



ARCHAEOLOGIA AELIANA.

I.—EARLY NORTHUMBRIAN HISTORY IN THE LIGHT OF ITS PLACE-NAMES.

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There are many dark places in the history of early Northumbria. Probably they are more numerous here than in any other English district of equal size and importance, and any light that can be thrown upon them is welcome. One great and largely neglected source of such new light lies in the history and interpretation of its place-names. F. W. Maitland once finely said that our English map is one 'vast palimpsest.' The manuscript has been written and re-written by successive generations of conquerors and settlers who have made the land their own. The earlier scripts are now dim, blurred, and often difficult or impossible to decipher. The modern ones are at times almost fatally clear. Scientific study of the manuscript enables the patient investigator to distinguish the various hands which have gone to its making and so to learn the history, civilization and manner of life of each successive generation of scribes.

Of pre-Roman Britain we know all too little, and the map, at least so far as the evidence of its place-names goes, does not increase that knowledge greatly. It does, however, throw one or two interesting sidelights. When the English settlement of Northumbria took place, the Angles brought with them two words which they used to describe a fort or earthwork. One was the word *burh*, modern *borough*, *brough* or *bury*. The other was the word *castriv*, modern *chester*, *cester* or *caster*, which they had learned from their contact with Roman civilization in their old homes on the continent—it is nothing but the Latin *castra*, a

camp. Neither word then is of British origin but each was applied by the English in later times to forts, camps and earthworks whether of British or Roman origin.

Let us look at the *broughs*, *burghs* and *buries* in the two counties of Northumberland and Durham, to which this paper will confine itself. We shall find that in many cases they stand at points where there is clear evidence of some early stronghold and in every case they stand at strategic points where we may be pretty sure that, even in British days, there was some form of strengthening earthworks.

The rock-fortress of *Bamburgh* must have been a stronghold from earliest times. An Anglian fortress was, we know, built here by Ida of Bernicia in the 6th century when he surrounded the rock, first with a fence, and then with a wall, but this can only have been a new fort built on the site of an ancient stronghold. By a lucky chance the name of that earlier fort has been preserved for us in Nennius's *History of the Britons*, where, in recording the gift of Bamburgh to queen Bebba, he gives its former British name, viz.: *Dinguo Aroy. Dunstanburgh*, 'the fort on the hill-rock,'¹ clearly stands in like case. *Rothbury* is so called from the ancient *bury* or hill fort, now known as Old Rothbury, which stands above the present town and commands the valley of the Coquet at an important strategic point. The earliest name of Brinkburn is *Brinca-burch* and the reference is doubtless to the ancient camp upon Brinkburn haugh.¹ *Burradon* in Alwinton is O.E. *burh-dun*, i.e. fort-hill, and was an ancient British stronghold. No traces have been found of any camp or earthwork but

¹ Here and throughout the paper, the documentary evidence for the history of place-names and its interpretation in the light of phonology, history and topography are omitted. They can be found by reference to the writer's *Place-names of Northumberland and Durham*: Cambridge, 1920.

numerous relics of neolithic man have been found here.² *Fowberry* near Chatton commands the passage of the Till. The pele-tower is doubtless the medieval descendant of some earlier stronghold. *Lesbury* similarly commands the Aln at the first natural strong-point above its estuary. At *Thornbrough*, north of Corbridge, there are traces of ancient fortifications on Bowbridge or Camp hill. *Cheeseburn* Grange in Stamfordham, once *Cheeseburgh*, stands well above the marshy valley of the Pont and would naturally provide an early stronghold.

In Durham, *Carlbury* in High Coniscliffe is an ancient stronghold commanding the passage of the Tees at the very spot where in Roman days the great highway from York to Scotland crossed the Tees. Similarly *Sockburn*—once *Sockburgh*—on the lower Tees commanded the old road (possibly pre-Roman) which runs from Sadberge due south into Yorkshire. *Burdon* in Haughton-le-Skerne, the same name as *Burradon* in Alwinton, stands on the western end of that curiously long and narrow ridge which rises above the marshes of the Skerne and on which the village of Sadberge now stands. It would form a natural stronghold in early days. *Burradon* in Earsdon was doubtless so called from its one time fort-crowned hill. Its strategic importance in later times as commanding one of the northern approaches to Newcastle is witnessed by the presence of an ancient pele-tower.

In *Newbrough* in Warden we have an example of the later use of *brough* or *burgh* in the sense of 'market-town.' It is first mentioned in the 13th century as the *novus burgus* or new borough, in the manor of Thornton in Tynedale, to which a market was then granted. The only other *burgh* or *bury* in our counties is *Bradbury* in Aycliffe—possibly an early stronghold amid the

² Here and elsewhere in the paper no reference has been made to names now found on the map for which no early documentary evidence has been found, e.g. *Burgh* hill in Tosson, and *Carrowburgh* on the Roman Wall. Without some knowledge of their age, such names are useless as historical evidence.

marshes which once surrounded what is still called the Isle.

The term *chester* or *cester* was applied for the most part to the sites of Roman camps, forts or cities, but seems also to have been used of other early fortifications. At Craster near Embleton, earlier *Craw-cester*, there are remains of a British camp on Craster heugh, so also at *Outchester*, not far from Bamburgh. At *Hetchester* in Thockrington there is a pre-historic camp though Roman remains have also been found here. At Bellister (earlier *Bel-cestre*) in Haltwhistle parish no remains have been noted of either British or Roman origin but it stands in a strong position in the bend of the angle where South Tyne takes its great eastward sweep and was later defended by a pele-tower.

One other ancient camp we may notice, that which crowns Warden hill and commends the junction of North and South Tyne. It is called neither *brough* nor *chester* but its O.E. name *weard-dun*, *i.e.* ward or watch-hill, reminds us that it was still then, as it was in British days, a point for look-out and defence.

Of the Roman occupation of Northumbria we may well expect to find many traces in our local place-names. The two great marks of the presence of the Romans are the name of the great Roman Wall itself, which has woven itself into many curious compounds, and the element *chester* or *cester* which we have already seen is the English descendant of the Latin *castra*. Let us look first at that great monument of the Roman art of fortification—the Wall, which spans Northumberland from Wallsend to the deep-cut valley of the Irthing. Starting from *Wallsend*, the eastern end of the Wall, we first come to *Walker*, on the outskirts of Newcastle, the *ker*, *car* or marshy land, which lies at the foot of the Wall. In Newcastle itself there is no survival of the name of the Wall, unless perhaps in *Wallknoll*, or that of the Roman station—*Pons Aelii*—which here defended the passage of the Tyne. Two miles west of the city, however, stands the

old Roman fort of *Condercum* by Benwell village. The earliest form of this village name is *Bynnewall*, *i.e.* O.E. *binnan weall*, 'within wall,' and there is little doubt that the village was so called by its first English settlers because it stood just south of the great Roman Wall, which must have loomed prominently before their eyes.³ Three miles farther west is *Wallbottle*, *i.e.* the building by the Wall, possibly identical with the royal abode of the Anglian kings which Bede mentions and which he calls 'Ad murum,' *i.e.* at the Wall. Passing through Heddon-on-the-Wall we come to the old Roman station of *Vindobala*. The site is now known as *Rud-chester*, *i.e.* the 'chester' or fort which came in course of time to be distinguished from other *chesters* by prefixing the name *Rud* (or *Routh*) of the Viking settler into whose hands the ruins had passed. A mile farther on we come to *Whitchester*, lying just north of the Wall. Whether so called from the colour of its stones—an unlikely thing in this basalt region—or from its English owner *Hwita*, *i.e.* the white or fair one, we cannot now say. Seven miles farther west the name of Portgate furnishes another trace of Roman occupation. The name is difficult but the first element would seem to be the Lat. *porta*, O.E. *port*, a gate, applied probably to some well-defended opening in the wall. Later when the old word *port*, a gate, was no longer in common use, the name was made more intelligible by the addition of the common Northumbrian *yet* or *yate*, a gate, for the earliest form of the name is *Port-yate*, and *Port-gate* is only a modern corruption.

Two miles west of this, the Wall makes its steep descent to the valley of the North Tyne. On the south side of the Wall we have the village of Wall itself and as soon as the river is crossed we come to the great camp of *Cilurnum* known simply as the *Chesters*,

³ This suggestion was first made by the Rev. J. B. Johnston in his *Place-Names of England and Wales*.

and climbing up out of the valley we come to *Walwick*, *i.e.* the *wick* or dwelling on the Wall. After this there is no reminder of the presence of the Romans in ancient and well-authenticated place-names until we come to Haltwhistle parish. Here we have first *Walltown* and then *Thirkwall*. The latter name is descriptive of the Wall at this point, where it is *thirl* (O.E. *thyrel*, adj.) or 'pierced' by the Tipalt burn on its way to join the South Tyne.

The other great material relic of Roman civilization is her system of military roads. Skilfully engineered and solidly built, such a road was known in Latin as *via strata*, a paved way. The English had already become familiar with them in their continental homes and brought with them the loan-word *stret* or street, which they naturally and readily applied to the Roman roads in Britain. Wherever in English place-names you see the element *streat*, *stret* or *strat* and cast a glance at the map at that point at the roads passing through the place bearing such a name, you will almost inevitably see a long straight stretch of road going relentlessly over hill and dale and may be sure that that road once resounded to the tread of Roman armies. If you look along its course you will just as inevitably find some ancient city, town or village with the tell-tale element *chester* or *cester* or *caster* forming part of its name.

Entering our district from the south the first great road is that from Catterick, which crossed the Tees at Piercebridge and made straight for *Vinovia* or *Binchester*, going thence by a less direct course to *Lanchester* *i.e.* Langchester, the long fort.

At this point the road threw off a branch which led to Newcastle and South Shields and this branch road has left its double record in *Chester-le-Street*, *i.e.* the Roman camp on the Roman road. The main road continued in a north-westerly direction to *Vindomora*, later to be known as *Ebchester* when the site of the Roman

station passed into the hands of one *Ebbi*. Thence it crossed the Derwent and the Stocksfield valleys making its way straight to *Corstopitum*, by Corbridge. Climbing up Stagshaw bank it soon crossed the line of the Roman Wall and now as *Dere-street*, such is the local (and correct) name rather than the 'Watling street' of the map, it made its way straight for *Habitancum*, or Risingham, the Roman station near West Woodburn. Here it has left its trace in *Chester-hope*, the name of the little hope or valley which opens out from Redesdale at this point. A little way to the right and left of the long stretch of road stand *Ruchester* in Birtley and *Hetchester* in Thockrington, which may be outlying examples of Roman influence, but are more probably so named from British camps. The remains of such a camp have been found at Hetchester and numerous examples have been noted in the neighbourhood of Ruchester.

The road now goes up Redesdale to *Bremenium*, High *Rochester*, and so on to the lonely camp of *Ad Fines* on the Scottish border. The last stretch of this road bears the curious name of 'Gamel's path.' Gamel or Gamble is fairly common as a personal name in early medieval England and is ultimately of Scandinavian origin. Possibly some more than usually adventurous settler bearing this name made his way to the remote district and gave his name to the old road by the side of which he squatted but we may hazard a still bolder suggestion. Old British and Roman remains of vast and imposing structure were in primitive times often ascribed to demonic builders, hence the numerous Devil's dykes, Devil's causeways, and the like, which we find scattered up and down the country. The old Norse name Gamel means 'old.' Is it possible that the devil was ever known in Scandinavian or Anglo-Scandinavian folk-lore as Gamel, 'the old one,' and did some early settler of Viking birth or family call the ancient Roman track 'Gamel's path' *i.e.* the old one's or the devil's path?

The system of cross-roads between the Roman main-roads, so far as such existed, has not been clearly made out between the great road from Catterick to Binchester and the other highway from Catterick through Bowes to Brough-under-Stainmoor. There must have been cross-communication by a road which came by Barnardcastle and has left its name to *Streatlam*, *i.e.* the *leam* or fallow-land bordering on the Roman highway. The road which runs from Durham and Mainsforth by Bradbury and Sadberge to the Tees is probably an ancient British road adapted and improved by the Romans and has given its name to *Stainton-in-the-Street*, the alternative name for Great and Little Stainton.

In our earliest Anglo-Saxon charters there is another interesting term which is often applied to the Roman roads, *viz.* : *her-þæth*, *i.e.* army-path. This is found twice in Northumbrian place-names. There is a piece of ancient road at Hartburn which is still called the *herþath*. It is part of the long stretch of road, undoubtedly of Roman origin, known as the Devil's causeway, which runs from Stagshaw bank due north-east by Ingoe moor and Shaftoe to Hartburn. There is also a Harpath sike in Cheviot which must have been so named from some ancient track-way, but no traces of such can now be found on the map.

The question of the relationship of the Roman and Celtic population in Britain has been a matter of much discussion. The evidence of place-names goes to confirm the view now commonly held that there was never any question of a universal popular Latin speech in this country. There are no traces of place-names of purely Latin origin. Everything that is pre-English is Celtic pure and simple, and it is time we should look at that Celtic or British element a little more closely.

In all England alike the vast majority of the names of cities, towns, villages and hamlets are of English origin, but the old British or Celtic element has remained curiously persistent in

the names of rivers, hills and mountains, though unluckily we have not many old forms for the last two. It is interesting to speculate what historic causes lie behind these differences in place-nomenclature. Are they due to the fact that, apart from the great Romano-Celtic centres of population, the number of settlements of definite groups of families, in what we should now call villages and hamlets, was relatively small in those British days? Was there some great change in the type of settlement between Celtic and Anglian days, and was the population in British days largely confined to hill strongholds, the more marshy and less defensible low-lying grounds being in the hands of their Roman masters or left unoccupied? Was it only with the coming of the English settlers and the gradual growth of Anglian civilization that the rich valleys and broad expanses of level plain were first fully cultivated and settled? Or was it simply the case that the old Celtic population was killed or enslaved and their ancient settlements re-named by the Anglian conquerors, who did not feel the same necessity for re-naming the natural features of the countryside?

Whatever the answer which historians may ultimately give to these questions there is no doubt that, apart from the smaller burns, the overwhelming majority of our river-names in Northumberland and Durham are Celtic. Of other Celtic names we may mention Cheviot, Farne and Lindisfarne, Cambois, Troughend, Trehitt, Yeaveering, Mindrum, Kielder, Jarrow, Plenneller and Wardrew.

One tempting matter of speculation is the question as to how far the modern names, which look so convincingly English either in whole or in part, may not really be alterations or perversions of earlier Celtic names due to popular or folk-etymology on the part of English-speaking people by whom the old British speech was no longer either remembered or understood. In some cases

there is clear evidence of such perversion. The place so carefully spelled Pen-shaw or Pain-shaw as though from English *shaw* a wood, is still locally called *Pensher* and bears a purely Celtic name. The farms of East and West Heddon were earlier *Hiddewyn*, a name of Celtic origin, changed to the English Heddon or 'heath-hill' under the influence of the neighbouring and more important Heddon-on-the-Wall. Careful examination of the early evidence makes something of the same kind just possible in Hexham and in Durham. Auckland is a more certain example.

One common English place-name which is often of value as throwing some light upon the relations of the British and their English conquerors is curiously absent from our two counties, viz.: Walton, from O.E. *Wealatum*, 'farm of the Welsh-men or foreigners,' meaning the British. There are no examples of this name whose presence is taken as a rule to indicate the presence of isolated communities of Britons surviving amid their Anglian masters. Walworth near Darlington is possibly a single example of the same type of name with a different suffix.

The history of the Teutonic conquest of Britain is an obscure one, nowhere is it darker than in Northumbria. When first established the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria was divided into Bernicia, north of the Tyne, and Deira, south of it. Of the name Bernicia we have perhaps a trace in Bensham, earlier *Bencheshelm* which may be from O.E. *Beornices-helm*, i.e. the helm-shaped hill once settled or owned by a man called *Beornic*, i.e. the Bernician. The founder of the kingdom of Bernicia was Ida the Flamebearer whose name perhaps survives in Edington in Mitford, i.e. Ida's farm. There was constant rivalry between the kings of Bernicia and Deira, now one now the other gaining temporary hold of the whole kingdom and the fame and power of Aelle the greatest of the early kings of Deira probably accounts for the presence of this personal name in so many

Northumbrian place-names, notably in Ellingham, *i.e.* homestead of the sons of Aelle, and Ellington, *i.e.* Aelle's farm, probably also in Elford, Elton and Elwick. The two kingdoms were for a time united under Aethelfrith of Bernicia and the king has left his mark in the name of *Bebbanburh* or Bamburgh, the name given to that stronghold after he presented it to his queen Bebba.

Of the way in which the settlers entered into occupation of their new-won lands we know almost nothing. Something has been said above as to their relations with their British predecessors. Among their earliest settlements should undoubtedly be placed those places whose names end in *ingham*, denoting as it does 'homestead of the sons of' and pointing as it seems to some form of tribal settlement. Of this type we have Bellingham and Ealingham on North Tyne, Edlingham, Eglingham, Ellingham and Whittingham in eastern mid-Northumberland, Ovingham on the Tyne. For some unexplained reason names of this type are very rare in co. Durham and there we have only Wolsingham and Billingham.

Attempts have been made to suggest that Northumbrian place-names in *ington* have a special significance in that they stand in positions where, owing to geologic circumstance, though their position is comparatively high, water is comparatively easily obtainable. Careful examination of all the evidence shows that the theory can in any case only be established for eastern Northumberland. Here it does seem that the proportion of *ington* names on ground of the type indicated is too large to be due to coincidence alone.

The only other names of pure English origin which perhaps call for comment are Whickham, Whittonstall and Charlton. *Whickham* is the homestead with a *whick* or quick-set hedge. Whittonstall, earlier *Whic-ton-stall* is similarly the stall or steading by the *whick-ton* *i.e.* quick-set enclosure.

Charlton is a place-name which is fairly common all over England but not so common in our counties as we might perhaps have expected—there are only two examples in Northumberland and one in Durham. It is the O.E. *ceorla-tun*—farm of the ceorls or freemen and serves to remind us that farms in those old English days were by no means always in the hands of a single wealthy landowner but might well be held in common by a group of humble but sturdy freemen. The equivalent term in Scandinavian districts is Carlton, of which we find one example in Redmarshall parish in co. Durham.

On the next phase of Northumbrian history—the period of the Viking invasions and settlements, from the end of the 8th to the beginning of the 11th century—a study of place-names throws much light. Apart from their evidence the relevant facts are briefly as follows:—A great ravaging army of Danes which had seized York in 867 set up a puppet English king, Egberht by name, in Northumbria north of the Tyne. He was soon driven out and in 875 the Viking chieftain Healfdene (or Haldane) the son of the dreaded and famous Ragnarr Lothbrók sailed up the Tyne with a large fleet. They spent the winter near Tyne-mouth and devastated the whole of northern Northumbria. In terror at their arrival the body of St. Cuthbert was removed from Lindisfarne and then a storm of plunder and rapine fell not only upon Lindisfarne but upon all Northumbria. Monasteries and churches were everywhere destroyed and burned and their inmates killed. A Scandinavian kingdom of Northumbria was established, which ultimately, in 894, came under the overlordship of Alfred. North Northumbria hardly fell under the sway of the Scandinavian kings being ruled rather by the earls of Northumbria whose seat was at Bamburgh. Fresh attacks on this part of Northumbria were made by Vikings, possibly coming from Ireland and the west, under king Rögnvaldr in 911. He defeated

earl Ealdred and his Scottish allies at Corbridge in 918, captured York and took into his own possession the patrimony of St. Cuthbert. This, however, he soon divided between his followers Scula and Onlafbald, Scula taking the southern and Onlafbald the northern. There is little doubt that Scula (O.N. Skuli) has left his name for all time in *School* Aycliffe in the south of the county. After this partition the fortunes of the Viking rulers of Northumbria fluctuated until their king Yric was finally expelled in 954 and their kingdom passed into the hands of king Eadred.

What light does the study of place-names throw upon the extent and character of this Viking kingdom so far as it lay between Tweed and Tees?

At the outset it is clear that it was not of so intense and far-reaching a character as that found elsewhere *e.g.* in the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire, or in Lincolnshire. The common term for a small stream in Scandinavian districts is *beck*. There are no *becks* in Northumberland. Wansbeck (earlier *Wanespike*) is misleading in this matter, and though one will find a good few becks marked on modern maps of co. Durham there is no authority for the use of this term earlier than quite modern times.⁴ Before 1500, so far as the evidence goes, all small streams were called *burns* and the use of *beck* found nowadays in the tributaries of the Tees or in such tell-tale forms as Beechburn beck and Bedburn beck in Weardale must be due to the influence of Yorkshire dialect usage which has spread northward.

The suffix *by*, the most characteristic of all Scandinavian suffixes, denoting a small town or village, is unknown in Northumberland and in co. Durham is confined to a few scattered examples. Of other terms denoting some form of Scandinavian settlement, *thwaite*, so familiar in the Lake district, is unknown

⁴ Mr. Francis Brumell of Morpeth has kindly called my attention to one—*Fulbek*—in the Newminster Chartulary, a tributary of the Cottingburn.

and *toft* and *garth* are of the rarest occurrence. Further there are no names in *caster*, the form which the suffix *chester* takes in districts where Scandinavian influence was strong. When we compare this state of affairs with that found in areas known to have been included in the Danelagh, *i.e.* districts in which Danish law and custom held sway, following on an actual allocation of the soil to Viking settlers, it is quite clear that there was never any fully or definitely organized Viking settlement of Northumbria north of the Tees. But while this is clearly the case, one must not err in minimizing their influence, and careful examination of the evidence brings to light several interesting points.

First, what is, in place-name study, sufficient evidence of a Viking settler, still more of a Scandinavian-speaking community?

It is clear that the mere presence of a personal name of Scandinavian origin as part of a place-name is not enough, for some of these, such as Blake (O.N. *Bleikr*) and Horn (O.N. *Horni*) or Swain (O.N. *Sveinn*) became naturalized in England and may in these particular instances be the names of men of genuine English birth. They are no more a proof of Scandinavian birth than the possession of such a name as Louis or Blanche is proof of French birth. Only if the name was never naturalized in England at all, have we the right to assume that the man who bore it was probably himself of actual Viking birth or parentage. Thus Blakeston and Swainston need not necessarily be Scandinavian at all, whereas Amerston (O.N. *Eymundr*) and Claxton (O.N. *Klakkr*) pretty certainly are. Names of the type of Blakeston and Swainston can only be considered as Scandinavian if they are found in areas which can, on other grounds, be shown to be markedly Scandinavian in character.

Neither is the presence of certain elements (other than personal names) of Scandinavian origin clear proof of Scandinavian settlement. Words like *beck*, *biggin*, *toft*, *garth*, *haining*, *bank*,

holm, ker or *car, crook, mire* are loan-words from Scandinavian which have become part of our general English vocabulary and may well have been applied to the places in which they are found by men of purely English origin. Their presence may be used in support of other more precise evidence for Scandinavian settlements. By themselves they prove nothing.

The only names from the evidence of which we can be certain of the presence of actual Viking settlers are names built up from elements which we know never to have been naturalized in England at all. Thus *Skerne* is a purely Norse river-name, Knar and Knaresdale in South Tynedale are pure Norse and so is Akeld on the Till, while Tosson is specially interesting as it is a type of Scandinavian place-name which was no longer a living one in the Viking period and can only have been brought over by some Viking settler who bodily transferred to his new home in England a name familiar to him in his Scandinavian homeland.

Using these tests in conjunction it becomes clear that we have certain well-defined groups of place-names in which Scandinavian influence is strongly marked.

The largest and most clearly defined is that found in Middle Teesdale—north, north-west and east of Gainford. Here we have Ulnaby, Dyance, Selaby, Raby, Staindrop, which can only have been so called by Scandinavian-speaking settlers; Gainford, Ingleton, Keverstone, Wackerfield which seem to contain rare Scandinavian personal names, Whorlton, Wham, Stainton which may be purely Scandinavian and in such a locality as this pretty certainly are so. Coniscliffe which is a Scandinavianizing, if one may be allowed the term, of a far earlier King's Cliffe, Cleatlam and Copeland which are examples of hybrid Scandinavian-English forms which could only arise in a district where an Anglo-Scandinavian dialect was once spoken.

Lower Teesdale—fertile and readily open to access from the sea—does not show such clear evidence of Scandinavian settlements as we might have expected. Aislaby alone is definitely Scandinavian. It looks very much therefore as if Middle Teesdale was settled not by Vikings advancing up the Tees valley but by settlers coming from Yorkshire (which is here so definitely Scandinavian), who crossed the Tees by one or other of the fords in its middle reaches.

Another well defined area is the valley of the Skerne; running up north from Darlington, Sadberge, Skerne and Skerningham are pure Scandinavian. Whessoe is named after a Viking settler bearing a rare personal name, Great Stainton is formed from a more common one, School Aycliffe, as we have seen, takes its name from the Viking leader Skuli, and a little farther up the Skerne valley we have Raceby and Middlestone purely Scandinavian names and Garmondsway and Thrislington containing personal names of Viking origin. In curious confirmation of these inferences stands the fact that Sadberge is the centre of the only well-established 'wapentake' north of the Tees, the wapentake being the recognized Scandinavian equivalent of the English hundred.

Another well-marked group is that found in the neighbourhood of Hart, formed probably by Vikings who landed at Hartlepool. The whole district around Hart was once called *Herternesse*, a name of purely Scandinavian origin. Similarly Bruntoft, Amerston, Claxton, and Throston, show comparatively rare personal names, and Sheraton probably represents an Anglicizing of an earlier Scandinavian name.

In the north of the county there is a small group of names round Lanchester which is of interest. Ornsby hill and Hurbuck are purely Scandinavian, Ushaw contains a common enough Scandinavian personal name, but in the earliest spelling *Ulveskake* we have clear traces of the fact that the suffix also was at one

time not the English *shaw* (O.E. *scaga*) but the Norse *scoe* (O.N. *skógr*). Newbiggin and Biggin further support the idea of a Scandinavian settlement.

By what route the Viking settlers advanced hither we cannot say but we may note here that Durham itself which is so close at hand, shows in its earliest form *Dun-holm* clear evidence of the fashioning hand of Viking settlers. Outlying colonies formed from here may perhaps be found in Carp Shiel, Bolt's Law and Hisehope burn (from rare personal names) and the curious hybrid Waskerley found both north and south of the Derwent.

In Northumberland the most striking group is that found in upper Coquetdale around Rothbury. Tosson and Snitter are pure Scandinavian. Cartington, Scrainwood and Plainfield contain very rare Scandinavian personal names. Rothbury itself contains the more common name 'Routh,' while Bickerton and Thropton may well be purely Scandinavian. One cannot help thinking that there was once to be found in this district a numerous if scattered community of Viking settlers.

In Tynedale there is a small but well marked group between Ovingham and Stamfordham. Nafferton, Kearsley, Ouston, Eltringham contain rare personal names, Rudchester the more common one already noted under Rothbury. It is probably not a mere matter of chance that Henshaw and Farrow Shiel—both containing rare personal names—are found close together in Haltwhistle parish, Dotland and Eshells, similarly derived, in Hexhamshire High Quarter. Whitwham, Knar, Knaresdale which are purely Scandinavian are close together in S. Tynedale. Still less can we doubt that we have definite evidence of Viking settlers in *Ulf* of Ouston in Whitfield parish, who called Dingbell hill, not far from his farm, after the *Thingvellir* or plain of assembly in his old Scandinavian home, or in Akeld and Coupland in Kirknewton parish—the one a purely Scandinavian word and the

other a hybrid, such as could only have been formed in the life of a Viking settler in England.⁵ There are a few strange names along the coast also which seem to bear witness to the landing and settlement of Vikings. Sunderland in North *Sunderland* seems to be a curious perversion of an old Norse name which if left to itself should have given us a Sutherland far farther south than the one with which we are familiar. Lucker is probably Scandinavian. Howick is simply the Old Norse *Ha* or *Ho-vik*, the high or steeply sloping creek, Cowpen by Blyth and again by Billingham, both on the coast and both containing salt-pans, would seem to contain a rare old Scandinavian word meaning 'the hollows or depressions.'

That these groupings are not mere matter of chance would seem to be shown by the fact that apart from Follingsby (near Jarrow) no other clear evidence of Scandinavian settlement can be found elsewhere in the two counties.

Lastly it should not be forgotten that the Normans themselves were the descendants of Viking settlers who, 150 years before, had first ravaged and then settled Normandy in much the same way that they had dealt with England. This it is that accounts for the *beck* in Bulbeck common in Slaley parish. The district was part of the ancient barony of Bolbec or Bulbeck which took its name from Bolbec, a village near the mouth of the Seine. This Bolbec is Norman-French from Scandinavian *bolla-bekkr*, beck or stream of *Bolli* or Bull.

⁵ It has been suggested by the Rev. J. E. Hull (*Vasculum*, vol. vii, p. 34), with a good deal of likelihood, that the Scandinavian element in Allendale and South Tynedale is due to settlers from the west.