

III.—THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN BERNICIA AND DEIRA.

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A Swedish scholar remarks in a recent study of the Old English material in the eighth century MS. of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* which is now preserved in the Public Library at Leningrad,¹ that Bede "spent his life at the twin monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow on the northern frontier of the ancient kingdom of Deira as defined by a twelfth-century authority."² This remark implies that the boundary between Bernicia and Deira on the eastern side of the Pennines lay on the Tyne. It is worth while examining the evidence for this belief partly because the course of the boundary between the two provinces of Northumbria is in itself a matter of importance, partly because there is an additional interest in knowing whether Bede, the greatest of all Northumbrians, lived in Bernicia or in Deira, and partly because the course of the frontier has a bearing upon the division, alleged by some scholars, of the Northumbrian dialect of Old English into North and South Northumbrian in the eighth century.

There is not enough evidence to determine exactly the full extent of Northumbria in Bede's lifetime, and it may indeed be a mistake to suppose that its boundaries were ever clearly defined throughout their whole length. Perhaps the most reliable method of approach to this problem is to consider some of the place-names mentioned by three

¹ MS. Lat. Q.V.I. 18.

² O. S. Anderson, *Old English Material in the Leningrad Manuscript of Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, Lund, 1941, 138.

English writers of the late seventh and early eighth centuries, the anonymous Lindisfarne monk who wrote a *Life of Cuthbert* between 699 and 705,³ Eddius who wrote his *Life of Wilfrid* between c. 710 and c. 720,⁴ and Bede himself whose *History* was completed in 731.⁵ The Humber estuary forms the most convenient point at which to begin the circuit because there was no other boundary which was so clearly recognized in the whole of England in the early eighth century. The place-names in Yorkshire on or near the coast include *Streanaeshalh* (now generally held to be Whitby) and Hackness, and among those farther inland are the monastery called *Inderauuda* (now Beverley), Goodmanham, Watton, York, Gilling, Ripon, Lasingham and Catterick. In Durham there are Hartlepool, Wearmouth and Jarrow by the sea, and Dalton-le-Dale and Chester-le-Street farther inland. In Northumberland there are Coquet Island, Bamborough, Farne and Lindisfarne by the sea and Hexham inland. Berwickshire yields Coldingham, East Lothian Dunbar and West Lothian Abercorn and Kinneil. The northern end of Northumbria's eastern boundary was marked by the Forth which is described by Bede as a frontier in terms hardly less emphatic than those which he uses of the Humber. It is clear from this selection of names which consists only of those on whose identity there is general agreement and which are culled only from the three authors named above,⁶ that there was no part of the coast from Humber to Forth which did not belong to Northumbria in Bede's lifetime. Further, it is equally certain that all the territories which now comprise the littoral counties between these two rivers likewise belonged to Northumbria.

³ Ed. B. Colgrave, *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*, Cambridge, 1940. For the date of the *Anonymous Life*, see *ibid.*, p. 13.

⁴ Ed. B. Colgrave, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, Cambridge, 1927. For the date see *ibid.*, p. x.

⁵ Ed. C. Plummer, *Baedae Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, Oxford, 1896, 2 vols. Hereafter abbreviated as HE where the reference is to the text, and as Plummer's *Bede* where the reference is to Plummer's notes.

⁶ In these circumstances it has seemed unnecessary to give references in each instance.

Apart from the eastern boundary which everywhere lay on the sea, the southern boundary with Mercia is the one which is most clearly defined. Evidence which has been discussed in the previous volume of these transactions,⁷ suggests that it was marked by the wide expanse of marshland at the head of the Humber estuary whence it ran westwards towards the Peak by Whitwell and Dore in northern Derbyshire. These two names are not recorded until the tenth century, but it was then believed that they marked points on Northumbria's southern boundary before the Danish invasions. The early sources yield only one name in Lancashire which can be identified with certainty, the river-name Ribble, but the reference to it is such as to indicate that lands in its neighbourhood belonged to Northumbria in the second half of the seventh century. To this may perhaps be added Whalley which, though not recorded in the earliest sources, is said in the entry in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for 798 E to have belonged to Northumbria at that time. The early sources yield no names for Westmorland, but in Cumberland there are Carlisle, Derwentwater and St. Herbert's Isle, as well as the rivers Dacre and Derwent. The distribution of names on the western side of the Pennines is naturally somewhat more sparse than on the eastern, but there is little ground in this for thinking that any part of Cumberland or Lancashire north of the Ribble lay outside Northumbria in Bede's lifetime, and these two seem to carry Westmorland with them, despite the lack of place-names in early sources. North of the Solway there are no names in the early English sources for Dumfries or Kirkcudbright, but Bede's reference to Whit-horn in Wigtown, even apart from the evidence of the Ruthwell Cross,⁸ makes it impossible to believe that the two former counties were not in Northumbria as well as the latter. Apart from those already mentioned, there is only

⁷ pp. 98-126.

⁸ Ascribed to the first half of the eighth century by B. Dickins and A. S. C. Ross, *The Dream of the Rood*, London, 1934, 6-8.

one other modern Scottish county which contains a place-name mentioned by the early writers as being in Northumbria, namely Roxburgh, which yields Old Melrose, as well as the rivers Teviot and Leader. The remaining Scottish counties south of the Firth-Clyde isthmus—Selkirk, Peebles, Lanark, Ayr and Renfrew—yield no names of places which can be shown to have belonged to Northumbria in Bede's lifetime and which can be identified with certainty. Much of this territory lies above the 1,000 foot contour and no doubt then, as now, a large part of it was uninhabited, but there is great difficulty in determining where Northumbria's north-western boundary marched with the Welsh kingdom of Strathclyde in the early eighth century, and this is a point on which the Northumbrian sources yield no evidence.

Northumbria, which was by far the largest of the early English kingdoms, was divided into two parts, now commonly called Bernicia and Deira. These are convenient territorial names which were already being used by northern historians in the twelfth century, but neither of them was ever used by Eddius or Bede who invariably wrote of the *Bernicii* or *Bernici* and the *Deri* or *Deiri*, generally in the genitive plural dependent on *regnum* or *prouincia*. *Bernicii* and *Deri* are latinized forms of OE *Bernice* and *Dere* respectively. The derivation of *Bernice* is not certainly known, but *Dere* is to be connected with a British word *dwfr*, "water."⁹ Neither of these two names has survived in any modern place-name, but this is hardly a matter for surprise since both were regional names such as were not likely to be adopted as the names of towns or villages. They would tend to pass naturally out of use, except in the works of historians, as soon as the districts to which they referred had ceased to have any living reality. The violent dismemberment of the kingdom of Northumbria which resulted from the Scandinavian invasions and the consequent obliteration of many of the old boundaries no doubt helps

⁹ *English Place-Name Society*, XIV, 12.

to explain why later historians who might be expected to have had good sources of information, found difficulty in determining the ancient limits of these two provinces. Conflicting views about this matter are given by Reginald of Durham and Richard of Hexham, both of whom wrote in the twelfth century. The former remarks in his *Life of St. Oswald*¹⁰ that Deira formerly reached from Humber to Tyne and Bernicia from Tyne to Forth, but he adds that the land between Tyne and Tees was then a wilderness inhabited only by wild beasts. On the other hand Richard of Hexham¹¹ writes that in the time of the kings, that is before the Scandinavian invasions, Deira stretched from Humber to Tees, and Bernicia from Tees to Tweed. And thus arises the uncertainty whether Bede belonged to Bernicia or Deira, and whether Wearmouth and Jarrow lay in the diocese of Hexham or York. Richard has undoubtedly made an error, arising from the conditions of his own time, in regarding the Tweed as the northern limit of Bernician, and therefore of Northumbrian, territory before the ninth century. Reginald's remark that what is now the county of Durham was uninhabited in early English times has been held to account for the uncertainty about the division between Bernicia and Deira, but it may be suspected that Reginald's description is no more than a picturesque invention designed to cover his own ignorance. It is true that most of the famous ecclesiastical centres in Durham—Jarrow, Wearmouth, Hartlepool—lie on or near the sea, but it is known that Chester-le-Street was visited by Cuthbert in the seventh century.¹² That he was overtaken by night in some deserted huts not far from there is no evidence of the lack of population. Auckland¹³ is only one among a number of places and rivers in the county which contain a Celtic element in their name. Ebchester is

¹⁰ Ed. T. Arnold in the Rolls edition of *Syemon of Durham*, I, 339.

¹¹ Ed. J. Raine, *Surtees Society Publications*, vol. 44, 2.

¹² B. Colgrave, *op. cit.*, n. 3 above, p. 70.

¹³ A. Mawer, *The Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham*, Cambridge, 1920, 7.

traditionally associated with Aebbe of Coldingham.¹⁴ These places are all remote from coastal areas. Add to these points the widespread distribution in the county of sculptured cross fragments, by no means all of which are as late as the Scandinavian period, as well as the frequency of intercourse between Bernicia and Deira and it becomes difficult to believe that Durham was more sparsely populated during the seventh and eighth centuries than many other parts of Northumbria.

The origin of the division into Bernicia and Deira lies, not in the breaking down of a single unit into lesser parts for purposes of administration, but in the circumstances of the invasions themselves which led to the establishment of two English settlements in widely separated areas north of Humber. Bede knew, or at least recorded, nothing of these origins beyond the fact of Ida's accession, but he was aware that the division was an ancient one—*nam in has duas prouincias gens Nordanhymbrorum antiquitus diuisa erat*¹⁵—and he was also aware that the royal families which ruled over the two provinces and whose genealogies are preserved independently, were quite distinct from one another in origin, although they came to be united by marriage. First Edwin of Deira and then Oswald of Bernicia were driven into exile during the temporary supremacy of the rival family and for a brief period after the death of Edwin each of the two provinces again had its own king. Edwin's two sons are said to have been killed at the same time as himself, and the writer of some brief notes on Northumbrian history which are attached to the *Historia Brittonum* regarded this disaster as marking the end of the kingdom of Deira. But this was not the case and the truth behind his remark is only that Edwin's own line became extinct. Even though Deira seldom enjoyed any real independence after 633, the evidence is such as to suggest that for much of the seventh

¹⁴ B. Colgrave, *op. cit.*, n. 3 above, 318, and *Bede, His Life, Times and Writings*, ed. A. H. Thompson, Oxford, 1935, 80.

¹⁵ HE, III, 1.

century it continued to have its own king who was sometimes opposed to and sometimes allied with the Bernician ruler of the time.¹⁶ Osric (633-4),¹⁷ a cousin of Edwin, succeeded in Deira on Edwin's death. Bede ascribed to Oswald (634-42) the credit of reconciling the Bernicians and Deirans,¹⁸ and there is indeed no evidence of any independent Deiran ruler during Oswald's reign, but during the earlier part of Osuiu's reign (642-70), Osuini, son of the Deiran Osric, ruled in Deira until he was murdered at Osuiu's instigation in 651. Even after this, Oidilwald (or Ethelwald), a son of the Bernician Oswald, but related to the Deirans through his grandmother, reigned in Deira until his death in 655 in the battle at the *Uinuaed* in which he fought on Penda's side against his uncle, Osuiu of Bernicia. Although this episode seems to have marked the end of open hostilities between the two families, both Osuiu and his successor, Ecgfrith, seem to have maintained undertakings in Deira. There is no record of any independent Deiran king after 679, but these episodes show that, even when the two families were not in open opposition, the division remained a real one throughout the greater part of the seventh century.

The boundary between the two provinces is nowhere defined in the early sources, and again the best method of approach to the problem is to consider the various places which are either stated or implied by Bede to have lain in one or other of the two. The river Glen in which Paulinus baptized and the nearby *uilla regia* at Yeavinger both lay in Bernicia. So also did the unidentified *Maelmin* which was used by later Northumbrian kings after the abandonment of Yeavinger.¹⁹ The scene of Cadwallon's death was near the Rowley Water, then known as *Denisesburna*,²⁰ and

¹⁶ Plummer's *Bede*, II, 120.

¹⁷ For the chronology of the Northumbrian kings I have followed W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century*, Oxford, 1946, 272 and ff.

¹⁸ HE, III, 6.

¹⁹ HE, II, 14.

²⁰ HE, III, 1.

since Cadwallon met his death at the hands of the Bernician Oswald, it may be that the Rowley Water lay in Bernician territory. This is certainly true of the site of the battle—*Hefenfelth*, thought now to be St. Oswald's—which preceded Cadwallon's death, because Bede states that the cross erected by Oswald before the battle was the first outward sign of the Christian faith to be set up in Bernicia.²¹ The monks of Hexham were in the habit of making an annual pilgrimage to the site, and the inference that Hexham, too, lay in Bernicia is confirmed by other evidence to be discussed below. In the passage in which Bede refers to Ninian and the monastery at Whithorn he states that this place also belonged to Bernicia.²² This passage has a two-fold interest for present purposes. First, it carries the extent of Bernicia across the country to the Irish Sea, that is to say far beyond the limit of territory which can have fallen into English hands in the early days of the invasions and into territory which may not have had a predominantly English population even in Bede's own time. Secondly, in his reference to Whithorn, Bede is writing of the contemporary situation. He uses the present tense—*Qui locus, ad prouinciam Berniciorum pertinens uulgo uocatur Ad Candidam Casam*²³—and so indicates that in 731 the province of Bernicia enjoyed an existence as a distinct part of the kingdom of Northumbria, despite the obliteration of the old dynastic division. *Prouincia Berniciorum* and *prouincia Deirorum* are, therefore, no archaic terms in Bede's *History*, but the reflection of administrative divisions of his own day. Whithorn is the most westerly, St. Oswald's the most southerly and Yeauering the most northerly point stated by Bede to have lain in Bernicia. It is, however, reasonable to suppose that Bernicia reached northwards as far as the English boundary with the Picts on the Firth of Forth.

In Deira lay Catterick, the river Swale, the unidentified

²¹ HE, III, 2.

²² HE, III, 4.

²³ *Ibid.*

Campodonum, the old Welsh kingdom of Elmet and the district of *Loidis* from which Leeds takes its name.²⁴ So also did Beverley which was known to Bede as *Inderawuda*.²⁵ To these may certainly be added York and Goodmanham. It will be seen that the shortest distance between any two places of which one is known to have been in Bernicia and the other in Deira is the distance between St. Oswald's north of Tyne and Catterick south of Tees, the one river favoured by Reginald and the other by Richard as the boundary between the two provinces. It is, no doubt, from this very obscurity in Bede's direct evidence that the conflict between Reginald and Richard arises. There is, however, other evidence which, though less direct in kind, may yet come near to yielding proof.

The circumstances which led to the murder of Osuini, king of Deira, in 651, are described by Bede in some detail.²⁶ The affair began with preparations for a pitched battle between the forces of Osuiu and Osuini, and the latter is said to have assembled his forces at a place called *Uilfaræsdun*. This place has not been identified, but its approximate locality can be determined from Bede's remark that it lay about ten miles to the north-west (*contra solstitialem*) of Catterick, which suggests a point of assembly in the triangle between Piercebridge, Greta Bridge and Scotch Corner. Since it is highly improbable that a Deiran king would have ordered his forces to assemble inside hostile territory it may reasonably be supposed that *Uilfaræsdun* lay in Deira. On the other hand it seems no less reasonable to suppose that Osuini would have assembled his forces at a point not far removed from the Bernician frontier. When Osuini saw the strength of the opposing forces, he disbanded his own army and took refuge in the house of one of his earls (*comes Hunwaldus*); but he was betrayed and murdered at *Ingetlingum*. Whether or not this is Gilling near Richmond,

²⁴ HE, II, 14.

²⁵ HE, V, 2.

²⁶ HE, III, 14.

the place undoubtedly lay in Deira. There is perhaps a hint, but certainly no more, in this passage that the frontier lay on the Tees.

Much more important is the passage in which Bede describes the division of the Northumbrian diocese after the expulsion of Wilfrid in 678.²⁷ In early times the boundaries of most of the Anglo-Saxon dioceses coincided with the boundaries of the kingdoms to which they belonged. After the synod of Whitby there was a period of some fourteen years during which Northumbria formed a single diocese whose headquarters were at York, but the expulsion of Wilfrid provided an opportunity for putting into operation in Northumbria the policy of increasing the number of bishoprics which had already been carried out by Theodore in other parts of the country. Bosa was accordingly appointed bishop of Deira with his seat at York, and Eata became bishop of Bernicia with a choice of Hexham or Lindisfarne for his seat. Shortly afterwards, Hexham acquired its own bishop, Tunberct, and Eata remained at Lindisfarne. Until at least the beginning of the ninth century, and possibly longer, Bernicia continued to have bishops at both Hexham and Lindisfarne. It may be inferred that these two sees covered the full extent of Bernicia until their number was further increased by the establishment of a third see at Whithorn and a fourth at Abercorn, the latter being intended primarily as a base for work among the Picts.²⁸ It follows from this that the southern boundary of the see of Hexham, where it marched with York, will have coincided with the boundary between Bernicia and Deira. There seems to be only one direct statement about the boundaries of the see of Hexham. It is given by Richard of Hexham,²⁹ and since the see had ceased to exist some three centuries before the time at which he was writing, his evidence cannot be regarded as more than a tradition.

²⁷ HE, IV, 12.

²⁸ Whithorn survived into the ninth century, but Abercorn became extinct in 685.

²⁹ Op. cit., n. II above, 20.

On the other hand Richard, because he was a Hexham man, is likely to have been as well informed as anyone could be on this matter. He introduces his remarks on the subject as representing the tradition of his own time—*ut autem quidam ferunt*—and goes on to say that the diocese was bounded on the east by the sea, on the south by the Tees, on the west by Wetheral and on the north by the Aln. This statement is not so full as might have been wished, because it leaves some doubt about the course followed by the boundary on the west and in particular suggests that parts of Cumberland which were more than twice as far from Lindisfarne as they were from Hexham, yet belonged to the see of Lindisfarne. But for present purposes the southern boundary, the Tees, is the most important, and Richard's evidence on this point implies that the whole of the county of Durham belonged to the see of Hexham; and therefore that Wearmouth, Jarrow and Hartlepool were in Bernicia, not in Deira. It may well be that Richard's information about the boundaries of the diocese of Hexham was the basis of his belief that the boundary between Bernicia and Deira lay on the Tees. There are several arguments which may be used to test the value of Richard's evidence. The argument from the map is by no means without weight. At the time when the see of Hexham was established, in 678, Northumbria reached as far north as the Forth, and a division of territory which gave to Lindisfarne the whole area from Forth to Aln, more than sixty miles along the coast, and to Hexham only the stretch from Aln to Tyne, less than thirty miles, would have been wholly disproportionate, even if allowance is made for the greater importance of Lindisfarne. Again, Hexham itself lies on the south side of the Tyne, so that a literal interpretation of Reginald's statement that the Tyne was the boundary between Bernicia and Deira would lead to the absurd situation whereby a place in Deira was selected as the seat of what was, on Bede's evidence, a Bernician bishopric. This argument, however, is not so conclusive as it appears to be, because the Tyne is the boundary between

the modern Northumberland and Durham only so far as Wylam, whence the line turns southwards to the Derwent. A similar situation might have prevailed in earlier times as between Bernicia and Deira. Thirdly, it may be noted that after his victory at *Uinuaed*, in 655, Osuiu dedicated to the religious life his infant daughter Aelffléd, who was received into Hild's monastery at Hartlepool.³⁰ For eleven years previously, first under Osuini, himself murdered by Osuiu, and then under Oidilwald who fought against Osuiu at *Uinuaed*, there had been open hostility between Bernicia and Deira. It seems unlikely that in these circumstances Osuiu would have sent his daughter immediately to a Deiran religious house. Within a year or two it became apparent that without Penda's help Deira was no longer able to oppose Bernicia, and once Osuiu was firmly in control of all Northumbrian territory, there would be no obstacle in the way of Hild, and Aelffléd with her, moving across the boundary to Whitby.

If, as these points seem to suggest, Richard was correct in thinking that the southern boundary of Bernicia lay on the Tees, it will follow that Jarrow was in the diocese of Hexham, and notice may now be taken of an additional and cogent argument in support of this belief. In the brief account which Bede gives of his own life in the last chapter of his *History*, he states that he was admitted both to the diaconate and to the priesthood by bishop John. These events took place *c.* 691 and *c.* 702 respectively, and although John's connections were mainly with Deira, since he was educated under Hild at Whitby, was translated to York in 705 and later retired to Beverley where he died, he occupied the see of Hexham from 687 to 705. If Jarrow had belonged to Deira it would have been natural for Bede to have received his orders from York, not from Hexham. Furthermore, Bede dedicated most of his theological works to Acca, bishop of Hexham, and several of them were written in direct response to requests from him.³¹ As Plummer

³⁰ HE, III, 24.

³¹ Plummer's *Bede*, I, xlix.

observed,³² Bede frequently addresses Acca in terms of the warmest affection and in language wholly appropriate in a priest writing to his bishop. In conclusion it may be said that, although the early literary sources yield no direct evidence, there is a considerable variety of indirect evidence which weights the scales heavily in favour of Richard of Hexham's belief that the boundary between Bernicia and Deira on the eastern side of the Pennines lay on the Tees.

NOTE ON THE DIALECTAL DIVISION.

The division of the Northumbrian dialect of OE into north and south Northumbrian which rests on a small group of texts mainly of the late ninth and tenth centuries, is held to correspond with the political division between Bernicia and Deira (R. Girvan, *Angelsaksisch Handboek*, Haarlem, 1931, §§4 and 5, 3). This is not the place to enter upon a detailed discussion of the antiquity of this dialectal division, but since Anderson (op. cit. note 2 above, 138) seems to find some support in the early MSS. of Bede's *History* for the view, questioned by other scholars (I. Dahl, *Substantival Inflection in Early Old English Vocalic Stems*, Lund, 1938, 18-21, H. Ström, *Old English Personal Names in Bede's History*, Lund, 1939, 147-8), that the division is as old as Bede's time and that Bede's dialect was predominantly SNb, it is worth while commenting briefly on the evidence on this point of the two oldest MSS. (M written in 737 and L written in 746), both of which are thought to be a fairly faithful reflection of Bede's dialect.

- (1) The preservation of OE *æ*, from WG *a*, after *c*, which is characteristic of SNb in later times, is found invariably in both M and L in the place-name element *cæstir* (from Lat. *castra*). It is found also in the personal names *cædmon* and *cælin* (whose WS form is given by Bede as *caulin*, HE, II, 5), and it is regular in *cædualla*, though *cead-*, showing the diphthongization of *æ* after *c* which is characteristic of NNb, is found once in M and twice in L. Diphthongization is invariably present in *cæadda*, but there is some evidence for thinking that this is a predominantly Mercian name (E. Ekwall, *The Place-Names of Lancashire*, Manchester, 1922, 29).
- (2) In the personal-name element deriving from OE *seax*, L invariably shows the SNb form *sex-* (by fracture of *æ* to *ea* and subsequent smoothing) and this form is also regular in M, though there is one

³² *Ibid.*, II, 329.

instance of the NNb *sæx*-. (3) In the treatment of the diphthongs *ea*, *eo*, SNb forms predominate in both M and L.

The evidence of these three criteria which has been drawn from the material compiled by Ström and Anderson, shows that in both M and L there is a marked predominance of forms corresponding with later SNb, though there is a small admixture of NNb forms. Assuming, as Anderson does, that Bede lived near the northern frontier of Deira and that his dialect was *a priori* SNb, this is what might have been expected, but if the literary evidence has been rightly interpreted, Anderson's assumption rests on a false premise, since Bede lived in Bernicia and some thirty miles from its southern frontier. The occurrence in these two MSS. which ought *a priori* to yield NNb forms, of a heavy predominance of SNb forms suggests that they cannot be used to support the view that the dialectal division is as old as Bede's time, or if it is, that it did not then coincide with the division between Bernicia and Deira. Anderson's view, moreover, forces him to regard the Durham place-names in *chester* which derive from OE *ceastir*—Binchester, Ebchester, Lanchester, Chester-le-Street—as exceptional NNb forms against a SNb background. But in fact in Durham, as in Northumberland, the diphthongized form *ceastir* is the rule, not the exception. The boundary between names in *chester* and names in *caster*, as well as the boundary between *æ* and *ea* after *c* in other place-names, lies on the Tees (*Anglia Beiblatt*, 30, 225, *EPNS*, 1, pt. 2, 15) and thus corresponds with the political boundary indicated by the literary evidence. It is doubtful, however, whether this can be used in support of the literary evidence for the boundary in Bede's time since the earliest MSS. of Bede's *History* invariably have *cæstir* which suggests that the development to *ceaster* in Durham took place later than Bede.