ART. VII – *British (Cumbric) Place-Names in the Barony of Gilsland, Cumbria*
By John M. Todd

LANERCOST, Triermain, Tercrosset – these Cumbrian place-names sound a little outlandish, sitting oddly beside familiar Anglo-Saxon forms like Brampton and Walton, or Scandinavian ones like Newby. They are British names, given by people who spoke a Celtic language akin to Welsh, Cornish, Breton and Pictish. It was a language spoken in North-West England and South-West Scotland, with just enough that distinguishes it from Welsh to deserve a separate title, Cumbric.

Place-names with Cumbric elements occur all over northern Cumbria, and more rarely further south. They tend to cluster. One cluster lies around Penrith and Ullswater, another between Carlisle and Lamplugh (south of Cockermouth), and a third and thickest in and around Gilsland in the north-east of the county.[1] It is with the Gilsland cluster that the present article is concerned, and the boundaries of study are those of the barony of Gilsland as mapped in 1603.[2] Most of the endowments of Lanercost Priory were in Gilsland, and the rediscovery of the original manuscript of the priory's cartulary has not only added earlier forms of the Gilsland names that have already been recognised as Cumbric, but has also added a few new names to the published lists.[3] In the Appendix to this article, all the Gilsland names with Cumbric elements so far recognised are listed, with references to *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, *Celtic Voices*, *English Places* and *The Lanercost Cartulary*. They are mapped in Figure 1. In the body of the article, new names, and names about which something new can be said, are discussed. The article also considers some other potential evidence for the survival of Cumbric in the area.

Before we plunge into the forest of names, however, some explanation of the historical background is needed. Under the Roman Empire and for two centuries after, the language of most people in the north-west of England and southern Scotland was British, or a branch of British speech that was beginning to develop slightly separate characteristics from Breton, Cornish and Welsh, called Cumbric.[4] In the first half of the seventh century, the North-West came under Northumbrian rule, and Anglo-Saxon became the dominant language of the area. In the late-ninth or early-tenth centuries, Norse-speaking settlers appeared, leaving their own marks on Cumbrian speech and names. But how long did British (or Cumbric) continue to be spoken? Kenneth Jackson, on whose work *Language and History in Early Britain* the above summary is based, believed that the language survived in use perhaps until the early part of the eleventh century.[5] Ten years later, Jackson, followed recently by Andrew Breeze, ventured: "the language itself can scarcely have outlasted the eleventh century or the early twelfth at the latest".[6]

A further puzzling question is whether the Cumbric place-names were affected when, as is claimed, the kings of Strathclyde asserted their overlordship in the tenth century. Was the presumed survival of the language refreshed by an influx of settlers – who may have been few in number but high in status – after the collapse of the Northumbrian kingdom under Scandinavian pressure? That Strathclyde filled this
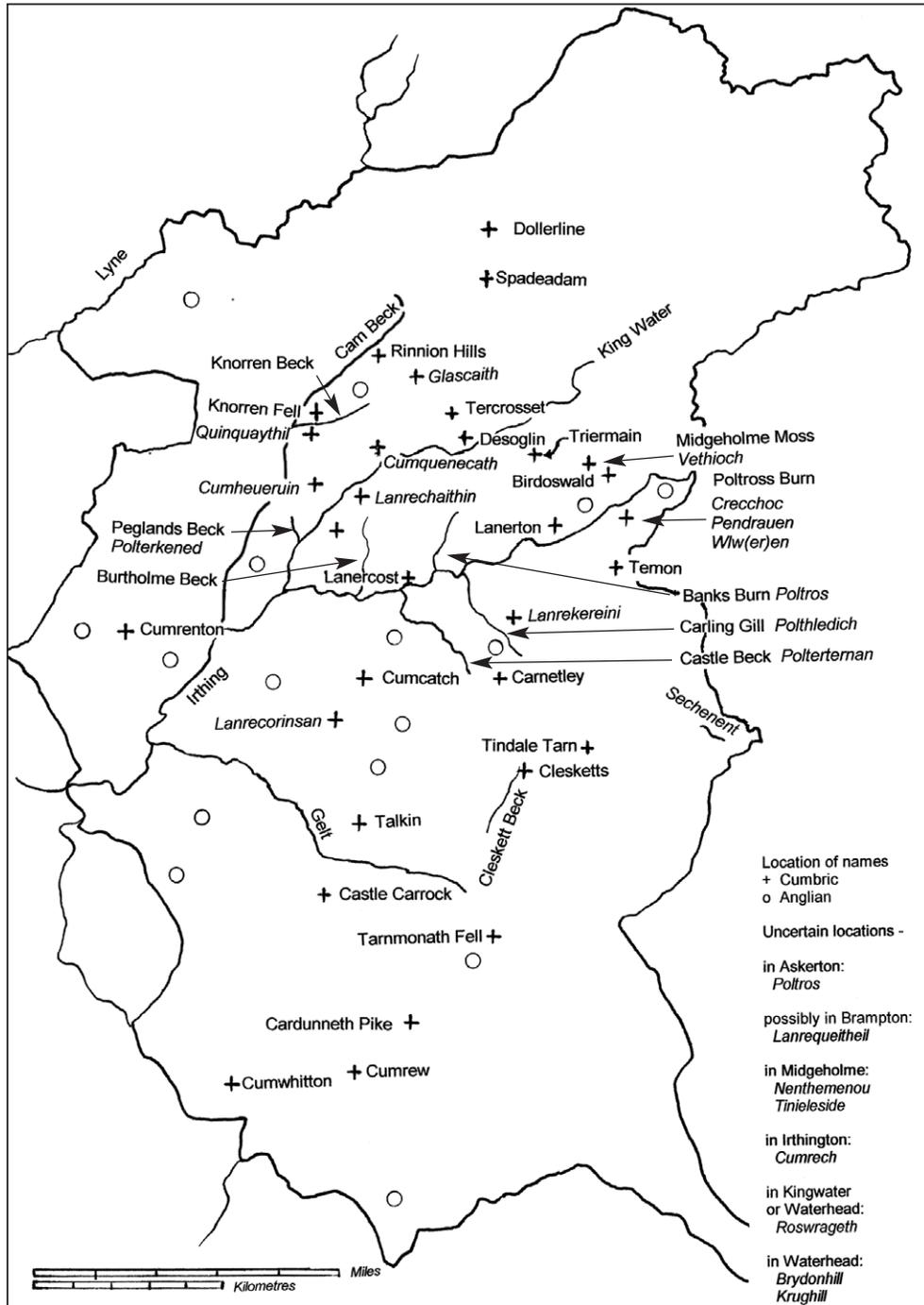
Fig. 1. Place-names with Cumbric elements in Gilsland.

power vacuum has been argued by Kenneth Jackson,[7] Alfred Smyth[8] and Nick Higham,[9] and doubted by Charles Phythian-Adams.[10] Recently, David Rollason has carefully weighed the arguments and suspends judgement.[11] It is important to remember that the point remains unsettled in order to avoid circular arguments along the following lines: the Strathclyde kings became overlords in North Cumbria, therefore the Cumbric language was refreshed; because Cumbric place-names survived, therefore there must have been a Strathclyde occupation. We shall return to this issue in our conclusion.

Guencat's Valley: *Cumquenecath*

Discussion starts with a name that at first sight has nothing to do with any British name at all. Friar Waingate Bridge is on the King Water just over two miles north of Lanercost Priory. It looks thoroughly English – "the bridge carrying the friars' cart road". In the Gaol Delivery Roll of 1357, a personal name *Couwhencatte* appears, and the cartulary of Lanercost contains a swathe of charters concerning a place called *Cumquenecath*, which Israel the Chamberlain granted to the priory before 1181.[12] *Quenecath* to *Whencatte* to Waingate is, as John Moorman saw half a century ago, a plausible line of linguistic evolution: *qu-* and *wh-* are interchangeable.[13] The bridge is therefore situated in a locality once called *Cumquenecath*, which, as the editors of *The Place-Names of Cumberland* suggest, is a Cumbric name meaning "Guencat's Valley". The first element is the word that appears in Welsh as *cwm*. The second is a personal name that appears in the Book of Llandaff.[14]

If Waingate is not English, might not Friar also represent a corruption of something Cumbric? After all, the canons of Lanercost were not friars and the nearest friary was in Carlisle. Somewhat diffidently, I offer a British (Cumbric) word later represented by Welsh *ffrau*, "a stream" or, less probably, *ffrwd*, "flood, stream".[15] So Friar Waingate is a corruption of Cumbric words meaning "Guencat's stream".

Friar Waingate Bridge, therefore, lay in Guencat's valley, the valley of the King Water. But what was the extent of the territory granted by Israel? Other documents in the Cartulary make it possible to define where *Cumquenecath* was, or, strictly speaking, where it was not. The canons received a grant of pasture by the Cam Beck for their men of Walton and *Cumquenecath*, and the right to graze cattle and pigs in Walton Wood: *Cumquenecath*, therefore, was not in Walton, nor in Walton Wood, nor beside the Cam Beck.[16] They entered into an agreement that the wood and pasture between Tercrosset and *Cumquenecath* should be grazed in common: *Cumquenecath* was thus not in Tercrosset but shared a common boundary.[17] Fines were agreed for cattle from Walton and *Cumquenecath* that entered the pasture of Triermain: again, *Cumquenecath* cannot be in Triermain. If such cattle entered the manor of Askerton, they were free of fine but any damage had to be paid for: clearly, *Cumquenecath* was not in, but adjacent to Askerton.[18] These neighbouring places provide a clear "fix" in navigational terms for *Cumquenecath*, in the lower valley of the King Water.[19]

Further evidence comes from a charter of Walter of Guiseley granting the canons the right to make assarts in the territory of *Cumquenecath* in land bounded by the "valley next to *Hardhrist*", which is probably the modern Hardhurst.[20] This shows that the canons' clearances were pressing on grazing land to the west, towards the bounds of Walton parish.

Guencat again: *Quinquaythil*

A late grant to Lanercost Priory was land which Richard the Lame had "between *Quinquaythil* and the outgang from Walton towards Cambeck Moor".[21] Further charters include quitclaims to the priory of lands in *Quinquaythil* in Little Cambeck. This implies a location in the north end of Walton parish, close to the boundary of *Cumquenecath*, and it may be represented by the modern farm called Nickie's Hill. Nickie's Hill belonged to Henry Dacre in 1603, and probably came to him from the Priory. The name appears to be a hybrid meaning "Guencat's hill".

Some streams

As might be expected, the commonest Cumbric names are those of rivers and streams. This is true even in areas further east that came under Anglo-Saxon power much earlier than did Cumbria. The cartulary has produced four previously unnoticed names, *Cumrech* in Irthington,[22] *Polterkened* in Walton,[23] *Cumheueruin* also in Walton[24] and *Nenthemenou* in Midgeholme.[25] The first was presumably a stream, since the charter, describing the bounds of certain land, reads "to *Cumrech*, and so by the west bank (*costeram*) of *Cumrech* and then by the fixed stakes to the top of the bank between *Cumrek (sic)* and ancient wall". The first element is *cwm*: the second is obscure. *Polterkened* occurs in the boundaries of the portion of Walton given to Lanercost Priory: "as far as the syke *Polterkened* which runs down into the King", and is probably to be identified with Peglands Beck today. The name contains *pol*, "stream", and *kened* which may be the modern name Kenneth. *Cumheueruin* is the name of a piece of land in the Cartulary, but Andrew Breeze suggests that it derives from a stream-name containing the Cumbrian equivalent of the Welsh *chwefrin*, "lively, active".[26] *Nenthemenou* is a stream close to *Sethenent* in Midgeholme (see below), and appears to contain *nant*, "stream or valley" with an obscure second element.

The Cartulary has also helped to clarify a number of points concerning the location of recognised Cumbric names. It seems clear, for instance, that there are three streams called Poltross: the well-known one south of the Irthing which forms part of the boundary between Cumberland and Northumberland, one which formed the eastern boundary of the laund or glade of Lanercost, which is most probably Banks Burn, and a third which is part of the boundary of Askerton, "as *Poltros* runs down from the moss between the two *Wiliauels* to the Cam Beck".[27] Two more streams commencing with *pol* are *Polthledich*, and *Polter(ter)nan,* now known as Carling Gill and Castle Beck.[28] The two mark the east and west points at which the boundary of St Mary's Vale farm meets the Irthing, as the charters show. Geoffrey Barrow suggests that the second element in the latter name was originally *teruan*, from Latin *terminus*: if so, the name, and the boundary which it records, may come from an early stratum of Gilsland place-names.[29]

Names in *pol* are here classed as Cumbric, because the context in which they are found is generally Cumbric. Richard Coates and Andrew Breeze, however, treat names in *pol* as English borrowings of the Scottish *pow*, except where the specifier is not clearly English.[30] They class as "wholly Goidelic" *Polthledich* and two names in Bewcastle just outside Gilsland, *Poltkinerum* and *Poltragon*.[31] The specifiers of the last

two names are obscure, but the specifier of *Polthledich* is surely a Cumbric equivalent of the Welsh *lleidiog,* "muddy", and the whole name therefore Cumbric. *Polterkened* does look as though it has a Goidelic specifier, the personal name Kenneth. It might look like special pleading to suggest that a Gaelic name has been substituted for an earlier Cumbric one.

Finally, *Sethenent, Sechenent, Sekenent,* equivalent to *Sychnant,* "dry stream" is firmly located by the charters in the area of *Brenkibeth* in Midgeholme, not in Burtholme.[32]

Place-Names of Cumberland mentions the Moss of *Vethioch*[33] under the field-names of Waterhead: the charter makes it clear that it must be the swamp immediately north of Birdoswald known now as Midgeholme Moss.

Launds: names with *Lanerc-*

Gilsland was clearly once well-wooded, for there are six names compounded with a Cumbric form of the Welsh *llannerch,* a glade or laund.[34] Lanercost and Lanerton survived as modern names, but there are in addition *Lanrechaithin,*[35] *Lanrecorinsan,*[36] *Lanrekereini,*[37] and *Lanrequeitheil.*[38] *Lanrecorinsan* is a vaccary, possibly in Brampton, and is not noted in *Place-Names of Cumberland.* The other three are there treated as variants of the same name, but the charter context shows that whilst *Lanrechaithin* is a laund in Burtholme, *Lanrekereini* is a messuage in Nether Denton and *Lanrequeitheil* was land of a different holder, possibly in Brampton.

The laund of *Roswrageth*

John Moorman and *Place-Names of Cumberland* locate this laund, "the moor of the women", in Midgeholme.[39] Moorman did so because the text of the charter he was using omitted essential words: "… and I have granted to them the laund of *Warthecoleman,* and the laund of *Roswrageth* and the laund of *Apeltrethwayt* [and certain land in the moor of *Brenkibet*] by these boundaries, viz …".[40] The boundaries relate to the land at *Brenkibet,* which is indeed in Midgeholme, but not to the three launds, which are not. *Roswrageth* is probably between Hadrian's Wall and the Irthing east of Banks.

Glascaith wood

Between Tercrosset and *Cumquenecath,* and so in Askerton or Kingwater parishes, lay stretches of wood called Great and Little *Glascaith.*[41] The charter settles grazing rights in these woods between the priory and Robert, son of William, lord of Tercrosset. The name is surely Cumbric, comprising the words appearing in modern Welsh as *glas* and *coed,* "grey wood". The same elements probably make up Clesketts in Farlam.[42]

Some fields in Upper Denton

The Gilsland landscape included large fields divided into strips held by different tenants. Occasionally the fields are named in a charter, and it would not be

surprising if some of the names were Cumbric. Between 1185 and 1210, Anketin son of Robert, lord of Upper Denton, gave his brother-in-law four "acres" of land in the territory Denton, one acre in *Wlwen,* one acre in *Cre(c)choc*, and two acres in *Pendrauen.* Some years later, Anketin gave the same land to Lanercost Priory.[43] *Place-Names of Cumberland* includes them, taking slightly different spellings from the eighteenth-century transcript of the Cartulary: *Wliven, Cretton and Pendraven*.[44] No etymology is suggested for *Wlwen*, also spelled *Wlweren*. The editors of *Place-Names* suggests that *Cretton* might be connected to the Old English *craet*, "cart", but *Crechoc* or *Crecchoc* might better be linked to the Welsh *creigiog*, "rocky". *Pendrauen* clearly contains the Cumbric *penn*, "head", but topography tells against Jackson's suggested *Pen ir Abon*, "river head", since no river rises in Upper Denton.[45] There is another *Crechok* in a charter of Matilda de Vaux granting a water supply to Lanercost which probably relates to a field near Banks in Burtholme parish.[46] These names are included here as an encouragement to others to search further for British names out in the fields.[47]

Summary: newly identified British place-names

Rediscovery of the original manuscript of the Cartulary has thus added many variant spellings and a number of new Cumbric names to those listed in *Celtic Voices, English Places*.[48] The new names added are *Crec(c)hoc*, *Cumheueruin/Cumeuerwyn*, *Cumrech*, *Glascaith*, *Lanrecorinsan*, *Lanrekereini*, *Lanrequeitheil*, *Nenthemenou*, *Polterkened*, *Polterternan*, *Quinquaythil*, and possibly *Wlw(er)en*.

Wall-town or Welsh-town? Walton

There is one Anglo-Saxon name that has in some instances been taken to indicate a British presence: Walton, from *W(e)ala-tun*, "the *tun* of the Britons or of the (British) serfs".[49] But as Ekwall points out, Walton can also come from "*tun* on the weald" or "*tun* by the wall". Since Walton in Gilsland is actually on the Roman Wall, which was recognised as "The Ancient Wall" in the twelfth century, there seemed little doubt that it fell into the third class of Waltons, not the first.[50] Since Walton lies next to Guencat's valley, with its cluster of Cumbric names, it is just worth looking again at this assumption. Might not Walton have been seething with Britons? If it was, however, I doubt whether the place-name shows it. In the Cartulary it is invariably spelled *Walton* or *Walton'*. In the Wetheral Register it occurs once as *Waltun*.[51] Forms in *Waletune* are notably absent. Moreover in Walton parish itself the only Cumbric name (apart from streams) is *Quinquaythil* and possibly *Cumheueruin*.

Personal Names

We have at least three Gilsland names that are evidently not Norman, Anglo-Saxon or Scandinavian. Two are Gaelic. One is Gille son of Bueth, the lord of Gilsland before Hubert de Vaux in 1158.[52] He is probably to be identified with the *judex Cumbrensis* who assisted Earl David with the inquest into the possessions of the see of Glasgow in 1120.[53] Secondly, in the time of Bishop Athelwulf, first bishop of

Carlisle (1133-1157), Gilemor son of Gilander, lord of Triermain and Tercrosset, founded a chapel at Triermain, east of *Cumquenecath*.[54] The forerunners of these Gaelic speakers may have come into Cumbria in the reign of Malcolm III King of Scots, or during earlier incursions from Scotland and Strathclyde.

The third personal name is that of Israel the Chamberlain, donor of *Cumquenecath* to Lanercost Priory. The name is biblical: Israel was the later name of Jacob, son of Isaac and grandson of Abraham.[55] What is significant is that biblical names are associated with British, not Norman or Anglo-Saxon society, as Richard Sharpe has lately pointed out.[56] The name that prompted Sharpe's observation is Ithamar, bishop of Rochester in the seventh century, but he cites instances from the ninth century (Asser, bishop of St Davids), the tenth (Israel the Grammarian from Brittany) and the eleventh (Abraham, bishop of St Davids, and his sons Isaac and Hed). Israel may have been a local man from a family holding to British traditions of naming. If so, he is an interesting example of incoming Normans taking advantage of local expertise, and yet another hint of the survival of a community with British roots in this part of Cumbria.

Conclusion: Cumbric Survival or Cumbric Revival?

As noted earlier, it has long been recognised that the density of linguistic survivals hints at the possibility of Cumbric-speaking people and lordship in Gilsland until the eleventh if not the twelfth century. The evidence for Cumbric place-names is mounting up, but have we come any nearer to deciding whether they derive from the "Men of the North" before the Anglo-Saxons, or from a Strathclyde-led revival in the tenth century?

The place-names with Cumbric elements are more thickly scattered in Gilsland than in the land towards Carlisle to the west. Within Gilsland, they cluster in the higher ground north of the Irthing and west of the Cam Beck, and run off south of the Irthing along the hills and the valleys at their foot. Leaving aside names of natural features, well over half them are the names of fields (3), two launds and a wood (3), and parts of medieval holdings or later single farms (12). The names that describe centres of lordship are Triermain, Tercrosset, Cumquenecath, Talkin and Birdoswald, and the ecclesiastical parishes are Castle Carrock, Cumrew and Cumwhitton (8). Lanercost was certainly an important lordship under the canons and latterly a parish also, but when it was given to the canons it was described as a laund.

By contrast, there are sixteen Anglian names, nearly all lying to the west of the Cumbric group, and including the names of all the remaining ecclesiastical parishes: Stapleton, Walton, Irthington, Brampton, Nether and Upper Denton, Hayton, Croglin, and possibly Carlatton (Fig. 1). Cumwhitton, which we have counted in the Cumbric group, is in fact a hybrid.

What do we deduce from this distribution? There are two possibilities.

First, the more remote Cumbric names represent clusters of Britons left in occupation after the Anglo-Saxon speakers had taken over the better land when they achieved control of Cumbria in the seventh century. Second, the Cumbric names are the result of a late infiltration of population, presumably from Strathclyde, in the tenth century. Since the Anglo-Saxon speakers were in control of the better land, the newcomers had to take what was left, mostly in the hillier parts. The second

hypothesis is not unlike the explanation once given for Scandinavian settlement patterns in the upper Eden valley in Cumbria, where Scandinavian names in -by are on the less attractive, southern side of the river.[57] On the other hand, the first hypothesis fits other areas of England where p-Celtic names survive, and where there has never been any suggestion of a later re-occupation by Celtic-speaking peoples, such as the supposed British enclaves in the Chilterns or Elmet.

What special factors might have marked Gilsland as an area of Celtic revival? It is certainly nearer to Cumbric-speaking Strathclyde than to the rest of England. The land north of the Eamont is presumed to be that allocated to Strathclyde by King Athelstan at the peace of 926.[58] It contains a church, at Irthington, dedicated to St Kentigern, one of a number of such dedications in northern Cumbria. Promotion of Glasgow's saint seems more appropriate to the tenth century than to the seventh.[59] Finally, Gilsland contains two names, Carlatton and Cumwhitton, which, to the editors of *Place-Names of Cumberland*, "strongly suggest that territories once occupied by the Anglian invader may have been recovered, after an interval, by their earlier owners".[60]

On the other hand, is it likely that a "Strathclyde takeover" was accompanied by a movement of population sufficient to have changed place-names? And if it did take place, would not the settlers have clustered around the centres of power, rather than the margins? The Kentigern dedications could equally belong to the twelfth century, not the tenth; for in the tenth century no bishop of Glasgow is known, while in the twelfth David I was actively promoting the cathedral of Glasgow and the cult of its saint and ruled in Cumbria from 1138 to 1153.

Can we learn from names where Cumbric and Anglo-Saxon elements mingle? For instance, Jackson points out that Carlatton (Anglo-Scandinavian "Churl's *tun*") is pronounced with a Cumbric stress on the penultimate syllable.[61] Is this not a sign that Carlatton was once the home of speakers of Anglo-Saxon or Scandinavian and then came under the influence of Cumbric speakers? There may, however, be other explanations. An Anglo-Scandinavian lord could have coined the name (contemptuously), but the resident peasants pronounced it with their own intonation. Alternatively, the Cumbric-speakers could have recovered lordship, but at a date before the Strathclyde period. Again, Cumwhitton is a hybrid, beginning with the Cumbric *Cwm-* followed by the typically Anglian *Hwitingtun*.[62] This may indicate a re-naming, but why should we assume that it is the Cumbric-speakers who are doing the renaming? It seems equally possible that the original name was *Cwm* plus a Cumbric personal name, for which an Anglo-Saxon personal name was substituted at a time when the meaning of *cwm* was still understood by the newcomers. (The discovery in 2004 of a remarkably-furnished Viking burial at Cumwhitton does not help one way or the other.)[63]

There are other ways of approaching the question. Kenneth Jackson argued that some Cumbric names display grammatical features that post-date the Anglian invasion, and must therefore have been formed after the collapse of Northumbria. The change of order to noun followed by defining adjective or dependent noun – as in Cumrew – was hardly likely to have arisen before the sixth century.[64] In the west, this still leaves almost a century before Anglian dominance for the change to have effect. Phythian-Adams rightly argues at considerable length that these names are an indication of British survival, not revival.[65]

All this suggests that we have to take seriously the case for saying that Gilsland – and indeed northern Cumbria – did not differ greatly from Elmet: the Cumbric stratum was always the older, and was overlain by the Anglo-Saxon. This is not to deny that Cumbric speakers may have continued to hold to their old speech in Guencat's valley until the eleventh century. The thought reminded me of a group of old farmers some six years ago, overheard talking soft Welsh after a funeral in the hill-ringed churchyard of Pennant Melangell in Powys, a dozen miles from the English Border. The multiplication of examples of Cumbric names neither proves nor denies the survival of the spoken language. What does seem at least possible is that the Strathclyde period of overlordship, whatever its nature and effect, neither revived nor promoted that survival. I hope to return to this question in the course of a further study of Cumbric habitation names in Cumbria as a whole.

Acknowledgements

APPENDIX I – GILSLAND PLACE-NAMES WITH BRITISH ELEMENTS

Place-name	Civil Parish	P-N Cu ref. (page)	Lan. Cart. ref. (Charter number)	CVEP ref. (page)	Notes (including forms of names in Lan. Cart. or related MSS. The latter are marked *.)
Rivers and other water					
Banks Burn	Burtholme	4	1, 189-90, 206	363	*1: Poltros* *Others: Poltrosse*
Burtholme Beck	Burtholme	6	1,6,189-90	285	*All: Burth*
Cam Beck	Walton, Irthington	7	1, 19, 153, 170, 172, 213, 224, 227, 258	–	*227: Cambock* *Others: Camboc*
Carling Gill	Nether Denton	7, 73	24, 52, 212	287	*24: Polthledich* *52: Polthledith/ch?* *212: Polkedith*
Castle Beck	Brampton, Nether Denton	8	24, 52, 164, 201, 212	–	*24, 201*, 212: Polterternan* *52, 164: Polternan*
Cleskett Beck See Cleskett below	Farlam	9	76	–	*Claschet*
Cumrech	Irthington	–	225	–	Not certainly a stream

Place-name	Civil Parish	P-N Cu ref. (page)	Lan. Cart. ref. (Charter number)	CVEP ref. (page)	Notes (including forms of names in Lan. Cart. or related MSS. The latter are marked *.)
Gelt	Several parishes	14	28, 29, 119, 281	361	*119: Kelt; others, Gelt Goidelic?*
Irthing	Several parishes	18	1, 18, 22, 24, 58, 170, 172, 189-90, 201-2, 213, 218, 225, 270	362	*1,201*-2, 213, 218: Irthin 18: Hirthin 22, 24, 225: Erthin 58, 189, 190: Hirtin 170: Yrthin 172: Hyrtin 270: Hyrthyn*
King Water	Kingwater, Waterhead	19	1, 6, 18, 19, 22, 43, 140, 153, 170, 172, 201-2, 218	365	*All: King*
Knorren Beck See Knorren Fell below	Walton, Askerton	19	19, 227, 258	283	*19*: Knauren 227: Cnaueren 258: Cnoueran*
Lyne	Askerton	21	355	362	*Leuen*
Peglands Beck	Walton	–	1	–	*Polterkened*
Midgeholme Moss	Waterhead	117	144	284	*Vethioch*
Nenthemenou	Midgeholme	–	9, 22, 170, 172	–	*9: Nenthemenou 22: Nenteton 170: Nenthemenu 172: Nentemenu*
Poltross Burn	Askerton	–	19*	363	*Poltros*
Poltross Burn	Dentons	23	–	363	County boundary
Poltross	Burtholme	4	See Banks Burn	363	
Sethenent	Midgeholme (not Burtholme)	73	1, 9, 22, 170, 172, 189-90, 201	284	*1, 9, 170-2: Sethenent 22, 201*: Sekenent 189-90: Sechenent*
Tindale Tarn	Midgeholme	36	349	285	*Tynielterne*
Hills					
Cardunneth Pike	Cumrew	77	–	282	
Knorren Fell	Askerton	19	–	283	
Rinnion Hills	Kingwater	96	–	284	
Tarnmonath Fell	Geltsdale	87	–	285	
Settlements and lands					
Birdoswald	Waterhead	115	144	281	Territory *Burthoswald*
Brydonhill	Waterhead	117	–	285	Field

Place-name	Civil Parish	P-N Cu ref. (page)	Lan. Cart. ref. (Charter number)	CVEP ref. (page)	Notes (including forms of names in Lan. Cart. or related MSS. The latter are marked *.)
Carnetley	Farlam	84	54-5, 59, 274-8	282	Land *54: Carthutelau* *55★: Caruttlaw* *59, 274: Caruthelaue* *274, 277-8: Caruthlawe* *275★: Karnothelawe* *276: Karnuthlawe*
Castle Carrock	Cas. Carrock	75	30, 78, 80, 106, 139, 157, 282-3, 322	282	Vill, territory *30, 80: Castelcairoc* *78, 106, 139, 157: Castelcayroc* *282-3: Castelkairok* *322: Castelkairoc*
Clesketts	Farlam	84	76, 287	282	*Claschet*
Crec(c)hoc	U. Denton	82	56, 112	–	*56: Crecchoc;* *112: Crechoc*
	Burtholme	–	214	–	*214: Crechok*
Cumcatch	Brampton	66	(See A1)	283	Land
Cumheueruin	Walton or Kingwater	–	151, 204	–	Land *151: Cumheueruin* *204: Cumeuerwyn*
Cumquenecath/ Couwhencatte	Kingwater (possibly also Walton, Burtholme and Waterhead)	71	15, 18, 22-3, 67, 83-6, 141, 147, 153, 170, 172, 189-90, 201-2, 204, 258, 264-8	282	Vill, territory *All except following: Cumquenecath* *22: Cumquenechath* *85: Cumquenekat* *190, 202: Cumquenecach* *201, 268: Cumquenecat* *201★: Cumquencat* *258, 264-6: Cumquenkat*
Cumrenton	Irthington	92	–	283	
Cumrew	Cumrew	77	70, 75, 79, 81, 116, 122, 154, 352	283	All the *Lan. Cart.* references are in personal names *70: Cumrew* *116: Cumrehou* *Rest: Cumreu*
Cumwhitton	Cumwhitton	78	–	283	
Desoglin	Kingwater	96	–	285	
Dollerline	Askerton	55	–	283	
Glascaith	Askerton, Kingwater	–	153	–	Wood Also *Glaskeith*

Place-name	Civil Parish	P-N Cu ref. (page)	Lan. Cart. ref. (Charter number)	CVEP ref. (page)	Notes (including forms of names in Lan. Cart. or related MSS. The latter are marked *.)
Krughill	Waterhead	117	–	283	Field
Lanercost	Burtholme	71	1 and *passim*	283	Laund, monastery, parish. *Lanrecost*
Lanerton	Waterhead	115	56, 62, 112, 203, 270-1	285	Manor, territory *56, 270: Lanerton* *62, 203: Lanreton* *215, 217: Either form*
Lanrechaithin	Burtholme	72	6, 18, 22, 43-4, 172, 215, 217, 355	283	Laund, land *6: Lanrechaithin* *18, 43: Lanrekeythin* *22,172: Lanrecaithin* *44: Lanrekaythin* *215: Lanrecaythin* *217: Lanrecaythyn* *355: Lanerekaythin*
Lanrecorinsan	Brampton?	–	28	–	Vaccary
Lanrekereini	Denton (Not to be identified with *Lanrechaithin*)	72	49	–	Messuage
Lanrequeitheil	Unknown	72	149	–	Land
Quinquaythil	Walton?	–	224, 259-63	–	Land *224: Quinquaythil* *259: Quinquaythell* *260*: Cumquethill* *261, 262, 263 rubric: Qwynqwaythill*
Pendrauen	U. Denton	82	56, 112	284	Field
Roswrageth	Kingwater or Waterhead (not Midgeholme)	103	1, 18, 22, 170-2, 180, 189-90	284	Laund *1,22, 189-90: Roswrageth* *18: Raswrageth* *170,172: Roswragat* *171,180: Roswraget*
Spadeadam	Kingwater	96	–	284	
Talkin	Hayton	88	105-6, 119, 131-3, 219	284	Vill *All: Talkan*
Temon	U. Denton	81	–	–	
Tercrosset	Kingwater	97	153, 268, 346	284	Land, lordship *153, 346: Torcrossoc* *268: Torcroshoc*

Place-name	Civil Parish	P-N Cu ref. (page)	Lan. Cart. ref. (Charter number)	CVEP ref. (page)	Notes (including forms of names in Lan. Cart. or related MSS. The latter are marked *.)
Tinieleside	Midgeholme	36	9, 22, 25, 170, 172, 201, A5	285	*9, 22, 172: Tinieleside* *25, A5*: Tinielside* *170, 201*: Tynielside* *201*: Tynieleside*
Triermain	Waterhead	116	1, 18, 22, 43-4, 58, 70, 153, 170-2, 180, 183-7, 189-91, 202, 215-8, 238, 240, 346, 352, 354	284	Vill, territory, chapel, lordship *All: Treuerman*
Wlw(er)en	U. Denton	82 *Wliven*	56, 112	–	Field *56: Wlweren* *112: Wlwen*

Notes and References

1 A. M. Armstrong, A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton and Bruce Dickins, *The Place-Names of Cumberland* [cited as *P-N Cu*], pp. xix-xx and maps in Richard Coates and Andrew Breeze, *Celtic Voices, English Places: Studies of the Celtic Impact on Place-Names in England* [cited as *CVEP*] (Stamford, 2000), 370-2.

2 Durham University Library, Archives and Special Collections, Howard of Naworth MS C713.

3 *The Lanercost Cartulary,* ed. John M. Todd [cited as *Lan. Cart.*] (CWAAS Record Series XI and Surtees Society 203, Gateshead, 1997)

4 Cumbric is closest to Welsh, as one would expect, but an example of a distinguishing feature is the possessive -*in*-, not -*ir*-, in the place-name Tallentire, near Cockermouth (*P-N Cu*, 324).

5 Kenneth Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh, 1953), 9.

6 Kenneth Jackson, "Angles and Britons in Northumbria and Cumbria" in *Angles and Britons: The O'Donnell Lectures* (Cardiff, 1963), 60-84 at 61,73; Andrew Breeze, "The Celtic Names of Blencow and Blenkinsopp", *Northern History,* xxxix (2002), 292.

7 Jackson, *"Angles and Britons"*, 72-3.

8 Alfred P. Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men: Scotland AD 80-1000* (London, 1984), 227-8.

9 Nick Higham, "The Scandinavians in North Cumbria: Raids and Settlement in the Later Ninth to Mid Tenth Centuries" in John R. Baldwin and Ian D. Whyte (eds.), *The Scandinavians in Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1985), 39-42.

10 Charles Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians. A study in British provincial origins A.D.400-1120* (Aldershot, 1996), 77-87.

11 David Rollason, *Northumbria, 500-1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom* (Cambridge, 2003), 249-51.

12 *Lan. Cart.* nos. 85-6; *P-N Cu,* 71.

13 J. R. H. Moorman, "The estates of the Lanercost Canons, with some notes on the history of the Priory", *CW2*, xlviii, 85-6.

14 *P-N Cu*, 71.

15 R. J. Thomas (ed.), *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (Caerdydd, 1950-2002), i, 1311, 1318. Both words first occur in the twelfth century.

16 *Lan. Cart.* nos. 23 and 201.

17 *Ibid.* nos. 153 and 258.

18 *Ibid.* no. 201.

19 The valley of the King Water extends much further east than the land granted by Israel. In the upper valley were small centres of lordship at Triermain and Tercrosset, both before and after the Norman conquest of

Gilsland (*Lan. Cart.* no. 346). Not improbably, the whole valley was once known as Guencat's.

[20] *Ibid.*, no. 141.

[21] *Ibid.*, no. 224 (1272 x 1285); see also nos. 259-263. The name is not in *P-N Cu.*

[22] *Ibid.*, no. 225. Not in *P-N Cu.*

[23] *Ibid.*, no. 1.

[24] *Ibid.*, nos. 151 and 204. Not in *P-N Cu.*

[25] *Ibid.*, nos. 9, 22, 170, 172. Not in *P-N Cu.*

[26] Personal communication, 24th August 2004. Chwefri is a known Welsh river-name.

[27] *Lan. Cart.* nos. 1, 19.

[28] *Ibid.*, nos. 24, 52, 212.

[29] Personal communication, 14th April 1997. Geoffrey Barrow likens the name to Patervan Burn in Upper Tweeddale, next to Polmood Burn, and *Pul Tervin* in a Gwynedd charter.

[30] *CVEP*, 274.

[31] *CVEP*, 287; *P-N Cu*, 73.

[32] *Lan. Cart.* no. 1 and notes.

[33] *Ibid.* no. 144.

[34] Thomas, *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, ii, 2095.

[35] *Lan. Cart.* no. 6 and note: almost certainly situated on the south side of the King close to the head of Burtholme Beck.

[36] *Ibid.*, no. 28, the site of a vaccary near Brampton.

[37] *Ibid.*, no. 49, in Nether Denton parish. This is not a variant of Lanrechaithin, as suggested in *P-N Cu*, 72.

[38] *Ibid.*, no. 149, not located.

[39] John R. H. Moorman, "The Estates of the Lanercost Canons, with some notes on the history of the Priory", *CW2*, vol. xlviii, 84; *P-N Cu,* 103.

[40] *The Register of the Priory of Wetherhal*, ed. J. E. Prescott (CWAAS Record Series I, 1897), 420, Illustrative document no. XXIII; the words in square brackets are supplied from *Lan. Cart.* no. 1.

[41] *Lan. Cart.* no. 153.

[42] *P-N Cu,* 84.

[43] *Lan. Cart.* nos. 112, 56.

[44] *P-N Cu,* 82.

[45] *Ibid.* As Coates and Breeze point out, *-ir-* assumes a Welsh possessive formation, not the Cumbric *-in-* (*CVEP*, 284, cf. note 4 above). We must look for another explanation of *–drauen.*

[46] *Lan. Cart.* no. 214.

[47] *CVEP*, 283 and 285, also notes *Brydonhill* and *Krughill* (1589) in Waterhead, from *P-N Cu*, 117.

[48] *CVEP*, 281-8. *Camboc* should also be added to *CVEP*, though not as a result of the cartulary manuscript.

[49] Eilert Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (4th edition, Oxford, 1960), 494.

[50] *Ibid.*, 495; *P-N Cu,* 114. The earliest reference to *antiquum murum* is in *Lan. Cart.* no. 1, 1165 x 1174.

[51] *Wetherhal Register*, 89.

[52] Henry Summerson and S. Harrison, *Lanercost Priory, Cumbria: a Survey and Documentary History* (CWAAS Research Series 10, Kendal, 2000), 2; *Lanercost Cartulary,* no. 1.

[53] Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians*, 155-6.

[54] *Lan. Cart.* no. 346.

[55] Genesis 32.28 and 35.10.

[56] R. Sharpe, "The Naming of Bishop Ithamar", *English Historical Review*, cxvii (2002), 889-894.

[57] Richard N. Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture* (London, 1980), 38-40. Gillian Fellows-Jensen has subsequently argued that Scandinavian settlers in fact took over all the more important settlements in the area, including several that kept their Anglo-Saxon names ("Scandinavian Settlement in Cumbria and Dumfriesshire: The Place-Name Evidence" in Baldwin and Whyte, *Scandinavians in Cumbria* (note 9), 80-81.)

[58] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (MS D), *s.a.* 926

[59] Nick Higham, "Scandinavians in North Cumbria", 40.

[60] *P-N Cu*, p. xxi.

[61] *P-N Cu,* pp. xxi, 73-4; Jackson, "Angles and Britons", 83.

[62] *P-N Cu* , pp. xxi, 78; Jackson, "Angles and Britons", 81-2.

[63] www.oxfordarch.co.uk/vikingburial (9th September 2004).

[64] Jackson, *Language and History*, 227, 241.

[65] Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians*, 77-87.