerable advantage against his people' (ibid.: ix).

After setting out a genealogy of the kings of Bernicia and Deira (ibid.: iii) Hutchinson described a history of Bernicia up to the time of Aethelfrith and his ten year war against the Britons to enlarge his territory, in which 'many natives submitted to his government' (ibid.: xi).

In *The history and antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham* (1785-94)

Hutchinson made similar points but also that:

'Ida fixed his residence at Bebbanburgh where he erected a fortress and mansion and probably found some ancient works in this eligible situation... he repaired and enlarged the outworks, removed the wooden palisade, and put up a masonry wall' (op.cit. xxvi).

Hutchinson's narratives stand out, with their emphasis not only on British resistance but of British survival and to some extent cultural continuity, with British ancestry to Bamburgh, and the adoption of British customs by the Anglo-Saxons in Bernicia.


The reasons for this are considered next.



### 3.2.5 The British and Bernicia: synthesis and analysis

In Bernician narratives there are the tentative beginnings of different ideas to those constructed for England generally. These ideas, centred around a British contribution to the foundation of Bernicia, were taken up and amplified in the next century. To understand the reasons for this, the socio-political background of Hutchinson and Turner must be examined.

Turner, a lawyer, historian and of High Church religious persuasion, studied Icelandic and Anglo-Saxon philology. His narrative reflects his 'Anglo-Saxonist' views, except the section concerning Bernicia. The reasons for this are difficult to identify but I suggest that it reflects an attempt to combine, merge and reconcile the different narratives of Gildas, Bede, the *Historia Brittonum*, Camden and Hume, to produce a convincing narrative for Bernicia. His interest in the British is reflected in his association and correspondence with Walter Scott (1771-1832). Scott, from a Border family, was a Romantic poet and historical novelist who frequently wrote about Scottish border (or British) themes from the 1790s and whose works were published in the early 1800s.

Hutchinson, according to J. Hodgson in his 1916 biography, was born in County  Durham and educated at Durham School before becoming a solicitor at Barnard Castle. As he did not receive an 'Oxbridge' education Hutchinson may have been relatively isolated from national intellectual influences. Although he acknowledged a historical source derived from the antiquarian Roger Gale (1672-1744), much of his source material derived from the Durham antiquarian George Allen (1736-1800).

These, together with his local connection, are factors behind Hutchinson's different narratives about Bernicia, and he may have sought to stress a uniqueness in Bernicia through 'pro-Northumbrian' sentiment. This is reinforced by analysis of who Hutchinson was writing for: of the 143 subscribers to his work, only 13 were churchmen and 9 gentry, the remainder were from the local middle class, who, I would suggest, would be more interested in a narrative that emphasised a 'local uniqueness'.

Hutchinson's masonic membership may have also been a factor. He wrote *The spirit of masonry* (1774), and *An oration and dedication of the Freemason's hall, Sunderland*, 16th July 1778. In the 18th and early 19th century, freemasonry was associated with Neoclassicism and an Egyptian revival. Many scholars also had a purely antiquarian interest in joining the masons. Stukeley became a freemason because he suspected that it held the secrets of the druids (Knoop and Jones 1987: 64). Freemasonry may therefore be associated with classical influences and an interest in the ancient British rather than 'Germanism' and 'Anglo-Saxonism', and this may be reflected in Hutchinson's narrative.

Romanticism, with its pro-British emphasis, may have been a general influence on narratives that emphasised British roots and continuity in Bernicia. There is no direct evidence that either Hutchinson or Turner were Romantics although Hutchinson's imaginative and evocative style of writing suggests Romantic influence. Turner's work was also praised by such noted Romantics as Walter Scott and Tennyson.

This British theme was also evident in the identification of a skeleton and blue glass vessel discovered under a cairn of stones at Castle Eden, County Durham in 1775.

The vessel was identified as 'a well known type' of 'British manufacture' by comparing it with other glass objects found elsewhere which were interpreted as British (Mackenzie and Ross 1834: 400-4). It was only correctly identified as an Anglo-Saxon claw beaker (and therefore that the burial was Anglo-Saxon) in the Victoria County History (Page 1905: 215).

### **Section 3:**

#### **The 19th century historical narratives**

##### **3.3.1 Introduction**

Throughout the 19th century narratives specifically constructed about Bernicia continued to be totally dependent on historical sources. Although archaeological discoveries were made in the region, it was only until the second half of the century that they were recognised as Anglo-Saxon, and were in any case not used. My strategy for identifying sources in the 19th century (and 18th century for that matter) was by checking bibliographies and references made by authors in books since the 18th century, and then reading the books referred to.

##### **3.3.2 19th century narratives**

In contrast to the 18th century, narratives in the early 19th century followed Camden by concentrating on the Anglo-Saxon takeover, and were not sympathetic to British survival or continuity in Bernicia. Examples are: *A history of Northumberland*



(1820) by John Hodgson; *The history and antiquities of the county palatine of Durham* (1823) by Robert Surtees; *An historical, topographical and descriptive view of the County Palatine of Durham* (1834) by E. Mackenzie and M. Ross; *The history and antiquities of North Durham as subdivided into the shires of Norham, Island and Bedlington* (1852) by James Raine; and *History, topography and directory of Northumberland* (1855) by William Whelan.

An exception was *A historical and descriptive view of the county of Northumberland* (1811) by Eneas Mackenzie (1778-1832) who, in his history of the Anglo-Saxons in Northumberland, was sympathetic towards the British, and emphasised their resistance to the Anglo-Saxons in a bloody struggle lasting up to 100 years, 'the patriotic Britons who struggled with Ida and the Angles' (ibid.: 43). In contrast the Anglo-Saxons were described as having direful customs, passions and barbarous education that perverted every good propensity (ibid.: 41).

In the later 19th century narratives focused on the British. *On the state of the western portion of the ancient kingdom of Northumberland down to the period of the Norman conquest* (1856) by John Hodgson-Hinde emphasised British survival and only small numbers of Anglo-Saxons in western Northumbria, but at page 7 referred to Bernicia and described a gradual migration and population replacement by large numbers of Anglo-Saxon settlers rather than British survival and continuity:

'the coast from the Humber to the Forth had gradually been filled with

Saxon population, the original inhabitants either exterminated or driven to the interior after desperate but ineffectual resistance (1856: 7)'.

In tracing a history from Ida to Ethelfrith he repeated historical myths such as that Octa and Ebissa settled in the Lothian region (ibid.: 6). In his new introduction to John Hodgson's unfinished *A history of Northumberland*, he described the Anglo-Saxons, headed by Ida, pushing out and subjugating the Britons.

T.F. Bulmer was the editor and publisher of a series of books including *History, topography and directory of Northumberland* (1886). He relied on early historical sources and the narratives of Hodgson, Hutchinson, Wallis, Mackenzie, Bruce, and papers read before the Society of Antiquaries (1886: 70). Bulmer was sympathetic towards the British in Bernicia and England, where although under Roman rule the martial spirit of the Britons was mollified, if the need arose, their fiery ardour would be revived. They hotly contested every foot of ground won by the invaders (ibid.: 77). He rejected Camden's narrative of the British being slaughtered by the Anglo-Saxons and driven to the west, instead he describing British survival and continuity:

??

'A large Romano-British element existed in the late Roman period in Northumberland and probably remained when the Romans left' (ibid.: 68).

'The British appeared to have maintained their independence until 547 AD when Ida and a large body of Angles landed on the Northumberland coast

and took possession of the country north of the Roman wall, which became the Anglian kingdom of Bernicia, Ida's capital at Bamburgh' (ibid.: 72).

He noted however that the Anglo-Saxons did not adopt the language and religion of the British, there being only faint Celtic traces (ibid.: 74). Despite this he stated:

'The invaders did not exterminate the women but kept them either as their wives or slaves, nor can it be admitted the men were either wholly slaughtered or driven en masse into the mountains and forests of the west or beyond the sea. Research of anthropologists have shown a considerable number of natives must have been permitted to remain, probably in a state of bondage, and their descendents may be traced in various parts of the county by Celtic race characteristics' (ibid.: 74).

'In Northumbria a large Celtic element remained and, in the ancient Saxon laws, mention is made of the Welshmen, by which name the ancient Britons were known to the invaders (who..). A relic of the language is preserved among the shepherds of Northumberland and the Lothians' (ibid.: 75). ??

Bulmer also doubted the reliability of some British traditions such as the establishment of a Jutish colony in the Lothians under Octa, and the claim that Ida fought his way down a petty principality on the Forth and occupied the whole of the Northumbrian coast, in spite of the stubborn guerrilla warfare of the despairing provincials (ibid.: 77).



### 3.3.3 Anglo-Saxon material remains in the 19th century

The discovery and identification of Anglo-Saxon remains in Northumberland and Durham was similar to the situation in England.

In the early 19th century there were few discoveries, and none (with one exception), were identified as Anglo-Saxon. There was a bronze buckle from a rock-cut tomb at East Boldon (Hodges 1905: 213), and graves discovered at Hartlepool between 1833 and 1843 (Miket 1980: 294, Lucy 1999: 42). A bronze hanging bowl was discovered at Capheaton, Northumberland before 1813, and recorded as a Roman copper vessel. It was found with two fibulae and a ring, together with bones and skulls, near the surface of a tumulus. In 1859 the British Museum noticed that it corresponded with the 'brass basins' described in Faussett's *Inventorium Sepulchrale* and that these remains were Saxon (Charlton 1860: 251).

The one discovery identified as Anglo-Saxon was at Cornforth, Durham in 1822, and reported and interpreted by Surtees:

'The mode of sepulchre very much resembles the British burials discovered at Chatteris, in the Isle of Ely. The graves were not dug East and West, but in various directions, and there is perhaps no great improbability in considering this a family burial place of some early Saxon owner of the soil before the conversion of his tribe to Christianity' (1823: 397).

There were eleven or twelve graves consisting of rows of stones with limestone flags, each containing skeletons, with one interpreted from the small stature as a woman or

child. Two graves contained spearheads and another a horse and possible dog remains.

This is one of the earliest identifications of Anglo-Saxon remains in the early 19th century. But why did Surtees make this identification? There were few publications of Anglo-Saxon material or burials for Surtees to base his identification upon. Surtees himself considered the method of burial resembled British cist graves. However his social and intellectual background provides some clues. The 'Memoir of Robert Surtees' (1839) stated that Surtees (1779-1834) received a classical education at Oxford. He had staunch Church of England religious beliefs, and was a lawyer and county gentleman who resided in Durham. In his 1823 work he adopted the narrative of Camden and constructed an 'Anglo-Saxonist' and anti-British narrative. These views influenced his interpretation of Cornforth, with burials containing weapons belonging to the heroic, martial Anglo-Saxons rather than the weak British.

More discoveries were made in the later 19th century. In 1852 at Galewood, Northumberland, a skeleton, two iron spearheads, two circular brooches, a pottery vessel and a bead were found. In 1862 Henry Maclaughlan identified them as Anglo-Saxon (1862: 26). At Great Tosson, Northumberland in 1858, skeletons and cist graves were discovered in a tumulus. One grave contained an iron spearhead, and another possibly a bronze buckle, iron bridle bit and shears. The Alnwick antiquarian and historian George Tate identified these as Celtic (1863: 60-1), but Greenwell



described the burial as containing an extended body, head to the west, and probably accompanied by Anglo-Saxon objects. Despite this, Bulmer continued to identify the burial as British in the 1880s (1886: 787). In 1858 at Barrasford, Northumberland, a grave was discovered containing a sword, knife, shield boss and other artefacts. George Rome Hall in 1876 and Collingwood Bruce in 1880 interpreted this as a secondary Saxon burial in a British barrow, the remains having been identified as Saxon by the British Museum (1876: 14).

Canon William Greenwell (1821-1918) reported in 1877 the excavation of various barrows: On the summit of the prehistoric round barrow at Copt Hill, Houghton le Spring, a secondary burial was discovered consisting of an extended skeleton, orientated to the west, in a cist grave, without grave goods. Greenwell interpreted this as Anglo-Saxon, probably of the Christian period (Trechman 1914: 123-5). He also reported the discovery of 'several undoubted Anglian burials...' from a quarry at Hepple, Northumberland (Greenwell 1877: 42). In 1876 at Darlington six skeletons were discovered, orientated to the west, each with a pottery vessel. Other grave goods included two swords, two shield bosses, several spearheads, various brooches and beads. Greenwell visited the site and identified the burials as very early Anglo-Saxon (Miket and Pocock 1976: 62-74).

Other discoveries were an annular brooch from Chesters, Northumberland, and a report of artefacts found at Dalmeny, Scotland in 1851-4, neither identified in the 19th century as Anglo-Saxon, and a great square-headed brooch from Whitehill Point, North Shields, which was identified as Anglo-Saxon.



However there was no interpretation of these discoveries except possibly

Barrasford where Hall suggested:

'Some follower of Hengist or Horsa who may have fallen in battle and been interred upon the site of a more ancient British hero's burial' (1876: 14).

In the later 19th century, the increased discovery, publication and identification of Anglo-Saxon archaeological sites and material in Northumberland and Durham was comparable with England generally. There was also a similar lack of interpretation, and any limited interpretation relied totally on historical sources. One difference was that archaeological evidence was not incorporated into historical narratives for Bernicia while in England generally it was, for example in Bulmer (1886) and Surtees (1823). Also, C.J. Bates' *The history of Northumberland* (1895) relied on early historical sources and post-medieval narratives, and ignored all archaeological discoveries to construct a narrative about the post-Roman period and the advent of the Anglo-Saxons in Northumberland, including the foundation myth of Ida (ibid.: 51).

Other national narratives referred to Bernicia, for example Stubbs (1897) described the formation of Northumbria as:

'little legendary data, but the sources preserved, lead to the belief it was created by the union of smaller, separate conquests'.

J.H. Ramsay in *The foundations of England* (1898) used only historical sources to

narrate a chronological history of Bernicia, from Ida in 547 AD to Aethelfrith in the early 7th century. He suggested that as the capital Bamburgh was on the coast, this implied that Anglo-Saxon territory did not extend far inland (1898: 129).

### 3.3.4 Synthesis and analysis

During the 19th century, the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle Upon Tyne (henceforth called 'the Society') had a central role in the construction of narratives about the origins of Bernicia.

The society was established in 1813 and published its first journal *Archaeologia Aeliana* in 1822. I have surveyed all the articles in this journal from 1822 to the end of the 19th century. My analysis shows that its members virtually ignored Anglo-Saxon studies, especially archaeological remains. Of 130 articles from 1822 to 1855, four related to Anglo-Saxon remains: coins, stone sculpture and inscription<sup>s</sup>. In contrast, 33 articles concerned Roman remains, and the majority analysed medieval and post-medieval historical documents. This pattern continued throughout the 19th century. Articles were dominated by the historical study of medieval documents, and archaeological studies that focused on prehistoric and particularly Roman remains after Bruce's 1867 publication on Hadrian's Wall. There were many studies of churches, particularly architecture, which reflected the many prominent clerical members of the society, for example Rev. Adamson and Dr Collingwood Bruce. This in turn reflected the wider resurgence in the 1860s of the Church of England through the Oxford and Tractarian movements. The few Anglo-Saxon studies in the region focused either on religious histories, for example Rev. Savage's 'St. Hild's first



religious house, South Shields' (1896-7), or upon material remains such as ecclesiastical inscriptions and sculptured stones. At the end of the 19th century there were some purely historical studies of Bernicia, for example: W.H.D. Longstaffe's 'Chronological table of Roman emperors and Bernician chiefs' (1876) and C.J. Bates' 'Beornicas and Deras' (1896-7).

The level of reporting of Anglo-Saxon remains in north-east England in the 19th century was poor and their identification dubious. None of the excavators in the region were expert in Anglo-Saxon remains. The main excavators were members of the Society. Rev. Collingwood Bruce (1805-1892) and Henry Maclaughlan both focused on Roman remains, particularly Hadrian's Wall (Noble 1885: 137-8); Rev. George Rome Hall (1805-1871) concentrated on prehistoric British remains in Northumbria (Hedley 1895-6: 58). Greenwell was primarily interested in classical studies and in barrows which were identified with British or Romano-British rather than Anglo-Saxon burials (Hodgson 1918: 3, 8, Marsden 1999: 131). His excavation of Anglo-Saxon remains was merely a by-product of this.

My analysis of the articles in *Archaeologia Aeliana* suggests that classical antiquarianism continued in north-east England, stimulated by the remains of Hadrian's Wall. Visible archaeological remains in the region were dominated by Roman remains and British burial mounds and hillforts. This partly explains why British and Roman studies dominated, the general lack of interest in the Anglo-Saxons by local scholars, and the narrative emphasis on the British and their



contribution to Bernicia. Further, this lack of interest in the Anglo-Saxons may have in turn reinforced a bias against the discovery and identification of their material remains, and towards interpreting remains as British. This may therefore be a factor behind their supposed scarcity in 19th century Northumberland and Durham.

The socio-political and intellectual context in the 19th century influenced the construction of narratives about Bernicia. Most of the small number of individuals who constructed narratives were members of the Society and were interconnected socially and intellectually, as therefore were their narratives. The majority of these individuals were born and educated locally and exhibit independent, insular and local views and ideas, distanced from the academic communities of Oxford and Cambridge Universities. Consequently they were less exposed to the 'Anglo-Saxonism' dominant at this time.

'Anglo-Saxonism' was linked to the Tories, the Establishment, the aristocracy, the High Church of the Church of England, and there were members within the Society who came within this category and constructed 'Anglo-Saxonist' narratives; Rev. John Hodgson (1779-1845) and James Raine had similar Church of England backgrounds and they followed the traditional historians such as Camden. Surtees constructed an 'Anglo-Saxonist', anti-British narrative, influenced by his Church of England, Establishment and Oxford links. Fitting uneasily here is J. Hodgson-Hinde who was an MP, county magistrate, and from 1849, deputy lieutenant and high sherriff of Northumberland. Although an Establishment figure who described an Anglo-Saxon takeover and population replacement in Bernicia, he also

demonstrated British sympathies.

However a key contextual influence was that of the many prominent figures in Newcastle Upon Tyne and the north-east who were Whig, liberal, radical, reformist and religious non-conformists, who sought social reform and were anti-establishment. These generally middle class individuals formed a significant proportion of the membership of the Society and were less subject to 'Anglo-Saxonist' views and constructed narratives that placed greater emphasis on the British antecedents of Bernicia. The inclusion of the non-conformist J. Kemble as an honorary member of the Society in 1857, the year of his death, may reflect agreement by certain members with his less 'Anglo-Saxonist' and his British survival views.

E. Mackenzie was a member of the Society until blackballed in 1824. He was a prominent radical and non-conformist who was a member of the Northern Political Union: a coalition of Whigs, radicals, working class and professional people, took a leading part in the Peterloo protests and led meetings and gatherings demanding reform. He founded the Newcastle literary, scientific and mechanical institution, and criticised the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle as being elitist and aristocratic (Middlebrook 1950: 171). He was an author and publisher, and his pro-British 1811 work reflected his liberal, non-conformist and radical views. Other liberal, non-conformist members of the Society included: Sir J.E. Swinburne (advocating parliamentary reform), William Turner (Unitarian dissenter), J. Collingwood Bruce, and Thomas Hodgson.



Given the more liberal and less 'Anglo-Saxonist' socio-political context from the 1880s, Bulmer's 1886 narrative becomes less surprising. Bulmer did not have local connections to the north-east, and his narrative did not reflect a local emphasis on the British in Bernicia, but formed part of wider national contextual developments. A further reason for pro-British narratives were ethno-anthropological developments, particularly the work of J. Beddoe (1870) 'On the stature and bulk of men in the British Isles', and craniology studies that drew racial distinctions between Anglo-Saxon and native British skulls, stemming from the work of D.J Barnard and J. Thurnam's *Crania Britannica* (1865). Bulmer's work referred to this research to argue for British antecedents and survival in Bernicia (1886: 74).

In summary, 19th century narratives about Bernicia were completely historically-based and ignored Anglo-Saxon archaeological discoveries. Most of these narratives were 'Anglo-Saxonist', with the Anglo-Saxons invading and killing, driving out and replacing the British in Bernicia. Most narratives, such as those by Hodgson and Surtees described a conquest by warriors, although Hodgson-Hinde described a gradual migration by large numbers of Anglo-Saxon settlers. However some narratives emphasised British resistance, and one (Bulmer 1886) emphasised British antecedents, survival and continuity. These narratives were different to those constructed about England generally. There were clear socio-political and intellectual influences underlying these narrative developments, and the lack of interest in Anglo-Saxon archaeological evidence.



These 19th century narratives provide a foundation for the narrative developments of the early 20th century.

## Section 4:

### Twentieth century culture-historical narratives

#### 3.4.1 Introduction

From the beginning of the 20th century, historical and archaeological evidence was used to construct culture-historical narratives (defined in chapter 2). The themes constructed with this approach continue to dominate interpretations about the origins of Bernicia. This section traces the complex and intertwining development of these key narrative themes.

This begins with *The political history of England* (1906) by Thomas Hodgkin (1831-1913). His description of the Anglian takeover of England was an influential historical narrative that connected the ideas of the late 19th century to those that emerged in the 20th. He only referred to Bernicia briefly:

'from their steep rock palace of Bamburgh, the sons of Ida reigned by ancestral right over all the eastern portion of the lands between the Tyne and Forth, between the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus' (1906: 94).

In England generally Hodgkin described the slaughter and destruction of the British, but believed that a remnant escaped to the mountains or beyond the sea, or survived as slaves (ibid.: 96-8). By the mid sixth century the Teutonic invaders had conquered and

possessed all of the country south from Berwick, but conquest was slower in the west due to the mountainous topography and British resistance (ibid.: 108). Initially there was only a small number of invaders, but they subsequently brought their families. The invasions were not merely raids by 'free-booting warriors', but rather were 'great national migrations' (ibid.: 109). Hodgkin also stated:

'although historical accounts point to the British extermination, there had been recent physiological studies of skulls, and of institutions, that pointed to the British not being obliterated' (ibid.).

'Romano-Celtic elements were embedded in the general Teutonic character of the Anglo-Saxon state' (ibid.).

'The English were not a totally Teutonic society, although the British were considered by the Anglo-Saxons to be an inferior race, they still existed, with the women being spared, and intermarried, and as slaves. Therefore the English were Anglo-Celt rather than Anglo-Saxon' (ibid.: 111).

Hodgkin was a local scholar who did not attend Oxford or Cambridge universities. As a prominent member of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle Upon Tyne, he focused on Roman archaeology and the antiquities of Northumberland. He was also instrumental in establishing the *History of the county of Northumberland* (1893-1940) (from an obituary notice in *Archaeologia Aeliana* 3, ix, 75-88). His narrative should be placed in the context of those less 'Anglo-Saxonist' narratives that emerged at the end of the 19th century, that argued for British survival, and that

seem to be heavily influenced by anthropological skeletal studies, evidence of institutions, and the emphasis on Roman imperial inheritance. It did however contain themes that were adopted by subsequent scholars and applied to Bernicia, particularly the idea of a hybrid Anglo-Celtic society.

### 3.4.2 The Anglian takeover of Bernicia: key narrative themes

In the early 20th century there was no narrative consensus regarding the nature of the Anglian takeover of Bernicia, however a number of influential and dominant themes have emerged:

- i) there were few Angles in Bernicia
- ii) they were an aristocratic elite
- iii) the Angles were pirate bands living in coastal strongholds
- iv) there was late Anglian settlement in Bernicia
- v) the Angles advanced north along the coast and Roman roads.

The narratives that originated and developed these themes are now considered.

E.T. Leeds in *Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon settlements* (1913) constructed an influential narrative about Bernicia. He was the first to take a culture-historical approach to analysing the Anglo-Saxon archaeological evidence. He based his ideas on Kemble and his analysis of archaeological evidence, artefacts and typology, and on Aberg with his continental typological studies which he applied to the study of Anglo-Saxon art. The other major influence was R.A. Smith of the British Museum and his analysis of Anglo-Saxon remains in English counties (though not



Northumberland or Durham).

Leeds commented that Anglo-Saxon evidence was extraordinarily scarce compared to the importance of Bernicia described by historical sources. He used this lack of evidence to suggest the key theme of few Angles involved in conquest and settlement, rather than supporting the historical idea of a total takeover of the district between the Forth and Tees by large numbers of Angles (1913: 71-2). He argued that archaeological and historical evidence conflicted and could not be reconciled, and therefore he put material evidence first and questioned the reliability and usefulness of early historical material when constructing narratives about the Anglo-Saxon takeover of England (ibid.: 248). In contrast to Bernicia, Leeds described this takeover as 'mere bands of ravening pirates' in search of loot and plunder, then on Roman withdrawal the Anglo-Saxons descended in hordes as true immigrants, occupying the country in a gradual process of absorption (ibid.: 14,17).

Leeds' ideas, particularly his archaeological interpretations that the takeover of Bernicia involved small numbers of Angles, were adopted by J.N.L. Myres in *Roman Britain and the English settlements* (1936: 455), F.M. Stenton in *Anglo-Saxon England* (1943: 74) and Peter Hunter-Blair in various works. Myres, a student then librarian at Christ Church and subsequently the Bodleian librarian at Oxford University (*Oxford DNB* 2004-5), developed these ideas further by suggesting that in Bernicia a new Anglian military aristocracy took over, and that any Germanic villages that grew up were nucleated around the residences of this aristocracy (1936: 455). This narrative theme in turn influenced the narratives of Hunter-Blair and Brian Hope-

Taylor (considered below).

The theme of the Angles as pirates concentrated on the coast in strongholds was first established for Bernicia by R.H. Hodgkin in *A history of the Anglo-Saxons* (1935).

Richard Howard Hodgkin (1877-1951), the son of Thomas Hodgkin, was born in Newcastle Upon Tyne and was a student then an academic at Oxford University (Oxford DNB 2004-5). He was heavily influenced by Leeds' ideas about the Anglo-Saxon takeover of England and his archaeological interpretations regarding Bernicia, and applied them to his own narrative. He suggested that in Bernicia the Angles were initially 'pirate bands, living for a time on plunder and tribute', few in number, who were reinforced by larger numbers of immigrants, 'colonies of fighting farmers strung out along the coast and river valleys'. He suggested the Anglian adventurers occupied a narrow strip of coastal land in close contact with the native Celts nearby in the hills, and that:

'the Angles who for safety's sake established themselves on the basaltic crags at Bamburgh and Howick must have lived a hard, tempestuous life' (1935: 153).

This theme was subsequently adopted by F.M. Stenton and P. Hunter-Blair. In *Anglo-Saxon England* (1943) Stenton stated that:

'...a people known as the Bernice, after some fifty years of precarious existence on the coast, had recently become a formidable enemy (to the Celtic

kingdoms). At 600 AD they were just on equal military terms to the British, with their chief stronghold the rock of Bamburgh. Probably the country to the south was already theirs' (1943: 74).

He argued that early historical sources gave the impression that after Ida the Angles only held fortified positions on the Northumberland coast, therefore it was 'not surprising that few Anglian burial grounds of heathen age have been discovered in the interior of the county' (ibid.: 75-6).

Hunter-Blair adopted this theme because he sought to minimise the Anglian and promote the British origins of Bernicia. In his historical narrative he argued that by the mid 6th century an Anglian foothold had been secured at Bamburgh, possibly as a Deiran offshoot, and despite British efforts to dislodge it, Anglian Bernicia emerged (1947: 50):

'The virtual absence of pagan relics from Bernicia, the date at which the kingdom was first established, and the half century of defensive warfare which followed make it certain that there can have been no invasion such as occurred in other parts of the county. We must rather think that the kingdom found its origin in what was little more than a pirate stronghold on the rock of Bamburgh, the result of a small expedition which probably set out from somewhere south and reached Bamburgh by sea' (ibid.: 48-9, my emphasis).

Hunter-Blair repeated this view in his *Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England*, that English and British traditions suggest that Bernicia originated as little more than



the establishment of a band of pirates on Bamburgh rock in the mid 6th century with Ida, and that subsequently during the wars against the British, Bernicia scarcely had any territorial existence (1956: 43).

Although Leeds primarily relied on archaeological evidence this did not prevent him from adopting historical narratives. He accepted the idea of Anglian conquest and settlement of Bernicia in the mid 6th century rather than the 5th century, that was derived from the early historical narratives' description of Ida taking over Bamburgh in 547 AD. He interpreted the archaeological evidence within this framework:

'regarding the Angles in Northumbria, later settlement is indicated' (1913: 69).

R.H. Hodgkin, Myres, Stenton and Hunter-Blair also accepted that Ida in 547 AD represented the first effective Anglian foothold in Bernicia (Hodgkin 1935: 150, 153. Myres 1936: 420-2). Stenton considered that probably the county to the south of Bamburgh was already Anglian by 600 AD but noted that there is no archaeological evidence for this (1943: 74).

Leeds also suggested that there were early Anglian burials along the line of former Roman roads in the north-east, for example the Darlington cemetery on Dere Street which represented the first successful, permanent settlement (1913: 71-72). This theme regarding the method of movement of the Angles and where they came from, had been touched on by H.M. Chadwick (1907), who stated that Bernicia had arisen out of a movement from the south, presumably Deira, and that it was improbable that it was by continental invasion (1907: 183). The theme was developed further by R.H.

Hodgkin who suggested that Anglian settlers emigrated in the mid 6th century from Deira to Bernicia, rather than coming from the continent (1935: 150). Myres also followed Leeds' idea of a northward Anglian advance on Roman roads from the south in Deira into Bernicia, and suggested that this was supported by the Anglian burial evidence along Dere Street at Aldborough, Catterick and Darlington (1936: 419). He also argued that Anglo-Saxon invaders came by sea through a coastal or seaborne movement of Anglian Deirans, and that the British resisted the Anglian invasion strenuously. Pagan archaeological remains indicated a concentration of Angles on the Tyne which Myres interpreted as raiders or settlers passing west, and a concentration in the coastal area between the Tyne, Coquet and Tweed, focusing around Bamburgh (ibid.: 420-2). Stenton adopted but did not add much to these themes.

An associated theme originated in the Victoria County History of Durham (1905), which described the difficult terrain and scant population of the county. Myres used this to argue that the Anglian advance northward was held up by this difficult terrain and topography north of the Tees in Durham (ibid.: 419), and this explained the late Anglian settlement of the region. Hunter-Blair also followed this theme when he identified geographical factors as crucial to the nature of the Anglo-Saxon takeover, arguing that where the physical geography was mountainous land, hills and moors (such as the north), it was difficult for the natives to be wholly rooted out (1956: 25).

The dominant and most influential narrative theme that emerged in this period was that in Bernicia there was no colonisation or invasion by large numbers of Angles,

instead there was a military conquest by a small number of powerful aristocratic Angles who replaced the British aristocracy. For example Myres supported the idea of a military conquest by small numbers of aristocratic Angles (1936: 455), and Hunter-Blair emphasised the small numbers of Angles in Bernicia, who imposed foreign rule on the existing population (1947: 48-9, 1956: 20). In contrast, R.H. Hodgkin proposed that although the Anglian takeover of Bernicia may have involved a process where there was late invasion and settlement by a warband with small numbers of Angles, there could alternatively have been, as for the rest of England, initially small numbers of Angles seeking plunder, obtaining footholds on the shore, then colonisation by peasant fighting farmers, a process that was not necessarily peaceful (ibid.: 153, 156, 161).

### 3.4.3 The British and Anglo-Celtic Bernicia

British survival and continuity and an Anglo-Celtic or British hybrid culture and society are the dominant themes for the origins of Bernicia. They had their foundations in the narrative developments of the late 19th century, particularly the historical and landscape studies of Northumbrian farm and field systems, and institutions, dating from the 1890s and continuing into the first decades of the 20th century, for example Earl Percy's 'The ancient farms of Northumberland' (1894) and F.W. Maitland's 'Northumbrian Tenures' (1890) which discussed the institutions, including land tenures, of the northern counties within former Northumbria. These themes were adopted and developed in H.I. Gray's *English field systems* (1915) and J.E.A. Jolliffe's 'Northumbrian institutions' (1926). These historical narratives have



been particularly influential on subsequent studies of Bernicia.

Gray analysed and interpreted the manner in which inhabitants sub-divided and tilled their land, and distinguished between Anglo-Saxon, Celtic and Romano-British agricultural practice (1915: 3). He argued that Northumberland had a Celtic-type field system that was different from the Midlands and southern England, but showed similarities to field systems in Scotland (ibid.: 224, 413). From this evidence he suggested that Northumberland was transitional between Celtic and Anglo-Saxon areas, and that a Celtic cultivation system dominated until the advent of agricultural intensification and the southern three-field system (ibid.: 227).

Jolliffe (1891-1964) was a historian in medieval English history, who mostly wrote books on pre-feudal England. In his 1926 work he focused on the similarities between the customs and institutions in Northumbria and those in medieval Wales. He suggested that Northumbria was an area of marked pre-Norman institutional survivals (1926: 1), and in Northumberland he found many close analogies of custom and terms with those of medieval Wales (ibid.: 2), for example food rents recalled Welsh *gwestua* (ibid.: 40). He suggested that the Northumbrian Angles derived a greater inheritance from the Britons compared to the southern kingdoms (ibid.: 2):

'Northumbria shows so many parallels to Celtic custom that one is forced to suppose historical continuity' (ibid.: 40).

'...it is difficult to believe that the Anglian invasion entirely destroyed its

predecessor' (ibid.: 41).

'There is no gradual merging into Welsh or Scottish custom on the borders, but rather a uniform amalgam of the two civilisations in which Celtic community and Anglian lordship unite in a distinctive Northumbrian society' (ibid.).

'a strong case for a distinctive Northumbrian civilisation of unique interest in the history of the Anglian conquest' (ibid.: 42).

Both R.H. Hodgkin and Myres focused on the Anglo-Saxons and were 'pro-Anglo-Saxon', therefore it is significant that for Bernicia they modified their views to describe British survival and continuity. Hodgkin did not agree with the idea of widespread British survival and continuity in England. Instead he believed that the Anglo-Saxons brought over their women folk rather than intermarried with the natives (1935: 162), and that in Eastern England the Romano-British were either killed, withdrew or were gradually absorbed (ibid.: 170). Only in western areas was the British population absorbed without any extermination (ibid.: 162). In contrast in Bernicia he described the close contact and proximity between the Angles and British tribes who, because of later Anglian settlement, had developed military traditions that enabled them to effectively resist the Angles. These Angles fought against the British, acted as their mercenaries, or ruled them as tributaries (ibid.: 153).

Myres thought that in England there was discontinuity, with little British survival except as slaves in the west. However for Bernicia he adopted the ideas of Gray and Jolliffe, and noted the survival of Celtic institutions, language, place-names and



agriculture (1936: 422), explaining his 'pro-British' emphasis by arguing that there was regional variation (ibid.: 444). He stated:

'in Bernicia a far greater proportion of the native lands were at first left for tributary British subjects of the new military aristocracy than was the case in those parts of Britain where the invaders were rather seeking habitable lands for themselves than to live on the rents of a dependent native population' (1936: 422).

He argued that the British in Bernicia strenuously resisted the Anglian invasion and that Bernicia was a land of Celtic traditions and a scanty pastoral population living mostly in moorland and mountain fastnesses (ibid.: 444).

Hodgkin and Myres suggested that the numerous lower status British peasant farming population was ruled by the Anglian elite, however after World War II 'pro-British' narratives appeared that not only argued for British survival and continuity but emphasised the British rather than Anglian contribution to the origins of Bernicia. This change in emphasis is linked to the 'Cambridge circle' of academics originating with H.M. Chadwick and his views on British continuity and survival during the Anglo-Saxon takeover of England. The most influential of these narratives were by Peter Hunter Blair (1912-82). He was born in Newcastle Upon Tyne and has been described as a proud Northumbrian who was deeply influenced by his early experiences in his native north-east (PBA 1984: 451). His publications are dominated by Northumbria, its origins and early history. He was a student then an academic at Cambridge University, lecturing in political and military history of Roman



Britain and the history and antiquities of Anglo-Saxon England.

In 'The origins of Northumbria' (1947) Hunter-Blair drew on early historical evidence to analyse and interpret the native British in the Bernician region, particularly southern Scotland, in the late and post-Roman periods (1947: 270). He argued for a British foundation to Bernicia, with a strong British recovery in the early 5th century and a competent and powerful governing authority and military organisation inherited from the Romans that conducted operations with skill and vigour, and which employed Saxon federates (ibid.: 24, 37, 42, 44). These views remained unaltered in 'The Bernicians and their northern frontier' (1954) and *Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England* (1956) in which he stated that in Bernicia:

'...the Anglo-Saxon invasions of the north amounted to little more than the imposition of foreign rule and a foreign language upon a basically Celtic population' (1954: 20).

Hunter-Blair envisaged a British renaissance after 367 AD, with indications of strong British rulers in the northern region of England, and that the territory north and south of Hadrian's wall by the mid 6th century consisted of a number of small independent kingdoms ruled by British dynasties (ibid.: 37, 39).

Nora Chadwick (1891-1972) also constructed 'pro-British' narratives. She was the wife and former pupil of H.M. Chadwick and later an academic at Cambridge University. Her main interests were early Britain and Celtic culture, and Welsh and

Celtic topics dominated her published works (Oxford DNB 2004-5). Her major contribution to narratives about Bernicia was as editor of *Celt and Saxon. Studies in the early British border* (1963) where the main theme was the relationship between Teutonic incomers and Celtic-speaking peoples who formed the greater part of the population, and the fusion between them (1963: 1). In her contribution 'The Celtic background of early Anglo-Saxon England' (1963) she argued that the primitive heathen Saxon barbarians learned from the British courts and then from the Irish Church, and that this provided a foundation for their development into kingdoms (ibid.: 335). She emphasised the primary role of the British rather than the Angles in the origins of Bernicia, and from historical evidence suggested that the Bernician dynasty developed from weak Angles to primitive, aggressive and violent barbarians, then to powerful Christians, due to Anglian settlement that grew and expanded on top of the majority Celtic population (ibid.: 323-7). The British 'Men of the North' formed the basic British-speaking population of Anglo-Saxon Northumbria, and, together with the role played by the Celtic Church, gave rise to Anglian Bernicia and the growth of Northumbrian culture (ibid.: 327, 330).

W. Rees also contributed the article 'Survivals of ancient Celtic custom in medieval England' (1963), in which he adopted the narrative of Jolliffe (1926) and argued that although early historical sources referred to British extermination, Welsh social arrangements were similar to those in Northumberland and Durham, particularly regarding personal service and cattle rent payments (1963: 149, 159-60). There was an Anglian takeover in Bernicia but the Celtic population continued to occupy the

land and paid their new masters their former dues (ibid.: 166).

This theme of the British origins of Bernicia was developed into the theme of a hybrid society composed of both British and Angles. This was partly founded on pre-World War II racial theory which suggested that an injection of Germanic blood into a decaying Roman Empire produced a vigorous hybrid society (Kagan 1978: 187).

This theme was first expressed by T. Hodgkin although applied to Anglo-Saxon England rather than Bernicia (1906: 109), and, influenced by his father, R.H. Hodgkin applied this idea to Bernicia where although he emphasised Anglo-Saxon origins, he accepted that the Angles on the coast were in close contact with the surviving British in the hills, and this was the beginning of a vigorous Anglo-Celtic culture in Christian times (1935: 153). Hunter-Blair also adopted this theme, as did Myres who stated that in Bernicia there was a fusion of two peoples, with the survival of Celtic language and customs (1936: 420).

#### 3.4.4 Brian Hope-Taylor's *Yeaving* (1977)

The site at Yeaving in north Northumberland is the most significant early Anglian archaeological discovery in Bernicia. As a 'benchmark report' of the excavation evidence (Driscoll 2005: 162), it had significant influence, but it was the narrative that Hope-Taylor constructed from his interpretations of this evidence that has had the greatest influence on subsequent studies of the origins of Bernicia. His final interpretation relies on 20th century culture-historical narratives up to 1960 and represents the pinnacle of this approach to the development of Bernicia. Yeaving was excavated from 1953 into the early 60s, and the discoveries and Hope-Taylor's



interpretations were well known within the academic community before publication in 1977. At Cambridge he lectured his students about Yeavinger in the 1960s and 70s.

Brian Hope-Taylor (1923-2001) was academically based at Cambridge University, where he gained his doctorate on Yeavinger in 1961 and thereafter lectured until 1976. His interpretations are dominated by early 20th century narratives up to about 1960 but especially by the narrative influence of Cambridge scholars H.M. Chadwick, K. Jackson (specialising in place-name studies and considered elsewhere) and Hunter-Blair, whose works he referred to. His references to the works of Ian Richmond and George Jobey (considered below), and to Jolliffe (1926) and Rees (1963), underpinned his emphasis on the British origins of Bernicia and its hybrid nature. Forbes Taylor suggests that Hope-Taylor had an inferiority complex based on a feeling of inadequacy due to his lack of formal education and that this explains his reliance on the views of the Cambridge academics (2005: 206). In my view this is plausible because his narrative and key themes are clearly derived from ideas that had been current for decades. Given his academic limitations it would perhaps have been more surprising if his narrative had not been heavily influenced by those established scholars at Cambridge.

Therefore, Hope-Taylor synthesised and adopted many of the narrative themes of the early 20th century and his interpretations were governed by this existing narrative context. He excavated what he interpreted as several phases of settlement evidence over a long period of time. The earliest phases of settlement and burials were British

or Romano-British, then there was an Anglian or Anglian-Celtic phase which included Grubenhäuser (1977: 268, 270, 318). He interpreted Yeavinger as a focal point showing British antecedents, a meeting of two cultural groups, where an incoming Anglian elite, few in numbers, encountered an indigenous British population probably in the late 6th century, to produce a vigorous hybrid society and culture (ibid.: 267, O'Brien 2005: 145).

His evidence for this was the wooden 'hall type' buildings, where the architectural construction showed insular native British and Germanic elements combined in a hybrid 'Yeavinger style'. He also argued that the 'Great Enclosure', constructed in several phases, and although of uncertain function, was derived from a north British palisaded enclosure tradition. Burial evidence such as the re-use of round barrows for burials showed continuity of a ritual tradition from the Bronze Age, while the burials themselves reflected a north British rather than Anglian burial tradition. The 'amphitheatre' was interpreted as deriving from a Roman tradition. Overall, Hope-Taylor argued that the Anglo-Saxons at Yeavinger deliberately referred to the traditional British institutions of the area, and recognised an established native British significance (ibid.: 17).

He applied these interpretations to the wider context of the origins of Bernicia. He divided Northumberland into two zones: a central zone based on Yeavinger, and occupied primarily by the British, and a coastal zone on sea and coast routes, with Bamburgh as an important political centre by the mid 6th century. There was possibly widespread early Anglian settlement and influence in this coastal zone

stretching from the entrance of the Aln estuary to Bamburgh, but not beyond these limits (ibid.: 22-24.). Hope-Taylor relied on Leeds' observation of the scarcity of Anglian archaeological evidence in Bernicia, as important negative evidence that the main Anglian settlement focus was on the coastal zone, and that there was no deep Anglicization of Bernicia during the early period of Yeavinger (ibid.: 26, 27). Therefore Hope-Taylor interpreted Bernicia as having a dynamic, progressive society where two cultural groups produced a distinctive hybrid Anglo-British culture with Roman overtones, from which in the 7th century originated the Northumbrian kingdom. The Angles were few in number and were an aristocratic elite mostly confined to the coast and sea routes, but they stimulated an existing British community.

He did develop some original ideas, including that the Yeavinger evidence supported an expansion of Anglian Bernicia much earlier than 600 AD suggested by historical evidence. He also argued for a peaceful Anglian takeover rather than an invasion or conquest. The British accepted an Anglian dynasty at Bamburgh, with Ida simply succeeding to the kingdom (ibid.: 294-5). He suggested that a few boatloads of Anglian mercenaries employed by the Romans continued into the post-Roman period, and became increasingly important until the British were ready to accept, sustain and support this intrusive Anglian takeover of the kingdom of Bernicia (ibid.: 300, 307, 309).

#### 3.4.5 Narratives and the relationship between historical and archaeological evidence

The adoption of a culture-historical approach at the beginning of the 20th century



meant that for the first time there was attention given to Anglo-Saxon archaeological evidence discovered in north-east England and this was put in historical narratives about Bernicia. The key issues were the scarcity and distribution of Anglian material evidence.

The perception that there was a scarcity of material evidence was reinforced by the few discoveries made in the early 20th century. In 1907 and 1908 at the Roman fort at Corbridge, Northumberland, two cruciform brooches, beads, an urn, and a fragment of sword scabbard were found, and were interpreted as indicating late 5th to early 6th century Anglo-Saxon inhumation burials (Meaney 1964: 198, Milet 1980: 293). Near to a temple at the Roman fort at Benwell, Newcastle Upon Tyne, between 1935 and 1936, there was found a cruciform brooch dated to the late 6th century, and a square-headed brooch dated to the 7th century, again interpreted as inhumation burials (Brewis 1936: 117-21, Jobey 1957: 282). Between 1909 and 1910 cremation and inhumation burials were discovered at Hob Hill, Saltburn, Cleveland, and in 1912 this was identified as an Anglian cemetery (Gallagher 1987: 282-3).

The only significant discovery was made at Howick, Northumberland between 1928 and 1930 by R.C. Bosanquet, the brother-in-law of R.H. Hodgkin. This was fully published in 1938 by G.S. Keeney, but had been mentioned in 1935 in his unpublished PhD thesis *The occupation of the counties Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland and Westmoreland from the fourth to the eighth centuries*. Some of the fifteen graves were covered with stones and flags and may

have been cists. Grave goods included a spearhead, knives, beads, horse bit, a fragmentary Roman trumpet brooch, and pottery. Keeney constructed a narrative from the comparative evidence from other areas and interpreted the remains as 'early Anglian of the pagan period' (1938: 121), representing 'burial of people from a settlement, over time, not from a chance battle' (ibid.: 127), and that 'it was on the Northumbrian coast near Bamburgh and Lindisfarne, that Ida settled in 547 and so founded the kingdom of Bernicia'. He suggested that Howick was an early and certainly pre-Christian site which marked the gradual expansion of the new kingdom round its centre at Bamburgh, and supported the statement that this portion of the north-east coast was the original centre of the Anglian kingdom (ibid.: 128).

Keeney's interpretations and R.H. Hodgkin's 1935 work are interlinked. Hodgkin's narrative was influenced by his knowledge of the discoveries at Howick, and underpinned his description of the Angles as concentrating on the coast and in natural fortresses at Bamburgh and Howick (1935: 153). Keeney had later described the site as 'a hillside of rock rising sharply out of the valley to the north and west' (1938: 120), and his interpretations had clearly been influenced by Hodgkin's narrative.

Both archaeological and historical evidence played crucial roles in the development of narratives about Bernicia, and it is the attempted reconciliation of this evidence that provided the foundation for the ideas have dominated for most of the 20th century. Leeds first pointed out the dichotomy in this evidence despite attempts to

co-ordinate them: the scarcity of the Anglian material evidence versus the historical descriptions of the Anglian takeover of Bernicia and the annihilation and forcing out of the British. His approach was to rely on the archaeology and highlight its distribution and the negative evidence of its scarcity to construct his narratives. Although he still used historical evidence as a framework, where there was a conflict he believed in the primacy of archaeological evidence to interpret the Anglo-Saxon takeover in England.

Most scholars did not adopt Leeds' methodology, and written evidence continued to provide the interpretative framework for narrative constructions. Although R.H. Hodgkin relied on and attempted to reconcile historical and archaeological evidence to construct his narrative, he was less scathing than Leeds about relying upon historical evidence. T. Hodgkin did however criticise early historical evidence as slender and problematic, but maintained that unless it was proved impossibly legendary it should be accepted, although not every detail would be accurate (1906: 79, 81). Myres derived much of his narrative from historical sources and attacked Leeds' rejection of them in his introduction to the 1970 reprint of Leeds' 1913 work. Stenton relied heavily on historical sources but was critical of their accuracy (1943: 9). He also criticised Leeds' concentration upon archaeological evidence and rejection of historical evidence, arguing that both should be used and co-ordinated (Stenton 1915: 103-7). Even Stenton conceded however that archaeological evidence may be conclusive in some circumstances, particularly for Bernicia:

'The fact that no certain interments have been recorded from Northumbria



north of Darlington is, as Leeds points out, of decisive weight against any early settlement of the region' (ibid.).

Hunter-Blair took the opposite view to Leeds and argued that for Bernicia historical evidence dominated the interpretation of archaeological evidence, which was inadequate, unhelpful, piecemeal and mostly lost (1947: 27, 37). Although he used archaeological evidence he was suspicious of it, and relied heavily on the interpretations of Leeds, Hodgkin and Myres. Despite this he questioned the reliability of early historical sources and the background influences on them and stressed the need to make use of different sources of evidence to construct narratives (1954: 137).

Hope-Taylor's work provides a good illustration of these points. In his opinion archaeological evidence existed in a historical context and must be interpreted in this context. Historical constructions and interpretations are given to archaeological evidence. He therefore adopted, like H.M. Chadwick and others, an interdisciplinary approach, taking into account all available evidence (1977: xviii). His approach to the interpretation of Yeavinger was determined by the scarcity of small finds that could be securely stratified and dated (there was only one, a gold coin which dated to the last phase, probably before 700 AD). Although archaeology underpinned his narrative, Hope-Taylor relied on early historical sources for interpretation, both as a framework and to date the site and its various phases. From historical evidence he argued that occupation began between 250 to 500 AD and ended in the late 7th

century AD. He linked Bede's reference to dated destruction events to burning phases in the building evidence, thus seeking to make the material evidence correspond to early historical sources, even though he questioned their reliability.

#### 3.4.6 Narratives and socio-political influences in the 20th century

Socio-political influences played an important role in the development of dominant and long-running narrative myths. It is important to set the narratives about Bernicia in the wider socio-political context in England. The reaction against 'Anglo-Saxonism' and 'anti-Germanism' from the end of the 19th century were general factors behind ideas of British continuity and 'pro-British' narratives that developed in England (see chapter 2). However this does not explain the greater emphasis placed on these themes and on other different themes regarding the origins of Bernicia. Explanations have to be looked for elsewhere.

As there were only a limited number of scholars who studied Bernicia, few narratives were constructed and consequently they could be potentially highly influential. Some narratives were more popular and persuasive than others because of factors such as the reputation of writers and the style and prose of their written works. For example Stenton's 1943 work was never substantially revised and was accepted as settled orthodoxy by a generation of scholars. In my view Stenton's work was largely derivative (at least regarding Bernicia), and only his high reputation as an Anglo-Saxon scholar and a reluctance to criticise his work by other academics made it so influential. Other scholars also had high reputations, such as Leeds, Myres and Hunter-Blair. In contrast, R.H. Hodgkin was not so highly regarded academically

and his 1935 narrative was consequently less influential.

The power of narrative is crucial here, both regarding the type of language used and the evocative and picturesque descriptions. The consequence of this was the adoption of narratives by subsequent scholars. The best example is R.H. Hodgkin's description of the Angles as pirates clinging to the Northumberland shore in fortresses perched on basaltic crags and surrounded by the British. This is such a powerful narrative that it was used by Stenton, Hunter-Blair and Hope-Taylor, and is still influential today (see section 5). *Yeavinger* is itself an example of the construction of an eloquent, influential and persuasive narrative text, although an element of Hope-Taylor's 'propensity to fantasise' (Forbes Taylor 2005: 205) is contained in his interpretations.

A key intellectual influence was the dominance of academia, an idea explored by Pierre Bourdieu in his study of academic sociology in *Academic discourse: linguistic understanding and professional power* (1994) and 'Homo Academicus' (1988). He argued that academia was a conservative institution that reproduces and reinforces social class distinctions. Attempts to challenge this conservatism are resisted by vested interests in the institution. Orthodox intellectual viewpoints approved by the institution are in opposition to academics who hold 'heretical' viewpoints and who are often marginalised. The institutions of Oxford and Cambridge provide examples of the concept of 'habitus' that refers to the enduring outlooks (perceptions, appreciations and behaviours) which are internalised by



particular social groups (1988: 99). The rival academic institutions of Oxford and Cambridge universities may have developed deliberate oppositions in dominant themes, as seems the case with the Oxford grouping of scholars with 'pro-Anglo-Saxon' views, and the Cambridge grouping of scholars with 'pro-British' views.

The Oxford grouping centred around and stemmed from Leeds. He was Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum and Library and refounded the archaeological society at Oxford, exerting a dominant influence on archaeological study of the Anglo-Saxons by his Oxford colleagues. The works of R.H. Hodgkin and Myres, both based at Oxford, were adopted from, and greatly influenced by, the ideas of Leeds.

R.H. Hodgkin's 1935 work was not based on original research; instead he relied on the research of others, particularly Leeds, and yet as already mentioned his 'pirates in coastal strongholds' theme has been adopted by many subsequent scholars. Myres was an expert in historical rather than archaeological studies, for which he relied on Leeds. Stenton's narrative also exhibits this 'Oxford connection'. Although academically based at University College, Reading, he had been a student at Oxford reading history. As primarily a historian and place-name specialist his 1943 narrative relied on Leeds and Myres for archaeological interpretations.

The Cambridge grouping was founded by H.M. Chadwick who influenced his pupils and subsequent scholars. Chadwick's initial interest, reflected in his publications, was northern studies focusing on the Anglo-Saxons and northern Germanic and Scandinavian people, from which stemmed his 1907 work. Later he focused on Celtic studies including early Irish and Welsh history, and widened the courses at

Cambridge to include this. According to his wife Nora Chadwick, he developed a romantic love of the Celtic west, possibly stimulated by his descent from an old Highland family (1949: xxvi). The School of Anglo-Saxon studies at Cambridge was a small school centred around H.M. Chadwick. Celtic studies increased with the appointment of Nora Chadwick and Kenneth Jackson, an old pupil of H.M. Chadwick. N. Chadwick lectured in the Irish language. Jackson became one of the foremost Celtic scholars, fluent in the Celtic languages, and trained partly through the new course that had been established by H.M. and N. Chadwick at Cambridge, Cultures and literatures of North and West Europe. He lectured in Celtic studies at Cambridge from 1934 until moving to Edinburgh in 1950. Due to this grouping the dominant intellectual context of the department was Celtic studies and 'pro-British' views towards the Anglo-Saxon takeover of England. The emphasis was on British resurgence and dominance, militarily and culturally, and survival and continuity into the Anglo-Saxon period. Although H.M. Chadwick did not contribute towards narratives about Bernicia, the intellectual context he founded influenced Hunter-Blair and Hope-Taylor. Hunter-Blair acknowledged the formative influence of H.M. Chadwick at Cambridge, who had encouraged him to give lectures in the Department (Clemoes 1984: 451). It is therefore unsurprising that Hunter-Blair had pro-British interpretations regarding Bernicia. N. Chadwick's personal and intellectual background also explains the British emphasis in her narratives.

The personal background of individuals also influenced their ideas. One factor was local connection with north-east England. R.H. Hodgkin's idea of a hybrid



Anglo-Celtic society in Bernicia was so similar to that of his father T. Hodgkin (another local scholar), that this cannot be coincidence. Hunter-Blair's 'pro-British' views may have been founded on his local connection, through the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle Upon Tyne and local scholars Ian Richmond and George Jobey (see below). In his 1947 work he quoted Richmond as an influence on him regarding the origin of the southern Scottish kingdoms. It is perhaps significant that R.H. Hodgkin and Hunter-Blair, both proud Northumbrians, developed the idea of a distinct, unique hybrid 'Anglo-Celtic' culture and society, and emphasised the importance of hybrid Bernicia in providing the foundation for the powerful Northumbrian kingdom and Golden Age.

Key intellectual influences that underpinned the themes of British continuity and hybrid Bernicia were studies concerning the Votadini and the art style of Northumbria's Golden Age. Ian Richmond (1902-1965) was part of a movement in the 1940s to 60s seeking to identify a distinctive native Votadini culture in Northumberland and the Borders. Richmond primarily focused on Roman and Romano-British archaeology in Britain and the north, including the Hadrian's Wall forts, and therefore had a Romanist perspective. He promoted the idea that the Votadini were a philo-Roman tribe. The evidence for this was that the oppidum of Votadini, Traprain Law, showed occupation in the 2nd to 4th centuries and into the post-Roman period. It was treated differently to other native centres in the region that were demolished by the Romans. There was evidence of trade between the natives and Romans at Traprain Law, with metalwork, pottery and coins being found.



George Jobey also maintained that the Votadini were pro-Roman, arguing that the evidence of a lack of early Roman forts east of Dere Street compared to the west indicated that the Romans did not need to garrison Votadini territory.

Therefore in *Roman and native in north Britain* (1958) Richmond argued that a pro-Roman native dynasty emerged that continued into the post Romano-British period and controlled an area in Northumberland and the Borders (1958: 117-8, 124). It had a distinct cultural identity that could be distinguished in archaeological evidence. This idea reinforced the theme of British social, political and administrative continuity into the 6th century, and the pro-British narrative themes of Hunter-Blair and Hope-Taylor, with the Roman-British kingdom of Votadini/ Gododdin opposing the Anglian controlled Bernicia.

The idea of a distinctive Northumbrian art style emerged in the late 19th century. Although there had been local studies of Anglo-Saxon crosses and sculpture, in *Archaeologia Aeliana* in the mid 19th century, for example 'The Rothbury Anglo-Saxon cross' (1855), it was the inscriptions rather than the sculpture that was analysed. They were described as Anglo-Saxon, Saxon or Dano-Saxon rather than any reference to a hybrid Anglo-Celtic style. G.F. Browne in his interpretation of early medieval stone crosses (1916) argued that the influences on the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses were from the 'orthodox' East and Germanic North rather than Roman (Moreland 2003: 160-1). In A.G. Langdon's *Old Cornish crosses* (1896), Romilly Allen described Northumbrian crosses as having a Hiberno-Saxon or Anglo-

Scotch art style, neither English, Scotch, Welsh or Irish, but a continual intercourse between the Anglo-Saxons and Celtic Christians after 650 AD (1896: 349). By the early 20th century this idea had been widely adopted. G. Baldwin-Brown in *The arts in early England* (1903) had described Northumbrian art, seen in the carved crosses and manuscripts, as a Hiberno-Saxon art style that derived from late Celtic and Germanic sources rather than classical Roman (1903, 1: 377, 387). W.G. Collingwood in *Northumbrian crosses of the pre-Norman age* (1927) emphasised that a mixture of Anglian and Celtic races gave rise to the distinctive Golden Age of Northumbrian art, a strong energetic style crossed with one that inherited artistic instincts (1927: 19-21, 25). Earlier, in 'The first English in Northumberland' (1925) he had argued that between the Tees and Tyne, where the British element was stronger than anywhere else in Northumbria, nature found the right proportions for the mixture of Celts and Teutons which created the golden age of the earliest English history (1925: 39). Other scholars emphasised an Irish influence on Northumbrian and wider Anglo-Saxon art styles, for example Françoise Henry who in *Irish art in the early Christian period* (1940) inflated the Celtic element, convinced that it was Irish art, R.A.S. Macalister in his *Corpus inscriptionum insularum celticarum* (1945-9), and Aberg in his 1926 work (1926: 178). This theme was reinforced by Rosemary Cramp in her studies and publications on Anglo-Saxon sculpture and art, particularly sculptured crosses from the 1960s to 80s, and her focus on Northumbria. This was facilitated by her study of monastic archaeology and her excavations and early sculptural studies at Monkwearmouth, Whitby, Lindisfarne, Hartlepool and Tynemouth. She recognised in *Early Northumbrian sculpture* (1965) that the Northumbrian art



style was different and was not connected to Romanesque art, under the stimulus of Mediterranean and Late Antique models (1965: 156). Her publications culminated in *The corpus of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture* (1984), where her links to Irish medievalists led to this collaborative effort. Cramp's emphasis on a hybrid Anglo-Celtic art style, which contained strong Irish influence, was a major influence behind the narratives on Bernicia at this time such as by Hope-Taylor and the subsequent narratives of the 1980s and beyond, where the hybrid nature of Bernicia was a key theme.

The culture-historical themes developed in the early 20th century have remained important despite the development of different methodologies and ideas.

## **Section 5:**

### **Developments in Bernician narratives up to the present**

#### **3.5.1 Introduction**

After *Yeavinger* (1977) narratives have fragmented into competing themes. Some themes have continued, others have been rejected, and different themes have also been constructed. This section highlights and discusses these developments.

Before doing this the few archaeological discoveries published by the late 1980s are outlined because they have influenced some of these narratives. In 1979, Webster and Cherry discovered a crouched female skeleton, orientated north-south, lying in a shallow grave in collapsed Roman building rubble at the praetorium of Binchester



Roman fort. Grave goods included a bronze S brooch, glass and amber beads, a domed antler disc and ring. From these remains the burial was interpreted as 6th century (1979: 236). Chance finds included a probable 7th century Anglo-Saxon brooch at Chesters Roman fort, and a 6th or early 7th century Anglo-Saxon brooch found at Chesterholm Roman fort (both reported by Miket in 1978). A class F pennanular brooch was discovered in 1976 at Yarm, and at Cleadon, Miket reported in 1984 the discovery of a small-long brooch. In the late 1980s an Anglo-Saxon C2 cross headed brooch was found at the bridge near Piercebridge Roman fort. Darlington cemetery was fully published in 1976 and at that date was considered the most significant discovery of burial evidence in Bernicia due to its size and richness. The report concluded from analysis of the artefacts that the burial dated to the late 6th/ early 7th century (Miket and Pocock 1976: 73-4). Also, although Milfield had been well known from the 1940s from aerial photography, only in 1988 were features such as buttressed timber halls, a double palisaded enclosure, and Grubenhäuser identified, and the site was interpreted as being of similar high status as Yeavinger.

### 3.5.2 The further development of culture-historical narrative themes

Culture-historical narratives continued to be constructed from existing themes: British survival and continuity, and few elite Angles. However a greater emphasis was placed on archaeological rather than historical evidence, which was increasingly criticised.

The narratives of Leslie Alcock are prime examples of this. He emphasised the

importance of integrating historical and archaeological material in the study of post-Roman centuries (Obit. Guardian 24 June 2006), but did question the merit of historical sources (1971: 179). His personal and intellectual background influenced the content of his narratives. He was born in Carlisle but grew up in Manchester and considered himself among the 'men of the north', and from this developed a lifelong interest in Celtic British history and archaeology to 700 AD (Obit. Times 21 June 2006). He read modern history at Oxford University after World War II, but pursued archaeological interests and was president of the Oxford Archaeological Society. Subsequently, as a lecturer at the University College of Wales, Cardiff, he was able to investigate the evidence for prehistoric Britain and the Celtic West and excavated the supposedly Iron Age hillfort of Dinas Powys, Glamorgan in 1954. This was found to have multi-period occupation, and Alcock's 1963 report on the social and economic significance of the 5th to 7th century stronghold was a landmark in studies of the Dark Age Celtic West (ibid.). He followed this with his excavation of Cadbury Castle, Somerset in the late 1960s which had a similar long occupancy including Iron Age and Dark Age phases.

*Arthur's Britain* (1971) took into account these developments in a wide-ranging study of Britain between AD 400-650. Alcock discussed both native British and early Anglo-Saxon archaeological and historical evidence and it is evident that he sought to bridge the Celtic-Anglo-Saxon divide and emphasise the multi-ethnic composition of Britain (Obit. Guardian 24 June 2006). He argued that there was a process of replacement of the Romanized diocese of Britannia with warring



kingdoms that involved Britons, Scots, Picts and Anglo-Saxons, and resulted in the virtual extinction in eastern Britain of British speech and culture, and its replacement with the English language and a material culture with Teutonic roots (1971: 89). Although he argued that 'the anglicisation of eastern Britain... is an undeniable fact' (ibid.: 90), for Bernicia he suggested a different process:

'native influences should be strong in the Anglian court in Bernicia given the extreme scarcity of pagan cemeteries in the region. A very small, largely aristocratic Anglian element ruled over a predominately British population' (ibid.: 309).

According to Alcock the British Votadini ruled north of Hadrian's Wall, and the first English settlers were late Roman foederati who expanded their settlement in the 5th century (ibid.: 120). Ida then established a fortified beach head at Bamburgh, and expanded his territory in the face of British resistance, although the Gododdin poem indicated that Bernicia was confined to the coastlands (ibid.).

Alcock's 1971 narrative merely derived from existing themes developed by Leeds, R.H. Hodgkin and Hunter-Blair. Only when he took the newly-created Chair of Archaeology at Glasgow University from 1974 to 1990 did he shift his research to the Dark Ages in the north, and in the 1980s produced narratives that looked at Bernicia and southern Scotland. His interest in the Celtic British West and pro-British sympathies are evident in these, and underpin his emphasis on British social, economic and administrative survival and continuity in Anglian Bernicia (1988: 27).



The major example is 'Quantity or quality: the Anglian graves of Bernicia' (1981), where Alcock argued that the burial evidence conflicted with the historical representation of the power of Anglian Bernicia in the late 6th century (1981: 168). He reinforced the theme of a small Anglian elite by using the recently published evidence from Darlington and Milfield. He analysed the burial evidence and graded the social status of the graves by the weapon types found, and concluded that Bernicia had a large proportion of high status burials. His conclusion was that Bernician society therefore consisted of few well-armed aristocratic warriors (similar to British society) rather than numerous warrior peasants (ibid.: 179):

'...the evidence leads us to believe that the Anglian aristocracy took over the political, military, social and economic arrangements of the Votadinian Britons as a going concern' (ibid.: 186).

To Alcock, adopting the ideas of Jolliffe (1926), Bernician society had greater similarity to British rather than Germanic society. He followed Hope-Taylor (1977) in suggesting that archaeology supported a peaceful Anglian takeover by invitation of a British social and political organisation, but that this was different to the picture of British and Anglian warfare created by historical narratives (ibid.: 179).

In his later works Alcock analysed archaeological and historical evidence for northern British society, and regarded fortified centres as a British cultural trait. In publications that included the Jarrow lecture 'Bede, Eddius and the forts of the north Britons' (1988), he used archaeology and the historical evidence of Bede's

references to fortifications to argue that there was similar use of fortified centres in Bernicia and by the British in southern Scotland, and that the Angles took over British fortified places which continued to fulfill their earlier social, administrative and economic functions (1988: 5-7,10).

In contrast to Alcock, Rosemary Cramp constructed narratives from a background grounded in Anglo-Saxon rather than British studies. She had studied at Oxford University in the late 1940s and 50s (where a 'pro-Anglo-Saxon' legacy was still in evidence), reading English language and literature, but developed an interest in archaeology through the Archaeological Society and contact with Christopher Hawkes. At Oxford she considered what archaeology brought to the Beowulf poem (this was published in *Medieval Archaeology* in 1957 as 'Beowulf and archaeology'), and later as an academic at Durham University she specialised in Anglo-Saxon studies with an emphasis on northern England (Morris 2001: 149-50). Despite this she repeated many of the views of Hope-Taylor (whom she knew quite well), Hunter-Blair and Alcock, in 'Anglo-Saxon settlement' (1983), her review of archaeological evidence in north-east England. She argued that there were small numbers of Anglian settlers in Bernicia, who were socially and economically similar to the native British population, in contrast to the considerable number of Anglo-Saxon peasant farmer immigrants suggested by the evidence in Deira (1983: 263). In Bernicia there had been post Romano-British continuity, then elite Anglian takeover that replaced British lordship, but with continuation of the British rural population and British influence in an amalgamation of cultures (ibid.: 265, 272, 274-6). However Cramp disagreed with



Alcock in that she did not believe Bernician grave goods indicated accurately the numbers and status of the Angles or the native population, but rather the date of effective Anglian control (ibid.: 269-70). Her views remained unchanged in 'Northumbria: the archaeological evidence' (1988). Her emphasis on British continuity and a hybrid society is linked to her study of Anglo-Saxon sculpture and art (see section 4 above).

Both Margaret Faull and David N. Dumville criticised early historical evidence for Bernicia and argued that interpretation should be left to archaeology. Faull argued that historical evidence was concerned with the elite not the general population and therefore was unreliable. Both constructed narratives that concentrated on the existing themes of British continuity and few Anglo-Saxons. Faull did her doctorate at Leeds University titled 'British survival in early Anglo-Saxon Yorkshire' and from this published 'British survival in Anglo-Saxon Northumbria' (1977). She was able to compare the burial evidence from Deira (Yorkshire) with that of Bernicia and concluded that the scarce Anglian archaeological evidence in Bernicia indicated less extensive Anglo-Saxon settlement than in Deira where there were a considerable number of peasant farmers. She further argued that evidence from cist graves, architectural techniques and material culture indicated British population and cultural continuity at least to the 6th century (1977: 10).

D.N. Dumville is primarily a historian and was Professor of palaeography and cultural history at Cambridge University, where he lectured in Celtic studies between 1977 to 1991 (although he also taught Anglo-Saxon and Norse studies). He is now at



Aberdeen University. In 'The origins of Northumbria: some aspects of the British background' (1989), the influence of Hunter-Blair, his teacher at Cambridge is apparent in Dumville's 'pro-British' themes. He argued that post-Romano-British kingdoms showed continuity with previous Celtic tribes and were based upon pre-existing native arrangements. Bernicia was founded on a British political and social structure which continued until taken over and adopted by Anglian settlers through conquest or marriage, after 540 AD.

The dominance of these themes even into the 1990s is illustrated by I.M. Smith and his analysis and interpretation of aerial photographic evidence in 'Sprouston, Roxburghshire: an early Anglian centre of the eastern Tweed Basin' (1991).

Smith interpreted the site as a large twin-walled palisaded enclosure, post-built halls, simple rectangular buildings with continuous wall trenches, aisled halls with annexes at one or both ends, and *grubenhäuser* (1991: 283). By comparing Sprouston to Yeavering and Milfield he argued that the early phase palisaded enclosure and post-built halls suggested affinities with British rather than Anglian tradition (*ibid.*: 285).

Smith was a former pupil of Cramp at Durham University in the 1980s and his interpretations follow her views and also those of Alcock, that an Anglian elite took over as a going concern existing British fortifications. Therefore the argument that Sprouston was probably the nucleus of a British estate with a fort before it was adopted and elaborated by the incoming Angles in the late 6th or early 7th century (*ibid.*: 284-5). It was an *urbs regia*: a provincial administrative, social and economic centre, which subsequently declined to a *villa regis*, and reflected the annexation of

British territories to Anglian overlordship (ibid.: 287-8). However in 'Brito-Roman and Anglo-Saxon: the unification of the Borders' (1983) Smith had argued that Sprouston provided evidence that Anglian settlement in the Tweed Basin developed with little or no regard for pre-existing native settlement (1983: 31). Elsewhere, such as in Manor Valley, evidence pointed to few Angles politically taking over existing estates, settlements and land use, and Smith suggested there had been an autonomous native state in the eastern Scottish Borders (ibid.: 27).

### 3.5.3 The federates of Bernicia and the further development of existing themes

The existing culture-historical themes were further developed by N. Higham and K.R. Dark, but they also constructed other themes such as the Angles as federates in Bernicia, and proposed that the nucleus of early Anglian settlement was Tyne and Wear rather than the coast of north Northumberland, which represented a later settlement phase.

Before considering these narratives a brief outline is required of background intellectual themes that were integral to them. A 'Late Antique' theme emerged with Esmonde-Cleary and was adopted by James Millet and Martin Henig. This 300-700 AD period is distinct from the preceding classical and later medieval worlds, and involves looking at change from a Romanist perspective. There was late Roman survival in the 5th and 6th centuries in north and west Britain, but through a transition to a sub-Roman or late Antique society. Esmonde-Cleary in 'The ending of Roman Britain' (1989) argued that Britain must be seen within the wider context of



the demise of the Western Empire rather than through Germanic invasion (1989: 131), and that although in Britain there was discontinuity in late Roman society there was continuity between sub-Roman society and the society of Anglo-Saxon England.

Henig has a historical art background and was based at the Ashmolean Museum. He now lectures in Roman art and culture at Oxford University, and has a 'Romanist' perspective. He adopted the Late Antiquity idea, but in 'Roman Britons after AD 410: survival of the Roman cultural legacy' (2002) argued for cultural continuity through to the Anglo-Saxon period in both western and eastern Britain, for example in the Romano-British art seen in hanging bowls, and evidence of the survival of the population and the Christian church survival.

The federate theme originated with S.C. Hawkes and G.C. Dunning (1961). Using the evidence of chip-carved metalwork: buckles and belt fittings, they suggested that federates, of probably German stock, were brought over from the Continent (1961: 17). This followed the pattern of the late Romano-Germanic army where federates were settled behind the frontiers and then were replaced in the 5th century by invading bodies of free farmers (ibid.: 40). Edward James developed this theme in studies of Gaul. In *The Franks* (1988) he described how the Romans settled the Franks in *civitates* as federates who agreed to military service in exchange for land (1988: 39). He also highlighted how the Visigoths in south-west Gaul in 418 AD and Burgundians in south-east Gaul in 443 AD were settled by the Romans under a treaty in return for military service (ibid.: 55). These themes were incorporated by Higham and Dark into their narratives about Britain.



Higham's intellectual background is associated with Manchester University as a Doctoral student there and then as reader in history at the School of history and Classics. His doctorate looked at rural settlement in Cumbria, and was closely associated with the work of G.B.D. Jones who focused on landscape archaeology and the Romano-British period in the north-west. Together they found evidence of settlement continuity from the prehistoric period in Cumbria. Higham's interest in the landscape and settlement history of the north-west and northern England, and in the Anglo-Saxon and British interface, is reflected in his publications in the late 1980s and 1990s on Northumbria and the Anglo-Saxon takeover of England. He followed the Alcock's methodology by comparing historical and archaeological evidence, although he increasingly criticised the reliability of historical sources. In 'Britons in Northern England in the early Middle Ages: through a thick glass darkly' (2001) he described historical sources as 'value laden writings' where Anglian Christian writers constructed an opaque view of the early medieval period (2001: 6, 24).

Higham derived many of his views on Bernician origins from the existing narratives of Hunter-Blair, Hope-Taylor and Alcock, but from his studies of the north-west already favoured a theme of British continuity. In *The northern counties to AD 1000* (1986) (derived substantially from his doctorate) he established most of his narrative themes about Bernicia. He argued that Anglo-Saxon burials were scarce and widely scattered along the coast and upper river valleys, although there was a concentration in the Milfield basin. However there was little evidence for English

settlement before the late 6th century, which supported the modern historical acceptance of the tradition of English settlement derived from Deira (ibid.: 257). Higham agreed that there was British continuity and antecedents in Bernicia, with British kingdoms and aristocracy emerging after Roman withdrawal, and that from these origins English Bernicia emerged (ibid.: 253). In developing this theme Higham followed Hope-Taylor's ideas that few English colonists were required for English occupation and control of the existing social and political structure as a secular and religious aristocracy (ibid.: 268), that there was not genocidal conflict between the British and English, with consequently little ethnic replacement (ibid.: 273), and that by AD 500 a British kingdom independent of Gododdin was located between the central Northumberland hills north of Alnwick and the Lammermuir hills beyond the Tweed, centred on Bamburgh and the Milfield basin. He argued that such a kingdom was indicated by archaeological evidence of cist graves, inscribed stones and British place-names (ibid.: 258).

From these ideas Higham developed the theme that the earliest Anglian settlers in Bernicia were foederati (mentioned by Alcock 1971: 120), and that the earliest Anglian settlement was not at Bamburgh or north Northumberland, but instead in the Tyne valley where there was a sub-Roman kingdom centred on Hexhamshire and Corbridge. Bernicia was centred around the Tyne, south Northumberland and the north Durham lowlands by 580 AD, with some English enclaves settled on the Tees estuary (ibid.: 253, 257-8),

'...pagan English warriors may have penetrated Tyne and Wear at the



end of the 5th century or soon after. The political activity, as kingmakers, of contemporary British warbands should be enough to render the subsequent elevation of English kings in Bernicia both plausible and likely' (ibid.: 257).

He based these ideas on the British and Anglian archaeological evidence and historical sources that he interpreted as referring to Ida conquering the north British kingdom in the mid 6th century, and actually joining Bamburgh/ Dinguaroi (the formerly British controlled northern kingdom) to Bernicia (the existing Anglian controlled southern kingdom). Higham therefore questioned the validity of the dominant narrative '...the Anglian dynasty rose from captains of a coastal pirate stronghold at Bamburgh in c. AD 550' (1986: 257) and sought to replace it with his own ideas. He developed this theme further in 1993 when he suggested that the capture and retention of Bamburgh was a late stage in the expansion and territory of the Bernician kings (1993: 82) and that Ida was an over-king of Bernicia which consisted of several separate kingdoms with former British lordships, indicated by the breakup and fighting after Ida's death (ibid.).

Higham's subsequent works repeated these narrative themes. His model for the origins of Bernicia was domination by few aristocratic Angles over a continuing British peasant population, and the imposition and domination of Anglian culture, religion and language. In *Rome, Britain and the Anglo-Saxons* (1992) he adopted Alcock's idea that burial evidence indicated small numbers of high status Angles in Bernicia, and suggested that the Anglo-Saxon aristocracy was culturally and socially



distinct until the 7th century Christian conversion (1992: 185). He interpreted the archaeological and historical evidence as showing that instead of British population replacement by large scale Anglo-Saxon immigration, there was small scale movement of Germanic warriors as new estate holders who imposed religion, language and material culture on the British peasant population (ibid.: 3). He argued that there was massive ethnic continuity from late Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England particularly in the less Romanized northern upland zone, where the British re-established a military capacity, developed kingdoms, and their elite adopted Christianity (ibid.: 209, 214). Germanic immigrants sought worked land with an existing British labour force and maintained existing territories and landscape (ibid.: 234).

In *The kingdom of Northumbria* (1993) Higham made identical points and emphasised British population survival, with only the British aristocracy being destroyed, evidenced by the military aristocracy being buried with Anglian rites. The Anglian and British societies and kingdoms in the north were very similar (ibid.: 97, 99). Higham regarded the period between the 5th and 7th centuries as a rapid transition in which 'Englishness' spread widely by being transmitted through social hierarchies and systems of patronage from immigrant aristocrats to the mass of indigenous peasantry (ibid.: 75). The Late Antique and federates themes are clearly visible in Higham's narratives.

K.R. Dark also emphasised British continuity and survival, and expressed similar views to Hunter-Blair in his support for British antecedents to Bernicia and

downplaying Anglo-Saxon evidence. This is founded on his Doctorate in archaeology completed at Cambridge in 1990, 'High status sites, kingship and state formation in post-Roman western Britain, AD 400-700' , and the 'pro-British' intellectual context there. Subsequently, as the director of the Research Centre for Late Antiquity and Byzantine Studies at the University of Reading, Dark has promoted Late Antique archaeological and historical themes involving late Roman survival into the 5th and 6th centuries in north and west Britain, but as a much changed sub-Roman or Late Antique society.

This intellectual context is reflected in Dark's narratives about Bernicia, and resulted in ideas similar to those of Higham, although he constructed a more controversial narrative from his examination of archaeological and environmental evidence. In 'A sub-Roman re-defence of Hadrian's Wall' (1992) Dark proposed that Hadrian's Wall was initially abandoned after Roman collapse but then re-defended in a sub-Roman context from the late 5th to mid 6th century AD. He interpreted the archaeological evidence from the Wall forts as showing the spatial overlap of British and Anglo-Saxon material and argued from this that there was British high status occupation and re-use of Wall forts and towns, with the establishment of Anglo-Saxon mercenaries and communities for military purposes (ibid.: 115). More speculatively he suggested the rather unconvincing idea that this was a defensive line between two British kingdoms, a large British late Antique kingdom to the south, and the Votadini to the north, and the collapse of this military organisation in the mid 6th century facilitated the rapid conquest of this territory by Anglo-Saxons from the

south (ibid.: 116). This correlates with Higham's theme that the nucleus of Anglian Bernicia centred around the Tyne, where there was the earliest Anglian settlement derived from foederate beginnings. In response to academic criticism of this theory, Dark reinforced these ideas in 'The archaeological and palynological evidence for a sub-Roman re-occupation of Hadrian's Wall' (1996), with additional environmental (pollen) and archaeological evidence (long cist burials and inscriptions). He argued that this supported a high status British elite north of the Tyne.

In 'The late Roman transition in the north: a discussion' (2000) Dark reiterated these themes but additionally argued that the north British in the 5th and 6th centuries were archaeologically invisible in comparison with the Anglo-Saxons. He pointed out that there was no deposition of unworn artefacts in late Romano-British 'Late Antique' Christian burial practice. Therefore the apparant contrast between the 'richness' of 'Anglo-Saxon' cemeteries and the artefactual poverty of Britons is illusory (2000: 81-2). Later, in *Britain and the end of the Roman Empire* (2000), Dark incorporated these ideas into his discussion of Bernicia, where his main theme was of continued British control in the later 5th and 6th centuries (2000: 194). He emphasised the vitality of British rather than Anglo-Saxon culture and religion, and pointed to the scarcity of Anglo-Saxon artefacts in north-east England. He considered that the majority of burials looked 'British', although Norton was a 'mixed' cemetery where some people wore 'Anglian' costume (2000: 193).

Dark applied the federates theme to Bernicia, and developed from the narratives of



Hunter-Blair and Hope-Taylor, and from studying British and Anglo-Saxon material remains in southern Scotland, the idea that incoming, possibly ethnically Germanic settlers did not arrive as invaders, instead they may have been permitted land within a British polity. He argued that a Christian Votadini kingdom continued into the late 6th century controlled by a British elite who allowed settlement by small groups of Germanic or Anglian people. He adopted Hope-Taylor's idea of peaceful Anglian settlement facilitated by British agreement. The British origins of Bernicia were emphasised and the Anglian contribution downplayed. From this he suggested that Yeavering, Milfield and Sprouston may not have been British political centres taken over by 'Anglo-Saxons', but simply late 6th century Anglo-Saxon settlements agreed to by the Votadini kingdom (ibid.: 205-7).

#### 3.5.4 The peasant Anglo-Saxon settlement: a 'new' theme

In the 1980s and early 1990s there was a narrative trend that attacked the embedded theme of British continuity in Bernicia and the archaeological evidence for this, particularly the evidence from Yeavering. Instead a theme was developed of peasant or lower status Anglian farming communities. This had been highlighted earlier by R.H. Hodgkin but had been superseded in the decades since World War 2 by the dominant view of few elite Angles and a British peasant population. The theme was 'archaeologically driven' in that new settlement and burial sites were discovered and published, but also there were socio-political and intellectual factors that influenced the interpretation of this evidence and the construction of wider narratives about the origins of Bernicia.

Even in the 1970s the evidence for British continuity had been criticised by D.M. Wilson in *Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England* (1976). He argued that despite the scarcity of Anglian burial evidence and the supposed British origins of Bamburgh and Yeavering, the only definite pre-Christian settlement that suggested a British origin is Doon Hill. In his view the archaeological evidence did not support continued British influence and survival in the region, although the British population was not exterminated by Anglo-Saxon incomers. Wilson's arguments are unsurprising given his personal intellectual background as a specialist in Viking studies, and in the 1970s and 80s, in Anglo-Saxon archaeology and art. His focus on Germanic rather than Celtic/ British themes may explain his criticism of British continuity in Bernicia.

However it was Roger Mket who made the first major attempt to re-evaluate the archaeological evidence for British continuity in Bernicia, in 'A re-statement of evidence from Bernician Anglo-Saxon burials' (1980). He challenged existing ideas and criticised the evidence for a number of dominant themes. This included British continuity, in that although he generally supported it, he questioned the idea that the building architecture at Yeavering (including the rectangular forms) showed a north British native influence. Instead, Mket argued that this could easily derive from Anglo-Saxon rather than British traditions (1980: 302, 1987: 284) because similar buildings had been discovered at other sites such as Thirlings and settlements in southern England, for example Cowdery's Down. He also argued that although Anglo-Saxon traits could be recognised in the burial evidence it was difficult to recognise British burial practice. However he conceded that this may have involved



few furnished burials and that British traits may have been unaccompanied extended inhumation and long cist burials in the later 5th to 7th centuries. There could also have been continuity of native traditions with Anglo-Saxon burials within henge enclosures such as at Yeavinger and Milfield (ibid.: 289, 299).

According to Milet, the recently discovered lower status sites and the poor quality of grave goods also conflicted with the theme of few elite Angles accounting for only a small proportion of the total population in Bernicia (ibid.: 301, 304). He also accepted the theme of the hybrid nature of Bernicia but argued that, except for the mixed traditions at Yeavinger and Milfield north and south, there was little evidence for a variety of burial practices, which there should be if the population consisted of an amalgam of British and Angles (ibid.: 299).

Milet was an assistant at the Museum of Antiquities at Newcastle Upon Tyne in the 1970s and 80s. The major intellectual influence on him was G. Jobey who supervised his M.Litt. at Newcastle, published in 1987. Jobey had identified and excavated native British settlements in the highlands and coastal plain of Northumberland and Durham. He populated these landscapes from the prehistoric to Romano-British period but had identified little definitive evidence that showed continuity of British settlement into the post-Roman period. He pointed out however that this was unsurprising as the native culture at these sites was generally aceramic and archaeologically invisible, and only in the Roman period were pottery sherds and other examples of material culture found (1982: 16-17). It is not surprising therefore



that Milet questioned the evidence of British continuity, and noted that native settlement evidence in fact showed that British circular house forms continued to the 7th century, with rectangular forms only at Roman forts (1980: 303).

Christopher Scull probably more than any other scholar contributed to the criticism of existing themes and promotion of the idea of Anglo-Saxon peasant farming communities, through the publication of two works: 'Two early cemeteries at Milfield, Northumberland' (1990) and 'Post-Roman phase 1 at Yeavinger: a reconsideration' (1991).

Two henge monuments were excavated at Milfield in 1981 by Scull and A.F. Harding. Scull discussed the evidence of re-use of the henges for early medieval burials (1990: 1). Milfield North consisted of five or more graves inside and outside the henge, which were dated from grave goods to the late 6th or 7th century (ibid.: 11). Scull suggested that Milfield North may have been associated with a small rural settlement, and confirmed an Anglian presence in the Milfield basin from the late 6th or early 7th century (ibid.: 23). Milfield South contained 41 certain and 4 probable graves lying within the henge, although up to 110 graves are estimated. There were few grave goods and skeletal remains in the 21 graves excavated (ibid.: 12, 13). Some graves were laid out in regular rows similar to the 'string graves' at Yeavinger. Although the scarcity of grave goods suggested an 8th century cemetery or later, Scull interpreted this as being as much a cultural as chronological phenomenon (ibid.: 22), and argued that the grave goods found suggested that the cemetery may have been established in the late 7th century but with the majority of burials post-dating

c.700 AD. However the unstratified finds of a spearhead and sword fragment suggested burial of a high status individual in the mid to late 7th century or earlier. Scull suggested that the cemetery served a small community over a number of generations, and was probably associated with an earlier phase of settlement at Maelmin (ibid.: 22-23).

From this evidence Scull argued that neither cemetery indicated a British burial tradition. Instead, Milfield north and the discoveries at Galewood and Thirlings (see below) showed there were 'small Anglo-Saxon farming communities in the Till valley from some time in the 6th century'. According to Scull, unequivocal Anglo-Saxon burials were recognised at Milfield north, with parallels in Deira and eastern England. At Milfield south, many of the individuals buried may have been British by descent, however the absence of gravegoods did not necessarily mean this derived from a northern British tradition. It was difficult to demonstrate that inhumation without grave goods was culturally specific in the late 7th and 8th centuries (ibid.: 23). He also argued that the re-use of a henge for burial at Milfield north suggested an attempt to establish or reinforce claims to land by a new farming community, rather than an elite community (ibid.: 23-24).

Scull's reinterpretation of Yeavinger stemmed from the new archaeological evidence for Anglian communities in the Milfield basin dating to the 6th/ early 7th century (1991: 51), including his interpretations of Milfield north. He questioned Hope-Taylor's dating evidence and argued that Yeavinger's phase 1 structures could be of



mid to late 6th century date. He suggested that the settlement at this date could just as easily be Anglo-Saxon as post-Romano British, except there were no Grubenhäuser. To support this he used comparative evidence not available to Hope-Taylor and placed the buildings at Yeavinger in the wider context of the 'early medieval building tradition' described by James, Marshall and Millett (1984), an insular development combining both Romano-British and continental Germanic elements, and paralleled at other 5th to 7th century sites in England. The supposed pre-English buildings of Yeavinger phase 1 and the later building phases could all therefore be part of this tradition, rather than providing evidence of a clear distinction between Anglian period and pre-Anglian native building traditions (ibid.: 54, 56-7). From this Scull argued that the earliest buildings could be evidence of a small Anglian farming settlement, an antecedent to the later villa regia, and paralleled by other lower status Anglian farming communities in the Milfield basin: Thirlings, New Bewick, Milfield north and south, and Galewood, dating to the later 6th century or earlier (ibid.: 60-1).

Although the discoveries at Milfield provided the foundation for Scull's narratives that emphasised peasant Anglo-Saxon communities and criticised evidence of British continuity, his 'Anglo-Saxon intellectual background' influenced and framed his interpretations. This included his time on the staff at Durham University, replacing Cramp and focusing on Anglo-Saxon studies. Scull thanked Millett and Martin Welch for their help in preparing his 1991 work and this is perhaps significant when considering factors that influenced him. Millett had also been on the staff at Durham,



and his excavation and interpretation of Cowdery's Down gave the perspective that Yeavinger was not so unique, and influenced Scull's criticism of Yeavinger as evidence supporting the idea of few elite Angles and British continuity. Welch focused on Anglo-Saxon studies and is discussed below. It is clear from this intellectual context and Scull's other publications at this time: *Archaeology, early Anglo-Saxon society and the origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms* (1992) and *Before Sutton Hoo: structures of power and society in early East Anglia* (1993) that his ideas and themes came from a broadly processualist and Anglo-Saxon perspective in which he favoured Anglo-Saxon migration over a period of time that combined elements from a number of generalising models. There is no suggestion of a pro-British or Celtic perspective.

The discovery, excavation, interpretation and publication of Thirlings and New Bewick were important for developing the theme of Anglo-Saxon peasant farming communities. Thirlings was excavated between 1973 and 1981, initially by Milet, and was known about before the publication of C. O'Brien and R. Milet's 'The early medieval settlement of Thirlings, Northumberland' (1991). Buildings discovered included six rectangular continuous trench buildings, three smaller post-hole constructed buildings, and possible Grubenhäuser some distance away, but no palisaded or ditched enclosure (1991: 78, 89). Radiocarbon dating provided a terminus post quem date for the building construction between 539-599 cal. AD (ibid.: 88).

Milet and O'Brien interpreted Thirlings as a firmly 'Anglo-Saxon' single phase 6th

century settlement, and although on a smaller scale compared to Yeavinger, Milfield and Sprouston, saw it as architecturally similar to them and to others elsewhere in England (ibid.: 89). They derive these themes from the material evidence, and from the existing narrative context, particularly the works of Cramp and Alcock, although given Miket's intellectual background he approached the interpretation of Thirlings from an 'Anglo-Saxon perspective'. Miket had initially analysed Thirlings from aerial photographs and had formed the opinion that Thirlings had similar evidence to Yeavinger but was smaller. From this he suggested that it was a lower status settlement, and the excavation evidence was interpreted as confirming this theory.

Miket's M.Litt. thesis provides a context for his interpretations of Thirlings and Anglo-Saxon settlement in the Milfield basin. He followed Hope-Taylor in arguing from archaeological and historical evidence that Bernicia passed possibly peacefully from British control to an immigrant Anglo-Saxon family such as Ida's in the mid 6th century AD, with its administrative centre at Bamburgh. He stressed that the Milfield basin continued to have a high density of population into the Anglo-Saxon period, and favoured this as the centre of Bernicia rather than the Tweed basin (1987: 280).

New Bewick was excavated in 1986 and published in T. Gates and C. O'Brien's 'Cropmarks at Milfield and New Bewick and the recognition of Grubenhäuser in Northumberland' (1988). They state:

'by confirming the existence of grubenhäuser at New Bewick it was

hoped...to add another tier to the settlement hierarchy in a region otherwise populated almost exclusively by sophisticated timber halls of the kind excavated at Yeavinger and Thirlings or identified at Milfield and Sprouston from air photographs' (1988: 1).

Eight or more grubenhäuser were discovered, together with loomweight and pottery evidence, although there was no trace of rectangular buildings. New Bewick was interpreted as a lower status settlement compared to Thirlings, Yeavinger and Milfield (ibid.: 8).

A further key archaeological discovery that reinforced this theme was described in *An Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Norton, Cleveland* (1992) by S. Sherlock and M. Welch. They constructed an interpretative narrative that set this evidence within the wider context of Anglian settlement in Bernicia, using early historical sources. They attacked the idea that early colonisation only involved Ida holding a pirate stronghold at Bamburgh (ibid.: 9) and Alcock's interpretation of Bernician society as overlordship by a small, well armed Anglian warrior aristocracy. Instead they argued that there was an actual movement of people north from Deira into southern Bernicia in the early 6th century, and that this involved colonisation inland up Dere Street, indicated by Anglian finds at Roman forts, and coastal colonisation with the acquisition of Bamburgh being a logical extension of this (ibid.). The evidence represented by Norton and Milfield north indicated that in the 6th century across Bernicia (including the Tees and Tyne valleys and north Northumberland) there was



colonisation involving small Anglian farming communities of peasant warriors who were armed with spears and shields rather than swords (ibid.: 5-6, 104).

The intellectual background of Welch influenced this interpretation. At Oxford University he studied modern history at undergraduate then MA level, then obtained a Doctorate in Anglo-Saxon archaeology, before becoming Keeper of the Ashmolean. Possibly the 'pro-Anglo-Saxon' perspective at Oxford influenced and helped to form Welch's ideas evident in his publications since the early 1990s. These concentrate on post-Roman and Anglo-Saxon archaeology, and Migration period Europe. His *English Heritage book of Anglo-Saxon England* (1992), in which he reviews developments and ideas in Anglo-Saxon studies, displays his focus on the Anglo-Saxons rather than the British.

In 1987 D.B. Gallagher had published more evidence from Saltburn, and from this had constructed an interpretative narrative that reinforces the peasant Anglo-Saxon theme, at least for the Tees valley. According to Gallagher, Saltburn was a mixed cemetery of cremations intermingled with inhumations (1987: 15), and from the grave goods was dated to the early 6th century. The cemetery lay at the beginning of lower, more fertile land extending north into the Tees valley and marked 6th century Anglo-Saxon settlement of this area (ibid.: 21). Further supporting evidence comes from 'An early Anglo-Saxon cemetery at St. Andrew's Hill, Easington, Co. Durham' (1995), where H. Hamerow and J. Pickin interpreted the burial evidence as comparable to Norton, and similarly concluded that Easington represented a typical 6th century Anglian cemetery in northern England, representing a small Anglian

peasant community.

These themes were influential and for example even Dark in *Civitas to Kingdom* (1994) questioned some of the archaeological evidence for British to Anglo-Saxon continuity in Bernicia, particularly Yeavering (1994: 250). It should be noted however that it may be possible to reconcile these themes with those that argue that the British were not only as a continuing population, but also as a dominant elite that allowed lower status Angles to settle in their territory.

Since the early 1990s there has been a counterattack by narratives that mostly oppose these ideas and propose different themes.

### 3.5.5 Dominant themes into the 21st century

Since the late 1990s there has been a paradigm shift (a change in an accepted pattern or model, Kuhn 1996: 23) in the narrative themes constructed. Some are new, others are developments of existing themes.

The key theme to emerge is that which questions the ethnic and racial distinctions between the British and Angles, and is closely linked to the application of post-processualist theory to the origins of Bernicia. However this represents the logical next step in a narrative process dating from the beginning of the 20th century, where the hybrid society and culture of Bernicia, an amalgam of Angles and British has become an increasingly dominant theme. The culture-historical approach taken in the 20th century assumed there were separate and distinct races or peoples, the British



and the Angles, each with their own social, cultural, economic and administrative characteristics that were fused into Bernicia. An example of such a narrative is that of Sherlock and Welch (1992) who adopted and refined a hybrid theme to fit their different ideas of Bernician society. The small Anglian farming communities contained a mixed population of Germanic speaking Angles (who were second or third generation settlers from the south who had intermarried with the British before moving to Bernicia) and native British who would mostly have labelled themselves 'Anglian' (ibid.: 103,105). Despite this Sherlock and Welch distinguished between the races of British and Angles on ethnic grounds in the material evidence, following the ideas of Faull that pennanular brooches and crouched burials indicated British traditions (ibid.: 103, Faull 1977: 10).

Higham and Dark also developed narratives that included this post-processualist theme. Higham questioned traditional ethnic and cultural divisions in Bernicia and suggested that British burial rites influenced Anglian burial practice, and Anglian burials included persons of British extraction who had 'gone English' as well as genuine incomers and their heirs (1993: 71). Dark questioned 'British' and 'Anglo-Saxon' ethnic identities (2000: 205-7).

A consequence of post-processualism and entwined with it was the construction of 'archaeology driven' narratives, the end result of the process of increasing reliance on archaeological evidence and the criticism and rejection of historical evidence. As a historical framework was ignored, one effect of this was to develop the hybrid theme further and deny the existence of ethnic 'Britons' and 'Angles' in Bernicia.



Instead the idea of an amalgam of British and Anglian cultural elements was promoted, a hybrid society that cannot be described as having either a British or Anglian ethnic identity.

The publications of Sam Lucy provide the principal example of the development of this theme. She wrote her PhD 'The Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of East Yorkshire' (1995) at Cambridge University and then was a lecturer at the University of Durham. Her time there coincided with that of Catherine Hills, and the post-processualist themes that they developed were similar. Hill focuses on the nature and course of Anglo-Saxon migrations and the subsequent development of new societies from the Romano-British and incoming Germanic peoples. Lucy's interests focus on Anglo-Saxon and early medieval burial practice and post-processualist approaches to ethnic identity and ethnicity. She redefined the Romano-British to Anglo-Saxon transition as an 'early medieval' period (see chapter 2).

She applied these ideas in 'Changing burial rites in Northumbria AD 500-750' (1999). Generally she argued that 5th to 7th century people should not be labelled as 'Anglo-Saxons' or 'Britons' because it was difficult to identify race, ethnic identity or ethnic groupings from burial evidence (1999: 15-16). Grave goods did not necessarily indicate Anglo-Saxon people, only that people wished to bury the deceased with such goods. For Bernicia Lucy questioned both themes of peasant migration or elite takeover by Angles because the burial evidence could not necessarily indicate Angles or their status. Her explanation for this was that those in

positions of power had no need to emphasise their status in society through the destruction of wealth as grave goods, and gave as an example the supposedly high status site of Yeavinger (ibid.: 22).

However, Lucy apparently modified her views in 'Early medieval burial at Yeavinger: a retrospective', her paper in *Yeavinger: people, power and place* (2005) by P. Frodsham and C. O'Brien (eds.). Here she distinguished between British and Anglo-Saxon burial evidence and argued that comparisons between the burial evidence at Yeavinger and the inhumation and long cist burials of southern Scotland showed that Yeavinger fitted into a north British rather than southern Anglo-Saxon context, if the dating chronology is correct (2005: 142-3). Despite this she agreed with the theme developed by Hope-Taylor, that different cultural elements were fused into a new 'Anglo-Saxon' culture (ibid.: 143), which of course equated very well with her own post-processualist views.

Chris Loveluck developed similar post-processualist themes as Lucy in 'The Romano-British to Anglo-Saxon transition: social transformations from the late Roman to early medieval period in northern England' (2002). He questioned ideas of ethnicity, race and identity created by culture-historical approaches and suggested there was both continuity and revolutionary change in the north depending on regional circumstances, but that a successor society could not be termed 'Anglo-Saxon' (2002: 127, 145). Loveluck teaches at Nottingham University and his research focuses on development of societies in Western Europe between AD 400-1500, particularly with reference to landscape and settlement archaeology. His

2002 work must be set in the context of his publications in the 1990s which focused on the Anglo-Saxons in the north but concentrated on East Yorkshire. His knowledge of Bernicia is limited and his narrative is reliant on existing narratives.

Therefore, at least in Northumberland, the model Loveluck proposed was a mixed/hybrid successor society where Native British and Germanic influences merged to produce a society that had developed a distinct and indigenous character due to a surviving British legacy. He identified both 'British' and 'Anglo-Saxon' characteristics in the settlement and burial evidence (ibid.: 136,146). Indigenous indicators included cist burials and fortified centres (ibid.: 133), but there was also evidence that the existing population adopted intrusive Anglo-Saxon traits such as Grubenhäuser and Anglo-Saxon material culture in the graves (ibid.: 136, 146). However he argued, following his post-processualist approach, that Anglian grave goods could mean an indigenous population with these goods, rather than indicating 'Angles' (ibid.: 142).

A theme that was further reinforced (perhaps as a reaction against the narratives of 5.4 above) was with regard to the archaeological evidence for British continuity. Loveluck highlighted evidence in Northumberland which implied continuity of function and occupation by the native population, such as the similarity between Anglo-Saxon fortified sites in Northumberland and British fortified sites, and the takeover of pre-existing native centres (ibid.: 142). He suggested that although there had initially been revolutionary change with the Roman collapse, there was subsequent continuity of the native population because the Anglo-Saxons had taken



over the British polities that had then emerged, including the existing settlement hierarchy and its social relations.

Lucy had initially attacked the assumption that there was a continuity of native burial traditions, with Anglo-Saxons adopting British burial rites, because she believed that it was difficult to identify native burial rites in 5th to 7th century Bernicia (1999: 15). Instead there was sparse evidence of various burial types, barrow, cist, cremation etc, but all with 'Anglian' material culture (ibid.: 16-18, 22). However, she strongly argued in her 2005 narrative that the archaeological evidence from Yeavering supported British continuity and (as mentioned above) contained north British characteristics. She rejected the criticisms levelled against the building evidence by Scull and Blair (ibid.: 141). In fact Lucy agreed with the 'pro-British' culture-historical themes of Hope-Taylor and Alcock that Yeavering was a British estate and ceremonial centre, and that there was survival and takeover of the British administration, including fortified centres, by the Angles in Bernicia (ibid.: 143). She also agreed with Hope-Taylor's view that there was cultural influence and peaceful change rather than population replacement, conquest or settlement by large numbers of Angles.

*Yeavering, people, power and place* (2005) consisted of papers presented at a conference at Bede's World, Jarrow in 2003. They primarily seek to review and re-assess the evidence and Hope-Taylor's interpretations regarding Yeavering, but also provide a good example of current views and dominant themes in the wider discussion of Bernicia. As with Lucy's paper, a central theme is the re-affirmation that

the evidence from Yeavinger (with some re-interpretation) provides strong evidence for British continuity. For example, Frodsham argued that the hill and fort of Yeavinger Bell retained importance over a long time, and that there was continuity of ritual, burial practice, occupation and activity at Yeavinger, although with periods of abandonment (ibid.: 24-6, 34, 58). S.T. Driscoll argued that centres in Northumbria and early medieval Scotland similarly exploited ancient monuments for political advantage, and noted the trend in Bernicia towards adopting British centres. O'Brien agreed that '...there is a body of linguistic and archaeological evidence to suggest that the Bernician kings had taken over a set of fortified sites which were places of leadership in the native precursors of the Bernician state', and adopted Alcock's suggestion that the Great Enclosure was part of the north British defended centres and palisade tradition (ibid.: 148,152).

However some papers did question the dating and chronology of Yeavinger by Hope-Taylor. This has important consequences because the key narratives that support the themes of British continuity and a hybrid Bernician society and culture rely on the evidence at Yeavinger. Lucy questioned the dating chronology of the east and west cemeteries, suggesting that neither resembled mid 6th/ early 7th century Anglian burial practice in the area such as at Milfield north. Instead they corresponded to late 7th/8th century burial practice such as at Milfield south (ibid.: 139). If correct, this supports Scull's interpretation that all phases are Anglo-Saxon because the chronology of the site is moved to a later date. T. Gates also showed that the supposed field system was in fact periglacial frost cracks (ibid.: 35), which has



repercussions for dating the site and for continuity arguments. He also identified possible Grubenhäuser, and if true this may rebut the main argument against Scull's interpretation: that there was no evidence for Grubenhäuser in phase 1. O'Brien questioned the stratigraphic evidence of the Great Enclosure, and argued that there was no *terminus post quem* for its initial construction (ibid.: 148, 152).

Other themes generally support those put forward by Hope-Taylor. For example Barnwell suggested that there may have been early Anglian territorial expansion rather than being limited to pirate coastal strongholds. The undefended nature of Yeavinger was because there was peaceful transition rather than conflict, involving a small Anglian elite acting in co-operation with the surrounding British population (ibid.: 187).

A further dominant theme emphasised the difference between the archaeological evidence of Northumberland and Durham, therefore arguing against the ideas of Sherlock and Welch. Lucy observed that the burial evidence for Northumberland and Durham was different, and that the sparse 6th century burial evidence north of the Tyne contrasted to extensive evidence in Durham. In the 7th century, furnished inhumation burial occurs north of the Tyne at forts, barrows and henges, but there is virtually no evidence in Durham (2005: 16, 18). Loveluck similarly argued that although in Northumberland there was evidence for Angles taking over a pre-existing Romano-British society and settlement hierarchy, in Durham there was intrusive Anglian burial practice and the adoption of Anglo-Saxon fashions, reflected



in the furnished burials at Darlington, Norton and Easington (although there were British dress accessories for wealthy female inhumations such as pennanular brooches) (2002: 133). There was little evidence in Durham of a fusion between indigenous and 'Germanic derived' practices, although Loveluck suggested that Anglian material culture and graves at Roman forts could reflect continuity of settlement foci at these sites (ibid.: 135).

Other narratives in this period include those by Craig Cessford. He studied archaeology at the University of Newcastle Upon Tyne before becoming a full-time field archaeologist. As he came from the Lothians he had a strong local interest and his unpublished M.Litt. *Aneirin and the artefact* (1992) compared the *Gododdin* poem(s) with archaeology. From this he mined a number of articles about Bernicia and early medieval southern Scotland, including 'Exogamous marriages between Anglo-Saxons and Britons in 7th century Northern Britain' (1996) and 'Relations between the Britons of southern Scotland and Anglo-Saxon Northumbria' (1999). He questioned the ethnic identities of the Angles and British in Bernicia and argued that Grubenhäuser did not necessarily mean Anglo-Saxon sites, but rather settlements with a mix of Angles and British through intermarriage. There was integration of both groups at a single site (similar to Sherlock and Welch). Cessford favoured ethnic co-existence rather than ethnic transitions and questioned the evidence supposedly showing this. From his analysis of the distribution of Anglo-Saxon and British artefacts there was little evidence of relations between the Anglo-Saxons and British. He also agreed with Scull and Miket that supposed evidence of British continuity

was suspect, and that there were not definite British antecedents at Yeavinger. He questioned whether the Angles did take over existing British settlements, suggesting instead that there could have been a significant intervening gap (1999: 159-160).

Cessford's narratives show that although the dominant themes are those set out above, with the re-emphasis on British continuity and a hybrid Bernicia, there are other less popular themes that are constructed, and D. Rollason's *Northumbria, 500-1100* (2003) is a good example of this. Rollason had interacted with theoretical archaeologists in the 1980s who had discussed the construction of models, and he applied this processual idea to the origins of Bernicia. He suggested three alternative models of change (in fact different narrative themes) (2003: 65) and reviewed existing historical, archaeological and other evidence to assess their viability. The first was a peaceful transition, with continuity between the Romans and post Romano-British. They gave power to the English federates who created Bernicia. The ruling elite changed but the native population remained. Rollason rejected this model, arguing that there was no real evidence for Roman or sub-Roman continuity of government or culture.

Rollason's second model is the dominant theme favoured by culture-historical and post-processual narratives. He described it as peaceful transition but without Roman continuity. Instead a native British kingdom was created, either inheriting Roman power or rejecting it and re-asserting Britishness. This kingdom was peacefully taken over as a going concern by an incoming Anglian elite who initially acted as warlords for the British, then, through British co-operation were handed political power. The

native population were largely unaffected (2003: 81, 85). He rejected this model as he considered the evidence for it was weak. Despite this he argued that there was an early phase before Bernicia existed, which related to British activity, and that there was evidence for a British kingdom, population survival, and British antecedents such as the survival of agrarian organisation and British centres such as Yeavering (*ibid.*: 84, 89).

Rollason opted for a third model involving a violent conquest by Anglian incomers, destruction and degradation of the British, and removal of British organisation and structures. To support this he argued that the historical sources emphasised a hostile English takeover, with fighting and conflict. He criticised the evidence for British survival and continuity and argued that the native culture was largely replaced by a dominant Anglian culture, in language, place-names, ritual and grave goods.

However he conceded that there was ambiguous evidence in burial and construction practice for British population survival at some social level, and a mixed British and Anglian culture (*ibid.*: 1-2, 93, 98).

Two further themes were mentioned by Rollason, first, his criticism of the evidence of high status grave-goods that indicated an English elite. He suggested that the scarcity of grave goods reflected late Anglian settlement, at a time when grave goods were going out of fashion (*ibid.*: 3). Second, he synthesised Higham and Hope-Taylor's narratives by suggesting that Bernicia had two heartlands: north Northumberland/ south-east Scotland, and Tyne and Wear.



Rollason concluded that although there was some evidence for a peaceful transition, where the British population remained but adopted an English identity and language, it was more likely that the Bernician population consisted of predominately English incomers who killed, displaced and degraded native British inhabitants (ibid.: 99, 108).

### 3.5.6 Synthesis and analysis

Narrative themes and developments were influenced by the relationship between historical and archaeological evidence. Since the early 20th century there has been a long-running trend involving increasing reliance on archaeological evidence and criticism of historical evidence. In the 1990s this ultimately led to a paradigm shift where narratives have been totally constructed from archaeology, and history has either been ignored or been relegated to a minor supporting role. Although culture-historical narratives relied on a historical framework, since Leeds there has been an ambiguous relationship between history and archaeology in constructing themes about the origins of Bernicia. History describes British annihilation and a complete Anglian conquest and takeover. But instead themes such as British continuity, a hybrid society and few elite Angles were developed from archaeological evidence and Northumbrian art-styles.

This paradigm shift was precipitated by changes in the intellectual context involving theoretical developments in archaeology. Processualism played only a limited part in this because by the 1970s (when it began to be applied to Anglo-Saxon studies, see chapter 2), themes of internal change, indigenous continuity of population and culture,

and transition leading to a hybrid society were already well established for Bernicia. Processualism may have reinforced these themes by focusing on internal rather than external change, but more significantly it contributed to the increasing criticism of history as a framework for interpreting archaeology. Of greater influence was post-processualist theory which accelerated the process of reliance on archaeological evidence and the rejection of historical evidence. Post-processualism brought more complex explanations for change that were not grounded in a historical framework. Change was more fluid, and there was an emphasis on transitional periods and less defined ethnic categorisation. The hybrid nature of Bernician society was therefore not only emphasised but the demarcation between British and Anglian ethnicity in this mixed ethnic population was questioned.

The key narrative changes since the 1990s are therefore the disappearance of ethnic Angles and an 'Anglian Bernicia'. The historically constructed ethnic and racial framework of British and Anglo-Saxons has now been widely rejected, together with the idea of British annihilation. The increasing dominance of archaeology and the rejection of history has generated themes that focus on a British dominated Bernicia. The role of the British has been emphasised and that of the Angles downplayed, so that the dominant narrative themes now describe a Celtic-Anglian Bernicia, a hybrid society and culture that combined British and Anglian elements, and where there ~~there~~ was British continuity, a powerful British kingdom, and a peaceful takeover involving few (possibly high status) Angles. ⊗

These themes were not immune to national socio-political and intellectual contextual

developments (see chapter 2). In the 1990s the rise of post-modern and multi-cultural ideas is linked to post-processualism in archaeology. The current dominant theme of a mixed Bernician society and culture that combines 'British' and 'Anglian' elements is a projection of the present into the past, and portrays Bernicia as a politically correct, tolerant, multi-cultural society undergoing a peaceful transition. However, there are serious grounds for questioning how realistic this theme is, which have been laid out by Heinrich Härke, the German archaeologist who has worked and studied in both the German and British academic systems, and who has expressed deep-seated views about the nature of the Anglo-Saxon takeover. He makes clear ethnic distinctions between the Anglo-Saxons and British, and favours immigration by large numbers of Anglo-Saxons, but with some British survival. He maintains that there is a link between material culture and ethnic identity and population movement (2002: 24). These views very much reflect those of German academia and contrast with the historical and archaeological community in England where Härke's ideas are unpopular and almost considered heretical. Härke himself commented on the scepticism by historians and archaeologists of the frequency and scale of migrations. His central argument was that there was an academic trend from the 1960s towards 'immobilisation' and anti-immigration, promoting the view that large scale migration did not happen, and that instead there was small scale immigration by a Germanic military elite followed by acculturation of the native Britons (2002: 15-16, 453-4). It is now fashionable for many archaeologists to reject any link between material culture and ethnic identity or population movement. His explanation for this was that the attitudes



of archaeologists were shaped or influenced by present-day social, political and intellectual factors, not the archaeological past (1998: 19). He linked the current views of archaeologists and historians to the concerns of the modern world, post-modern explanations and domination by current intellectual fashions (2004: 454).

In these views I am in agreement with Härke, and believe that socio-political and intellectual influences are a crucial factor behind the development of narrative themes for Bernicia. However, although national contextual influences are not insignificant, local factors have more critically influenced these themes, for example the effect that evidence for native settlement in north-east England, the Votadini, Northumbrian art and sculpture, and local Anglo-Saxon archaeological discoveries have had on the themes of British continuity and a hybrid Bernicia. More crucially, narrative context and the weight of past scholarship, allied to academic 'habitus' influence, make the power of narrative the greatest single influence.

**CHAPTER 4**  
**THE USE OF ONOMASTIC AND LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE**  
**IN HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES**

**Section 1: Introduction**

Before proceeding to the analysis and interpretation of place-name evidence in Bernicia, there are preliminary issues that need to be discussed.

A major issue is the lack of correlation and integration of place-names with archaeological and historical evidence. While most scholars would assert the need for cross-disciplinary study, this is difficult because of the practical problem of keeping abreast of the most recent developments in disparate fields. This problem works both ways, with many place-name experts having limited knowledge of up to date archaeological evidence and theory, and most archaeologists and historians having only a basic understanding of place-name evidence and language shift. Consequently, interpretation of place-names can be unreliable because place-name experts may rely on outdated archaeological evidence for chronological and other purposes (Higham 1992: 200). For the most part they adopt a culture-historical approach, often linking place-names and the spread of a language with movements of people, invasions and migrations, and unreliable historical evidence and historical events.

**Section 2: Place-name studies by archaeologists and historians**

**4.2.1 Introduction**

The historiographical study that follows highlights the limited use and integration of

place-name evidence by the archaeologists and historians analysed in chapters 2 and 3. For those scholars who did use place-name evidence, the key point is the polarisation between the scholars who sought evidence of British survival and continuity, and others who emphasised the Anglo-Saxon content in the population of Anglo-Saxon England (Gelling 1993: 53).

#### 4.2.2 Early developments

Place-names were studied in the 16th century by Camden in *Remains concerning Britain* and in *Britannia*, and later in that century by the scholars in the Cambridge circle and at Oxford University, for example William Parker and William Lamparde. Lawrence Nowell in the 1560s used Old English place-names to construct an atlas of Saxon Britain (although it was never fully completed).

In the 19th century place-names were more commonly used and integrated with archaeological and historical evidence. Isaac Taylor in *Words and places* (1864) had analysed place-names and calculated the proportion of Celtic, Saxon and Danish names in English counties (1864: 214). Beddoe in *Races of Britain* (1885) used place-names to support his argument that the population of Eastern England and south-east Scotland had more Saxon than Celtic blood, but that the natives remained in some areas. In south-east Scotland he argued that there was a high percentage of Saxon and Norse names in Berwick, Roxburghshire and Tweeddale (1885: 67).

#### 4.2.3 Studies in the early 20th century

In this period, place-names were either not used, for example Chadwick (1907) and



Leeds (1913), or were totally subordinate to archaeological and historical evidence in the construction of narratives, for example Hodgkin (1935) who devoted a small part of his narrative to place-name study. He investigated the survival of Romano-British place-names and any continuity between British and Anglo-Saxon names using English Place Name Society (EPNS) surveys (1935: 163). Although Hodgkin criticised place-names as a poor guide to the course and date of the invasions he thought they were the best evidence for determining the extent to which the British population survived. He argued that because there were very few British place- and river-names, except in Cornwall, Wales and the borders, the native Romano-British population in England generally did not survive (ibid.: 167-8).

Other scholars made greater use of place-names to support the theme that there was large-scale English colonisation and only very limited British survival. Myres, for instance, argued in *English settlements* (1936) that place-names were essential to understand the social conditions under which settlement took place, and the institutional ties which first bound the settlers together. In his opinion classes of names provided evidence for Anglo-Saxon distribution, second in importance only to pagan cemetery evidence (1936: 332, 420, 444). From this evidence he took the view that Germanic place-names almost totally supplanted Celtic names except for natural landscape features, and therefore he questioned whether the Romano-British population and institutions survived (ibid.: 427). Earlier, in *Britain in the Dark Ages* (1935), Myres had compared Anglo-Saxon place-names in *-ing*, *-ingas*, and pagan names, with archaeological cemetery evidence, to indicate the areas most settled by Anglo-Saxons

(1935: 458-64).

As an important place-name scholar in his own right (he was one of the founders of place-name studies and produced *The place-names of Berkshire* in 1911) (*DNB*), Stenton made considerable use of this evidence in his narratives. In *Anglo-Saxon England* (1943), using place-name evidence to investigate British continuity and survival and the extent of English colonisation, he highlighted the extreme rarity of British place-names in Sussex, and from this inferred that English colonisation was on a scale that left little room for British survival (1943: 18).

#### 4.2.4 Studies in the later 20th century

The key themes explored were British survival and continuity and their relationship with Anglo-Saxons. Scholars who were Celtists used place-names to support their interpretation of British survival. K. Jackson in *Language and history in early Britain* (1953) used place-name evidence to investigate the linguistic relations between the British and Anglo-Saxons, and, carefully controlled by historical and archaeological evidence, to support his view that there was British survival in, for example, the region between the Rivers Tyne and Tees, and the country around the River Glen in North Northumberland (1953: 222, 238). Similarly, N. Chadwick (1963: 111) used place-names to support her argument that the predominant element in the English population was Celtic. Other scholars made more limited use of place-names such as Loyn (1962: 6-7) who examined British survival in place-names, particularly names of natural features, Alcock (1971: 311-12) who referred to British place-names when he discussed British continuity, and L. Laing in *Celtic Britain* (1979: 89-92) who

examined place-names that indicated Romano-British survival such as *ceaster* and *eccles*.

M. Faull (1970) analysed place-name distributions in Yorkshire, which included evidence of British settlements and survival, as well as early Anglo-Saxon place-names. From her comparison of this evidence to landscape, soils and archaeology, she constructed an interpretation of the Anglo-Saxon settlement pattern in Deira, and of the relationship between the British and Anglo-Saxons (1977: 11-20). Similarly in 1981 Faull compared the distribution of English and Celtic place-names in West Yorkshire to discover the relationship between the two groups (1981: 183). She found a massive dominance of English place-names but some place-names indicated British survival (ibid.: 174-6).

#### 4.2.5 Recent place-name studies

Many archaeologists are still dismissive of place-names and only briefly mention them. K. Dark in 1992 rejected the usefulness of place-names, but mentioned *chester* names in the context of Roman forts, and that they indicated Anglo-Saxon recognition of them as Roman places (1992: 118). Later he dismissed place-name evidence as problematic regarding dating, chronology and distribution (2000: 46-7), but argued that *eccles* names indicated a Christian ruling elite in the area (ibid.: 200).

From the 1980s new topics were considered by archaeologists and historians: language shift and place-names, limitations of place-names regarding interpretation of the Anglo-Saxon takeover, what place-names actually show; and whether they can be



linked to race, ethnicity and ethnic identity. A good example is the works of N. Higham. In his 1986 study he suggested that the replacement of British with Anglo-Saxon names did not indicate actual numbers of Anglo-Saxons and British. In 1992 he considered that place-names were the main source of evidence for language shift during the Anglo-Saxon takeover, but questioned the relationship between language and ethnicity, that is, between place-name change and population change. Although Higham identified place-names of early Anglo-Saxon and Romano-British origin, he expressed scepticism about the usefulness of place-name evidence, particularly as evidence of the relationship between the Anglo-Saxons and British, the nature of the Anglo-Saxon takeover, and even British survival. Similar views were expressed in 1993 when he argued that links between ethnicity and place-names were insecure, and therefore it was difficult to write a settlement history from place-name evidence (1993: 71). These views and criticisms of place-names were adopted by Rollason (2003) when he briefly examined place-names as possible indicators of paganism, British population survival, and also their significance in the context of language shift (2003: 62, 64-6, 93-7, 114-5), (see section 4 below).

A further theme to emerge is the relationship of place-names to landscape archaeology, for example in works such as D. Hooke's *The Anglo-Saxons in England in the 7th and 8th centuries: aspects of location and space* (2003), and C. Arnold's *Early Anglo-Saxon settlement patterns in southern England* (1977), where he studied landscape and the structure and patterns of settlement using archaeology and place-names. He argued that the distribution of settlements and early place-name elements

was controlled by topography, with concentrations in suitable habitative locations such as valleys.

### **Section 3: A historiography of place-name studies of Bernicia**

#### **4.3.1 Introduction**

This section reviews key place-name studies by archaeologists, historians and place-name experts with the aim of identifying the ideas, themes and interpretations, and any dominant problems with this evidence.

A starting point is 19th century works that specifically analysed place-names, such as A. Hedley's 'An essay ascertaining the etymology of the names of places in the county of Northumberland' in *Archaeologia Aeliana* in 1822, where he studied the place-names of parishes (1822: 245-6). This was not reliable but he did recognise many Celtic names in Northumberland, and terms such as *Caer* and *Glen* (ibid.: 243-44). J.V. Gregory in 'Place-names of the county of Northumberland' (1881) analysed words and elements, which he identified as Anglo-Saxon, British and Norse etc., but focused upon place-name evidence for Norse and Danish colonisation of Northumbria, particularly Northumberland. There were also 19th century historical studies that incorporated some place-name analysis, for example that of C.J. Bates' (1895), where he briefly discussed evidence of tribal *-ingaham* names such as Coldingham, Eglingham, Chillingham etc, and also noted that *tun* names belonged to a later period (1895: 49-50).

#### 4.3.2 Studies by place-name experts

A. Mawer's *The place-names of Northumberland and Durham* (1920) contains the most authoritative and complete place-name study of Northumberland to date. Mawer personally collected early spellings of place-names, and it is unlikely that anyone before him could have made anything more than informed guesses about the names. He analysed place-names found in medieval documents dated before 1500 AD which could be identified on a map, together with their topographic conditions (1920: viii). Although this work is now out-dated in some respects, for example in its assumptions that *-ingas* and *-ingaham* were the oldest elements, it remains the main source of information for Northumberland place-names in the absence of an EPNS survey. Mawer viewed Celtic place-name distribution in Northumberland and Durham as no stronger than in most English counties, and less than in the Welsh borders. Despite Celtic river names and a number of Celtic place-names or elements, the vast majority of names were Anglian, which suggested a complete Anglian conquest, and no suggestion of an unsubdued native element in the hills (1920: xv, xvii).

Allen Mawer (1879-1942) became Professor of Language and Literature at Newcastle University in 1908, having previously attended London then Cambridge Universities. He had strong historical interests but gradually focused on English place-names, having been influenced as a student by Skeat, and by the pioneer investigators Bradley and Stevenson. His review of place-name evidence, for the thesis by which he obtained his fellowship, concentrated on Scandinavian settlement and influence, but this involved the study of Old English place-names. He was a highly regarded scholar



and was influential in the development of place-name studies in England (all from *PBA* 1943 xxix: 433-39). The value lies in the collection of spellings as well as the interpretations, though both have been supplemented (especially in the standard dictionaries of English place-names).

There are more recent studies of Northumberland place-names, but they are either unreliable, inaccurate or merely derive from Mawer, for example Watson's *Goodwife Hot* (1970) and Beckensall's *Northumberland place-names* (1975). For Durham, there has been C.E. Jackson's *Place-names of Durham* (1916), and again, Mawer (1920) is an important source, but there is no EPNS survey in print (Part I is currently in proof). However the analysis of place-names is in a better position due to Victor Watts' 'The earliest Anglian names in Durham' (1978) and 'The evidence of place-names II' (1979) which discussed place-names generally and in Northumberland, but focused on place-names in Durham. He then published *A dictionary of County Durham place-names* (2002), a synopsis of the full-scale EPNS county survey which he had undertaken.

There have also been national surveys that include the more important names in Northumberland and Durham, but ignore many minor names. These include E. Ekwall's *Oxford dictionary of English place-names* (1960), A.D. Mills' *A dictionary of English place-names* (1998), and Watts' *The Cambridge dictionary of English place-names* (2004). These can make important supplements to Mawer (1920).

For the place-names of south-east Scotland there is no one all-embracing survey;

instead there are a number of surveys, some outdated, while others are speculative and unreliable, and still others only focus on a small area. For details of these works see chapter 5.2.2.

In summary, there has been no unitary study of the place-names of Bernicia and those studies that exist are few and often outdated and unreliable, but the main medieval spellings for the main names have been collected and probably correctly interpreted.

#### 4.3.3 Place-name studies by archaeologists and historians

In the archaeological and historical narratives about Bernicia that are referred to above, there has been minimal use or integration of place-name evidence. Either place-name evidence is ignored or only briefly referred to, or is used in a limited way that is totally subordinate to archaeological and historical evidence, and merely supports existing interpretations developed from that evidence. In so far as place-name evidence has been used, the focus by scholars has usually been on questions of British survival and continuity. For example Lucy and Loveluck ignored this evidence, Dark rejected its use, and while Myres (1936: 445-6) did refer to the persistence of Celtic place-names in Bernicia, there was no analysis. Loyn (1962: 9) did however point out that the country between the rivers Tees and Tyne contained many British small stream names which he used to examine British survival.

Hope-Taylor (1977) made minimal use of place-name evidence by combining it with archaeological and historical evidence to support his culture-historical interpretations about the pattern of Anglo-Saxon settlement in Northumberland. As an archaeologist



rather than a place-name expert, he based his interpretations on outdated and possibly unreliable place-name studies. As a consequence he believed *-ingas/-inga-* and *-ingaham* formed the earliest Anglian names, and therefore assumed from their distribution that primary early Anglian settlement was concentrated at the mouth of the River Aln and the Aln valley, and that the Devil's Causeway Roman road facilitated northward expansion (1977: 23). He used the distribution of early Anglian names in the coastal zone and of British names in the western upland zone to support his idea that the political centre at Bamburgh was merely one part of early Anglian settlement and influence over the wider coastal area (ibid.: 23,25).

There were academics who discussed place-names in detail but hardly referred to Bernicia, such as Alcock (1971). However, in his later work 'Bede, Eddius and the forts of the North Britons' (1988) Alcock did include Bernicia in his discussion of fortified settlement centres, and analysed their names, such as Bamburgh and Dunbar. He used the evidence of British-derived names for the centres to support his theory of British continuity and a takeover of British fortified centres by the Anglo-Saxons.

There are exceptions where there were more extensive place-name studies involving Bernicia, including Cramp who explored the place-name indications of British survival, such as *w(e)alh* names, and *eccles* names that indicated Christianity and surviving British churches (1983: 271-2). She attempted to compare, integrate and interpret place-name and archaeological evidence, and argued from the distribution of *ceaster* and *burh* names along Dere Street that at the Roman forts on this road there was a significant coincidence of name survival and continuing settlement (ibid.: 267, 286).



K. Jackson studied the place-names of Bernicia in 'The Britons in southern Scotland' (1955) where, despite primarily relying on historical evidence to construct his narrative, he referred to place-names for the coming of the Anglo-Saxons in southern Scotland. He noted that there were predominately English place-names and a high proportion of those were very early (although without providing examples) but with some Brittonic place-name survival especially in less accessible hilly districts (1955: 84). In 'Angles and Britons in Northumbria and Cumbria' (1963) he analysed place-names to determine whether there was survival or extermination of the Celtic population. He equated the survival of the Brittonic names with the survival of the British population in the region (1963: 77-9), and concluded from this evidence that a considerable number of people of British race and language survived the Anglo-Saxon conquest, especially in certain parts of Northumbria (ibid.: 83).

#### **Section 4: Language shift, place-names and ethnicity**

##### **4.4.1 Introduction**

As mentioned in section 2 above, an increasingly important issue for archaeologists, historians and toponomists in the study of place-names, especially regarding the almost total replacement of Brittonic names with English names, is language shift. Therefore, although this is not the place to explore language shift in detail, an outline of important points would help a better understanding of place-name replacement as a consequence of a native British to Anglo-Saxon transition.

It is important to distinguish between language shift and language change. From the first appearance of Old English to the present day there is an underlying process of constant but gradual language change through a speech community (Cameron 1996: 12, Fromkin et al. 2003: 534). This linguistic change occurs through simplification, elaboration and complication, grammar regularisation, analogic change, sound shift such as the Great Vowel Shift (a particular set of changes in the history of English) and assimilating sound changes (Fromkin et al. 2003: 535-6). Other types of change include semantic change (shift in meaning of an existing word), and lexical change such as dropping of words from use, word formation and borrowings from another language (Ehret 1988: 564-5).

A place-name is given as a result of human activity: a need to distinguish, to give a name to a physical feature (Cameron 1996: 13). It is a particular manifestation of language, which Edwards defined as a purely human, non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols (1985: 16). Place-names and language are linked because place-names provide both a source of linguistic evidence (Hills 2003: 53), and evidence of language shift (Rollason 2003: 93).

First, there will be an analysis of how archaeologists, historians and place-name experts view language shift and place-name change, then an analysis of the ideas of linguistic experts, then finally an outline of the debate by geneticists.



#### 4.4.2 Language shift and archaeologists, historians and philologists

The archaeologist C. Hills in her discussion of language replacement and place-names (2003: 41-55), acknowledged that English had mostly replaced the Brittonic language by the time of the first written records in the late 7th century, with few Celtic words borrowed into Old English. She made the important point that for the English language to acquire such dominance required it to be spoken by the dominant element in society, either numerically or politically. Hills suggested that in England there was a long period of change where surviving British speakers gave up their language in favour of the English language of their rulers, after possibly a long period of bilingualism, and with regional variation in the speed and scale of change (ibid.: 55).

Margaret Gelling provides an example of the views of many place-name experts on language shift, and their emphasis on numerical dominance. She firmly linked language shift to the re-naming of place-names, stating that the change in Britain from Brittonic to Old English was accompanied by the introduction of vast numbers of Germanic place-names, and that the majority of place-names now in use in England were coined in the Old English language (1997: 22). Gelling, and other place-name experts, have argued for a correlation between language and ethnicity, with language shift requiring large numbers of incoming people, that is, population replacement with a new racial or ethnic group. Therefore, language and place-name replacement must involve population movements and replacement of the native population by an Anglo-Saxon people, with the number of newcomers being relatively high and the social status of the majority relatively low (Gelling 1993: 55). Place-name evidence, in their view, did not support



the idea promoted in much archaeological and historical literature of a takeover by a small number of elite aristocratic Anglo-Saxons, bringing about a change in language of most place-names. Although Gelling did not reject the idea that Old English could have been adopted due to deference to a new ruling class, she considered it more likely that the replacement of British settlement names by Old English names was due to a mass influx of large numbers of Germanic invaders, with Anglo-Saxons settling in great numbers as peasant farmers as well as warlords (1993: 52). She also argued that place-names provided evidence for survival and peaceful co-existence with Celtic speakers rather than their massacre (ibid.). Gelling disagreed with the theory that Anglo-Saxons were not able to pronounce Celtic names, resulting in a vague re-interpretation of British into English names. Instead, she argued that there was coherence in English place-names, rather than random substitution of OE words for PrW. OE forms of PrW and Latin are accurate and systematic, although they sometimes involve sound substitution (ibid.: 55).

This idea of place-name replacement due to large numbers of Anglo-Saxons at all social levels is not supported by most archaeologists and historians. They instead sought explanations other than population replacement, and commonly explained the language shift and place-name change as being due to people often adopting the languages of those that dominate them, rather than due to invaders exterminating the natives. Campbell (1982: 38) adopted this view, as did Loyn who thought that the British language went out of use due to political domination by Germanic people (1962: 13). Before highlighting some examples in greater detail, a notable exception should be

mentioned, P. Hunter-Blair who in 1970 suggested there was evidence of extreme conservatism of place-names, and that only a major invasion from overseas could lead to large scale changes in place-names in the Anglo-Saxon period (1970: 18-24).

More representative of archaeological and historical opinion are the views of N. Higham. He argues that there is no direct correlation between language and ethnicity, and instead of profound language shift and place-name change only occurring by a large influx of predominately low status immigrants, assumes that this can also occur due to elite dominance and religious and/or secular patronage of a language as an indicator of group identity (1992: 189, 192, 197). He explained the contrast between the lack of effect of the Norman elite on language in the 11th century, and the effect the Anglo-Saxons had on language, as being due to an unstable changing social and cultural system in the earlier period, compared to the stable later period (ibid.: 197). Higham suggested that language shift was due to a people wanting to better their social, economic and legal position, which involved adopting a new language, in this case English. The process involved a transitional stage of bilingualism before eventual abandonment of Brittonic for English (ibid.: 193). Making similar points, Rollason argued from place-name evidence that the British population survived at some social level (2003: 93), and that they adopted the English language under the influence of the dominant English speaking elite. Place-names did not necessarily reflect the ethnic composition of settlements, instead there are alternative explanations (ibid.: 62), such as that the language change to Old English was a cultural process where the British population deliberately adopted English (ibid.: 64-66).



N. Chadwick, who we have already seen in chapter 3 emphasised British native survival and continuity, addressed this issue by contrasting the situation in England with that in Gaul where the Latin language was preserved despite Germanic incomers. She argued that the difference was due to the literacy and survival of the highly educated Gallo-Roman population who universally spoke Latin, therefore giving permanence to the language. Britain was culturally and politically less advanced, Latin had only limited use, and institutions had not developed that could persuade incomers to give up their language for a Celtic language that lacked prestige and remained oral rather than written (1963: 115).

Coming from a background in Celtic philology, K. Jackson also examined the linguistic relations between the British and Anglo-Saxons, and the issue of language shift and place-names. He suggested that it was the native British who learned the English language, not vice versa, and it was they, rather than the English, who changed their Brittonic place-names to Old English. Jackson thought that population replacement was not a requirement for language change; instead, the Britons learned the language of their conquerors through close relations and intermarriage, through an initial bilingual stage. British names were therefore adopted into the Anglo-Saxon language through bilingual Britons, and other names were taken over by the Anglo-Saxons in an uncomprehending way (1963: 241).

#### 4.4.3 Linguists and language shift

In the scenario here, there is the replacement by a whole speech community of one



language with another, that is, the death of a language and the adoption of a different language. The underlying reason that languages die out is that in each generation fewer children learn the language, due to a lack of transmission from parents to child (Fromkin et al. 2003: 537, Edwards 1985: 50). Although linguists consider that migrations by large scale movements of people could cause language shift, they also consider that other explanations were equally possible.

Therefore Ehret argued, from his study of small scale African societies, that communities adopted practices from encounters with other communities because of their practical value or because they admired the practices. These admired features became embedded in the whole community and could trigger wider cultural adoption, undermine the ethnic distinctiveness of the adopting community, and lead eventually, over several generations, to the adoption of the language and the ethnic self-identity of the donor community. Either the adopting society merged into the society of the donor community or developed into a local variant that blended elements of both. If the donor community was in the minority, it controlled fewer cultural features than the adopting society, but these features would include new prestige or status elements (1988: 569-70). According to Ehret, ethnic and language shifts occur due to local differences in demography or prestige advantage between neighbouring communities. If an intruding society outnumbers its immediate neighbours then there can be absorption of those people into their society, and if over a few generations there is population increase and demographic advantage over neighbouring communities, then the process is repeated, leading to ethnic and language spread. Further neighbours may

see this as evidence of greater power and greater prestige attached to membership of the expanding ethnic group, leading to a recurrent and spreading process of ethnic and language shift (ibid.: 570).

Explanations for language shift centre around socio-political and economic factors, and also questions as to the extent to which language shift is a voluntary process or whether coercion plays a part. So, for example, J. Waddell and J. Conroy suggested explanations involving long distance trade and elite interaction in the context of Ireland, Britain and the Celtic-speaking peoples (1997: 129-35). Joseph stressed the importance of economic political factors, and argued that in general people give up their language voluntarily rather than through coercion (2004: 23). He added that as the use of a language can indicate higher status, people could adopt the language of an upper class to move up socially (ibid.: 64, 170).

Edwards similarly suggested that language shift reflected socio-political change (ibid.: 64) and the key factors include, for most groups and individuals, linguistic practicality, communicative efficiency, and a pragmatic adjustment to new requirements, involving economic issues such as power, social access and mobility, and material advancement. He argued that a language dies due to an inadequate concentration of speakers faced with an economically powerful and technologically sophisticated neighbour (1985: 50, 85, 92, 94). However, unlike Joseph, he argued that language death can occur either voluntarily or by coercion. Voluntary change can occur when languages come into contact but one is of higher status, resulting in voluntary ever increasing borrowing from this prestigious language (ibid.: 52). An example is Ireland, where there was rapid Irish

language decline from 1800 due to the voluntary adoption of English by the mass of Irish people for pragmatic political, economic and prestige reasons (ibid.: 62). An alternative factor that centred on coercion was put forward by Ehret. He suggested that military advantage was a factor, where a more militaristic society has greater preparedness for fighting and killing, and places greater value on this compared to a native population, which, as a consequence, adopts and accepts the new ethnicity and language (ibid.).

Coulmas, like Edwards and Joseph above, suggested that geographical, political, social, cultural, and particularly economic factors influence the decline of a language (1992: 169, 171). He argued that both voluntary and coercive social factors including, and trade contribute to language spread (ibid.: 184). Language decline and death involves the utility and prestige of the language diminishing and the speakers using an additional foreign language to satisfy their communication needs. This language penetrates more until it eventually replaces the original language of the group (ibid.: 167, 186). There can be numerical weakness in a speech community, political marginalisation, stigmatization of the language as old fashioned, the absence of economic incentives to learn the language, and the economic necessity of learning the new dominant language (ibid.: 181).

Linguists such as Coulmas suggest the process of language decline and death consists of a bilingual period where first the elite, then the majority, then all the weaker language group become bilingual. However, stable bilingualism and biculturalism cannot be



maintained with an unlimited interaction between minorities and majorities. Such a situation is unstable and is only a temporary, transitional stage before there is a rapid assimilation of the weaker language group. Bilingualism is usually replaced by dominant language monolingualism, with the minority language being taken over by the more powerful language. People are generally pragmatic and do not maintain two languages indefinitely, although bilingualism can be stable where there exist domains of use for each language (Coulmas 1992: 71).

It should be noted however that there are also factors that resist linguistic shift, such as individual linguistic identity, religious and ethnic identity, and the need for communication (Joseph 2004: 191, Coulmas 1992: 183). Therefore, where language is linked to religion or family rituals, linguistic and cultural markers can be retained despite being uneconomic (Edwards 1985: 93). A language may also survive in peripheral territories due to geography, socio-political and cultural factors (Coulmas 1992: 181). Private, and even some public, symbolic markers can continue to promote group boundaries without hindering social mobility and access, although place-names are public, non symbolic characters, and are the earliest to go where there is language change (ibid.: 228). Another important factor in language survival is writing as it helps to secure the survival of the language, by rendering it an artefact (ibid: 201-2). If a language is not written down in documents and literature, this can lead to language death (Bartlet 1996: 131). As the British language was not written down, and it ceased to be used for communication, this led to its decline and death in England (Coulmas 1992: 182).

There is a consensus among linguists that although the primary function of language is communication, the ethnic symbolic function is also central (Edwards 1985: 17).

Consequently, linguists such as Edwards, Joseph and Waddell and Conroy argue that language is a key factor and cultural marker in ethnicity, and is used by groups and individuals as an element of identity, which can include ethnic, racial, national and religious identity. Individual and group identity therefore strongly correlates with shared linguistic features (Edwards 1985: 47, Joseph 2004: 1-4, 8, 20, 37-8, 79, Waddell and Conroy 1997: 129-35). For example, the Basque claim of being a distinct ethnic people is based largely on their very different Basque language compared to surrounding Romance dialects (Joseph 2004: 12, 164-5). However, although linguists agree that language is a central factor in ethnic and other forms of identity, it is not the only factor, and therefore there is not a direct correlation between them (Waddell and Conroy 1997: 129-35). As Robinson reminds us, 'language groups should never be confused with ethnic groups' (1992: 13).

There is a correlation (although not a direct) between language, ethnic change and material culture. Therefore, language shift and ethnic change can, although not necessarily, correspond to changes in cultural content and archaeological material (Edwards 1985: 48, Hines 1997: 283, Ehret 1988: 570). As Edwards points out, cultural activities originally associated with a language may continue long after the language has declined (1985: 71). Ehret argues that the material record need only be transformed in prestige equipment such as a new weapon types, and other additions or deletions to the preceding material culture. This material indicates a common language



and ethnicity over a region. There could be many continuities, with the previous community not disappearing but becoming the majority demographic component in the new ethnicity (ibid.). If there is a great change in culture there has to be corresponding language shift as language is an essential component of culture. But a language can spread with only parts of its cultural matrix accompanying it, such as the elite component, and also parts of a culture can be adopted by people without adopting the language (ibid.: 272).

#### 4.4.4 Linguistics and genetics

There is an ongoing debate among geneticists as to whether there is a correlation between gene distribution, languages and ethnic groups and races. Since the end of the 1980s many geneticists supported this correlation, for example Cavalli-Sforza (1991: 72, 76, 78). He also maintained that different languages may generate or reinforce genetic barriers between populations, in a similar way to geography and landscape (ibid.: 77). However he argued that language replacement is an exception as this does not always correspond to gene replacement. So, if a small minority either impose their language on the majority or the majority voluntarily give up their language, there is complete language replacement but not corresponding gene replacement (ibid.: 78).

Further examples include Sokal (1988) who argued that the speaking of different languages in Europe correlated with genetic differences, although geography had a greater effect (1988: 1722). Falsetti and Sokal (1993) argued that there were physical, cultural and linguistic mating barriers that reflected ethnically based genetic variations



in Europe, particularly between early Germanic and Celtic speakers. Poloni et al. (1997) found that mitochondrial DNA and Y chromosome genetic evidence corresponded to language groups. Barbujani (1997) also agreed that cultural barriers including language barriers corresponded to genetics. Language barriers are difficult to cross when seeking a partner, due to isolation. Even the archaeologist Renfrew correlated language with genetics, highlighting the Basque language and ethnic group (1992: 471-3).

Other geneticists more recently have argued against this correlation. Rosser et al. in their analysis of Y chromosome diversity in Europe pointed out that elite dominance resulting in language change is not accompanied by extensive genetic mixture, and highlighted various examples of linguistically similar peoples who are different genetically (2000: 1535). These views are also supported by some philologists such as Sims-Williams (1998) who was highly critical of a link between language and genetics, but agreed that language was important in ethnicity. In his opinion languages are independent of genes but genetic similarities can predict linguistic similarities and vice versa, and there is also a link between language and material culture. Further, he maintained that population sizes cannot be inferred from linguistic data; for example there are few British words in the English language despite the theory that there was British population survival (1998: 512).

#### 4.4.5 Summary

It is clear that there is continuing debate about whether place-names and language shift can be correlated to ethnic peoples, races, material culture, and therefore Brittonic

or Germanic populations. What this evidence does certainly indicate are early Anglian and Brittonic language-speaking populations. Given this, it is uncertain whether the place-name evidence for Bernicia actually indicates movement, settlement or continuity of ethnic populations or races, or merely cultural, institutional and political influences. What this evidence does certainly indicate are early Anglian and Brittonic language-speaking populations.

## **Section 5: What place-name evidence can show, and the potential deficiencies**

### **4.5.1 Introduction**

Archaeologists, historians and place-name experts have highlighted the limitations of place-name evidence, particularly regarding chronology, dating and distribution, and problems with its analysis and interpretation. These are identified and discussed here.

First, there is the problem of late recording of place-names, often in documentation such as the Domesday Book produced centuries after their presumed creation (e.g. Hills 2003: 53). It has been suggested that because the earliest stratum of documentary evidence for place-names is the half-century after c.680 AD, well after the first English settlement, the predominately Germanic character of the place-names only confirms that people in later centuries spoke English. This is especially a problem for Bernicia, where there are few early documents, with no Anglo-Saxon charters or Domesday Book. There are few place-names that were recorded in the late 7th and 8th centuries (though works such as by Bede and in the *Historia Sancti Cuthberti*, record some names), most are documented at the earliest in the 12th century. Consequently, and



even more so than in other areas of England, it makes the interpretation of place-names uncertain (particularly their chronology and distribution) and therefore, as Higham points out, it is difficult to write an Anglo-Saxon settlement history from place-names for the 5th, 6th and even into the 7th centuries (1993: 71).

#### 4.5.2 Problems of chronology and dating of place-names

There is a widely recognised problem in determining an absolute chronology for Old English place-names, and of establishing even approximately at what point in the Anglo-Saxon period place-names were coined. This is partly due to a long transition for the change to English place-names, from the late 4th century to the 9th century, although most change took place from the mid 8th century onwards (Gelling 1993: 53-5). There is no real evidence proving that English place-names actually belong to the 5th century rather than later when Old English was becoming more widely assimilated by the British population.

This problem applies to the study of place-names in Bernicia and elsewhere. To some extent this can be alleviated by adopting a methodology that identifies indicators of earliness for place-names: indicators of a greater probability that certain names belong to an early stratum of Anglian place-names. This is dealt with in more detail in chapter 5. But, even with this methodology, only a broad chronology and dating sequence can be determined for the place-name evidence for Bernicia. It is not possible to date place-names to the 5th century, but it may be possible to distinguish an early stratum of 6th and 7th century place-names from later names of the middle Anglo-Saxon period.



#### 4.5.3 Problems with place-names as distributive evidence

Distribution evidence consists of the location of a place-name or groups of place-names, their distribution in the landscape, and their relationship in that landscape with other features, such as archaeological sites. The accuracy of place-name distribution can be called into question as a consequence of the problems highlighted below.

There is a problem with place-name survival, with many lost names, name changes and name replacement especially after the early 8th century, when, for example, *tun* and *leah* names appear to have replaced many earlier names. There are concerns that few early Anglo-Saxon place-names survive in their 7th, 8th or even 9th century form, instead, most survive in a form set down by the Normans (Myres 1986: 30). Today's surviving place-names are therefore a remnant that only partially represent<sup>s</sup> the place-<sup>x</sup> name situation in the early Anglian period, as few place-names coined in this period (the 5th to 7th centuries) survive (Higham 1992: 201, 204-5). Consequently, they represent only fragmentary evidence for distribution purposes. Also, since place-names are frequently changed and replaced there is a major problem with their dating (Dark 1992: 46-7).

Settlement and landscape issues also affect the accuracy of the distribution patterns of place-names. Archaeologists and landscape experts point out that few actual settlement sites survive, with the majority being abandoned (Higham 1992: 204, cf. also Dark 1992: 46-7). It has been suggested that early Anglo-Saxon settlements of the 5th to 7th centuries were small, relatively short-lived, and had considerable mobility (Taylor

1983: 120). Only in the late Anglo-Saxon period were nucleated settlements thought to have been first established, and this could involve taking an existing place-name attached to a territory or estate or another settlement within it. Modern settlements are more closely associated with these later rather than the early settlements (ibid.: 122, 123). Consequently, if this theory is correct, modern settlement names relate to those of nucleated rather than earlier settlements. Therefore, according to Taylor, habitative names do not exactly correlate to 5th to 7th century settlements, only to the general area or district they were situated within. When these areas and districts later became important, nucleated settlements took the name. Also, although topographic place-names were acknowledged by Taylor to be among the earliest Anglo-Saxon place-names, he argued that they referred to areas in which a group of settlements lay, or the topographic feature within it rather than to specific places (ibid.: 122).

Due to the fragmentary nature of the evidence and concerns that place-names cannot be correlated to specific settlement locations, only to a general area, there are problems with the interpretation of the distribution evidence of place-names. It must be said however that Taylor's arguments are not entirely convincing. He acknowledged that the present-day northern hill land of dispersed hamlets is similar to the original early Anglo-Saxon settlements (ibid.: 117). In the modern landscape of former Bernicia there are many small scattered farmsteads and hamlets where the names that they are now associated with (including topographic names, considered in chapter 5) seem to specifically relate to the settlements rather than districts in the early Anglo-Saxon period, even if they have moved slightly since then. It must also be emphasised



that a broad area or regional study of Bernicia is a study of overall distribution patterns, where the precise location of settlements is not important. Therefore, although many settlements may have been abandoned or moved, and many place-names lost or changed in Bernicia, a remnant survives that can be identified and of which the distributions can be interpreted.

#### 4.5.4 Problems in correlating place-name with archaeological evidence

As a consequence of the points highlighted above, the correlation of place-name evidence with archaeological sites is problematic for dating and distribution purposes. Sorensen was sceptical about dating name-types from the spatial relationship between names and datable archaeological finds (1978: 16). Archaeological sites tend to be known by a current place-name that is close by, but that is not necessarily specific to that site. In many parts of England distribution evidence is flawed because, due to the high density of Anglo-Saxon archaeological sites many place-names of different types are located nearby. In Bernicia, however, this problem is alleviated because of the scarcity of these sites. Place-names located in the general proximity of the sites may therefore be of some distributive significance.

A further question is whether the possession of an Anglo-Saxon or Brittonic name by such sites is significant. English or Brittonic place-names do not necessarily correlate to sites with 'Anglo-Saxon' or 'British' archaeological evidence (Higham 1992: 201).

Following on from this, dating evidence from an archaeological site cannot necessarily be used to date the place-name given to that site, although it could generally indicate a date for a known English presence in an area, and this could possibly be correlated to



the place-names in that area.

#### 4.5.5 What can place-name evidence show?

Despite the problems and criticisms that have been highlighted, the usefulness of place-names should not be rejected as they provide a greater amount of regional source material regarding Bernicia than the available archaeological evidence. It is true, as pointed out by archaeologists and historians such as Myres, that interpretation of place-name evidence is based on probabilities and likelihoods rather than scientific precision (1986: 44). But, provided the limitations of this evidence and what it can show are acknowledged and taken into account, it is a potentially valuable resource that contributes knowledge about the origins of Bernicia.

Place-name distribution patterns and chronological evidence, however problematic, can therefore be used to investigate the relations between British and Anglo-Saxons, as suggested by Jackson (1963: 229). Even Higham agreed that place-names provide an area of interface between British and Germans, and tell us something about the survival or extinction of a population or its institutions or political systems (1992: 192, 197). This evidence cannot though be compared with historical dating, or to reconstruct a detailed and accurate Anglian settlement or political history for the 5th, 6th and early 7th centuries.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **A TOPONYMIC STUDY OF BERNICIA**

#### **Section 1:**

##### **Introduction**

Archaeological evidence provides little help in tracing overall patterns of early Anglian settlement due to its scarcity and its uneven distribution in the study area (concentrated in north Northumberland and the Tees valley). All types of evidence need to be exploited, and the place-name evidence, being plentiful and relatively evenly distributed, may provide clues about early Anglian settlement or influence, or at least patterns of linguistic change, as well as political, cultural and population survival and continuity.

A typical preoccupation of place-name studies such as those by the early editors of the EPNS, including Stenton, was with early Anglo-Saxon settlement, particularly of south-east England, and the distribution and chronology of place-names. Their main approach rested on the typology of place-name elements and the established dogma that *-ingas* names were the earliest. This chronology of types was challenged in the 'revolution' of the 1960s by Dodgson et al. (see below section 5.5.1). The preoccupation with chronology has continued with Cox (1975), Gelling (1979) and (1988), and Watts (1979). Theories founded on place-name elements can suggest chronology, but absolute dating is more problematic, and this is where archaeological and historical evidence may be useful. A main objective therefore is to consider whether a chronology can be established for Bernicia, anchoring it into particular

centuries.

In this chapter I assemble a corpus of early or at least potentially early Anglian and pre-English place-names for the study area, which is defined as the pre-1974 counties of Northumberland, Durham, Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, Selkirkshire, Peebleshire and East and Mid Lothian. There is some consideration of pre-English names in West Lothian, at least immediately east of Edinburgh, but in general this area is excluded because of the scarcity of modern studies of early Anglian place-names. A feature of place-name studies is a tendency to treat England and Scotland separately as discrete regions. This approach is rejected because Bernicia is a single polity that includes North-East England and South-East Scotland. The geographical area is studied as a whole, although divided into County Durham, Northumberland and South-East Scotland for organisational convenience (Plate 1).

## **Section 2:**

### **Methodological issues**

#### **5.2.1 General principles for the study of place-names**

The underlying methodology for the study of place-names is generally accepted to be a philological one based mainly on written evidence, where early spellings of names are extracted from various sources (always including the earliest available), identified where possible with modern place-names, and interpreted on the basis of the history of the relevant languages and in the light of general knowledge of toponymic processes.

Place-names are constructed through human activity, and, although place-names



change mainly due to spoken language change, these changes come down to us in written form as the only surviving evidence (Cameron 1996: 13, 19). A modern spelling will not necessarily give the original spelling and meaning of the place-name; it can be misleading and unintelligible, and the meaning may have changed even if the modern form accurately reflects the original (ibid: 13). Language and speech patterns and therefore the spellings of words constantly change (Hills 2003: 54). As a consequence it is crucial to identify the earliest spellings of a place-name.

Hence, the earliest records need to be traced and the various spellings of a place-name collected (Cameron 1996: 14, 19). For the study area, scholars such as Mawer, Ekwall and Watts have thoroughly searched medieval documents, and in general seem to have found the earliest form of place-name spelling.

#### 5.2.2 Identifying a corpus of potential early Anglian and pre-English place-names

i) Potentially early Anglian and pre-English place-name elements are identified from previous toponymic studies of areas other than Bernicia (see below). These elements are potential indicators of native continuity and early Anglian settlement or influence. They are divided into three early Anglian categories: habitative, topographic and miscellaneous, and a separate pre-English category. Each element is defined and analysed (though a detailed analysis is beyond the scope of this thesis), with particular emphasis upon the characteristics and meaning of each element, their chronology, the reasons why they are considered early, and any problems associated with them.

ii) A corpus of place-names for the study area is obtained from the following sources:

Northumberland and Durham:

Mawer, A. (1920) *The place-names of Northumberland and Durham*.

Ekwall, E. (1960) *The Oxford dictionary of English place-names*.

Watts, V.E. (2002) *A dictionary of county Durham place-names*.

Watts, V.E. (2004) *Cambridge dictionary of English place-names*.

Additional sources for pre-English names:

Ekwall, E. (1924) 'The Celtic element'.

Coates, R. and Breeze, A. (2000) *Celtic voices, English places*.

South-east Scotland:

Mackenzie, W.C. (1931) *Scottish place-names*.

Johnston, J.B. (1934) *The place-names of Scotland*.

Johnston, J.B. (1940) *The place-names of Berwickshire*.

Williamson, M.G. (1942) 'The non-Celtic place-names of the Scottish border counties', an unpublished PhD.

Dixon, N. (1947) *The place-names of mid Lothian*.

Fraser, I.A. (1982) 'The Scottish Border: an onomastic assessment'.

Nicolaisen, W.F.H. (2001) *Scottish place-names*. 2nd ed.

Additional source for pre-English names:

Watson, W.J. (1926) *The Celtic place-names of Scotland*.

Fox, B. (2007) 'The P-Celtic place-names of north-east England and south-east Scotland'.

There are problems with this source material. Some of the interpretations in Mawer (1920) have become outdated as a result of more recent studies. For south-east Scotland there are particular difficulties as there is no complete modern dictionary, and the few reliable sources generally focus only on certain geographical areas.

Williamson's study is old, but although some of her interpretations have been overtaken by more recent studies, generally her work is still accepted. Fraser criticised Johnston's works as being of dubious reliability (1982: 24), and they should be regarded as amateur onomastic studies, but not valueless.

The sources for pre-English names and their interpretation by scholars are especially problematic. There are few existing studies and generally they have been conducted by scholars who are Old English specialists. This has led to a predisposition towards Old English rather than Brittonic interpretations of place-names, and a bias towards assuming that the Germanic nature of place-names is dominant (Gelling 1997: 22, Campbell 1982: 38). However, Coates and Breeze (2000) go some way to redressing this balance. An example of this OE bias is Mawer (1920) (see chapter 4, section 3.2), although it is probable that Mawer identified the majority of names with pre-English etymologies for north-east England (Fox 2007: preprint).

iii) The place-names in the study area are surveyed to identify those names that contain elements defined in (i). This corpus of potentially early Anglian and pre-English place-names is divided into two classes:

1) Certain or very probable



## 2) Uncertain

GIS mapping technology is then used to analyse these place-names and their distribution.

### 5.2.3 The prioritisation procedure for using sources

For Northumberland and Durham, first priority is given to Watts (2004) because this is his most recent scholarship and he had access to previous studies. Watts was also steeped in the place-names of the North-East, and had a high reputation as a place-name scholar. However there is some leeway in this general rule, and if the name in question is not included in the Cambridge dictionary, other sources may be used.

Next in priority is Ekwall (1960), then Mawer (1920). However the advantage of Mawer's work for Northumberland is that it is far more comprehensive than the national studies of Watts and Ekwall, and therefore includes many minor place-names not considered by these scholars.

For Durham, although Watts (2004) is prioritised over his (2002) work where there are conflicting interpretations due a change in his views, his 2002 work is specifically on Durham and contains many minor place-names not included in the 2004 national study.

For south-east Scotland, the first priority is Nicolaisen (2001) as a recent, scholarly, and therefore reliable work. Next is Williamson (1942) which, compared to Nicolaisen, provides a more comprehensive study of the region, including minor names.

After these, prioritisation of sources is problematical, but may be given to the most recent sources or those that focus on certain areas. Despite the problems with Johnston's (1934) work it is the nearest thing to a dictionary of Scottish place-names, and it does offer early spellings, while his 1940 work is the most comprehensive for Berwickshire, and contains place-names not referred to by Nicolaisen and Williamson. Fraser's study provides more recent scholarship and additional place-names.

#### 5.2.4 Guidelines for using the sources

To make this study more reliable only early spellings of names are taken as sources, with a termination date of 1500 AD.

To further narrow the field of study, the principal concern is with settlements, not field- or river-names. However river-names form a component of the place-names analysed because many are pre-English and can be revealing, particularly regarding the relationship between the British and early Angles.

As a general rule, if place-names are not contained in the sources listed above, they are ignored as they were likely to have been considered too minor for inclusion and/or were not contained in medieval records so were unlikely to be early Anglian in origin.

These parameters are guidelines, and there are exceptions. Some early Anglian place-name elements, those thought to be particularly early or to have special significance, and also pre-English names, may require a more wide-ranging study that encompasses minor names and place-names not included in the source material. This

approach requires the analysis of Ordnance Survey maps to identify potentially relevant place-names in the study area. There are problems with this as the name forms are modern and their prior history uncertain. Further investigations would be needed to determine if the place-names are early or modern constructions. This would include the study of old OS maps, fiscal and parish documentation, and even then some questions would remain unanswered.

#### 5.2.5 Geographical Information Systems (GIS)

GIS mapping allows the geographic location of individual items to be shown, and patterns of distribution of place-names and their chronological relationship to be more accurately visualised. Maps are produced that contain place-names and archaeological sites. From these, regional studies are possible.

The process of plotting a place-name location involves using a standard six-figure OS Grid Reference with the two letters that precede it; for example NU108339 for Belford, Northumberland. This is split into two 6-digit Easting and Northing references. The first digit of each compound is taken from the letters of the grid reference. NU for example gives Easting 400000, Northing 600000. The following three figures of each reference are taken from the first three references to the Easting (e.g. 108) and the last three to the Northing (e.g. 339). The last two digits of the Eastings and Northings are always 00 when taken from a six figure grid reference. Belford is therefore located at Easting 410800, Northing 633900. The study area contains grid references from four OS zones: NT, NU, NY and NZ.



The grid reference represents the approximate centre of a settlement, although there is an element of subjective interpretation because for some names there is difficulty in pinpointing the Anglo-Saxon nucleus of a modern settlement (quite apart from the problem of the extent to which early Anglo-Saxon settlements were nucleated). As a general rule it is taken to be in the vicinity of the principal church, castle, or if none, the main street or principal cross-roads of the modern settlement to which the place-name relates, as shown on the relevant OS Landranger 2002 map.

#### 5.2.6 Terminology

All English place-names, whether linguistically Old English or pre-English/ Brittonic can be divided into three main groups: folk names representing tribes and their later territories, habitative names and topographic names. A habitative place-name incorporates a word for a settlement. Such names denote inhabited places, whether homestead, farm, enclosure, village or hamlet (Mills 1998: xix, Gelling 1997: 118).

A topographic settlement name is a place-name that describes the physical setting of a place, referring to some topographical or physical feature, either natural or man-made, without mentioning buildings (Mills 1998: xx, Gelling 1997: 118) (note the introduction to the topographic section below). For further information about elements, see Smith (1956: 25-6).

### Section 3:

#### Identification of early Anglian place-name elements

##### 5.3.1 Introduction

With a view to identifying a corpus of elements that were used by the early Angles to name places, this section outlines the principal studies that examined this issue:

Cox, B. (1976) 'The place-names of the earliest English records'.

Copley, G.J. (1988) 'Early place-names of the Anglian regions of England'.

Gelling, M. (1973-6) *The place-names of Berkshire* (3 volumes).

The purpose of this section is to cross-reference these studies and identify from this a corpus of possible early Anglian place-naming elements that can be applied to the study area. Because they use different types of evidence, bringing these studies together and cross-referencing their results produces a more reliable corpus of elements than treating these merely as individual studies each with their own problems and limitations.

The three studies suggested, from different types of evidence, that certain elements could be identified as early. 'Early' is defined here as between the 5th to 7th centuries. Each study followed a different methodology. Cox inferred earliness from early documentary records, Gelling based her arguments from sites (at least partially), and Copley from a correlation with archaeology.

There is regional variability in place-naming across England alongside considerable homogeneity. Therefore, studies of south-east England cannot be automatically

transferred to the study area. It should not be assumed from these comparative studies that the early elements they identify must necessarily be early in the study area, but they should rather be regarded as a starting point.

### 5.3.2 Cox (1976)

(See Appendix 1)

Cox collected and analysed all English place-name forms in authentic OE documents to 731 AD (the presumed date of Bede's *Ecclesiastical history*), in order to 'obtain a body of material of sufficient antiquity and quantity to make the results of analytical sufficiency' (Cox 1976: 12). These works included the above mentioned *Ecclesiastical history* and Bede's *Life of St. Cuthbert*, Eddi's *Life of St. Wilfred*, the *Anonymous life of St. Cuthbert*, the *Anonymous life of Abbot Ceolfrith*, and the earliest English charters. From the 224 habitation, topographical and district place-names identified, Cox isolated the OE elements that were important in the formation of English place-names during the period AD 400-730 (ibid.: 66).

Cox suggested that the generic in compounded place-names that recurs consistently is particularly important as it represents a type current in the years before c.730 AD, possibly going back to the beginnings of Anglo-Saxon settlement (1976: 57). But, on a cautionary note, given methodological problems, in-built biases, and patchy survival or records, Cox's analysis provides indications only.

Cox acknowledged the problems with his methodology, pointing out that most charters are later copies and place-name forms may have altered in transmission.



Spurious charters may include place-names of later creation than their purported dates of composition. Although Cox only used charters of what he considered were reliable pedigree, he conceded that this selection was to an extent subjective. There was also a probable bias towards ecclesiastical history in the available sources. For Northumbria, ecclesiastical prose writings provide the only contemporary records (ibid.: 13), and this influenced the type of sites written about. As Gelling and Cole put it, 'the place-names contained in the sources might not be an accurate indication of the types of names generally used by farming settlements' (2000: xx). Of the 224 place-names, 50 were monastic sites, while others were battlefields and places of synods. A further problem regarding the construction of a corpus of early Anglian place-name elements is that the evidence for these names may date as late as c.730 AD.

28 or 12.5 % of the place-names in Cox's corpus possibly relate to the study area.

Northumberland: 13

Durham: 5

South-East Scotland: 5

Unlocated: 5

(I italicise the names that are 'lost' in the conventional toponymic sense of that term, i.e. the name has fallen out of use, but the location is known.)

#### Northumberland

*Ahse*, Bamburgh, Coquet Island, Farne Island, *Hefenfeld*, Hexham, Lindisfarne,

*Maelmin*, Ovington, *Tuifyrði*, Tynemouth, Wallbottle, Yeavinger.

#### Durham

Chester-le-Street, Gateshead, Hartlepool, Wearmouth, Jarrow.

#### South-east Scotland

*Colodesburg*, Dunbar, *Runingham*, Dawston Rigg, Melrose.

#### Northumbria: unlocated

(in) *broninis*, *Bedesfeld*, *Medilwong*, *Paegnalaech*, *Kintis*.

There are eight river names:

Aln, Coquet, *Denisesburna*, Glen, Teviot, Tweed, Tyne, Wear.

Cox noted that in his corpus, 75 names (34%) had habitative final elements, 30 names (13%) had district names (including names denoting groups or associations of people), and 119 names (53%) had topographic final elements (1976: 55-6). Appendix 4 sets out the points made by Cox regarding the high frequency of certain habitative and topographic elements in early records. However, it would be useful to quote his summary:

'The study illustrates that the following Old English elements were important in the formation of English place-names during the period c. AD 400 to 730:

topographical: *burna*, *dun*, *eg*, *feld*, *ford*, *leah* and possibly *hamm*.

habitative: *burh*, *ceaster*, *ham*, *ham-stede*, *wic*.

district-name-forming: *ge*

group-name-forming: *ingas* (*ingum* dative plural), *inga*.

It suggests that place-names in *tun* developed only at the very end of the period under consideration and belong largely after c.AD 730, as also may place-names in *leah*.

It suggests that the following important Old English place-name types belong to the period after c.AD 730: *broc*, *hyll*, *inga* (*ingtun*), *wella*, *worth* (*worthig*, *worthign*), and possibly *cot* (1976: 66).

### 5.3.3 Copley (1988)

(See Appendix 2)

Copley analysed the incidence and distribution of place-name final elements that commonly recur in relation to 950 archaeological sites in England. He relied for his place-name data upon English place-name surveys, Smith's *English place-name elements*, and the works of other scholars. For counties not covered by published surveys, Copley relied on Ekwall's *Concise Oxford dictionary of English place-names*, 4th edition (reprint, 1974), and various works by Gelling (1988:1).

Copley's methodology and the significance and accuracy of his results have been criticised by Gelling, who pointed out that he studied place-names within a 10 mile radius around each site (1997: 254). This was too wide, and could include place-names that have no connection with the site and take no account of intervening geography such as rivers and hills.



Copley acknowledged that the places of pagan Anglo-Saxon England do not always retain their earliest names. There is name replacement, with names of /associated with pagan Anglo-Saxon archaeological sites that date to after Scandinavian settlement or the Norman Conquest. He stated, 'The original names of these settlements of the 5th to 7th centuries are lost and the settlements are known to have existed in those times only through the discovery of burials or domestic sites in the localities bearing place-names of a later period' (ibid.: 3).

Copley acknowledged that the dating of sites is approximate, with a margin of error of about 50 years, and that he relied on archaeological interpretations of material culture to provide a likely date of first use of each site (1988: 16). He dated all settlements and burials 'by the century in which they are believed to have come into use. For some, terminal dates are given in that they may suggest continuity on a site from the time of its first occupation until the present day' (ibid.: 15). A further problem in some areas (such as in the study area) is that early documentary evidence is rare or non-existent, making dating difficult. Therefore 'the only approach to the problem is an indirect one, by inference: the relating of dated archaeological sites to associated place-names' (ibid.: 26).

Copley identified 124 known settlement sites:

5th century: 13 (10.48%).

5th or 6th century: 4 (3.23%).

6th century: 16 (12.9%).

6th or 7th century: 3 (2.49%).

7th century: 2 (1.61%).

The remaining 86 sites are designated in reports as 'early', and 52 of these (41.94%) are undated but are presumed by Copley to be of pagan date (ibid.: 16).

Copley analysed 10 habitative naming elements, representing 42.11% (400) of the 950 place-names, and 18 topographic naming elements representing 57.89 % (550). He claimed that what emphatically emerged from these results was the abundance of topographic place-names in relation to early settlements (ibid.: 28). He analysed the frequency of occurrence of place-name elements with archaeological sites categorised by probable commencement date, the 5th, 6th , 7th centuries AD and so on. 'Early, undated' sites he defined as pre-Christian. He did not however claim that these elements necessarily indicate early settlement, only that they occur in proximity to early sites and therefore may be coeval with them (1988: 5).

Details of Copley's analysis are set out in Appendix 2, but the main points are summarised here.

Element	Number of examples (%)	Examples possibly 6th century or <u>over</u> (%)
<u>Habitative</u>		
<i>ham</i>	31 (3.26)	25 (80.65)
<i>-inga</i>	70 + (7.37)	45 (64.3)
<i>ceaster</i>	34 (3.58)	30 (88.24)
<i>burh</i>	46 (4.84)	32 (69.57)

<i>wic</i>	10 (1.05)	8 (80)
<i>worth</i>	17 (1.79)	12 (70.59)
<i>tun</i>	190 (20)	127 (66.84)
<i>-ingtun</i>	43 (4.53)	34 (79.07)
<i>ge</i>	3 (0.75)	3 (100)
<i>wicham</i>	4 possibly (1.0)	3 (75)

#### Topographic

<i>dun</i>	33 (3.47)	18 (54.6)
<i>leah</i>	32 (3.37)	21 (65.63)
<i>feld</i>	14 (1.26)	8 (57.1)
<i>halh</i>	12 (1.26)	7 (58.33)
<i>wella</i>	27 (2.8)	18 (66.67)
<i>eg</i>	20 (2.11)	12 (60)
<i>burna</i>	21 (2.1)	17 (80.95)
<i>ford</i>	55 (5.79)	38 (69.1)
<i>hamm</i>	17 (1.79)	14 (82.35)
<i>stan</i>	11 (1.58)	9 (81.82)

In summary, there was statistical evidence for a high incidence of *ham*, *-inga-*, *ceaster*, *burh*, *tun*, *ingatun* elements in earliest use, but also evidence that *tun* and *ingatun* continued in use. There were not many *wic* and *worth* names associated with 5th-7th century archaeological sites. There was statistical evidence that *dun*, *leah*, *feld*, *halh*, *wella*, *eg*, *burna*, *ford*, *hamm* and *stan* were often in earliest use, but that



*stan* and *halh* were not of high incidence.

#### 5.3.4 Gelling (1976)

In her introduction to *The place-names of Berkshire*, Gelling attempted to identify place-name types which may date from the first English settlement in the county. She sought to determine whether there was correspondence between early English archaeological material dated between c.400-c.500 AD and place-name elements of early type (1976: 812-14).

Gelling pointed out the relative scarcity of *-ingas* names, and their only occasional correspondence with early English archaeological material (ibid.: 814-15). For *ham* names, Gelling found 10 examples, but their distribution and correspondence to archaeological evidence varied across different areas of Berkshire. In north-west Berkshire there are few *hams*, to the east there are many, including major *hams*, while in the south-west there is a close relationship between *hams*, Roman roads and Romano-British settlements (ibid.: 816-17). Generally, Gelling claimed that neither *-ingas/ -inga* or *ham* names are characteristic of parts of Berkshire where the archaeological evidence demonstrates Saxon occupation from the early 5th century AD (ibid.: 818).

Gelling found on the other hand that topographical settlement names tended to coincide with early Anglo-Saxon settlement and burial evidence. She highlighted topographic names containing *ford*, *eg*, *wella* and *hamm*, and stream names in north-west Berkshire which formed a coherent group. These concentrations of homogeneous

topographic settlement names were more typical of an area of exceptionally early English settlement than any of the other categories such as *ham*, *-ingas/ -inga*. They were used in major place-names such as those of parishes, and went back to a very early stage in the use of English place-names. She also considered that *worth* coincided with early archaeological material and that some of these names at least may date from a very early period, while *thorp* and *wic* are probably late in origin (ibid.: 820-1).

#### 5.3.5 Conclusion

After cross-referencing these studies, the concensus between them would suggest the adoption of the following provisional corpus of potentially early Anglian place-naming elements:

Habitative elements: *ham*, *-ingaham*, *-ingas*, *ceaster* and *burh*.

(*Tun*, *ingtun*, *wic* and *worth* may be early place-naming elements but they continued in use and were more common later).

Topographic elements: *burna*, *dun*, *eg*, *feld*, *ford* and *hamm*

(Although *leah* does occur in very early material, I interpret it as only becoming common as a late place-naming element ).

District/ tribal names: *ge*.

## Section 4:

### Indicators of earliness

#### 5.4.1 Introduction

The problem with potentially early Anglian place-name elements is that many continued in use beyond the early Anglian period, remaining productive for several centuries. In particular Gelling pointed out the importance of early indicators for topographic elements because many of them continued in use as place-naming elements into the post-Conquest period, such as *ford*, *burna* and *feld*. It is therefore necessary to seek out indications (onomastic and non-onomastic) that particular place-names may belong to an early period. Although there are other indicators, among those most commonly invoked are:

#### 5.4.2 Higher status of the settlement

This is indicated in the modern landscape if the place-name is a parish name, there is or was a church, and the settlement is of substantial size, not merely a hamlet. The higher the status of the settlement the greater the probability that it was established early, and became the primary settlement in the area. Sorensen (1978: 18-19) made similar suggestions in his study of place-names in Denmark. Gelling used this early indicator in her discussion of *ham* names in Berkshire, pointing out that there was a group of 'major' names, all parish names, which suggested earliness (1976: 817).

In my analysis, the size of the settlement is described as either 'significant' or 'small', to indicate status, and this was determined using Ordnance Survey Landranger (2002)



maps. Modern status may be out of proportion to early medieval status, but the most spectacular differences arise through industrialisation. Despite decline or improvement (through clearance, drainage etc), well situated and agriculturally favourable land often remains so through time. A 'parish' is defined from Humphery-Smith's *The Phillimore atlas and index of parish registers* (1995). The parishes and their parochial boundaries were taken from the dates of commencement of registers for parishes formed before 1832 and the 19th century boundary changes.

#### 5.4.3 Compounding with specifics that have indicators of earliness

##### i) OE monothematic masculine personal name

Smith pointed out that *ham* names are often compounded with OE monothematic masculine personal names, which are generally considered earlier than dithematic names (1956: 227). Cox made similar claims regarding *ing(a)ham* names, and also considered that compounds with monothematic personal names indicate very early *ingas/ inga* names (1975: 68). Gelling suggested that a monothematic personal name compounded with *ham* or topographic element arose through 6th or 7th century estate grants to thegns (1997: 111, 186).

Monotheomatic names consist of one part, and dithematic of two parts, to the name. According to Kitson, monothematic personal names generally date before 700 AD (2002: 96). They are names with or without an initial consonant, and with a root vowel followed by one or more consonants and often a weak grammatical ending *-a-* (for masculine) or *-e-* (for feminine). Examples include Badda, Dodda, or plain

monosyllables such as Cedd or Worr. Earlier names of the strong declension could end in *-e* from older *-i*, for example Aelle (ibid.: 119).

#### ii) Pre-English element

Cox argued that compounds that included pre-English or British elements indicated earliness. For example, in his analysis of *ceaster*, 11 out of 15 examples were compounded with pre-English elements, which indicated to him that *ceaster* was '...an important early place-name-forming type' (1976: 62).

#### iii) Unexplained (obscure) elements and unrecorded personal names

Copley highlighted this early indicator by pointing out the high proportion of these names and elements compounded with *ham/ hamm* and *-inga* place-names, and associated with early sites (1988: 13).

Gelling and Cole considered compounds with obscure, uncertain or ambiguous qualifying elements which defy interpretation as an early indicator since the vocabulary may have been lost before written records began in the 7th century (2000: 167). Gelling did though express doubts about the earliness of place-names compounded with such archaic terms because allowance should be made for the use of more conservative vocabulary in the countryside, away from centres that produced written records (1997: 110).

#### iv) Other possibly early elements

Habitative generics may be compounded with specifics that are themselves possibly early elements. Examples include Burradon (Nb) and Great Burdon (Du), compounds

consisting of the specific *burh* and generic *dun*. Downham (Nb) is possibly *dun* compounded with *ham*.

#### 5.4.4 Linguistic early indicators

This involves using different phases of sound development of a language as dating indicators for place-names. However, such linguistic dating can only be approximate (Sorensen 1978: 2-4). For the Old English language an example includes place-names that contain the inflectional *-n* (see section 4.2 below), while for the Brittonic language, this issue is examined in chapter 6, section 3.4 below.

#### 5.4.5 Additional indicators of earliness

i) Dating of place-names can be by documentation, although this only confirms that the name was coined some time before it was recorded in the source (Sorensen 1978: 12).

A small handful of place-names in the study area appear in very early documents, as referred to above in Cox (1976).

ii) Some elements clearly go out of fashion in the later Anglo-Saxon period, and therefore can reasonably be regarded as early, *eg* being a good example of this.

Gelling pointed out the low frequency of *eg* in the period 732-850 AD, indicating that it was becoming obsolescent (1988: 70).

Other non-onomastic indicators such as geology and geography indicate favourability and therefore priority of settlement sites, and also later fiscal evidence, are not used here.



#### 5.4.6 Conclusion

The criteria outlined above are used to identify Bernician place-names with indicators of earliness, in sections 2 and 3 below. Each place-naming element is analysed as follows:

First, the status of the settlement is determined.

Second, first element early indicators are determined using the following key:

M: monothematic masculine personal name

P: pre-English

O: obscure

X: other possible early elements

### **Section 5:**

#### **Habitative place-naming elements**

##### 5.5.1 Introduction and initial issues

The possible early Anglian habitative elements analysed in the study area are: *ham*, *-ingaham*, *-ingas*, *burh* and *ceaster*. Each element is defined and analysed to identify what the element refers to, how it is recognised, and any problems with it. The corpus of place-names in the study area is then surveyed to identify the occurrence of each element and any indicators of earliness.

Before this it is necessary to outline three key studies by Dodgson (1966), Cox (1973) and Kuurman (1974) who together identified a new chronological order for the early Anglo-Saxon elements *ham*, *-ingaham* and *-ingas/ -inga*. This replaced

previous studies that stated that names in *-ingas/ -inga* related to the earliest stages of Anglo-Saxon settlement. This theory was first suggested by J.M. Kemble (1849) and was later developed by Ekwall in *English place-names in -ing* (1923). It remained the orthodox position for several decades (e.g. Smith 1956: 298-9, Ekwall 1960: xiii).

J. Mc.N. Dodgson (1966) 'The significance of the distribution of the English place-name in *-ingas, -inga* in South East England' (1987 reprint)

Dodgson proposed that *-ingas/ -inga* place-name elements may not derive from the earliest phase of Anglo-Saxon settlement, but rather, a later colonization phase (1966: 27). Using Meaney's *A gazetteer of early Anglo-Saxon burial sites* (1964) he plotted the distribution of Anglo-Saxon pagan burial sites dating between the 5th and early 8th centuries, and compared this to the distribution of *-ingas/ -inga*, and *-ingaham* place-name formations (1966: 29,30). He found no correlation between *-ingas/ -inga* settlement names and pagan burials in south east England, however in Kent, *-ingaham* place-names appeared near to these sites (1966: 33-4). From this, Dodgson argued that *-ingas/ -inga* names represented a later settlement phase, and emerged after, but not long after, the initial immigration phase. He interpreted the *-ingas* phase as beginning in the 6th century, which would allow time for *-ingas/-inga* settlements to achieve importance, since by the 7th and 8th centuries there is evidence for the relatively high fiscal and administrative status of many of the relevant places. However he also noted regional variation, as evidence from the Midlands and East Anglia is not so clear (1966: 37-8).

There are weaknesses in Dodgson's methodology. He did not specify how near the place-name sites had to be to the burial sites, although he claimed that they needed to be in direct geographical relationship with each other, with no intervening natural features or obstacles between them. He also noted that cemeteries could be located on hills or ridges some distance from settlements (ibid: 32), and that a settlement may have moved and may not now be directly related to a burial site (ibid: 34).

B. Cox (1973) 'The significance of English place-names in *ham* in the Midlands and East Anglia'.

Cox, who based his methodology on Dodgson (1966), similarly found that *-ingas/ -inga* names had a different distribution from pagan burial sites, and were well away from Roman roads. Instead, he found a close distributional relationship between OE *ham* names, Roman roads (virtually all within 3 miles of Roman roads), villas, Romano-British settlements and cemeteries, and pagan Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, and the most readily accessible and desirable lands. From this, Cox suggested that sites were settled from Roman roads at a time when *ham* place-name giving was in vogue, and could represent the activity of late Roman and sub-Roman foederati in the Anglo-Saxon migration period (1973: 56,72). *-Ingaham* names were also near to Roman roads, Roman-British sites and pagan Anglo-Saxon burials, and Cox suggested they were given to habitative sites early in the phase of naming using the group suffix *-ingas/ -inga* phase, but before the end of the *ham* place-naming phase (ibid: 55,56,71). He concluded that *-ingaham* names belonged to the late pagan period and represented



the beginning of the English expansion away from areas of early settlement. *-Ingas/ -inga* distribution represents this expansion and probably belongs to the 6th and 7th centuries when colonization of less accessible territories appears to have got under way (1973: 56, 72, 1975: 68).

Cox expressed similar views in 1976 when he argued, now from the evidence of names in the earliest documents, that *-ingas/ -inga* names largely belong to the 6th century or later, but *ham* names seemed to have been used from the earliest Anglo-Saxon settlement into the 7th century (1976: 57).

J. Kuurman (1973) 'An examination of the *ingas/ inga* place-names in the East Midlands'

Kuurman tested Dodgson's theories in relation to the East Midlands by typologically analysing place-names and burial sites against their topographic and geological contexts (1973: 11). He based his corpus of pagan burial sites on Meaney's Gazetteer and dated 'pagan burial sites' between the 4th to 7th centuries (ibid: 17).

Kuurman claimed that 62.5% of *-ingaham* names were near to Roman roads (up to 3 miles) and on very suitable and attractive land (ibid: 15). This, he agreed, represented the very early stages of Anglian settlement, where colonists moved from primary settlement areas and penetrated deeper into the country using Roman roads and choosing attractive sites. Rivers were also used but the distribution pattern suggested to Kuurman that they were less important than roadways (ibid: 20, 22-3). Kuurman found no association between *-ingas/ -inga* names and early Anglo-Saxon pagan

burial sites except possibly in Northamptonshire (ibid: 26, 28-9). Being near to pagan burial sites Kuurman defined as within 2 miles (ibid: 23, 29), but noted that account should be taken also of topography; for example, if sites are separated by hills or streams it is unlikely that there is an association (ibid: 32). Of 97 *-ingas/ -inga* names, only 1 coincided with a 5th century pagan burial site, and only 7 with a 5th century pagan burial site continuing throughout the pagan burial period (ibid: 30). Where they coincided, Kuurman claimed this was a continuation of burial habits by a pre-*ingas* community that adopted *-ingas* social status in folk and place-names, or a recolonization by an *-ingas* group of a place previously inhabited by a migration community, or an old burial practice retained by an *ingas* group settling in new territory (ibid: 17). He agreed with Dodgson that the *-ingas/ -inga* formula was archaic and became obsolete by the time literary records began and after the introduction of Christianity (ibid: 33).

Kuurman equated *-ingaham* and *-ingas/ -inga* place-names with early pagan settlement and succeeding settlement phases. Early pagan burials marked the centres of primary immigration and settlement. *-Ingas/ -inga* names represented further exploration of secondary settlement areas and movement away from primary settlement areas, with *-ingaham* names representing the earliest stage of this colonisation (ibid: 33-34).

### Conclusion

Distribution studies of South-East England, the Midlands and East Anglia, according to Dodgson, Cox and Kuurman, indicated that names in *ham* were the earliest,

followed by *-ingaham*, then *-ingas/ -inga* names. However, both Dodgson and Kuurman noted regional variability, and it is uncertain to what extent these naming habits prevailed in Northumbria, and whether this chronology can be applied to the study area, especially in the absence of early documentation and evidence for early Anglo-Saxon settlement of the kind available for much of the South and Midlands. It is also apparent that in all these studies the interpretations are centred around the movement of people and settlement.

It should also be noted that Copley disagreed with the above chronology and argued that *ham* and *-ingas/ -inga* were of equal antiquity, dating from the beginning of English settlement (1988: 5). To support this he pointed out that *ingas* names are generally on good arable soils, and their water supply and accessibility is no less than *ham* names (ibid); also that a higher proportion of *-inga* names (51.47%) compared to *ham* names (35.48%) were compounded with unrecorded personal names and unexplained first elements (ibid.: 13). He found that there was not a significant topographical relationship between *ham* names and Roman roads and sites. *Ham* names did not occupy particularly favoured locations and had no advantages in soils, water supply or accessibility compared to other place-names. He did not find any particularly compelling reason for believing that *ham* is an early place-name element (ibid.: 3, 4).

Despite these concerns the chronological order of *-ham*, *-ingaham* and *-ingas*, will be adopted as a starting point for the study area, unless compelling evidence is found



to suggest otherwise.

### 5.5.2 HAM

(Plate 2)

*Ham* is defined as a village, collection of dwellings or a homestead, although it also may denote a large estate (Cox 1976: 61, 1980: 55). Cox argued that *ham* place-names date between 400-650 AD, and had fallen into disuse well before the end of the pagan period in the 7th century, at least in the Midlands and East Anglia. One indication of this is that as few *ham* names are compounded with OE *cirice* 'church', *ham* appears to have been declining as a naming element by the beginning of Christianity in the 7th century. According to Cox, Hexham is the latest safely attributed *ham* name in England, with the establishment of the abbey in 685 AD (1973: 71). As *ham* names in the South-East date to the 5th and 6th centuries, but in Cheshire mark an English takeover in the 7th century, they may represent one of the earliest place-naming elements whenever there was an English takeover of an area between the 5th to 7th centuries (ibid.:72).

There are indicators of earliness for *ham* names that also help in their identification. Smith pointed out that they are often compounded with OE monothematic masculine personal names, and are rarely minor places; instead they are more commonly places of status, with many becoming parishes and/ or important centres. This indicates that they were significant settlements at an early date. They also occur in compounds with other apparently early elements (1956: 227).

*Ham* is not used as a simplex and is rarely a specific. In *-ham* compounds the specific can be an adjective, topographic term e.g. Seaham (Durham), the name of a nearby feature, a pre-English place or river name e.g. Alnham (Northumberland), or it can denote produce or use of the place, enclosures, nature of the ground e.g. Greatham 'gravel *ham*' (Durham), domestic or wild animals, trees or plants. OE monothematic masculine personal names are particularly common as specifics. They can also denote families or groups of people (Smith 1956: 228-9).

There are problems associated with identifying *ham* place-names.

i) Possible confusion between names in *-ham* and *-um*.

There is a difficulty in modern spellings in distinguishing OE *ham* from *-um*, partly because of the mis-identification of dative plural *-um* as *ham*. The dative plural type seems to belong to Anglian territory, with a high incidence in Durham and Northumberland according to Smith (1956: 225). Some Northumbrian names are assumed to have been formed from nouns in the dative plural (a case commonly used after prepositions) and hence to have carried an inflexional *-um* which appears to have survived until the 10th century. This gradually fell out of use in the language at large (and eventually *-s* became the norm for noun plurals), but in place-names final *-um* could either be retained (often spelt *-am*), lost, or replaced by elements such as *-(h)am* or *-holme* (Smith 1956: 225). The *-um* to *-am* change is probably a matter of spelling more than pronunciation. In Northumbria there does not appear to be evidence for a change of *um* to *ham* until after approximately the 13th century. Additionally there may also be a change from an early *-ham* to a later *-um*. The relevant point is the date

when it is likely that this *-ham/ -um* confusion took place. Northumbrian texts from the late OE period (about the late 10th century), such as the gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels, show massive confusion of unstressed vowels. As for the *h-*, however, the general impression is that there is far more evidence for *h* surviving into the 13th century and beyond, than not, for example in place-names with *halh*, *heafod*, *hyll*, *hoh*, nevertheless there are some examples of an early loss of *h* showing that it does happen (Whaley pers.comm.). This means that 13th century spellings will generally distinguish original *-ham* and *-um* names, but not necessarily with complete reliability. A factor that helps, however, is that *-um* names can only occur with specifics that are common nouns likely to be found in the plural, e.g. OE *hus* and *leah*. Personal names cannot be compounded with *-um* names, but can with *-ham* names.

ii) Possible confusion of names in *-ham* and *-hamm*.

OE *hamm* is a topographic element which is defined by Watts in 2004 as meaning ' "land hemmed in" whether by water, marsh, high ground or man-made boundaries'. He disputed the idea that the meaning could derive from OE *hamm* fem. 'a piece of ground shaped like the human ham: the hollow bend at the back of the knee' (which was proposed by Mawer for northern England (1920: 231)). Dodgson produced the following typology of meanings (as reported by Watts 2004: xlv):

*hamm* 1 'land in a river bend'

*hamm* 2a 'a promontory of dry land into marsh or water'

*hamm* 2b 'a promontory of lower land even without marsh or water'; perhaps hence



'land on a hill-spur'

*hamm* 3 'a river-meadow'

*hamm* 4 'dry ground in a marsh'

*hamm* 5a 'cultivated plot in marginal land'

*hamm* 5b 'a piece of valley-bottom land hemmed in by higher ground'

Gelling's 2003 study (pages 46-55) also thoroughly explores the meanings of *hamm*, which will not be repeated here.

Criteria that have been suggested to distinguish *-ham* from *-hamm* names are:

1) *Ham* is always compounded.

2) *Hamm* is indicated if ME spellings contain:

a) 'mm'.

b) *o* spellings alternating with *a* in some areas, i.e. *hom*, *homme*, *homm*.

c) A final *e*, i.e. *hamme* (deriving from a dative singular ending).

(OE *ham* and *hamm* are also distinguished by length of vowel, and result in ME *home* and *ham*, but this difference is neutralised when they function as generics in compound place-names).

3) Dodgson proposed criteria that where any name has only *ham* spellings and not *hamm* spellings (as set out above), it is assumed to be from OE *ham* if:

a) The place is an ancient manor or parish or otherwise historically distinguished as an important settlement (that is, it has high status). *Hamm* names were used for important settlements, but due to continued use were more likely to be used for minor names (Smith 1956: 229).

- b) It is recorded before 1300-50 AD as something more than a field name or boundary point.
- c) The topography of the site is not that of a *hamm* (though *hamm* as an enclosure would undermine this topographic criterion).
- 4) Alternatively, Ekwall (1960) suggested simpler criteria, where a place-name is defined as a *ham* if there are no spellings indicating a *hamm*, despite any topographic indicators.

There can never be a firm choice between *hamm* and *ham* for places that occupy a *hamm* topographic situation but lack diagnostic spellings. Gelling has claimed that *hamm* names may extend into Northumberland and Durham, and that some *ham* names could be reclassified as *hamm* (1997: 115), however this is doubtful (Gelling has also stated that Frodsham (Cheshire) is the most northerly certain example).

Analysis of *ham* names

i) Corpus of certain/ highly probable *ham* names (25)

(Please note that details of names are provided in the Tables of Place-Names in Volume II).

-

<u>Northumberland (10)</u>	<u>Durham (5)</u>	<u>South-East Scotland (10)</u>
Alnham	Billingham	Aldham/ Oldhamstocks
Fleetham	Greatham	Birgham
Harnham	Middleham	Ednam

Hexham	Neasham	Edrom
Higham Dykes	Seaham	Kimmerghame
Ingram		Leitholm
Norham		Midlem
Stamfordham		Oxnam
Warenton		Smailholm
Whickham		Yetholm

(Norham should be cross-referenced with *Ubbanford*, a *ford* name associated with the site).

ii) Corpus of uncertain *ham* names (23)

<u>Northumberland</u> (16)	<u>Durham</u> (4)	<u>South-East Scotland</u> (4)
Newham	Headlam	Auldhame
Newham	Linham	Letham
Bolam	Polam	Morham
Carham	Woodham	<i>Pefferham</i>
Crookham		
Deanham		
Downham		
Farnham		
Fenham (Holy Island)		
Fenham (Newcastle)		
Kilham		



Lyham

Roddam

Ulgham

Ulpham

Ulwham

Wylam

Some of these uncertain names will be considered in more detail. The scholarly consensus is that Ulgham derives from OE *ule* 'owl' and OE *hwamm* 'corner, angle', giving 'owl valley or nook'. The topography of Ulgham could support the *hwamm* description, but alternatively, there is support in the 1242 and 1290 spellings for *ham*, and Mawer (1920) interpreted the specific as OE monothematic masculine personal name *Ulche*. Ulwham and Ulpham may have an identical interpretation to Ulgham. Linham has a late spelling but this may suggest a *ham* name. Wolsingham and Skertingham are difficult to interpret but have been classified as *-ingaham* names. Morham in the 13th century was also known as Morton, a *tun* place-name, suggesting it is not of early Anglian origin, though replacement of *-ham* by *-tun* would be possible. There is ambiguity surrounding Aldham. Nicolaisen (1976) referred to Aldham as Oldhamstocks, East Lothian. However Kermack (1937) referred to two Aldham place-names: Oldhamstocks which he interpreted as an outlying farm dependent on Auldham, and Auldeham near to Tynninghame, East Lothian, which is listed as a possible *ham*. Nicolaisen seems from his map to be referring to Letham near Haddington, East Lothian, rather than examples in Roxburghshire or Berwickshire

(2001: 97, 98). *Pefferham* is located in East Lothian but its exact location is unknown.

Possibly it was located in the area of present-day Pefferside, Peffer Sands or Peffer Burn.

There are two or three Newham place-names which are a special case. They certainly are *-ham* names but the specific OE *niewe* probably means that they are not of early Anglian origin and were an exception to the general rule that *ham* was not actively used as a place-naming element beyond the late 7th century.

#### Distinguishing *-ham* from dative plural *-um* names

##### Northumberland

From an analysis of early spellings (see Tables for details) it is probable that the following place-names are dative plural *-um* names:

Bolam, Carham, Crookham, Farnham (although see *hamm* below), Fenham (Holy Island) and Kilham.

It is also probable that the following place-names are dative plural *-um* names but their early spellings suggest *-ham* as a very slight possibility:

##### Deanham

*Denhum* 1256 could conceivably point to *-ham*.

##### Downham

Only in the 16th century does the place-name become *ham* for certain, however the 13th century *Dunhum* spelling may indicate some ambiguity as to whether it is *ham* or dative plural *um*.

### Lyham

In the 13th century there is an interchange between *um* and *ham*. Only in the 14th century do *ham* spellings predominate. OE *leah* + *ham* is therefore possible, but Ekwall's preferred *hamm* is less likely.

### Roddam

The spelling *Rodenham* 1207 seems to indicate that *-ham* was added intermittently.

### Wylam

The 1204 spelling in *ham* is an exception, but overall the early spellings support a dative plural *-um* interpretation.

There are two further place-names that do not easily fall within the above classifications:

### Fenham (Newcastle)

This is a difficult name to interpret. The early spellings do not support an *um* interpretation, with only the *-u-* in 1256 indicating the possibility, but the *-h-* appears to make a *ham* interpretation more likely and therefore give OE *fenn* + *ham*, 'fen homestead'. There is also a possibility of OE *hamm*.

### Ulgham and Ulwham

The early spellings seem on balance to contain OE *hwamm* 'a nook' than *ham* or dative plural *-um*.

Where *-um* names are associated with high status places (see below) this is an early indicator which supports an alternative *ham* interpretation. This is because *-um*



names are generally not characteristic of high status places. They may be candidates for early *um* replacement of *ham* in, for example the 10th century AD.

Examples are: Bolam, Carham and Wylam.

### Durham

Headlam, Polam and Woodham are interpreted by Watts (2002) as *-um* names, however Mawer (1920), as in several other ambiguous cases, interpreted them as *ham* names. The early spellings of each place-name (see Table) make it probable that they are dative plural *-um* names.

### South-East Scotland

There are no suggested *-um* names.

### Possible *hamm* names

Many of the place-names classified above as certain and uncertain *ham* names satisfy the topographic criteria for *hamm*, such as a place enclosed by water or a river meadow. For example, in Northumberland there is certain Ingram by the River Breamish, and uncertain Wylam and Carham, on the banks of the Rivers Tyne and Tweed respectively. In Durham there is certain Neasham on a bend of the River Tees, and uncertain Linham and Polam, both in low-lying watery areas by the Tees. In South-East Scotland, certain Birgham and Yetholm are on the banks of the Rivers Tweed and Bowmont respectively, although no uncertain *ham* places seem to satisfy the criteria.

Farnham is the only possibility where early spellings *Thernhamme* 1343 and conceivably *Thernhome* 1421 may indicate a *hamm* name, although the present-day topography does not easily support this. It may satisfy the later Anglo-Saxon meaning of a plot isolated by nearby woodland, moorland or hills, or the settlement may, in the early Anglian period, have been situated in the Coquet valley bottom and has since moved.

As *hamm* is a possible early Anglian element any early indicators associated with such place-names would suggest a *hamm* rather than *um* interpretation though they will not help to arbitrate between *ham* and *hamm*.

iii) Indicators of earliness for *ham* names

a) Status

<u>Place-name</u>	<u>Parish centre</u>	<u>Church</u>	<u>Substantial settlement</u>
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Northumberland

Certain

Alnham	Y	Y	Y
Hexham	Y	Y	Y
Ingram	Y	Y	Y
Norham	Y	Y	Y
Stamfordham	Y	Y	Y
Whickham	Y	Y	Y

Uncertain

Bolam	Y	Y	Y
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Carham	Y	Y	Y
Crookham		Y	
Fenham (Newcastle)		Y	Y(?)
Ulgham	Y	Y	Y
Wylam	Y	Y	Y

Durham

Certain

Billingham	Y	Y	Y
Greatham	Y	Y	Y
Middleham	Y	Y	Y
Seaham	Y	Y	Y

South-East Scotland

Certain

Aldham/ Oldhamstocks	Y	Y	Y
Birgham			Y
Ednam	Y	Y	
Edrom	Y	Y	
Leitholm		Y	
Oxnam	Y	Y	
Smailholm	Y	Y	
Yetholm	Y	Y	Y



Uncertain

Morham	Y	Y
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Northumberland has place-names that require clarification in this context.

Alnham formerly had a castle which indicates that it was a more important place than the small settlement of today.

Fenham (Newcastle) is difficult to interpret because the area of the settlement is extensively built over, therefore it is unclear whether it can be classified as a substantial settlement.

Fleetham is difficult to interpret because its exact location is unclear, with two present day settlements, East and West Fleetham.

Lyham has the same problem. There are North, South, West and Old Lyham, although none of these present-day settlements have early indicators of status.

b) A corpus of *ham* names with first element and status early indicators

(20 certain, 8 uncertain)

In general early indicators are more characteristic of the certain *ham* names rather than the uncertain.

<u>Place-name</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>First element</u>
<u>Northumberland</u>		
<u>Certain</u>		
Alnham	Y	P
Hexham	Y	O

Ingram	Y	
Norham	Y	
Stamfordham	Y	X
Warenton		P
Wickham	Y	
<u>Uncertain</u>		
Bolam	Y	
Carham	Y	P(?)
Crookham	Y	
Downham		X(?)
Fenham (Newcastle)	Y	
Ulgham	Y	M(?)
Wylam	Y	M(?)
<u>Durham</u>		
<u>Certain</u>		
Billingham	Y	X
Greatham	Y	
Middleham	Y	
Neasham		X
Seaham	Y	X
<u>South-East Scotland</u>		
<u>Certain</u>		

Aldham	Y	
Birgham	Y	
Ednam	Y	P
Edrom	Y	P
Leitholm	Y	P
Oxnam	Y	
Smailholm	Y	
Yetholm	Y	X(?)
<u>Uncertain</u>		
Morham	Y	

#### Issues regarding first element early indicators

Hexham should be cross-referenced with OE *eg* for discussion of the first element.

Stamfordham should be cross-referenced with OE *ford* discussed below in 5.6.6.

*Ham* is apparently added to a pre-existing compound name in *-ford*, another possible early Anglian place-naming element.

Carham may have a topographic first element as OE *carr* refers to the surrounding topography.

Downham may contain the possible early Anglian element OE *dun* (see below 6.6.3).

For Ulgham and Wylam, only Mawer (1920) suggested the possibility of a monothematic masculine OE personal name.

Billingham has a first element interpreted by Watts (2002) as OE *\*billing*, which



is topographic and means 'hill, prominence, promontory, ridge', and corresponds to the low promontory ridge overlooking the Billingham Beck upon which the Anglo-Saxon church stands.

Yetholm may contain a topographic first element OE *gaet*, meaning 'gate or pass', referring to the topographic situation in the steep-sided Bowmont Water valley (see Table).

iv) Other suggestions for *ham* place-names

The following suggestions do not have documented early spellings:

In Northumberland:

Ulpham is suggested by Futers (1997).

Wrangham is situated north of the Till Basin in an area of extensive early Anglian archaeological remains.

Burgham is possibly compounded with OE *burh*.

Frankham is located in the Tyne valley, west of Hexham.

In Durham, Mawer (1920: 47) suggested Cleatlam as a possible compound of Cletley and *-ham*, but this is not supported by Watts (2002 and 2004). Both Watts and Mawer suggest that it is an *-um* place-name, OE *\*claete* 'burdock' and OE *leah* 'clearing' dative plural *leum*, '(settlement at the) clearings where burdock grows' (cross reference with *-ingas* and the Table).

In South-East Scotland, Johnston (1940) suggests Whitsome and Winsome in

Berwickshire, but these should be regarded as unlikely.

Two further possibilities, both lost names, are suggested by Williamson (1942):

Wrangham, the earliest spelling for which is *Wranghomehill* 1535. Its location is unclear but is possibly near Coldstream, and Wrangham, earliest spelling *Wranghame* 1505, located north of Brotherstone. OE *wrang* means 'awry, crooked in form'. With regard to these two and the Northumberland Wrangham, because the specific is an adjective and cannot be explained as *-um* dative plurals, this makes *-ham* (though not necessarily an early *-ham*) quite likely.

### 5.5.3 -ING(A)HAM

(Plate 3)

The study of the place-names in *-ing(a)ham* is not straightforward as there is ambiguity in defining what constitutes an *-ing(a)ham* name. The OE suffix *-ing* is exceptionally problematic, with four applications (each reflecting distinct historical origins), of which only *-ing* 2 and *-ing* 4 below are most relevant to place-names. The following numbered categories have become traditional, though the meanings especially of *-ing* 4 and *-ingas* have been differently understood. They are based chiefly on Watts 2004, xlvi, but also Smith (1956: 282-303).

1) *-ing* 1, a noun-forming suffix.

2) *-ing* 2, a place-name forming suffix attached to appellatives or adjectives. This may be indicated in names with a following generic where the form seems to be in the locative-dative case. Evidence for this (though not unequivocal) would be medial *-e-* in medieval spellings and/or other evidence of an assibilated pronunciation 'inj' as in

Northumberland *-ingham* names such as Bellingham.

3) *-ing* 3, a patronymic suffix.

4) *-ing* 4, a connective, attached to personal names and meaning 'associated with' or 'called after'. This is normally followed by a generic without an intervening medial vowel, e.g. *Aelfredingtun* 'farmstead associated with Aelfred'.

5) *-ingas* is also an OE suffix forming group or folk names, with either a personal name as the main theme or a location. This has given rise to names such as Hastings and Reading, but also appears in its genitive plural form followed by generics, especially *ham*. Thus gen.pl. *-inga* is found in some modern *-ingham* names, diagnosed through medieval spellings in *-a-* or (less safely) *-e-*, which would commonly result from unstressed *a* in late OE and in ME.

Given the many uncertainties surrounding these names the only pragmatic course is to group the names concerned collectively as *-ing(a)ham* names; and this does not undermine their usefulness as potentially 'early' names, since the generic is *-ham* whatever the identity of the *-ing-* syllable.

*-Ing(a)ham* commonly is taken to mean 'village of the followers of X' or 'village of the people called after X'. *-Ing(a)ham* was probably in use as a place-naming element in the 6th and extending into the early 7th centuries when *-ingas* place-names seem to have come into vogue. Indicators that *-ing(a)ham* place-names are early are that they are generally compounded with OE monothematic personal names, are of high status, and tend to be most numerous in southern and eastern England.



Analysis

i) Corpus of certain/ highly probable -ing(a)ham names

Northumberland (9)      Durham (2)      South-East Scotland (3)

Bellingham	Skerningham	Coldingham
Ealingham	Wolsingham	Tynninghame
Edlingham		Wittingehame
Eglingham		
Ellingham		
Eltringham		
Chillingham		
Ovingham		
Whittingham		

*-Ing(a)ham* names in Durham have a complex interpretation. Bellingham has been categorised as a *ham* name (see above and Table), rather than as an *-ing(a)ham* name. For both Wolsingham and Skerningham there is some question as to whether they are *-ing 4 / -ing 2* plus *-ham*, or *-ing(a)ham* place-names.

Skerningham could either be *-ingaham*, OE folk-name *Scirningas*, gen. pl. *Scirninga* + *ham*, meaning 'homestead of the Scirningas: the people who live by the Skerne', or OE *Scirning* + *ham*, meaning 'homestead at or called Scirning: the place on the River Skerne or Skerne stream'. The singular *-ing 2* could refer to the stream the settlement is next to. It has occasional *-e-* and *-a-* spellings.

Wolsingham. There is an *-e-* spelling in 1197 but mainly the early spellings contain no medial vowel. It is most likely an OE personal name *Wulfsige* + *ing* 4 + *ham*, meaning 'homestead associated with Wulfsige'.

In Northumberland, Watts pointed out that Ellingham was a place-name in *-ing* that preserved or whose spelling once possessed an assibilated pronunciation, and that this derived from forms with locative case ending *-i* which became obsolete by the mid 7th century AD (1979: 132). This indicates that Ellingham may be one of the earliest *-ing(a)ham* names in the study area, dating to possibly the early 7th century, and the same may be true of the other eight certain *-ing(a)ham* names in Northumberland.

Geographically Eltringham is just south of the River Tyne, less than 1 mile from Ovingham, and may possibly represent a later satellite settlement.

In South-East Scotland, Coldingham, although classified as a certain *-ing(a)ham* place-name, has a complex interpretation because early spellings are divided into two groupings: *burh* and *-ing(a)ham*. *Burh* is probably the older place-name and referred to the fortress at St Abb's Head, while Coldingham means either 'village of the people of Colud' or 'village of the people of Coludesburh'.

## ii) Corpus of uncertain *-ing(a)ham* names (2)

There are two uncertain *-ing(a)ham* names, both in Northumberland. These are without documented early spellings, but both in terms of status are significant sites:

Beltingham (NY789639) is located in the Tyne valley, and although a small settlement,

does have a church (therefore an early indicator).

Risingham (NY891863) is in the fertile Rede valley, on the site of the Roman fort Habitanum beside a Roman bridge on Dere Street. Williamson proposed that the reference in the *Anonymous Life of St. Cuthbert* to a place called Huringaham is a reference to Risingham. She claimed that the first element in the early spellings *Huringaham*, *Runingaham*, and *Rimingaham* in different manuscripts of the *Anonymous Life of St. Cuthbert*, *Hruringaham* in Bede c.730, and *Hruningaham* in later sources, is *hrur* which derives from OE *hreosan*, meaning 'to rush, fall', which may describe the ruins and fallen walls of the fort. However she pointed out that the names Risingham and Hruringaham bear little resemblance and therefore possibly *hrur* was mis-spelled as *hris* (1942: 5). The other possibility is OE *hrisen* 'brushwood'.

Although the general rule is not to include in the corpus names without early spellings, an exception is made for *-ing(a)ham* names due to their importance as early Anglian place-naming elements.

iii) Indicators of earliness

a) Status

<u>Place-name</u>	<u>Parish centre</u>	<u>Church</u>	<u>Substantial settlement</u>
<u>Northumberland</u>			
Bellingham	Y	Y	Y
Edlingham	Y	Y	Y
Eglingham	Y	Y	Y



Ellingham	Y	Y	Y
Chillingham	Y	Y	Y
Ovingham	Y	Y	Y
Whittingham	Y	Y	Y
<u>Durham</u>			
Wolsingham	Y	Y	Y
<u>South-East Scotland</u>			
Coldingham	Y	Y	Y
Tynninghame	Y	Y	Y
Whittingehame	Y	Y	Y

In South-East Scotland, Tynninghame and Whittinghame are classified as substantial settlements although the present-day settlements are small, because they were the sites of major monasteries and it is reasonable to suppose they were formerly more substantial settlements.

b) Corpus of -ing(a)ham names with first element and status early indicators

(12 certain)

<u>Place-name</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>First element</u>
<u>Northumberland</u>		
Bellingham	Y	X(?)
Ealingham		M
Edlingham	Y	
Eglingham	Y	

Ellingham	Y	M
Chillingham	Y	M
Ovingham	Y	M
Whittingham	Y	M

#### Durham

Wolsingham	Y
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#### South-East Scotland

Coldingham	Y	P
Tynninghame	Y	P
Whittinghame	Y	M

#### Issues regarding first element early indicators

In Northumberland, Bellingham may contain an early indicator if the first element is OE *belling*, from *bell* meaning 'a (bell-shaped) hill', therefore referring to a topographic feature. The other place-names that were not included: Edlingham, Eglingham and Eltringham all have dithematic OE personal names which could indicate that they are later in date.

In Durham, Skerningham contains the river name Skerne, an Anglo-Saxon rather than pre-English river name. Wolsingham most likely contains *Wulfsige*, a dithematic OE personal name.

#### 5.5.4 -INGAS

(Plate 4)

Dodgson defined *-ingas* as 'the names of communities extending to the territory in which they lived or had some interest' (1966: 2). A grouping of similar *-ingas* names, in Dodgson's view indicates a district, territory or confederacy, and *-ingas* names represented social change as they were only used when the pattern of settlement and society had evolved to a stage where identity was felt to be needed and recognised by neighbours (ibid.: 19). Kuurman similarly claimed that *-ingas* place-names were used by communities to denote the area or place in which they lived, and were linked to social unity and group identity (1973: 11). They were originally group names transferred to districts belonging to groups of people, rather than names given to habitation sites (Cox 1977: 71).

*-Ingas* place-names seem to be a social development belonging to a later colonization process, but soon after initial immigration and settlement recorded by early pagan burials (Gelling 1997: 111). There is some dispute over the dating of *-ingas* names. Dodgson suggested that they were used for place-naming from the later pagan to post-pagan period, 6th to 7th/ 8th centuries. Similarly according to Cox, the transference of a district name to a habitation site within it requires time and therefore *-ingas* names belong to the post-pagan period of Anglo-Saxon England (1973: 72). However they do have earliness indicators as monothematic OE personal names greatly outnumber dithematic names (Kuurman 1973: 11).

A different view expressed by Smith (before the 'revolution' in chronology) is that as



*-ingas* was of great antiquity in the Germanic homeland, and as it was difficult to interpret the specific in many instances (an early indicator), this might suggest that *-ingas* were not in use after *ham* place-naming. Instead, the use of *ham* and *-ingas* was contemporaneous and represented two distinct migratory bands: a smaller group who established a *-ham* homestead, and a larger group that was associated with an *-ingas* place-name referring to an area or region, and was probably named after the man who led the group. Alternatively, an *-ingas* place-name could derive from the adoption of the name of the man who achieved dominance after settlement (1956: 298-303).

An *-ingas* place-name is indicated if a spelling with *-s* dominates post-Conquest spellings of the name. The absence of *-s* does not necessarily rule out *-ingas* since 'final *-s* rarely appears in Middle English sources of the Midlands and North counties of England (Nicolaisen 2001: 89, 91).

### Analysis

#### i) Corpus of certain/ highly probable *-ingas* names (1)

##### Birling

This is the most probable example of an *-ingas* name in the study area (although see Table of *-Ingas* names, and Watts' interpretation that this is an example of an *-ing* 2 place-name formation of possibly 5th to 6th century date). Even if Watts is correct, Birling can still be classified as a very early Anglian place-name in the study area.

ii) Corpus of uncertain -ingas names (5)

Northumberland (2)

Thirlings

Clavering

Durham (1)

Cleatlam

South-East Scotland (2)

Crailing

Simprim

Thirlings and Clavering do not have early spellings but are included because of the importance of *-ingas* as an early Anglian place-naming element, and because there are few potential examples in the study area.

Thirlings, near Milfield, Northumberland. There is archaeological evidence for a late 6th to early 7th century Anglian settlement. There are other Anglian settlement and burial sites elsewhere in the Till Basin e.g. Milfield, Galewood and Yeavering. The modern name suggests a plural *-s* spelling which could indicate an *-ingas* place-name.

Clavering, near Wooler, Northumberland. The modern name could suggest an *-ingas* place-name, and the location on a hill overlooking the Till basin and evidence of a settlement (pre-English presumably but it is unexcavated), could support this interpretation. However, the comparative example of Clavering, Essex (OE *claeFRE* 'clover' + *-ing* 2, hence 'place growing with clover', (W2) and the absence of final *-s*

would instead suggest *-ing* 2.

Cleatlam. Mawer (1920) suggested that *Cletlinga* c.1050 represents an *-ingas* early folk name, the *Claetlingas*, 'the people who live at Cleatlam', although Watts disagrees (2002: 20) (see Table).

Crailing, Roxburghshire. This could derive from a Celtic river name similar to *Crai* in Wales, and *Cray* in Kent, to produce the OE form *Craeg*. The river would be the Oxnam Water, where the pre-English name is only preserved in the place-name. Although there is no indication of plurality, an *-s*, this could indicate an early *-ingas* place-name. However a more probable interpretation is an OE compound *cra*, meaning 'nook, corner', and *hlync*, meaning 'ridge, slope', which corresponds with the topography as Crailing lies in a shallow hollow in the gradually sloping banks of the Oxnam (Nicolaisen 2001: 90-91, Williamson 1942: 2) (cf. Table for *-Ingas* names).

Simprim, Berwickshire. Again there is no indication of plurality, no final *-s*, but again Nicolaisen does not quite rule out an *-ingas* name, which would be comparatively early, no later than the 6th century. The early spellings indicate that the specific possibly derives from an OE personal name (a nickname), *Simper*, related to the verb 'to simper' (Nicolaisen 2001: 91, Williamson 1942: 3).

### iii) Indicators of earliness

Only the names in South-East Scotland have early indicators.

#### a) Status



<u>Place-name</u>	<u>Parish centre</u>	<u>Church</u>	<u>Substantial settlement</u>
Crailing		Y	Y
Simprim		Y	

b) A corpus of -ingas names with first element and status early indicators

<u>Place-name</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>First element</u>
Crailing	Y	P(?)
Simprim	Y	M(?)

5.5.5 BURH

(Plate 5)

In modern forms, *burh* (the nominative singular form) normally appears in north-east England as *borough/ brough*. Dative singular *byrig* occurs as *bury* and *bery*. They should not be confused with OE *beorg* 'barrow', although ME spellings often make separation difficult (Gelling 1997: 132, Smith 1956: 80). Although OE *burh/ byrig* is a habitative element, it describes a man-made landscape feature, generally a fortified place, that could include Iron Age hillforts, Roman stations, Anglo-Saxon fortifications, medieval fortifications including castles and fortified towns and manor houses. Before the Norman Conquest one characteristic feature of a *burh* site was an outer defensive wall or fence (Parsons and Styles 2000: 74). The meaning may vary depending on the geographic location of the feature it refers to, for example Gelling suggests that in the West Midlands the nominative *burh* often refers to an ancient feature, and the dative *byrig* more commonly denotes a manor house (ibid: 80). Cox simply defined *burh* as a site whose area is limited by the line of its

defences; therefore it could include non-military meanings in the Anglo-Saxon period, including monastery sites which accounted for 7 of the 10 examples found in pre-731 AD records (1980: 36).

Prehistoric sites with *burh* names include Badbury (Dorset), and Danebury (Hampshire). Gelling suggests that if a *burh* place-name relates to a hill rather than a settlement, or to a village at the foot of a defended hill, then it probably refers to a hillfort (1997: 142,145). An indication that the site is an ancient abandoned fortification may be where *burh* is compounded with animals, birds, vegetation or supernatural elements, for example Fowberry (Northumberland), specific OE *fola*, meaning 'foals' fortification' may denote an ancient encampment used as an enclosure for foals (Parsons and Styles 2000: 75,81, Smith 1956: 61). A feature of northern England is that *burh* is used for Roman towns, forts or stations, e.g. Aldborough and Brougham (possibly *burh* and *ham*). *Burh* could also refer to a walled urban centre without clear distinction between town, fortress or monastery. Some *burhs* relate to existing and new Anglo-Saxon strongholds, particularly 9th and 10th century fortifications against the Vikings, although these are rare (Parsons and Styles 2000: 76-7).

*Burh* continued as a place-naming element into the post-Conquest period, generally denoting fortification, but it could also mean a 'borough', a town with a distinct legal status conferred by charter (Smith 1956: 74,78), and a manor house, estate or fortified dwelling (Parsons and Breeze 2000: 78,79).

*Burh* is commonly a generic but can be a specific, e.g. Burghshire, or can be compounded as a habitative element with *ham*, e.g. *Burgham* 1086, Sussex, or with OE *dun*, particularly in Northumberland and Durham, e.g. Berrington (Northumberland), Burdon (Durham) and Burradon (Northumberland). As a generic it can be compounded with an OE personal name, which may recall local warlords, or an individual who owned land containing a prehistoric hillfort, or may merely be a reference to mythical or legendary figures (Parson and Styles 2000: 76).

A problem with dating *burh* is its continued post-Conquest use as a place-naming element. Despite this, if a place-name is associated with a prehistoric hillfort, a village under a hill, a fortified Anglo-Saxon place, or a former Roman place, then it possibly was an early Anglian place-name where *burh* refers to a military stronghold established or re-used by Anglo-Saxons (ibid. 2000: 75, Futers 1998: 62). There was early use of *burh* as a place-naming element in the 5th and 6th centuries according to Copley (1988: 67), but it was in more common use in the 7th and 8th centuries. This is supported by the claim by Cox that *ceaster*, *eg*, and *ham* were earlier naming elements because of their later replacement by *burh*. Examples include Glastonbury, where *burh* replaced *eg* in the 8th century, and Durovernum, which did not change its name to Canterbury until 750 AD, together with Bamburgh's suggested naming in the early 7th century (Cox 1980: 41, 42). Early in the Anglo-Saxon period, *ceaster* rather than *burh* was generally used to name Roman sites. Only at a later date did *burh* replace *ceaster* in naming Roman places and this continued into the post-Conquest period, e.g. Richborough replacing the Roman and Anglo-Saxon place-name



Reptacaestir (Smith 1970: 75, Campbell 1986: 106-7).

Analysis of *burh* names

i) Corpus of certain/ highly probable *burh* names (15)

<u>Northumberland (7)</u>	<u>Durham (4)</u>	<u>South-East Scotland (4)</u>
Bamburgh	Bradbury	<i>Coludesburh</i>
Burradon (Earsdon)	Carlbury	Dryburgh
Burradon (Rothbury)	Great Burdon	Roxburgh
Fowberry	Sockburn	Scraesburgh
Lesbury		
Rothbury		
Thornbrough		

Rothbury is categorised as certain but it should be noted that the specific may be of Scandinavian rather than early Anglian origin. The two Burradon names, Great Burdon and conceivably Berrington have *burh* as a specific. The names are included because they are compounded with another early element, *dun* 'hill' (see below).

ii) Corpus of uncertain *burh* names (7)

<u>Northumberland</u>
Berrington
Brinkburn
Burton

Cheeseburn Grange

Dunstanburgh

Newbrough

Durham

None

South-East Scotland

Winterburgh

There are place-names that may not be *burh* because there are alternative explanations:

Berrington

The specific may derive from OE *byrig*, but the *-e-* spellings point instead to OE *berige*, 'berry' or possibly an OE personal name.

Brinkburn

The early spellings make it more likely that the generic derives from OE *burna* rather than OE *burh*, although there is a prehistoric hillfort.

Cheeseburn Grange

This place-name more convincingly derives from the specific OE *ceosal*, *cisel*, meaning 'gravel/ shingle' and the generic OE *burna*, rather than having an interpretation of 'burh famous for its cheeses' (see Table). There is also no indication of a hillfort or earthwork nearby.

Other *burh* place-names may not be of early Anglian origin:

Burton

*Burh* is compounded with OE *tun* which is not an early Anglian element.

Dunstanburgh

The place-name derives from the nearby village, Dunstan, OE *dun+stan*, 'hill stone', and refers to the rocky outcrop on which a castle was built in 1314 AD. As the earliest spelling is 1321 *Dunstanburgh*, the name may have originated when the castle was built and therefore be of medieval date.

Newbrough

The specific does not indicate that this name is early (see Table).

Winterburgh

The specific 'winter' may refer to an earthwork for keeping cattle in the winter, and is more likely to be of ME rather than early Anglian origin.

iii) Indicators of earliness

a) Status

<u>Place-name</u>	<u>Parish name</u>	<u>Church</u>	<u>Substantial settlement</u>
<u>Northumberland</u>			
<u>Certain</u>			
Bamburgh	Y	Y	Y
Burradon (Earsdon)			Y
Burradon (Rothbury)			Y
Lesbury	Y	Y	Y
Rothbury	Y	Y	Y
<u>Uncertain</u>			
Brinkburn	Y	Y	Y



Dunstanburgh Y

Durham

Certain

Bradbury Y

Sockburn Y Y

South-East Scotland

Certain

*Coludesburh* Y Y Y

Roxburgh Y Y Y

Dryburgh Y Y Y

None of the following place-names are substantial settlements in the present-day, however there are the remains of buildings on the site that indicate their former importance:

Brinkburn

The site of the original settlement is unclear, but as an abbey is located here it is reasonable to suppose that this was a substantial settlement.

Dunstanburgh

The only status indicator is the medieval castle at the site, but it is unclear what, if any, settlement was there in the early Anglian period.

Coludesburh

This is the site of a former Anglo-Saxon monastery and must be regarded as a substantial settlement.

Dryburgh

The abbey located there indicates that this was a substantial settlement.

Not recorded under this category, but requiring mention are Cheeseburn which formerly had a grange, and Fowberry which has a tower, both significant buildings that suggest these settlements were formerly more important than they currently are.

b) Corpus of *burh* place-names with early indicators

(11 certain, 3 uncertain)

<u>Place-name</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>First element</u>
-------------------	---------------	----------------------

Northumberland

Certain

Bamburgh	Y	
Burradon (Earsdon)	Y	X
Burradon (Rothbury)	Y	X
Lesbury	Y	
Rothbury	Y	M(?)O(?)

Uncertain

Brinkburn	Y	M
Berrington		X
Dunstanburgh	Y	

Durham

Bradbury	Y
----------	---

Sockburn	Y	M
----------	---	---

Great Burdon		X
--------------	--	---

### South-East Scotland

#### Certain

<i>Coludesburh</i>	Y	P
--------------------	---	---

Roxburgh	Y	M
----------	---	---

Dryburgh	Y	
----------	---	--

### Issues regarding first element early indicators

There are no topographic first elements. Although Rothbury may contain a monothematic masculine personal name there are a number of other explanations.

The first element is obscure and difficult to interpret. As mentioned above, the two Burradon names, Great Burdon and Berrington, are compounded with the possible early topographic element *dun*. Not included is Bamburgh, however the early spelling *Bebbanburgh* contains an *-n-* spelling in the first element and this indicates earliness (discussed more fully below).

#### c) Topographic early indicators

A further aid to assessing the potential earliness of *burh* names is to determine any features in the landscape that they are associated with, such as hills and prehistoric, Roman, or Anglo-Saxon defended centres.

### Northumberland

#### Bamburgh



There is a prehistoric fortification, a possible Roman station, and a defended Anglo-Saxon centre.

### Berrington

This may be associated with a prehistoric camp half a mile away, or the hill at Berrington Law.

### Brinkurn

In a river loop there is a prehistoric hillfort that contains the monastery.

### Dunstanburgh

There is archaeological evidence for an Iron Age promontory fort.

### Rothbury

Is located close to various prehistoric hillforts on the hills overlooking the Coquet valley.

Place-names that are on or close to hills that may indicate a former hillfort, and therefore that these names are early, are: Burradon (Earsdon), Burradon (Rothbury), Burton, Fowberry, Thornbrough. In Northumberland there is no association between *burh* and Roman remains except for Carrawburgh Roman fort which does not have early spellings. Bamburgh is the only *burh* name that relates to a known Anglo-Saxon defended centre.

Other place-names are undiagnostic, with no indication that they are associated with hills or that prehistoric, Roman, or Anglo-Saxon remains are nearby, for example Lesbury, Brinkburn, Cheeseburn Grange and Newbrough. This implies that maybe these names are not early and belong to a later period.

### Durham

### Bradbury

This is located on a hill with low lying marshy land surrounding it, but there is no indication of a prehistoric hillfort, Roman or Anglo-Saxon remains.

### Carlbury

This is located on a low hill above the River Tees and is near to a tumulus. There is no indication of a prehistoric hillfort, but it possibly refers to the nearby Roman fort of Piercebridge. Post-Roman and Anglo-Saxon remains found in the vicinity may indicate that this *burh* refers to an Anglo-Saxon defended enclosure.

### Great Burdon

This may refer to the nearby hill and possible hillfort, upon which is Sadberge settlement.

### Sockburn

This is located in a loop of the River Tees but there is no evidence for a fortified Anglo-Saxon place, prehistoric hillfort or Roman remains.

### South East Scotland

Where there is evidence, the place-names appear to relate to prehistoric hillforts: Coludesburh refers to the fort on St. Abb's Head, and Scraesburgh has a hillfort on the hill above it. Present-day Roxburgh is located in the Teviot valley but may originally have been centred on the castle site (NT714337). Dryburgh is undiagnostic and is located in the flat landscape of the River Tweed but possibly compares to Sockburn

as a monastery enclosed in a river loop.

#### Other suggestions for *burh* place-names

In Northumberland there are place-names that are undocumented and for which there are no early spellings: Baldesbury, Carrawburgh, Foxbury House, Burgh Hill, Burgham and Sadbury Hill. Of these, Carrawburgh is a likely post-Norman name taking the nearby pre-English place-name Carraw and adding OE *burh*. In South-east Scotland there is Newburgh, Selkirk, which has a late spelling, and the name itself suggests it is not early Anglian. Note that Jedburgh is a late *burh* formation that replaced OE *worth*, e.g. *Gedwearde* c.1050.

#### 5.5.6 CEASTER

(Plate 6)

This is an important element as it may indicate a very early Anglian place-name. It is an Anglo-Saxon word borrowed from the Latin *castrum*, meaning 'camp, fort, walled town'. It has been suggested that the Anglo-Saxons used it to describe almost any inhabited or uninhabited Roman remains, including walled Roman towns, forts, small settlements, and even villas (Smith 1956: 33). It has also been claimed by Cox that although in the early Anglo-Saxon period *ceaster* was given to Romano-British fortification sites, it also referred to a centre of population within a dependent land unit (Cox 1980: 36). Gelling further suggested that some names may denote pre-Roman fortifications, e.g. Outchester and Craster, both Northumberland (1997: 152). In later Anglo-Saxon place-naming, *ceaster* lost its precise association with Roman sites and was used for any ancient fortification site (ibid.).



Therefore as a chronological indicator, use of *ceaster* for Roman remains indicates early Anglo-Saxon naming, and reference to pre-Roman fortifications indicates later Anglo-Saxon naming. However in Northumberland and Southern Scotland, although there was an imprecise use of *ceaster*, where it described any ancient fortification or their remains whether Roman or prehistoric, there were two main meanings: a walled Roman town, and the remains of an ancient fortification or what was thought to be such (Smith 1956: 85). Smith also claimed that *ceaster* had a higher status than *burh* place-names (ibid.).

*Ceaster* can occur as a simplex, e.g. Chester, and as a final element, often combined with a Romano-British first element, often a name of a river or other natural feature which the Anglo-Saxons adopted. The first element, if Anglo-Saxon, may be an OE personal name or a tribal group (Parsons and Styles 2000: 158-159). To recognise this element, it should be noted that in ME it usually became *-chester* or *-caster*. Forms in *-cester* and *-ceter* may possibly be attributed to Anglo-Norman influence (Gelling 1997: 160).

One problem with *ceaster* place-names is that they are not necessarily early.

'Chesters', 'The Chesters', 'Chester Hill' etc, were commonly applied to sites into the medieval and post-medieval period, to describe any earthwork feature, linear or otherwise. These names may refer to Roman remains or camps, or may not, and should be regarded as suspect.

#### Analysis of *ceaster* names

i) Corpus of certain/ highly probable *ceaster* names (19)

<u>Northumberland</u> (11)	<u>Durham</u> (4)	<u>South-East Scotland</u> (4)
Aunchester/ Anterchesters	Binchester	Rowchester
Chesterhope	Chester-le-Street	Belchester
Chesterwood	Ebchester	Darnchester
Chesters ( <i>Scytlescester</i> )	Lanchester	Whitchester
Craster		
Gloster Hill		
Hetchester		
Outchester		
(High) Rochester		
Rudchester		
Whitchester		

ii) Corpus of uncertain *ceaster* names (4)

- (Only Northumberland)
- Bellister
- Monkchester
- Wuducester*
- Corchester*/ Corbridge

There are interpretations other than *ceaster* for the generic of Bellister including that it derives from Old French, or from OE *estre*, meaning 'sheepfold'. With regard to

Monkchester, Simeon of Durham in *Hist.Dunelm Eccl.* iii 21 referred to the attempted revival of monastic life in north-east England in the 11th century AD at Monkchester, identified with Newcastle Upon Tyne and *Pons Aelius* Roman fort. The specific could refer to a monastery but it does not suggest an early Anglian origin. For *Wuducester* see the Table. *Corchester* is only evidenced by spellings dating from the 14th century AD. Before this it was referred to as Corbridge, *Corebricg* c.1154, *Corebrigge* 1157, therefore it is dubious that this was an early Anglian *-ceaster* name.

iii) Indicators of earliness for *ceaster* names

a) Status

<u>Place-name</u>	<u>Parish centre</u>	<u>Church</u>	<u>Substantial settlement</u>
-------------------	----------------------	---------------	-------------------------------

Northumberland

Certain

Craster		Y	Y
---------	--	---	---

Uncertain

<i>Corchester</i> / Corbridge	Y	Y	Y
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Durham

Certain

Chester-le-Street	Y	Y	Y
-------------------	---	---	---

Ebchester	Y	Y	Y
-----------	---	---	---

Lanchester	Y	Y	Y
------------	---	---	---

South-East Scotland

None



In Northumberland only two *ceaster* place-names are of possible high status, with only *Corchester* a parish centre. Most are minor settlements consisting of farms or hamlets with only a few buildings. Although not included, Bellister may have a status indicator as despite being a small settlement, a castle was originally located there. In Durham all the *ceaster* names have indicators of high status except for Binchester.

b) A corpus of *ceaster* names with first element and status early indicators

(10 certain, 2 uncertain)

<u>Place-name</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>First element</u>
<u>Northumberland</u>		
<u>Certain</u>		
Aunchester		P
Chesters ( <i>Scytlescester</i> )		M(?)
Craster	Y	M(?)
Gloster Hill		P
(High) Rochester		M(?)
Rudchester		M
<u>Uncertain</u>		
<i>Corchester</i> / Corbridge	Y	P
Bellister		M (?)
<u>Durham</u>		
<u>Certain</u>		

Binchester		P(?)
Chester-le-Street	Y	P
Ebchester	Y	M
Lanchester	Y	P(?)

### South-East Scotland

None

### Issues regarding first element early indicators

### OE Monothematic masculine personal names

All have alternative interpretations.

### (High) Rochester.

The meaning of the first element is unclear but could be from an OE personal name.

The other OE alternative meanings may indicate an abandoned Roman fort as a feature in the landscape.

### Rudchester.

The first element is uncertain but may derive from the OE personal name *Rudda*.

### Ebchester.

The first element is a monothematic OE personal name but this may derive from the feminine *Ebbe*.

(There is a possibility that the Roman name *Epiacum* survives in the first element, although modern scholars interpret the reference in the Ravenna Cosmography as referring to Whitley Castle (Hind 1980: 165-71)).

### Bellister.

Possibly the first element derives from an OE personal name *Bella*.

### Chesters (*Scytlescester*).

The first element may be from OE *scyttels*, meaning 'bar, bolt' rather than a masculine personal name.

### Craster.

The first element may derive from a feminine personal name *Crawe*, or from OE *crawe*, meaning 'crow'.

### Pre-English

#### Aunchester

May be related to Romano-British island name *Antros*.

#### Corchester

Derives from the first part of the Roman fort Corstopitum.

#### Gloster Hill

Derives from Romano-British *gloew*, meaning 'bright'.

#### Binchester.

The Roman name Vinovia may have been partly adopted by the Anglo-Saxons in the first element, but alternative meanings (see Table).

#### Chester-le-Street.

The first element in the original Anglo-Saxon name *Kuncacester* c.700 AD or *Cunceceastre* c.1040 AD is ambiguous but may derive from a Romano-British name *Concangis*.

#### Lanchester.



This first element may derive from OE *lang*, giving 'the long fort', but could have been an Anglo-Saxon rationalisation of the Roman name Longovicium (see Table).

Other issues

There are *ceaster* names in Northumberland that do not have early indicators: Chesterhope, Chesterwood, Hetchester, Outchester and Whitchester. Of these, Chesterhope, meaning the 'hope by the chester or fort', and Chesterwood, OE *weorth* 'enclosure by the chester', have OE generics that indicate these names are of Anglo-Saxon origin. There are no *ceaster* names in South-East Scotland that have early indicators, although the specifics of Rowchester, Belchester and Darnchester: OE *ruh* 'rough', OE *belle* 'bell', and OE *deor* 'wild animal', respectively, indicate that these place-names are at least of Anglo-Saxon origin.

iv) Features in the landscape and *ceaster* names

An early use of *ceaster* was to refer to a Roman fort, but in the study area this also included any Romano-British fortification site. Analysis of landscape features in the vicinity of sites with *ceaster* names may indicate earliness, or at least that the name originated in the Anglo-Saxon period.

The table below summarises the possible Roman and prehistoric landscape features that may relate to *ceaster* names.

<u>Place-name</u>	<u>Roman</u>	<u>Prehistoric</u>
<u>Northumberland</u>		
Aunchester		Y

Bellister		
Chesterhope	Y(?)	
Chesterwood		
Chesters	Y	
Corchester/ Corbridge	Y	
Craster		Y
Gloster Hill	Y(?)	
Hetchester	Y(?)	Y
Monkchester	Y	
Outchester		Y(?)
(High) Rochester	Y	
Rudchester	Y	
Whitchester	Y(?)	
<u>Durham</u>		
Binchester	Y	
Chester-le-Street	Y	
Ebchester	Y	
Lanchester	Y	
<u>South-East Scotland</u>		
Belchester		Y
Rowchester		Y
Darnchester		Y

Whitchester

Y

### Northumberland

#### Aunchester/ Anterchesters

This is located near hills Camp Hill and Horse Rigg and from the 1865 OS map is also near to a prehistoric hillfort.

#### Bellister

This site has a medieval castle but no other prehistoric or Roman features.

#### Chesterhope

It does not relate to any prehistoric features. It is located just over a kilometre from Habitancum (Risingham) Roman fort and therefore may relate to this.

#### Chesterwood

This is located on or near Lipper Edge hill, 162m high and may refer to an unrecorded hillfort. Despite the proximity of the Roman Stanegate road (3 kilometres away) and Hadrian's Wall (5 kilometres away) there is nothing to suggest that it relates to these features.

#### Craster

A prehistoric hillfort or settlement lies south west of the present village, and to the north a prehistoric promontory fort may lie under Dunstanburgh Castle. There is no indication of Roman remains.

#### Gloster Hill

There is no indication of any prehistoric features nearby but the site is located on a hill and Roman remains have been found nearby.



### Hetchester

There is a prehistoric settlement nearby, but the record of Roman remains at the site (Hedley, R.C. AA vol.xii: 157) are dubious.

### Outchester

The present site sits on a shallow rise. East of this is an enclosure, but it is unclear whether this is prehistoric or more recent. Alternatively it could relate to a hill to the north west about half a mile away, where a 'camp' is marked on the 1865 OS map.

### Whitchester

This site is on a hill 134m high. It is just over one kilometre north of Hadrian's Wall, opposite milecastle 15 and north west of Rudchester. As there is no indication of prehistoric features nearby it is probable that Whitchester relates to Roman structures and as parts of Hadrian's Wall were rendered or painted white (Breeze 1989: 38) it is possible that the name is a refers to this.

Chesters, Corchester, Rudchester, (High) Rochester and Monkchester all relate to Roman forts.

### Durham

The place-names all relate to Roman forts.

### South East Scotland

None of the *ceaster* place-names refer to a Roman site; instead they all relate to pre-English earthworks according to Williamson (1942: 57). On OS maps there is an earthwork at Belchester, and J.H. Craw in *Notes on Berwickshire forts* (1921: 254)

noted forts at Darnchester and Whitchester. Rowchester is located near to the Eildon Hills and hillfort and could refer to this, or to other smaller hillforts in the vicinity.

v) Other possible *ceaster* place-names

There are more place-names that may potentially be *ceaster* (particularly in Northumberland), but are excluded from this analysis because they do not have early spellings, are undocumented, or cannot be located on modern OS maps, and therefore are very problematic. Given the importance of *ceaster* as a potentially very early Anglian place-naming element these names will be mentioned, however the remit and methodology of my thesis does not allow an exhaustive analysis. A more detailed topographic and documentary survey of all possible *ceaster* names in the study area is recommended.

Northumberland

Using Futers (1998), who lists possible *ceaster* place-names and provides a map showing their location, and modern OS maps with present-day *chester* names, a list of possible *ceaster* names can be suggested. None have early spellings, therefore the modern name is given together with a grid reference and a note as to whether they are located next to prehistoric or Roman remains:

- 1) Bowchester, NT9729. Prehistoric fort to the south. Called Early Chesters on earlier maps.
- 2) Chester Hill, (unknown, west of Craster).
- 3) Chester Hills, (unknown but near to NZ1056 between Dere Street and the River

Derwent).

- 4) Chesterhill, near to Chesters NU1334.
- 5) Chesterhill, NU1604. Prehistoric enclosure to the north.
- 6) Chesterholm, NY7766. Roman fort *Vindolanda*.
- 7) Chester Hope/ Chesterhope Burn, NZ0199. Prehistoric settlement and fort nearby.
- 8) Chesters/ Chesters Burn, NT9814. 'Settlement' to the north-west.
- 9) Chesters, NZ0087. 'Homestead' to the south-west, or relates to (21) below.
- 10) Chesters, NU1334. Prehistoric settlement to the west.
- 11) Chesters Strip, cannot be found.
- 12) Doupster Bridge, cannot be found.
- 13) Ferney Chesters, NZ0581. Prehistoric fort.
- 14) Green Chesters, NY8794. 'Settlement' to the north, nearby Roman fort and Dere Street.
- 15) Great Chesters, NY7066. Roman fort *Aesica*.
- 16) Hedchester Law, NZ1079. Prehistoric settlement.
- 17) Raechester, NY9787. Prehistoric settlement to the east.
- 18) Ringchesters, NT8628. Prehistoric fortification.

There is no indication of prehistoric or Roman remains with regard to the following:

- 1) Blackchester, NU0010.
- 2) Brownchesters, NY8892.
- 3) Gilchesters, NZ0671.
- 4) Gloucester Lodge Farm, NZ3278.



5) Rouchester Farm, NY8977.

6) Whitchester, NY7263.

7) Whitchester, NY7783.

Some names are hill or forest names rather than place-names:

Colster Crag, Cranester Pike, Great Buckster, Quonister Cleugh, Callister's Well and Helister's Wood, Annister Rigg.

Additional *ceaster* names have been identified from more detailed studies that have focused on smaller areas, e.g. Jobey (1963: 20), from A.H.A Hogg's map of south-east Northumberland, in *PSAN* 4, XI (1948), where modern place and field names are set out on a simple map without any analysis: Blackchesters, Greenchesters, Chester Field, Hornchesters, Jones chesters camp meadow, and two Chester names.

M. Tolan-Smith (1997) 'The Romano-British to late Prehistoric landscape: the deconstruction of a medieval landscape' identified:

Thonichester, by a small rectangular furlong in fields around Horsley, which may indicate a Romano-British settlement.

High Chesters, an 18th century field name assigned to newly enclosed fields containing two settlements at North Dunslawholm.

Bowchester, a furlong name referring to an Iron Age curvilinear earthwork on Horsley Hill, possibly deriving from OE *boga*, meaning 'something curved', which may suggest an Anglo-Saxon origin (1997: 73).

Hope-Taylor (1977) Figure 4, taken from A.H.A. Hogg (1943) 'Native settlements

of Northumberland', sets out the geographical distribution of *chester* names without recorded remains (although the actual names are not provided). There are concentrations just north of the River Tyne and west of Ponteland, and in south-east Northumberland and the Tyne valley.

### Durham

The few possible *ceaster* place-names are concentrated in west Durham, mainly in the upper Wear valley:

- 1) Stonechester, NZ3618.
- 2) Stonechester, NZ1229.
- 3) Chester House, NY 3891.
- 4) Chestergarth House, NY9442.

There is no indication of pre-historic or Roman remains in the vicinity of these names.

### South-East Scotland

Williamson (1942), Johnston (1940) and Dixon (1947) suggest possible *ceaster* place-names that have their earliest documented spellings after 1500 AD.

I have also analysed Ordnance Survey Landranger maps 2002 to identify additional *chester* names.

Williamson suggests:

- 1) Highchesters, NT458145. Prehistoric fort.
- 2) Whitchesters, NT468103. Prehistoric fort to the south.
- 3) Chesters (Ancrum), NT608225. No indication of prehistoric or Roman remains.

4) Bonchester, NT595118. Prehistoric hillfort.

5) Chesters (Fogo), NT740475. Prehistoric fort.

6) Blackchester, NT508504. Prehistoric fort and settlement.

7) Headchester, unclear, is near Cockburnspath, Berwickshire, NT785705. Prehistoric forts and settlements in the area.

8) Rowchester House, NT733437. No indication of prehistoric or Roman remains.

9) Abchester, now known as Bastleridge, NT9359.

10) Blackchester, near Souden Kirk, but unidentified (possibly NT507505)

2 examples that are 'lost' and cannot be located are:

*Subchesters* 1165-1214 AD.

*Dilchestre* 1095 AD.

Johnston (1940: 13) suggests additional names for Berwickshire, although he does not provide early spellings:

1) Alchester.

2) Cawchester.

3) Dabchester.

All are of unknown location.

4) Habchester, which he claims is near Ayton hill, and therefore possibly corresponds to Williamson's Abchester.

Dixon suggests names in Mid-Lothian (he does not provide early spellings):

Dalhousie Chesters: NT3063, no prehistoric or Roman remains indicated, and

other names of unknown location: Chesterhall (Cran), Chesterhill (Cran),



Chesterhill (B), Haychester (Co), Chesters Bogwood (Co), Chester Wood (N)  
and The Chesters (B).

Other names suggested from OS maps are:

Those with prehistoric hillforts or other features nearby:

Chesters, NT6210.

The Chesters, NT6673.

Chesterhill, NT9560.

Chesterbank, NT9460.

Chesterhall, NT5531.

The Chesters, NT5078.

Names with no indication of prehistoric or Roman remains nearby:

Chesterhouse, NT7720.

Kerchesters, NT7735.

Chesterfield, NT9453.

Chesters Farm, NT5671.

Chester Hill, NT5246.

Chester Hill, NT3456.

Chester knowes, NT5226.

Chesterhall, NT4374.

Chesterhill house, NT4561.

Longyester, NT5465.

## Section 6:

### Topographic place-naming elements

#### 5.6.1 Introduction

Earlier scholars such as Stenton had considered that topographic or topographical place-name elements were not from the early Anglo-Saxon period but instead were later in origin and therefore of no importance (Gelling 1984: 1-2). Subsequently, led by Gelling, this position was revised, part of the trend in the 1960s and 70s towards overturning the assumptions about what constituted the earliest Anglo-Saxon place-name elements. Gelling in 1976 put forward the idea that topographic place-name elements are contained in the earliest Anglian place-names, and probably represent a very early stage of settlement (1976: 819). This followed the suggestion in 1966 by Dodgson that ordinary nature-names e.g. *burna*, *leah* and *feld*, came first (1966: 5). Other scholars have subsequently supported Gelling, including Cox (1976 and 1980), and Copley (1988) (see above). Blake in his study of Anglo-Saxon place-names in Bedfordshire also argued that topographic place-name elements were used by the earliest Anglo-Saxons, with the majority of apparently early names being topographic rather than habitative. *Eg* and *ford* names were well evidenced (although not *feld* and *burna*) and 13 parish names contained the element *dun* (1999: 12-15, 17).

Gelling's position is distinctive because she emphasises that topographic names as a group were generally earlier than habitative names, and claims that there were country-wide patterns of topographic place-naming (2000: xv). Although there was

some regional variation in linguistic and toponymic usage, most of the variation in distribution of place-name elements reflects the diverse geography. She reinforced and developed this position in *Place-names in the landscape* (1984) and *The landscape of place-names* (2000). A further feature of Gelling's arguments concerns what exactly topographic place-names are and what they refer to. She suggests that a topographic element in a place-name defines a settlement by reference to its topographic setting (1984: 1). Also, that a topographic type of settlement name places the main emphasis on geographical features felt to be of particular significance rather than the buildings constructed there, that is, the habitation (2000: xii). Where settlements were already established, the Anglo-Saxons used topographic place-names to refer to both settlement and site. This differs from the process envisaged, for instance, by Cox (1976: 59), by which a name given primarily to a landscape feature is transferred to a nearby settlement. Gelling therefore observes that many OE topographic terms were quasi-habitative in that a topographic element in a place-name defines a settlement by reference to its topographic setting (2000: xvii, 1984: 1).

The importance of *eg* and *ford* as early naming elements indicates that topographic names for settlements were most likely constructed by English speaking immigrants in the 5th and 6th centuries, and reflect their perceptions of the landscape of an area, where landscape features were their major concern. These features included drainage, water supply and control, communications such as water crossings, hills, farmland, dry sites for settlements, and the situations of existing settlements in the landscape (Gelling and Cole 2000: xiii). Gelling observes that at no later period were topographic pre-



occupations of such immediate concern to the Anglo-Saxons (ibid: xix). According to Gelling, the importance placed by early Anglo-Saxons on topography is demonstrated by the variety of words in the OE vocabulary for topographic features, for example different terms for hills with different features: *hyll*, *dun*, *beorg* etc. Topographic names in OE had significant subtleties that do not exist in modern English and conveyed a wealth of information. The choice of words was therefore very important for Anglo-Saxon topographic naming (ibid: xiii, xv).

One problem with topographic names is that although they may have been early in use, many continued as place-naming elements into the post-Conquest period e.g. *ford*, *burna* and *feld*. This can partly be alleviated by the analysis of the indications of earliness set out above. Gelling also suggested that an additional indicator of earliness is the presence of dominant topographic themes in place-names in areas where there are early Anglo-Saxon settlements and burials. A concentration of homogeneous topographic settlement names showing concern with a particular aspect of terrain is more typical of an area of exceptionally early English settlement (1976: 821).

A further potential problem is movement of settlements around the landscape over time. However, at least for topographic place-names, it appears that this is not a major problem. This is supported by Gelling who argues that most modern settlements are still closely linked to the topography that gave rise to their place-name and they could not have significantly changed their geographic position since naming by the early Anglo-Saxon settlers. There appears, that is, to be a precise relationship between topographically named villages and geographical features (2000: xviii).

Following on from this, as topographic place-names are attached to landscape features familiar to large numbers of people, such as hills and fords, the probability is that topographic names will survive and continue and will not be replaced by another name. Further, given the importance of this link between the topographic settlement name and landscape (and as the relevant landscape features still exist in the study area for many place-names), the present-day landscape should be analysed to interpret topographic place-name distributions.

②

Before analysing topographic place-name elements in the study area there are a number of preliminary points to be made.

The elements to be analysed are *burna*, *dun*, *eg*, *feld* and *ford*. *Hamm* is excluded because of its potential confusion with habitative *ham*, and as there is negligible evidence for *hamm* names in the study area.

Topographic elements as specifics are excluded from the analysis. For example the use of *burna* as a generic is characteristic of early Anglo-Saxon settlement phases, whereas *burna*, later *burn*, both as an appellative (common noun in the everyday speech) and as a specific element in place-names is very long lasting, and as it may be post-Conquest it is therefore less significant.

### 5.6.2 BURNA

(Plate 7)

OE *burna* refers to a stream or watercourse smaller than a river (Smith 1956: 90),

though Cameron claimed that it also described streams of considerable size (1996: 166). Cole suggested that *burna* refers to streams with clearer water that flow strongly in the winter and possibly originate from a spring, that have beds of gravel, sand and soil, and contain submerged water plants (1989-90: 27, 37). She also suggested that many *burna* names are found in areas of well-drained gravels and valuable meadow land (ibid: 29, 31).

Modern scholarship has established that although early, *burna* remained in use as a place-naming element for a long time, especially in the north. In Northumberland, Durham and Scotland *burna* occurs very frequently in place-names because in the Northumbrian and Scottish dialect *burn* survives in modern English (Smith 1956: 63). It is therefore difficult to distinguish early Anglian instances from others. As *burna* was commonly combined with OE *myln* 'water mill' (for example Milbourne, Northumberland), and watermills were only common from the 9th century, this also indicates continued use to at least that date.

*Burna* can be used as a simplex, e.g. Bourne, and as a first element compounded with *ham* or *tun*, e.g. Brunton, Northumberland. However it most frequently occurs as a generic, and generally descriptive e.g. clean, bright, stone/ gravel, for example Sherburn, Durham, meaning 'bright stream', and Sleekburn, Northumberland, meaning 'glossy stream'. The generic could also refer to vegetation, topography, and wild and domestic animals, e.g. Otterburn and Swinburn, Northumberland, although personal names were not common (Gelling and Cole 2000: 17-18).



Analysis

i) Corpus of certain/ highly probable *burna* names (53)

Northumberland (30)      Durham (15)      South-East Scotland (8)

Allerhope Burn	Bedburn	Blackburn
Allery Burn	Beechburn	Cockburn
Brinkburn	Blackburn	Halterburn
Catchburn	Blackburn	Helmburn
Chibburn	Blackburn	Otterburn
Crookburn	Dryburn	Rankleburn
Ditchburn	Dryburn	Rawburn
Dryburn	Euden Beck	Wedderburn
Hartburn	Fishburn	
Holburn	Hartburn	
Howburn	Northburn	
Lewisburn	Sherburn	
Lilburn	Milkwell Burn	
Lockenburn	Thornhope Beck	
Mereburn	Trough Burn	
Manywaygoburn		
Middleburn		
Otterburn		
Plundenburn		

Redburn

Rift Dean Burn

Shilburn haugh

Simonburn

Sleekburn

Swinburn

Thorneyburn

Todburn

Turretburn

Usway Burn

Whiteburn

A number of *burna* names refer to present-day streams rather than settlements. If however early spellings refer to a settlement then these names are included in the analysis, e.g. Allery Burn, Northumberland, *Alnburn* 1292. Also, as some *burna* names cannot now be located, their position for GIS mapping purposes is only approximate.

ii) Corpus of uncertain *burna* names (7)

Northumberland

Hebron

Hepburn

Milbourne

Newburn

Woodburn

Durham

Whitburn

Waskerley Beck

South-East Scotland

None

There are place-names that may not be *burna* (for details see Table).

Hebron

The generic is either OE *burna* or OE *byrgen* 'tumulus'. There is a stream nearby and also Hebron Hill and Beacon Hill, but there is no evidence for a tumulus.

Hepburn

This obscure place-name has a number of different interpretations, with the generic being either OE *burna* or OE *byrgen*. The surrounding topography could support either interpretation.

Newburn

The specific is OE *niewe* 'new', and modern scholarship interprets the generic as OE *burh*. However, the earliest spellings suggest *burna*, and Gelling claimed that the compound with *niewe* could refer to an intermittent stream which started flowing after being dry for some time, or changed course (1984: 19).

Whitburn

The generic may be either *burna* or OE *bern* 'barn'. The earliest spellings support the *bern* interpretation.



Woodburn

The early spellings suggest the generic could be OE *burh* rather than *burna*. If so, this must refer to the Roman fort because there are no prehistoric earthworks or fortifications nearby.

A place-name that is certainly *burna* but may not be early Anglian in origin is

Milbourne

Modern scholarship interprets the name as OE *myln* and *burna* (discussed above). However, Watts suggests that the specific may be OE *maele*, (*ge*) *mael* 'dyed, stained, multi-coloured', or OE *maele*, *mele* 'cup, bowl, basin', giving the topographic meaning 'the stream flowing through a deep, narrow glen', and therefore indicating earliness (2004: 413).

iii) Indicators of earliness for *burna* names

a) Status

<u>Place-name</u>	<u>Parish centre</u>	<u>Church</u>	<u>Substantial settlement</u>
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Northumberland

Certain

Brinkburn	Y	Y	
Hartburn	Y	Y	Y
Thorneyburn	Y	Y	
Otterburn		Y	Y
Redburn		Y	Y

Simonburn	Y	Y	Y
Chibburn		Y	
Lilburn		Y	
Woodburn		Y	
<u>Uncertain</u>			
Hebron	Y	Y	Y
Newburn	Y	Y	Y
Milbourne		Y	Y
<u>Durham</u>			
<u>Certain</u>			
Fishburn		Y	Y
Hartburn		Y	Y
Sherburn		Y	Y
<u>Uncertain</u>			
Whitburn	Y	Y	Y
<u>South-East Scotland</u>			
<u>Certain</u>			
Wedderburn			Y

Wedderburn has indications of high status as formerly there was a castle at the site.

Northumberland proportionally has a greater number of *burna* place-names with high status, 9 out of 30 certain names, and 3 out of 6 uncertain, compared to Durham with only 3 out of 16 certain, and 1 that is uncertain.

b) A corpus of *burna* names with first element and status early indicators

(27 certain, 6 uncertain)

<u>Place-name</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>First element</u>
<u>Northumberland</u>		
<u>Certain</u>		
Brinkburn	Y	M(?)X(?)
Hartburn	Y	
Thorneyburn	Y	
Otterburn	Y	
Redburn	Y	
Simonburn	Y	
Ditchburn		M(?)X(?)
Holburn		X
Catchburn		M
Chibburn		M
Lilburn	Y	M(?)
Shilburn haugh		M
Lewisburn		P(?)O
Todburn		M(?)
Manywagoburn		O
Lokenburn		O
Turretburn		O



Mereburn		X
<u>Uncertain</u>		
Hepburn		P(?)O
Hebron	Y	
Newburn	Y	
Milbourne	Y	
Woodburn		X
<u>Durham</u>		
<u>Certain</u>		
Fishburn	Y	
Hartburn	Y	
Sherburn	Y	
Bedburn		M
Beech/Bitchburn		M
Trough Burn		X
Thornhope Beck		X
<u>Uncertain</u>		
Whitburn	Y	
<u>South-East Scotland</u>		
<u>Certain</u>		
Halterburn		O
Wedderburn	Y	

### Issues regarding first element early indicators

Brinkburn, Ditchburn, Lilburn and Todburn may contain OE monothematic masculine personal names but there are alternative explanations (see Table). A further possibility suggested by Gelling is Bedburn.

Simonburn has an OE personal name *Sigemund*, but as this is not monothematic it is not included as an early indicator.

Ditchburn is also interpreted by Gelling as having a topographic first element, giving the meaning 'stream by a ditch'.

Woodburn has OE *wudu* as a topographic first element but as there is no indication that *wudu* is early, the place-name may not be of early Anglian origin.

Halterburn, Hepburn, Lewisburn, Lockenburn, Manywaygoburn and Turretburn have obscure first elements (see Table).

Halterburn may possibly contain an OE personal name.

Hepburn has a first element that has been variously interpreted as OE *heah*, OE *hyll* or pre-English (see Table).

Lewisburn may possibly contain a pre-English first element but there are other interpretations (see Table).

(A further suggested *burna* name by Johnston (1940: 12, 37) is *Ladenburn*, Mersington, but this is obscure and cannot be located ).

### 5.6.3 DUN

(Plate 8)

Gelling described *dun* as being used as a settlement name for a low hill with a fairly

level and extensive summit providing a good settlement site in open country (Gelling and Cole 2000: 164). It was probably used in the formation of settlement names from the beginning of the Anglo-Saxon period and into the 8th century, but was not commonly used for settlement naming after 800 AD (though it remained in use for field and minor name formation for landscape features); (ibid). Indicators of earliness are therefore important.

*Dun* is an OE word and there is no evidence for any Celtic influence. There was no Germanic borrowing of Brittonic *duno*, meaning 'a hill or fort', whereas *dun* was already established in the Anglo-Saxon vocabulary before they came to England. As a consequence, the Anglo-Saxons did not associate a *dun* place-name with defence or fortification; instead OE *burh* or *byrig* fulfilled this function (Gelling 1984: 141, Gelling and Cole 2000: 164, Cameron 1996: 181).

Gelling defines *dun* in more detail, and emphasises the settlement aspect. Although earlier scholars thought that a *dun* place-name described a hill and was later transferred to a nearby farm or village, Gelling argues, as a specific application of her interpretation of topographic elements (mentioned above), that *dun* is a quasi-habitative term where the name was applied to the settlement, not to the adjacent feature that served as a visual identifier (Gelling 1984: 143). She suggests that in many instances *dun* involved the application of a new English name to an existing native British settlement when the Anglo-Saxons arrived, and referred to both the habitation and the topographic site in recognition of its characteristic situation (ibid.: 142,165).



Furthermore, *dun* conveyed to Anglo-Saxons the nature of the site and probably that it was of high status (2000: 165).

A more detailed analysis of the characteristic topographic situation for a *dun* name has also been provided by Gelling. The hill is usually whale-backed, with the village on the summit, and the village and hill regarded as a single entity. More rarely the village is adjacent to the uninhabited hill (2000: 166-7). *Dun* is also often used for ridges and sub-circular hills (flat topped hills), and less frequently, occupation of a flat shelf, often at the side of a high hill (1984: 142-3). Gelling claims that the hills are generally between 200 and 500' high, although this varies as some hills are as low as 25' or as high as 1450'. The locations where the land rises 50' or less seem to overlap with those of *eg* names (Ibid: 143). It is therefore apparent that the naming and distribution of *dun* is governed by geography and topography, and they are most likely to occur where there are clusters of level topped hills suitable for settlement sites (ibid: 142).

*Dun* is rare in simplex form but does occur as dative plural *dunum*, e.g. (probably) Downham, Northumberland. Most *dun* names contain the element as a generic compounded with a specific that describes the appearance or geological nature of the *dun*. There are also large numbers of compounds with personal names, or with specifics describing vegetation, e.g. OE *haeth* 'heath', or animals, e.g. Wooden, Northumberland, possibly referring to wolves. Others refer to man-made structures e.g. Berrington, with OE *byrig* meaning 'fortification', and Warden, meaning 'watch hill' (Gelling 1984: 143-5), both in Northumberland.

Analysis of *dun* names

i) Corpus of certain/ highly probable *dun* names (61)

Northumberland (26)      Durham (25)      South-East Scotland (10)

Berrington	Blaydon	Browndean Laws
Brandon	Boldon	Dirrington
Burradon (Alwinton)	Brandon	Earlston
Burradon (Earsdon)	Brusselton	Eildon
Buston	Great Burdon	Fairington House
Callerton	Cleadon	Gordon
Earsdon (Ulgham)	Coundon	Graden
Earsdon (North Shields)	Eldon	Riccaltoun
Embleton	Farrington	Rumbleton
Fallodon	Findon Hill	Snawdon
Fawdon (Newcastle)	Grindon (Sunderland)	
Fawdon (Ingram)	Grindon (Stockton)	
Felkington	High Grindon	
Glanton	Harton	
Grindon (Berwick)	Hendon	
Grindon (Hexham)	Hetton-le-Hole	
Grottington	Humbledon Hill	
Heddon-on-the-Wall	Langton	
Black Heddon	Mordon	

Howsdon Burn	Pittington
Humbleton Hill	Quarrington
Leighton (Green)	Shildon (Auckland)
Meldon	Snotterton
Shildon (Bywell)	Trimdon
Shotton	Ovington-on-Tees
Warden	

Ovington-on-Tees is classed as certain from the reference by Mawer (1920: 164), but it should be noted that this place-name is not mentioned in Watts (2002).

ii) Corpus of uncertain *dun* names (14)

<u>Northumberland</u> (10)	<u>Durham</u> (2)	<u>South-East Scotland</u> (2)
Aydon (Alnwick)	Rare Dean	Conzierton Farm
Bowsden	Windlestone Hall	Hownam
Cartington		
Downham		
Hepburn		
Melkington		
Pigdon		
Shoreston		
Wooden		
Wooperton		



Names that may not be *dun* are Aydon, Bowsden, Cartington, Melkington, Windlestone Hall, Wooden and Wooperton. They have generics that may, from the early spellings, support a *dun* or *denu* 'valley' interpretation.

Shoreston. has early spellings that suggest the possibility of a *denu* generic, although Mawer interprets this as *dun*.

Hepburn. The earliest spelling suggests a *dun* generic but this appears to be a hill-name derived from a pre-existing place-name.

Pigdon. The early spellings suggest the generic may be OE *denn* 'pasture', or *dun*. The surrounding topography, first element, and the unlikelihood of *denn* in the north-east, support a *dun* interpretation.

Wooperton has a generic that is ambiguous and may be a *denu*, but the topography supports a *dun* interpretation.

The specifics in other *dun* names suggest an origin that may not be early Anglian: Shoreston, Rare Dean and Cunzierton Farm all have first elements that may be of post-Conquest date.

For the other place-names:

Hownam can be interpreted from early spellings as either a *dun* or a dative plural *um* name, however the interpretation of the specific as an OE personal name, if correct, would exclude *um*.

Downham has a first element that is *dun*, but the general rule is that first elements are excluded from this analysis. If *dun* were compounded with another early element *ham*,

then it may be suggested that this is an early indicator, however the more likely interpretation of the place-name is dative plural *dunum*.

iii) Indicators of earliness for *dun* names

a) Status

<u>Place-name</u>	<u>Parish name</u>	<u>Church</u>	<u>Substantial settlement</u>
<u>Northumberland</u>			
<u>Certain</u>			
Embleton	Y	Y	Y
Earsdon	Y	Y	Y
Meldon	Y	Y	Y
Heddon-on-the-Wall		Y	Y
Glanton		Y	Y
Warden		Y	
Brandon		Y	
<u>Durham</u>			
<u>Certain</u>			
Boldon	Y	Y	Y
Trimdon	Y	Y	Y
Blaydon		Y	Y
Brandon		Y	Y
Cleadon		Y	Y
Coundon		Y	Y

Grindon (Sunderland)		Y	Y
Hetton-le-Hole		Y	Y
Sildon		Y	Y
Grindon (Stockton)	Y	Y	
Mordon		Y	
Pittington	Y	Y	
Quarrington		Y	

South-East Scotland

Certain

Earlston	Y	Y	Y
Gordon	Y	Y	Y

Uncertain

Hownam	Y	Y	Y
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b) A corpus of *dun* bames with first element and status early indicators

(31 certain, 1 uncertain)

<u>Place-name</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>First element</u>
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Northumberland

Certain

Buston		M
Cartington		M
Embleton	Y	M
Earsdon	Y	



Meldon	Y	
Heddon-on-the-Wall	Y	
Glanton	Y	
Warden	Y	
Brandon	Y	
Grottington		M
Burradon (Alw.)		X
Burradon (Els.)		X
<u>Durham</u>		
<u>Certain</u>		
Boldon	Y	
Trimdon	Y	
Blaydon	Y	
Brandon	Y	
Cleadon	Y	
Coundon	Y	
Grindon (Sun.)	Y	
Hetton-le-Hole	Y	
Shildon	Y	
Grindon (Stock.)	Y	
Mordon	Y	
Quarrington	Y	

Eldon		M
Pittington	Y	M
Great Burdon		X

South-East Scotland

Certain

Riccaltoun		M
Earlston	Y	M(?)P(?)
Eildon		M(?)P(?)
Gordon	Y	

Uncertain

Hownam	Y	M
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Issues regarding first element early indicators

It is notable that only 12 out of 59 certain, and 1 out of 14 uncertain *dun* names, contain early indicators in their first elements. Of these, 8 have monothematic masculine personal names. Uncertain Earlston and Eildon have either OE or Brittonic personal names (see Table). The two Burradon names and Great Burdon have OE *burh* as their first element, which is a possible early Anglian habitative element, though it is not certain that *burh* as a specific is necessarily an indicator of earliness.

5.6.4 EG

(Plate 9)

The simple definition of *eg* is 'island', but there are more detailed meanings. Gelling suggested that *eg* was characteristically used in settlement names for an area of

raised or dry ground in wet country or surrounded by marsh (Gelling 1984: 34, Cameron 1996: 171). In northern England *eg* can also mean a hill jutting out into flat land, a hill spur, e.g. Cold Eaton, Derbyshire, and in highland areas it can mean isolated patches of good land in moorland, e.g. Eyam, W. Yorkshire. However, *eg* is not considered very common in the north (Gelling and Cole 2000: 38). *Eg* was probably not used for land in a river bend, and the meaning 'land between two rivers' is not clearly established. The later Anglo-Saxon period produced different meanings such as 'well watered land' (Gelling 1984: 37). Associated with *eg* is OE *egland*, meaning 'island', which is rare in place-names. An example is Nayland Suffolk, a major settlement name lying between rivers, therefore forming an island (Gelling 1984: 40).

*Eg* place-names are sometimes difficult to identify, but are indicated at the end of a place-name by *ey*, *y*, *ea*, *ay*, and *ye*. They can be difficult to distinguish from *ea*, the standard OE word for river and generally used for water courses of greater size than *burna*. *Eg* can occur in simplex form, e.g. Eye, Oxford, and as a dative plural, e.g. Eyam, Derbyshire. It can also occur as a first element, often compounded with *tun*, e.g. Eaton, Bedfordshire, and Eyton, Shropshire, although these compounds tend to be rather late. However of 180 *eg* names in the country, 150 are generics, and nearly half are compounded with mostly monothematic masculine personal names (Gelling 1984: 37,38).

*Eg* is thought to go out of use at an early date (although there is evidence for



occasional use in compounds with *tun* into at least the 8th century). There are also few examples that are compounded with group name forming *inga*, which suggests that *eg* was largely in use earlier than the 7th century (Cox 1976: 58). It is not very common as a minor name, and Cox has suggested that *eg* was used as a district name and could form an ancient estate or territory (1976: 58). A problem however with the high frequency of pre-730 AD *eg* names is the ecclesiastical bias, as many churches and saints were based on islands (Gelling 1984: 35), and many of the names came from ecclesiastical prose writings that referred to monastic sites.

In use, *eg* appears to overlap with the topographic situation of *dun*, *ham* and *halh* elements and this could indicate that *eg* was in use earlier than these elements and may have been replaced by them (Gelling and Cole 2000: 37). The sites of settlements with *eg* names are often good sites in terms of soil and topography and are often the likeliest places for colonists to choose (ibid: 38). They may represent sites where there was continuity of settlement from the pre-English period.

Supporting the idea that *eg* went out of use early are the examples of it being replaced by *ham*, e.g. Lastingham, Hexham (see below) and possibly Coldingham, and by *burh*, e.g. Glastonbury, which has earlier spellings *Glastingai* 678, *Glastingaea* 704, then *Glastingaburghe* 705.

Analysis

i) Corpus of certain/ highly probable *eg* names (5)

<u>Northumberland</u>	<u>Durham</u>	<u>South-East Scotland</u>
Hexham	Hartlepool	(None)

Lindisfarne

Ponteland

Coquet Island

### Hexham

The generic is either *ea* or *eg*. Modern scholarship considers that early spellings support an *eg* interpretation. Topographically, *eg* here means either 'patch of good ground in moorland' or 'hill jutting into flat land'. If the abbey is taken as the general location of the original settlement, then it was on a hill jutting north into the flat lands of the Tyne valley.

### Lindisfarne

From early spellings and topography as an island, Lindisfarne includes *eg*.

Lindisfarne has been discussed at length (with an Irish hypothesis) by R. Coates in Coates and Breeze 2000: 241-59)

### Ponteland

The generic is either *egland* or *ealand*, meaning either land surrounded by marshes or by the river, respectively. Modern scholarship considers that the name contains *egland* (see Table). Topographically there is no indication that the place was an actual island, and if *egland*, it is likely to mean the area of dry ground next to the river.

### Hartlepool

From early spellings and topography as a peninsular surrounded by the sea, modern scholarship considers that this is name contains *eg*.

## Coquet Island

See Table

## ii) Corpus of uncertain *eg* names (3)

### Northumberland

Aydon (Alnwick)

### Durham

Elvet

Ayhope Shield

### South-East Scotland

None

### Aydon

Early spellings support an interpretation of the specific as either OE *heg* 'hay' or *eg*, compounded with the generic OE *dun*. The modern place-name Aydon Forest is located south of Alnwick on a hill 100-174m high, therefore *eg* is possible as a 'patch of good land in moorland' or 'hill jutting into flat land'. The conjunction with another early Anglian element *dun* suggests earliness, and there may be a topographic overlap between the use of *eg* and *dun*.

### Elvet

This name is seen today in Durham City in Elvet Hall, Elvet Bridge and Old and New Elvet. It could be interpreted as either OE *elfet eu* 'swan island' or OE *elfet ea* 'swan river or stream'.

### Ayhope Shield



Watts suggests this as a possible *eg* name since the location is between two forks of a river (see Table). However, this is unlikely because 'land between rivers' does not, according to Gelling, support *eg*; it is a very minor settlement.

iii) Indicators of earliness for *eg* names

a) Status

<u>Place-name</u>	<u>Parish centre</u>	<u>Church</u>	<u>Substantial settlement</u>
<u>Northumberland</u>			
Hexham	Y	Y	Y
Lindisfarne		Y	Y
Ponteland	Y	Y	Y
<u>Durham</u>			
Hartlepool	Y	Y	Y

Although Lindisfarne is not a parish centre, it was the site of the major monastery of Bernicia, and in the early Anglo-Saxon period must have been a substantial and important settlement. None of the uncertain *eg* place-names Aydon, Elvet and Ayhope Shield have any indicators of status.

b) A corpus of *eg* names with first element and status early indicators

(5 certain, no uncertain)

<u>Place-name</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>First element</u>
Hexham	Y	O
Lindisfarne	Y	O

Ponteland	Y	P
Hartlepool	Y	
Coquet Island		P

#### Issues regarding first element early indicators

##### Hexham

The first element OE *hagustaldes* or *haegstaldes* is highly ambiguous (see Table).

##### Lindisfarne

Modern scholarship considers that the first element is ambiguous but is pre-English in origin (see Table).

##### Ponteland

The first element derives from the pre-English river name Pont, on which Ponteland is situated.

(No uncertain *eg* names have early indicators).

#### 5.6.5 FELD

(Plate 10)

A problem with *feld* is that it was active as a place-name forming element until after 900 AD and during that time its meaning changed (Gelling and Cole 2000: 239). Most *feld* names did not have habitative significance before c.730 AD (Cox 1976: 59, 1980: 40). The meaning of *feld* at this early period was 'open country' according to Cox and Gelling, and this described unencumbered ground, land without trees and possibly surrounded by woodland, level ground without hills, or land without

buildings. In pre-Conquest texts *feld* described land that might or might not be under the plough, with no special connotation of arable (Gelling and Cole 2000: 269, Gelling 1984: 235-6, Cox 1980: 40). In this early meaning, *feld* was located where there were contrasts in the landscape, for example the edge of a forest, or, less commonly, a marsh. Gelling pointed out that in the north *feld* names distinguish open land from hilly land, and that large numbers of *feld* names coincide with the 150 m contour line, particularly East of the Pennines from the Wash to the Tyne (1984: 237).

There was then a phase of Anglo-Saxon expansion of cultivation and/ or settlement that involved encroachment on pasture-land. *Feld* in this context meant land previously used for pasture or uncultivated (Gelling and Cole 2000: 238, 269). It was in the late 9th to 10th century that *feld* came to mean cultivated arable land (ibid: 269), rather than merely open land (Gelling 1984: 237). According to Gelling this change was linked to changes in farming patterns and an increase in arable land. The consequence of this was an increase in use of *feld* for naming (ibid: 37, Gelling and Cole 2000: 271).

*Feld* can be in simplex form and as a dative plural, though this is rare. It can occur as a specific, e.g. Felton, Northumberland, but is usually a generic and is most commonly compounded with a descriptive specific such as Fallowfield and Whitfield in the study area, or an OE personal name, topographic feature near to the field, a pre-English name, or a reference to animals. Early *feld* names rarely contain references to crops or domestic animals (Gelling and Cole 2000: 274, Gelling 1984: 242-4).



Analysis

Only settlements are considered. Pure field names are excluded.

i) Corpus of certain/ highly probable *feld* names (21)

<u>Northumberland</u> (9)	<u>Durham</u> (12)
Bingfield	Benfieldside
Bitchfield	Butsfield
Bockenfield	Cockfield
Broxfield	Fallowfield
Dukesfield	Ferryfield
Fallowfield	Orchardfield
Stocksfield	Sedgfield
Whitfield	<i>Shuttilhopefeld</i>
Shieldfield	Tanfield
	<i>Thornopburnfeld</i>
	Wackerfield
	Woodifield

There are no *feld* names with early spellings in South-East Scotland with two exceptions suggested by Williamson, Sorrowlessfield, interpreted as land held by Willielmus Sorules; and Jardinfield, that refers to the sale of land by John Jardin (1942: 80).

ii) Corpus of uncertain *feld* names (8)

Northumberland (1)

Plainfield

Durham (7)

Butsfield

Drinkfield

Gellesfield Hole

Plainfield

Newfield

Ravenfield

Strotherfield

These place-names are *feld* names but the specific indicates that they are unlikely to be of early Anglian origin (see Table for details).

Plainfield

The specific may be Scandinavian and derive from ON *fleinn* 'a dart, arrow', therefore a place where archery was practised. An alternative is OE *flan* 'an arrow' which survived in regional use particularly in northern England and Scotland until at least the 16th century (Crawford 1995: 207).

Plainfield and Gellesfield Hole are also interpreted as having Scandinavian rather than OE specifics.

Butsfield

The specific may be *botl* 'dwelling', a naming element used from the 7th century onwards.

Drinkfield

If the specific is the surname Dring it cannot be an early Anglian place-name.

Newfield

The specific makes it unlikely to be an early Anglian name.

Ravenfield

The specific is probably ME *Raven*, rather than of OE origin.

Strotherfield

The ME family name *de Strother* seems to provide the origin for the specific.

iii) Indicators of earliness for *feld* names

a) Status

<u>Place-name</u>	<u>Parish centre</u>	<u>Church</u>	<u>Substantial settlement</u>
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Northumberland

Whitfield	Y	Y	
Bingfield		Y	Y
Stocksfield		Y	Y

Durham

Cockfield	Y	Y	Y
Sedgefield	Y	Y	Y
Tanfield		Y	Y
Newfield (possible)		Y	



Only 5 *feld* names appear as substantial settlements on a modern OS map, and these correspond to Parish centres and/or contain churches.

b) A corpus of *feld* names with first element and status early indicators

(8 certain, 2 uncertain)

<u>Place-name</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>First element</u>
<u>Northumberland</u>		
<u>Certain</u>		
Bingfield	Y	M(?)O
Dukesfield		M
Stocksfield	Y	
Whitfield	Y	
<u>Uncertain</u>		
Broxfield		X
<u>Durham</u>		
<u>Certain</u>		
Butsfield		M(?)
Cockfield	Y	M(?)
Sedgefield	Y	M(?)P(?)
Tanfield	Y	P
<u>Uncertain</u>		
Woodifield		M(?)_____

### Issues regarding first element early indicators

Only Dukesfield certainly contains a monothematic masculine personal name as its first element. Bingfield, Butsfield, Cockfield, Sedgefield and Woodifield are possibilities but all have alternative interpretations. \_

Bingfield has an obscure first element that may be an OE personal name with an *ingas* formula, or topographic OE *bing* 'a hollow', therefore 'open land by a hollow'. The surrounding topography may support this.

Butsfield may have OE *botl* 'dwelling', gen.sing. *botles*, as its the first element.

Cockfield may have a first element that gives the meaning 'open land frequented by woodcocks'.

Sedgefield has a first element that is the personal name Cedd but this could be of OE or pre-English origin (but early either way).

Woodifield could derive from OE *wuding*, therefore giving 'cultivated land called or at Wuding, the wood place'.

Of the other place-names, Broxfield has a topographic first element, Tanfield derives from the pre-English river name Team, and although the first element of Wackerfield is obscure, none of the suggestions are early indicators.

### c) Other indicators

Where a specific suggests cultivated land this indicates that the place-name is late.

Examples are Benfieldside, possibly meaning 'bean field', and the two Fallowfield names that mean newly cultivated and/or ploughed land. Other place-names that suggest open uncultivated land and hence indicate earliness are Bitchfield and

Bockenfield, which both indicate a field grown over with beech trees.

iv) Heights and *feld* names

As noted above, Gelling has suggested that many *feld* names lie close to the 150m contour in northern England where they meet upland (Gelling and Cole 2000: 272).

There were problems with agricultural farming any higher, and therefore *feld* signified the edge of waste. To test this theory I surveyed the heights of *feld* names in the study area using OS Landranger 1997 maps.

Northumberland:

Fallowfield: 170-200m

Bingfield: just over 150m

Dukesfield: 187m

Stocksfield: low in river valley

Bitchfield: c140m

Shieldfield: low in river valley

Broxfield: 100m

Bockenfield: c60m

Plainfield: 150m

Whitfield: unclear, but over 150m

Durham:

Tanfield: 150-200m

Benfieldside: low river valley



Butsfield: over 200m

Strotherfield: c40m

Fallowfield: uncertain

Sedgefield: c100m

Manfield: 80m

Cockfield: 200m

Wackerfield: 150m

Newfield: 100m

Woodifield: 230m

Shuttilhopefeld: c190m

Drinkfield: between 60-70m

Gellesfield Hole: over 150m

Thornopburnfeld: over 200m

Ravenfield: c200m

Ferryfield: c190m

Only 6 out of 27 *feld* names are located around 150m. 10 are well below 150m, and 10 well above 150m, and whether they are certain or uncertain or have early indicators does not influence this. These results do not support Gelling's theory within the study area.

### 5.6.6 FORD

(Plate 11)

Fords were important in cross country communications. Most *ford* names refer to river crossings that were of local (rather than national) significance, and were routes for the inhabitants of one settlement to communicate with neighbouring settlements (Gelling and Cole 2000: 71). Therefore, according to Cameron, many were named after an early owner of the land on which the ford was located, or named after a group of people (1996: 175). The majority of *ford* names refer to crossing places on small streams, though there are exceptions where they refer to major rivers, for example *Ubbanford* on the River Tweed. *Ford* names may either refer to a settlement near a ford, or refer to the ford itself with a settlement later growing up beside it. Subsequent patterns of travel and transport caused many of the settlements named from the crossings to develop into military, trading, administrative centres (including parish centres), and in some cases major towns; for example Bedford and Oxford (Gelling and Cole 2000: 71).

The majority of *ford* names are generic. Few are of simplex form (one example is Ford, Northumberland), or are specifics. Most of the specifics compounded with *ford* are descriptive, for example 'broad', 'red', 'long', 'sandy' or 'stony'. Many are OE personal names (the vast majority being monothematic masculine), or refer to a topographic feature such as hills, valleys, stream junctions, springs and roads (Gelling 1984: 68, Gelling and Cole 2000: 72). Other specifics refer to buildings such as a mill, or to animals (including herd animals), birds and insects.

In the North a common outcome for a *ford* place-name is 'forth'. It is also rare for a ford to be named from a nearby settlement as it already has a quasi-habitative function that includes a reference to a settlement. A rare example is Lintzford, Durham (see Table). The fact that few *ford* names contain a specific that refers to the name of the river being crossed may reinforce the idea that most settlement names in *ford* arose in a local rather than regional or national context. Local travellers would not think it necessary to comment on the identity of the river or stream they cross (Gelling 2000: 72). One example, however, is Warenford, Northumberland.

Analysis

i) Corpus of certain/ highly probable *ford* names (41)

<u>Northumberland (22)</u>	<u>Durham (15)</u>	<u>South-east Scotland (4)</u>
Barrasford	Barford	Coliforthill
Belford	Baxterwood	Eckford
Bradford (Bamburgh)	Cornforth	Rutherford
Bradford (Bolam)	Fieldon Bridge	Howford
Doxford	Ford	
Elford	Fulford/ Fulforth	
Flatworth	Gainford	
Ford	Holdforth	
Gosforth	Mainforth	
Hackford	Mosswood	



Hartford	Redford
Hefferlaw	Rushyford
Holford	Shadforth
Mitford	Thinford
Sandyford	Trafford Hill/ Trefford
Shilford	Lintzford
Slaggyford	Startford
Stamford	
Stamfordham	
Styford	
<i>Ubbanford</i>	
Warenford	

ii) Corpus of uncertain *ford* names (9)

<u>Northumberland</u> (2)	<u>Durham</u> (5)	<u>South-east Scotland</u> (2)
Chollerton	Allensford	Ellemford
Warkworth	Brafferton	Fulford
	Offerton	
	Slatyford	
	Monksford	

There are two place-names that may or may not be *ford*.

Chollerton

There are different interpretations of the meaning of this name, but Watts claimed that

it meant 'the settlement (Chollerton) at Ceolford' (see Table).

### Warkworth

Mawer claimed (1920: 207) that 'Warkworth is probably to be identified with *Wyrcesford* of the *Historia Sancti Cuthberti*'.

The remaining *ford* names are probably not of early Anglian origin.

### Allensford

As the specific could refer to an 'O.Fr, ME' personal name Alein (see Table) it is doubtful that it is of pre-Conquest date.

### Brafferton and Offerton

*Ford* is compounded with the later Anglian place-naming element *tun*.

### Slatyford

The specific is probably either the personal name Slater or ME *slatere* 'a slater' (see Table), and if so, is not early.

### Monksford

The specific indicates that the ford was used by monks travelling between Melrose and Dryburgh abbeys. If true then the place-name is likely to date from the late 7th to 8th centuries AD.

### Ellemford

This was originally a dative plural *um* name, with *ford* added in the post-Conquest period.

### Fulford

This is only mentioned by Johnston (1940: 13, 32), who is generally regarded as less

reliable than other sources, and therefore can only be regarded as a possibility.

iii) Indicators of earliness for *ford* names

a) Status

<u>Place-name</u>	<u>Parish centre</u>	<u>Church</u>	<u>Substantial settlement</u>
<u>Northumberland</u>			
Barrasford		Y	Y
Belford	Y	Y	Y
Chollerton	Y	Y	Y
Ford	Y	Y	Y
Gosforth	Y	Y	Y
Mitford	Y	Y	Y
Sandyford		Y	
Slaggyford		Y	Y
Stamfordham	Y	Y	Y
<i>Wyrcesford</i>	Y	Y	Y
<u>Durham</u>			
Allensford		Y	
Cornforth		Y	Y
Gainford	Y	Y	Y
Holdforth		Y	
<u>South-east Scotland</u>			



Eckford	Y	Y	
Howford		Y	Y

Sandyford is now part of the Newcastle-Upon-Tyne conurbation and it is difficult to determine whether this was a substantial settlement or not.

Ubbanford is not included because it does not exist today, having been replaced by the name Norham. *Ubbanford* is interpreted as either an earlier name, a contemporaneous name for the same settlement, or a settlement close to but distinct from Norham.

Howford is a small hamlet but is included because it is the major settlement in the surrounding area with a church.

b) A corpus of *ford* names with first element and status early indicators  
(20 certain, 2 uncertain)

<u>Place-name</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>First element</u>
<u>Northumberland</u>		
<u>Certain</u>		
Belford	Y	M(?)X(?)O
Barrasford	Y	X
Doxford		M
Elford		M(?)X(?)O
Ford	Y	
Gosforth	Y	
Mitford	Y	X(?)

Stamfordham	Y	
Styford		X
<i>Ubbanford</i>		M
Warenford		P
<u>Uncertain</u>		
Chollerton	Y	M(?)X(?)P(?)O
<u>Durham</u>		
<u>Certain</u>		
Barford		M(?)O
Cornforth	Y	
Gainford	Y	
Mainsforth		M
Startforth		X
<u>South-east Scotland</u>		
Coliforthill		M
Eckford	Y	M
Howford	Y	O
Rutherford		P

Issues regarding first element early indicators

The interpretations that Doxford, *Ubbanford*, Mainsforth, Coliforthill and Eckford contain OE monothematic masculine personal names are reasonably secure (see Table). However, as Barford, Belford, Chollerton and Elford have obscure first

elements there are other interpretations.

### Barford

The specific could be an OE personal name or OE *bere*, giving 'barley ford', or OE *baer* 'unsheltered place'.

### Belford

The specific could derive from an OE personal name *Beola/ Bella*, or as OE *belle* could refer to a topographic feature, giving 'ford by the bell shaped hill'. There is a round hill just north of the village. Alternatively it could derive from OE *bel* 'fire', which may refer to a funeral pyre and pagan Anglo-Saxon burial site (Gelling 2000: 73).

### Chollerton

If the place-name means 'the settlement *tun* at Ceolford', then the specific within the *ford* name could derive from an OE personal name, or from the name of the nearby Roman fort *Cilernum*, or from OE *ceole* 'a throat, channel, gorge' giving 'the ford in the gorge' which refers to the gorge of the North Tyne valley.

### Elford

The specific may be an OE personal name or derive from OE *el*, giving 'eel ford' or 'a strip of land'. A less likely alternative is OE *ellern*, giving 'elder ford'.

Barrasford, Mitford, Styford, Howford and Stretford have topographic first elements (see Table for details).

### Barrasford

The specific is OE *bearu*, giving 'ford of the grove', a reference to a topographic feature.



### Mitford

The specific could be OE *mythe*, giving 'the ford at the rivers meet' or 'ford at the junction of streams'. The village lies at the confluence of the rivers Font and Wansbeck. (However, an alternative suggestion is OE *midd*, giving 'middle ford' which is descriptive rather than topographic).

### Styford

Gelling suggested that the specific OE *stig*, giving 'ford by the path' was topographic (2000: 73).

### Howford

The meaning 'ford in a hollow' could be interpreted as containing a topographic first element.

### Stretford

This is located on a Roman road and refers to it.

Warenford and Rutherford have pre-English first elements.

### Warenford

The specific is taken from the Brittonic river name Waren Burn. The reference to the identity of the river that the ford crosses may be because of its proximity to Bamburgh, the historical capital of Bernicia, and its location on a main regional routeway to this centre.

### Rutherford

The specific either derives from Ruther, possibly a Brittonic river name with Brittonic *dubro* as a second element, or relate to Welsh *rhoydwydd* 'ford'.

The Durham names Allensford and Holdforth are not included because, despite each being associated with a settlement containing a church, this feature was not by itself enough to categorise either as an early indicated place-name.

(An additional *ford* name suggested by Johnston (1940: 13, 50) *Tutyngforde* 1376, Berwickshire, is obscure and cannot be located).

## Section 7:

### Miscellaneous place-names

(Plate 12)

#### 5.7.1 OE Tribal/ Folk names

The consensus among scholars is that these names, including the district-forming element *ge*, are among the earliest stratum of English place-names (Watts 1979: 132, Cox 1976: 66, Copley 1988: 6). Cameron pointed out that these place-names indicate the settlement of a group of people or a tribe (the most numerous are those ending in *-ingas*).

The only example is Jarrow, Northumberland (see Table).

#### 5.7.2 Inflectional -n- names

This is an indicator of earliness rather than an element. Watts suggested that the *-n-* was lost in the Northumbrian dialect of OE at an early date, certainly before 700 AD. The instances relevant to place-names are usually of grammatically weak personal names with nominative case in *-a* and genitive (possessive) case in *-an*, later reduced to *-en*

(or *-in* though this is unusual), and then the loss of *-n* to *-a* or *-e*. Watts considered that if a place-name with an *n* was preserved in Northumbria, it must have been coined in the first 50-100 years of Anglian settlement, that is, in the mid 6th to 7th centuries (1979: 132).

The four examples are, in Northumberland: Bamburgh and Beadnell, and in Durham: Pitlington and Cocken. Bamburgh and Pitlington have early elements *burh* and *dun* respectively. The *-n-* reinforces this indication of earliness.

### 5.7.3 Possible pagan place-name elements or indicators

It has been claimed that there are no pagan names north of the Humber (Cameron 1996: 119). However this has not been properly investigated or explanations proposed as to why this should be the case. Although no certain names were identified in the study area, there are enough possibilities to suggest that Cameron's statement may not be accurate.

#### i) Elements denoting pagan temples, shrines and cult centres

a) OE *hearg* is possibly a communal place of worship on high ground, occupying prominent sites (such as hills) associated with groups or tribes, e.g. Harrow (ibid. 1996: 116). It is generally compounded with OE *dun* and *hyll* elements (Wilson 1992: 6-8).

One possibility claimed by Watts (2002: 54) is Harrowbank House, Co. Durham. The topographic position may support an interpretation of OE *hearg* as it is located high



up, overlooking the upper Wear valley.

b) OE *weoh*, *wih*, *wig* were small wayside shrines accessible to travellers, and possibly close to Roman roads and ancient routeways. They can occupy high or low-lying positions (Wilson 1992: 8,10). Examples from outside the study area include: Wye, Weedon, Willey and Weoley (Cameron 1996: 115-6).

One possibility suggested by H.W. Owen is Wooperton, Northumberland.

The first part of the name may contain OE *weoh* and *beorg* 'hill, mound' (1987: 99-114). Present-day Wooperton is approximately 1 kilometre from the Devil's Causeway Roman road.

## ii) Elements indicating pagan gods

God's names in English place-names include *Tiw*, e.g. Tysoe, *Woden*, e.g.

Wednesbury, Wenslow and Wansdyke, Woden's nickname *Grim*, *Thunor*, e.g.

Thunderfield and Thursley, and *Frig*, e.g. Friden (Cameron 1996: 116).

There no examples in the study area.

## iii) Animal heads

According to Cameron a pagan custom was to set the head of a sacrificed animal on a pole and this can be reflected in place-names by the first element being the name of an animal and the second element OE *heafod*, 'head'. However *heafod* was also used to describe topography such as a headland, promontory, hill, source of a river, or to places frequented by such animals (1996: 120-1).

Three possibilities are:

Gateshead, Durham

Bede referred to the site as a monastery, *Ad Caprae Caput* (c.730 AD), a translation of the OE name, 'at the head of the (she) goat'. Rather than referring to an animal head, this could mean a headland, and the topography supports this. However, monasteries were often built on the sites of pagan worship and therefore this could apply to Gateshead.

Hartside, Northumberland

Alternatively, this could refer to its topographic situation beside Hartside Hill which has two peaks, like a hart's head, or to a place frequented by stags.

Swineside Hall, South-East Scotland

iv) Place-names indicating pagan burial

Elements that possibly refer to pagan burials mounds (although it does not necessarily follow that they refer to pagan early Anglian burials, or indicate early Anglian place-names) are:

a) OE *beorg*, *byrgen*, *burgaesn*, *byrgels*.

b) OE *hlaw*.

c) Pre-English *crug* ( Anglo-Saxon adaption *cruc*).

a) OE *beorg*, *byrgen*, *burgaesn*, *byrgels* refer to a prehistoric barrow or natural hill.

Gelling claimed that *beorg* is less common north of Birmingham, that *byrgen* is

frequently confused with OE *burna* (1997: 131-2) e.g. Hebron and Hepburn, and *byrgels* is commonly used in Anglo-Saxon charters to refer to heathen burials (ibid.: 140-1).

Three possibilities are:

Hebburn, Co. Durham

Hebron, Northumberland

Hepburn, Northumberland

(see Table)

In South-East Scotland, Williamson (1942: xvii) pointed out that *birren* may represent OE *byrgen*, and suggested as examples Birrins Hill and Birrens, Roman fort *Blatobulgium*.

#### b) OE *hlaw*

In Northumbria *hlaw* is a common term for a natural hill, particularly a conical hill resembling a tumulus, which makes it difficult to identify pagan burial mounds from *hlaw* names (Gelling 1997: 134, 137). I sought to distinguish hill from tumulus meanings by looking for *hlaw* names that are not associated with hills, or those where a tumulus is marked on an OS map. Another possible indicator of a pagan burial mound is a compound with an OE personal name.

There was no correlation between tumuli marked on OS maps and *hlaw* names, except for Lousey Law, Grindstonelaw, and two Whitelaws. Grindstonelaw, very near to the Devil's Causeway Roman road and a tumulus, may refer to an early



Anglian pagan burial. However another explanation is suggested by Grindstone Law, Oxnam, interpreted by Williamson from its late spelling *Grundisdame Law* 1598 as meaning OE *grund* and *stan*, 'flat paving-stone', because the hill is less than a mile from a Roman road (1942: 150).

*Hlaw* place-names compounded with an OE monothematic masculine personal are, in Northumberland: certain examples Throckley, Brenkley and Elilaw, and uncertain example Hauxley; in Durham: uncertain examples Charlow Moor, Moorsley and Pawlaw Pike; and in South-East Scotland: uncertain examples Collielaw and Sunlaws (see Table).

Hawksley Hill, Sheddon's Hill (*Scadneslawe*) and Tibbersley Avenue, Billingham are interpreted as containing OE personal names but not monothematic masculine.

### c) OWelsh *crug*

This term was associated with hills, barrows and mounds with a small and abrupt shape. It was adopted by the Anglo-Saxons as OE *cruc*, with the same meaning, but often indistinguishable from OE *cirice* 'church'. Examples include simplex Cruck and Crook, and compounds Crickheaton and Cruchfield (Gelling 1997: 138).

My analysis of topography to determine whether place-names refer to a tumulus, hill or church suggests two possibilities.

Kirkley, Northumberland

The OE generic *hlaw* translated the Brittonic specific *crug*, to give the meaning 'hill-hill', or *hyll* 'hill' was added, giving 'hill called Cruc', although Gelling argues that neither element actually refer to a natural hill (1997: 138). The surrounding topography is undulating with no sizeable hills, however, on a rise in the land overlooking the River Pont and March Burn there is a tumulus.

Cocklaw, Adderstone, Northumberland, has an identical meaning as for Kirkley above (see Table).

## **Section 8:**

### **Analysis of pre-English place-names in the study area**

(Plates 19 and 20)

#### **5.8.1 Initial issues**

In England it has been pointed out that there are few Brittonic place-names, and that instead the vast majority are of Germanic origin (Campbell 1982: 38, Chadwick 1963: 112). Recent studies have suggested that Brittonic place-names have not been correctly identified and there is more extensive survival than previously thought. This may be because Brittonic elements have been interpreted as Anglo-Saxon personal names, or survive in forms that today cannot be recognised (Coates and Breeze 2000: 7, Smith 1980: 27, 29). It may be that Alcock (1971: 194) and Smith (1980: 28) are correct to suggest that the first recorded version of many names of ostensibly Germanic origin in fact derive from a garbled form of Brittonic name and contain unrecognised Brittonic survivals.

The reason for this situation has been fully explored in chapter 4 above, but is briefly set out here. The process of place-name change from Brittonic to Old English followed a number of different mechanisms. There was a process of Anglo-Saxon absorption of pre-English words that included the popular substitution of a Brittonic word by a similar sounding Germanic word, although as the word had a different meaning the sense of the place-name was lost (Smith 1980: 30, 32). This could have been by folk etymology, or by assimilation of Brittonic place-names (this involves an element in an unknown language being assimilated to the nearest sound equivalent in the language of the incomers, for the minimal identity of a place), e.g. Brittonic *croco* 'mound, tumulus, hill', was possibly assimilated early to OE *cyrice* 'church'. Alternatively, when place-names were first written down in the 7th and 8th centuries by the Christian church, Anglo-Saxon scholars such as Bede invented founder stories to explain the meaning of place-names by linking them to OE personal names, therefore obscuring their Brittonic origins. Other explanations for why pre-English names were not adopted include that by the time they were recorded they had already been replaced by English names, and that Anglo-Saxons found these names too difficult to pronounce, therefore generally only the first syllable was retained (ibid.: 28-30, 32).

### 5.8.2 What can pre-English names show?

In chapter 4 the contentious issue of whether place-names reflect the ethnic component of settlements was considered. There is a body of opinion, particularly by place-name experts such as Jackson, that argues that the survival of pre-English place-names equates to the survival of the British population (Jackson 1962: 241). More recently a



correlation between place-names and language has been emphasised, where pre-English place-names, rather than indicating ethnicity, instead indicate Brittonic language-speakers and that the native British in that area were bilingual in both Brittonic and Old English. The Brittonic language may therefore have contributed to the Brittonic identity of the people who spoke it, although other ethnic and cultural factors were also involved. An alternative suggestion is that English place-names could indicate either that the inhabitants of settlements were ethnic 'Anglo-Saxon' or ethnic Britons who had adopted the cultural identity of the Anglo-Saxons including using their language (Rollason 2003: 62).

A key issue is whether there was discontinuity and limited contact between Anglo-Saxons and Britons, or there was population and cultural continuity and the takeover of the native British administration. In the first scenario Anglo-Saxons took over names but did not understand their meaning because contact was oral not written, and fleeting. Smith suggested that illiterate pagan Germanic people who were not concerned with the continuation of Romanitas or the existing administration generally did not learn Latin or Brittonic, and only took over those place-names in their correct form to enable them to minimally identify places (1980: 33). There are some archaeologists and historians who argue that large numbers of Anglo-Saxon place-names mean large numbers of Anglo-Saxons, who replaced the native British population, for example Welsh (1992: 12).

In the second scenario, place-names may indicate that a considerable number of people

of British race and language survived the Anglo-Saxon conquest especially in certain parts of Northumbria (Jackson 1963: 229). Ekwall and Gelling adopted a similar view and highlighted areas in the west (but also Northumberland and Durham), where Brittonic place-names were not an exterminated. This meant that the Brittonic language continued long enough for some names to be adopted into OE place-naming by Anglo-Saxons or their political elite. This could indicate that in these areas there was long survival of a British population and peaceful co-existence and intercourse between Brittonic and Germanic speakers, so that pre-English place-names became familiar to the English (Ekwall 1924: 27, Gelling 1997: 88). P

Broad patterns may emerge from the survival and distribution of Brittonic place-names, and although this does not necessarily show ethnic Britons living at these places, it does indicate areas where sufficient Britons in the community were able to pass on Brittonic names to the English (Faull 1977: 15, 1981: 184-5). Groups or clusters of pre-English names may indicate an area of significant numbers or even a majority of Brittonic speakers, in an Anglo-Saxon context (Gelling 1997: 90). Yorkshire was used as an example by Faull to argue that those areas settled immediately by the Anglo-Saxons contained no Brittonic place-names because there were few English speakers among the native British, and this inhibited communication. In areas of subsequent settlement there was greater exposure and contact with the British population and therefore greater borrowing of Brittonic place-names (1977: 18).

The late survival of the Brittonic language in certain areas is indicated by place-names containing OE *w(e)alh*, and hybrids where the pre-English element is compounded



with a later OE element e.g. *tun*, *ingtun*. It has also been suggested that as Brittonic people generally based their settlement names on topographic descriptions then Brittonic habitative or personal settlement names may also indicate a late or strong Brittonic presence (Coates and Breeze 2000: 4).

There are different categories of pre-English place-names:

i) Full Brittonic place-names

Both elements in the compound are pre-English. The Brittonic language may have been culturally dominant to retain the full place-name.

ii) Inversion compounds

Inversion compounds contain a reverse word order of elements, with the generic as the first element and the qualifying element second. This characteristically Celtic type of place-naming only appeared in Brittonic from the 6th century onwards. Up till then Brittonic compound names were like Germanic place-name compounds that have the qualifying element first and the generic second. Place-names with this late ordering of elements could therefore indicate Brittonic language survival after this date, although Fox pointed out that it is not clear exactly when the shift in word order occurred in particular regions of Britain (2007 preprint). It is possible that this change was a reaction by the British to English place-naming, to create a distinctive, recognisable Brittonic place-name, an element of cultural identity (Gelling 1997: 99-100, Smith 1980: 39-40).



### 3) True hybrids

These compounds comprise words of different linguistic origin coined, presumably, in a bilingual context. In the study area there are place-names that consist of a Brittonic element (usually the specific) and an OE element. These names indicate interaction between a mixed Brittonic-Anglo-Saxon population that includes bilingual Britons and possibly Anglo-Saxons who understand Brittonic.

### 4) Other hybrids

There are also hybrids which may appear similar to true hybrids but may not have the same significance. For instance, there are 'tautological' compounds such as Kirkley (discussed above) in which the two elements have approximately the same meaning ('hill') in both languages. These are best explained as *ex nomine* compounds where a pre-existing Brittonic element has taken on the status of a name, and an additional element is added in another language (hence in this case 'hill called Cruc'); another very clear example would be Tynemouth. These may indicate a lack of British and Anglo-Saxon interaction, where a Brittonic specific is used but there are no Brittonic speakers to explain it, but this is not necessarily the case. Whatever the exact explanation, the transmission of Brittonic names in itself implies some kind of contact, and as noted in section 4.3 above, a combination of pre-English specific with an Old English element common in early use might point towards early coining.

There are also Old European names that are older than Brittonic and are usually of uncertain meaning. They tend to be used for major boundaries and features, e.g. the River Tweed and Cheviot hills. Latin loan names are considered below.

### 5.8.3 Analysis of possible pre-English place-names in Northumberland and Durham

The source material relied upon to identify a corpus of pre-English names has been set out in chapter 5, section 2.2. Details of the corpus of names discussed below are in the Table, Appendix 1. The place-names are divided into certain/ highly probable and uncertain categories. Names are categorised as uncertain where the only source is Mawer (1920) and it is uncorroborated by other more recent interpretations. Despite his Old English bias he suggested a pre-English solution for many names where the meaning was unclear to him. Other uncertain names include those without early spellings, that could be interpreted as either pre-English or Germanic.

The list of names are arranged in a table format.

#### Key

Full: Full pre-English place-name

Inv. Comp: Inversion compound

Hybrid (T): True hybrid

Hybrid (N): Hybrid no longer understood

**Y**: The name is an example of one of the above categories.

**Y(?)**: The name is possibly an example of one of the above categories.

Northumberland (34)

<u>Place-name</u>	<u>Full</u>	<u>Inv. Comp.</u>	<u>Hybrid (T)</u>	<u>Hybrid (N)</u>
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Certain (17)

Aunchester/ Anterchesters			Y	
Cambois			Y	
Carraw	Y(?)		Y(?)	
Carrick			Y	
Corbridge			Y	
Glendue	Y	Y		
Kielder	Y			
Kirkley Hall				Y
Lowlynn	Y			
Maelmin	Y			
Mindrum	Y	Y		
Plenmellar	Y			
Ross	Y			
Troughend	Y	Y		
Warcarr	Y			
Wardrew	Y			
Yeavinger	Y			

Uncertain (17)

Branxton			Y	
----------	--	--	---	--



Carham			Y	
Carrycoats	Y(?)		Y(?)	
Cateran Hill	Y			
Chollerford			Y	
Gloster Hill			Y	
Heddon, East, West			Y	
Lampart	Y			
Maughan's House	Y			
Ottercops			Y	
Powtrevet	Y			
Ros Castle	Y			
Rosebrough			Y	
Tecket	Y			
Wooperton			Y	
Teppermoor	Y			
Cocklaw				Y

Durham (13)

<u>Place-name</u>	<u>Full</u>	<u>Inv. Comp.</u>	<u>Hybrid (T)</u>	<u>Hybrid (N)</u>
<u>Certain</u> (11)				
Alwent	Y			
Auckland	Y	Y		

Binchester		Y	Y(?)
Chester-le-Street		Y	
Cockerton		Y	
Consett		Y	
Eden	Y		
Lanchester		Y	Y(?)
Penshaw	Y(?)	Y(?)	
Pontop		Y	Y(?)
Yoden	Y		
<u>Uncertain (2)</u>			
Coundon		Y	
Tudhoe		Y	

There are three full Brittonic place-names that are inversion compounds located in western Northumberland:

Glendue, west of Hexham in the south Tyne valley (also *Glenhu*, see below)

Troughend, in the upper Rede valley

Mindrum, in north west Northumberland

There is only one example in County Durham, Auckland, in western Durham.

Hybrid compounds that contain a later OE element are:

Carrick, generic OE *wic*

Cockerton, and Branxton (if containing a pre-English element), both with generics

OE *tun*

Hybrids where an element may have been misunderstood are:

Kirkley and possibly Cocklaw where the specific OWelsh *crug* and generic OE *hlaw* both mean 'hill or barrow'.

Chollerton/ ford: this is a dubious example but possibly the first part of the original name of the Roman fort *Cilurnum* was used as the basis for the specific in Chollerton, possibly OE *ceole*.

Similarly, Binchester because the specific may be OE *binn* or *binnan* 'stall', similar to the first part of the original fort name *Vinovia* or *Binovia*. Also Lanchester, the specific may be OE *lang* 'long', similar to the first part of the fort name *Longovicium*.

For both the above examples and Chollerton/ ford, folk etymology may have introduced an OE word in place of a similar sounding word of totally different meaning.

For some names it is unclear whether they are hybrids or full Brittonic names:

Penshaw, where the specific is Brittonic but the generic could be OE.

Carraw, where the specific is Brittonic but the generic could be OE *raw*, or Gaelic.

Carrycoats, where the specific is unknown but possibly pre-English, and the generic could be either Brittonic or OE.

Among the uncertain pre-English names:

Ros Castle, Cateran Hill and Maughan are problematic because Ros Castle and

Cateran have late spellings, and for Maughan no date is provided by Mawer for the



only spelling.

Warcarr cannot be interpreted but one suggestion is that it is pre-English.

Coundon, Tudhoe and Chollerton/ ford are only tentative suggestions because the specific has more likely OE explanations.

The idea that the specific of Wooperton is partly pre-English is only one of the interpretations of this very difficult place-name.

There are additional pre-English names suggested by Barrow (1969: 6-7) that do not have early spellings and therefore are only mentioned as possibilities.

In the upper North Tyne valley:

Glendhu, NY571867, (identical to Glendue)

Cairnlastenhope, NY757810

Names containing the Celtic element *pol* 'stream':

Powburn, NU063164

Pow Burn (Tynemouth)

*Polttadon*, a 13th century name in Tynedale now lost.

#### 5.8.4 Analysis of possible pre-English place-names in South-East Scotland

The source material relied upon has been set out in chapter 5, section 2.2. Due to the problems with the sources, highlighted above the corpus of pre-English place-names is not exhaustive and few early spellings are provided. It should be noted that there are a large number of pre-English names in West Lothian but these are largely excluded from this survey as this is not within the study area (exceptions that are included are those immediately west of Edinburgh). The corpus is divided into those place-names with

early spellings, those without, and those regarded as uncertain. It only includes Brittonic names (which Nicolaisen terms Cumbric), not Pictish or Gaelic names. Inversion compounds and similar generic-first constructions are highlighted by underlining the name, and the source used for these is Fox (2007). Fox's list is very short, and she does not give an opinion on all the other names in my corpus, some of which may count as inversion compounds. I am not qualified to classify the remainder, so the underlined place-names are the only examples that I specify. For details of these names see Table, Appendix 1.

The full pre-English place-names are categorised by the elements: *caer*, *pen*, *pren*, *tref*, *dun*, followed by miscellaneous elements. Hybrid names are set out as a separate category. According to Williamson, many pre-English names in Berwickshire, Roxburghshire and Selkirk are hybrids but only some remain in their original form (1942: xxi-xxv).

Brittonic Caer 'fort or stockaded farm/ manor house'.

These names are concentrated in the Solway Firth area, almost all in upland areas (Fraser 1982: 25). A few are in the Tweed basin or near the coast.

Brittonic Pen 'summit, promontory', derives from O.Celtic *pennos* 'end, head'.

However names in *penny*- may derive from *pen y* 'hill of the-' or Modern English *penny* 'a penny' (Fox 2007).

Brittonic Pren 'tree'.

Nicolaisen suggests that *pren* names are not very early and only adopted by the Angles after a considerable period of co-existence. Concentrations of these names may indicate pockets of late British survival. They may originally have referred to conspicuous trees, and nearby settlements adopted these tree names (1976: 165-6). *Pren* is a common pre-English element in South-East Scotland, but Fox (2007) suggests that there are probably too many because it is sparsely attested in Welsh place-names, and that some may derive from Brittonic *bryn* 'hill' which is common in other Brittonic areas. (The derivation is Brittonic whichever element).

Brittonic *Tref* 'farmstead'.

These habitative settlement names are generally located on open grassy moorland (Kermack 1937: 1275).

Dun/ O.Welsh *din* 'fort or fortified mound'.

Few examples in South-East Scotland.

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<u>Names with early spellings</u>	<u>Names without early spellings</u>	<u>Uncertain names</u>
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Caer

Cramond, M Loth.

Carfrae, Berw.

Carcant, M Loth.

Caerlanrig, Roxb.

Carfrae, E Loth.

Carfrae, M Loth.

Carkethyll/ Caerketton Hill



Cardrona

Carlowrie

Pen

Pennygant Hill, Roxb.

Penmanshiel, Berw.

Pencaitland, E Loth.

Penvalla, Peb.

Penicuik, M Loth.

Plenploth, M Loth.

Cockpen, M Loth.

Peniel Heugh, Roxb.

Penchrise

Skelfhill Pen, Roxb.

Pentlands (hill name)

Ettrick Pen, Selk.

Pinkie

Peniestone Knowe, Selk.

Pennersaugh

Penshiel, Berw.

Pennango

Penpont

Pennymuir

Penmanscore

Penmaen

Peniacob

Pentlelacob

Penveny

Pencraig

Penratho

Penlaurig

Pren

Pirn, Peb.

Pirncader, M Loth.

Traprain, E Loth.	Pirntaton, M Loth
Prenderg(u)est/ gast, Berw.	Pirnie, Roxb.
Primrose, M Loth.	Pirny Braes, E Loth.
Plenderleith, Roxb.	Primrose, Berw.
<u>Dumpender Law</u>	Plendernethy, Berw.
	Prenderwyndes, Berw.
	Printonan

Tref

<u>Tranent</u> , E Loth.	Dreva, Peb.	Torsonce
<u>Traquair</u> , Peb.	Trahennanna, Peb.	
<u>Trabrown</u> , Berw.	Torquhan, M Loth.	
Trabroun, E Loth.	Halltree, M Loth.	
Traprain, Et Loth.	Torfichen	
Niddrie/ Niddry, M Loth.		
Soutra, M Loth.		
Treuenlene		

Dun/ O.Welsh din

Duns, Berw.	Dinmontlair Knowe, Roxb.	Din Fell, Roxb.
Dunbar, E Loth.	Dinlaybyre	Dinley
Din Moss, Roxb.	Deneidin	Dundas, M Loth.
Din Eidin, Edinburgh	Minit Eidin	Gordon, Roxb.

Dinwoody/ Dinwiddie

Tinnis, Peb.

Tinnis, Roxb.

Cairndinnis

Miscellaneous

Melrose, Roxb.

Leith, M Loth.

Drem, E Loth.

Peebles, Peb.

Cammo

Dalkeith, M Loth.

Cumledge, Berw.

Ancrum, Roxb.

Panbart Hill

Peffer Mill, M Loth.

Pouis

Gogar, M Loth.

Posso

Gorgie

Barnbogle

Manor

Pardivan

Hybrids

Coldingham, Berw.

Tynninghame, E Loth.

Gordon, Roxb.

Ednam, Roxb.

Edrom, Roxb.

Minto, Roxb.

Kelso, Roxb.



Primside or Prinside, Roxb.

Longniddry, E Loth.

To summarise, in south-east Scotland there are:

38 full pre-English names with early spellings

53 full pre-English names without early spellings

6 uncertain pre-English names

9 hybrids

The hybrids do not contain diagnostically late OE elements unlike the examples in Northumberland and Durham. Instead they are either undiagnostic and either early or late, e.g. OE *lang* in Longniddry, OE *sete* in Primside, and OE *hoh* in Minto and Kelso, or early, e.g. OE *ingaham* in Coldingham and Tynninghame, OE *ham* in Ednam, and possibly OE *dun* in Gordon.

Some uncertain pre-English names could be wholly Gaelic, e.g. Torsonce, Dundas, Drem. Duns is categorised as pre-English but may be Gaelic in origin. There are also other names that seem more topographic than settlement names, e.g. Din Fell and Din Moss.

#### 5.8.5 Other possible pre-English place-names or indicators

##### i) Latin-derived place-names

Latin loan names are virtually absent in the study area except for a few fort names, e.g. *Aesica*, and *eccles* place-names. Unlike other areas, there are no examples of *wicham*

(loan word *wic* from Latin *vicus*), *camp*, *funta* or *port*.

### *Aesica*

The Roman fort name *Aesica* is preserved in the name *Ahse*, referred to in the Anonymous Life of St. Cuthbert 699-705 AD (Cox 1975-6:39). This describes how the Saint travelled from Hexham to Carlisle along the Stanegate or military way and halted midway at a *mansio* in the district of *Ahse*, where there was a gathering of people (Crow 1995: 94-5).

### *Eccles*

This word is usually assumed to derive from the Latin *ecclesia*, meaning 'church' but, at least in the Midlands and North, it is via a Primitive Welsh or Brittonic form *egles*, adopted into English as *ecles* (Gelling 1997: 82). Using as an example *eccles* names in the north-west Midlands, Gelling suggested that *ecles* was borrowed from PrW or Brittonic speakers at a relatively late stage in Anglian penetration of an area, although this may have varied in different regions of Britain, for example there was early borrowing from Latin for some place-names in south-east England (1977: 11).

Thomas pointed out that although Welsh *eglwys* at the time of the Norman Conquest meant 'parish church' or a 'substantial church building', this may not have been the meaning of the word as a place-name in Old English. Latin *ecclesia* in late Roman Britain did not mean actual church buildings but instead meant 'a particular Christian place of worship', or 'a body of Christians', and this may have extended into the 5th and 6th centuries (1981: 147-8). *Eccles* could refer to Christian communities or

Celtic Christian churches that were recognised by the pagan Anglo-Saxons at the time of initial contact, and who named their settlements in reference to them (Cramp 1983: 272, Cameron 1996: 96).

*Eccles* is found as a simplex or as a specific in a compound, never a generic, which indicates that Anglo-Saxons sometimes used a church as a defining feature when naming something else (Gelling 1997: 96). In Scotland, *eccles* names may derive from relatively late Gaelic formations (ibid.: 98), but their distribution is largely confined to south-west Scotland and the eastern counties north of the Forth-Clyde line (Barrow 1973: 61-3).

### Analysis

Suggested examples are:

Egglescliffe, Durham (although Watts (2002) is dubious; see Appendix 1, Table)

Eccles, Berwickshire (a parish centre)

Other possibilities (all in south-east Scotland) are:

Eaglescarnie, near Haddington (no early spellings)

Eglis, Penicuik

Eccles Cairn, near Yetholm

Ecclaw, Duns, NT760683

### ii) OE *w(e)alh*

The early meaning of *w(e)alh*, genitive plural *wala*, was 'Briton or Britons', up to the



6th century, but then it became increasingly associated with social status, particularly serfdom and slavery, from the 7th into the 9th to 11th centuries (Higham 1992: 193). This was probably in recognition that the majority of serfs or slaves were Brittonic speaking at this time (Gelling 1997: 93).

*W(e)alh* is difficult to identify and can be confused with OE *w(e)ald* 'forest' and OE *w(e)all* 'wall' (Gelling 1997: 94). However, an early spelling in *wale* rather than *wal(l)* suggests OE *w(e)alh* since the medial *-e-* probably represents the OE genitive plural ending *a*, *wala*.

*W(e)alh* place-names may indicate the existence of villages distinguished by their native population (Alcock 1971: 312). However they may only refer to settlements where the Brittonic language was spoken at a date when there were few Brittonic speakers in the area and most spoke English. Caution should be exercised in treating these names as early because enclaves of Brittonic speaking people lasted to the end of the 8th century, and *w(e)alh* is usually compounded with later OE place-naming elements, e.g. *cot* and *tun* (Cameron 1980: 1-46). Higham suggested that when English speakers created *w(e)alh* place-names they recognised the distinctive 'Welshness' of those living in that community, not necessarily by their speaking Brittonic (although this is likely to have been one of several factors by which they could be distinguished), but rather their inability to speak English (1992: 192).

## Analysis

Northumberland:

### Wallington

The name seems late because *w(e)alh* is compounded with *ingtun* (not an early Anglian place-naming element) and Mawer took it to refer to 'sons of the Briton', that is, descendents of a British community, but an interpretation as 'settlement associated with *w(e)alh*/ the Briton or slave' (i.e. *-ing* 4) would be more in line with recent trends in interpretation.

Durham:

### Walworth

This name implies a settlement of Welsh speaking peasants, descendents of the original indigenous population, within an Anglo-Saxon estate (Watts 2002: 131-2). As OE *worth* is not generally considered an early Anglian place-naming element, it indicates that this name is late.

There are no *w(e)alh* place-names in South-east Scotland.

### iii) Use of O.W. *sax* in pre-English names

There are two examples in southern Scotland, Glensax, Peebleshire, meaning 'valley of the Saxons', and just outside the study area, Pennersaughs (*Penresax*), Annandale, meaning 'Saxon's head (land)'. A comparative example is Pensax, Worcestershire, 'the hill of the Saxons'. Gelling and Smith suggested that these names indicate areas where there were predominately Welsh speakers and few English settlers, a situation that

lasted long enough for the names to gain common currency, and when there was language shift from Welsh to English, these place-names survived. Welsh speakers did not retain the -x- for Saxon for very long, and therefore the use of -x- rather than *sais* indicates early contact between the Welsh and English. Glensax and Pennersaugh were coined in the early years of contact between the Welsh and English, relatively early in the chronology of place-names (1997: 99-100, 1980: 37).

#### 5.8.6 River names

My research is centred on place-names but river names are a significant component in the analysis of pre-English names in the study area. Key points are therefore outlined, but see Table for early spellings and grid references.

As a general rule names of natural features are frequently pre-English, (Alcock 1971: 311, Loyn 1962: 6, Chadwick 1963: 112). River names are more stable than other kinds of names. The reasons suggested for this are:

- 1) Rivers are known by many people therefore giving them a greater chance of survival compared to smaller landscape features (Gelling 1997: 88).
- 2) The survival of Celtic religion, the sacredness of rivers and water divinities.
- 3) Natural boundaries often formed frontiers and fixed lines for landholdings and communities.
- 4) Communication, as rivers were throughfares that initially facilitated Anglo-Saxon penetration, therefore names were learned and preserved (an explanation favoured by Smith 1980: 37)



Their distribution may be significant:

- 1) Areas with pre-English minor stream names and major river names may indicate a strong residual pre-English presence (Gelling 1997: 88).
- 2) Anglo-Saxons were conservative about naming major rivers, but did name small rivers and streams, therefore small waterways with pre-English names could indicate Brittonic survival (Loyn 1962: 7).
- 3) If pre-English stream names are well inland they indicate natural boundaries (Smith 1980: 37).
- 4) Many river names have a very general meaning, e.g. *Avon*, *Ebona*, *Isca*, and were not proper names adopted by the Anglo-Saxons. This may indicate minimal contact between the Anglo-Saxons and British (ibid).

According to Loyn, between the Rivers Tyne and Tees there is widespread survival of pre-English stream names (1962: 9). This is consonant with Jackson's division of England into different areas based on the survival of pre-English river names. Although the study area is generally seen as an example of Area II where Celtic names (including small river names) are more common than in Area I (where they are least common), the hilly districts between the Tyne and Tees are possibly Area III, with native population survival in considerable numbers and only late settlement by small numbers of Angles (Cameron 1996: 48). Breeze suggests that Celtic survival in the lower Tyne valley and Newcastle area during the mid 6th century (when he says there was English occupation) is indicated by the pre-English river and minor stream names, for example the Team, Derwent, Devil's Water and Erring Burn (1998: 57-8).

However, this is probably incorrect as there is no indication in this area of greater survival of pre-English names for minor water courses compared to other areas.

Potentially minor pre-English stream names are, in Northumberland: the Warren Burn, Erring Burn, Long Nanny, and possibly Maggleburn; in Durham: the Pont Burn, Kent Beck, Cong Burn, Eden Burn and possibly Hummer Beck. These may indicate a continuing Brittonic-speaking population and/ or Brittonic influence, or could mark boundaries.

There are also Anglian river names (see Table) that are potentially significant because they may indicate areas of more extensive early Anglian settlement or influence, with less Brittonic survival. They are, in Northumberland: the Blyth, Bowmont, Lear (although this is a stream rather than river, therefore probably not significant), and Rede; in Durham: Browney and Skerne.

**CHAPTER 6**  
**INTERPRETATION AND INTEGRATION OF THE EVIDENCE**  
**FOR THE BERNICIAN TRANSITION**

Before proceeding to synthesise the evidence, it is important to make clear that all conclusions are necessarily tentative and provisional. In particular where I use the word 'indicate' it should be understood as 'points to a possibility that' or 'may constitute evidence of' rather than 'is definite evidence that'.

**Section 1:**

**The distribution and chronology of Anglian place-names**

**6.1.1 Introduction**

I have prepared spatial distribution maps that show different chronological phases of Anglian place-naming, and reveal areas of earliest and later place-naming.

Chapter 4 has already addressed the issue but it must briefly be reiterated here that these place-name distributions do not necessarily equate to settlement development because, as Sorensen points out, there could be existing native settlement (1978: 23).

A safer assumption is that Anglian place-names in the study area indicate the presence of English language-speakers and their extent and influence. More specifically, concentrations of early Anglian names indicate areas where there is the early presence of English-speakers, and their absence or scarcity indicates that English-speakers were not in the area at that date or only in limited numbers. It is however important to point out that these distributions are also influenced by other factors which are considered in



other sections.

My chronological phasing system distinguishes between early and later dates. The category of early Anglian names is therefore sub-divided into:

- i) an earliest place-naming phase which broadly dates from the 6th to early 7th century, and
- ii) a secondary phase which broadly dates to the 7th and 8th centuries.

However there may be a problem with overlap because the later names and some of the supposedly early names could date to the 8th century. Comparisons are made between the distributions of these three phases to trace the chronological and spatial development of Anglian place-naming and therefore of English-speakers in the study area.

Before the analysis, a note about the maps and my approach. ... A range of maps have been produced and those relevant to the text are referred to. The key in the appendix provides a guide to the symbols and textual labelling. There are two types of map: first, those that only detail the spatial distribution of place-names, and second, maps that also contain administrative-historical data that distinguishes between names with earliness indicators and those that do not.

The analytical approach taken in chapter 5 divided the study area into the counties of Durham, Northumberland and the region of south-east Scotland. However this is a rather artificial framework and may be misleading for the distributive and chronological interpretation of the Anglian names considered in this section because major settlement

areas include the Tyne and Tweed valleys, are in more than one county or region.

Therefore, the analysis adopts a dual approach that follows the above structure but also focuses on the major river catchment areas of the Rivers Tees, Wear, Tyne and Tweed.

Note that for ease of description the river valleys are broadly categorised into upper, middle, lower and coastal areas.

#### 6.1.2 The distribution of early Anglian place-names: chronological phasing and problems with interpretation

The maps in Plates 26 and 27 set out the distribution of all place-names of possibly early Anglian date. These include those names with habitative elements *ham*, *ing(a)ham*, *ingas*, *ceaster* and also those *burh* names with early indicators, and names with the topographic elements *dun*, *eg*, *feld*, *ford* and *burna*. Other maps show the distribution of only the habitative names (Plates 21 and 22) and only the topographic names (Plates 23 and 24). Also included are other names with indicators of earliness such as inflectional *-n-* and folk names and uncertain pagan names. The maps highlight the areas with concentrations of possible early Anglian names including the mid Tweed basin and Adder valleys, the north Northumberland coast south from Bamburgh, the middle Tyne valley in the vicinity of Hexham, the Wear valley in the vicinity of Bishop Auckland, and the Skerne valley in the Tees basin.

There are however problems with this data because, although useful for indicating potential early Anglian toponymic concentrations, it is not 'fine grained' enough to

identify the distributions of the earliest Anglian names. To attempt to do so would provide inaccurate and distorted information due to the inclusion of names that, although early, do not represent the earliest phase of Anglian place-naming, and could date to possibly the late 7th-early 8th century. The second phase of early names includes *-ingham* names which could date to the 7th century (it is assumed that the hypothesis that *-ingham* names are of generally later date than *-ham* names is correct), *-ingas* names that date to the late 7th and 8th century, and *burh* names with earliness indicators that date to the 7th and 8th centuries. Accuracy may also potentially be affected by uncertain names, although to ignore them risks missing potential areas with the earliest Anglian names.

Three sets of maps provide a more accurate analysis of the spatial distributions of the earliest Anglian place-names and highlight areas of concentration or scarcity.

- 1) The maps in Plates 29 and 30 exclude second phase names.
- 2) The map in Plate 31 excludes uncertain names except for *ham* names because they generally date to the beginning of the 7th century AD or earlier.
- 3) The map in Plate 32 contain only names with earliness indicators (except certain *ham*).

### 6.1.3 The distribution of the earliest Anglian place-names

I distinguish the following categories of place-names

- i) certain names with earliness indicators (sometimes 'early indicated' for shorthand)



ii) certain names without earliness indicators

iii) uncertain names

The definition of 'certain' is that this is a more or less definitely known early Anglian place-name.

Analysis of Map 29 shows the following points:

1) The Tees catchment area (Durham)

This has the following areas of concentration:

i) The Skerne valley

There is a cluster of names that are parish centres and have earliness indicators:

Sedgefield, Middleham and Trimdon. Around these are names with earliness indicators:

Fishburn, Cornforth, Mainsforth, Mordon, Quarrington, Grindon. Certain names

lacking earliness indicators are located west and south-west: Thinford, Rushyford and

High Grindon. There are also a number of uncertain names. The English river name

Skerne reinforces the idea that this is an area with a concentration of the earliest

Anglian place-names.

ii) The middle Tees valley

Gainford is a parish centre and nearby Barford is a certain name with earliness

indicators. Except for this there are only certain names without such indicators:

Langton, Ovington, Snotterton, Redford and Startford. Therefore, although potentially

an area of concentration, the evidence indicates that the earliest place-naming may

only have been clustered in the vicinity of Gainford.

The major areas of scarcity are:

i) The south-east coastal area extending to the eastern watersheds of the Skerne

In the interior there is only a scattering of certain names without earliness indicators:

Northburn and Fallowfield. The only names with earliness indications are either directly on the coast and Tees estuary (Hartlepool and Greatham), or are in the vicinity of the Tees (Billingham and Neasham); all are parish centres. In the latter area there is also certain Hartburn and Trafford, without earliness indicators.

ii) The upper Tees valley

There is an absence of names except for a few certain and uncertain examples without earliness indicators.

2) The Wear valley catchment area (Durham)

The areas of concentration are:

i) The middle Wear valley in the vicinity of Auckland, and the Gaunless valley

Coundon, Shildon, Eldon and possibly Binchester are certain names with earliness indicators. Only Cockfield in the Gaunless valley is a parish centre. Brusselton, Holdforth, Fieldon Bridge, Beechburn, Trough Burn and Wackerfield are only certain names without earliness indicators.

ii) The middle Wear valley in the vicinity of Durham City

*Kuncacester* and Pittington are parish centres. Cocken and Pittington are *-n-* names with earliness indicators. Other names with earliness indicators are Sherburn, Hetton-

le-Hole and Brandon, while Shadforth and Fallowfield are only certain names without earliness indicators.

iii) The River Browney valley

Lanchester is a parish centre but the only other name with earliness indicators is uncertain Butsfield. Other names are certain without earliness indicators: Findon, two Blackburns, Dryburn, Fulford, and Baxterwood. There are also two uncertain names at the head of the valley. The English river name Browney reinforces the idea that this is an area with a concentration of the earliest Anglian place-names.

iv) The coastal area south of the River Wear

There are the certain *dun* names without earliness indicators Grindon, Humbledon, Hendon and Farrington, certain Ford, and uncertain Offerton.

v) The upper Wear valley

This is possibly is an area where there are the earliest Anglian names: certain Woodifield, Bedburn and Thornhope Beck have earliness indicators. There are certain names without earliness indicators: Linburn Beck, Blackburn, Dryburn, *Shuttilhopefeld* (Shittlehope), and also four uncertain *feld* names including Waskerley Beck

Areas where the earliest Anglian names are scarce or absent in the Wear catchment basin are:

i) The Washington area



ii) The area west of Chester-le-Street (the only early name is *Kuncacester*)

iii) The area between Durham City and Auckland (the only exceptions are Brandon and possibly Quarrington and Cornforth on the watersheds).

### 3) The Tyne catchment area (Northumberland and Durham)

A note first regarding the descriptions adopted for the River Tyne. At the point just west of Hexham where the river divides, it is described as:

a) the River North Tyne

i) lower, up to Wark

ii) upper, from Wark to the watershed

b) the River South Tyne

i) lower, up to Haydon Bridge

ii) upper, from Haydon Bridge to the watersheds

Downstream of the confluence of Rivers North and South Tyne, the Tyne is categorised in the usual way into the upper, middle, lower and coastal Tyne.

The areas of concentration are:

#### i) The coastal area of the Tyne catchment area

There is the folk-name Jarrow (possibly very early), parish centres Boldon and uncertain Whitburn, Cleadon, a certain name with earliness indicators, and Harton and Strotherfield, certain names without earliness indicators. There is also a possible pagan burial site indicated by the name Hebburn.

ii) The Derwent valley

There is the parish centre Ebchester, the certain name with earliness indicators Tanfield, certain names without earliness indicators Milkwell Burn, Benfieldside, Mosswood and Blackburn, and four uncertain topographic names. This is not a large concentration but when compared to the context of general absence of early names in north-west Durham, seems significant.

iii) The lower Tyne valley

Parish centre Whickham and certain name with early indicators Blaydon are situated at the mouth of the Derwent valley and may overlap with (ii) above. There are also the parish centres Gosforth, Heddon-on-the-Wall (and uncertain Wylam and Newburn with earliness indicators), and the early indicated certain name Rudchester. In the Newcastle-upon-Tyne area there is potentially a concentration but except for Gosforth none of the names have earliness indicators: certain names Sandyford, Shieldfield and Fawdon, and uncertain *Monkchester* and Fenham.

iv) The middle Tyne valley, extending into the lower North and South Tyne valleys

There are the parish centres Hexham, Warden, Simonburn and uncertain Chollerton and Corbridge (Corchester). Certain names with earliness indicators are *Scytlescester*, Dukesfield, Bingfield, Stocksfield, Grottington, Barrasford and Crook Burn. Certain names without earliness indicators are Shildon, Grindon, Hackford, Shilford, Styford, Dryburn, Swinburn, Middleburn, Fallowfield and Hetchester. This area has potentially one of the highest concentrations of earliest Anglian names in the study area.

v) Redesdale and the upper North Tyne valley

In Redesdale there are the early indicated certain names Rochester and Otterburn. In the upper North Tyne valley there is the parish centre Thorneyburn and early indicated certain names Turret Burn and Shilburnhaugh (*-haugh* presumably a later addition).

Although this does not represent a high concentration of names it is significant geographically because of their location on the western edge of the study area where it would not be expected that the earliest Anglian names would be located.

Areas of scarcity are:

i) The coastal area north of the Tyne to Shiremoor, where there is only the certain name without earliness indicators: Flatworth.

ii) The upper South Tyne valley, although there is the parish centre Whitfield, certain name with earliness indicators Redburn, certain without earliness indicators Grindon and Chesterwood, and uncertain Bellister, which suggests early Anglian place-naming even in this western area.

4) The Northumberland river catchment areas

Northumberland is divided by a number of river systems that flow west to east into the North Sea.

Areas of concentration are:



i) The middle Blyth and Pont valleys

There are the parish centres Ponteland and Stamfordham, and nearby early indicated uncertain Milbourne. Other names are only certain, without earliness indicators:

Callerton, Bradford, Black Heddon and Bitchfield, although the *ham* names Harnham and Higham reinforce the idea that this area has a concentration of the earliest Anglian names.

ii) The middle Wansbeck valley west from Morpeth

There are the parish centres Hartburn, Mitford and uncertain Bolam (actually between the Blyth and Wansbeck catchments). There are early indicated certain names Meldon and Catchburn, certain name without earliness indicators Pigdon, and a possible pagan burial site indicated in the name Hebron (which could, however, be a *burna*).

iii) The mouth of the Coquet valley

There is the possibly early *-ingas* name Birling, certain names with earliness indicators Gloster Hill and Buston, and uncertain *Wyrcefors* and Wooden. All are in a small geographical area and therefore this could be interpreted as a cluster of the earliest names.

iv) Mid Northumberland in the upper Aln and Breamish valleys

There are the parish centres Ingram and Alnham, certain names with earliness indicators Lilburn, Brandon and Glanton, certain name without earliness indicators Fawdon, and uncertain Wooperton. Both Wooperton and Hartside indicate possible

pagan centres.

v) The north Northumberland coastal area south from Bamburgh

There is a particularly high concentration of names with earliness indicators: Bamburgh (an *-n-* name), Embleton and Belford (all parish centres), and certain names Craster, Warenton, Warenford, Doxford, Elford, Holburn, Ditchburn, Broxfield and Beadnell (another *-n-* name). Certain names without earliness indicators are Stamford, Hefferlaw, Fallodon, Fleetham, Bradford, Outchester and Allery Burn. Also there is Ellingham which although an *ingaham* name has been linguistically dated to the early 7th century at the latest (discussed in chapter 5, section 5.3) and therefore is included within the corpus of earliest Anglian names.

Areas of scarcity are:

i) Southern Northumberland west of the Devil's Causeway where there is only certain name without earliness indicators Leighton Green and uncertain Deanham (probably an *um* name).

ii) The coastal area from the Tyne north to the Coquet has only the parish centres certain Earsdon, uncertain Hebron (a *burna* or possible pagan centre) and uncertain Ulgham. Certain names with earliness indicators are Burradon, Catchburn and Chibburn, and certain names without earliness indicators are Shadforth, Sleekburn, Hartford, Earsdon and Bockenfield. Although the initial impression is of a substantial number of names, there are only four names that are certain and have earliness indicators in a geographically large area of approximately 115 square miles (compared

with the Bamburgh coastal area of approximately 65 square miles). For each, the coastal area is calculated as approximately 5 miles inland from the coastline.

iii) The coastal area north of Bamburgh has only certain Berrington and uncertain Bowsden, both without earliness indicators.

#### 5) The Tweed catchment area (South-East Scotland and Northumberland)

Areas of concentration are:

##### i) The Bowmont Water valley

In this relatively small geographical area there is the parish centre Yetholm, certain names with earliness indicators Aunchester and Halterburn, and certain names without earliness indicators Holford, Graden, Shotton, Downham and Howburn. The partially English river name Bowmont reinforces the idea of an early area of Anglian place-naming.

##### ii) The Kale and Oxnam Water valleys

There are the parish centres certain Oxnam, Eckford and uncertain Crailing and Hownam, certain name with earliness indicators Riccaltoun, certain name without earliness indicators Browndean Laws, and uncertain Cunzierton. There is also the possible pagan site Swinside. Compared to (i) above, this area has fewer early indicated names but appears significant because of the scarcity of names to the west, for instance in the Jed Water valley.



### iii) The middle Tweed valley

There are the parish centres Ednam, Smailholm, Gordon, Earlston and uncertain Carham, certain names with earliness indicators Rutherford, Birgham, Leitholm, Belchester and uncertain Simprim with earliness indicators, and certain names without earliness indicators Snawdon, Rumbleton, Eildon, Fairnington and Darnchester. In the White and Black Adder valleys there is the parish centre Edrom, certain name with earliness indicators Wedderburn, and certain names without earliness indicators Whitchester, Dirrington, Rawburn, Cockburn and Kimmerghame. This is a high concentration of earliest Anglian names.

Areas of scarcity are:

#### i) The Milfield basin and Till valley

The only certain names are the parish centre Ford, certain name without earliness indicators Humbleton, and names on the peripheries that have earliness indicators: certain Holburn and uncertain Hepburn (possibly indicating a pagan burial site). There is also uncertain Thirlings and Crookham (probably an *um* name).

#### ii) The coastal area extending north from Berwick to East Lothian

There is only certain Blackburn and uncertain Abchester, Fulford and Ellemford, all without earliness indicators.

#### iii) The Jed Water and Teviot valleys

There is a scattering of names in the Teviot valleys: the parish centre Midlem, certain names without earliness indicators Howford and Helmburn close together, Rankleburn

further up the valley, Coliforthill, and five uncertain *ceaster* names. In the upper Jed valley there are only uncertain *ceasters* Bonchester and Chesters, with no examples in the lower valley.

iv) The upper Tweed basin

There is a complete absence of the earliest Anglian names.

6) East Lothian

The earliest Anglian names cluster on the east coast and Tyne valley. There are the parish centres Morham and Oldhamstocks, and uncertain Letham, Aldham, *Pefferham*, Fulford and Headchester. Although these are not high concentrations, their location north of the Lammermuirs makes them significant.

Synthesis and interpretation

By comparing the distributions in maps 31 and 32 to those in map 29 certain features become more apparent. The major concentrations of the earliest Anglian names are located in the following areas:

- i) The middle Tweed catchment area (although there is less evidence in the Adder valleys).
- ii) The north Northumberland coastal area south from Bamburgh.
- iii) The middle Tyne valley around Hexham and Corbridge.
- iv) The Skerne valley especially in the vicinity of Sedgefield.

Other areas have smaller but still significant concentrations:

- i) The Bowmont valley.
- ii) The upper Breamish valley.
- iii) The coastal area in the vicinity of the Coquet.
- iv) The middle Wansbeck catchment area.
- v) The middle Blyth-Pont catchment area.
- vi) The coastal area south of the Tyne, particularly with the early folk-name Jarrow.
- vii) The middle Wear valley in the vicinity of Durham City particularly because of the early *-n-* names, and the Browney valley.
- viii) The middle Wear valley in the vicinity of Auckland.

Areas of particular scarcity are:

- i) The Durham coastal area south of the Wear watersheds.
- ii) North and north-west Durham including the Gateshead/ Washington area.
- iii) The south-east Northumberland coastal area to the Coquet.
- iv) Mid Northumberland (the middle Aln and Coquet catchment areas).
- v) The Milfield basin and Till valley.
- vi) The coastal area north from Bamburgh to East Lothian.
- vii) The upper Tweed basin and Teviot tributaries.

### Discussion

There are certain areas that have distributions that are undiagnostic because they contain early Anglian place-names that either are not in sufficient numbers or that have few or no earliness indicators. Such potential areas require more discussion.



These include the upper valley areas of the Coquet, North and South Tyne, and Wear. In upper Coquetdale only Cartington and Burradon have earliness indicators. The upper South Tyne valley has only the parish centre Whitfield (the name does not indicate earliness) and early indicated name Redburn. The upper North Tyne valley has the parish centre Thorneyburn and early indicated names Turret Burn and Shilburnhaugh. The upper Wear valley has early indicated names Woodifield, Bedburn and Thornhope Beck. None of these areas can be described as having concentrations of the earliest Anglian names because of the lack of names with earliness indicators but they do show that even in these far western upper valley areas there is evidence for earliest Anglian place-naming.

In the vicinity of Norham in north Northumberland only Norham itself as a parish centre has earliness indicators although there is a grouping of possibly early *dun* names without earliness indicators: certain Grindon, Felkington and Berrington, and uncertain Bowsden and Melkington. There may have been an early Anglian place-naming cluster centred on Norham but the evidence is only suggestive. Similarly, East Lothian has on initial examination a substantial grouping of the earliest names but only Morham and Oldhamstocks are parish centres, and the remainder are uncertain: Letham, Aldham, *Pefferham*, Fulford and Headchester (and the latter two are on the peripheries of East Lothian). The evidence is only suggestive that the earliest Anglian place-naming was centred on the Lothian east coast and Tyne valley areas.

There are other areas of distribution that require clarification. The lower Tyne valley

(in Northumberland) has a number of early indicated names including parish centres but this is not the high concentration it first appears when compared to its large geographical area. The Newcastle-upon-Tyne area has only a scattering of the earliest names, and Whickham and Blaydon may be significant more for their association with the Derwent rather than Tyne valley. The Derwent valley itself may have a more significant concentration when set in the context of the general absence of the earliest names south of the Tyne from Jarrow west to Stocksfield. The Tees estuary and coastline of Durham is an area where the earliest Anglian names are generally absent but there are still four parish centres: Seaham, Greatham, Billingham and Hartlepool. This may indicate clusters of earliest English speakers limited to these points and for whatever reason not spreading inland. In mid Northumberland, including the mid Coquet and Aln valleys, the earliest Anglian names are generally absent but, as we shall consider below, there is a concentration of names from a slightly later phase of place-naming.

The distribution evidence indicates that the major river valley catchment areas Tees, Wear, Tyne and Tweed contain concentrations of the earliest Anglian names and yet this distribution varies in density between the coastal, lower, middle and upper zones of each catchment area. Therefore, although the Wear catchment area has a generally high concentration of earliest names they are scarce at some locations. The Tees catchment area has only concentrations of the earliest names in selective areas, with other areas such as in the coastal and upper areas having only a few names. There is also a lower density of earliest Anglian names in the Tees compared to the Wear area. The Tyne



catchment area generally has a high concentration of the earliest names but there is a notable absence in the coastal area north of the Tyne (in contrast to south of the Tyne). In the Tweed catchment area there is variation in the distribution of the earliest names, with an absence in the coastal area both south and particularly north of the Tweed. South of the Tweed this absence continues west and includes the Till tributary. Only the Bowmont valley has a concentration of these names, and this extends into the Kale and Oxnam tributaries. This contrasts to north of the Tweed where a large concentration extends into the Adder tributaries and continues west before terminating in the vicinity of Melrose and the Leader Water, beyond which there is a virtual absence of the earliest Anglian names.

Following on from this and looking at the distributions in a different way, the coastlands generally have few of the earliest Anglian names. The Durham coast is devoid of these names except around the Wear and the isolated names Seaham, Hartlepool and Greatham. Northumberland only has notable concentrations around the Coquet and the area south from Bamburgh. This pattern is even more pronounced in south-east Scotland with the exception of East Lothian. In contrast there are significant numbers of the earliest Anglian names inland in the upper and middle river valleys. It is a striking feature that the distribution of these names is generally concentrated in the 'middle zones' rather than the 'coastal zones' of the study area (possibly less conspicuous to coastal raiders or pirates).

These distributions will now be compared to the slightly later phase of early Anglian



place-names.

#### 6.1.4 The distribution of second phase Anglian place-names

The maps in Plates 33 and 34 set out the distributions of these names. Plate 39 compares these distributions to those of the earliest Anglian names. The same approach as in 6.1.3 is adopted.

##### 1) The Tees catchment area

There are *burh* names with earliness indicators: certain Bradbury and Great Burdon in the Skerne valley, and Sockburn on the River Tees. Further west, the certain name without earliness indicators, Carlbury is also located on the Tees. The Skerne valley also has the *ingaham* name Skerningham. The Skerne area indicates expansion of an area of earlier Anglian place-naming, while the names on the Tees follow the existing pattern of early naming on the river.

##### 2) The Wear catchment area

Wolsingham in the upper Wear valley indicates the presence of English language-speakers in this area in the 7th or early 8th centuries and raises the possibility that the early topographic Anglian names may belong to this period rather than the earliest naming phase. It is reasonable to argue that Wolsingham as the parish centre in the area represents the earliest example of Anglian place-naming, in which case names such as Thorneyburn may be contemporary with it.

##### 3) The Tyne catchment area

The lower Tyne, an area where the earliest Anglian names are generally absent, has

Ovingham and Eltringham, and Newburn, the uncertain *burh* name with earliness indicators. This may represent a later expansion of Anglian place-naming in this area. A similar expansion may be indicated in the mid Tyne area by Thornborough, a certain name without earliness indicators.

The upper South Tyne valley contains uncertain Beltingham, and the lower South Tyne valley, uncertain Newborough (a *burh* name unlikely to be early Anglian). The close proximity of Beltingham and Redburn indicates a cluster of early Anglian place-naming, with Beltingham possibly representing the earlier name.

The upper North Tyne and Rede valleys contain Bellingham, Ealingham and uncertain Risingham. This indicates Anglian place-naming in these areas by the 7th or early 8th centuries. The *burna* names, as they are further up the North Tyne, may not be earlier but may be contemporary or even later. In Redesdale, the chronological relationship between Risingham and Rochester is difficult to interpret but perhaps (as Rochester may be an earliest Anglian phase *ceaster* name with indicators of earliness) indicates the presence of English language speakers at an earlier date than the *ing(a)ham* naming phase.

#### 4) The Northumberland river catchment areas

Uncertain Cheeseburn may indicate expansion of earlier Anglian place-naming in the Blyth/ Pont area. Early indicated certain name Burradon (a *burh* name but compounded with OE *dun*) may indicate the presence of English language-speakers in south-east Northumberland in the 7th century.

The major concentration is mid Northumberland where the earliest Anglian names are absent. In the middle Coquet valley there are the parish centres and early indicated certain *burh* names Rothbury, Burradon, and uncertain Brinkburn (more likely a *burna* name). This indicates an area of Anglian place-naming and therefore the presence of English-speakers in the 7th-8th centuries. There is little indication of an earlier Anglian presence. Similarly the *ing(a)ham* names Chillingham, Whittingham, Edlingham and Eglingham may indicate an area of secondary Anglian place-naming in the 7th century.

The Bamburgh coastal area contains early indicated names Bamburgh (also a parish centre and *-n-* early indicator) and Lesbury, and the uncertain Burton and Dunstanburgh. Ellingham is linguistically dated (together with Bamburgh) to the early 7th century at the latest. These names reinforce the idea that this is an area of early Anglian place-naming and that this continued into the 7th century. In the coastal land north of Bamburgh there are no second phase names, which indicates that there were not significant numbers of English-speakers until after the 7th century.

##### 5) The Tweed catchment area

The Milfield basin has only uncertain Thirlings. There is little indication of early Anglian place-naming and therefore of English language speakers until after the 7th century at least.

The evidence for secondary Anglian place-naming in the mid Tweed valley is not



strong. There are the early indicated certain *burh* names Roxburgh (a parish centre) and Dryburgh (and certain without earliness indicators Screasburgh). There are no examples in the upper Tweed valley or nearer the coast.

#### 6) The Berwickshire coast

Coldingham (or *burh* in some versions) is the only example and is located in an area generally devoid of the earliest Anglian names.

#### 7) East Lothian

Tynninghame and Whittinghame are located near to the possible *ham* names.

Whittinghame may indicate the expansion of English-speakers inland from the coast near Dunbar, and Tynninghame at the mouth of the River Tyne may indicate continuing early Anglian place-naming on the coast in the 7th century.

#### Synthesis and discussion

The analysis indicates that many of the areas with second phase names, particularly *-ing(a)ham* names, are distributed in areas where there are no earlier Anglian names or they are scarce. Examples include the upper Tyne valleys, upper Wear, Berwickshire coast and mid Northumberland. This may indicate colonisation by English language-speakers into new areas previously dominated by woodland or poorly drained land, or under Brittonic political control. This is investigated in subsequent sections below.

There are however areas where these names coincide with concentrations of earliest Anglian names, for example in the Skerne valley and mid Tweed valley. This indicates

continued or even expanded Anglian place-naming in areas with existing concentrations of English-speakers. In other areas where there are neither second phase or earlier names this may indicate that English-speakers were either absent or not in significant numbers until the 8th century, for example the Milfield basin and Till valley.

In general the distribution of these second phase names is concentrated in Northumberland. The reason for this unclear, but may indicate less extensive Anglian influence and English-speakers at an early date compared to Durham where except for Wolsingham and some names in the Tees catchment area they are generally absent, particularly noticeable in the lower and mid Wear valley and Browney and Derwent valleys. In south-east Scotland there are also few second phase names, but these indicate expansion of Anglian influence from existing English place-naming areas such as the mid Tweed basin. Alternatively, they may be linked to Anglian expansion through the church because many second phase names correspond to monasteries: all of the *-ingham* names and Dryburgh. This could be in existing English place-naming areas, such as East Lothian, or areas devoid of English place-naming, such as coastal Berwickshire.

#### 6.1.5 The distribution of later Anglian place-names

This is an analysis of the distribution of the places-names containing *ingtun*, *tun*, *botl* and *wic* that appear to belong to a later phase of Anglian place-naming from the 8th century onwards. *Worth* and *leah* names are also late but are analysed separately below when discussing place-names and woodland. No attempt is made to distinguish



pre-Conquest from post-Conquest names.

*Tun* means 'farmstead' although later meanings are 'village' and 'manor, estate'. It was only an active name-forming element from the 8th century into the post-Conquest period and is rarely referred to in documents before 731 AD (Smith 1956: 188-191, Cox 1975-76: 63, Cox 1980: 42, Cameron 1996: 143) (see Plate 13).

*Ingtun* is either *tun* compounded with the genitive plural of the folk-name forming suffix *-ingas* to give place-names in *-ingatun* (Cox 1980: 43, Cameron 1996: 148), or is compounded with a personal name followed by the connective particle *-ing* indicating association of the *tun* with a particular individual (Cameron 1996: 148). It is later than *-ingaham* names and as it is absent from documents before 731 AD (with one possible exception), it appears to have been active as a place-naming element only from the 8th century (Cox 1980: 43-4) (see Plate 14).

*Botl* means 'a dwelling house or place' or 'a higher status hall' (Smith 1956: 43, Parsons and Styles 1997: 135). As it is not referred to before 731 AD it was probably in use from the later 8th century (Cox 1975-6: 47, Smith 1956: 44) (see Plate 16).

*Wic* was an adoption from Latin *vicus* which by the 4th century meant 'village' (Cameron 1996: 41). Early *wics* were dependent places with an industrial or commercial function, dependent farmsteads where specialised non-subsistence agriculture was carried out, for example a dairy farm, or places of temporary occupation, for example seasonal trading, pasturage. Later there developed more specialised meanings: salt works, harbour or port, or trading station (Gelling 1997:



80-90). The specifics indicate the produce or animals that the farms specialised in, for example Berwick, from OE *bere* 'barley' and *-wic*. Although Gelling argued that *-wic* was an early Anglo-Saxon place-naming element because it was compounded with *ham* to give *wicham* (1997: 67), Cox and Copley suggested that it was only widely used after 730 AD and into the post-Conquest period (Cameron 1996: 150, Cox 1980: 41). For recent analysis of *wic* reference should be made to R. Coates' 'New lights from old wicks: the progeny of Latin vicus' (1999) (see Plate 15).

The maps in Plates 35 and 36 set out the distribution of these names and highlights areas of concentration and scarcity. This is compared to earlier Anglian names in Plates 40-43.

Areas with concentrations of later Anglian names but where early Anglian names are scarce or absent

1) The Tees valley catchment area

- i) South-east Durham and the coastal area has *tun*, *ingtun* and *wic* concentrations.
- ii) East of the Skerne valley there is a *tun* concentration centred around *ingtun* Stillington.

2) The Wear catchment area

- i) North of Durham City there is a concentration of *tun* names and some *ingtun* names.

3) Northumberland river catchment areas

- i) South-east Northumberland, particularly south of Blyth.

- ii) Blyth to Coquet coastal area, particularly *tun* and *ingtun* names.
- iii) The coastal area between Bamburgh and the Tweed, with some *tun* and *ingtun* names and a concentration of *wic* names.
- iv) West of the Devil's Causeway in the upper Blyth and Wansbeck valleys.
- v) The middle and upper Aln valley extending west to the Devil's Causeway, with *ingtuns* and *tuns*, and a line of *wic* names.

#### 4) The Tweed catchment area

- i) The Milfield basin where *tun* names and one *ingtun* are near to the River Till.
- ii) The lower Tweed valley and coastal area where *ingtun* names in particular are distributed.
- iii) The upper Tweed valleys have concentrations of *tun* and *wic* names especially in the upper Teviot and Jed valleys, but no *ingtun* names.

In these areas the place-names indicate that English speakers were not in significant numbers until at least the 8th century.

#### Areas with concentrations of both later Anglian and early Anglian names

##### 1) The Tees catchment area

- i) West of Darlington and into the upper Tees valley there is a scattering of *tun* and *ingtun* names.
- ii) The Skerne valley, particularly *tun* names.

2) The Wear catchment area

i) In the vicinity of Auckland there are *tun*, *ingtun*, *wic* and *worth* names.

3) The Tyne catchment area

i) The lower and middle Tyne valley has *tun* and *ingtun* names, and these together with *wic* names extend up the North Tyne valley and Redesdale.

4) Nothumberland river catchment areas

i) The upper Coquet valley has Harbottle and eight *tun* names.

5) The Tweed catchment area

i) The mid Tweed valley around Melrose, has a concentration of *tun* names and a *wic* name.

ii) The *tun* and *wic* names in the Oxnam, Kale and Bowmont valleys.

These areas seem to indicate an expansion of the earlier presence of English speakers (who possibly were not in large numbers).

Areas where later Anglian names are scarce or absent but early Anglian names are present

1) Wear catchment area

i) The upper Wear valley.

2) The Northumberland river catchment areas

i) The Bamburgh coastal area.



ii) The middle Blyth and Pont valleys (which are however ringed first by *wic* names, then further away by *tun* and *ingtun* names).

iii) The coastal area centred on the Coquet and Aln (although as mentioned above there are later names immediately to the west).

### 3) The Tweed catchment area

i) The mid Tweed basin (although there are *ingtun* and *tun* names to the north in the Tweed tributaries).

These areas may be the nuclei for early English-speakers and later place-naming developed away from these areas (although there is another explanation for the upper Wear valley distributions).

### Areas where both later and early Anglian names are scarce or absent

Highlighted areas include north-west Durham (except the Derwent valley) and the upper Tweed valley west of Melrose. English language speakers are not in significant numbers in these areas.

### Discussion

The relationship between distributions of later and early Anglian names therefore varies, but in many areas they are complementary. Examples include the mid Tweed valley where the early names are near the river and later names are located further north (possibly indicating an expansion from this earlier Anglian presence). Also, in the Coquet valley early names are concentrated at the coast and later names are further inland, grouped around this earlier nucleus.

*Ingtun* names are generally distributed in areas where there are no concentrations of early Anglian names, for example the Milfield basin, the Aln valley, the coastal area south of the Coquet, south-east Northumberland, and coastal Berwickshire. There are however exceptions, for example in the mid Tweed valley. These names may therefore indicate the presence of English-speakers in the 8th century in areas where previously they had been absent. Often one or two *ingtun* names coincide with a cluster of *tun* names, for example in the Milfield basin and south-east Durham, which may indicate English-speakers expanding from these first isolated 8th century centres into the surrounding area.

#### 6.1.6 Conclusion and synthesis

The distribution evidence shows that the study area can be divided into a number of smaller areas, each defined by different chronological phases of Anglian place-names. Areas with the earliest concentrations of English place-names indicate the presence of English-speakers by the early 7th century. Other areas where the earliest names are scarce or absent instead have concentrations of a still early but slightly later phase of naming which indicates the presence of English-speakers in the 7th to early 8th centuries. Other areas have concentrations of later names that indicate English-speakers in significant numbers only from the 8th century onwards. Of course, there are exceptions to this neat division where areas have concentrations of names from two or more phases, but as a generalisation this holds true.

In many areas it may be possible to identify where the earliest English-speakers are

concentrated and then their subsequent distribution in adjacent areas. There is however considerable variation across the study area with regard to their chronological distribution, both within the major river systems and in the coastal areas. What is perhaps surprising is that the areas with the earliest concentrations appear generally to be located in the middle zones of the river systems in the study area (with some exceptions). Areas where the presence of English-speakers is only indicated from the 8th century appear to be concentrated in the lower and coastal zones (south-east Scotland, south Northumberland and most of Durham). A further general feature is the presence of early English-speakers in the upper western zones (principally in the Tyne and Wear valleys) although not in large concentrations and possibly only in significant numbers in the later 7th century.

## **Section 2:**

### **Anglian material evidence and place-names**

Two types of material evidence are analysed and compared to the place-name evidence:

- 1) Early Anglian archaeological evidence
- 2) Anglian church evidence

#### **6.2.1 Early Anglian archaeological evidence and place-names**

The two sets of evidence supplement each other and when compared may highlight areas that have an early Anglian presence and provide broad chronological indicators (see chapter 4, section 5.2). There is an analysis of each Anglian archaeological site



(see Appendix 3 for details of early Anglian archaeological evidence and referencing), which identifies the place-names in the vicinity, including the modern name associated with the site. A fixed radius is not adopted because this is too inflexible and statistically prone to distortion (an example is the approach by Copley (1988)). Despite the problems in correlating this evidence, including the fact that archaeological sites cannot be directly equated to specific place-names for dating purposes, it is possible that dated archaeological material can provide general dating evidence for a known Anglian presence in that area, that can be compared to the place-name evidence. Alternatively, where it is unclear whether an archaeological site is early Anglian or pre-Anglian (Brittonic), the presence of Anglian place-names (earliest, second or later phase) may provide indicators. For example a site surrounded by only later Anglian names may suggest that it is unlikely to be early Anglian in origin.

The maps in Plates 44-46 should be referred to.

1) The Tees catchment area (Durham)

i) Norton

(Sherlock and Welch 1992a)

There is no correlation between the site name as a *tun* (in use from the 8th century onwards) and the archaeological site dated to the 6th or early 7th century. (Nationally, directional terms plus *tun* are extremely common and may well designate units of large estates). However, the *ham* Billingham near to the site does provide a possible correlation and indicates a 6th-early 7th century Anglian presence in the area.

ii) The Yarm, Maltby and Thornaby area south of the Tees

(Myres 1977: 333, Moorhouse 1977: 8, Sherlock and Welch 1992b: 71-6, Sherlock 1988)

The archaeological evidence suggests a 6th century Anglian presence but this is not reflected in the place-names. There are no early Anglian names, only later *tun* and *ingtun* names.

iii) Darlington

(Miket and Pocock 1976: 62-74)

The late 6th to early 7th century evidence does not correlate to the *ingtun* name of Darlington, but does correlate with the concentration of early Anglian names in the vicinity of the Skerne. See discussion below.

iv) Cornforth

(Surtees 1823: 297, Mackenzie and Ross 1834: 321)

The site is in an area of concentration of possible early Anglian names including *ham* and topographic names that may indicate an Anglian presence by at least the early 7th century. This may support an interpretation that this is an early Anglian site rather than the interpretation by Miket that it is Brittonic (1980: 300).

v) Other sites and issues

Brierton is in an area where there is a concentration of later *tun* names, and early Anglian names are generally absent (Hartlepool and Greatham are some distance away). This supports the interpretation that this site is Brittonic rather than early

Anglian (ibid.).

There are no early Anglian names that correlate with the mid 5th to 6th century archaeological evidence at Piercebridge (Fitzpatrick and Scott 1999: 114) (Carlbury is unlikely to be early).

## 2) The Durham and Cleveland coastal zone

### i) Castle Eden, Easington and Blackhall Rocks

(VCH Durham I 1905: 215, Hamerow and Pickin 1995: 35-66, Durham SMR No. 526)

There are pre-English Eden (settlement and stream name) and Yoden nearby.

Archaeology indicates a possible early 6th century Anglian presence in this area but the area is dominated by *tun* and *ingtun* names rather than early Anglian names.

### ii) Saltburn and Redcar

(Gallagher 1987: 9-27)

The only early Anglian name in the area is the *burna* Saltburn which has early indicators. This may correlate to the early 6th century archaeological evidence.

## 3) The Wear valley catchment area

### i) Binchester

(Ferris and Jones 1991: 106, Fasham 1988: 20)

The archaeological evidence suggests an Anglian presence by the 6th century and the concentration of possible early Anglian names (especially topographic names) in the



area would generally support this.

ii) Houghton-le-Spring

(Copt Hill: Trechmann 1914: 125)

Nearby *dun* names indicate an early Anglian presence in the area, therefore increasing the probability that the remains are Anglian and date to the 6th-early 7th century.

iii) Wearmouth

The early Anglian archaeological evidence at Hylton (Miket 1982: 209), Sunderland (Miket 1980: 296), and possibly Grindon Hill (Trechmann 1914: 137), together with Monkwearmouth (Cramp 1976: 5-18), indicates an Anglian presence possibly dating from the 5th-6th centuries. This correlates with the concentration of possibly early Anglian names south of the Wear.

4) The Tyne catchment area (Northumberland and Durham)

i) South Tyneside

The early Anglian archaeological evidence in this area at Cleadon (Miket 1984: 245) and East Boldon (Hodges 1905: 213), together with Jarrow and Monkwearmouth (Cramp 1976: 5-18), indicates an Anglian presence possibly dating from the 5th-6th centuries. This correlates with, and is reinforced by, the concentration of possibly early Anglian names, particularly the coincidence between the archaeology and the *dun* names.

ii) Lower Tyne valley

The possible 6th-early 7th century archaeological evidence at Whitehill Point (Miket

1980: 296) and Wallsend (Hodgson and Griffiths 1999: 284) does not correlate with place-name evidence because early Anglian names are absent in this area. The similarly dated evidence at Newcastle (Miket 1980: 296) and Benwell (Brewis 1936: 117-21, Jobey 1957: 282-3) possibly correlates with the possible early Anglian names in this area but they are too scattered (and are mostly uncertain or without early indicators) for this to be conclusive.

### iii) Middle Tyne valley

The archaeological and place-name evidence both indicate an early Anglian presence centred around Hexham, Corbridge and the lower North Tyne valley. Barrasford (Meaney 1964: 198), an early indicated *ford* name, correlates with the 6th-7th century Anglian burial there. The possible early Anglian topographic names correlate with the 7th century evidence from Chesters (Miket 1978: 177-9). There is also a concentration of early names around Corbridge which has possibly late 5th or early 6th century archaeological evidence (Meaney 1964: 198, Miket 1980: 293). In contrast, in the vicinity of the 7th century burial at Capheaton (Cowen 1931: 328-38) there are few early Anglian names and instead *tun* and *ingtun* names dominate.

### iv) South Tyne valley

The chance find at Chesterholm (Miket 1978: 177-9) tentatively indicated a late 6th-7th century Anglian presence in this area. The presence of possible early Anglian place-names reinforces this idea and indicates a significant Anglian presence by the early 7th century.

## 5) Northumberland river catchment areas

### i) Hepple and Great Tosson

(Miket 1982: 4-5, Miket 1980: 294-5, Tate 1863: 61)

These sites indicate an Anglian presence in the upper Coquet valley by at least the early 7th century. The occurrence of possible early Anglian place-names in this area may support this idea. The archaeological evidence may indicate that uncertain Farnham and Plainfield are indeed early Anglian names.

### ii) New Bewick

(Gates and O'Brien 1988: 1-9)

This 6th century site is on the northern periphery of the concentration of early Anglian names in the upper Breamish and Aln valleys (*ham* and early topographic names). The correlation between the evidence indicates an Anglian presence in the area dating from the 6th century.

### iii) Lowick

(Miket 1980: 297-8)

This site, although of uncertain date, is situated near to uncertain *dun* names Berrington and Bowsden. This may be coincidental but could have significance and indicate an early Anglian presence in this area.

## 6) North Northumberland coastal zone

### i) Howick

(Keeney 1939: 120-8, Cramp and Miket 1982: 5-6)



The archaeological dating of this Anglian site is uncertain but there is a concentration of possible early Anglian names just to the north (topographic and the *ceaster* Craster) which indicate an early Anglian presence by the early 7th century.

ii) Bamburgh

(Bamburgh Research Project)

The Anglian archaeological evidence dates from the late 6th to 8th centuries, and correlates with the concentration of possible early Anglian place-names in the coastal area. They support the idea of an Anglian presence from the 6th century.

7) The Tweed catchment area (Northumberland and South-East Scotland)

i) Milfield Basin

(Milfield North and South: Scull and Harding 1990: 1-29, Milfield settlement: Gates and O'Brien 1988: 1-9, Yeavinger: Hope-Taylor 1977, Thirlings: O'Brien and Miket 1991: 57-91, Galewood: Meaney 1964: 198-9, Humbleton and Wooler: Miket 1980: 295-6)

The concentration of archaeological sites indicates a strong Anglian presence in this area dating from the 6th century. However this does not correlate to the general absence of early Anglian names in this area.

ii) Sprouston and Stichill

(Smith 1991: 261-294, Proudfoot and Aliaga-Kelly 1996: 1-13)

In the mid Tweed basin the late 6th-7th century archaeological evidence at Stichill correlates to the concentration of early Anglian place-names just to the east. The early

indicated *ham* parish centres, *ceasters*, and absence of *ing(a)ham* names may indicate an earlier Anglian presence here than in East Lothian, possibly dating from the late 6th century.

### iii) Bowmont, Kale and Oxnam valleys

There is Anglian archaeological evidence at Crock Cleugh (Dark and Dark 2000: 206) and possibly Sourhope (Proudfoot and Aliaga-Kelly 1996: 6) in the upper Bowmont valley. Crock Cleugh has evidence of a 6th century Anglian presence and, although tentative, may correlate with the concentration of possible early Anglian names. The early Anglian names in the Oxnam valley do not correspond to the scarce archaeological evidence, with only the uncertain site Hunthills (ibid.: 6-7) on the watershed between the Jed and Oxnam (although the proximity of this burial to possible early names such as Oxnam supports the idea that it is Anglian).

### iv) The Jed Water, Chapelhaugh and Bonchester

Archaeological evidence only consists of Chapelhaugh (ibid.: 5), which may date to the 6th or 7th century, and the Anglian bead at Bonchester of uncertain date. This correlates to the scarce place-name evidence (only the *dun* names at the watersheds and the two uncertain *ceasters*, including Bonchester), and indicates that an early Anglian presence in this area is unlikely.

### v) The Teviot and upper Tweed

Uncertain Commonsides (ibid.: 7) is located in the upper Teviot valley, an area with few early Anglian names, but the presence of Coliforthill and two uncertain *ceaster* names

makes it possible that the burial is early Anglian. Elsewhere the Ettrick Water has three possible early Anglian names and in the upper Tweed valley there are none, which correlates with the scarcity of Anglian archaeological evidence. At best there is only a scattered Anglian presence in an area which instead appears dominated by a strong Brittonic presence. A possible exception is Newstead, where if the evidence is Anglian it correlates to the cluster of possible early Anglian names just to the south (ibid.: 2). Although Dark refers to an isolated cluster of burials in the upper Tweed valley representing an 'Anglo-Saxon' group settled within a British kingdom (Dark and Dark 2000: 201), it is the place-name rather than archaeological evidence that may support this.

#### 8) East Lothian

The Anglian archaeological sites Markle, Morham, Traprain Law, Doon Hill, Dunbar and Whitekirk mostly date to the 7th century (Proudfoot and Aliaga-Kelly 1996:

1-13). This correlates to the cluster of early Anglian names, with the *ing(a)ham* names representing a secondary 7th century phase of Anglian place-naming.

- ' There is possibly earlier Anglian evidence at Traprain dating between the 4th to 6th century and Dunbar dating from the late 6th century (ibid.: 2-3, Hall and Holdsworth 1989: 315-17). Doon Hill could date anywhere between the 6th and 7th centuries (Dark and Dark 2000: 206), and Whitekirk anywhere between the late 6th to early 8th century (Brown 1983: 156-9). This may correspond to the uncertain *ham* names and indicate an earlier Anglian presence in the 6th century focused on the



major centres at Traprain and Dunbar.

Summary and discussion

Archaeological sites (in order of dating of earliest evidence)	<u>Table</u> Place-name concentrations in the area of each site		
	earliest	second phase	later
<hr/>			
<u>5th-6th century</u>			
<u>Northumberland</u>			
Benwell	Y		
Corbridge	Y		
Wallsend	Y		
Wooler			Y
New Bewick	Y		
Thirlings			Y
<u>Durham</u>			
Binchester	Y		
Castle Eden			Y
Cleadon	Y		
Saltburn	Y		
Hylton	Y		
Maltby			Y

Piercebridge			Y
Redcar	Y		
Thornaby			Y

late 6th-early 7th century

Northumberland

Bamburgh	Y		
Barrasford	Y		
Chesterholm	Y	Y	Y
Milfield North			Y
Whitehill Point			Y

Durham

Darlington	Y		Y
Easington			Y
Norton	Y		Y

South-East Scotland

Chapelhaugh			Y
Dunbar	Y		
Sprouston	Y		

6th-7th century

Northumberland

Newcastle	Y
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Yeavinger			Y
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South-East Scotland

Crock Cleugh	Y		
Stichill	Y		
Doon Hill	Y	Y	
Whitekirk	Y	Y	

7th century

Northumberland

Capheaton			Y
Chesters	Y		
Hepple	Y	Y	

Durham

East Boldon	Y		
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South-East Scotland

Markle	Y	Y	
Morham	Y	Y	

late 7th-8th century

Northumberland

Milfield South			Y
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Durham

Seaham	Y
South Shields	Y

Unknown dating, 5th-7th century

Northumberland

Galewood		Y
Great Tosson		Y
Howick	Y	
Humbleton		Y
Lowick		Y

Durham

Blackhall Rocks		Y
Copt Hill	Y	
Sunderland	Y	
Yarm		Y

South-East Scotland

Bonchester	Y(?)	Y
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Uncertain Anglian evidence

Durham

Brierton		Y
Cornforth	Y	

Grindon Hill	Y	
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South-East Scotland

Newstead	Y	
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Traprain Law	Y	Y
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Commonside		
------------	--	--

Hunthills	Y	
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This analysis establishes a correlation between early Anglian archaeological and place-name evidence in many areas. The most obvious examples are Norton, Saltburn/ Redcar, Darlington, South Tyneside/ Sunderland, Upper Tyne/ Hexham/Corbridge, New Bewick/ mid Northumberland, Hepple/ Great Tosson, Bamburgh, East Lothian, mid Tweed, and Bowmont/ Kale/ Oxnam valleys. The upper Tweed and Teviot valley area provides an example of another type of correlation where both early Anglian archaeological and place-name evidence are scarce.

The few examples where the evidence does not correlate are: Castle Eden/ Easington/ Blackhall, Yarm/ Maltby/ Thornaby, Piercebridge, lower Tyne valley and the Milfield basin areas. The explanation for this, in the case of the Castle Eden, Easington and Blackhall areas, may be that they remained under British influence to the 7th century, and even if there were early English-speakers the result was a lack of early Anglian place-naming but the adoption by some communities of Anglian material culture. Pre-English names may have continued in use until replaced in the later 7th and 8th

centuries. For the Yarm, Maltby and Thornaby area this may have had many of its Anglian place-names replaced by Scandinavian names which are in large numbers. With regard to the Milfield Basin the evidence may indicate an early Anglian presence in the area but of low status rather than a controlling elite. Instead a high status Brittonic presence may have exerted political control. This scenario favours the retention of pre-English names rather than the adoption of early Anglian names, but still explains the Anglian material cultural presence.

An additional reason behind the lack of correlation of archaeological and place-name evidence in some areas may be the issue of burials and boundaries, which can influence the location of early Anglian archaeological sites (see section 5 for details). One theory is that if a burial site correlated with a boundary then this would be an area with later Anglian names while the centre of a territory would have early names (there are however alternative theories) (Bonney 1976: 72, 74, Hooke 1981: 166-7, Hill 1976: 283). This may explain the place-name distributions around Capheaton, which has only later names nearby, and Darlington, where place-names indicate that to the east there was an early Anglian presence by the early 7th century, but to the west and north a Brittonic presence, with the later *-ingtun* Darlington name at the boundary in between.

Areas highlighted by the archaeological and place-name evidence as having a strong early Anglian presence and possible centres for the earliest English-speakers are South Tyneside/ Wearmouth, middle Tyne/Hexham/ Corbridge, and the Bamburgh coastal area. Place-name evidence may help to indicate whether an uncertain site is early Anglian, such as Cornforth, Houghton-le-Spring and Hunthills, or not early Anglian,



such as Brierton and Commonside, but clearly a great deal of caution is required here.

This evidence highlights broad chronological indicators. The earliest archaeological sites (possibly 6th century or earlier) generally coincide with areas where there are concentrations of the earliest Anglian names such as habitative *ham* and *ceaster* and possible early topographic names. Examples are Auckland/Binchester, Saltburn/Redcar, South Tyneside/ Wearmouth, upper Tyne/ Hexham/Corbridge, mid Northumberland/ New Bewick, Bamburgh coast, and the mid Tweed valley. Further, areas with 7th century archaeological evidence generally have a different place-name profile to the areas with the earliest evidence, and have place-names that are not the earliest, such as those in *burh* and *ingaham*. Examples include the upper Coquet and East Lothian areas. Although the dating of archaeological sites cannot be directly equated to the place-name profile in that area (for example early topographic or *ham* names cannot be dated to the 6th century just because two 6th century sites are in that area), there is the possibility that the place-names date to the same period as the archaeology.

#### 6.2.2 Anglian church evidence and place-names

In the following section a comparison is made between the distribution and chronological evidence of early Anglian churches and place-names. Only the churches in Northumberland and Durham are analysed, and Cramp's *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture in England* (1984) is primarily relied upon.

The churches are dated from material remains and categorised as:

- 1) 7th century
- 2) possible 7th or early 8th century
- 3) 8th century
- 4) possible 8th or early 9th century
- 5) late Anglian (10th-11th century)

Saxo-Norman churches (those unclear whether late Anglian or Norman) are not included in the analysis.

(See Appendix 4 for a corpus of these churches)

Plate 47 shows the distribution of these churches.

Plates 48-50 compare the distribution of churches and Anglian place-names.

The 7th century churches at Jarrow, Monkwearmouth, Escomb, Hexham and Lindisfarne, and the uncertain 7th century churches of Bywell St. Peter, Coquet Island and St. Oswald's Lee, all coincide with concentrations of the earliest Anglian place-names. This reinforces the idea that these are primary areas for an early Anglian presence.

The 7th century church at Hartlepool and possible 7th century churches at Greatham and Seaham coincide with the only early Anglian names along the Durham coast and reinforce the idea of the earliness and importance of these Anglian centres at least by the 7th century. An exception is Billingham which has an 8th century church.

The 8th century churches of Auckland St. Andrew, Billingham, Birtley, Simonburn,

and possible 8th century churches at Dalton-le-dale, Egglescliffe, Aycliffe, Bamburgh, Falstone, Great Farne Island and Warden, correlate with the areas that indicate early Anglian place-naming and the presence of English-speakers, for example the areas around Hexham and the Tyne valley, Bamburgh and Auckland. The 8th century church at Dalton correlates with the later Anglian names immediately to the west of Seaham, and supports the idea of an 8th century expansion of the Anglian presence west from a centre on the coast dating to at least the early 7th century. The two 8th century churches in the North Tyne valley correlate with the place-name evidence and indicate an area with an early but not the earliest Anglian presence. The 8th century and late churches at the head of the North Tyne reinforce the place-name evidence to indicate that despite the geographical location there was an important Anglian presence by at least the 8th century. The 8th century church at Edlingham correlates with the *ingaham* concentration in mid Northumberland. Stamfordham, with its early Anglian place-name and 8th century church, does support an early Anglian presence there, but the absence of earlier church evidence indicates that this may not date to the earliest phase. Hart (together with late Anglian Elwick and Norton) correlates with the concentration of later Anglian names in south-east Durham and support the idea of an Anglian presence in this area by the 8th century.

These 7th and 8th century churches together with place-name evidence identify important centres of early Anglian influence. The distribution of later Anglian churches either reinforces these early Anglian areas or indicates centres of later Anglian influence. These churches are:



Durham:

Chester-le-Street, Hurworth, Bolam, Staindrop, Bishop Wearmouth, Darlington, Dinsdale, Durham, Easington, Elwick, Gainford, Great Stainton, Haughton-le-Skerne, Norton, Sockburn, Winston-on-Tees.

Northumberland:

Alnmouth, Bedlington, Bothal, Carham, Falstone (St. Peter), Hulne priory, Norham, Nunnykirk, Ovingham, Ponteland, Rothbury, South Tyne, Tynemouth, Warkworth, Woodhorn, Wooler.

Hulne and Alnmouth reinforce place-name evidence for a late rather than early Anglian presence in the middle and lower Aln valley, although Saxo-Norman Whittingham is an early (second phase) *-ingham* place-name. There is similar evidence in the Wansbeck and Blyth areas where there is a concentration of late Anglian churches. Chester-le-Street also indicates an Anglian centre but late rather than early. This correlates with the place-name evidence because although Chester-le-Street (*Kuncacester*) is an early name it is an isolated example in the area; instead there is a large concentration of later names (see section 1).

There are however areas where there is no correlation between early Anglian place-name concentrations and early church evidence, such as the area around Ponteland north of the Tyne, in the upper Breamish and Aln valleys, and around Sedgefield and the Skerne valley where although there is a concentration of late churches there are no earlier churches except possibly Aycliffe.

Bell pointed out the coincidence of early churches with Roman remains in Britain, such as in the Roman forts of Cumbria (1998: 1, 14, 17), and a similar re-use of Roman signal stations as church sites at Scarborough, Whitby and possibly Filey. A number of reasons have been suggested, but according to Bell they could include the functional re-use of existing masonry, an Anglian response to their inherited landscape, a topographically advantageous and therefore attractive location (ibid.: 1-2, 4), and Christian associations with Roman ruins because stone structures were associated with the Romans and this was synonymous with Christianity from the 7th to 10th centuries. Roman ruins may also have been re-used to provide a symbolic ecclesiastical enclosure rather than for defence (ibid.: 4-7, 15).

In the study area there is no correlation between the distribution of early Anglian churches and the Hadrian's Wall forts (although see section 5 on the late or post-Roman churches in some forts). The only exceptions suggested by historical sources are at Aesica and Pons Aelius, although there is only evidence for a late Anglian monastic community at the latter (see section 5). Corbridge also has a late Anglian church. This evidence can be contrasted with Durham where there is an Anglian church within the fort at Chester-le-Street, and possible correlations between Escomb church and Binchester, and the churches of Monkwearmouth and Bishop Wearmouth and the possible Roman 'fort' said to be located there. There are also later medieval churches at Lanchester and Ebchester forts. In Scotland, Newstead fort coincides with ecclesiastical sites of Melrose and Old Melrose. In general the overall distribution of

Anglian churches does not correlate with that of Roman forts in the study area.

However, there may be a possible coincidence between the putative watch-tower sites and the Anglian churches at Hartlepool, Seaham, Woodhorn, Coquet Island, Warkworth, Bamburgh and Lindisfarne.

### **Section 3:**

#### **Interpretation of pre-English place-names**

##### **6.3.1: Introduction**

The areas of investigation are:

- 1) The status of settlement sites with pre-English place-names.
- 2) Identifying areas with hybrid names and/ or where concentrations of pre-English and early Anglian names coincide spatially. This may indicate areas of interaction between Brittonic and English-speaking populations.
- 3) Linguistic dating and other chronological indicators of late formation of pre-English names and their adoption by English-speakers.
- 4) After considering these themes there is then an analysis and interpretation of the distribution of pre-English names and areas of concentration and absence.

Reference should be made to the maps in Plates 19, 20, 51 and 52.

##### **6.3.2: The status of places with pre-English names (see Plate 19)**

The criteria adopted here for determining the status of a settlement are whether it is or



was a parish centre; presence of a church; and the size of the modern settlement. A substantial settlement is one that is larger than a farm or hamlet; for example a village such as Corbridge. Alternatively, classified as 'other', there could be a substantial settlement in pre-modern times, for example Yeavinger.

For pre-English names status may indicate the dominance or otherwise of the Brittonic presence in an area (whether political, economic, cultural etc). Except in south-east Scotland most of the places with pre-English names are of minor status. If therefore a name is associated with a place with high status this may be significant and indicate the survival of a dominant Brittonic elite that retained the name and transmitted it to English speakers. This would be an exception to the rule suggested by Coates and Breeze (2000: 7) that the British peasantry rather than the elite transmitted pre-English names. However it must be stressed that this is conjectural and care should therefore be exercised in interpreting this data.

Pre-English place-names with status indicators are as follows:

Northumberland

Name	certain (Y)/ uncertain (N)	hybrid	parish centre	church	substantial settlement	'other'
	pre-English name					
Milfield	Y		Y	Y		
Yeavinger	Y					Y

Corbridge	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Branxton	N	Y		Y	Y
Carham	N	Y	Y	Y	
Chollerton	N	Y	Y	Y	Y

Milfield was referred to in historical texts, such as Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, as the centre of a large late 7th-early 8th century estate. Yeavinger, although minor today, is known from historical and archaeological evidence to have been a major centre in the 7th century or earlier.

There are proportionally few places that are of high status: three with certainly pre-English names and three uncertain. The minor status of most names may indicate the marginalisation of Brittonic language-speakers. As four of the six examples are hybrids and the only parish centres are hybrids this may indicate that status was associated more with the Anglian rather than Brittonic presence. Major centres in Northumberland are dominated by English rather than Brittonic names. Only the Till valley has a significant concentration of pre-English names with status: the full pre-English Milfield and Yeavinger, and possibly hybrid Branxton.

Durham

Name	certain (Y)/ uncertain (N)	hybrid	parish centre	church	substantial	other
	pre-English name					
Auckland	Y		Y	Y	Y	

Castle Eden	Y		Y	Y	Y
<i>Kuncacester</i>	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Consett	Y	Y		Y	Y
Lanchester	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tudhoe	N	Y		Y	Y
Coundon	N	Y		Y	Y

Compared to Northumberland a greater proportion of pre-English names in Durham have status. There is a significant link in Durham between status and Anglian influence because of the seven possible examples five are hybrid names. This link is not as strong as in Northumberland because the four other hybrids are minor status: Cockerton, Pontop, Penshaw and Binchester. Only two full pre-English names have status: Auckland and Eden, and both are derived from Brittonic river names.

The areas that indicate a strong Brittonic presence and possible continuation of an influential British political elite are north-west Durham with *Kuncacester*, Consett and Lanchester, and other minor status names, and south-west Durham with Auckland, possibly Coundon and Tudhoe, and other minor status names.

### South-East Scotland

There are 47 certain pre-English names. 25 of these have status (with 2 more that are doubtful), of which 19 are parish centres. Of the 59 uncertain, 5 could not be located (it can be assumed they are minor) and only 2 arguably have status.



Name	certain (Y)/ uncertain (N)	hybrid	parish centre	church	substantial	other
	pre-English name					
Cramond	Y		Y	Y	Y	
Pencaitland	Y		Y	Y	Y	
Penicuik	Y		Y	Y	Y	
Tranent	Y		Y	Y	Y	
Duns	Y		Y	Y	Y	
Dunbar	Y		Y	Y	Y	
Melrose	Y		Y	Y	Y	
Peebles	Y		Y	Y	Y	
Dalkeith	Y		Y	Y	Y	
Ancrum	Y		Y	Y	Y	
Gordon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Coldingham	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Tynninghame	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Ednam	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Edrom	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Minto	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Kelso	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Longniddry	Y	Y		Y	Y	
Cockpen	Y		Y	Y		

Manor	Y	Y	Y	
Pinkie	Y		Y	Y
Treuenlene	Y		Y	
Gorgie	Y		Y	
Din Eidin	Y			Y
Gogar	Y			Y?
Leith	N		Y	Y
Dundas	N			Y?

Din Eidin has a castle that dates from the 11th century (although there has been some form of fortification since at least the 7th century), which may indicate status and is categorised as 'other'. Gogar and Dundas also have castles but they date from the 17th and 15th century respectively, and therefore it is doubtful that they have indicators of status.

The areas with concentrations of full pre-English names with status are located in the Lothians and the Teviot and upper Tweed valleys. In the mid Tweed basin there is a concentration of hybrid names with status (discussed in more detail below). Eight of the certain names with status are hybrids and of these, seven are parish centres. Only one hybrid (Primside) is of minor status. This may indicate that even here there is a relationship between site status and an Anglian presence.

### 6.3.3: Hybrid names and indications of hybridisation

In certain areas there are concentrations of hybrid place-names (see chapter 5, section

8.2 above). In these areas there are both early Anglian and pre-English names. This indicates an interaction between Brittonic and English-speaking populations and suggests that despite an early Anglian presence there was Brittonic language survival among the population. A large proportion of hybrids are associated with places of high status, and it is usually hybrids rather than full pre-English names that are of high status (except in south-east Scotland). This may indicate Anglian political dominance in these areas (and possible take over of existing British centres) despite the survival of a Brittonic-speaking population. It is worth noting that Pontop and Cockerton in County Durham, and Tynninghame, Ednam and Edrom in South-East Scotland, contain river or stream-names and therefore are less promising indicators of takeover of centres.

These areas are:

- 1) In north Durham there are 5 hybrid names: Consett, Pontop and Lanchester forming a grouping in the north-west, and *Cuneceaster* and Penshaw extending east. There are however few early Anglian names except in the Derwent valley.
- 2) In south-west Durham there are Cockerton and Binchester (both minor status) and possibly Tudhoe and Coundon. In this area there are pre-English, hybrid and early Anglian names.
- 3) In the South Tyne valley there is hybrid Carraw and early Anglian and full pre-English names.
- 4) In the Rede valley there is hybrid Carrick and early Anglian and full pre-English



names.

5) In the Bowmont valley there are hybrids Aunchester and Primside, and early Anglian and full pre-English names.

6) In the mid Tweed basin there is a large concentration of hybrid names: Ednam, Edrom, Kelso, Gordon, uncertain Carham, and further west, Minto. There is also a concentration of early Anglian names.

7) In East Lothian there are hybrids Tynninghame and Longniddry, early Anglian and full pre-English names.

#### 6.3.4: Chronology and pre-English names

Watts has suggested that if one language comes into contact with another and borrows words and names from it then it is possible, if there is independent evidence for an absolute chronology of sound changes, to date the borrowings. If therefore pre-English names pass from one linguistic community to another this may indicate the date contact is made and suggest the survival of Brittonic-speaking enclaves (1976: 122).

Examples of linguistic dating were also given by Watts, such as river names that indicate areas where a Brittonic-speaking population persisted: Deerness and the Devil's Water, which he interpreted as having been borrowed into the English language in the early to mid 7th century (Watts 1976: 122). This was based on Jackson's work on the dating of vowel reduction in Brittonic and his view that this did not occur before the late 6th century in the case of the Devil's Water, and not before 600 AD for

Deerness (1953: 438, 680). The Long Nanny south of Bamburgh contains a sound change dated to c.800 AD where the *-nn* is assimilated from the original *-nt* (ibid.: 505-6). This name was also borrowed after the English *i*-mutation sound change that occurred about 700 AD (Watts 1976: 123). Inversion compounds are also an example of linguistic dating (see chapter 5) and indicate survival of Brittonic-speakers until at least the 6th century in the areas they are located: the upper Tyne valleys, the Bowmont valley, and in south-east Scotland.

Certain compounds are useful for chronological purposes and may indicate late survival of Brittonic language-speakers (see chapter 5, section 8.2 above). Some pre-English hybrids are compounded with later OE elements that came into onomastic use mainly from the 8th century: with OE *tun*, Cockerton and Branxton, and with OE *wic*, Carrick. The probable OE *walh* names Wallington (an OE *ingtun* compound dating to the 8th century), and Walworth (OE *worth* compound dating from the 8th century) may also indicate a Brittonic presence at least to the 8th century.

These indicators highlight areas where there was late survival of Brittonic-speakers: the area west of the Devil's causeway, the upper Tyne valleys and the area around Hexham, the Milfield basin, Glen and Bowmont valleys, the area between Darlington and Auckland, and large parts of south-east Scotland. More surprisingly, in the Bamburgh coastal area (where there is a high concentration of early Anglian names) there appears to have been survival of Brittonic-speakers into the 8th century.

#### 6.3.5: The distribution of pre-English names (see Plates 19 and 20)

Concentrations of pre-English names (where two or more names are close together) are:

##### 1) South-west Durham

There are the full pre-English names Auckland and Alwent, hybrids Cockerton and possibly Binchester, uncertain hybrids Coundon and Tudhoe, British stream names Kent Beck, Cocker Beck and uncertain Hummer Beck, and the *walh* name Walworth.

These names indicate a concentration of Brittonic language-speakers continuing to at least the 8th century, particularly between the Skerne and Auckland. Walworth possibly indicates the core of this Brittonic presence. As there are also early Anglian names around Auckland, the hybrids may indicate that this was an area of interaction between Brittonic and English language-speakers.

##### 2) North Durham

Hybrid names extend east to Penshaw but are concentrated west of the Wear. An interpretation of the distributions is that there were a significant number of Brittonic-speakers in this area that was only penetrated by English-speakers in the later Anglian period. The hybrids (and early Anglian names focused on the Derwent, Wear and Browney valleys, see section 1) represent earlier zones of interaction between Brittonic and English-speakers.



### 3) The South Tyne valley

There is the Latin-derived district name *Ahse* and the pre-English names Wardrew, Plenmeller, Tecket, Teppermoor, hybrid Carraw, and inversion compound Glendue.

The concentration of names indicates the presence of Brittonic-speakers at a time when English place-names were being formed. Glendue, as an inversion compound, indicates that these Brittonic-speakers continued at least to the 6th century. The possible early Anglian names and hybrid Carraw suggest an area of interaction with English-speakers.

### 4) West of the Devil's Causeway

There is the inversion compound Troughend, uncertain Ottercops, Carrycoats, Conheath and Powtrevet, hybrid Carrick, the uncertain Brittonic stream name Maggleburn, and the *walh* name Wallington.

This is an area with significant numbers of Brittonic-speakers, with Wallington indicating their presence until at least the 8th century and possibly forming the eastern limit of the area. Only in the Rede valley are there early Anglian names together with full pre-English and hybrid names. The distributions may indicate the presence of English-speakers (and their early dominance given the names with status are early Anglian) who were close to Dere Street and the Roman forts, but also the continuing presence of Brittonic-speakers in the surrounding area into the later Anglian period, indicated by hybrid *wic* Carrick.

##### 5) Annandale and the upper North Tyne valley

There are the full pre-English names certain Kielder, Pennygant Hill and Penchrise, and uncertain Caerlanrig, Dinmontlair Knowe, Skelfhill Pen, Din Fell, Dinley, Dinlaybyre, Poius, Conheath and Powtrevet.

This is an area with Brittonic speakers where the absence of hybrids indicates only limited Anglo-British interaction. Only in the upper North Tyne valley are there possible early Anglian names implying the presence of early English-speakers.

##### 6) The coastal area north of Bamburgh

Although there is only Lowlynn and Ross, their location and the fact that they are full pre-English names make this cluster significant, highlighted by the corresponding scarcity of early Anglian names. This indicates an area where there are Brittonic-speakers and few early English-speakers.

##### 7) North Northumberland in or near the Chatton Hills

There are the uncertain pre-English names Ros Castle, Cateran Hill, hybrids Cocklaw, Wooperton, and Rosebrough/ *Osberwik*, with the latter situated by the minor Brittonic stream name Long Nanny.

This is an area with few early Anglian names and may indicate the presence of Brittonic-speakers (and few English-speakers) centred on the Chatton hill-land. The hybrids may indicate Anglo-British interaction between this area and the Anglian-dominated coastal area and the Breamish valley.

#### 8) The Milfield basin and Till valley

The high status/full pre-English names *Maelmin* and *Ad Gefrin* and the scarcity of ④ early Anglian names indicates an area where there were significant numbers of Brittonic-speakers and even the continuation of a Brittonic elite. The uncertain hybrid Branxton may indicate the northern limit of this area and an Anglo-Brittonic interaction, and also the presence of Brittonic-speakers to at least the 8th century.

#### 9) The Bowmont valley and Kale Water

There are the full pre-English inversion compounds Mindrum, uncertain Din Moss, hybrids Aunchester and Primside, and uncertain OE *eccles* name Eccles Cairn.

This distribution indicates an area of possibly Christian Brittonic-speakers continuing at least to the 6th century (from Mindrum), although there are no hybrids that indicate survival to the later Anglian period. The presence of early Anglian names such as Yetholm does however suggest an interaction between Brittonic and English-speakers by the late 6th/ early 7th century, and early Anglian dominance (the only place-name with status is Yetholm; all the pre-English names are minor).

#### 10) The mid Tweed basin

There is a concentration of hybrid names Ednam, Edrom, Kelso, Minto, Gordon and uncertain Carham, uncertain full pre-English Printonan, and the OE *eccles* name Eccles that indicates a British Christian centre.

Since there is also a concentration of early Anglian names, this distribution indicates a major area of interaction between Brittonic and English speakers.



There is also a cluster of pre-English names in the White Adder valley: Duns and uncertain Cumledge, Primrose and Plendernethy, which indicates Brittonic-speakers.

#### 11) East Lothian

There are the full pre-English names Dumpender Law, Traprain, Carfrae and Dunbar, uncertain Cairndinis, Pencraig and Drem, and hybrid Tynninghame. There are also early Anglian names.

This indicates an area with a significant number of Brittonic-speakers but also where there was interaction with English speakers. This seems to be centred on the Tyne valley and inland around Traprain. The retention of the high status place-name Dunbar may indicate a strong Brittonic presence.

#### 12) The western zone: Mid Lothian, the Lammermuirs and the upper Tweed valley

There are large concentrations of full pre-English names, many with status. Glensax reinforces the idea that there was domination by a Brittonic-speaking population and that English-speakers were a notable rarity (there are virtually no early Anglian names).

In the Teviot valley there are full pre-English names Plenderleith, Pennymuir, Peniel Heugh, Pirnie, Ancrum, and hybrid Minto. This therefore also indicates an area with a significant number of Brittonic-speakers and few English-speakers (early Anglian names are scarce and low status).

### 13) The Berwickshire coastal area

There is only full pre-English Prendergast and hybrids Coldingham and uncertain Penmanshiel. Despite this there are few early Anglian names (principally hybrid Coldingham), therefore it is possible that the few pre-English names have a greater significance than their actual numbers indicate and that there were Brittonic speakers in the area, with English-speakers only present from the 7th century.

#### 6.3.6: Overview and discussion

A general pattern in the distribution of pre-English names in the study area is that the majority are concentrated in the western region (although there are exceptions such as in north Northumberland). The full pre-English names, including inversion compounds, are mostly in this region. This is best highlighted in Northumberland where all three inversion compounds Mindrum, Glendue and Troughend are located on approximately the same longitude in the west of the county. Generally to the east of this zone of Brittonic-speakers are hybrid zones of interaction with English-speakers, for example the mid Tweed area. In the most easterly coastal zone pre-English names are generally absent (although there are anomalous clusters and isolated examples). Thus pre-English names are scarce in the Berwickshire coastal area and in the Northumberland coastal region from Bamburgh south to the Tyne. There are only a few hybrids: uncertain Cocklaw and Roseburgh, and certain Gloster Hill, Kirkley and Cambois (see Watts 2004: 111). The Durham coastlands only have the Eden and *Yoden* cluster. A further distribution pattern is the concentration of pre-English names in the north, particularly in the Lothian region between the Lammermuirs and Firth of Forth, gradually



decreasing southwards but with examples still extending down to the River Tees. The distribution of early Anglian names generally complements the pre-English distribution, with concentrations in the areas where pre-English names are scarce or absent, although there are concentrations of early Anglian names in areas that contain hybrid names, for example the Tweed basin. They are absent in more westerly areas.

Other factors such as topography and landscape, and also territorial boundaries may influence the distribution of pre-English names and explain the location of otherwise anomalous names. These are considered in detail in sections 5 and 7 below, but briefly it can be pointed out that pre-English names often seem to be located in watershed areas that are used as territorial markers. It may be suggested that the survival of pre-English names may be due in part to their location on early boundaries that caused the names to be retained. Areas with hybrid names and/ or *walh* names may also indicate and be located on these boundaries. Examples may include the Eden names in Durham, and Kirkley and Cambois in the Blyth/ Pont area. Also there are anomalous river names such as the Blyth, a major river but with an English name, and the Eden, a minor watercourse but with a Brittonic name. The Long Nanny stream and possibly Rosebrough and Cocklaw may also be suggested because of their location in an area dominated by early Anglian names.

However, instead of territorial boundaries these place-names may indicate linguistic boundaries or zones of transition between English and Brittonic speaking populations. Suggested examples could include the Chatton Hills pre-English grouping between the Brittonic-dominated Milfield Basin and Till valley to the west and the early Anglian-



dominated coastal area to the east, with the hybrids Rosebrough and Cocklaw representing a transitional boundary of interaction. The idea that OE *w(e)alh* names tend to occur on the peripheries of early territories or estates and not only indicate 'British' areas but also areas of high 'Anglicisation' nearby (Higham 1992: 193) is supported by the examples in the study area. Wallington is located to the east of a concentration of pre-English names and north-west of a concentration of early Anglian names (and therefore between areas dominated by Brittonic speakers and English speakers). Walworth is similarly adjacent to areas of early Anglian names, particularly to the east, and there are also the hybrids in this area.

#### **Section 4:**

##### **Post-Roman and Brittonic archaeological evidence**

###### **6.4.1 Introduction**

The evidence consists of:

- 1) Early Christian inscribed stones
- 2) Long Cist burials
- 3) Silver chains

Appendix 5 contains a corpus of all examples found in the study area.

Plate 53 sets out their distributions and Plates 54 and 55 compare this with the pre-English place-name evidence. Plate 56 compares Brittonic archaeological evidence to all phases of Anglian names.

#### 6.4.2 Early Christian inscribed stones

The 7 known British post-Roman memorial stones use a script of Roman capitals in Latin, and from the inscriptions are regarded as Christian (Thomas 1991: 1,7-8).

Thomas suggested that they date between 500-600 AD except for the Brigomaglos stone which he believed dates to the late 5th century (Jackson however suggests a late 5th-early 6th century date; *ibid.*: 1-2, 5, 7-8). The Coninie stone was dated from the cross in the inscription more precisely to the late 6th century (Thomas 1971: 108). According to Thomas their distribution indicates that Peebles was a post-Roman centre of power (*ibid.*: 8-9). Although Dark suggests that they indicate Votadinian territory (2000: 202), their distribution appears to be further west. They do indicate that the middle Tweed valley was an area under post-Roman Christian British control in the 5th to 6th centuries.

#### 6.4.3 Long Cist burials

Characteristically long cists are graves with stone linings, with the sides usually consisting of several stone slabs (and sometimes a slab lid across the top) (E. Alcock 1992: 125). Other characteristics include extended inhumation, absence of grave goods, an association with orthostats, and alignment of the graves in rows with the head to the west or south-west (*ibid.*, Hope-Taylor 1977: 252).

It has been suggested that this is a native British burial tradition in northern England, particularly the Borders and southern Scotland, despite some burials that contain Anglian grave goods (Dark and Dark 2000: 58, Thomas 1981: 235, Milet 1980: 299-300, Faulk 1977: 6, 10). In north-east England and southern Scotland it was,

according to Philpott, a long-established tradition dating from the prehistoric through to the post-Roman period (1991: 61-2). However, this tradition is particularly associated with the period from the late Roman 4th century into the post-Roman 5th to 8th centuries (ibid: 60, Hope-Taylor 1977: 252). Such burials are also associated with Christian practice because of their orientation, paucity of grave goods and association with early Christian memorial stones (Alcock 1992: 126-7). Problems with dating cist burials means that no attempt is made to distinguish Roman from post-Roman graves unless there is clear evidence.

Long cists are concentrated around the Forth, especially in the Lothian and North Berwick area, and extend south to the Lammermuirs (Hope-Taylor 1977: 254, Alcock 1992: 125). Hope-Taylor maintained that there were few examples south of this (particularly between the Tyne and Tweed) except for a few isolated long cists (ibid.: 257). However the cemetery at Bamburgh contains a large number of long cists (Bamburgh Research Project pers. comm.), and there are other possibilities (see Plate 53). According to Dark and O'Brien extended inhumations in long cists are a characteristic of British Gododdin or Votadinian territory and may indicate the extent of this territory (2000: 203, 1999: 62). Long cists seem to have remained a characteristic of burials in Anglian Bernicia, with examples containing Anglian grave goods at Bamburgh, possibly Howick, Great Tosson, Cornforth, East Boldon and Brierton, and others in south-east Scotland. According to Dark, single long cists were often located on boundaries for political and symbolic reasons, although the examples from Hadrian's Wall and the Roman forts that he regarded as 5th-6th



century Christian graves may instead represent a late Roman tradition (Dark 1992: 115, Crow and Jackson 1997: 67).

The corpus of long cist burials contained in Appendix 5 was constructed from a number of different sources and distribution maps (these are contained in Appendix 6) because there is not a recent source or map that covers the study area. Map 53 sets out the distribution of these sites and categorises them by taking into account the number of graves (where known) and whether they are certain cist graves or uncertain.

#### 6.4.4 Silver chains

There are 12 examples known according to Breeze (1998: 482), with 8 located in the study area. Thomas suggested that most were located in Votadinian territory and that this indicates a connection with (and production by) the British of the kingdom of Gododdin (1981: 289). They are large double-linked silver chains with terminal rings of unknown though probably ornamental or decorative function and worn around the neck. Although known as 'Pictish', only two have Pictish symbols on the terminal rings. They are of post-Roman date and metallurgical analysis shows that they were made from late-Roman silver. They indicate a wealthy aristocracy with access to large quantities of scrap Roman silver, such as that found at Traprain Law (Cessford 1999: 153-4, Hope-Taylor 1977: 255, 288, Thomas 1981: 289, Dark 2000: 205).

#### 6.4.5 Discussion

Comparison of the archaeological and place-name evidence in the study area indicates a general correlation between Brittonic material culture and the presence of Brittonic

language-speakers.

In south-east Scotland the highest concentrations of archaeological evidence (especially long cists) and place-name evidence (especially full pre-English names associated with places of high status) are in the Lothian area. In East Lothian however there is a concentration of long cists but only limited numbers of pre-English names including hybrids, and only a few are associated with places of high status. There are other correlations in the upper Tweed valley particularly in Yarrow and Peebleshire, in Lannerdale, the lower Teviot area, and the area around Duns (see Plates 54 and 55). Even so there are areas where there are concentrations of pre-English names but no corresponding archaeological evidence, for example the upper Teviot area, or where the archaeological evidence is scarce, for example in the Stow area where there is only a cist at Torwoodlee and a silver chain at Whitlaw.

In the lower Tweed basin and south into Northumberland and Durham the archaeological and place-name distributions are more scarce and scattered, but there are still points of interest. In the Till valley there are pre-English names but no archaeological evidence (although see chapter 3 regarding the interpretation of the Yeavinger burial evidence by Hope-Taylor and more recently by other scholars). In the Chatton Hill area long cists coincide with a cluster of uncertain pre-English names. Despite the concentration of early Anglian names in the Bamburgh coastal plain there are the long cist burials at Bamburgh and Beadnell, although there is also some evidence of pre-English naming with Cocklaw, uncertain Rosebrough and the

Long Nanny stream. In the middle and upper Tyne area there is a correlation between pre-English names and the evidence of a memorial stone and long cists, although neither are in high concentrations. A notable cluster is in the South Tyne valley in the vicinity of Vindolanda. In south-east and coastal Northumberland there is long cist evidence near the Tyne but this is not reflected in corresponding place-name evidence. In Durham there is no correlation between the archaeological and place-name evidence with the exception of the Blackhall Rocks and Castle Eden cist burials and the Eden names, and possibly the cist burials at Piercebridge and the pre-English names and indicators to the north.



## **Section 5:**

### **Place-names, territories and boundaries**

(see Plates 57-62)

#### **6.5.1 Introduction**

Toponymic and archaeological evidence are compared here to territories that have been suggested by historical documents. The aim is to provide additional information to explain their distribution and chronology, and to investigate possible territorial organisation and evidence of British continuity in the early Anglian period.

G.W.S. Barrow and G.R.J. Jones developed the idea (first proposed by F.W. Maitland and J.E.W. Jolliffe) that the 'shire' or 'multiple estate' was the principal unit of territorial organisation of the early medieval period. However there is debate about the age of these territories and what they show. One view is that they show continuity in land units through the post-Roman to early medieval periods (Williamson 1986: 241). Others argue that estate boundaries did not develop until after the 5th century (Goodier 1984: 4). Jones more cautiously suggested continuity of land organisation from pre- to post-Conquest periods, that multiple estates represented the social, political and economic organisation in Wales and Northumbria by at least the 7th century AD, and therefore the Anglo-Saxons took over existing territorial arrangements (1971: 251-2). Other scholars such as W.E. Kapelle and N. Gregson argue that northern England and south-east Scotland did not have Celtic multiple estates or evidence of continuity, although Kapelle conceded that the Northumbrians may have taken over existing Celtic administrative units (Kapelle 1979: 81, Gregson 1983: 49-50, 69).

The scholarly consensus is that most early medieval land was organised in large estates that grouped together smaller units or vills with complementary resources under common ownership and administration. There was an estate centre to which food renders were brought from the dependent vills, and also an early church and a market centre (Gregson 1983: 51-2, Richards 2000: 41, O'Brien 2002: 51). These estates fragmented in the late Anglo-Saxon period into parish-sized units (Jones 1971: 251-2, Richards 2000: 41, Sawyer 1974: 108), but feudal taxation and tenure records enable territorial boundaries and possibly early medieval land units to be partially identified (O'Brien 2002: 51, 53, 67, 69).

#### 6.5.2 Interpretation of territories, estates and boundaries

Appendix 7 contains details of primary historical sources and modern studies by scholars regarding estates and territories in the study area, and those identified form the basis for the present section. Appendix 8 contains the maps produced by these scholars. Some of these studies contain interpretations of territorial extent and boundaries, although in most cases the boundaries are conjectural because the historical sources are either vague or only describe dependent villages in an estate.

Place-names are discussed in some studies. Clack and Gill in their study of County Durham upland estates suggested that core lands contained groupings of topographic names (that possibly reflected the earliest stratum of English settlement) and adjacent to these areas, and reflecting settlement expansion, there were *leah*, *wudu* and *worth* names (1981: 30-1). Roberts had proposed a similar model in his study of settlement



patterns in Durham, and suggested that before 1200 there were core and peripheral areas in Aucklandshire (1977: 14-15). Hill in his study of Aucklandshire suggested that core areas of estates were indicated by early habitative names in OE *ham*, *ingham* and *ingas* and by OE topographic names, and that the peripheries had chronologically later names, including those that indicated woodland areas such as *leah* and *wudu* (1976: 283).

Elsewhere, in studies of territories and boundaries in the Hwicce territory in the West Midlands, D. Hooke similarly suggested, 'it is possible to identify in the Anglo-Saxon period a system of riverine-based estates centred upon nodal areas, linked with less developed regions of woodland some considerable distance away' (1982: 233). The peripheries were indicated by OE *leah* names that represented penetration of former woodland areas (1978-9: 7). Ford also found that the Hwicce territorial boundaries were formed from watersheds between major river systems (1976: 277-9, 281).

Therefore, a common feature of these territories is the rivers as their central unifying feature, with boundaries at the watersheds, and this is also suggested by O' Brien (2002: 61, 69). The boundaries of the territories may correspond to prominent topographic features such as watersheds, headwaters, ridges, hill summits, rivers and streams (particularly rivers that could not be crossed), valleys, areas of woodland and waste, pre-English earthworks and sometimes Roman roads (Ford 1976: 277-9, 281, Hill 1976: 63-4, Hooke 1982: 234, 1998: 80, 92). The territories in the study area broadly support these ideas as many are river-based territories, for example



Aucklandshire centred on the Wear valley and Gefrinshire on the Till valley.

These ideas provide a foundation for my analysis but in addition I adopt:

- i) the categories of early Anglian names defined in chapter 5
  - ii) the distributions and chronologies of early (both earliest and second phase) and later Anglian names analysed and interpreted in section 1 of this chapter
  - iii) the names that indicate woodland in section 7
- to compare to the suggested territories and identify core and peripheral areas.

It must however be emphasised that each territory should be analysed separately because, as Roberts points out, each has its own settlement model, and although one model may involve a core group of the oldest villages, a second generation of offshoots colonising the hills, and a third generation of 'infill settlements' (as suggested by Aucklandshire), this may not correspond to other estates (1977: 17).

### 6.5.3 Additional boundary indicators

From my analysis and interpretation of place-names in chapters 5 and 6 I also suggest additional boundary indicators:

- 1) As discussed above OE *leah* and *worth* correlate with the peripheries of territories. I also suggest that OE *feld* indicates earlier peripheral areas because a common distribution pattern has *feld* names closest to a probable core area followed by *worth* then *leah*. This may indicate a chronological penetration by English-speakers into peripheral areas of woodland, the earliest phase indicated by *feld* names on the edge of wooded areas, then later *worth* names, then lastly *leah* names representing the

furthest penetration. These areas are usually found between suggested territories in the study area and could indicate approximate boundaries, for example in Aucklandshire, Chester-le-Street, Lanchester, Warkworthshire, Hexhamshire and the Tweed basin.

The maps show that there is generally a good correlation between *feld* names and boundaries, although there are some exceptions: Cockfield in Staindrop, and Broxfield in Bamburghshire, while Sedgefield seems to be an important centre of a territory rather than on the periphery.

2) Early OE topographic *dun*, *burna* and *ford* names may correlate with boundaries (despite also occurring in core areas). As prominent topographic features define or correspond to boundaries then place-names associated with these features would be known by large numbers of people and therefore have a greater probability of survival as modern place-names. On a cautionary note however the common factor for both boundaries and topographic names is the landscape features, and their correlation may therefore be coincidental. Examples include:

i) *Dun* names Eldon, Coundon and Shildon separate the southern and eastern edge of Aucklandshire from a Brittonic place-naming area and the Skerne valley.

ii) On the western edge of Hartness there is Trimdon to the north and Grindon to the south.

iii) On O'Brien's suggested boundary between Bamburghshire and Warkworthshire on

the southern watersheds of the Aln there are *dun* names Buston, Aydon and uncertain Wooden. *Burna* names Todburn and uncertain Brinkburn may indicate the western boundary of Warkworthshire.

iv) On the south and east boundaries of Gefrinshire there are *burna* names Holburn, Lilburn and uncertain Hepburn.

v) Yetholmshire including the Bowmont and Kale Waters has *dun* names Graden, Riccaltun, Broudean Laws and uncertain Hownam on the peripheries of its territory.

vi) There are *dun* names Berrington, Felkington, Grindon and uncertain Bowsden near the watershed boundary between Norhamshire and Islandshire. Melkington is on or near the western boundary of Norhamshire, and Belford is near the boundary between Islandshire and Bamburghshire.

vii) Hexhamshire has *dun* names Warden and Grottington at boundary points, and *ford* names Bradford on the north-eastern boundary, Barrasford and Chollerton on the western boundary, and Hackford on the boundary south of the Tyne.

There are few indicator names that are not near suggested boundaries. The exceptions are, for *dun* names, Embleton in Bamburghshire, and possibly Pittington although this may mark an eastern boundary of a territory centred on the Wear valley. For *burna* names, there is Bitchburn and Bedburn in Aucklandshire, and Ditchburn in Bamburghshire. For *ford* names there is Ford in Gefrinshire (but this is not necessarily early), and *Wyrceforsford*, Warkworthshire. The major exception is Bamburghshire



where a number of *ford* names with early indicators, for example Elford, Doxford and Warenford, are apparently in core rather than peripheral areas of the territory. This is discussed below. Except for these, and some names without early indicators, for example the *dun* names in Sunderland south of the Wear, there is a very good correlation between *dun*, *burna* and *ford* names and the suggested boundaries.

3) Concentrations of later Anglian names such as OE *tun* and *ingtun* can indicate peripheries of territories with early Anglian core areas. Examples include:

i) Hexhamshire where *ingtun* names Bavington and Thockrington, and *tun* names Kirkheaton, Kirkwhelpington and Capheaton are located near the northern boundary.

ii) Warkworthshire has *tun* and *ingtun* names to the west and south of the suggested core area, and may indicate peripheral areas.

iii) Between the rivers Tyne and Wear, *tun* and *ingtun* names to the south and west may indicate a peripheral areas.

However these later names can also be located centrally in suggested territories and require a different explanation for their distribution (this may be third phase 'infilling'), for example Gefrinshire. Care should therefore be exercised in using these names as boundary indicators.

4) The survival of anomolous pre-English names or Brittonic indicators in areas dominated by early Anglian names. Their location on boundaries increases the

probability that they will survival long enough to be adopted by English-speakers.

Examples include the names south-east of Auckland, the Eden names near the boundary of Hartness, Glendue in Hexhamshire, Carrycoats and Hetchester near boundaries, and the grouping in the Chatton Hills between Bamburghshire and Gefrinshire.

5) Similar to (4), anomalous river names are of interest but the Brittonic minor stream names are more likely to indicate areas with significant numbers of Brittonic-speakers. English river names also seem to correlate to concentrations of early English-speakers in territories centred on river systems rather than boundaries, for example the Bowmont, Rede, Browney and Skerne. One exception may be the Blyth because there are few early Anglian names nearby and there are the otherwise anomalous pre-English hybrid names Cambois and Kirkley.

#### 6.5.4 Burials and boundaries

An additional boundary indicator suggested by some scholars is a correlation with barrows, burials and pre-English earthworks, although there is a debate as to whether burials were located on pre-existing boundaries, or whether boundaries used existing, possibly pre-historic, burial mounds as territorial markers (Hooke1981: 66-7). D.J. Bonney argued that the Anglo-Saxons situated burials on pre-existing boundaries, particularly as secondary burials in prehistoric barrows (1976: 72, 74). In contrast Goodier argued that most boundaries were formed in the 5th to 7th centuries and were a focus for Anglo-Saxon pagan burials (1984: 1,4). This correlation between boundaries and burials may be because it legitimised a claim over land and the dead

warded off outsiders, as suggested by T.M. Charles-Edwards (1976: 87).

Analysis indicates a possible correlation between territorial boundaries and single burials in a cist and/ or burial mound (see Plate 62). Examples are:

i) The Castle Eden and Blackhall burials are located near a possible boundary between Hartness and the territory south of the Wear.

ii) The Copt Hill burial is located between the western boundary of the coastal territory south of the Wear and the Wear valley lowlands.

iii) In Hexhamshire the Capheaton burial coincides with the northern boundary and the Barrasford burial with the western boundary.

Sites with more than one burial may also coincide with boundaries, particularly where associated with burial mounds, for example Cornforth, or even some community cemeteries, for example Norton and Easington on the possible boundaries of Hartness.

Many of the place-names that possibly indicate burial mounds: OE *hlaw*, *byrgen* and Brittonic *crug*, seem to be on or near territorial boundaries, although this correlation may be coincidental and due to a common use of prominent heights and watersheds for boundaries and burials. Examples are:

i) Hebron near a western boundary of Woodhorn.

ii) Hepburn near the Gefrinshire-Bamburghshire boundary.

iii) Elilaw on or near the Broomic-Bamburghshire boundary.



- iv) Charlow on the Lanchester boundary.
- v) Moorsley between the coastal territories and the Wear valley.
- vi) Pawlaw on the southern boundary of Aucklandshire.
- viii) Sunlaws near the western boundary of Yetholmshire.

Brenkley, Kirkley and Hauxley are also examples that are considered below.

Other suggestions include Grindstone Law on the eastern boundary of Hexhamshire, and Tibbersley Avenue which although dithematic is located on the Norton-Hartness boundary.

#### 6.5.5 Analysis of territories, estates and boundaries

The territories that are reasonably well defined by modern scholars are analysed, by identifying core and peripheral areas from place-name evidence, then by looking at any additional indicators of boundaries and peripheries.

##### 1) Aucklandshire, Staindrop and Gainford

###### i) The Wear valley, Aucklandshire:

The distribution of possible early Anglian place-names analysed in section 1 supports the idea of an early territory centred on the Wear valley, with a core area around pre-English Auckland. This may have been a pre-existing centre taken over by English-speakers in an early period. The place-names also indicate that this core area may have extended into the Gaunless valley although the *feld* names indicate a partially wooded area. Peripheral areas are indicated by the encircling *leah* and *worth* names, and the cluster of *dun* names may indicate the southern and eastern boundaries. The

concentration of *leah* names in the upper Wear valley indicates a largely peripheral wooded area, with Wolsingham as an early (possibly the 7th century) but second phase core-centre, and the *burna*, *ford* and *feld* names indicating early boundaries and peripheries.

ii) The Tees valley, Gainford and Staindrop:

A possible early core centre is indicated centred on the Tees valley at Gainford, which is surrounded by possible early topographic names Barforth, Langton, Snotterton and possibly Ovington.

*Leah* and *feld* names and later *tun* and *ingtun* names distributed between these core areas indicate a peripheral area, and possible territorial boundaries that extended between the two valley systems. In contrast in Staindrop the place-name distributions do not indicate a core area that correlates with an early territory. Instead there are *tun* names particularly to the east and *leahs* to the north and south, and, together with two *feld* names, this indicates a peripheral wooded area in the early Anglian period. This agrees with the point that Roberts made that the upland estate of Staindrop was of a secondary nature (1977: 13), and indicates a territory established in the later Anglian period that straddled the Roman road in the upland area between the earlier territories of Aucklandshire and Gainfordshire. The place-name distributions indicate that if these estates had originally formed one large (pre-English) territory then it had been split into separate territories (at least of Aucklandshire and Gainfordshire) by early English-speakers by the 7th century, rather than the suggestion by Clack and Gill that it

was broken up by the 10th century (1981: 31-3).

## 2) The Tees basin coastal area: Hartness and Norton

Place-name evidence in the coastal area of south Durham indicates that in the territory of Hartness the earliest Anglian names Hartlepool, Greatham and Billingham suggest small early core areas centred on the coast and Tees estuary. In the early 11th century the territory of Norton included the villas of Stockton, Sockburn and Girsby, and extended south of the Tees (and also at this time included Bradbury and Mordon) (Hart 1975: 127). The early Anglian names Neasham, Sockburn and possibly Trafford and Hartburn indicate a core area centred on the Tees in the vicinity of Middleton.

Although there are no *leah* names to indicate peripheral areas for either territory, they may be indicated by the later Anglian names that fill inland areas, and for Hartness may be further indicated by *worth* names to the west. The location of the *eccles* name Egglecliffe in this area of later Anglian names suggests a British Christian-controlled inland territory in Norton, and early English-speakers restricted to the banks of the Tees.

## 3) Northern Durham: Jarrow and Monkwearmouth, Chester-le-Street and Lanchester

### i) Jarrow and Monkwearmouth:

A core area south of the Tyne is indicated by the possible early Anglian names Jarrow, Harton, Cleadon, Boldon and Whitburn. This supports the idea of an early territory centred on this coastal area although there is no indication from place-names that it extended beyond the Tyne-Wear watersheds to include the Sunderland area (as suggested by historical sources and Hart that Sunderland formed part of the Jarrow



endowment (1975: 134), see Appendix 7). The *dun* names on these watersheds may indicate a boundary. There is also little to support the historical evidence that stated that this territory extended west to Dere Street; instead, *leah*, *worth* and *feld* names may suggest a periphery on the edge of woodland to the west, and Hebburn and the possible Anglian cist burial at East Boldon are possible boundary indicators.

ii) Chester-le-Street/ *Concescester*:

*Concescester* is the only early Anglian name west of the above territory until the Derwent valley. However the name only refers to a Roman fort, not necessarily to occupation, and except for this there is nothing to indicate an early Anglian territory with a core area centred on Chester-le-Street. Instead, it has been suggested by Watts from the *Anonymous Life of St. Cuthbert* (c.700 AD) that there was no indication of permanent habitation at Chester-le-Street at the time St. Cuthbert sheltered from a storm in a deserted shieling nearby in the mid 7th century (1976: 124). Place-name evidence supports this idea because Chester-le-Street is surrounded by *worth* and *leah* names, and there are later *tun* and *ingtun* names to the north and north-west. The evidence indicates a minor place in a forested area until the later Anglian period when the development of a major estate was linked to the establishment of an ecclesiastical community. The ring of *worth* and *leah* names may indicate the peripheries of this territory in this wooded area. The place-names may therefore indicate that Chester-le-Street was a later sub-division of a peripheral wooded part of the Jarrow and Monkwearmouth territory.

### iii) Lanchester:

A concentration of possible early Anglian names supports the idea of an early territory with a core land centred on Lanchester and the lower Browney river. The possible early topographic names Findon and Fulford, and the *hlaw* name Charlow may indicate that this suggested territory extended to the watersheds of the Browney. *Leah* and possible *feld* names to the north and south also indicate peripheries and that forest surrounded this core area.

In general the area between the Wear and Derwent was heavily wooded into at least the 8th century. The early Anglian name Ebchester and other possibly early topographic names may indicate a territory or core area centred on the Derwent valley, with *feld* names such as Tanfield extending into this woodland.

### 4) The mid Tyne valley: Hexhamshire

The distribution of early Anglian place-names analysed in section 1 supports the idea of an early territory based on Hexhamshire, with a core area in the vicinity of Hexham and Corbridge, possibly extending into the lower North Tyne valley. Place-names also indicate the peripheries and possible boundaries of this territory. To the north and east there are *leah* and *feld* names, and on the northern periphery there are two pre-English names. South of the Tyne the concentration of *leah* names and the absence of early Anglian names except for the *feld* names Whitfield and Dukesfield also indicate a heavily wooded peripheral area with only scattered settlement until the 8th century.

The distribution of these names suggests boundaries that followed the watersheds of the Devil's Water and Tyne tributaries rather than the rivers themselves. The Anglian



burials at Barrasford and Capheaton also seem to correlate to the boundaries indicated by the place-names (see 6.5.3).

##### 5) Coastal Northumberland and the Coquet valley: Warkworthshire

The territory and boundaries of Warkworthshire are unclear, but the cluster of possible early Anglian names (see section 1) indicate an early territory centred on the River Coquet and extending to its watersheds, with an early core area on the coast immediately north and south of the mouth of the Coquet. The peripheries of this area are indicated by the *leah* names to the north-west, west and south, and by later *tun* names to the west. O'Brien's suggestion that the boundary with Bamburghshire was at the watersheds between the Coquet and Aln may be supported by the *dun* names in this area. Historical evidence indicates that the western boundary extended up the Coquet to Brinkburn, and this is supported by the *burna* names Todburn and (probably) Brinkburn which indicate a boundary was located at the Devil's Causeway or the Coquet watersheds.

The southern periphery or boundary is problematic because although the River Lyne has been suggested, the interpretation of Woodhorn (see below) would place it further north or at least beyond the northern watersheds of the Lyne. Place-name evidence supports this idea because the boundary would then correlate with an area of later Anglian *tun* and *ingtun* names: Hadston, Togston and Acklington, and with the location of *leah* and *feld* names. There is also the possibility that the uncertain *hlaw* name Hauxley may indicate an early southern boundary for the core area.



## 6) Bamburghshire

The territory of Bamburghshire has large numbers of early Anglian names. The distribution of these names indicates a core area centred on the Warren Burn to its watersheds and the coastal plain around Bamburgh and Beadnell by at least the early 7th century. Probable early names on the watersheds of the Warren include Belford on the suggested north-west boundary (with Islandshire), and Warenton which may indicate an early western boundary. Further south another core area may be indicated by Craster and the cluster of possible early topographic names. Between these corelands a peripheral or boundary area is suggested by the line of *tun* names and the Brittonic-named Long Nanny stream. In this area is also Ellingham which (because it dates to the early 7th century but represents early second phase Anglian place-naming), indicates that the core place-naming areas were earlier, possibly 6th century. O'Brien's interpretation of Bamburghshire includes the Aln valley but place-name evidence indicates that this is a peripheral rather than early core area except in the upper Aln valley. Although there are *ford* names Stamford and Hefferlaw north of the Aln, in general the middle and lower valley is dominated by *leah* names at the watersheds, and by later *tun* and *ingtun* names along the banks of the river and on the southern watersheds.

One feature in this territory is the lack of correlation of topographic indicator names and boundaries, mentioned above. This anomaly may indicate that Bamburghshire had very early topographic place-naming, and was a core area for Anglian linguistic influence. One explanation for the survival of these names may have been because of

early Anglian dominance rather than as boundary markers.

## 7) Norhamshire and Islandshire

### i) Islandshire:

An early core area is indicated by the *eg* name Lindisfarne. The concentration of later Anglian names on the mainland indicates a largely peripheral area except for possibly Bowsden and Berrington. There are different interpretations regarding how far the territory extends south, but the cluster of pre-English names around Hepburn may indicate that Craster and Hart are correct and that the territories of Islandshire, Bamburghshire and Gefrinshire met at this point. Pre-English Ross is also on or near the southern coastal boundary.

### ii) Norhamshire:

There are few early Anglian names and the only probable core centre is Norham/*Ubbanford*. Possible early *dun* names may indicate boundaries on watersheds, Melkington to the west, and Grindon, Felkington and possibly Bowsden between the two territories.

## 8) Gefrinshire

The area suggested by O'Brien as the territory of Gefrinshire has a place-name distribution that contrasts to surrounding areas. There are few early Anglian names, a larger number of later names, and a cluster of pre-English names with status indicators. Sections 1 and 3 above indicate that this early territory was dominated by Brittonic-speakers until the 8th century when the presence of English-speakers is



indicated by the later *tun* and *ingtun* names. A hypothesis is that Gefrinshire was an early Brittonic-controlled territory that later reverted to Anglian control.

There are some indicators that support the suggested peripheries or boundaries of this territory. *Leah* and *worth* names are generally absent although Lyham may indicate an eastern periphery. Pre-English hybrid Branxton may indicate a peripheral area to the north-west, and Ros Castle and the cluster of possible pre-English names in the Chatton hills may indicate an eastern or south eastern boundary (with Islandshire and Bamburghshire). Holburn and Hepburn also indicate an eastern boundary. Some burials also coincide with the suggested boundaries. The Anglian cemetery at Lowick is located near the northern boundary, and Yeavinger itself is close to the suggested boundary with Yetholmshire.

#### 9) Yetholmshire

The distribution of possible early Anglian names (principally Yetholm) indicates that the core area of this territory is centred on the Bowmont valley. The concentration of these names correlates with Barrow's suggestion that Yetholmshire was of great age (1973: 35). Peripheral areas are difficult to interpret because of the absence of *leah* or *worth* names, although the *dun* names mentioned in 6.5.3 may indicate boundaries on the watersheds of the Bowmont and Kale valleys. The *tun* names indicate infilling by an increased number of English-speakers from the 8th century rather than peripheral areas. There are a number of different interpretations by scholars regarding the identification of the dependent villas (see Appendix 7). The place-name distributions do however



contradict the suggestion by Hart that the vills (and therefore territory of Yetholmshire) extended into the North Tyne and upper Annandale valleys.

#### 10) The Tweed basin: Berwickshire and Coldinghamshire

##### i) Berwickshire:

The concentration of early Anglian names (see section 1) supports the idea that the early centre of this territory was located in the middle rather than lower or coastal Tweed basin. A core area centred on the river Tweed is indicated by Ednam, Leitholm, Smailholm and Birgham, and another may possibly be indicated around Duns and the Adder valleys by Edrom and Kimmerhame. Boundaries and peripheral areas are indicated by the *dun* names Snawdon and Earlston east of the Leader, Eildon and Fairnington just south of the Tweed, and Dirrington to the north. To the north and west there are *worth* then *leah* names that follow the Tweed watersheds. The distribution correlates with Craster's suggestion of a territory defined by the Leader, White Adder and Tweed rivers, with the possible early topographic names only extending north to the Adder and no early Anglian names west of the Leader except possibly Blackchester (and there is no indication of earliness). This territory may extend to the southern watersheds of the Tweed west of the confluence with the Teviot because of the possible early Anglian topographic names there and Midlem on the watershed.

##### ii) Coldinghamshire:

There is no indication in the place-name evidence of an early English-speaking core area except for second phase Coldingham directly on the coast. The few other possible early Anglian names Blackburn and uncertain Abchester and Fulford may

suggest a territory that included the Eye and Ale Water valleys and their watersheds, although the concentration of later *tun* names in the Eye Water valley, and an *ingtun* and *leah* name to the west indicate that significant numbers of English-speakers only extended south and west from the coastal core area into a peripheral wooded area from the 8th century.

#### 11) Tynninghame and East Lothian

A territory that has core areas centred on the coast and Tyne valley is indicated by the possible early Anglian names Auldham, Oldhamstocks, *Pefferham*, Morham, Letham and later Tynninghame and Whittingehame, and is supported by the early Anglian burial evidence at Traprain, Markle, Morham, Dunbar and Whitekirk.

#### 6.5.6 Place-names and further territorial interpretations

The following sub-sections use place-name distributions to interpret less historically defined territories, and to indicate other possible territories and early core areas.

##### 1) Sedgefield and the Skerne valley

Morris has suggested that there was an area of land around the Skerne valley and between the Tees to the south, Wear to the north and Dere Street to the east that was not held by the Community of Lindisfarne and that corresponded to the wapentake of Sadberge (1977: 92, 97). The boundaries of this possible territory are not recorded but the *Historia Sancti Cuthberti*, henceforth *HSC* paragraphs 19 and 21 does describe the purchase by the church of the vill of Sedgefield and whatever belonged to it, including Bishop Middleham (Craster 1954: 189, 207), and this seems to be at least



part of this territory.

The concentration of possible early Anglian names (see section 1) does support the idea of an early territory centred on the River Skerne (an English river name). A core area of early English place-naming is centred around Sedgefield. Recent archaeological discoveries of buildings on either side of the Roman road indicate that this was a major settlement in the Roman period dating from 150 to 400 AD (Durham University archaeology department) (see section 6 below). Place-names suggest that in the post-Roman period Sedgefield may have remained or became the centre of an estate focused on the Skerne. Place-name and burial evidence also provide possible boundary indicators. On the watersheds of the Skerne there are possibly early *dun* names Shildon, Eldon and Coundon to the west, Quarrington and Trimdon to the north, and possibly Burdon to the south. There are also *ford* names Rushyford, Thinford and Cornforth to the north and west. The cemeteries of Darlington and Cornforth may be located on the west and north boundaries respectively. Peripheries of this territory are indicated by the *leah* and *worth* names to the west, north and south. There are also later Anglian names *tun* and *ingtun* surrounding the core area in all directions.

## 2) Durham coastal territories

A possible territory is suggested by the description in the *HSC* paragraph 26 of the grant in 934 AD to the church of the estate of South (Bishop) Wearmouth and 11 dependencies including Offerton, in the area of Seaham and Dalton (Craster 1954:



191). These may be the same lands as those referred to in a grant by Ragnald in the early 10th century of lands between the Eden and Wear (Morris 1977: 96). A further territory centred on the Eden Burn and Crimdon Beck may be indicated by the reference to the return of lands to the church in 876 AD that included *Seletun*, Horden, North and South Eden, Hulam, Hutton and *Twinlingatun* (Watts 1978: 30).

Early core areas are indicated by the distribution of possible early Anglian place-names around Seaham, and immediately south of the Wear. This correlates to the former possible territory, the peripheries of which are indicated by *leah* and *worth* names, and by *tun* and *ingtun* names to the south and south-west. Possible boundaries may be indicated by the *ford* names Offerton and Shadforth, *dun* names Warden and Hetton on the watersheds, pre-English hybrid Penshaw, and the burial at Copt Hill. A boundary between this possible territory and another to the south (this could be Hartness) seems to be located on or about the northern watersheds of the Eden.

### 3) Territories in southern Northumberland

The distribution of early Anglian place-names indicates that the modern parishes of Ponteland and Stamfordham were early core areas for English-speakers. The *eg* name Ponteland is at the centre of a concentration of possible early Anglian names.

Boundaries may be indicated by the *hlaw* names Kirkley and Brenkley, the possible early topographic *burna* name Milbourne, and the *dun* name Callerton (reflected in several village names) which refers to Heddon Law and straddles the boundary with Newburn (Hope-Dodds 1930: 169). The peripheries are indicated by later Anglian

*wic*, *tun* and *ingtun* names. A cluster of possible early names centred on Stamfordham indicate an early core area distinct from Ponteland. The three possible early topographic names Black Heddon, Bitchfield and Cheeseburn are located on the north and south-east parish boundaries, and separating this core area from Ponteland is an area of land containing only later Anglian names. A further possible core area may centre on the parish of Heddon-on-the-Wall (with *dun* name Heddon and Whitchester). The possible *hlaw* name Throckley is located on the boundary with Newburn parish which, as it only contains later *tun* and *ingtun* names and Walbottle (except for Newburn if a *burna*), is not indicated as an early core area even though it was a late Anglo-Saxon royal burh. Ovingham, except for Rudchester north of the Tyne, seems to be an area of early but secondary Anglian place-naming centred on the river at Ovingham and Eltringham, and a peripheral woodland area south of the Tyne indicated by later *leah* names.

#### 4) Woodhorn

The *HSC* paragraph 11 refers to Woodhorn/ *Wuduceaster* as having a church in the 8th century. Paragraph 21 refers to the estate as having been bought by the church in the 10th century, but only a list of dependencies rather than boundaries are given (Morris 1977: 92, Craster 1954: 189). The ecclesiastical parish of Woodhorn contains the chapelries of Horton, Newbigging, Widdrington and originally Chevington although this was subsequently annexed to Warkworth probably before 1174 AD. As Horton (which consists of the townships of Horton, West and East Hartford, Bebside and Cowpen) is separated from the rest of the parish by Bedlington, Craster suggested that



Bedlington formed part of Woodhorn until its purchase for St Cuthbert in 899-915 AD (1909: 202). The Boldon Book, 1183 AD states that Bedlingtonshire included Bedlington and its appendages East and West Sleekburn, Netherton, Choppington and Cambois (Jolliffe 1926 :9). Raine also added Blyth and suggested that the north boundary was at Hebron (1852: 362), while Hart added from *Symeon of Durham* I, page 209, Twizle and possibly Gubeon (1975: 140). If correct the territory of Woodhorn would include the coastal areas of the rivers Blyth, Wansbeck and Lyne.

The place-name distribution does not obviously correlate to this suggested territory although there are some possible indicators. Woodhorn (*Wuducester*) may indicate an early core centre, and the scattering of possible early Anglian topographic names Hartford, Mitford, Pigdon, Earsdon, Sleekburn, Chibburn, Catchburn and possibly Hebron a core territory centred on the lower Wansbeck, and extending to the Lyne in the north and Blyth to the south. These names may indicate possible boundaries of this territory. The Druridge coastal area and the boundary with Warkworthshire is indicated as a peripheral area by the later *tun* and *ingtun* names Chevington and Hadston, and the *leah* and *feld* names to the north and west.

##### 5) Bromic

The distribution of place-names correlates to O'Brien's suggestion of a territory that centred on the upper Breamish and Coquet valleys, and which he named Bromic (from the River Breamish *Bromic* c.1040). A core area for earliest Anglian place-naming is the Ingram valley, with Ingram and possible early *dun* names. *Leah* names



to the north and east indicate peripheral areas. The upper Coquet is less clearly an early core area but may be indicated by possible early topographic names, with *leah* names to the west and south that indicate peripheries. The distribution of possible early names such as Hosedon in the hill land around Kidland may indicate that this territory extended west to the Coquet and Breamish watersheds. It is possible that the *dun* names Fawdon, Brandon, Glanton in the Breamish valley, and Burradon in the Coquet valley indicate boundaries between this territory and the upper Aln valley of Bamburghshire, and that uncertain Cartington and the uncertain *feld* name Plainfield may, with the cemeteries at Hepple and Great Tosson, indicate an eastern boundary in Coquetdale.

#### 6) Territories centred on Teviotdale and the upper Tweed basin

The HSC paragraph 9 referred to a grant of land to the church centred on *Gedwearde* in Teviotdale (Craster 1954: 180). Smith suggested this was a shire with boundaries between the Teviot and *Duna* (possibly the Dunion), and included Teviotmouth and *Wiltuna* (1983: 14). Hart adds that this territory included Jedburgh, Old Jeddart, that *Wiltuna* was Wilton near Hawick, and that it extended south to a hill, possibly Berry Fell Hill, south-west of Hobkirk (1975: 138). The distribution of Anglian place-names (see section 1) does not however indicate an early Anglian core-area centred on the Jed valley and Teviotdale. The *tun*, *worth* and *leah* names instead indicate generally wooded areas dominated by English-speakers only from the 8th century (although in the upper Teviot valley *tun* and *wic* names are in the same area as possibly earlier *ceaster* and *ford* names). Proudfoot and Aliaga-Kelly suggest that the Jed Water and

Dere Street north of the Teviot was a boundary that separated Anglian and British territory (1997: 36, 37), and the place-names do indicate that the Oxnam/ Jed watershed was a boundary between areas where there was early Anglian place-naming and areas where there was not. However a boundary does not appear to extend north of the Teviot in its confluence with the Tweed because there are both pre-English and possible early Anglian names in this area and there is a cluster of early Anglian names west of Dere Street around pre-English Melrose (see 6.5.5 above regarding early Anglian names extending to the southern Tweed watersheds here).

#### 6.5.7 Territories and Brittonic-speakers

This is an analysis of territories in the context of the relationship between Brittonic and English-speakers. Although each possible territory should be considered individually, broad toponymic patterns can be recognised and territorial classifications suggested:

i) There are territories that contain concentrations of early Anglian names and no pre-English names (except possibly an isolated example). Often there are few later Anglian names except on the peripheries of these territories. In such cases this indicates dominance by English-speakers at an early date and therefore early and extensive Anglian place-naming. There is no indication of Brittonic-linguistic continuity or the survival of Brittonic-speakers. For example Hexhamshire, despite its western location, only has a few pre-English names near to northern and western boundaries. This indicates a territory dominated at an early date by English-speakers but heavily localised around the River Tyne, and few Brittonic-speakers except at the peripheries. Another example is Bamburghshire where there seems to have been particularly early



domination of the coast and Warren Burn territory by English-speakers, and few Brittonic-speakers except possibly on the western peripheries. Bromic, without pre-English names, is a further possible example of a territory established or controlled by English-speakers at an early period.

ii) Territories with clusters of pre-English names and where there are later but few early Anglian names. This indicates the presence of Brittonic-speakers and an absence or scarcity of English-speakers in an early period. Only in a later period was the presence of English-speakers significant enough to influence and dominate the naming of places. An example may be at Chester-le-Street where the pre-English hybrid names *Concacester*, Pontop and stream names Cong and Pont Burn indicate the survival of Brittonic speakers, with evidence for English-speakers and place-naming only in a later period (except maybe at the Wear at *Concacester*). Another example may be Islandshire where the pre-English names Lowlynn and Ross on the east coast indicate the significant presence of Brittonic-speakers in at least the early period. The presence of English-speakers was not significant until the later Anglian period. Further possibilities are the suggested Teviot-Jed territory, and also Heighingtonshire between Auckland, the Skerne and Tees where there is a pre-English cluster and only later Anglian names. It is possible that this toponymic pattern indicates pre-English territories dominated and politically controlled by Brittonic-speakers until a later period, but this is speculative and may not be linked to territorial control at all (there may instead be topographical reasons, see section 7). This possibility is more likely in territories where the pre-English names have status and seem to form the core centre, such as



Gefrinshire where there appears to be Brittonic linguistic continuity and possibly administrative and political continuity until a later period.

iii) Territories with later Anglian names but few early names and an absence of pre-English names. Similar to (ii) this indicates that only from the 8th century were English-speakers in sufficient numbers or of high enough political status to name places, but unlike (ii) there is no evidence that this was due to the presence or dominance of Brittonic-speakers (although it may have been, or else due to other factors). Examples include Hartness and Norton where early English-speakers are confined to the coast and Tees, and Coldinghamshire where English-speakers are similarly confined to the immediate vicinity of Coldingham on the coast until the 8th century.

iv) Territories with a mixture of early Anglian, pre-English and/ hybrid names indicate interaction between and possible hybridisation of a population composed of both English and Brittonic-speakers at an early period. The evidence suggests territories of pre-English origin and with some Brittonic-linguistic continuity but subsequently taken over and dominated by English-speakers at an early date. Examples include East Lothian, the mid Tweed core area of Berwickshire, and Yetholmshire, a British territory with a Christian presence centred on the Bowmont valley (see section 3) taken over at an early date by English-speakers but with a substantial number of Brittonic-speakers remaining. There are no examples in Northumberland except some clusters of hybrid names between territories.

v) There are territories that contain a small but distinct early core area of English-

speakers that seems later to have expanded. Examples tend to be found in coastal regions, such as Warkworthshire and the core area around Coquet mouth. This could be linked with (iii) although that case has isolated early place-names scattered along the Durham and Berwickshire coasts rather than occurring in clusters.

vi) There are areas (although no defined territories) in south-east Scotland such as the upper Tweed basin where the almost total absence of both early and later Anglian names indicates that English-speakers were not in significant numbers. Instead the concentration of pre-English names indicates a population dominated by Brittonic-speakers.

## **Section 6:**

### **Place-names and Roman material remains**

#### **6.6.1 Introduction**

Place-name evidence is compared to the archaeological and historical evidence for:

- i) Roman roads
- ii) Roman forts
- iii) Roman coastal watchtowers

#### **6.6.2 Place-names and Roman roads**

The corpus of place-names was compared to Roman roads in the study area. In chapter 3 some narratives argued that Roman roads continued in use in the post-Roman period and facilitated Anglian movement north (indicated by the Anglian burial evidence at Darlington and Corbridge). More recently these ideas have been

questioned along with the idea of the movement of people promoting change.

The roads were traced using OS Landranger maps 2002 and I.D. Margary's *Roman roads in Britain* (1967). All possible early Anglian and pre-English place-names within 1 mile of a road were identified to take into account settlement movement: a name originally near a road could today be some distance away. The 1 mile criterion allows statistical flexibility: close enough to be statistically relevant, but not too far away to make a connection to a road too tenuous. This is only a guideline and other factors such as the intervening topography of rivers and hills may determine whether there is a connection.

### Analysis

See Plates 63-7.

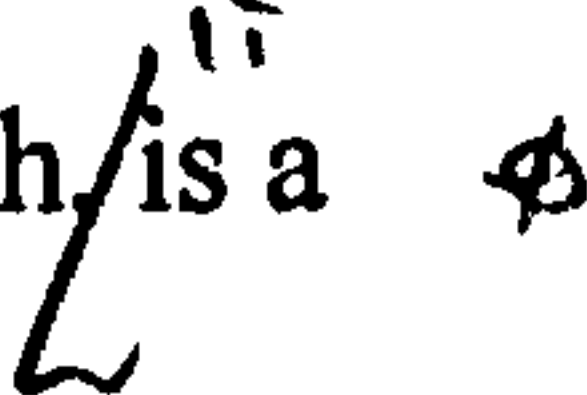
The following data is analysed:

- 1) the roads (approximate length in miles)
- 2) place-names located on the road (highlighted in heavy black, bold)
- 3) place-names within 1 mile of the road
- 4) post Romano-British and early Anglian archaeological sites

Place-names with early indicators are underlined.

Those names in brackets are over 1 mile and are only possibilities.

### Dere Street (Tees-Dalkeith 117.5 miles)

I begin with \*Manfield because although just outside the study area to the south<sup>11</sup> is a possible Anglian name with early indicators. 



Durham

**Carlbury**, *burh*

**Brusselton**, *dun*

**Fieldon Bridge**, *ford*

Holdforth, *ford*

Auckland, pre-English

Binchester, possible pre-English, *ceaster*

(OE *dun* names Shildon, Eldon and Coundon)

(Bitch/Beechburn, *burna*, 1.4 miles away)

Lanchester, possible pre-English, *ceaster*

(Benfieldside, *feld*, 1.4 miles away)

Ebchester, *ceaster*

Milkwell Burn, *burna*

Northumberland

(Stocksfield, *feld*, 1.3 miles away)

Shilford, *ford*

Styford, *ford*

Thornbrough, *burh*

Corbridge, pre-English, possible *ceaster*

Grottington, *dun*

Bingfield, *feld*

Swinburn, *burna*

Dryburn, *burna*

Carrycoats, pre-English

Chesterhope, *ceaster*

Risingham (possible), *ingaham*

Woodburn, *burna/ burh*

Troughend, pre-English

(Otterburn, *burna*, 1.1 miles away, the river Rede intervening feature)

**(High) Rochester**, *ceaster*

Scotland

Cunzierton (possible) *dun*

Pennymuir, pre-English

(Hownam (possible), over 1 mile but may be visible as a *dun*)

Oxnam, *ham*

(Crailing, *-ingas*, 1.2 miles away)

Peniel Heugh, pre-English

Ancrum, pre-English

(Fairnington, *dun*, 1.25 miles away)

Dryburgh, *burh*

Eildon, *dun*

Monkford, *ford*

**Melrose**, pre-English

(Snawdon, *dun*, over a mile away)

Earlston, *dun*

(all other names are pre-English, e.g. Soutra, Trabrown)

Devil's Causeway (55.5 miles)

Grottington, *dun*

Bingfield, *feld*

**Bradford**, *ford*

Harnham, *ham*

Hartburn, *burna*

Todburn, *burna*

Brinkburn, *burna/ burh*

Edlingham, *ingaham*

(Whittingham, *ingaham*, 1.3 miles away)

Glanton, *dun*

Brandon, *dun*

(Fawdon, *dun*, 1.9 miles away)

Wooperton (possible) *dun*

(East) Lilburn, *burna*

(Hepburn, possible *burna* or *byrgen*, 1.6 miles away)

(Chillingham, *ingaham*, 1.3 miles away)

Fowberry, *burh*

(Holburn, *burna*, 1.3 miles away)



**Berrington**, *dun*

Bowsden (possible) *dun*

Stanegate (Corbridge-Carvoran 21 miles):

**Corbridge**

Fallowfield, *feld*

Warden, *dun*

**Grindon**, *dun*

Aesica, pre-English

Wardrew, pre-English

Warcarr, pre-English

Military way (Carvoran to Wallsend 41 miles):

Wardrew, pre-English

Warcarr, pre-English

**Aesica**

(possible **Housesteads/ Vercovicium**, pre-English)

**Carrawburgh** (possible), *burh*

Carraw, pre-English

Teppermoor, pre-English

Tecket, pre-English

Crook Burn, *burna*

**Scytelscester**, possible pre-English, *ceaster*

Fallowfield

Grottington

Sildon, *dun*

Whitchester, *ceaster*

**Rudchester**, *ceaster*

**Heddon-on-the-Wall**, *dun*

East Heddon, possibly pre-English hybrid

(Callerton, *dun*, 1.3 miles away, but visible from the road)

Newburn (possible), *burna/ burh*

Fenham, *ham*

**Monkchester** (possible), *ceaster*

Sandyford, *ford*

Shieldfield, *feld*

Thirsk-Durham-Gateshead road (Sockburn-Newcastle 37 miles)

Sockburn, *burh*

(Burdon, *dun*, 1.4 miles away)

Mordon, *dun*

(High) Grindon, *dun*

(Trafford Hill, *ford*, 1.3 miles away)

(West Hartburn, *burna*, depends on the location of the early Anglian settlement)

**Sedgefield**, *feld*

Fishburn, *burna*

Middleham, *ham*

Cornforth, *ford*

Quarrington, *dun*

Baxterwood, *ford*

Dryburn, *burna*

Elvet (possible), *eg*

Durham (possible), *dun*

**Dryburn**, *burna*

Chester-le-Street, pre-English name and *ceaster*

(A road (6.5 miles) leads from Willington, Dere Street towards Stone Bridge, crosses the river Browney and continues beyond Durham to join the road to Chester-le-Street (Margary 1967: 43). \*Brandon (*dun*), Baxterwood (*ford*) and Dryburn are located on or near it).

Road from Barnard Castle to Dere Street road (about 14 miles)

**Startforth**, *ford*

Snotterton, *dun*

Wackerfield, *feld*

(Cockfield, *feld*, 1.5 miles from the road)

Brusselton, *dun*

**Fieldon Bridge**, *ford*

Road from (High) Rochester to the Devil's Causeway (19 miles)

(Howsdon Burn, *dun*, 2.9 miles away but visible from the road)



Farnham (possible), *ham* or *hamm*

Burradon, *dun*

(Plainfield, *feld*, 1.25 miles away)

(Cartington, *dun*, 1.7 miles away but visible from the road).

Whittingham, *ingaham* (but there is a hill between the road and settlement)

### Interpretation and discussion

Place-name distributions indicate that some Roman roads have continued significance in the Anglian period and may have been used for communication or as territorial boundaries (see section 5). This could depend on the condition of the roads and their practical use to the native Brittonic and early Anglian populations. However another plausible explanation for a correlation between early Anglian place-names and Roman roads may be that the routes followed could run through fertile river valleys where early Anglian names were generally concentrated in any case (see section 1). Examples include the Thirsk-Gateshead road running through the Skerne valley, and the Stanegate and Military Way through the Tyne valley.

The most plausible examples of continued use include Dere Street from the Tees to beyond Newstead. The fort sites all have either possible early Anglian or pre-English place-names (except Newstead): Piercebridge/ Carlbury, Binchester, Lanchester, Ebchester, Corbridge/Cor- Colchester, Risingham, Rochester, although only Binchester, Lanchester, Ebchester and Rochester are certain. Early Anglian names are also concentrated along the Devil's Causeway. There are also early Anglian

archaeological sites Capheaton, New Bewick and Lowick close to the Devil's Causeway, Darlington and Barrasford close to Dere Street, and Cornforth close to the Thirsk-Gateshead road.

At the points where roads intersect with waterways possible early Anglian names containing OE elements *burna* and *ford* may indicate their continued use. Such points along the Devil's Causeway seem to correlate with OE *burna* names Hartburn, Todburn, Brinkburn, Lilburn and Holburn (also Powburn is possible but it does not have early spellings). However, there are other watercourses such as the Wansbeck, Aln and Till without these names at the crossing points, and the *burna* distribution may be explained by other factors (see section 5). If roads were in use it would also be reasonable to suppose that fords would have existed and there would be names in OE *ford* at these points. Instead, as there are few *ford* names this may indicate that the roads were not in use. The toponymic evidence is therefore ambiguous.

I have analysed the topography of OE *dun* names associated with the Devil's Causway to determine if the characteristic *dun* hill-shape (applying Gelling's criteria) is visible only from the road. This analysis only represents a sample of the *dun* names along Roman roads, but indicates that in the case of the Devil's Causeway at least, it was in use at the time the places were named. Of the four certain and two uncertain names, the *dun* shape is best seen from the direction of that road in four of the examples, and possibly also the other two.

### Glanton

Glanton village is located on a small, low hill with a flat summit. From the road the characteristic *dun* shape is clearly seen. Immediately to the west there are the steep summits of Glanton Hill and Low Pike.

#### Brandon

The modern village is located on flat ground by a river surrounded by hills. To the north there is a large hill of characteristic *dun* shape only visible from the road.

#### Fawdon

This is located on a low hill of characteristic *dun* shape below large hills to the west. It is some distance from the road but is visible from the north-east.

#### Wooperton (uncertain)

The present hall and village are located at the southern end of a low hill of characteristic *dun* shape which is only visible from the east, the direction of the road.

#### Berrington

Berrington Law, west of the present village, is a low hill of characteristic *dun* shape visible from the direction of the road from the south and east.

#### Bowsden (uncertain)

The present village is south and east of a low hill of characteristic *dun* shape, but, although visible from the north, it is questionable whether it can be seen from the road to the east.

In the study area there is not a general avoidance of Roman roads for place-naming by



early English-speakers, as has been detected in other parts of the country, for example the Fosseway and Ermine Street. However, it is not the case that there is evidence of continued use of the entire road network in the study area, only for certain roads or sections of roads. This is illustrated by the following statistics:

i) Total number of certain early Anglian names:

- in the study area: 259
- in Northumberland: 130
- in Durham: 86

ii) Total number of uncertain early Anglian names:

- in the study area: 82
- in Northumberland: 49
- in Durham: 22

iii) Total number of certain early Anglian names with earliness indicators:

- in the study area: 141
- in Northumberland: 77
- in Durham: 46

iv) Total number of uncertain early Anglian names with earliness indicators:

- in the study area: 22
- in Northumberland: 16
- in Durham: 6

1) All Roman roads analysed in the study area

- i) All early Anglian names (certain/ uncertain) within 1 mile: 80 (23.5 % of total corpus).
- ii) As for (i) but including names just over 1 mile: 103 (30.2 %).
- iii) As for (i) but only certain names with earliness indicators: 38 (27 %).
- iv) All early Anglian names directly on the roads: 27 (7.9 %).
- v) As for (iv) but only certain names with earliness indicators: 17 (12.1 %).

2) The Devil's Causeway

Following the categories in (1) above, and comparing to the total names for Northumberland:

- i) 15 (8.4 %)
- ii) 20 (11.2 %)
- iii) 10 (13 %)
- iv) 7 (3.9%)
- v) 6 (7.8 %)

3) The roads that have been analysed in County Durham

Following the categories in (1) and (2):

- i) 26 (24.1 %)
- ii) 35 (32.4 %)
- iii) 15 (32.6 %)
- iv) 10 (9.3 %)
- v) 5 (10.9 %)

These figures indicate that a significant percentage of early Anglian place-names are located within about a mile of Roman roads in the study area, and this correlation is reinforced when only certain names with earliness indicators are considered. In County Durham a higher proportion of place-names correlate to the roads than in, say, Northumberland, which indicates a higher degree of post-Roman continuity into the early Anglian period. It is puzzling that of 39 certain *-ham* and *-ing(a)ham* names considered (30 with earliness indicators), only 5 (12.8 %) are within 1 mile of Roman roads, plus a further 2 that are just outside this limit, which gives 17.9 %. There does not seem to be a significant correlation between these name-types and the roads, with the possible exception of the Devil's Causeway with 4 examples. It does however show the benefit of using a large corpus of potentially early Anglian place-names rather than the traditional survey of *-ham* and *-ing(a)ham* names.

### 6.6.3 Place-names and Roman forts

Different narratives have been developed, focusing on issues of post-Roman continuity or discontinuity, to explain the archaeological and historical evidence for Roman forts, and this has been used as a key theme to explain the origins of Bernicia (see section 3). Casey suggested that there was continuity of occupation by devolved local Roman garrisons as farming communities in the 5th century that subsequently merged with Anglian communities (1992: 77-8). Wilmott also emphasised continuity in his interpretation of Birdoswald but described a transition where the garrison became a sub-Roman warrior elite (Wilmott 2000: 17-18). Ferris and Jones interpreted the archaeological evidence from Binchester as showing continuity, with a gradual shift to



locally-based power-structures and a strongly rooted local Roman culture continuing existing traditions (2000: 4-5). K. Dark in contrast argued for initial post-Roman abandonment then a deliberate policy of re-occupation, with Anglian mercenaries serving a British elite (2000: 86). Bidwell argued for discontinuity, with post-Roman occupation of some forts only in the first decades of the 5th century, for example at South Shields (1994: 46)

These narratives are analysed below by comparing toponymic with archaeological and historical evidence at the forts in the study area. Plate 68 details:

- 1) preservation of part of the pre-English name
- 2) possible early Anglian naming elements
- 3) 5th and 6th century post Romano-British archaeological and historical evidence
- 4) Anglian evidence dating from the late 5th century

It is acknowledged that there is potential ethnic overlap in the late 5th and 6th centuries between categories (3) and (4), however scholars such as Milet (1980) do make ethnic distinctions therefore I will also adopt this approach.

### The toponymic evidence

Details are contained in chapter 5 and the Tables.

#### i) Pre-English names

Northumberland:

Aesica, Corstopitum and Cilurnum

Durham:

## Conca(n)gios, Vinovia and Longovicium

Only Conca(n)gios and Corstopitum are reasonably certain examples where the first part of their names were adopted into early English place-names. Aesica may have been preserved as a district name *Ahse* at least to the late 7th century (although this is not evidence that the fort settlement itself survived). Crow similarly suggested that *Verovicium* (Housesteads) was possibly preserved in the nearby place-name Barcombe (a hillfort and Roman signal station) (1995: 94). However without early spellings this is speculative and Barcombe probably derives from OE *bere* or *beorg* + OE *camp* (similar to Barcombe, East Sussex). The first part of *Cilurnum* (Chesters) may be retained in the modern place-name Chollerton although this is dubious. Vinovia and Longovicium may have the first part of their names retained through folk etymology as Binchester and Lanchester respectively.

In Northumberland it is puzzling that only forts in the middle section of Hadrian's Wall possibly had their names preserved (this may be due to factors such as general Brittonic cultural, linguistic and population continuity in this area, and/ or less accessible landscape and topography). This indicates that at the time of English place-naming from the 6th or 7th centuries either the original names had fallen out of use despite continued occupation or significance of place, or the forts had been abandoned and/or no longer retained significance. Few fort names were in use, known or passed on by the population in the surrounding area to English speakers. In contrast in Durham three forts may have partially retained their pre-English names.

ii) Names with early Anglian elements:

Northumberland:

Rudchester, Chesters/ *Scytlescester*, (High) Rochester, Whickham.

Possibly Monkchester, Carrawburgh, Col- Corchester, Risingham.

Durham:

Binchester, Lanchester, Chester-le-Street/ *Kuncacester*, Ebchester.

Possibly Carlbury

The generic OE *ceaster* is used in 9 place-names. Of these, Monkchester and Col-Corchester (Corbridge) are dubious as early Anglian names. The OE *burh* names Carrawburgh and Carlbury are only possibilities because Roman forts are rarely referred to as *burh* in the early Anglo-Saxon period. Risingham is speculative without early spellings but an *-ing(a)ham* name is probably of early Anglian origin. OE specifics may be contained in Rudchester, *Scytlescester*, Risingham, Rochester and Ebchester. Whickham (Washing Wells) is the only fort with a *ham* name, but cropmark evidence only indicates a single phase fort that was probably abandoned as there is no indication of stone buildings or defences. Although the dating is unclear, there is no evidence for late- or post-Roman occupation (McCord and Jobey 1971: 120).

Forts with early Anglian names (many with early indicators) indicate that they were either still occupied or retained significance as either administrative, social and/or economic focal places, religious centres, or as just visible features in the landscape



(Crow 1995: 97). In Durham the names of 4 or possibly 5 from 6 forts contain an early Anglian element, but on Hadrian's Wall there are only 2 (and 3 possibles) from 11.

### Summary of the archaeological and historical evidence

#### i) Post-Roman evidence (5th and 6th century)

##### Binchester

The bathhouse was used in the 5th century as a workshop until robbed of stonework and there was collapse and demolition. A 6th century Anglian burial was located above this debris (Ferris and Jones 1991: 105-6). This was interpreted as showing post-Roman continuity and that Binchester retained importance although at a gradually declining level from the late to post-Roman period (ibid.: 106).

##### Birdoswald

At the granaries there is evidence of a timber building dated from a D7 pennanular brooch as very late Roman or post-Roman. A later second timber building with two smaller buildings nearby may be a high status hall and service buildings (Wilmott 2000: 14). Further evidence includes earth ramparts and timber rebuilding of the west gate. In the former officer's quarters of a barrack block there is a western apsed room, possibly a church (ibid.).

##### Chesters

J.C. Bruce referred to the discovery of 33 human skeletons, 2 horses and a dog at the

bath house (1885: 101). There was no dating evidence and although Bidwell and Snape suggest that this may be post-Roman re-use as a burial ground (1994: 3), Crow argues that it could be late Roman (Crow and Jackson 1997: 65).

### Housesteads

According to Crow there is evidence of military occupation until the very late Roman period, about 400 AD, with the construction of late 4th century earth ramparts and timber interval towers and continued use of the commanding officer's house (1995: 93). There is a possible long-cist burial in a water tank near to a very late Roman apsidal structure, possibly a church. There is no specific evidence for post-Roman occupation (which could not be sustained without external support), and the burial indicates abandonment (ibid.: 94, 96-7).

### Newcastle

There is evidence of decay and collapse then stone-robbing, levelling, clearance, construction of a stone-lined drain, water tank, fence or timber structure, demolition of part of the fort wall, and construction of a bank and ditch. Although there is no dating evidence Snape and Bidwell suggested these are post-Roman features because they mostly ignore Roman alignments, but that they pre-date the 8th century Anglian cemetery (2002: 111).

### Piercebridge

According to Casey there is post-Roman evidence of redigging of the fort ditch after 402 AD, earth rampart repairs and two D7 pennanular brooches (Casey 1992: 71).

However, Fitzpatrick pointed out that this evidence is from secure late Roman deposits (1999: 114).

### South-Shields

The south-west gate was rebuilt in timber and a cemetery radiocarbon dated to the 5th century was nearby. The Principia had a possible church building dating to at least the end of the 4th century, and there was quarrying of street metalling (Bidwell 1994: 46). Two D7 pennanular brooches were found in a sub-Roman stratified context and another in an unstratified context, both dated to the late 4th or early 5th century (Snape 1992: 158). There is Roman coin evidence to the end of the Roman occupation. This evidence indicates that the fort was occupied to about 400 AD and beyond. Bidwell however suggested that the burial of two skeletons with injuries in the courtyard building in the early 5th century indicated non-Roman burial practices in the post-Roman period and that this part of the fort was ruined and unoccupied. He therefore argued that there was discontinuity of occupation in the 5th century (1999: 82, Bidwell and Speake 1994: 46-7).

### Vindolanda

Bone scatters and wooden structures outside the south gate indicate continued use into the 5th century (Birley 1970: 104-5, 136, Bidwell 1999: 135). Earth rampart defences were also constructed in the late 4th or early 5th century (Bidwell 1985: 46, Wilmott 2000: 15). There is evidence of occupation of part of the Praetorium building into the 5th century and other areas of the fort. A rectangular building with a semi-circular apse was built in the courtyard of the Praetorium and is dated from coin



evidence to after 370 AD. This may be a 5th century Christian church (Bidwell 1999: 135). Other Christian or Brittonic evidence includes a number of long cist graves and a small stone slab with a chi-rho dating to c.600 AD. The Brigomaglos tombstone was interpreted by Jackson as late 5th or early 6th century (1997: 61-2), but as late 6th century by C. Thomas (1991-2: 7-8). The evidence indicates some form of 5th and 6th century activity, possibly as a Christian centre.

### Common features of post-Roman evidence

#### 1) Christian evidence

There are possible churches at South Shields, Housesteads and Birdoswald (although they could be late Roman), and the church and other evidence at Vindolanda.

Newcastle and Aesica may be included through historical evidence. (See also section 2 for evidence of Anglian and post-Conquest churches associated with forts).

#### 2) Rebuilt fort defences with timber structures and earth ramparts

Examples are South Shields, Vindolanda, Newcastle, Birdowald, Housesteads and Piercebridge (but they may date only to the late 4th century rather than the post-Roman period).

#### 3) D7 pennanular brooches

These have been found at Birdoswald, South Shields, Piercebridge and Vindolanda, and according to Snape are characteristic of the late Roman and early post-Roman period (1992: 158-9).

## ii) Anglian evidence

Appendix 3 sets out all the Anglian evidence dated up to the 8th century in the study area, including the forts.

Nine forts have Anglian evidence: Benwell, Corbridge, Vindolanda, Chesters, Wallsend, Newcastle, Binchester, Piercebridge, South Shields (and Birdoswald just outside the study area), but only Binchester contains a certain early Anglian burial. Corbridge and Benwell have possible early Anglian burials. The remainder are chance finds and do not necessarily indicate burials. Only at Newcastle and Binchester are there substantial cemeteries but they date from the 8th century and indicate Christian burial centres rather than settlements. Although there are historical references to South Shields, Corbridge and *Scythlescester*, the South Shields reference has dubious historical authenticity, and the others refer to late 8th century events.

The Anglian evidence does not indicate continuity, only some form of Anglian activity in the 6th and 7th centuries at significant places. The chance finds could represent occasional Anglian visitors and the burials may only indicate use of these significant places as burial grounds not as settlements.

## Interpretation and discussion

Analysis and interpretation of all of the evidence from each fort separately leads to the conclusion that post-Roman and Anglian archaeological, historical and place-name evidence should not be linked together to support a narrative that argues for continuity at Roman forts. As Wilmott pointed out, the post-Roman evidence spans two centuries



(2000: 17-18), and considerably longer with Anglian evidence. Evidence of Brittonic post-Roman activity and Anglian activity needs to be separated because, with the exception of Vindolanda, the Brittonic post-Roman evidence is either dubious and in fact late-Roman (for example Housesteads and Piercebridge), or the dating evidence is unclear and may only indicate activity in the first decades of the 5th century (for example Binchester and South Shields). The Anglian evidence, at the earliest, dates to the late 5th century, and usually considerably later.

Instead the evidence (particularly when place-names are compared to archaeological and historical evidence) supports the theme of discontinuity at Roman forts. Pre-English place-name survival does not correspond to other post-Roman evidence except possibly at Vinovia, and only corresponds to possible Anglian evidence at Vinovia, Corstopitum, Cilurnum and Aesica. There is little correlation between early Anglian names and other post-Roman or Anglian evidence, except at Binchester, *Scytlescester* and possibly Monkchester and Col-Corchester. Only Vinovia/ Binchester fort has pre-English and early Anglian naming evidence, and post-Roman and early Anglian archaeological evidence. Even here, despite Ferris and Jones' interpretation of continuity, the evidence could sustain an alternative interpretation of abandonment in the early 5th century but retaining a significance of place that was used for burial purposes by Anglian communities from the 6th century.

Archaeological and historical evidence support the interpretation that the Hadrian's Wall forts were mostly abandoned on or shortly after the end of Roman occupation,



although there were a few exceptions such as Birdoswald, Vindolanda and Newcastle where archaeology indicates some form of post-Roman activity. There is similar evidence of post-Roman activity in the Durham forts of South Shields, Binchester and possibly Piercebridge. However none, except for Vindolanda, show any conclusive evidence of Brittonic post-Roman activity beyond the early 5th century. At Vindolanda (and possibly Aesica) there is evidence that they retained significance as Christian centres beyond the 5th century. The early Anglian evidence is even less helpful, with the only certain burial located at Binchester. None of this evidence supports Anglian occupation or can be linked chronologically with the Brittonic evidence (again except possibly at Vindolanda).

The place-name evidence reinforces these interpretations and indicates that most forts, particularly those on Hadrian's Wall, were unoccupied before early English place-naming began. If there had been continued occupation in the late Roman, post-Roman and Anglian periods there should be evidence of greater survival of pre-English fort names, but with the possible exception of some of the Durham forts, there is not. Even where pre-English names survive this does not necessarily indicate continued occupation of forts, only the survival of Brittonic-speakers who passed the names to English-speakers and they adopted and incorporated them into early Anglian place-names. Bilingual Brittonic speakers could also have produced such names. Forts with early Anglian names, even those incorporating pre-English elements, do not necessarily show continuity of occupation, only that they may have retained some continuity of place or significance in the landscape.

#### 6.6.4 Place-names and Roman coastal watch towers

Recently P. Bidwell (following earlier scholars such as Collingwood and Richmond in 1969) has suggested that Roman watch towers on the north Yorkshire coast originally extended up the Durham coast but due to coastal erosion have disappeared (1997: 107). C.T. Trechmann had suggested from Roman material evidence three possible locations in Durham:

- 1) North of Ryhope Dene pottery vessels were discovered similar to those found at Huntcliff tower, which Trechmann interpreted as characteristic 'signal station type' pottery dating to c.380 AD.
- 2) Hordon colliery, where 'hand-made' Roman pottery fragments were found (Durham SMR).
- 3) Carr House, Seaton Carew, where Roman material including samian and other pottery, a fibula, spearhead, red tile fragments, bone pins and coins were discovered in the 19th century (Middleton 1883: 103-5), and subsequently by Trechmann (1946: 343-4).

To investigate possible sites of the towers I analysed the distribution of early Anglian and pre-English place-name evidence, Anglian archaeological evidence such as that at Seaham, Castle Eden, Easington and Blackhall rocks (see Appendix 3), and also all Roman material found in the coastal region and recorded in the Durham and Northumberland SMR (see Appendix 9). Plates 69-71 set out this data.

In Durham, the distribution of the Roman material indicates concentrations at Saltburn



and the area to the west, and in the areas of Hartlepool, Horden, Ryhope and Seaham. Heavier concentrations are located in the Sunderland area and extend north to South Shields. In addition, there is Pevsner's suggestion that the 7th century church at Seaham contains Roman masonry brought from a nearby Roman building such as a signal station (1983: 398), and the suggested evidence of a Roman fort at Sunderland (Durham SMR). It is noticeable that the areas of concentration correlate with the distributions of Anglian material evidence and place-name evidence. This correlation is reinforced by the general scarcity of Roman and Anglian evidence on the Durham coast, and suggests certain areas of Romano-British then Anglian activity, that may indicate watch tower sites.

Huntcliff has a similar pattern, with the possible early Anglian place-name Saltburn (see Table) and the 5th-early 6th century Anglian cemetery. Other towers in Yorkshire have possible early Anglian names nearby, for example Ravenscar has Fyling (OE personal name *Fyg(e)la* + *ingas*) and Scarborough has Wykeham (OE *wic* + *ham*) possibly a very early name that refers to Roman habitation. However the evidence is ambiguous because there are only later Anglian names at Filey, and Goldsbrough has mainly Scandinavian *-by* names (although these would have replaced earlier names).

There are conflicting opinions about whether the towers were destroyed in c.400 AD. Ottaway has argued from the evidence of a sub-Roman ditch at Filey that the towers may not have been destroyed (1995: 2). Casey argued that Goldsbrough, Scarborough and Huntcliff show evidence of violent destruction (1992: 76-7) (he follows the views of Hornsby and Stanton in 1912). If there were towers along the Durham coast that



survived into the post-Roman period, they or the areas around them may have become a focus for Brittonic and/ or Anglian occupation. One explanation may be that as all the known towers except Ravenscar are near to beaches and good landing places, they may have been obvious focuses for Anglian settlement from the sea (this is however speculative because erosion has altered coastal features since post-Roman times).

On the Northumberland coast the distribution of the otherwise anomalous OE *ceaster* names: Craster, Gloster Hill and *Wuducester* may indicate the locations of further watchtowers (Plate 71) (Gloucester Lodge derives from Prince William of Gloucester). Analysis of the distribution of Roman material indicates concentrations, particularly pottery, in the following areas:

- 1) Whitley Bay and Tynemouth (at Tynemouth castle there is pre-Conquest building evidence, Roman pottery and other material (Jobey 1967: 41, 46)).
- 2) Warkworth and Coquet mouth (the largest concentration, that included a Roman altar fragment found at Gloster Hill ).
- 3) Bamburgh, where at the castle samian pottery has been found and Hope-Taylor interpreted extensive burning evidence as indicating a watch tower (1960: 11-12, Bamburgh Research Project).

There are also early Anglian place-name concentrations in the vicinity of Bamburgh, Craster and Gloster Hill, and early Anglian burial evidence at Bamburgh (and Howick).

The areas highlighted by this evidence may be possible watch tower sites, or at least areas where there is occupation in the Roman and Anglian periods (especially Bamburgh and Coquet mouth).

## Section 7:

### Place-names and environmental evidence

Analysis of place-names provides information about the environment in the post-Roman and early Anglian period.

#### 6.7.1 Place-names as indicators of woodland

Analysis of the distribution of *feld*, *leah* and *worth* names may indicate wooded areas. (See Plates 10, 17 and 18 for their distribution).

*Feld* names are defined in chapter 5. They may indicate settlements on the edge of wooded areas and those with earliness indicators could date to the 6th and 7th century (Ford 1976: 283, Hooke 1981: 149). However, *feld* is difficult to use as a woodland indicator since it does essentially refer to open ground and hence the size and direction of any flanking woodland by which it is defined is unknown. Ⓢ sp.

The early and overlapping meanings of *leah* are 'forest, wood, clearing'. A later meaning is 'pasture' or 'meadow' (Gelling and Cole 2000: 232, 236, 239). Gelling suggested that clusters of *leah* names indicate a clearing in a wooded area, but that isolated *leah* names refer to woods in open country (ibid.). She also pointed out that the distributions of *leah* and *tun* are usually mutually exclusive. *Leah* names are generally not earlier than c.731 AD and are only in common use from the mid 8th century. They become less frequent after the mid 10th century when the later meaning developed (ibid.).

The early meaning of *worth* was 'enclosure' which quickly became 'enclosed settlement' (Hooke 1981: 168, Smith 1956: 273, Cameron 1996: 150). It is found either in former woodland areas or on the edge of woodland areas (Hooke 1981: 168, 1976: 283), although there are other reasons for giving a *worth* name such as enclosure by a river loop. *Worth* is not commonly recorded in pre-731 AD documents and although found in 8th century Anglo-Saxon charters was only commonly used from the 10th century until after the Norman Conquest (Cameron 1996: 151, Cox 1980: 43).

Analysis and interpretation (see Plates 37, 38, and 72 to 78)

*Feld* names (particularly with earliness indicators) may indicate an earlier 6th or 7th century phase of English place-naming in an area in or near to woodland. *Leah* names located nearby would indicate that the woodland existed from this early period to at least the 8th century (it is reasonable to believe that this does not represent regeneration). If *leah* names are not nearby this may indicate woodland clearance by the 8th century leaving an open landscape. *Worth* names coincide chronologically with *leah* names and indicate a later settlement phase, but like earlier *feld*, may indicate settlements adjacent to woodland. It may therefore be possible to identify and approximately date woodland areas in the Anglian period, and to trace the chronological development of English place-naming in these areas (presumably representing settlements, but whether new or existing is unclear). It should be noted however that the absence of *feld* or *leah* terms is not necessarily significant, therefore



when it is said that *leah* is evidence for woodland in the 8th century but not earlier, this means that there is no evidence for the earlier period, not necessarily that there is no woodland in the earlier period.

*Leah* parish names indicate woodland as the dominant feature in that area, and this is also suggested by Hooke (1978-9: 7). There are three examples in the study area. In south Northumberland Slaley and Shotley are in an area where *leah* names are concentrated. In mid Northumberland Horsley is in another area of concentration, and as the specific indicates the late meaning of meadow, a wooded area probably existed to the late Anglian period.

### Durham

1) A concentration of *leah* names west of the River Wear in the Derwent valley and between the Derwent and Wear indicate extensive woodland to at least the 8th century. *Feld* names in the Derwent, Tyne and possibly Browney valleys indicate the presence of early English-speakers on the edges of this wooded area in the 6th or 7th centuries. The *worth* names in the Wear valley indicate that between the Tyne and Durham City, including Chester-le-Street, there was a wooded area to at least the late Anglian period.

2) A cluster of *feld*, *leah* and *worth* names in north-east Durham south of Jarrow indicates a wooded area from the early to later Anglian periods.

3) In the upper Wear valley the *feld* names indicate scattered early Anglian place-naming in a wooded area. The large concentration of *leah* names indicates more

extensive place-naming and an Anglian presence from the 8th century in a still heavily wooded area.

4) A cluster of *feld* names on the watershed between the Gaunless and Tees valleys may indicate the presence of early English-speakers in this wooded area. The *leah* names in the upper Tees and Gaunless valleys indicate a more extensive presence that had penetrated this extensive woodland from the 8th century.

5) In contrast there are few of these names east of the Wear to the coast. This indicates a generally open landscape. An exception is the scattering of names south of Auckland that indicates a wooded area that extended to the Skerne valley and Darlington. The isolated *feld* name Sedgefield probably refers to an open area that contrasts to the surrounding marshland rather than woodland, following Gelling's suggestion (1984: 235).

### Northumberland

1) Concentrations of these names occur south of the Tyne in the Devil's Water area and in the North and South Tyne valleys. Stocksfield, Dukesfield and Whitfield indicate the scattered presence of early 6th or 7th century English-speakers in heavily wooded areas that existed at least to the 8th century. From this date *leah* clusters indicate a more extensive presence.

2) There is a concentration of *leah* names in mid Northumberland extending from the Wansbeck to north of the Aln. *Feld* and *worth* names are on the peripheries of this

wooded area. It separates a coastal zone from an inland zone centred on the upper Coquet, Aln and Breamish valleys. These distributions indicate the presence of early English-speakers extending inland from the coast in the 6th or 7th century and a more extensive presence that penetrated further into this woodland in the mid Aln and Coquet valleys from the 8th century.

3) These names are generally absent in south Northumberland. Bitchfield may indicate an isolated wooded area in a generally open landscape in the early Anglian period. However, it is difficult to interpret a single example. The two *worth* names in south-east Northumberland probably indicate settlements surrounded by moorland rather than woodland.

#### South-East Scotland and the Tweed basin

The absence of these names in the Milfield and lower Tweed basins, and the coastal zones north and south of the Tweed may indicate a generally open landscape. *Worth* names are located on the edges of this area and *leah* names are further north and west in the upper Tweed and Tweed watersheds. This indicates woodland on the peripheries of the Tweed basin and the presence of English-speakers in these areas from the 8th century.

#### Discussion

These distributions support the idea suggested by Hooke that *leah* names were generally located on fringe areas and represent the penetration of former woodland (1978-9: 7). The distributions also show that *feld* names generally appear on the inner



margins of woodland areas as suggested by Hill (1976: 283). Comparisons between the distributions of *tun*, *ingtun*, *wic* and *leah* names (see Plate 76) indicate that they are generally separate and indicate two different landscapes, one wooded, the other open field and pasture. Durham is a good example but Watts is not entirely correct to argue that distributions of *leah* and *tun* names are mutually exclusive (1976: 123,129). Although *tun* and *ingtun* names are concentrated east of the Wear and *leahs* to the west, they coincide in the Tees valley between Gainford and Startforth, the Wear valley west of Auckland, north-east Durham, north of Chester-le-Street, and in the Browney valley. South-east Northumberland and much of the coastal zone is a distinctly open landscape but other areas appear to be heavily wooded, such as the area south of the Tyne and mid Northumberland around the Aln. An example is the Coquet where there is an open coastal area with *tun* and *ingtun* names to the west, and an area of *leah* names further west. However there are also areas where *tun*, *ingtun* and *leah* names coincide such as the upper Wansbeck valley, and the North and South Tyne valleys. In the Tweed basin *leah* and *tun* names are generally separate except in the Jed valley. In the upper Teviot the *tun* cluster centres on the river and *leah* names are in the surrounding hill land.

Second phase Anglian names seem, at least in some areas, to correlate with *feld*, *leah* and *worth* names (see Plate 74). In mid Northumberland the *leah* concentration coincides with the *ing(a)ham* cluster although the *leah* area south of the Coquet contains no second phase names. In the North Tyne the three *ing(a)ham* names correlate with a *leah* area, and Beltingham correlates with the *leah* concentration in the

South Tyne. In the lower Tyne valley the two *ing(a)ham* names are surrounded by *leah* names. In the upper Wear valley in Durham, Wolsingham correlates with the extensive concentration of *leah* names, although there is no correlation elsewhere in Durham. In the Tweed basin the *burh* and *-ingas* names are on the eastern edge of the area with *leah* and *worth* names. These distributions, especially in Northumberland, indicate a possible correlation between a second phase of Anglian place-naming (particularly *ing(a)ham* names) and wooded landscapes. One possibility is that *ing(a)ham* names represent penetration by English-speakers into areas that were not cleared and were uncultivated, although there may have been a pre-English presence.

With regard to pre-English names (see Plates 77-8), if there is a correlation with *feld*, *leah* and *worth* names it is weak. In Durham there may be a correlation in the area north and west of Darlington between the pre-English cluster and *leah* and *worth* names, and the hybrid cluster between the Derwent and Wear coincides with the *leah* concentration, but other names do not have this correlation. In Northumberland although pre-English and *leah* names coincide in the North and South Tyne areas and west of the Devil's Causeway, they do not in the Milfield basin and the coastal areas. There is also no correlation between these names in south-east Scotland.

#### 6.7.2 Pollen sites and place-names

Pollen sites in the study area (see Plate 79 for the site location, the numbering and Details of which are contained in Appendix 10) are compared to the place-name evidence. There are basically two opposing interpretations about what this pollen evidence indicates:



i) post-Roman discontinuity of agricultural land use indicated by a decline in cereal and grass pollen and an increase in tree pollen.

ii) post-Roman continuity of land use, with decline only in the 6th century or later, indicated by a continuation of cereal and grass pollen and little or no tree pollen.

Analysis of pollen grains obtained from stratified archaeological deposits in bogs and mires indicates the changes in the nature of the vegetation around the site in past centuries (Huntley 1999: 49). However there is a problem in determining the catchment area from which the pollen sample originally derived, and therefore whether they provide local or regional evidence. One reason is because the extent of the catchment area is estimated from the size the depositional basin (Dincauze 2000: 345, 359) but there are different interpretations. According to Huntley, basins of 100m or more diameter indicate regional vegetational changes and reflect the vegetation in a 10-30 km radius around a site. Those of less than 30m diameter only reflect local changes and the vegetation immediately around them (2000: 67). However Turner suggested that in the latter case this would apply to basins of less than 100m rather than 30m (1981: 68). Pollen dating is also imprecise even with radiocarbon dating. Estimated dates of pollen deposits depend on the thickness of the sample analysed, the accumulated rate of sediment, and mixing of the sequence (Dincauze 2000: 67, 345).

To have any statistical relevance my methodology adopts the lower 10 km radius suggested by Prentice and Huntley. The place-names within this radius are analysed for each site to determine whether this correlates with the environmental evidence provided



by the pollen. It is acknowledged that this is only an estimate and that the small pollen sites of Bollihope, Steward Shield, Hallowell, Thorpe Bulmer and Neasham probably have a local catchment in the immediate vicinity. The other sites may receive pollen within a 10-30 km radius or even greater distances in the cases of large sites such as Steng, Mordon, Fozy, Fellend and Broad.

#### Analysis of place-names within 10km of each site (see Plates 79-86)

Appendix 11 contains a corpus of Anglian and pre-English names found within 10km of each site. Place-name evidence can only provide very general and limited indications of environment and landscape in the post-Roman period around these sites, but it is useful to compare this with the interpretations derived from the pollen evidence to determine if they correlate or not.

*Feld* names indicate the presence of early English-speakers in a wooded landscape in the 6th or 7th centuries. Where there are *leah* or *worth* names but *feld* names are absent this only provides evidence for the settlement of English-speakers in a wooded landscape from the 8th century, but does not mean that this woodland did not exist at an earlier date, only that there is not place-name evidence for this. A concentration of *leah* names indicates larger numbers of English-speakers penetrating these areas in the later Anglian period. Therefore these name-types indicate two things, first, woodland, second, either pastoral or agricultural settlement by English-speakers in or near a wooded area.

Pre-English names indicate the presence of Brittonic-speakers and continuity of a

pastoral or agricultural landscape rather than reversion to woodland in the post-Roman period. Anglian names indicate the presence of English-speakers in a landscape that at least in parts is pastoral or agricultural, with the earliest names indicating that this dates from at least the early 7th century, second phase names from the 7th century, and later names from the 8th century.

Each site is analysed, with the references for the interpretations of the pollen evidence in brackets.

#### Hallowell Moss

(Davies and Turner 1979: 228, Donaldson and Turner 1973: 29-31, Dark 1996: 33, 145)

The pollen evidence has an uncertain chronology and all that can be said is that there is evidence of post-Roman agricultural continuity (although possibly reduced), and forest regeneration at some time in the post-Roman period. The concentration of *leah* and *worth* names provide evidence for a wooded area from possibly the 8th century (although the absence of *feld* names does not mean there was not earlier woodland).

The pre-English names support this idea of agricultural continuity and the concentration of possible early Anglian names in middle Weardale and the Browney valley suggest an open agricultural landscape into the 6th or 7th centuries. There is no suggestion from place-names that forest regeneration began in these centuries.

#### Camp Hill Moss

(Davies and Turner 1979: 799-802)



The cluster of possible pre-English names may support the pollen evidence interpretation that there was post-Roman agricultural continuity, although the interpretation that there was mid 6th century reforestation is not supported by place-name evidence as they do not indicate wooded areas at this date. There are no *feld* names, and only a few *leah* names that indicate woodland from possibly the 8th century. There are also possible early Anglian names in the Bamburgh coastal plain and Breamish valley, and the Anglian settlement at New Bewick, which indicates agricultural settlement in these areas from at least the 7th century.

### Broad Moss

(Davies and Turner 1979: 796, 802)

The pollen evidence is interpreted as showing post-Roman agricultural continuity then decline and woodland regeneration by the mid 6th century. There are no pre-English or early Anglian names in the vicinity but as a large site the pollen catchment area could include the Till and Breamish valleys. In the Till, pre-English names indicate post-Roman agricultural continuity. In the Breamish, possible early Anglian names indicate agricultural activity from at least the early 7th century (New Bewick may indicate the late 6th century). The single *leah* and *worth* names only provide tentative evidence for woodland from possibly the 8th century rather than any earlier period.

### Fozy

(Dumayne and Barber 1994: 220-1, Dark 1996: 33, 145)

The cluster of pre-English names support an interpretation of the pollen evidence that



there was post-Roman continuity and agricultural activity (although possibly at a reduced level). As the site is surrounded by *leah* rather than *feld* names (except Fallowfield) there is no evidence to indicate a largely wooded landscape until possibly the 8th century, and therefore no evidence that forest regeneration coincided with Roman withdrawal. The possible early Anglian names and archaeological evidence at Vindolanda, Chesters and Barrasford indicate agricultural clearance by English-speakers by the 7th century.

### Fellend

(Davies and Turner 1979: 228, 802, Turner 1983: 17, Dark 1996: 33, 145)

This large pollen site reflects a wide catchment area that possibly included the south Tyne valley. The cluster of pre-English names correlates with an interpretation of the pollen evidence that there was post-Roman agricultural continuity (although possibly at a declining level). The *leah* names support the idea of a wooded landscape from possibly the 8th century rather than forest regeneration in the 7th century. However, the few early Anglian names may support the latter idea by indicating that agricultural settlement by English-speakers was scarce in this period.

### Steng Moss

(Davies and Turner 1979: 802, Turner 1983: 14, Dark 1996: 33)

This large site may have a catchment area that includes the Rede valley and the land west of the Devil's Causeway. The pollen evidence is interpreted as showing that there was post-Roman forest regeneration but there is disagreement over the date. The *leah* names only indicate woodland from possibly the 8th century rather than any earlier

date. The presence of pre-English names in this area may support the idea that there was post-Roman agricultural or pastoral continuity rather than early forest regeneration. The possible early Anglian names in the Rede valley (with pre-English names) indicate that here at least there was both post-Roman continuity and evidence for agricultural settlement by English-speakers from the 7th century.

#### Quick Moss

(Dark 1996: 33,145)

Place-name evidence correlates with the pollen evidence that indicates an increase in woodland and a decrease in agriculture in the post-Roman period. *Leah* names provide evidence for a wooded upper Wear valley from possibly the 8th century.

Further evidence that there was not post-Roman agricultural continuity is provided by the absence of pre-English or early Anglian names. Only from the 8th century is pastoral or agricultural settlement by English-speakers indicated.

#### Steward Shield and Bollihope

(Turner 1979: 287, 289, Bartley et al. 1976: 466, Roberts et al. 1973: 216, 220, Dark 1996: 33)

The concentration of *leah*, *feld* and *worth* names around these sites indicates that the upper Wear valley was wooded from at least the 7th to the 8th century. This supports an interpretation of the pollen evidence that there was woodland regeneration between the 5th to 11th century. Although pollen evidence may also indicate limited agriculture the possible early Anglian names and absence of pre-English names only



provides evidence for scattered settlement in woodland from possibly the 7th century rather than post-Roman continuity. However, as both are small sites the pollen evidence may only reflect nearby wooded hill-land rather than the more widely settled valley.

#### Thorpe Bulmer and Hutton Henry

(Turner 1979: 287, Bartley et al. 1976: 465-6)

These pollen sites are small and may only reflect the nearby environment. The absence of *leah* or *feld* names and only two *worth* names to the west indicates an open landscape during the Anglian period. This correlates to the pollen evidence which indicates an open landscape in the post-Roman period, although possibly agricultural decline and reversion to pasture. The pre-English cluster to the north may support this idea of post-Roman agricultural continuity. One anomaly is the scarcity of early Anglian names although there are the early Anglian burials at Castle Eden, Blackhall and Easington. The later Anglian *tun* and *ingtun* names support extensive agricultural settlement from the 8th century.

#### Neasham

(Turner 1979: 228, Bartley et al. 1976: 464, 466-7)

The pollen evidence from this small site may only reflect the area in its immediate vicinity. The *leah* name Blaydale and *worth* name Heworth indicate woodland west of the River Skerne from possibly the 7th century, and may correlate with pollen evidence that indicates a forested area cleared for agriculture by the 8th century. However, uncertain *feld* Drinkfield may suggest that agricultural clearance began in the



7th century. The later *tun* names around *ingtun* Darlington also supports the idea of widespread agricultural settlement by English-speakers from the 8th century but the pre-English cluster west of the Skerne indicates that here there was post-Roman agricultural continuity. The possible early Anglian names and particularly the *ham* name Neasham and Darlington cemetery evidence does not correlate to the pollen evidence, instead indicating agricultural activity by English-speakers from the early 7th or even late 6th century.

### Mordon

(Bartley et al. 1976: 441, 446, 466)

The pollen evidence indicates an open agricultural landscape in the post-Roman and Anglian periods and, as a large site, may reflect an area that includes the Skerne and middle Tees valleys. Although there are no pre-English names to support the idea of post-Roman continuity (except possibly Coundon), the concentration of possible early and later Anglian names indicates extensive settlement by English-speakers in an open agricultural landscape from at least the 7th century. Sedgefield indicates marshland rather than woodland although the presence of a few *leah*, *feld* and *worth* names, Thickley, uncertain Aycliffe, uncertain Drinkfield, uncertain Redworth and Heworth may indicate possible woodland to the west.

### Dod

(Innes and Shennan 1991: 24)

There is a correlation between the pollen evidence which indicates a cleared agricultural

landscape in the post-Roman period, and place-name evidence which, as there is only one *leah* name to the north-west, also indicates an open rather than wooded area. The pre-English names indicate settlement continuity in the area, and the few possible early Anglian names to the north reinforce this by indicating that even in this area there may have been scattered farming settlements of English-speakers by the 7th century. Larger numbers of later Anglian names indicate more extensive farming in an open landscape from the 8th century.

### Din Moss

(Innes and Shennan 1991: 25)

The absence of *leah* or other names that indicate woodland corresponds to the pollen evidence which shows a post-Roman open agricultural landscape. The pre-English, early and later Anglian names support this interpretation by indicating post-Roman continuity of occupation to at least the 8th century.

In summary, there is a general overall pattern of correlation between pollen and place-name evidence, although there are sites where the evidence is difficult to reconcile.

### 1) Good correlation

Fellend

Quick

Steward Shield

Bollihope

Thorpe Bulmer

Hutton Henry

Mordon

Dod

Din Moss

## 2) Partial/ possible correlation

Hallowell

Camp Hill

Broad

Steng

## 3) Poor or no correlation

Fozy

Neasham

It should be expected that there would not be a close correlation because both types of evidence are problematic and can only provide broad indicators. Although a detailed study does not work, by comparing and combining this evidence additional data may be provided about the settlement, environment and landscape of the study area in the post-Roman period.



## **Section 8:**

### **Place-names, soil and geological evidence**

#### **6.8.1 Introduction**

Place-names are compared here to drift geology, soil quality and land capability evidence. A key principle proposed in studies by Faull (1981), Higham (1986) and Watts (1976, 1978) is that the earliest Anglian settlers would first choose the most attractive available land. If this is correct, then by comparing settlement names with geological and soil evidence from settlement sites, it may be possible to correlate place-name types with good and bad geological and soil areas, and identify an English place-naming chronology (Watts 1976: 127, 1978: 32). Drift geology and soil quality is therefore considered to be an important factor underlying place-name distributions but it is only one among a number of factors that influences site selection and therefore place-name distributions. These include drainage, water supply, climate, defence, availability of land already cleared and cultivated, and existing Brittonic settlement.

The following mapping data was used:

1) OS drift geology maps in 1: 50,000 scale for England and Wales. Note that there is no drift geology map for the area around Hexham.

OS drift geology maps in 1: 50,000 and 1: 63,360 scale for Scotland.

2) Soil classification maps: Soil survey of England and Wales Sheet 1, Soil survey of Scotland Sheet 7, both 1: 250,000 scale.

3) Land quality maps: Agricultural land classification, northern region, Map 36 (1973), 1: 400,000 scale. Soil survey of Scotland, land capability for agriculture, Sheet 7,

1: 250,000 scale.

For each evidence type comparison maps have been prepared, see Plates 87-104.

There are however problems because these maps (particularly for drift geology) have been criticised for not being precise enough to correlate to place-name distributions. They only indicate broad patterns (Watts 1978: 33, Roberts 1976: 34). A strong element of interpretation is present regarding these maps when considering whether areas are 'good' or 'bad' (Roberts 1976: 34). There are also particular problems with different scales and classification systems between maps of Scotland and England, and those showing different evidence types.

Taking these problems into account only a regional survey is possible rather than a detailed analysis of particular areas. The broad patterns and features identified for each evidence type are compared with each other in a final synthesis. By combining the three types of mapping information this should improve the accuracy of the data. The key issue considered is the relationship between 'good' and 'bad' land or soils for agricultural settlement, and different place-name types such as those that are early or later Anglian, or pre-English.

#### 6.8.2 Place-names and drift geology (Plates 87-92)

Watts in his studies of Durham classified 'good' sites as being located on alluvium and glacial sand and gravel, and 'bad' sites as being located on boulder clay (1976: 127, 1978: 32). He suggested that as Anglian topographic names *burna*, *eg*, *ford* and



particularly *dun* names in the Wear lowlands generally correlated to the best geological sites, these should be considered early (1978: 32). In contrast, *tun* names, which are considered later, and *leah*, *feld* and *worth* names that indicate woodland, generally did not correlate to the best geological sites (ibid., 1976: 127). However Watts also found that habitative names (such *ham* and *ingham*) that are considered early could occur in areas of boulder clay, for example Billingham (1978: 32). These studies are used as a starting point in my analysis, and place-names that correlate to 'good' areas of alluvium, river terrace deposits and glacial sand and gravel are distinguished from 'bad' areas of boulder clay.

Islandshire and Norhamshire have areas of alluvium, but except for a large area around Norham, correlate to later rather than earlier Anglian names. Pre-English Ross is also very near to an area of alluvium. The Bamburgh coastlands are mostly boulder clay, and the areas of alluvium and sand and gravel do not correlate with potentially early Anglian names except for Elford and possibly Bradford. However, further west, Warenton, Warenford and Belford correlate to small areas of alluvium and sand and gravel. The Till, Glen and lower Breamish valleys contain large areas of alluvium and sand and gravel that correlates to the pre-English names Milfield, Yeavering, Mindrum, and hybrid Branxton, rather than to early Anglian names. These are instead located on boulder clay, for example Lyham, Holburn, Ford and Humbleton.

The lower and middle Aln valley is an area of alluvium and sand and gravel but there are no early Anglian names. To the north is mostly boulder clay, and the areas of alluvium or sand and gravel correlate with later rather than earlier Anglian names



except Doxford. South of the Aln is mostly boulder clay but the one area of alluvium does correlate to Buston. Further west up the Aln valley is mostly boulder clay, and the small areas of alluvium and sand and gravel correlate with later Anglian names such as Beanley and Bolton. Although Eglington appears to be on boulder clay, Edlington is on a strip of sand and gravel, and Whittingham is on the large area of alluvium and sand and gravel in the upper Aln. Alnham, in contrast, is located on boulder clay. The alluvium or sand and gravel areas in the Breamish valley correlate with potentially early Anglian names Ingram, Brandon, Branton, Wooperton, Lilburn, and New Bewick settlement site, and extends up the valley to include Hartside.

The lower and middle Coquet valley up to Brinkburn is an area of alluvium or sand and gravel, but except for Gloster Hill, Birling and possibly Warkworth, early Anglian names are absent. There is alluvium and sand and gravel in the upper valley near the river that correlates with Rothbury and possibly Farnham and Plainfield, together with the Hepple burial site. South of the Coquet is mostly boulder clay and on this are Chibburn and Pigdon, but other potentially early Anglian names such as Ulgham, Hebron and Earsdon seem to correlate with areas of alluvium or sand and gravel.

The Wansbeck valley contains large areas of alluvium or sand and gravel, such as around Morpeth, but there is no correlation with early Anglian names except around Mitford and Meldon. The upper Wansbeck also has areas of alluvium or sand and gravel around Netherwitton but no early Anglian names. However, around the Rivers Pont and upper Blyth there are alluvium or sand and gravel areas that do correlate with

potentially early Anglian names Ponteland, Higham, Kirkley, Stamfordham and Bradford, although Bitchfield is on boulder clay. The coastal areas of Woodhorn, Newbigging, Ellington, and south to Tynemouth are mostly boulder clay and this corresponds with a scarcity of early Anglian names. There are however some areas of alluvium that seem to correlate with later rather than earlier Anglian names (except possibly Sleekburn), for example Stannington, Bedlington and Choppington.

South of Morpeth is mostly boulder clay but there is a large area of alluvium and sand and gravel that corresponds with the Ouseburn and correlates to the potentially early Anglian names Fawdon and Gosforth. All along the Tyne valley are large areas of alluvium and sand and gravel, and there are early Anglian names including Ovingham and Corchester/ bridge. However, Blaydon and Fenham correspond with boulder clay, and the good soils to the west at Crawcrook only contain later Anglian names. Alluvium and sand and gravel extend along the Breamish valley surrounded by boulder clay, and correlates with the early Anglian names located there including Ebchester. Alluvium or sand and gravel closely correspond to the North Tyne river, and correlates with potential early Anglian names Chollerton, Barrasford, Bellingham, and the *burna* names and others in the upper reaches. An area of sand and gravel correlates with Risingham and Woodburn in the Rede valley but also continues up the valley to include Otterburn and Rochester. Surrounding these areas is boulder clay where early Anglian names are generally absent.

The area between the Rivers Tyne and Wear is mostly boulder clay except for small areas of alluvium that correlate with potential early Anglian names Cleadon, Whitburn,



Jarrow, and sites Arbeia fort and Monkwearmouth. East Boldon and Harton however are on boulder clay. South of Gateshead is an area of boulder clay but there is a large alluvium area around Washington that correlates with late rather than early Anglian names. There are large areas of sand and gravel between the alluvial area of the Team valley and Breamish valley (for example at Beamish) but there are no early Anglian names. In the Wear valley there are large areas of alluvium and sand and gravel, although the large area west of the river only correlates with one early Anglian name, Chester-le-Street. Other areas around Durham City and the Browney valley do correlate with the potential early Anglian names there including Lanchester. The eastern side of the Wear valley is mostly boulder clay but areas of alluvium or sand and gravel do correlate with Sherburn, Pitlington, Hetton-le-Hole and Warden. Sand and gravel areas extend up the river and correlate with Auckland, Binchester and Wolsingham. These areas are surrounded by boulder clay where early Anglian names are generally absent but there are *leah* names.

South of the Wear the coastal area is mostly boulder clay but small areas of alluvium could correlate with early Anglian *dun* names Grindon, Farrington, Humbleton. However, larger areas of alluvium around Ryhope and Burdon do not correlate with early Anglian names, although the probable early Anglian centre of Seaham seems to be on the southern edge of the alluvial area that extends down the coast from Ryhope. South-East Durham is mostly boulder clay and any areas of alluvium or sand and gravel, for example around Dalton and Elwick, correlate with late rather than early Anglian names, or even, in the area of the Eden Burn, correlate with pre-English



names. The Easington burial site is an exception that correlates with an area of alluvium.

The concentration of potentially early Anglian names in the upper Skerne area, such as Sedgefield, Mainsforth, Middleham and Cornforth, correlate with a large area of alluvium. Quarrington also correlates with a small area of alluvium, but early Anglian names are absent from the area of sand and gravel around Thornley and Wheatley (a heavily wooded area may be indicated).

In Scotland there is an identical classification system, but only the map of the Tweed Basin (Plate 94) has the good soils highlighted in pink. The other maps (Plates 95-6) only contain the basic OS geological data obtained as a web download through Edina. Despite this it is possible to compare The place-name distributions to drift features and areas of boulder clay. In East Lothian, areas of sand and gravel and alluvium are concentrated on the coast from Dunbar south to Oldhamstocks, inland in the Tyne valley and tributaries, and just north of Markle (where early Anglian archaeological evidence is concentrated). Potentially early Anglian names correlate with these areas, including Tynninghame and Morham. The large areas of sand and gravel and alluvium south and east of Edinburgh are devoid of early Anglian names, and instead correlate with pre-English names. In the Tweed basin analysis is restricted by the absence of a drift survey for the mid basin area. Sand and gravel and alluvium are concentrated near the River Tweed and in the other river valleys such as the White Adder and Leader. Birgham, Leitholm and Edrom correlate with these areas, but the areas around Eyemouth and Ayton have few early Anglian names. Coldingham correlates with an

area of sand and gravel, but a similar area around Cocksburnspath does not contain early Anglian names. The coastal area just north and west of Berwick, dominated by boulder clay, correlates with later rather than early Anglian names. In the mid and upper Tweed basin sand and gravel and alluvium closely follows the river and its tributaries, with significant areas at the lower Teviot around Ancrum and Crailing, and just to the west of Melrose. Although early Anglian names correlate with the sand and gravel and alluvium in these areas and also in the Oxnam and Yetholm valleys, they are generally absent from the areas in the Ettrick, Yarrow, Teviot and Jed valleys, where pre-English names predominate.

### 6.8.3 Place-names and soil classification (Plates 97-101)

I have adapted the modern soil classification system for Northumberland and Durham to construct the following categories of agricultural land (this is partially based on the classifications by Faull 1977: 12).

- i) Good agricultural land
- ii) Intermediate land, suitable for agriculture though with limitations
- iii) Poor moorland, mountain soils and heavy clays unsuitable for agriculture
- iv) Unsurveyed, disturbed and urban areas

It should be noted that modern soil classification may not reflect soil quality in the Anglo-Saxon period. Land classed as high quality and appearing to have fertile soils may require modern equipment or drainage systems (ibid.).

There are good soils that correlate with the area around Norham, but elsewhere in Islandshire and Norhamshire there are intermediate soils with later Anglian names,

although there are the scattered *dun* names. There is a good soil area extending from Bamburgh to Fenwick but instead of correlating with early Anglian names there is pre-English Ross and later Anglian names. The Chatton Hills has intermediate and poor soil areas that correlate with the pre-English names, Hepburn and Warenton, with Chillingham on the edge of this area. From the Tweed south into the Till, Glen and Breamish valleys are good soils. Carham correlates with this area but early Anglian names are scarce on the Till soils (except Thirlings and Humbleton). Ford is situated on intermediate soils. Instead, the good soils correlate with pre-English names Milfield, Yeavinger, Mindrum and hybrid Branxton. In the Breamish valley good soils correlate with potentially early Anglian names Lilburn, Wooperton, Glanton, Brandon and Ingram.

A good soil area around Bamburgh and Beadnell Bay correlates with a concentration of potentially early Anglian names including Fleetham, Bradford and Elford (Belford and Warenford on the periphery). Further good soils extend south and correlate with Ellingham and Doxford. Further south still intermediate soils correlate with later Anglian names including Brunton and Newton (although there is Embleton and Fallodon). Good soils correlate with Broxfield and Hefferlaw, and possibly Dunston, Craster and Howick, although poor soils surround this area.

The good soils in the lower Aln valley correlate with later *tun* and *wic* names rather than early Anglian names. Further up the valley, intermediate soils also correlate with later Anglian names, but isolated areas of good soils may correlate with *ing(a)ham*



names such as Edlingham, Eglingham and Whittingham. Alnham is in a poor soil area. South of the Aln the coastal area has generally poor soils and contains Buston and Wooden. The good soils around Coquetmouth may correlate with the early Anglian names there, but despite good soils extending up to Brinkburn there are few early Anglian names, except possibly Bockenfield and Todburn on the edge of this area. The Rothbury Hills is a poor soil area where early or later Anglian names are absent but *leah* names are found. Good soils in the upper Coquet correlate with Rothbury, but generally there are poor soils further west, although small areas of good soils correlate with Burradon, Farnham and Plainfield.

The lowlands south of the Coquet have mostly intermediate soils especially near the coast, and this correlates to concentrations of later Anglian names (including the *leah* concentration between the Coquet and Wansbeck) and a scarcity of early Anglian names. Small areas of good soils near Longhorsley and Pegswood do not correlate with early Anglian names, although the good soils west of Morpeth do correlate with Mitford, Hartburn and Meldon. Other good soil areas correlate with potentially early Anglian names Bitchfield, Harnham and Stamfordham, in the generally intermediate soil area around the Rivers Blyth and Pont.

The Tyne valley has good soils that correlate with potentially early Anglian names such as Blaydon, possibly Whickham, Ovingham, Stocksfield and around Corbridge and Hexham. These soils extend up the North Tyne valley and correlate closely with potentially early Anglian names along the river. A narrow strip of good soils continues to the head of the river and correlates to Bellingham and the *burna* names. Redesdale

has poor soils except an area of good soils that correlate with Risingham and Woodburn. These areas are surrounded by poor soils where early Anglian names are scarce. The South Tyne also has good soils closely associated with the river that also correlate with potentially early Anglian names including Redburn, Beltingham and Warden. Poor soils surround this area including south of Hexham, although there are good soils associated with the Devil's Water that correlate with Dukesfield.

Between the Tyne and the Wear the few good soil areas that are indicated correlate with Boldon, Cleadon and possibly Harton. To the west is an intermediate soil area that correlates with Strotherfield and the *leah* names. South of the Wear there are good soil areas that correlate with potentially early Anglian names such as Hetton-le-Hole and Warden, but also hybrid Penshaw. The coastlands and south-east Durham are generally intermediate soil areas and any good soil areas do not correlate with early Anglian names. There are good soil areas that correlate with Easington and Castle Eden, and later Anglian names around Hart, Elwick and Hesleden. The Tees estuary is mostly unsurveyed but Greatham and Billingham may correlate with good soil areas.

There are a good soil areas south of Gateshead but no early Anglian names. The mid Wear is mostly unsurveyed but there are some good soil areas indicated that correlate with potentially early Anglian names Sherburn and Pitlington. Good soils also extend up the Browney valley to Lanchester and correlate with potentially early Anglian names. North-west Durham has generally intermediate soils but small areas of good soils correlate with Butsfield and Rare Dean, and the good soils of Breamish valley correlate



with early Anglian names such as Ebchester. The area around Auckland is unsurveyed but small areas of good soils correlate with potentially early Anglian names Coundon and possibly Shildon. Good soils extend up the Wear valley to include Wolsingham and are surrounded by poor soils.

The Skerne valley has a large area of good soils that correlate with Middleham, Trimdon, Cornforth and Sedgefield, surrounded by intermediate soils. The area around Darlington has poor soils where there are late rather than early Anglian names. The Tees has a strip of good soil that correlates with the potentially early Anglian names that seem restricted to the river, including Neasham and Sockburn. There are good soil areas in the upper Tees but they correlate with early Anglian names only around Gainford. To the north are poor soils that correlate with Wackerfield and Cockfield, although possibly Staindrop is on a small area of good soils.

Scotland has a different soil classification system, and although I have divided soil categories into i) good, ii) reasonable, iii) poor and iv) unsurveyed, they do not necessarily equate exactly to the categories used for Northumberland and Durham. The Tweed basin is mostly a reasonable soil area, but there are some good soil areas. One area near the coast correlates with Coldingham, while other areas correlate with potentially early Anglian Smailholm, Earlston and Gordon, and pre-English Duns. Other valleys with good soils are the White Adder, Leader Water, Oxnam, Kale, Yetholm and Bowmont, and they generally correlate with at least some potentially early Anglian names. The Jed valley in contrast has poor soils that correlate with an absence of early Anglian names. Only the upper valley has good soils and these may



correlate with early Anglian *dun* names and pre-English names. The Teviot valley has good soils but these correlate with a concentration of later Anglian and pre-English names rather than early Anglian names (except Colifort Hill and uncertain *ceaster* names). Around Melrose, Midlem and Minto is a good soil area, but between the good soils of the Teviot and Tweed valleys are poor soils with pre-English names including Peniel Heugh. Roxburgh sits between these two soil areas. The Lammermuir Hills are poor soils with few Anglian names. East Lothian has mostly good soils, including the Tyne valley, Pefferburn, and coastal areas where potentially early Anglian names are located.

#### 6.8.4 Place-names and agricultural land capability (Plates 102-4)

For Northumberland and Durham the agricultural land classifications have been simplified for the purposes of my analysis. They reflect modern classifications, not necessarily the situation in the early Anglian period.

- i) Attractive land
- ii) Less attractive land with moderate limitations
- iii) Severely limited land
- iv) Non-agricultural, urban, forestry commission etc

There is attractive land along the River Tweed that correlates with Norham, Grindon and Carham. The coastal area from Bamburgh to Beadnell is attractive land that correlates with the concentration of potential early Anglian names including Elford and Fleetham. The Till valley is generally less attractive land, but extending north from

Milfield is an area of attractive land where there are late rather than early Anglian names (only possibly Ford and Thirlings), and a correlation instead with pre-English names such as Milfield and Yeavinger. Separating this area from the coastal plain is severely limited land that correlates with uncertain pre-English names, and has the early Anglian names Warenton, Chillingham and Eglingham on the edge of it on more attractive land.

The upper valleys of the Breamish, Aln and Coquet are less attractive land and potentially early Anglian names do correlate with this, including Whittingham, Glanton, Brandon, Lilburn and Wooperton, although not Alnham which is on severely limited land. Farnham, Plainfield, Cartington, Fawdon and Hepburn are on the boundaries between these two categories of land. New Bewick correlates with an isolated area of attractive land. The severely limited land of the Rothbury Hills correlates with *leah* rather than early Anglian names.

Coastal and southern Northumberland has generally less attractive land with smaller areas of severely limited land. *Leah* names correlate with an area of severely limited land north of the River Wansbeck, and there are pre-English names such as Carrycoats and an absence of early Anglian names in severely limited land west of the Devil's Causeway (although Wallington correlates with a more attractive land area). In the Tyne valley there is attractive and less attractive land near the river that extends east to Ovingham and Heddon, and correlates with the concentration of potentially early Anglian names. On the northern edge of this area, on severely limited land, there is Fallowfield and Bingfield. The less attractive land extends south and east of Hexham



and correlates with Dukesfield and Sockfield, and also follows the river to the head of the North Tyne valley where it correlates with potentially early Anglian names such as Bellingham and the *burna* names. The Rede valley has mostly severely restricted land except for a more attractive area that correlates with potentially early Anglian Risingham and Woodburn. The South Tyne valley generally has less attractive land, but there is attractive land near to the river that correlates with potentially early Anglian names. Severely limited land north and south of the valley correlates with *leah* and pre-English names, and here there are few early Anglian names except possibly Grindon and Whitfield (although the latter is near to a more attractive area).

The Durham coastlands and south-east Durham, including the Skerne area, is mostly less attractive land with few early Anglian names. There are a few attractive areas, for example around Hutton Henry and Hart, but they do not correlate with early Anglian names (although the attractive area at Redcar correlates with early Anglian evidence, and Greatham is on the periphery of an attractive area). The mid Wear valley is an attractive area that correlates with the concentration of potentially early Anglian names.

The Browney valley is a less attractive area but this also has early Anglian names including Lanchester and Butsfield. The upper Wear is also a less attractive area and correlates with early Anglian names including Wolsingham. The severely limited area in north-west Durham correlates only with pre-English and *leah* names, but where there is less attractive land in the Derwent valley this correlates with potentially early Anglian names including Ebchester. In contrast however, the less attractive land from the Wear to Stanley has no early Anglian names except Tanfield to the north. South of Auckland



less attractive land extends to Cockfield, and includes *dun* names such as Langton and Shildon. In the Tees valley attractive land correlates with the potentially early Anglian cluster around Gainford, and also Staindrop. The attractive land along the Tees correlates with the potentially early Anglian names located beside the river but not inland.

For South-east Scotland the agricultural land classification has been simplified to i) good, ii) reasonable, iii) poor, iv) bad, and v) unsurveyed. These categories are different to those in Northumberland and Durham. Early Anglian names do generally correlate with good or reasonable areas in East Lothian around Oldhamstocks, Dunbar, Pefferburn and the Tyne valley. The Tweed basin is mostly reasonable land with small areas of good land. The distribution of early Anglian names is not concentrated on these good areas but is spread across the mid Tweed area. However, in the reasonable land in the coastal area they are virtually absent except for Coldingham. The area of reasonable land extends west to Melrose and up the Leader Water, and correlates with *dun* names, and further north, later *tun* names. Beyond the White Adder the Lammermuir Hills is poor land with few Anglian names. South of the Tweed a good area of land correlates with a concentration of potentially early Anglian names including Roxburgh and Crailing. The Oxnam valley has reasonable land and early Anglian names but contrasts to the reasonable land in the Jed valley where they are generally absent. Similarly, reasonable land extends up the Teviot valley nearly to Hawick but except for uncertain *ceaster* names only correlates with later Anglian names. The upper Teviot, which is only poor grazing land correlates with pre-English

names.

#### 6.8.5 Synthesis and interpretation

This evidence shows that soil and land quality does in part provide an explanation for the distribution and chronology of Anglian place-naming. There are discrepancies between the different evidence types but generally they are in agreement and highlight areas where there is a correlation between potentially early Anglian names and the better agricultural land. The clearest examples are: around Norham, the Bamburgh-Beadnell coastlands, the upper Breamish valley, the upper Blyth and Pont, the mid Tyne valley particularly along the North and South Tyne rivers, Redesdale at Risingham and Woodham, the mid Wear and Browney valleys, Derwent valley, the upper Skerne valley, along the river Tees, the Mid Tweed valley and tributaries Oxnam, Kale and Bowmont, and in East Lothian. In other areas the evidence is less conclusive (only indicated by one evidence type), for example the area between the rivers Tyne and Wear. There is a general absence of early and later Anglian names (of the types considered) in poor areas of soil and land quality, for example the Lammermuir Hills (there are exceptions though, for instance Alnham in the upper Aln). Some of these areas also correlate with *leah* names, for example the Chatton Hills, Rothbury Hills, north of Wansbeck, and north-west Durham. They reinforce the idea that these areas were waste, sometimes heavily wooded, and not cleared for agriculture.

However, there are areas of good or reasonable soil and land quality without early



Anglian names. Where these areas correlate with *leah* names then heavy woodland is indicated which restricted early Anglian agricultural settlement, for example the Thornley and Wheatley area, and the valley of the Devil's Water. Other areas contain pre-English names and/ or later Anglian names, including the Till, Glen and lower Breamish valleys, the lower and mid Aln and Coquet valleys, Wansbeck valley, the Washington area and south of Gateshead, and the lower and mid Teviot valley. This indicates that there were factors other than just soil and land quality that influenced the distribution and chronology of Anglian place-naming. This point is reinforced when certain areas are focused on. The north Northumberland coastlands are a mixture of poor, intermediate and good areas of soil and land, but, except for Bamburgh-Beadnell, the good areas correlate with later Anglian names and even pre-English Ross, rather than early Anglian names. This is particularly evident in Islandshire. The lower Aln valley has good soil and land quality but has later rather than early Anglian names which instead occur in the upper valley. In the mid valley the soil and land quality is mixed, but it is noticeable that the *-ing(a)ham* names correlate with some of the good areas. The lower Coquet valley contains later rather than early Anglian names in the good soil and land areas except at Coquet-mouth, although the good areas in the upper Coquet do contain early Anglian names. The generally poor soils and land of south-east Northumberland contain later Anglian names, but even in the good areas there are later rather than early Anglian names. There is a similar pattern in south-east Durham, which is dominated by poor or intermediate soils and land, and later Anglian names, but where the good soil areas also have later rather than early names (although the Easington site is on good soils). There is similar soil and land



quality across the Tweed valley but early Anglian names are concentrated in the mid valley and are virtually absent in the coastlands.

With regard to pre-English names, they are distributed in many cases in poor soil and land areas, for example the Chatton Hills, west of the Devil's Causeway, north-west Durham, and the upper Teviot valley. As already mentioned however, there are areas of good or reasonable soils and land with pre-English names such as the Till valley, and the areas around Wallington and Walworth. This distribution suggests that the absence of early Anglian place-naming in some areas (in the upper Tweed this includes even later Anglian naming) is due to factors involving Brittonic dominance rather than soil and land quality.

To conclude, I analysed the proportions of different types of place-names that correspond to good areas of drift geology. The drift geology maps for Northumberland and Durham were chosen because they allow a more detailed and precise comparison than the soil quality and agricultural capability maps. The numbers in brackets are the total number of names found on each map area.

<u>Map 92, North Northumberland</u>		
Place-name types (early Anglian)	Names with early indicators	Names without early indicators and/ or uncertain
<hr/>		
<i>ham</i>	3 (3)	7 (8)
<i>-ing(a)ham</i>	4 (4)	-

<i>-ingas</i>	-	1 (1)
<i>burh</i>	2 (2)	2 (4)
<i>ceaster</i>	0 (2)	1 (1)
<i>burna</i>	2 (4)	3 (4)
<i>dun</i>	2 (3)	5 (8)
<i>eg</i>	0 (1)	0 (1)
<i>feld</i>	0 (1)	-
<i>ford</i>	5 (6)	3 (3)
<i>misc.</i>	2 (2)	-

Pre-English names

<u>Full</u>		<u>Hybrid</u>	
<u>Certain</u>	<u>Uncertain</u>	<u>Certain</u>	<u>Uncertain</u>
4 (5)	2 (4)	0 (1)	1 (1)

Map 91, Mid Northumberland

Place-name types (early Anglian)	Names with early indicators	Names without early indicators and/ or uncertain
<i>ham</i>	2 (2)	7 (7)
<i>-ing(a)ham</i>	1 (3)	1 (1)
<i>-ingas</i>	-	0 (1)
<i>burh</i>	1 (2)	1 (2)
<i>ceaster</i>	0 (2)	1 (1)

<i>burna</i>	2 (3)	1 (4)
<i>dun</i>	1 (6)	2 (6)
<i>eg</i>	1 (1)	0 (1)
<i>feld</i>	1 (1)	1 (4)
<i>ford</i>	2 (3)	4 (4)
<i>misc.</i>	-	-

<u>Pre-English names</u>			
<u>Full</u>		<u>Hybrid</u>	
<u>Certain</u>	<u>Uncertain</u>	<u>Certain</u>	<u>Uncertain</u>
-	3 (8)	1 (3)	1 (1)

<u>Map 90, North Durham and Tyne and Wear</u>		
Place-name types (early Anglian)	Names with early indicators	Names without early indicators and/ or uncertain
<i>ham</i>	3 (3)	1 (2)
<i>-ing(a)ham</i>	1 (1)	1 (1)
<i>-ingas</i>	-	-
<i>burh</i>	0 (1)	2 (2)
<i>ceaster</i>	2 (4)	0 (2)
<i>burna</i>	1 (2)	8 (10)
<i>dun</i>	6 (10)	5 (12)



<i>eg</i>	1 (1)	-
<i>feld</i>	1 (2)	7 (7)
<i>ford</i>	1 (2)	6 (12)
<i>misc.</i>	2 (3)	-

<u>Pre-English names</u>			
<u>Full</u>		<u>Hybrid</u>	
<u>Certain</u>	<u>Uncertain</u>	<u>Certain</u>	<u>Uncertain</u>
0 (1)	0 (1)	1 (5)	-

<u>Map 89, South Durham and the Tees valley</u>		
Place-name types (early Anglian)	Names with early indicators	Names without early indicators and/ or uncertain
<i>ham</i>	4 (4)	3 (3)
<i>-ing(a)ham</i>	1 (1)	1 (1)
<i>-ingas</i>	-	0 (1)
<i>burh</i>	2 (2)	1 (1)
<i>ceaster</i>	1 (1)	-
<i>burna</i>	3 (5)	2 (4)
<i>dun</i>	3 (9)	2 (4)
<i>eg</i>	1 (1)	-
<i>feld</i>	1 (4)	1 (3)
<i>ford</i>	4 (4)	4 (6)

<i>misc.</i>		-	-
<hr/>			
<u>Pre-English names</u>			
<u>Full</u>		<u>Hybrid</u>	
<u>Certain</u>	<u>Uncertain</u>	<u>Certain</u>	<u>Uncertain</u>
3 (3)	-	2 (2)	0 (2)
<hr/>			

With regard to the early Anglian place-name types, a very high proportion of *ham* names correlate with areas of good drift geology, with a large proportion of *ing(a)ham* and *burh* names also correlating with these areas. In contrast, most of the *-ingas* and *ceaster* names are on poor drift geology. For *ceaster* names, one explanation may be their location often on hills and in hill land. For topographic names, a large proportion of *burna*, *eg* and *ford* names correlate with good drift geology, as would be expected from their topographic situations near rivers in valleys. *Dun* and *feld* names have a poor correlation, and one explanation may be that they are often located on peripheries and boundaries, particularly watershed areas.

The proportion of pre-English names that correlate with good drift geology varies between different maps. There is a high correlation in north Northumberland and in south Durham and the Tees valley. This may suggest areas where there was continuing Brittonic dominance of good agricultural areas. But, in mid Northumberland and in north Durham and Tyne and Wear there is a poor correlation, and this may suggest Brittonic discontinuity and early Anglian domination of good agricultural areas.

## **Section 9:**

### **Bernician narratives revisited**

#### **6.9.1 Introduction**

The narratives defined in chapter 3 are now re-assessed by comparing them to the evidence interpreted in this chapter. No one narrative can explain this evidence, instead, a number of narratives have to be looked at, and where appropriate, alternate narratives are also suggested. This is organised into separate studies. The first focuses only on the Anglian presence in Bernicia, the second on the Brittonic presence, then the relationship between the two is considered and the Anglian-Brittonic interaction in different areas of Bernicia is analysed and interpreted.

#### **6.9.2 The Anglian presence in Bernicia**

There are a number of narratives, many culture-historical, that interpret the Anglian presence in terms of settlement, influence and movement of people. One key theme concerned the core areas or heartlands of earliest Anglian settlement in Bernicia, where various suggestions included the coast land centred on Bamburgh, the Milfield and Tweed basins in north Northumberland and south-east Scotland, the Tyne valley, south Northumberland and the north Durham lowlands, and the Tees valley. When compared to the core areas indicated by early Anglian evidence interpreted in this chapter there are significant differences, although the Anglian place-names can only indicate that these areas date from the early 7th century (although in some cases it is possible to suggest a late 6th century date). Archaeological evidence may additionally indicate 6th or even later 5th century dates, although this is only a broad chronological



indicator because the existence of one or two dated Anglian sites does not necessarily mean that this can be applied to the whole area. Churches can only reinforce an interpretation that an area had an early or late Anglian presence. The earliest Anglian core areas indicated by early place-name evidence are therefore (from south to north):

- i) The Skerne area of the Tees valley. Darlington cemetery may indicate an Anglian presence in the early 7th century (place-names also suggest this) or possibly from the late 6th century.
- ii) Mid Weardale and the Browney valley. The archaeological evidence at Binchester indicates an Anglian presence from the 6th or possibly the 5th century.
- iii) Wearmouth and the north-east Durham coast. Although archaeological evidence mostly consists of chance finds it does indicate an Anglian presence dating from the 6th or as early as the 5th century.
- iv) The mid Tyne valley. The archaeological evidence at Corbridge suggests an Anglian presence dating from the late 5th or early 6th century.
- v) The north Northumberland coastal plain. The archaeological evidence at Bamburgh indicates an Anglian presence from at least the early 7th century, possibly the late 6th century.
- vi) The mid Tweed basin including the Bowmont, Kale and Oxnam valleys. Church evidence includes Melrose, Jedburgh and Kelso but is not necessarily early. The 5 or

more archaeological sites provide relatively undiagnostic dating evidence for an Anglian presence from the 6th or 7th century (the place-names also indicate this).

Other areas have significant evidence which is not extensive enough to enable them to be categorised as major core-areas:

- i) The upper Breamish and Aln valleys. The archaeological evidence at New Bewick indicates that at least in the Breamish valley the Anglian presence dates from the 6th century.
- ii) The mid Wansbeck and upper Blyth valleys and tributaries. Only place-names indicate an Anglian presence dating from at least the early 7th century.
- iii) Coquet-mouth. The place-name cluster and the church at Coquet Island indicate an early Anglian presence but without archaeological evidence this can only be interpreted as dating from at least the early 7th century.
- iv) The area around Gainford in the Tees valley. The cluster of possible early Anglian topographic names indicates an early Anglian presence dating at least from the early 7th century, but there is no supporting archaeological or church evidence.

This identification of the earliest Anglian core areas facilitates a re-assessment of the narratives concerned with Anglian movement into Bernicia. Place-name evidence alone cannot show whether there was an actual movement of Angles northward from the late 5th or early 6th century. This is because it is not chronologically precise enough to indicate whether Anglian settlement was earlier in Durham than in

Northumberland or south-east Scotland (also there is the issue of cultural phasing of place-naming). It can only indicate that across the study area there are concentrations of the earliest Anglian place-names that may date to the first decades of the 7th century or possibly earlier, with no southern bias towards the chronologically earliest names. In contrast, archaeological evidence indicates an Anglian presence dating between the 5th and 6th centuries in Durham up to the Tyne, while in Northumberland at most sites (where they can be dated) the date-range is between the late 6th and 7th centuries. In south-east Scotland the date-range is similar to Northumberland but inclined more towards the 7th century. Despite place-names indicating a wooded sparsely settled landscape in western and north-western Durham until the later Anglian period there is little indication from the early Anglian evidence in the mid Tyne area and along Dere Street that this terrain delayed any northward Anglian movement.

This theme of a northward Anglian movement does however over-simplify the early Anglian presence in Bernicia. The evidence supports other narratives. The dominant characteristic highlighted in the earliest Anglian evidence is the distribution centred on the major river valleys but well inland in mid valley areas. Although this particularly applies to place-names, archaeological distributions (at least in Northumberland and south-east Scotland) also follow this pattern. Although this reflects the fact that the most extensive good soil and agricultural areas are in these major river valleys, these distributions also suggest that inland route-ways facilitated the establishment of an early Anglian presence in core mid valley areas. This also supports the narrative that there was continued use of Roman roads or at least the routeways that they followed.



The place-name and archaeological distributions in the inland valley areas correlate so closely with certain Roman roads that it is difficult to see that this is coincidental. For example Dere Street correlates with the mid Wear, Tyne and Tweed valley areas, and the Devil's Causeway to the mid Wansbeck and upper Blyth, Breamish and Aln areas.

A further narrative that has been favoured is that the earliest Anglian presence in Bernicia came from the sea by using coastal routes. The earliest Anglian evidence is however scarce in coastal areas in comparison to inland areas. Place-names do support the idea that the sea was a major routeway for early Angles, but indicate that the main thrust of Anglian settlement or influence into Bernicia was not from the sea into the coastlands then inland up river valleys. Instead only a limited early Anglian presence was established at specific defined locations in coastal areas (indicated by evidence of Anglian linguistic and cultural influence), except for the major core-areas in north Northumberland around Bamburgh and between the Tyne and Wearmouth, although these also may have begun as small core settlements or strongholds. These locations suggested by place-names and sometimes by archaeology are Coquet-mouth in Northumberland, Seaham, Hartlepool, Greatham and Billingham on the Durham coast and Tees estuary, Saltburn and Redcar further south, and parts of East Lothian. Archaeology alone indicates the area around Eden in Durham as a possibility. The overall impression is that major early Anglian settlement or influence was not primarily focused on the coastlands except for the areas mentioned above, and there may not have been significant expansion from these areas until the late 7th or 8th century.

This does not necessarily mean from this evidence that the earliest Angles were isolated pirate bands living in coastal strongholds, but there is some support for a narrative that argued that some of the earliest Angles were isolated communities living in coastal settlements or in some cases strongholds in Northumberland and Durham. One problem is that there is nothing to suggest that the early Anglian evidence in coastal areas is chronologically any earlier than in other early core areas inland (except in south Durham). For example the evidence around Bamburgh and on the Northumberland coast is chronologically indistinguishable from inland areas. In Durham there is a better argument for the earliest Anglian settlement or influence being focused on the coast. An alternative narrative is suggested from the possible correlation between Roman and early Anglian evidence in coastal areas, whether or not this is associated with Roman watchtower sites. This may indicate post-Roman continuity and suggest that the earliest Anglian presence consisted of federates or mercenaries employed by the post Romano-British in coastal areas.

### **6.9.3 The Brittonic presence in Bernicia**

The uneven distribution of Brittonic evidence indicates that rather than being widespread, Brittonic survival and continuity was restricted only to certain areas. Lothian and the upper Tweed basin are areas of Brittonic cultural and linguistic survival. Virtually all the silver chains and inscribed stones are found in these areas, which also have the highest density of cist burials and place-names with status. Other areas with significant Brittonic evidence are the mid Tweed basin and its tributaries, north Northumberland in the Milfield and Till basin, Islandshire, the central Chatton Hills,

and even the coastlands around Bamburgh, western Northumberland in the North and South Tyne valleys, Redesdale and west of the Devil's Causeway, and north-west and south-west Durham. Elsewhere in the study area the Brittonic evidence is scarce and widely scattered, consisting of single place-names or occasional cist burial sites.

Soils and agricultural land quality were factors that influenced Brittonic survival and continuity. Pre-English place-names are frequently on poorer soils and agricultural land above river systems, less frequently on the best soils and agricultural land in valley bottom areas which instead were dominated by Anglian settlement or influence, for example in north-west Durham and the North and South Tyne valleys. This is similar to the Brittonic evidential pattern in West Yorkshire (Faull 1981: 184). Topographical and landscape barriers were another factor behind Brittonic survival. Most Brittonic evidence is concentrated in the western hill areas of Northumberland and Durham, and also sometimes correlates to wooded areas indicated by OE names, such as north-west Durham. This does not necessarily mean that Anglian settlement in valley areas pushed out the native Brittonic population into poorer hill areas. Instead, there may have been Anglian linguistic, cultural and political domination in valley areas, with a greater probability of Brittonic linguistic, cultural and political survival in peripheral areas where there were topographic barriers of hill-land, woodland, and poor soils and agriculture. As pointed out in section 5, a further factor behind Brittonic survival and continuity may be territories and territorial boundaries and peripheries (linked to topography and landscape). However there are significant exceptions where Brittonic evidence is concentrated in good soil and agricultural valley areas. These important areas of



Brittonic survival and continuity are considered in more detail in 9.4, but examples include the Milfield and Till basin, the mid Tweed basin and south-west Durham.

Questions are raised about the extent of Brittonic survival and continuity when comparisons are made to evidence in other regions of England. In Cumbria, despite Scandinavian place-name replacement, there is a greater density of pre-English place-names than in the study area except in Lothian, the Tweed basin and in western areas of Northumberland. Similarly, there is also greater Brittonic place-name survival in West Yorkshire, with, for example, the 4 certain and 8 possible *walh* names (Faull 1981: 183). This may be due to these areas remaining under Brittonic control until the early 7th century (possibly the late 6th century in the case of Cumbria), therefore creating conditions for greater Brittonic linguistic survival. However, this creates a problem regarding the historical narrative of an Anglian takeover of southern Scotland at about the same period, as at least in the mid Tweed basin the density of Brittonic place-name evidence is lower than in West Yorkshire. This may indicate less Brittonic continuity or survival, and/ or earlier Anglian cultural, linguistic and political domination than historically recorded. A further point is that in East Yorkshire the distribution and density of pre-English place-names and river names is comparable to the eastern coastal areas of Bernicia, yet it is usually interpreted as having large numbers of lower status early Anglian farmers and little evidence for Brittonic continuity, with few pre-English place-names (such as York) (Faull 1977: 20, Eagles 1979: 30-1). There seems to be no reason why the coastal areas of Bernicia should be interpreted any differently.

#### **6.9.4 Hybrid Bernicia and the Anglian-Brittonic interaction**

The narrative of a hybrid Anglian-Brittonic society in Bernicia is a generalisation that is not supported evidentially across Northumberland, Durham and south-east Scotland. Areas with the best evidence of hybridisation are where there are hybrid, pre-English and early Anglian place-names together with Brittonic and early Anglian archaeological evidence. The primary example is the mid Tweed basin, but others include the Bowmont valley, East Lothian and the South Tyne valley. Other areas contain only some of this evidence therefore providing a less cogent argument for hybridisation, for example the North Tyne valley and north-west Durham. In other areas where there is evidence of hybridisation, the Brittonic and early Anglian evidence-types are difficult to reconcile because they seem to indicate different processes, for example the Milfield and Till basin, and the Bamburgh coast lands. There is a degree of correlation between areas where hybridisation is indicated (particularly by place-names) and topography and landscape, and territories and territorial boundaries, but not with soil or agricultural quality of land.

Across Bernicia there are areas each with their own evidential characteristics such as different place-name profiles and correlations to archaeological evidence, which would seem to suggest different processes involving Brittonic-Anglian interaction. Due to this variation between areas and within each area, rather than one generalised narrative applying across the study area, narratives are fragmented. To illustrate this four geographically distinct regions are analysed :

i) The Tees valley.

ii) The Tyne and Wear valleys and south Northumberland.

iii) North Northumberland and the Tweed valley.

iv) East Lothian.

Key existing narratives associated with this interaction require re-assessment. They are that Bernician society consisted of a small Anglian elite and a large Brittonic peasant population, or there was continuity of a Brittonic elite and large numbers of peasant Anglian farmers, or Anglian mercenaries or federates under Brittonic domination.

Also re-assessed is the idea that Bernicia was made up from several minor kingdoms, territories or lordships in the 6th century, and that from the 7th century this was reflected in territorial and estate organisation. The study of the different regions highlights the lack of uniformity and variation in evidence across the study area that would tend to support this idea. This also facilitates the analysis and re-assessment of the idea that the evidence in Durham and Northumberland is different and therefore different narratives apply: that in Northumberland the Angles took over a pre-existing Romano-British society to create a hybrid society, but that in Durham there were intrusive Angles and the surviving native population adopted Anglo-Saxon culture, with little evidence of fusion between British and Germanic-derived practices. It is true that the archaeological evidence in Northumberland and Durham is chronologically different (see above) but there is less difference in burial practice. There are inhumation burials at forts and barrows in both counties, with only the use of henges being distinctive of north Northumberland. There are some differences in place-names, such



as in the numbers of early Anglian habitative names, the status of *ceaster* names in Durham (see sections 1 and 7), and in the numbers and status of pre-English names (see section 3), but topographic names are comparatively similar in Durham and Northumberland (except for more *feld* names in Durham and more *eg* names in Northumberland). There are far fewer early topographic names in south-east Scotland (although this may be due to less analysis and identification). There are in fact greater contrasts in the evidence between other regions in the study area, and this is explored below. In Durham there is evidence of different processes that occur between and within the Tees, Wear and Tyne catchment areas, therefore one generalised narrative cannot apply. Similarly, a single generalised narrative model cannot be applied to Northumberland as there are different processes that occur in different geographic areas. Indeed a key point, made apparent below, is that projecting post-Conquest counties such as Northumberland and Durham into the 5th to 7th centuries and distinguishing these from South-East Scotland to construct narratives is methodologically unsound.

#### 6.9.5 The Tees valley

The evidence for Brittonic-Anglian interaction in the Tees valley is limited, but despite this the distribution of early Anglian and Brittonic evidence does indicate that different processes of interaction were involved in this area, and that a number of narratives can be constructed to explain this.

In the eastern coastlands one issue is the apparent lack of correlation between early Anglian archaeological and place-name evidence. Reconciling this evidence requires

narratives that address possible processes of Brittonic-Anglian interaction. One narrative that has been suggested from archaeological evidence (by Sherlock and Welch amongst others) is that in the Tees valley there were large numbers of peasant Anglian farmers rather than a smaller number of elite Angles. This may provide an explanation to account for the problem of correlation. Lower status peasant farmers could mean that they had insufficient influence or dominance to change the naming of places and/or have any names accepted into common usage. The evidence suggests that in some places communities who used Anglian (Germanic) material culture were either not early English-speakers (they were a native Brittonic people who had adopted Germanic material culture), or were English-speakers who had limited linguistic influence due to a lack of political dominance or insufficient numbers. These narratives involve Brittonic-Anglian interaction which includes Brittonic continuity of population and/or high status Brittonic survival.

This evidence has already been analysed in detail above, therefore only general observations will be made here. The evidence only supports late 5th or 6th century Anglian settlement or influence in limited areas on the Durham coast, in the Eden area, the River Tees itself, and south of the Tees on the coast and in the Thornaby-Yarm area. Although there is possible correlation between place-names and archaeology at Norton and Billingham, and less certainly at Redcar and Saltburn, the area containing the Castle Eden, Blackhall Rocks and Easington burial evidence does not have a place-name pattern that reflects this material culture. There are no early Anglian place-names, instead this is one of the few areas with Brittonic evidence. A cluster of place-



names derived from the pre-English stream name Eden, and Castle Eden is associated with a high status place. There are also cist burials with Germanic material culture at Castle Eden and Blackhall. The evidence suggests Brittonic-Anglian interaction and one narrative that could explain the evidence pattern involves Brittonic continuity: politically, administratively, linguistically and culturally, and interaction with low status communities who used Germanic material culture (and therefore could be called Anglian) but had limited linguistic and political influence. The suggestion in section 5 that in the vicinity of Eden there was evidence of a territory or territorial boundaries may support the idea of a distinctive process of interaction in this area.

There is a correlation, although not direct, between the distribution of early Anglian evidence and soil and land quality. The eastern coastal area generally has poor soils and the early Anglian evidence, both place-names and archaeology, does correlate with the small areas of good soils and agricultural land that are found along the Tees river and estuary, and in the Eden and Easington areas. This indicates that early Anglian settlement or influence was centred on good soil and agricultural areas and would explain the evidential distribution, particularly the scarcity of early Anglian evidence inland away from the coast and Tees. The problem is that there are other areas of good soils and land quality that do not have early Anglian evidence such as in the Hart-Elwick area, the area south of Hesleden, and around Hutton Henry. These areas, particularly with the environmental evidence of an open landscape and agricultural continuity in the post-Roman and Anglian periods, suggest that there may have been a continued native Brittonic presence in at least some parts of the eastern coastlands.



In the eastern coastlands therefore a number of narratives may be constructed that describe different processes of Brittonic-Anglian interaction in different areas. The evidence suggests limited 5th or 6th century Anglian settlement or influence away from the core areas highlighted above. Soil and land quality seem to be a factor behind this but also this may be due to Brittonic continuity and dominance in certain areas and the Anglian interaction with this, although this is speculative because of the limited Brittonic evidence. In the core early Anglian areas such as the Tees estuary area the place-names and large communal cemeteries indicate linguistic and cultural dominance by possibly large numbers or political influence. In the Eden area there may have been a different process of interaction with an Anglian cultural although not linguistic presence and a Brittonic cultural and linguistic presence that might indicate high status Brittonic continuity or population continuity with lower status Angles. In other areas (particularly good soil areas) there may have been native Brittonic continuity with no evidence of any Anglian interaction.

Further west in the Tees valley, as already highlighted above, the place-name and archaeological evidence show early Anglian settlement or influence in the Skerne and Gainford areas. Between these is an area where early Anglian names are absent and there is evidence that suggests Brittonic continuity and that this was an area of Brittonic-Anglian interaction or that the early Angles recognised that the area contained a Brittonic presence. This is a poor soil area, including where Walworth is located, and indicates that early Anglian settlement and influence centred on good soil

areas and that Brittonic survival and continuity was in poor soil areas. There may however be post-Roman to Anglian continuity in the Skerne area from the evidence of a major Roman-period centre at Sedgefield that dates up to the early 5th century, and the evidence from Cornforth where there are cists and possible Anglian burials.

However, other factors could have been that this was a good soil area and therefore had a major farming population in the Roman, post-Roman and Anglian periods, and also possibly continued use of the Roman road.

A feature of the Tees valley is the scarcity of evidence of a hybrid Brittonic-Anglian society. There are only a few areas where this may be indicated such as the Eden area and west of the Skerne. Instead the evidence indicates different areas under Anglian and Brittonic domination, whether political, cultural and/or linguistic. This may be reflected in the territorial organisation analysed in section 5, with the Tees valley divided at an early date into a number of territories. These can be distinguished between those areas that contain Anglian evidence: the proposed Skerne-Sedgefield-Middleham territory, and Gainfordshire, and those areas with Brittonic evidence: the later Heighingtonshire and Darlingtonshire estates, and the territories on the east coast. The evidence does not support the idea that there were large numbers of low status Anglian peasant farmers across the Tees valley. Instead a narrative interpretation could be that early Angles were not dominant numerically or politically except in certain limited areas in the 6th century, and that a Brittonic population and, in some areas, elite, continued into this period and possibly beyond, as it seems from place-name evidence that only from the late 7th or 8th century was there more widespread

Anglian settlement or influence.

#### 6.9.6 North Durham, South Northumberland and the Tyne and Wear valleys

In this region there are different and contrasting areas containing evidence of early Anglian core-lands, Brittonic survival, and hybrid Anglian-Brittonic interaction. This seems to have been at least partly influenced by soils and agricultural land quality, and to be reflected in early Anglian estate or territorial organisation.

The evidence from the lower and mid Wear valley and Browney tributary indicates substantial early Anglian settlement or influence, but in the Gateshead, Washington and Team valley area this evidence is completely absent despite having good soils and agricultural land quality. Explanations for this evidential pattern could be that it is due to the area being heavily wooded and/or Brittonic-dominated. That there was Brittonic continuity in the Gateshead, Washington and Team valley area is supported by evidence for Anglian-Brittonic interaction that is broadly located between this and the early Anglian area, and includes hybrid names and pre-English place and stream names in the Browney valley and to the north. The hybrid Penshaw east of the Wear and *Kuncacester* and the Cong Burn just to the west may also indicate interaction in the section of the Wear valley south of Washington. The upper Wear is also significant because in contrast to the upper Tyne valleys there is no evidence of interaction, only of a secondary 7th century Anglian colonisation of a wooded area that was scarcely populated by Brittonic inhabitants.

In the Tyne valley there was not widespread early Anglian settlement or influence.



Instead it centred on the mid valley and to a lesser degree the Breamish tributary and that area of the Tyne basin at its mouth. There is no evidence of significant interaction in these areas (in contrast to north Durham), because Brittonic evidence is virtually absent. There is Anglian-Brittonic interaction north and west of the possibly 6th century Anglian core area in the mid Tyne valley. The North Tyne valley and Redesdale is a hybrid area where the evidence indicates that an interaction took place by at least the 7th and possibly as early as the 6th century. The inversion compound and hybrid place-names indicate a Brittonic presence surviving to at least to the 6th century, and the place-name profile, especially the concentration of *ing(a)ham* names, indicates substantial Anglian settlement and influence only from the 7th century.

The South Tyne valley is a key area of interaction. There is archaeological and place-name evidence for Brittonic cultural and linguistic survival to at least the 6th century (from the inversion compound, late hybrids and inscribed stone) and this may or may not have included political continuity. The early Anglian evidence is sparse but suggests scattered Anglian settlement or influence from the late 6th century and secondary Anglian colonisation in the valley lowlands in the 7th century (indicated by uncertain *ing(a)ham* Beltingham). The evidence from Cumbria is also suggestive because as the South Tyne is the main eastern routeway between Bernicia and Cumbria, and Anglian settlement or influence in Cumbria is historically dated to the late 6th or early 7th century (Fellows-Jensen 1985: 263), then if this is correct, there should be an equivalent or earlier chronology in the South Tyne area. The distribution of Brittonic place-names across Cumbria and extending into the South and North Tyne valleys of

western Northumberland indicates a region of continuing Brittonic domination or influence into at least the late 6th century, with hybridisation and Anglian-Brittonic interaction from possibly this date or the early 7th century. Hexhamshire, possibly a very old territory, may support this narrative by reflecting a 6th century division between early Anglian and Brittonic-dominated areas.

In the eastern lowlands of south Northumberland the evidence for Anglian-Brittonic interaction is sparse. Only at the peripheries of the areas where early Anglian settlement or influence is indicated, and the Brittonic-dominated area west of the Devil's Causeway, is there arguably evidence of interaction. For example, Wallington could indicate an area of interaction between the early Anglian-dominated upper Blyth, Pont and mid Wansbeck valleys and a Brittonic presence to the west that dated to the late 7th or 8th century. This demarcation between Brittonic and early Anglian areas seems to be due to political and territorial factors rather than soil or agricultural land quality because Wallington is located in a good soil area. Other examples of interaction may include the Blyth valley with the two hybrid names, and Coquet mouth, a possible early Anglian core-area but the hybrid Gloster Hill suggests the possibility of post-Roman settlement continuity. The scarcity of early Anglian evidence in south Northumberland may be due to poor soil and agricultural land but the isolated areas of good soils in the coastlands without early Anglian evidence suggest that Brittonic continuity may have been a significant factor.

It is not possible from current evidence to do more than speculate whether Anglian settlement and influence in this region by the early 7th century involved a few elite

Angles or larger numbers of low status Anglian farmers. Elite dominance could be suggested in areas such as the mid Tyne area, but elsewhere the evidence is more ambiguous and a narrative could be constructed that in areas such as the south Northumberland lowlands there was only scattered settlement by low status Anglian farmers. The fact that early Anglian evidence correlates to good soils and agricultural land and avoids bad soil and agricultural areas only indicates Anglian domination rather than the numbers and status of the Angles. It is also difficult to assess whether Brittonic continuity and survival consisted of a low status Brittonic population or also a political elite. The evidence of continued Brittonic dominance (whether linguistically, culturally or politically) in western areas of Northumberland and possibly north-west Durham generally correlates with poor soil and agricultural land and topographic barriers such as heavily forested land. This suggests that rather than elite survival there was continuity of the Brittonic population in areas that held little interest for early Angles. However, where Brittonic evidence correlates with good soil and agricultural land such as in the Wallington area and the North Tyne valley this could indicate political domination by a Brittonic elite.

There are complex processes of interaction exhibited across the region. There is no indication in the evidence that the Tyne valley was a boundary between Durham to the south and Northumberland to the north. The archaeological evidence uniformly indicates Anglian settlement or influence in the Tyne valley north and south of the river and in the Wear valley dating to the 6th and 7th century. The distribution of the Brittonic evidence: the scarcity in south Northumberland, concentration in the west, and



concentration in north-west Durham would also suggest that the Tyne valley was not the southern boundary of a post-Roman Brittonic kingdom. Section 7 of this chapter pointed out that evidence for Anglian-Brittonic interaction at former Roman forts was scarce. Only at Vindolanda, Corstopitum and Pons Aelius is such an interaction arguable. There is therefore nothing to suggest that Hadrian's Wall continued to exist as a recognised frontier or boundary beyond the Roman period, or that there was Roman administrative continuity to the advent of Anglian settlement or influence.

#### 6.9.7 North Northumberland and the Tweed basin

This region too consists of a number of distinct areas that contain evidence of different processes of Brittonic-Anglian interaction.

The narratives constructed about the coastal area around Bamburgh include that the earliest Angles established a coastal stronghold at Bamburgh in the mid 6th century then there was subsequent expansion to take over Bernicia. An alternative view is that there was more widespread early Anglian settlement and influence in the coastal zone extending from the Aln to Bamburgh.

Due to chronological vagueness the evidence does not show that there was exceptionally early Anglian settlement or influence at Bamburgh or that it was the earliest Anglian heartland. The concentration of the place-name evidence and the indicators of earliness can only be interpreted as showing an English-speaking presence with sufficient influence to name places from the late 6th century. The archaeological evidence at Bamburgh and Howick supports this but there is earlier

evidence in other areas in Durham and the Tyne valley. Excavations at the Bamburgh castle site may suggest occupation from Roman to post-Conquest periods, but without datable evidence it cannot be assumed that there was continuity from Roman and post-Roman periods to Anglian periods with Anglian use of an existing Romano-British or Brittonic fortified centre, or even that there was early Anglian occupation in the 5th or 6th centuries.

The evidence does not support the idea of widespread early Anglian settlement or influence that extended down the coastlands to the Aln. Instead it appears to have been restricted to a narrow coastal strip centred around the Warren Burn. Early Anglian place-names are concentrated on the coastal plain from Bamburgh south to the Anglian cemetery at Howick despite the area south of Beadnell Bay generally having poor soils. But this evidential distribution only indicates that early Anglian settlement or influence extended to the northern watershed of the River Aln rather than the valley itself, despite the lower Aln valley being a good soil area with reasonable agricultural capability.

The Brittonic evidence in this coastal area and the Chatton hill area to the west suggests that there was some survival and continuity of Brittonic culture and language until the later Anglian period, and a hybrid early Anglian-Brittonic interaction particularly at the peripheries of early Anglian-dominated coastal strip. Given the early evidence of Anglian political, cultural and linguistic dominance this evidence probably represents the survival of at least some of the lower status Brittonic population rather than the elite.

The cist evidence at Bamburgh and elsewhere reinforces this idea of Anglian-Brittonic

interaction but caution should be exercised because of the possibility of movement by Brittonic people from western England and southern Scotland to the Bernician capital (see section 2). It has been shown through stable isotope analysis that there was movement of people over considerable distances, such as at West Heslerton (Budd et al. 2003: 134-6) and the Bamburgh cemetery (Bamburgh Research Project: pers. comm.). It may also be speculated that in the lower Aln valley factors other than soil or agricultural quality prevented early Anglian settlement or influence and an Anglian-Brittonic interaction, and that one factor may have been that it was under Brittonic domination.

The mid Aln valley is also a poor soil and agricultural area and lacks evidence for either Brittonic continuity or early Anglian settlement or influence, but there are small areas of good soils which correlate with the *ing(a)ham* place-names Edlingham, Whittingham and Eglingham. This may represent secondary Anglian colonisation in the early 7th century that targeted good farming land in a wooded area that generally had poor farming potential. The two areas of the Aln valley can be contrasted and may represent different processes of Anglian-Brittonic interaction. In the good soil area of the upper Breamish valley however there is evidence of Anglian settlement or influence (and probable dominance) from the 6th century, and the possibility of some interaction with a surviving Brittonic population although the evidence for this is weak (Brittonic survival is only suggested by the place-names Wooperton and Powburn).

The Milfield and Till basin provides an example of a different process of Anglian-Brittonic interaction. There is also an apparent dichotomy between the extensive early



Anglian archaeological evidence which indicates an early Anglian presence in the late 6th or early 7th century, or at least of communities who had adopted Germanic material culture, and the scarcity of early Anglian place-names which indicates that there was limited Anglian linguistic influence to name places. An explanation that could reconcile this evidence is that this was a Brittonic-dominated area where possibly the major proportion of the population were Brittonic and there may have been high status Brittonic survival and political control into the 7th century. At an early period there were only low status Anglian peasant farming communities with limited influence (either due to limited numbers or political dominance).

This Brittonic dominance is indicated by the cluster of pre-English place-names and their correlation to the very good soil and agricultural land in this area, while early Anglian names were mostly associated with poorer soils. As early Anglian archaeological sites also correlated to good soil areas this indicates that soil and land quality were not the principal factors behind the scarcity of early Anglian place-naming. Either the communities who had adopted Germanic material culture by the late 6th or early 7th century in these good soil areas were native Brittonic communities using Germanic material culture and adopting Germanic pagan burial customs and building construction, or they were Anglian communities who were not sufficiently influential to give English names to their settlements.

A problem that could be raised regarding this narrative is the scarcity of Brittonic archaeological evidence. One answer is the high visibility of Anglian settlement

evidence from the air and the lack of dating evidence from identified native sites. There is also the emphasis by Hope-Taylor and more recent scholars on Brittonic evidence traits at Yeavinger, in the building and burial evidence, the use of a fortified centre, and the amphitheatre with its possible Roman connections. The contextual evidence in the Milfield and Till basin suggests that Yeavinger, rather than providing evidence of Anglian elite dominance in this area in the 6th century, was not a major Anglian-dominated centre until later in the 7th century. This is supported by re-interpretation of the chronology of the site which may indicate that the earliest Anglian evidence represents a lower status Anglian farming community of late 6th or early 7th century date comparable to the other sites in the area. Before 600 AD there is no indication that there was expansion of Anglian political dominance and influence into this area, only of a lower status Anglian presence of limited influence (some cultural influence only).

The mid Tweed basin and the Bowmont valley, with Brittonic and Anglian archaeological and place-name evidence located on reasonable to good soils and agricultural land, has an evidential profile that indicates, compared to the Milfield and Till basin, a different process of Anglian-Brittonic interaction and a hybrid society.

The quantity of Brittonic evidence indicates substantial cultural and linguistic continuity but the Anglian evidence indicates early elite dominance, although as for other areas whether this involved small or large numbers of Angles cannot be answered by current evidence. This evidential context does support an interpretation that Sprouston is an example of an early Anglian takeover of existing Brittonic administrative structures and

centres in this area rather than a takeover that takes no account of existing Brittonic administrative, political, economic and settlement structures.

A possibly different process of interaction is provided by the coast-lands north of Bamburgh to the Lammermuir Hills. The scarcity of early Anglian evidence even in good soil and agricultural areas such as the Tweed coastlands, and limited evidence of cists and some pre-English place-names, makes it possible to speculate that there was some Brittonic continuity and even dominance in these areas. Also, Islandshire has mostly poor soils and has correspondingly little evidence for early Anglian settlement or influence, even in the few good areas. Instead, with pre-English Ross occupying a good soil area this may indicate Brittonic continuity in terms of population or even politically.

These interpretations of the Brittonic and early Anglian evidence provides a basis for re-assessing the idea of a north British kingdom. There is a pattern of Brittonic evidence and possible Brittonic continuity north from the Aln valley to the Tweed basin and beyond which supports the idea of a Brittonic territory or territories in this region rather than including all of Northumberland. This evidence does not of course show that a Brittonic kingdom existed or continued into the late 6th century and beyond. It only indicates that there was Brittonic linguistic and cultural continuity in this region into the early Anglian period, and that in certain areas this may have been dominant and long-surviving. This may support a narrative that Yeavering, Milfield and Sprouston are examples of initially lower status Anglian settlements agreed to by a Brittonic territory in the late 6th century. Differences in material culture may indicate that there was more than one Brittonic territory or kingdom in this region, with the concentration of silver



chains as well as cist burials and pre-English place-names supporting the idea of a Brittonic (possibly Votadinian) territory centred in Lothian, and the concentration of inscribed stones, cists and pre-English names but the absence of silver chains suggesting a different territory in the western uplands of the upper Tweed basin and Northumberland. The Tweed basin seems from the considerable cist and place-name evidence, to have been another Brittonic territory but it is unclear whether it represents a southern extension of the Lothian territory. Whatever the situation, the evidential pattern showing different processes of Anglian-Brittonic interaction by the late 6th century indicates that there may have been a fragmentation into smaller territories by 600 AD and that at least some areas had been taken over by Angles with varying degrees of Brittonic continuity, for example the Bamburgh coastlands, the Bowmont valley and the mid Tweed valley, while other areas possibly continued under Brittonic control but had evidence of an Anglian presence, for example the Milfield-Till basin.

#### 6.9.8 East Lothian

This area provides an example of Brittonic-Anglian interaction in the form of a hybrid society. Anglian and Brittonic linguistic and cultural traits are indicated by the hybrid, full pre-English and early Anglian place-names, and Brittonic and early Anglian archaeological evidence, in many cases in close proximity to each other.

The core area of interaction is north-east Lothian on the coastlands and the major eastern river systems, the Peffer and especially Tyne valleys. All of the early Anglian archaeological and place-name evidence is in this area except for Oldhamstocks, and

the distribution correlates with good soils and agricultural land. Brittonic place-name and archaeological evidence is also distributed in this area, although there are other areas of East Lothian such as the very good agricultural land on the coast between Aberlady and Musselburgh that has only pre-English rather early Anglian evidence. Early Anglian settlement or influence seems to have been relatively extensive and widespread, with an inland distribution rather than merely clinging to the coast. However this distribution does suggest that there was initial Anglian movement up the east coast.

The historical narrative suggests that Lothian became part of Anglian-controlled Bernicia by the first half of the 7th century. The Anglian evidence may support this chronology as the *ham* could have been used as a naming type through most of the 7th century, and through cultural phasing of place-naming could still represent the first Anglian naming of places. The *ing(a)ham* names may in this area have been of chronologically similar date but represent ecclesiastical settlement, or alternatively represent secondary Anglian expansion at, say, the end of 7th century. The archaeological evidence would generally support this idea of a major Anglian presence from the 7th century. However the place-name and archaeological evidence could also support a narrative that there was an Anglian presence in the 6th century. The *ham* names are as likely to have been of 6th rather than 7th century date, and this also applies to the settlement evidence in the area. The 6th century archaeological evidence at Dunbar and possibly Traprain indicates that they may have been focal points for the earliest Anglian settlement or influence.

The concentration of cist burials and silver chains indicates that this was a Brittonic-dominated area into the 6th century. Some of the cists burials date to the Anglian period, and together with the pre-English and hybrid place-names, indicate Brittonic continuity at least linguistically and culturally, and interaction with the Anglian presence in East Lothian. One narrative (there are others) that could be constructed is that the earliest Anglian settlement or influence was at major Brittonic centres at Dunbar and Traprain Law in the 6th century, possibly as federates or mercenaries under Brittonic domination. Either in the 6th or 7th centuries Anglian settlement or influence expanded into the areas indicated by the *ham* and *ing(a)ham* names and archaeological evidence. There was a hybridisation that involved a takeover of existing political, administrative and economic structures but a continuation of the Brittonic population. It is unclear whether this involved a small Anglian elite or larger numbers of lower status farmers. However the place-name profile with an apparent lack of topographic names but the presence of *ham* and *ing(a)ham* names, and the mostly high status burial evidence, does incline towards the elite scenario.



#### 6.9.9 Concluding remarks

This thesis has sought to contribute towards knowledge and understanding of the Bernician transition defined in Chapter 1. Existing narratives have been identified then evaluated through the integration of toponymic, archaeological and historical discourses, leading to the conclusion that none of these narratives is sufficiently supported by the evidence. New data provided by the analysis and interpretation of place-names has enabled alternative narratives and story lines to be constructed when integrated with, and compared with, early Anglian, Roman and British archaeological evidence, and evidence from landscape and boundaries, environment, and soil and geology. Rather than constructing a single, coherent, concluding narrative to explain the transition, a number of Bernician narratives have instead been proposed, which allow for alternative scenarios and above all for differing local conditions. Further detailed study of specific regions within Bernicia is one of the ways in which the work could be further developed.

I would like to conclude by mentioning a further avenue for future investigation, which is the issue of correlation between language and ethnicity or race, highlighted in chapter 4.4. My study, by comparing linguistic evidence and material culture (through place-names and archaeology), has suggested possible narratives about the Anglian and Brittonic interaction, but it has not been possible to provide anything more than indicators regarding issues of population continuity or replacement, the movement of people, and the numbers involved. A useful approach would be to integrate and compare place-name and genetic evidence, particularly DNA. For the study area the

near-absence of Scandinavian settlement (with the principal exception of the Tees valley, Watts, V.E. (1988-9) 'Scandinavian settlement-names in County Durham') negates the current inability of DNA analysis to distinguish between Anglo-Saxon and Danish Viking. There have only been limited DNA studies of the study area, for example the Y-chromosome census by Capelli et al. (2003) only analysed Morpeth in the study area. This indicated a substantial native British population of 53 % (compared to Wales, 60 %). However, the Oxford Genetic Atlas Project, begun in 1996, has produced genetic data for Northumbria and the Borders, which potentially can be compared to the place-name (linguistic) data I have produced. This would involve complex calculations, beyond the scope of this thesis, but given the recent developments in this field (for example the above studies, and Weale et al. (2002)), this may provide answers or at least contribute towards further knowledge and understanding of the Bernician transition.

To conclude, I have analysed another type of genetic evidence, blood groups. I have made a limited comparison of place-name and ABO bloodgroup distributions in the study area (see Plates 105-7). The frequency of occurrence of blood groups differs widely between races, therefore by tabulating the proportions of different blood groups present in the population it is possible to distinguish between races (Potts 1976: 236-7). Although they are crude markers (Oppenheimer 2006: 349-50) these potentially can distinguish genetic difference between Celtic and Germanic people. The advantage of using blood group evidence is that the available data is very large and provides objective evidence (Sykes 2006: 91, Potts 1976: 236).



I used the data from A.C. Kopec's *The distribution of the blood groups in the United Kingdom* (1970). He compared the percentage frequency of ABO blood groups and their distribution across the United Kingdom using data from National Blood Transfusion Regional Centres. From this, Kopec (and Roberts (1953) in a similar study) concluded that areas with high O and low A frequencies indicated predominately native British/ Celtic populations, and low O and high A indicated a significant Anglo-Saxon population. O and A indicated general trends, for example O decreases and A increases from West to East and North to South (1970: 92). Exceptionally, local variability may be indicated where the percentage frequency of blood groups in one unit differ markedly from those in units around them. This may be significant and be due to historical events or geography and topography, where inaccessability affected gene flow (ibid., Roberts 1953: 374). For B and AB, Kopec suggested that the higher frequencies in Scotland and Wales indicated native Celtic populations, the lowest frequencies of 10-11% in North Yorkshire, East Anglia, Essex and parts of Durham indicated Germanic populations, with the rest of England uniformly 11-12% (1970: 92). B does show local variability but its low percentage frequency is more subject to chance and therefore inaccuracy (Roberts 1953: 371).

There are potential problems with this blood group data. Distribution analysis was based on donors' addresses rather than their birth place and there was no requirement that donors' parents and grandparents were from the area. Donor numbers for each area vary greatly, for example 127 for Wooler, and c.3700 for Newcastle-



upon-Tyne, leading to biases in data because rural populations are under-represented and urban areas over-represented. There is continuing debate about the extent that subsequent migration and population movement has altered or diluted blood group variation since the Anglo-Saxon transition, for example the Scandinavians, Normans and 19th century industrial revolution. However, a consensus of scholars argue that, at least in the study area, there has been limited population mobility until recent years: Dobson and Roberts (1971), Roberts (1973), Roberts and Rawling (1974), Mascie-Taylor (1987) and (1995), Roberts et al. (1990) and Pooley and Turnbull (1998). , Therefore, although blood group variation in the region has been diluted it is still identifiable.

Kopec's maps of the data from the Newcastle and Edinburgh regional centres were combined with a GIS-produced place-name distribution map. The sub-areas were categorised (applying Kopec's classifications) by percentage frequency of O, A and B (represented by B and AB), into those with significant Germanic and native British frequencies, and areas that are undiagnostic. For Newcastle-upon-Tyne I only state a lowest to highest frequency range because it comprises 6 sub-areas that are not defined by Kopec.

Only broad interpretations can be made and some significant features highlighted. For O and A, there is a very general correlation between areas of low O and high A, and early Anglian place-name concentrations in the Tees and lower Tyne valleys, the Wear valley particularly at Auckland, Durham City and Sunderland, and the Tweed basin (although this is more tentative). Bamburgh is indicated as a significant area of

local variability, and possibly Berwick. These could be explained by historical events: a major medieval trading port in Berwick's case, and an early Anglian core land with significant numbers of Angles in Bamburgh's case. Pre-English names are generally concentrated in high O and low A areas such as in north and west Northumberland and the upper Tweed basin. Notable correlations include the area around Eden, and the Washington area which has the hybrid Penshaw but no early Anglian names in the vicinity. These seem to be significant areas of local variability that are different to surrounding areas.

Analysis of B + AB frequencies and place-name distributions reinforce the above interpretations. Additionally, Seaham correlates to a low B (Germanic) area, and south-east Durham, where there are few early Anglian names, corresponds to high B (native British) areas. This also highlights what is seen with O and A, that there are no correlations between early Anglian place-name concentrations and blood group frequencies in the mid Tyne valley, Skerne and Warkworth areas. One explanation could be that these were areas dominated by a few elite Angles but the vast majority of the population remained native British. Correlations between blood group frequencies that indicate a significant Germanic population, and concentrations of early Anglian place-names, could indicate larger numbers of Angles in these areas. In areas such as Eden and Washington, the correlations may indicate not only a native British population but possibly linguistic or even political dominance.