Northumberland: reflections on prehistoric, Roman and Old English settlement

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SUMMARY

The Wall zone of southern Northumberland is used as a laboratory for exploring the transition between the Roman and the Anglo-Saxon worlds. Maps are integral to the argument which, necessarily and optimistically, ranges across material drawn from the later pre-Roman Iron Age, the Roman interval, the shadows of the post-Roman to Old English changeover, the signals of place-names, and even classic medieval sources, together with surviving and deserted villages and hamlets. Much is culled from disparate disciplines, but by no means can every nuance be fittingly developed. Boundaries, territories, places, warlords and kings, and the near-invisible low-status inhabitants are the kernels of the argument. Benwell, set between the River Tyne and the Roman Wall, provides a final focus.

INTRODUCTION

THIS PAPER IS AN EXERCISE IN INFORMED SPECULATION. My essential argument concerns the question of bridging the gap between the 'Romano-British landscapes' of the northern frontier zone and the post-Roman developments that eventually emerge as the documented landscapes of the medieval period. Creating this bridge is extraordinarily difficult: those scholars focusing on Rome reach forward in time only with great caution, while those treating the Anglo-Saxons must seek origins in what are essentially folk myths and very limited archaeological evidence. Nevertheless many are now venturing into these waters.[1]

There are fundamental problems of assembling evidence: in a nutshell, cases from Yorkshire, Deira, or Carlisle need have no bearing whatsoever on the situation in Bernicia; Deira differs from Bernicia, while the location and the context of Carlisle was very different to that of Newcastle. Each locality possessed a differing temporal trajectory, providing a different context within which the more detailed materials must be assessed. What can be called — and not in any way disparagingly — 'point finds', the brooch, the pot, the specific place-name, allow distribution maps to be created and discussed, but are inevitably just that, tiny points in space.[2] However, geographic space and maps have long occupied my time; to use this research resource we need bulk evidence and the view that this provides. For the 'Wall to Anglo-Saxon transition' this can only be present in place-name evidence although our knowledge of pre-Roman, post-Roman and post-Anglo-Saxon land occupation, drawn from accumulated evidence, can offer some foundations. We all struggle to wring significance from scattered evidence of varied quality, although the archaeologists and historians of the period are now creating arguments of immense detail and immense subtlety, reaching towards that condition of 'thick description' noted by anthropologists.[3] A helpful perspective is found in the words of the prehistoric archaeologist Richard Bradley who said 'the past is camouflaged; we see it only when something moves.' To put this another way: discontinuity is easier to

detect than continuity. Further, as we shall see, the remark that 'cultivation ... probably removed the subsoil to a depth of at least 0.3–0.4 m' at Shotton begs many questions.[4]

These thoughts have been the key stimuli to what follows: an exploration of *some* of the later Roman, post-Roman and medieval spatial relationships along and around the eastern end of the Wall between the North Tyne at Chesters and the North Sea. What appears here are discussions of 'issues', 'evidence', 'matters', 'topics,' all loosely enchained rather than locked into a tightly structured frame. Inevitably all here is much-pruned, for the number of potential threads is vast and stern control must be exercised. As with an archaeological report the illustrations help frame this control.

HILLFORTS AND STEADINGS — DISTRIBUTIONS AND QUESTIONS

For early Northumberland, two contrasting early archaeological distributions are available: a first treats steading sites (farmsteads), spanning the later Iron Age and the Roman period, whilst a second comprises more substantial earthworks termed hillforts, probably all Iron Age in date.[5] These create a foundation for what follows.

Two categories of sites were identified by George Jobey: 'Cheviot-type settlements', curvi-linear in form (shown on the present map as a black circle), and 'rectilinear settlements', with enclosures approximating to a regular geometrical arrangement (shown with open or closed squares). His view was that the variation reflected the terrains in which they sat. Thus, the concentration of sites on the open pastures around the northern edge of the Cheviots is so great that the symbols simply merge (fig. 1). He also identified another category (shown as open triangles), 'scooped settlements', essentially undefended house sites, which appear in small numbers in the upper valleys of the Esk and Annan in south-western Scotland. In Northumberland the distribution is clear: the 'Cheviot type', as the name implies, form a great arc around the margins and valleys of Cheviots, whilst the rectangular sites concentrate along the flanks and higher valley slopes of the North Tyne and Rede. However, George Jobey's original map, the distillation of years of fieldwork and enquiry, went further, including a category of 'possible Romano-British' settlements (shown in fig. 1 as an open square). These extend and amplify the distribution, while the addition of recently discovered sites along the Northumberland coastal plain and the Wansbeck valley has further enhanced his mapping.[6]

What we do not know, and cannot know without a substantive research project, is how many of the traces of sites appear on what are in effect former common wastes or parklands improved and cultivated during the last three centuries, i.e. landscapes which had been sub-jected to less 'cultural erosion' than the more intensively used and cultivated lands around village cores.[7] A presumption must be that if such traces are indeed missing from the long-cultivated zones, namely the areas of the former townfields, then their non-appearance is no proof of absence: as the data from the excavations at Shotton show, they could have been ploughed into oblivion. In fact, figure 1 reflects, *inter alia*, variations in the intensity of post-Roman land usage. Nevertheless, as Nick Hodgson reminds us by comparing their dimensions with those of the Wallsend Roman fort, these were often very large and substantial structures.[8] To complicate matters, in figure 1 Jobey's basic distribution has been partially obfuscated by superimposing over it a distribution map of hillforts, derived from work by a team working for the Northumberland National Park. Inevitably, this superposition partially conceals Jobey's work; indeed, without reworking each map from

original sources it is impossible to tell how many of his sites actually appear in a new guise on the map of hillforts, for different judgements were involved the process of selection. What matters here is the overall distribution generated by the conjoined data sets.
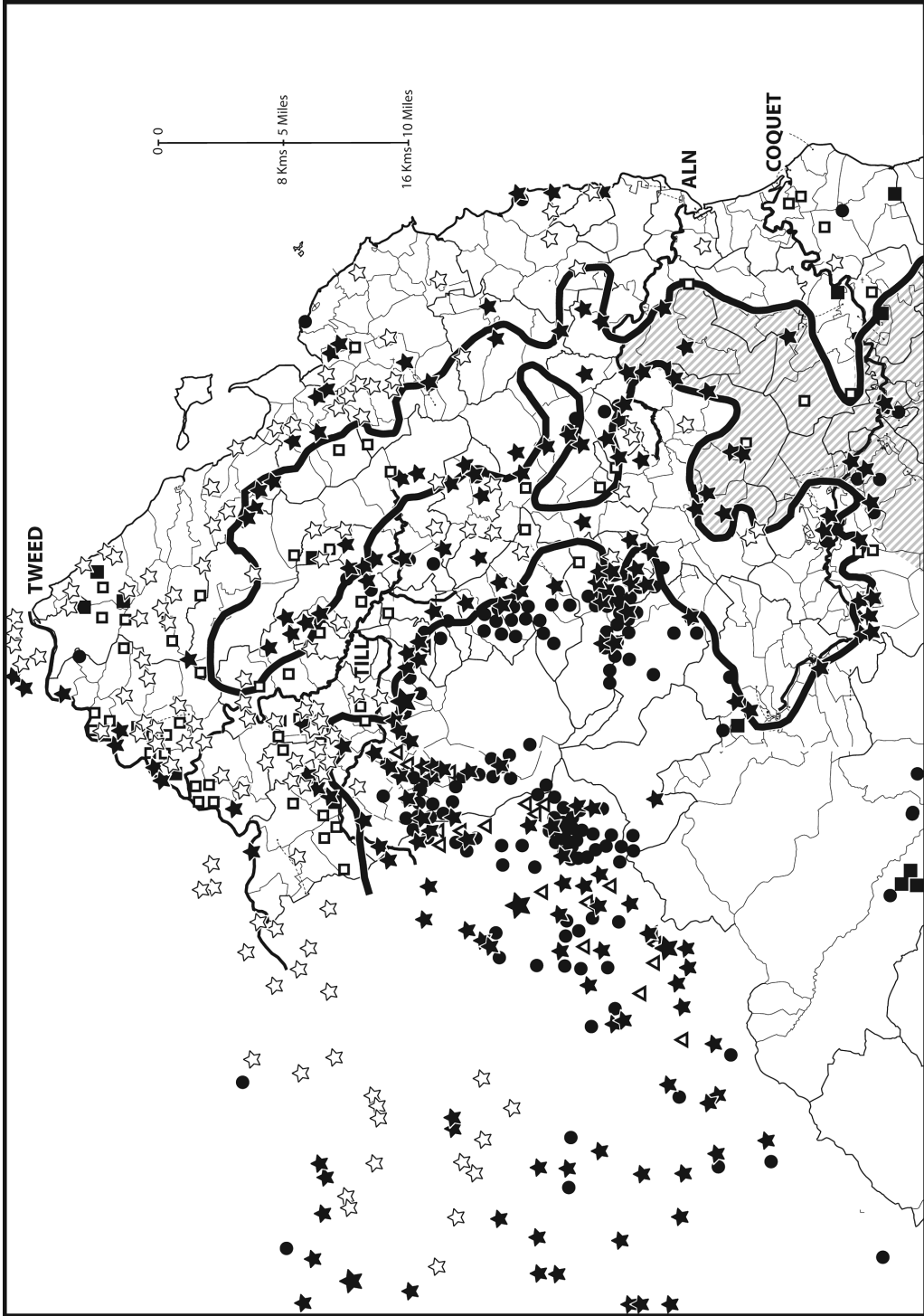
Figure 4 is based upon place-names — to be discussed later — but it explains a crucial line incorporated in figure 1 — 'the –*tun/-leah* line' — i.e. the boundary between the more intensively settled zones, indicated by Old English habitative place-names, and the later surviving open grazings and wood pastures where 'woodland' names predominate. The network of boundaries on the map is townships, not parishes, essentially units of local production, whose origins are grounded in the deep past.[9] The postulated area of *Cocwud*, a significant tract of later surviving woodland, is suggested by the evidence of place-names and other data.[10]

Returning to figure 1, several distinct zones can be identified.

1. The Cheviot mass is surrounded by great numbers of hillforts and steadings. Very few of the former are large. Yeavering Bell has an area of 5.6 ha (slightly under 14 acres), but most are much smaller and grade down to what are essentially substantial homesteads, steadings, farms with dwelling houses and associated structures. Fully exposed today on 'marginal lands,' these remains reveal a tremendous richness of detail and, when dug, show complex and sustained phases of development, with pre-Iron Age, Iron Age, Romano-British and occasional post-Roman usage. Fieldwork demonstrates the presence of associated trackways, field boundaries, and cultivation areas. This is not the place to describe or analyze these; suffice to say the richly complex cultural landscapes revealed by recent studies of these marginal upland landscapes raise fundamental questions about the real impact of cultural erosion in the more favoured downslope agricultural zones.[11]

2. The northern Northumbrian lowlands, extending in a great arc from the upper Aln, down the Till, across the southern flanks and valley of the Tweed and thence south along the coastal lowlands to Bamburgh, i.e. skirting the northern end of the Chillingham–Felton ridge. It is convenient to note here that, so far as we can see, the coastal tract to the south of Bamburgh and to the north of the Lyne and Coquet carries only intermittent and low-level concentrations of these early sites, but recent discoveries in the Pegswood area near Morpeth show substantial numbers.

Of course this is a broad-brush definition; this large tract could be subdivided, and there are questions about the northern flank of the Tweed valley and the westward limits of this lowland area. Figure 2 draws upon both local landscape variations and the –*tun/-leah* line to frame the essential physical divisions of the county, the stage as it were upon which cultural and historical factors have etched what we now see. Many relationships are clear-cut and per-haps obvious, but the complex dissected drift landscapes of the south-east of the county, to the north of the Tyne valley proper, almost defy rational division.[12]

What emerges is some definition of occupied terrains in terms of (1) numerous actual and putative hillforts, (2) numbers of visible and (3) putative Later Iron Age and 'Romano-British' steadings, both of which are also found bordering the more marginal lands of the central Chillingham-Felton ridge itself, present on the rich lowlands of the Tweed valley, scattered amid the drumlin country of the upper Till, and strewn across the coastal plain as far south as Bamburgh. Only in the upper Aln and upper Coquet valleys do these sites seem to disap-pear. In fine — and this may be an important point — the broad distribution of these early settlement traces, whilst it differs in detail within the frame of each individual township,

TWEED

TILL

ALN

COQUET

0 0
8 Kms 5 Miles
16 Kms 10 Miles

LYNE

WANSBECK

BLYTH

TYNE

11–08–2014

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STEADING SITES

● Curvilinear enclosures

■ Rectangular enclosures

□ Possible rectangular enclosures

△ 'Scooped' enclosures

HILLFORTS

★ Large hillforts

★ Other hillforts surviving as visible earthworks

☆ Hillfort-like enclosures detected by aerial photography

⊙ Other sites visible on OS First Edition 1:10,560 maps.

Hiatus in distribution

Postulated extent of *Cocwud*, based on Old English 'woodland' place-names.

Division between well-settled lands dominated by Old English place-names and more thinly settled tracts of wood pasture and open pasture ~ the *-tun/-leah* line.
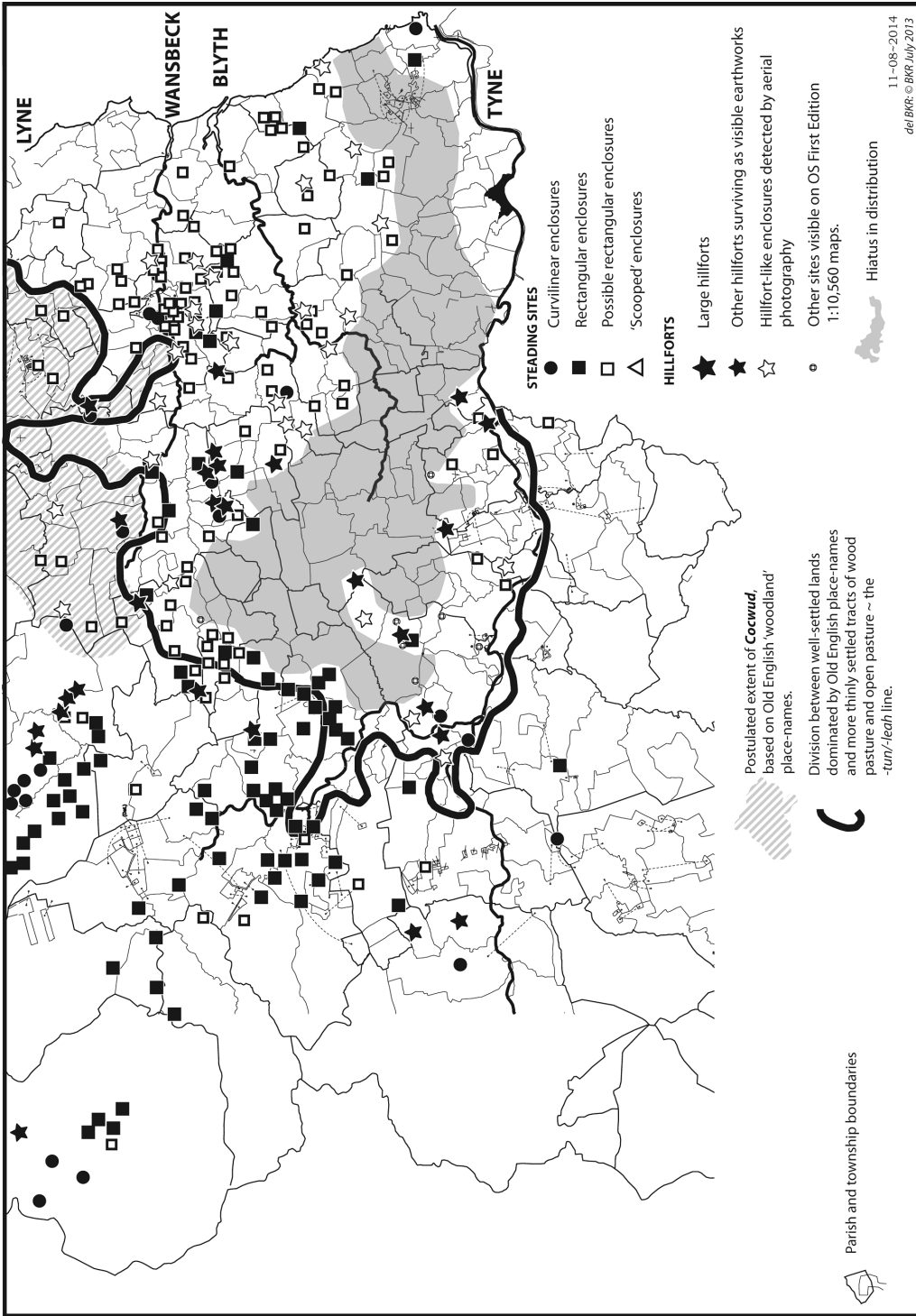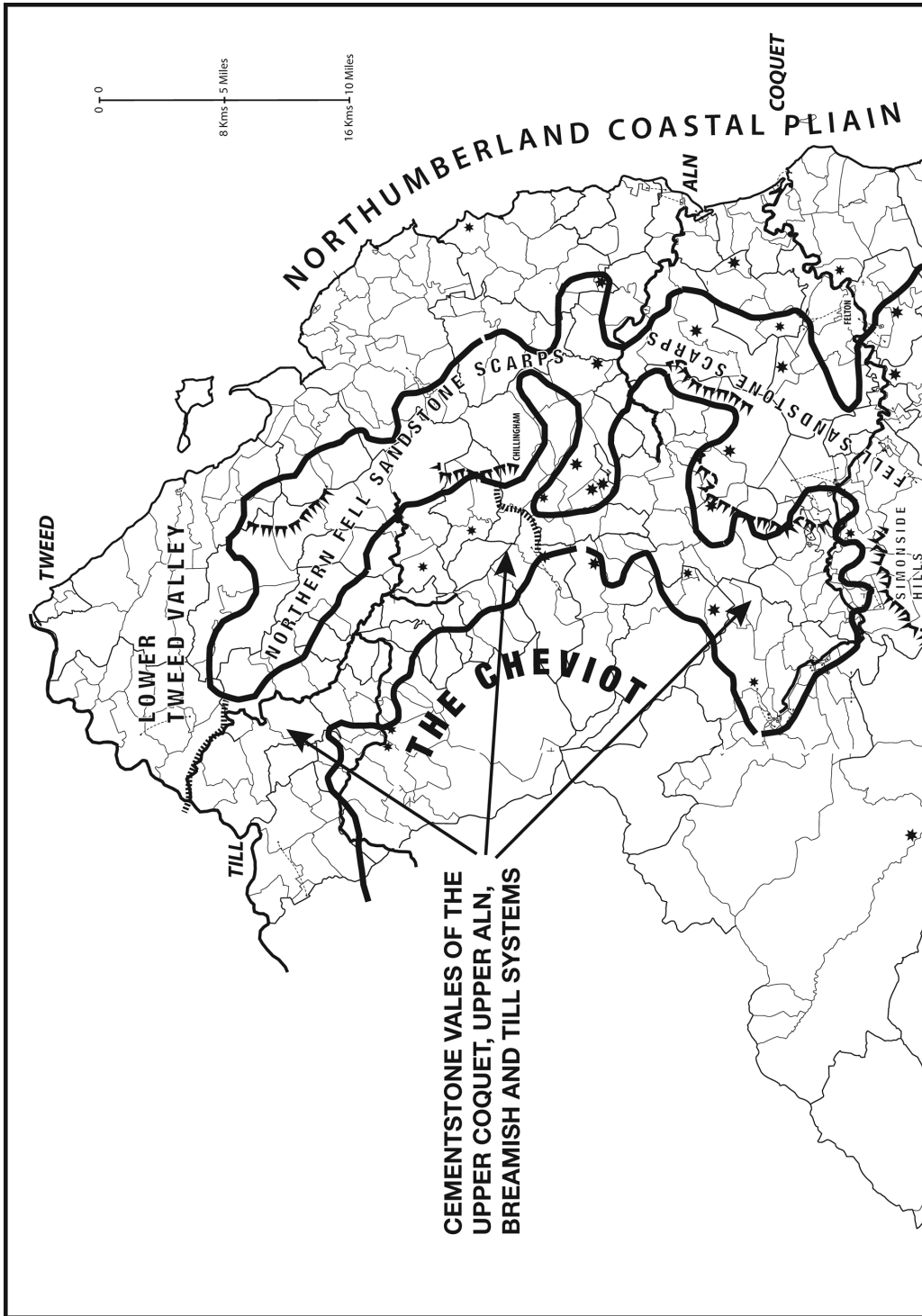
Parish and township boundaries

Fig. 1 (This page and facing)   Later Prehistoric hillforts and Romano-British steadings in Northumberland. (Sources: Jobey 1982, fig. 1; Frodsham 2006, fig. 5.4; Proctor 2009, fig. 39; Hodgson *et al.* 2012, fig. 99.)

NORTHUMBERLAND COASTAL PLAIN

COQUET

ALN

FELTON

NORTHERN FELL SANDSTONE SCARPS

FELL SANDSTONE SCARPS

FELL SANDSTONE SCARPS

CHILLINGHAM

SIMONSIDE HILLS

TWEED

LOWER TWEED VALLEY

TILL

THE CHEVIOT

CEMENTSTONE VALES OF THE
UPPER COQUET, UPPER ALN,
BREAMISH AND TILL SYSTEMS

0 0
8 Kms – 5 Miles
16 Kms – 10 Miles

LYNE

WANSBECK

BLYTH

TYNE

DISSECTED LOW PLATEAU OF SOUTH-EASTERN NORTHUMBER-LAND

SOUTHERN NORTHUMBER-LAND

DISSECTED PLATEAU

TYNE VALLEY NORTHERN FLANK

TYNE VALLEY SOUTHERN FLANK

FELL SANDSTONE SCARPS

SOUTHERN

NORTH TYNE VALLEY AND REDESDALE

NORTH PENNINE DISSECTED PLATEAU

SOUTH TYNE VALLEY

Traces of former lake basins in SE Northumberland.

Division between well-settled lands dominated by Old English place-names and more thinly settled tracts of wood pasture and open pasture ~ the -*tun*/-*leah* line.

Watershed between Tyne and Wansbeck drainage basins.

SE Northumberland: division between higher ridges to west and lower ridges to east.

Subjective breaks between transitional zones.

* Old English woodland place-names.

16~08~2014 © BKR

Parish and township boundaries

Fig. 2 (This page and facing)   Northumberland: physical regions.

essentially corresponds to that of surviving and deserted villages present in the later thirteenth century (fig. 3), and to that of the Old English place-names, the basis for the identification of the –*tun/-leah* line. We must conclude that, at the county scale, *the same lands were occupied then as were occupied in the Anglo-Saxon period and the medieval period*.[13] Only in the Cheviots, Redesdale and the North Tyne do the prehistoric and Romano-British sites represent a critical cultural break, appearing on lands that have, since the final desertion of the sites, experienced less intensive land usage, so that visible traces of early entities survive.

Omitting from this discussion the question of the distributions in western central Northumberland, the upper Aln and upper Coquet valleys — although figure 3 iterates their importance — two further zones can be identified:

3. In North Tynedale and Redesdale, steadings of rectangular form predominate, with only very few 'hillforts'. Deeply influenced by the layout of the two valleys, steadings of this type spread eastwards up to (and slightly to the east of) the '-*tun/-leah*' boundary, where, as the landscapes with villages appear, numbers increase quite sharply, only to stop suddenly. Thus a notable gap appears between the clustering in the North Tyne, the thinner scatters to the south and east in the valley of the conjoined Tyne and a further notable concentration further to the east between the Blyth and the Wansbeck. Why should this be? Have sites simply not been identified, or is the hiatus real? In fact the gap seems to spread southwards to the Tyne itself, thickly scattered with existing and former villages with Old English place-names but with only a very thin sprinkle of pre-historic and 'Romano-British' indicator sites. There is no obvious explanation of this break and it remains as a question. (In the valley of the South Tyne, in spite of the harsher terrain and the great amounts of rough, formerly common pasture, until recently archaeologists have not recorded more than an intermittent scatter of sites, in sharp contrast to the numbers in the North Tyne valley. Analytical survey around Alston has redressed the balance somewhat (Oakley *et al*. 2012, 20–24). [14])

4. A concentration of sites involving three categories, 'hillforts', clear examples of rectangular steadings, and putative rectangular steadings, but lacking Cheviot-type sites, is found between the Wansbeck and the Blyth, fading to a thinner scatter towards the coast and south-eastwards towards the mouth of the Tyne. The greatest concentration runs along the southern flank of the Wansbeck, from Wallington to Morpeth and then north of the river at that point, to Pegswood, where excavation has taken place, producing evidence of both Iron Age and Romano-British occupation terminating at some point in the second century AD. In his assessment of *Iron Age Settlement on the Northumbrian Coastal Plain*, Nick Hodgson draws all together and focuses many of the issues: '. . . there are no grounds for seeing the rectangular enclosures considered . . . as wholly Romano-British; they originated around 200 BC as the later phases of roundhouse settlements continuously occupied since the late Bronze age, but all of the sites were abandoned by the second century AD, probably not long after the Wall was built.'

This conclusion emphasises that the essential distribution of steadings (fig. 1) may well reflect later Iron Age conditions, but raises crucial questions about the impact of post-second-century Roman activity in this region. Did occupation simply cease? Was the population moved or transported? There is no immediate explanation for this. In the east, the tract included the shire moor of Tynemouth, and that in the west must have effectively included Shildon Moor, an area common to Corbridge, Bywell and Ovingham, while abutting the

extensive areas of East and West Matfen townships to the north, i.e. *Mata's fen*. Is this a pointer? At a earlier phase of its history — *before* the formation of the Old English place-names, and presumably in the later prehistoric and Roman period — was this an area of woodland or of open pasture? An experimental attempt — still in progress — to define the former extent of common wastes on a township-by-township basis has proved not wholly satisfactory. Nevertheless, three conclusions emerged. Firstly, in this tract the common wastes were — before their enclosure — extremely extensive; before the advent of improvements, from the seventeenth century onwards, they embraced at least 50 per cent of the land surface of most townships. Secondly, the tract between Kirkharle in the north and Great Whittington in the south, and extending between Bingfield in the west and Stamfordham in the east — i.e. the core of the hiatus zone — contains many townships which bear heavy traces of extremely radical landscape restructuring during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and which are now dominated by large blocky fieldscapes. This implies they are zones where cultural erosion during the last two or three centuries must have been powerful and sustained. Nevertheless, careful study of the Ordnance Survey First Edition six inch to the mile maps reveals no traces of archaeological sites in these zones even where, as in Black Heddon and Ingoe, ridges of rougher land appear, a context in which the mid-nineteenth century surveyors were assiduous in recording archaeological detail. Finally, in an arc extending north-eastwards from Shildon Moor, north of Corbridge, and along the eastern flanks of the North Tyne and the Rede, there were substantive reconstructions of the former commons. Aided in part by a very detailed study of Barrasford, Gunnerton and some adjacent townships, it is clear that Romano-British steadings survived amid both inby lands and commons in roughly equal proportions.[15] The inexplicable hiatus is real. We are forced to the conclusion that this was a 'negative' area in both the pre-Roman Iron Age and the Roman period — independent of the second-century desertions of known sites — and that subtle physical circumstances may have played an important part in causing this. It was surely not heavily wooded, otherwise the Old English place-names would suggest this, but the tract probably comprised mixed wood pastures and open pastures on soils that were ill-drained and unattractive for early settlement and arable farming.[16]

In the 'hiatus zone' there are indications that it was not until the later eighteenth century that tillage affected large portions of this landscape, as is evidenced by the surviving ridge and furrow, for some earlier documentation suggests that former arable townfield cores were of only limited extent.[17] However, and inexplicably, when the distribution of tax levied from each place recorded in the Lay Subsidy of 1296 is superimposed on that of hillforts and Iron Age and Romano-British steadings, the individual townships of the 'hiatus zone' normally return higher sums than those on the clay plain to the south-east, towards Newcastle, higher even than the payments recorded for the individual townships in the immediate valley of the conjoined Tyne. As a tax on lay wealth — personal goods and chattels — these sums must have had a direct relationship to local agricultural output, and this was a productivity developed within and around settlements now exemplified by the Old English place-names.[18] Did the ridged ploughing, associated with heavy fixed mouldboard ploughs and still strongly visible around Bingfield, open the agricultural potential of this tract? When did this colonisation take place? The wear on the Roman ploughshare found in the fortress ditch in York was only on the right side, indicating that it was used in a mouldboard plough, capable of creating ridges and coping with heavy loam; this suggests that the initial colonisation of the zone could well be part of a phase of agricultural improvement associated with a process of

development of grain production. When this took place is a crucial question: could it have been in the Roman period?[19]

BOUNDARIES — IRON AGE AND LATER

Paul Frodsham postulated an Iron Age tribal boundary along the Coquet.[20] In fact, this river delimits several chronologically disparate elements: it marks, for instance, the line of a division between the northern and southern feudal baronies, with fragmented knights fees being more common to the south with larger units to the north.[21] By implication this is associated with contrasts in those antecedent estates from which the baronies were assembled. Further, the Coquet marked an identified boundary between two separate divisions of royal administration.[22] When the substance of *Cocwud* (fig. 2) is added to the argument then a broader marchland is defined, extending between the Coquet and spreading southwards towards the Lyne, and probably linking to the north with the Chillingham–Felton ridge. Rivet and Smith interpret the *Coccuveda* of the Ravenna Cosmography as a river name with the name meaning 'red appearance' and reflecting the detritus it carried in flood.[23] Whilst the main northern concentrations of hillforts and steadings lie north of the Aln, the former increase sharply in density along the Coquet, but are virtually absent from the body of *Cocwud* to the south, with a further concentration to the west in Redesdale, where Ptolemy tells us that *Bremenium*, the fort at High Rochester, was in the territory of the Votadini.[24] The eastern side of the Pennine ridge is normally ascribed to the Brigantes, and we must ask if we are seeing in the lands along the Coquet a deeply embedded tribal boundary and marchland, effectively a division between the Votadini and the Brigantes? In fact significant further names are recorded: in an altar in Hexham Abbey, but thought to have been brought from Corbridge, an officer records *caesa Corionototarum manu*, 'after slaughtering a band of Corionototae'. Rivet and Smith follow Charles-Edwards, seeing the *Corionotatae* as either the name for a group, **totas*, i.e. a people, or as the name for the inhabitants of a single **tota*. They interpret these as 'an otherwise unknown group dwelling north of Hadrian's Wall', although this location is based upon unstated assumptions. Corbridge is now seen from the Vindolanda tablets to have been *Coria*, a name which in itself means 'the hosting place'.[25] In the Ravenna Cosmography the name *Corie Lupocarium*, applied to Corbridge, is possibly another ethnic name attached to the centre of a *pagus*.[26] In all this there can be no certainties, but this material provides a indication that there could well have been a political entity, or entities, between the Votadini, essentially north of the Coquet, and the Brigantes further south, perhaps with northern Durham as a marchland, for Ptolemy describes Binchester as a 'city of the Brigantes', a term also applied to Whitley Castle — *Epiacum* — further west in Allendale. Such as it is, this evidence presents a consistent picture.

Nevertheless, there is surely no need to push the *Corionotatae* and the *Lupocares* into the hills: both groups can be rationalised in the valley of the conjoined Tyne, up the Rede valley and across the southern coastal plain and thence as far north as the Wansbeck. Corbridge was a focus, a hosting place, giving links to all of the cardinal points. If we seek an *oppidum*, then it is possible that the substantial fort at Shildon Hill would serve, now sadly reduced to merely the stump of two great curving ramparts, but which was once an impressive circumvallation. Set amid the great grazings of Shildon this is half a dozen or so kilometres from Stagshaw Bank, the point where Dere Street cuts through the Wall, and where a fair has been held from time immemorial. (It is conceivable that this event was eventually associated

with the gate through the Wall at this location, whilst the Old English township name of Portgate — part of the parish of St. John Lee and hence of Hexhamshire — supports many ambiguities of interpretation.[27]) Another possibility, but more strategically placed, is a fort of almost identical size — for both are approximately 115 m in diameter — on Warden Hill, at the junction of the two great valleys where the North Tyne meets the South Tyne. The rationale for this is encapsulated in the Old English place-name, the 'watch hill', guarding the important routes through the hills to the west and north. These small compact sites contrast with the great fortification on Yeavering Bell — some 350 m by 200 m — that must surely be linked to the Votadini whose power also extended further north to the impressive Traprain Law (approximately 650 by 250 m). If this broad interpretation of the distribution of Iron Age and Romano-British sites is correct, then how are the gaps in the upper Aln and upper Coquet valleys to be interpreted? The few steadings recorded are a mixed bag, some curvilinear and some rectangular and sub-rectangular, but the peripheral distribution of hillforts around these two small *pays* could suggest that we are again seeing strong cultural erosion, the removal of traces of lowland steadings by later farming activities.[28]
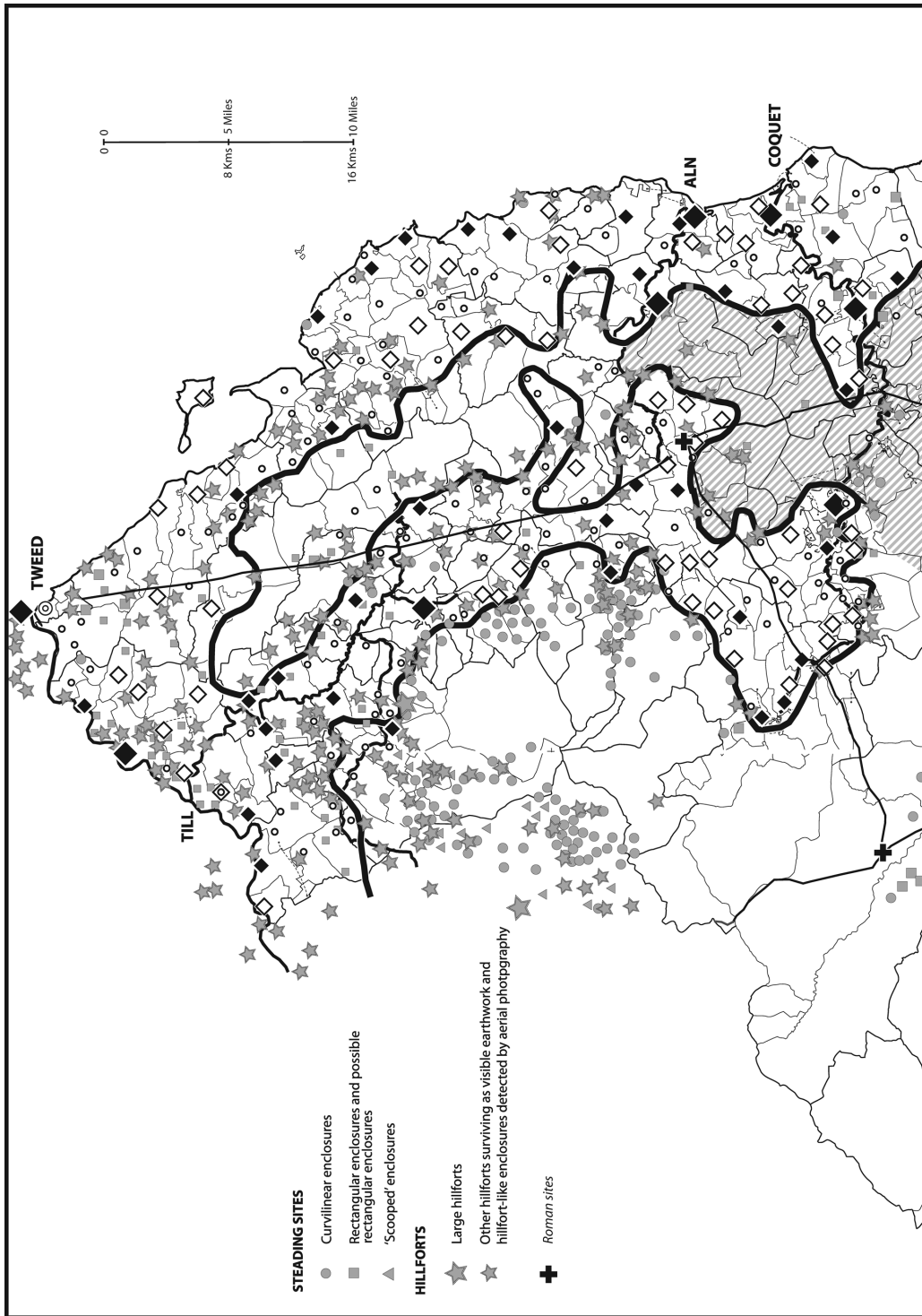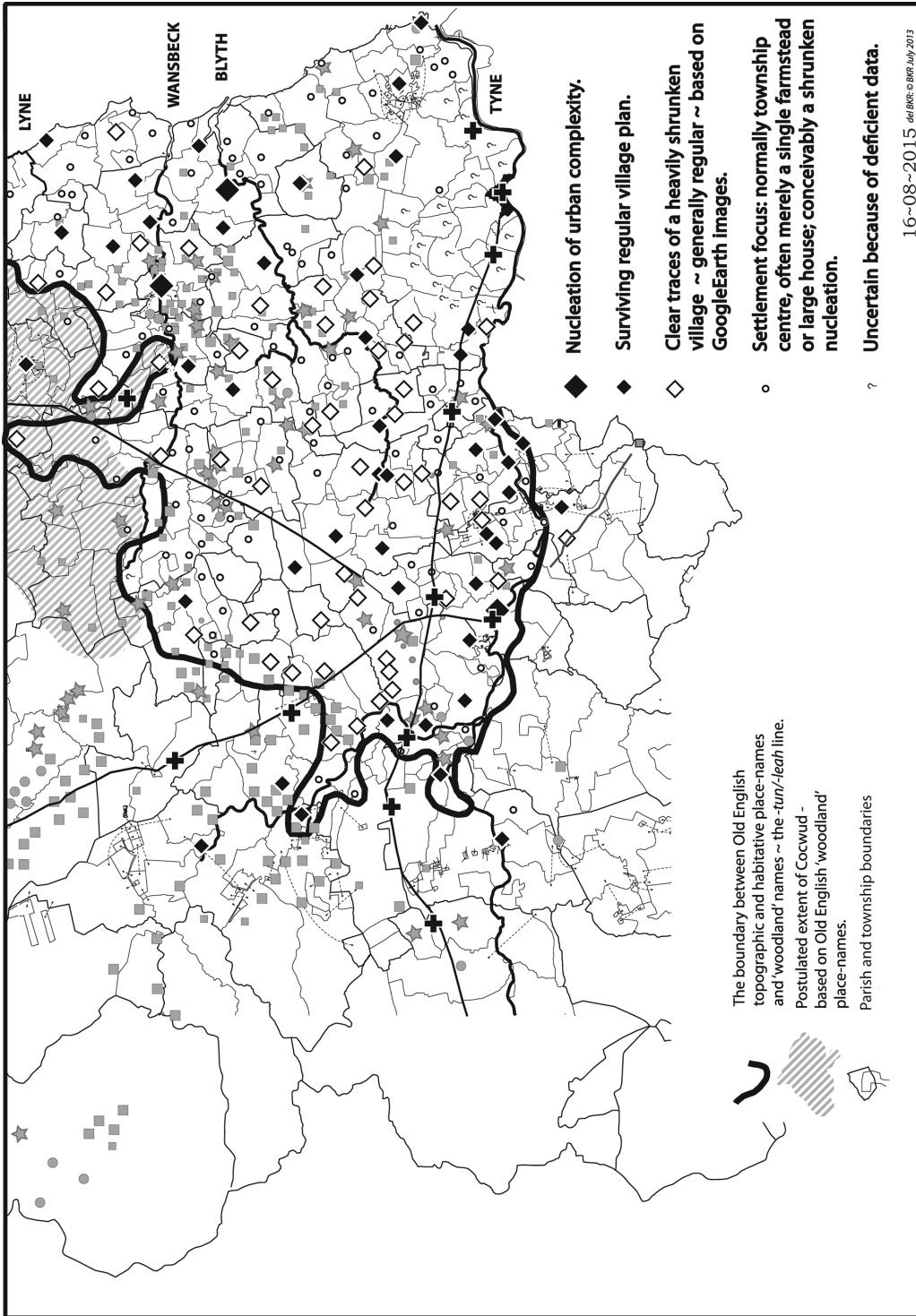
THE LANDSCAPES OF HISTORIC SETTLEMENT

As noted above, the steadings examined archaeologically have produced material that is, with very few exceptions, no later than the second-century AD; this, and their roots in the later Iron Age, has been confirmed by all recent analyses and excavations. They represent a long period of time. The later second century was a time when, as Nick Hodgson points out, the Wall forts and their *vici* were at the peak of their material prosperity.[29] Some scholars have touched upon the possibility that the depopulations occurred because people were drawn towards these but this is not now widely accepted although one might contend that the areas excavated in the *vici* have been very limited.

As a parallel, we can turn to the distribution created by three elements of the historic settlement pattern, i.e. that still visible on modern maps (fig. 3), comprising:

• villages and hamlets that survive to appear on mid-nineteenth century maps, most of which possessed medieval roots and Old English place-names,

• sites with traces of depopulated villages and hamlets, again with medieval roots and Old English place-names, and

• township centres with no obvious traces of the preceding but which may once have possessed small nucleations. Again, from their names, Old English roots can be presumed.

There are subjectivities in this categorisation, but in fact a large proportion of the places appear as taxable locations in the Lay Subsidy of 1296.[30] At that date there was a dense scatter of clustered settlements. Of course, not all need have been large; some comprised just a few farmsteads. To the south of the Coquet this scatter was essentially uniform, whilst to the north topographic factors strongly affected the pattern. Inevitably the Iron Age and Romano-British distributions do *not* coincide precisely with these historic foci, villages and hamlets, perhaps because long-sustained occupation and adjacent tillage resulted in a sustained process of cultural erosion.[31] Furthermore, although specific settlement sites may vary, the situations were the same. Thus the absence of evidence for Anglo-Saxon site occupation in the many dozens, indeed hundreds, of locations bearing Old English place-names cannot be taken as

STEADING SITES

- ● Curvilinear enclosures
- ■ Rectangular enclosures and possible rectangular enclosures
- ▲ 'Scooped' enclosures

HILLFORTS

- ★ Large hillforts
- ✦ Other hillforts surviving as visible earthwork and hillfort-like enclosures detected by aerial photpgraphy

- ✚ *Roman sites*

TWEED

TILL

ALN

COQUET

0
5 Miles
8 Kms
10 Miles
16 Kms

LYNE

WANSBECK

BLYTH

TYNE

16~08~2015 *del BKR; © BKR July 2013*

Nucleation of urban complexity.

Surviving regular village plan.

Clear traces of a heavily shrunken village ~ generally regular ~ based on GoogleEarth images.

Settlement focus: normally township centre, often merely a single farmstead or large house; conceivably a shrunken nucleation.

Uncertain because of deficient data.

The boundary between Old English topographic and habitative place-names and 'woodland' names ~ the *-tun/-leah* line.

Postulated extent of Cocwud - based on Old English 'woodland' place-names.

Parish and township boundaries

Fig. 3 (This page and facing) Later prehistoric steadings, hillforts, Romano-British steadings, and medieval settlement foci in Northumberland.

evidence of absence. Quite the reverse: we can account for the absence of evidence in such cases, and the same argument can be applied to traces of Romano-British and Iron Age occupation.

Within this argument there is an uncomfortable problem. There is a normally unspoken assumption that the settlements bearing Old English place-names represent a superimposed and wholly different settlement system from the later prehistoric and Romano-British one. Let us, however, suppose that this is *not* true; let us suppose that antecedent Romano-British arrangements were associated in some manner with what eventually emerged as the 'medieval' hamlets and villages, perhaps the result of what can be termed 'congregación'.[32] This involves the imposition of 'communality by enforcement', the concentration of inhabitants, a process involving their relocation and the creation of either wholly new settlements, or new settlements on older sites. Two important qualifications to this suggestion must be emphasised: first, there is no reason to expect large amounts of Roman material from presently occupied settlement sites; similarly surviving settlements, bearing Anglo-Saxon names, rarely if ever produce pottery of that ilk, indeed, indeed these continuously occupied sites produce precious little medieval pottery from their gardens and tofts. It is not until the eighteenth and nineteenth century when mass production techniques generate the large amounts of readily identifiable materials to be found in the night-soil that enhanced village plots. Indeed, even where later prehistoric and Romano-British sites do lie beneath later arable fields they produce only very limited amounts of pottery when excavated, and they are usually detected only from crop-marks. Second, this is not to argue that beneath each and every medieval settlement bearing an Old English place-name there lies a Romano-British antecedent: it is simply to suggest that a process of change was initiated in the Roman period that began the concentration of farmers on some settlement sites we now associate with Old English place-names. A cynic might say, with some justice, that this is an argument usefully unsupported by any concrete evidence: the challenge is to identify any settlements where such continuity can be argued.

QUESTIONS OF CHRONOLOGY

When and why might this have occurred? During the initial construction and occupation of Hadrian's Wall the sheer concentration of troops could not be supplied with grain from the local area.[33] Was the decay of the scattered steadings and the putative establishment of proto-villages a response to a need for more food production for local troops? In a recent summary Nick Hodgson again summarises the changes with clarity and force:

'… all of the dated sites immediately north of Hadrian's Wall were abandoned in the second century, probably not long after the Wall was built. In contrast some rural settlements in the zone south of the Wall [indeed substantially further south in BKR's judgement] show an increased pace of development in the second century, with conspicuous use of Roman pottery, metalwork and building styles. It is argued that rather than regulating the economic movements of the members of a traditional society, Hadrian's Wall acted as a barrier between two entirely different trajectories of development.'[34]

We must remember that advance to the line of the Antonine Wall took place between AD 138 and 142 and that occupation lasted until approximately AD 158 when the reoccupation of Hadrian's Wall is attested by an inscription. This was *the* point in time, the mid-second

century, when the Roman administration appreciated that the garrisoning of Hadrian's Wall and a screen of outlying forts to the north necessitated different arrangements to those suitable for sustaining an operational field army, and the withdrawal to Hadrian's line must have stimulated much reappraisal after the over-optimistic thrust into Scotland. This was a context in which congregación *could* have begun, and the establishment of more efficient local units of grain production for the stationary army, i.e. nucleated hamlets and villages, might have taken place, namely during the second half of the second century AD. The exploiting of the good soils of the valley of the conjoined Tyne became necessary, as well as those soils of the coastal strip from the Tyne to the Coquet, extending inland as far as Corbridge and Chesters, where the hill-country was closing in. The terrain of what was to become County Durham, to the south of the river, had a far lower potential.[35] This activity antedated the development of South Shields as a *horrea* (granary), a site that was well placed to be supplied by sea.

Seen in this light, the general distribution map (fig. 3), showing the essential local complementarity between the distributions of Iron Age and Romano-British steadings and the several categories of medieval cores indicated by Old English place-names, is — to say the least — thought-provoking. At root we are faced with two arguments: on one hand it is possible that some of the Anglo-Saxon settlement foci — suggested by the Old English names of the modern map but not excluding the possibility of site shifts — occupy situations and sites that were also occupied by Romano-British settlements, and that these were where a concentration of a former dispersed population occurred. On the other hand, we could in practical terms be simply dealing with an intimacy of place, in which the site qualities attractive in one period were merely re-used in another period? Let us be clear: if this broad-spectrum argument contains a grain of truth, and some of the populations of the scattered steadings at a date in the second century AD were then concentrated, some on old sites, some on new sites, this need not have been a universal process. Further, these arguments need not apply to northern Northumberland — where the steadings excavated also show few traces of occupation after the second century AD — and still less further afield.

We are here brought faced to face with the *bêtes noires* of the Romano-British to Anglo-Saxon transition, the problem of language and place-names. By any standards the second century AD is surely far too early for a sustained Germanisation of place-names even if there were some Wall troops stationed in the locality who were raised in German speaking areas. We are inevitably faced with two steps: first, a process of 'congregación' which may indeed have begun in the second century, with all that this implies in terms of local production facilities — although cattle ranches are a possibility — whilst, second, the almost uniform presence of Old English place-names is surely grounded in a local vernacular terminology, the product of many centuries of development. On balance, the *auxilia* of the North had recruitment links with Lower Germany; this involved drafts and individuals, and was not confined to them joining regiments originally levied in the Lower Rhine; women may also have accompanied the troops. While Latin was the language of command, German was introduced, as were Celtic dialects.[36]

BERNICIA: TRANSITIONAL LANDSCAPES, TRANSITIONAL TERMINOLOGY

The landscapes discussed so far have been identified using the anachronism 'Northumberland', a term ultimately derived via the writings of Bede, while speculation on the earlier

inhabitants sought to qualify the identification of two tribes, the Votadini — or Otadini — and the Brigantes. Bede makes use of the names *Bernicii* for the Old English inhabitants of the northernmost English kingdom, and Kenneth Jackson derived the word from 'mountain passes', so that *Bernicii* implies 'the people of the land of the mountain passes'.[37] There are of course no indications from the documents of the whereabouts of this land; was it a general term for the lands of the north-east coast, or did it have a more specific attachment? However, there is one possible clue; the *Historia Brittonum*, associated with Nennius, records that 'Ida son of Eobba joined *Din Guaire* to *Bernicia*', and also notes that *Din Guaire* was in fact Bamburgh.[38] From this it is reasonable to infer — amid all the caveats with which we must meet this record — that there were two separate early polities. Indisputably Bamburgh lay in northern Northumberland, but where then was *Bernicia*? I suggest that this term applies most readily to the middle Tyne valley, i.e. around Corbridge, extending up the valley of the South Tyne. The words that Patrick used to describe his place of origin may offer support: 'My father, the deacon Calpornius … who belonged to the town of *Bannavem Taburniae (qui fuit vico Bannavem Taberniae)*.[39] Charles Thomas has interpreted this place-name as comprising three words. *Venta* is probably a 'Celtic' word (his term) meaning something like 'meeting place, local centre, market place', and appears in a number of British place-names. *Banna* could be Birdoswald on Hadrian's Wall, further to the west along the Tyne gap and in the Irthing catchment, where an inscription *venatores Banniess(es)*, 'the Banniensian Hunters' provides a degree of confirmation[40] *Berniae* or *burniae*, following Jackson, has a British root, and implies 'gap' or 'mountain pass'. This gives us *vicus Banna Venta Berniae*, 'Bannaventa in Bernicia' as the dwelling place of Patrick's father Calpornious.[41] *Berniae*, refering to a local region rather than a single place, is singularly apt.

The *Bernicians*, according to Jackson, would be 'the people of the land of the mountain passes'. St. Patrick's origin as a youth picked up by slavers from Ireland in the Irthing valley of Cumbria has a ring of truth, as does the interpretation of the place-name. This offers some support for an argument that the roots of Bernicia lay in the Tyne valley and the spreading valleys to the east, with a name that, as all agree, is in origin British. In this particular context 'the land of the mountain passes' has real meaning, and Bernicia may well have extended along what a later generation of geographers were to call the Tyne Gap, from the Irthing to the South Tyne. Corbridge was an important node, part of an important west to east trade route, with access to Dere Street on the east side of the Pennines. It is possible, of course, that Vindolanda represented an 'inland' focus of this polity; certainly its vastly complex history, together with the survival of the Brigomaglos stone, are clear indicators of more than a local importance.[42] If correct, this argument points to an 'original' Bernicia, a southern territory that Ida son of Eobba joined to *Din Guaire*, his northern focus. By the eighth century, Bede quite clearly regarded Yeavering as part of Bernicia.[43] This is not surprising, for the meaning of names always changes and a term can shift from one location to another. Ida only appears at one point in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, in its chronological recapitulation under the year 547, so that the author of the *Historia Brittonum* did not obtain his information from Bede and his source is not known. Nevertheless, this statement makes sense given the deeply embedded divergences between southern and northern Northumberland. It is reasonable to suggest that we have here an echo of the joining of two early polities in the middle decades of the sixth century, so providing the foundation for the Northumbrian economic successes — manifest in kingship, conquest, tribute-taking and polity amalgamations — which followed.[44] (It was Æthelfrith of Bernicia who gained control of Deira between 592/3 X 616, while Soemil was

five kings before Ælle the first datable king of the Deiran list (*acc*. 560; Dumville — see below — gives 568 to 598 as his rule), taking us back some decades. The accession of Ida, son of Eobba, is conventionally dated AD 547, and the *Historia Brittonum* speaks of a twelve-year reign.[45])

THE BERNICIANS

Who then were the Bernicians? Two fundamental issues filter any discussion. Firstly, the 'documented' histories found in the writings of authors such as Bede and the *Historia Brittonum* and the Welsh traditions have something to tell us, but at best can only create a context for understanding what were lengthy and complex historical processes. We are apt to rely on them insofar as they reflect our own predilections. Secondly, it is now widely appreciated that long before the 'documented' traditional dates of the *Adventus Saxonum* there were Germanic influences present in the north of England. Anthony Birley's book in 1979, presents in an objective manner the traces of Germans serving in the Roman army in Britain; thus a dozen or so inscriptions from the Wall, all certainly third century or later in date, mention Germans as soldiers there. Further, in AD 306 the principal role in proclaiming Constantine emperor at York was assumed by the king of the Alamanni, one Crocus, who had been in Constantius' service. The historian Ammianus records that in AD 367 Nectaridus, Count of the Saxon Shore was killed, and Fullofades, *dux*, was ambushed or trapped. Men in high command, both were Germans. From Ammianus we hear also of another Alemannic king, Fraomarius, being posted to Britain in 372 to command a unit of his fellow tribesmen, with the rank of tribune.[46] Further, as Birley noted, even before the Wall was built there were Batavians, Tungrians and Frisians in the northern army; cohorts of these, and of several other Rhineland and German peoples, are found on and close to the Wall in the second and third centuries, while in the third century more barbarian units are found, the *cuneus* ('wedge formation') of Frisians at Burgh and Housesteads, and the *numerus* ('unit') of Hnaufridus at Housesteads where families may have been imported.[47] At Newcastle, where an additional fort was built by the bridge in the late second or early third century AD, the unit first associated with it was the *cohors I Ulpia Traiana Cugernorum civium Romanum*. This unit was there until the late third or early fourth century AD when it was replaced by the *cohors I Cornoviorum*. The *Cugerni* was originally raised in the Lower Rhineland, and presumably drew in German troops.[48] Given what Birley reveals of their diverse cultural origins in his listing of all the named 'people of Roman Britain,' it is perhaps too easy, because of our retrospective viewpoint, to allow the known Germanic units too great an importance, for we must reckon with the Romanisation — or *incorporation* to use Ian Haynes' preferred term — of those Germans who settled in Britain and remember that, eventually, there would have been purely local recruitment to exotically named units. How far links with their titular homeland were sustained must be speculation, but if the argument that fort commanders gradually mutated into local 'chieftains' contains some grains of truth, then there are no reasons why units converted to war-bands need not have used the most tenuous of kinship links to recruit warriors from elsewhere, even from overseas. What is increasingly clear is that the linguistic transfer from the languages of the later Roman period to the eventual dominance of Old English cannot be explained wholly in the context of invasion and/or immigration. In northern England the line of the Wall presents fundamental challenges concerning, populations, languages, military organisation, and polity formation. The

emergence of Anglo-Saxon kingship has been tentatively placed in the middle decades of the sixth century but in practice probably took place earlier, and was superimposed upon British forerunners, if not actual antecedents. Dumville suggests, cautiously and following an analysis of Gildas, that the beginnings of 'post-Roman (north-) British kingship' lay in the 'third quarter of the fifth century.' In an interesting aside he notes that '… the facts of Romano-British political geography may have influenced the shape of English settlement', a considered and weighty opinion.[49]

But kings need more than a title: they need land, sustained tribute and revenue.[50] This is where figures 1–4, and the context they establish for the eastern end of Hadrian's Wall, are of direct relevance. *Din Guaire*, Bernicia and Deira were not mere concepts — unlike Northumbria, 'invented' by Bede — but were real polities, with substance, central places, territories, farmers, rents, renders and revenues, rulers, fighting men, farmers, fertile women, and slaves. They must be fitted into the real geography of the past. The locations of these polities, *Din Guaire* and Bernicia, are profoundly important, and the deeply rooted division of the territory that became Northumberland into two portions, north and south of the Coquet, has something to tell us. Rivers are optimistic solutions to questions of early territorial boundaries, and the realities of ill-defined marchlands offer more realistic possibilities than two sides glowering at each other from opposite banks.[51] The Coquet, with *Cocwud*, can reasonably be postulated as a marchland between the Votadini and tribes to the south, possibly the *Corionotatae* and the *Lupocares*. There is also the looming presence of the Brigantes (whose 'city' at Binchester, *Vinovium*, in County Durham was noted by Ptolemy), effecting some control in the Pennine foothills south of the Tyne, whilst their association with Whitley Castle, *Epiacum*, in the upper valley of the South Tyne, carries Brigantian power deep into the northern Pennines and conceivably to the silver lodes of that area. In contrast, Ptolemy associates High Rochester, *Bremenium*, in Redesdale, with the Votadini.[52] Buffer zones, suzerainty, nominal control, power vacuums, mediatised territories, are all real possibilities in this tract within a broad time matrix, and this is in a zone where the pre-Roman settlement densities of the lands further north, i.e. in the Cheviots and Northumberland lowlands, and further south, i.e. in Yorkshire, seem to attenuate.[53]

The construction of the Wall brought shattering changes, local, and regional. To the east of the confluence of the north and south Tyne there are frequent signs of cultivation beneath forts, and indeed the Wall itself, suggesting that the north bank of the Tyne was well-populated. It is likely that as in post-Roman centuries there was already a cultural division between a more populated northern flank of the river and a less populated southern flank. The Tyne proved to be both a barrier to be crossed and yet amenable and useful to the Romans and we should reflect on the fact the fort at Newcastle was a late arrival.[54] In Newcastle the loss of mid- to late-fourth-century coin within the fort was large enough to suggest that the *via praetoria* in front of the *principia* was used as a market; the final commercial occupation appears to be dated by a slightly worn Theodosian coin of 388–95. Some re-working of Roman levels substantively pre-dated the formation of an extensive Anglo-Saxon cemetery, by which time the Roman buildings were ruinous.

One site hardly summarises the complexity of the eastern Wall line, but the Old English — Saxons, Angles or Anglo-Saxons — did emerge from the Roman period as the controlling power of the area.[55] What can we see within the varied tangential evidence available to us that might afford helpful clues as to how this came about?

SOUTH NORTHUMBERLAND UNDER IDA

What sort of polity was Ida taking over when he joined *Din Guaire* to Bernicia, in or about AD 547? Newcastle provides a convenient starting point. One of the peculiarities of the town is that there is no direct evidence for the origin of the borough but a list of the 'laws and customs which the burgesses of Newcastle upon Tyne had in the time of Henry the king of England and ought to have' does survive, and appears to date between 1143 and 1153. In his detailed analysis, Robert Fulton Walker concludes that the customs specified are 'a continuation of ancient folk law with minor variations and accretions' and in their substances he traces Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian and even practices which may have roots in Welsh, British or even Roman law.[56] Newcastle, then, was an important place, from which royal writs were issued, as exemplified by the role of the serjeanty focussed on Byker and Pandon.[57] In post-Roman times Corbridge never achieved the importance of Newcastle, but it was another royal centre and the focus of a royal estate in that part of the valley.[58] If we can, as seems probable, envisage this at first as a tract administered from two or three royal vills, Corbridge and Newcastle, with a newer foundation at Newburn, subdivision eventually took place, establishing historically attested territories such as Hexhamshire (severed from the territory of Corbridge), Bywellshire (cut from the same) and Tynemouthshire (surely cut from the lands attached to the royal centre at Newcastle).[59] Further, the complex pattern of Old English place-names bear witness to greater levels of subdivision of this territory, eventually extending down to the township level (fig. 4). These places, once part of Bernicia, must have been 'joined' to *Din Guaire* by the expansion of 'royal' control by the dynasty based at Bamburgh, whose origin was professed in the person of Ida son of Eobba.

Like Newcastle, Corbridge shows occupation into the late fourth century and there must be a presumption that the Corbridge-Newcastle axis had Roman roots and, conceivably, even some administrative continuity. However, while the *Notitia Dignitatum* lists the commands of the Wall line, all fall under the command of the *Dux Britanniarum* along with the other northern forts listed, a command presumably based at York. Nonetheless, the prefects and tribunes commanding the military units attached to the listed forts, must have exercised real local power, increasingly so once the wider command structure collapsed or became nugatory.[60] According to John Morris we appear to have had a dynasty ruling between the Tyne and the Tweed in about the 440s, the progenitor of which was one *Germanianus . . .* an interesting name, and conceivably an echo of one of the prefects! The source of all this is grounded in Welsh genealogies.[61] Coin supply ceased after about AD 400, and so the *annona* must have become increasingly important with each fort's *territorium* as a source of provender when any import of grain ceased. Collection and distribution became focused at key centres, at first no doubt the forts, and eventually at the royal vills. In this we can see the roots of the system adopted by early medieval kings. Clearly, by the time a 'king' of Bernicia existed — this could even be at some stage in the fifth century — control had extended beyond the exercise of local power by fort commanders. It may be no accident that the survival of the name of *Aesica* — the Roman fort at Great Chesters — concerns a portion of the Wall rather remote from larger lowland power foci.[62] There is not a whisper of Roman names in the listed antecedents of the Bernician kings. According to the *Historia Brittonum*, Ida 'held the countries of the north of Britain'. At the very least he was a powerful local ruler, while his 'twelve sons' could represent a remembrance of local rulers he subdued, or 'chieftains' who were his clients, rather than a monument to his fecundity.[63] There is also in the *Historia* a very odd section: appended

to an account of Arthur and his battles are two sentences which state that the English, when defeated by Arthur, 'sought help from Germany, and considerably increased their numbers, and they brought their kings over from Germany to rule over them in Britain, until the time when Ida reigned, who was the son of Eobba. He was the first king in Bernicia, that is, in *Berneich*'. Like many of such statements, this is opaque, lacking a location in both time and space; indeed, the entry would not be worth citing were it not for the specific cross-reference to Ida, taking us into Northumberland. What is implied here sounds like a garbled account of cases like those of Crocus and his Alemanni in AD 306, and the Alamannic king, Fraomarius, posted to Britain in AD 372 to command a unit of his fellow tribesmen.

There can be little doubt that when the Roman army was firmly in control the command structures must have been in Latin, but it is possible that some imported troops retained their own language or languages, conceivably a version of German — Old English — particularly as Roman interest in the province declined. There is perhaps a parallel here with sepoys, indigenous troops levied by the British in India, where the commanding office of a battalion became a form of substitute for the village chief, while many family and community ties were retained amongst the troops, particularly when members enlisted in the same unit.[64] A new language could march in with such troops, and strong family ties could continue to draw in warriors from an original homeland: at a number of the Wall forts this was *Germania*. New families needed land, and land was to be found in the hinterland of the forts; these putative settlers would have rendered grain, cattle and other produce. A new social stratum may have been intruded, and with them a new language.[65] Such immigration would have led to the establishment of new farmlands and new settlements, although it has to be admitted that at present there is no evidence for these. Furthermore, while the excavations in the *vici* suggest an end of occupation in the third century, work has inevitably tended to concentrate upon the more durable structures. What of the more ephemeral and surrounding slums? Around forts with Germanic recruitment these may have supported a fragile feminine culture, often German speaking, if only to the level of a few thousand words.[66] Concealed beneath a veil of desperate poverty these folk are archaeologically invisible The children would have been potential recruits for the army.[67] Were these people one nexus for new growth when new Germanic immigration accelerated?

Ultimately a king needed control over men, companions, warriors and farmers, and to do this any king needed kinsmen and followers, together with land for himself, land with which to reward, land for food rents and renders, and gold and tribute. Along the Wall there must have been a long-established tradition of servicing the forts, of the *annona*, payments in kind, and any 'king' worthy of the name would have appropriated these. In the absence of a money economy, these necessarily comprised grain, cattle and other agricultural and natural produce, together with labour, and these are precisely the renders owed to early medieval rulers.[68] Thus in southern Northumberland 'food render zones' associated with the forts of the Wall may well lie at the root of the small shire divisions postulated along the northern flank of the conjoined Tyne. It is often possible to broadly link individual forts with putative early medieval shire territories.[69] Moreover, it is significant that two of the important royal centres in the Tyne valley, Newcastle and Corbridge were important Roman foci, while the very name of Newburn, *nīwe + burh*, 'the new fortification' or (less likely) 'the new borough', tells us with some precision that this was an insertion into the local administrative framework, possibly replacing an earlier hall focus at Walbottle.

This discussion, deriving from the materials presented in figures 1, 2 and 4, has sought to avoid straying far beyond the confines of the southern Northumberland 'region', defined silently as the tract between the conjoined Tyne and *Cocwud* and between the sea and the North Tyne, but has also sought to escape generalisations that are apt to distort most analyses of this complex transition by drawing in materials from widely separate spatial contexts where the historical and cultural processes operating may have been very different. The evidence used here seeks to focus discussion on the fragments found within the limits of this one important local region.

There are few more potent symbols than the stones of Wilfrid's great crypt beneath Hexham abbey church; this was built over 250 years after the formal end of Roman control over the province and set upon land given by Queen Æthelthryth, effectively the foundation grant of Hexhamshire.[70] Paul Bidwell's remarkable examination of this structure, stone by stone, argues for sources in local Roman structures, namely the former Tyne bridge, the Shorden Brae mausoleum, and a granary at Corbridge (the only building material from the town identifiable with reasonable confidence) and shrines in or near Corbridge and Chesters.[71] The king was evidently content to allow all of these to be used as quarries even though they all lay on his lands outside Hexhamshire.[72] It is surely remarkable that Anglo-Saxon carpenters did not feel able to use the bridge abutments for a new roadway, for the possibilities inherent in great timber bridges should not be under-rated.[73] Perhaps the degree of collapse excluded any other option. However, Paul Bidwell goes further in the following remarks:

From the mouth of the River Tyne, westwards for 45 km to the fort at Chesters at the crossing of the North Tyne, Hadrian's Wall was one of the more Roman landscapes in the British provinces. Along the line of the Wall (including South Shields) there were seven forts and 27 milecastles, and at Corbridge there was a town that flourished in the late Roman period ... At Newcastle, Corbridge and Chesters there were large stone bridges which were part of a network of roads which was maintained down to the end of the Roman period. When Bede wrote of the 'cities, lighthouses, bridges and roads (*civitates, farus, pontes, et stratae*)', still to be seen in his day that testified to Roman occupation south of the frontier, it is likely that he took what he was familiar with in his locality to characterise the entirety of Roman Britain.[71]

At South Shields there has now been recognition of many seventh- to ninth-century objects, whilst the fort there may well have been a royal residence;[74] unfortunately, shallow stratigraphies have stripped the immediately post-Roman centuries from our vision.

Above all it is the linguistic changes, the re-naming of the land, that represent the greatest enigma and to this the Wall line offers no clear-cut answer. There are, nevertheless, other aspects to this hiatus in evidence; whatever the character of the late Roman administration, this was replaced by the appearance of individuals known to history as 'kings', and Paul Barnwell has attempted to focus on the nature of royal power, the symbols associated with this, and the courtiers, nobles and officials concerned with maintaining and administering the royal rights.[75] Effectively there is a gap of at least 200 years, between, let us say, AD 400 when the supply of coins to the Wall ceased, and AD 600, after which the writings of Bede create temporal reference points and document the activities of kings. Here we should stop and reflect; it is highly probable that the most tangible bridge spanning these dark years is onomastic, with the oldest layers of Old English place-names traversing the gap.

OLD ENGLISH INPUTS

Table 1   The post-Roman situation in north-east England: event horizons for
the *Adventus Saxonum*.

- Long-standing prehistoric antecedent links around the North Sea.[76]
- Migratory late Iron Age movements from the Lower Rhine into southern Britain: the arrival of Rome as a colonial power.[77]
- Recruitment for the army of Britain: intermarriage, and the import/export of slaves.[78]
- Old English perhaps appearing as a lingua franca of the North Sea interaction zone, used — along with Latin and Celtic — for interaction rather than administration — just as medieval clerks were happy with this arrangement.[79]
- Roman trading across the North Sea (a vast market); individual family trajectories and contacts; import/export of slaves.[80]
- Economic collapse and change: eventually the end of the circulation of coinage.[81]
- Migration, land-seeking, exile and war-band recruitment, plus slaving.[82]
- Emergence of local dynasties and polities, both 'Celtic' and 'Old English'; coalescence of polities and dynasties as a result of competition for material goods, land resources, cultivators and slaves; intermarriage blurs the picture.[83] Some of these dynasties and polities were based upon the area's long-established Roman forts.
- Emergence of kingdoms, some with legal differentiation between ethnic groups and /or social groups, well exemplified in Bede.
- Appearance of established polities, with inter-polity competition; the building of larger kingdoms.

This tabulation embraces the time span of some six and a half centuries. Ida and his successors founded a polity from which Æthelfrith could, between about AD 592–616, pursue his campaigns of conquest. His warriors moved northwards, westwards and southwards to consolidate his tribute-taking into a polity.[84] With these movements went land-taking, colonisation, and surely new administrative procedures … otherwise he could not have been successful. This process takes us to the Old English topographic place-names of Northumberland and County Durham that I suggest are an amalgam derived from three sources:

1. a deep-rooted use associated with Germanic linguistic elements in the Roman period which arose within the core Wall zone of Bernicia in the middle and lower Tyne valley, involving primarily topographic elements;

2. the arrival of immigrant populations from two sources: the Deiran core, based in eastern Yorkshire — population movements surely following Æthelfrith's conquests — and (3) other immigrant elements from elsewhere in 'Engaland' and indeed from across the North Sea. All of these perhaps involved chains of kinship, and conceivably involved the creation of both 'group' and 'personal' place-names redolent of kinship.

ASSUMPTIONS AND ANALYSIS

- Between AD 400 and AD 600, throughout the north-east of England, Romano-Celtic culture, society and economy was replaced by a culture, society and economy which was essentially Germanic in character, albeit with a degree of British input which was suppressed in the east but increasing and visible to the north and west.

- These changes were linked with the imposition of place-names of Old English origin which are nearly universal in Yorkshire, Durham and Northumberland, appear intermittently northwards to the Firth of Forth, and are found in substantial numbers throughout the Cumbrian west.[85]
- Traces of British and Gaelic place-names, thin on the ground in the east, but which intensify to the west and north.[86]
- While Latin must have been the command language throughout the northern garrisons and Roman administration, we have no evidence to define the real character of the local vernacular of most of the inhabitants before AD 500, or even AD 700.[87]
- The Old English stratum — eventually the local vernacular — raises fundamental questions about the arrival and dispersion of this language, which is not considered to have been present before the *Adventus Saxonum*.[88]
- The near universality of this tongue begs questions about the numbers of Old English speakers, when and how they arrived, how powerful they were and how they established polities and kings.[89]
- In general, the archaeological confirmation for the presence of Anglo-Saxons before the middle decades of the fifth century is fitful; the numbers entailed, the time span involved, and the remarkable collapse of the British language are all still uncertain.

All of these points have universal application within the country as a whole, but the distinctive character of Hadrian's Wall and its garrisons and their presence within this northern province poses particular, distinct and local questions.

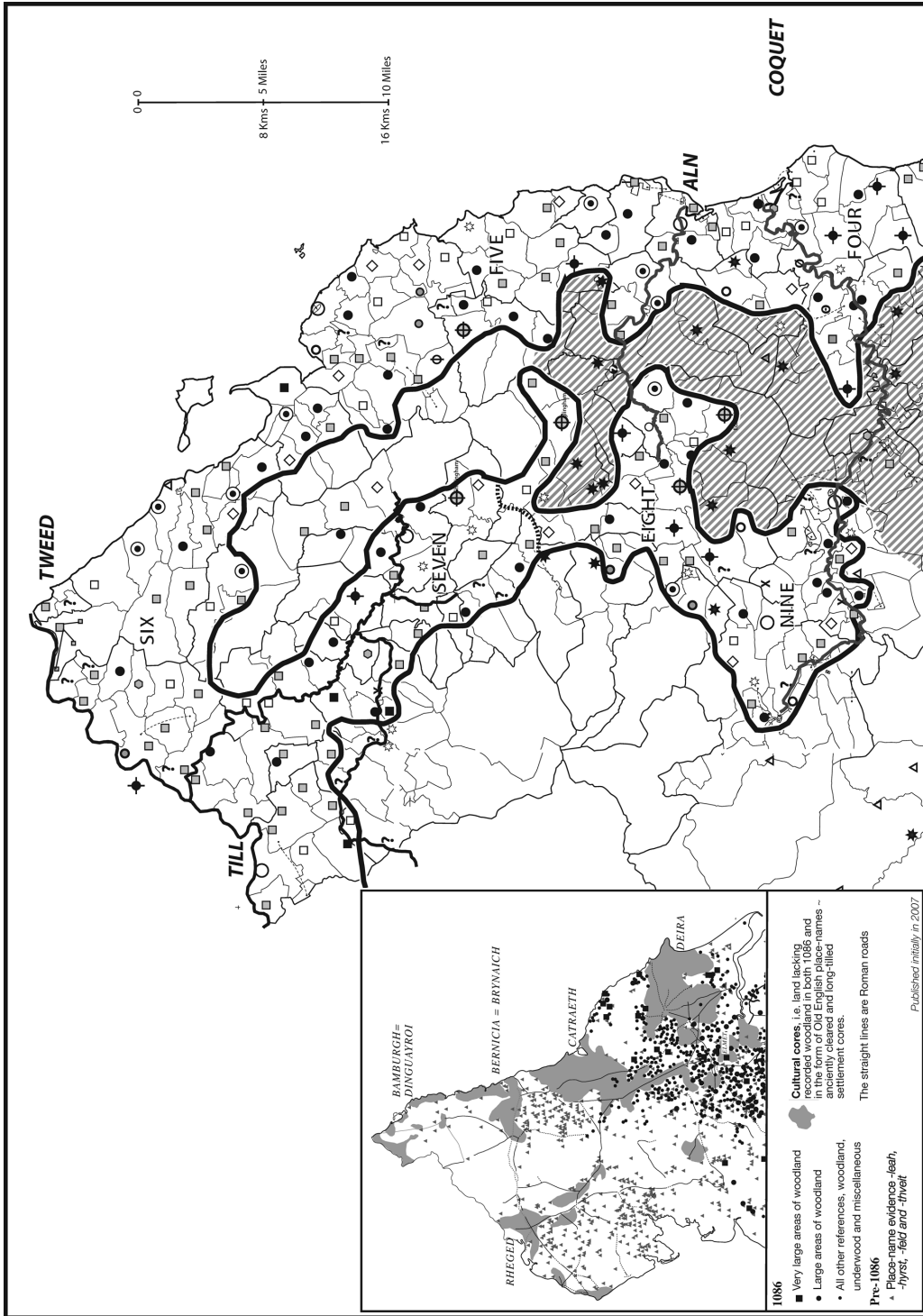Analysis will begin with figure 4, a full map of Northumbrian place-names, which are:
- Topographic: divided into three categories, 'pure' topographic names, topographic names with a personal name as a prefix, and topographic names which appear to refer to a cultural antecedent;
- Habitative: i.e. names in *-ing, -ing(a)ham, -ing(a)tun, -ham*, and *-botle, -tunstall* and *-sted*;
- Names in *–tun, –wic, -worth* together with *-cot*, names implying fortification, *-bury*, and 'woodland names' (*-leah, -feld* and *-wudu*) and names with *shield*, all appearing as separate layers so that they can be considered separately.
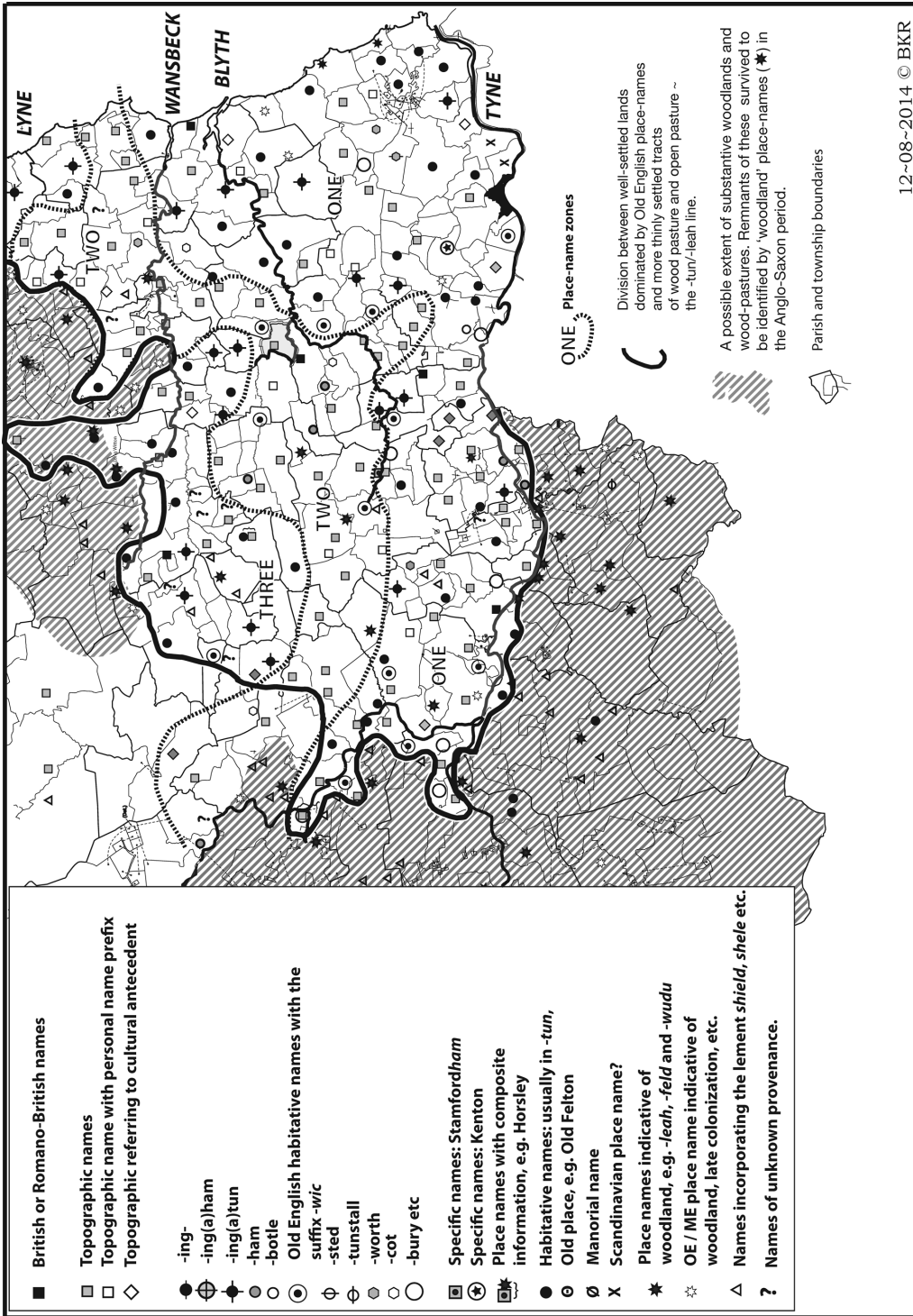
This break-down reflects subjective decisions, and place-name scholars necessarily admit some uncertainties. All in all, the map is a reliable representation of what is currently known and is a useful tool. Analysis proceeds with the object of dissecting out layers that may be historically significant in terms of the advance of Old English throughout this important local region.

A scatter of Celtic place-names appears, mostly Brittonic, with 'certain' cases being concentrated in the northern portion of the county (five in all) and with four others in the upland of the extreme south-west, with a scatter of 'partly Brittonic' and 'possible' rather than 'certain' cases appearing in the south and south-west. In this fragmentary distribution, involving only some two dozen names, there is perhaps a distant echo of a north to south contrast reflecting the presence of *Cocwud* noted earlier.

1. If we insert the reconstructed *Cocwud* and possible northern extensions, then it is evident that the substance of the overall distribution of Old English names is found in the numerous topographic and habitative forms that effectively infill the more cultivable

COQUET

ALN

FOUR

FIVE

TWEED

SIX

SEVEN

EIGHT

NINE

TILL

0 Kms 0
8 Kms 5 Miles
16 Kms 10 Miles

BAMBURGH= DINGUAYROI

BERNICIA = BRYNAICH

CATRAETH

DEIRA

RHEGED

1086
■ Very large areas of woodland
● Large areas of woodland
· All other references, woodland, underwood and miscellaneous

Pre-1086
▲ Place-name evidence -leah, -hyrst, -feld and -thveit

Cultural cores, i.e. land lacking recorded woodland in both 1086 and in the form of Old English place-names – anciently cleared and long-tilled settlement cores.

The straight lines are Roman roads

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Fig. 4 (This page and facing) Place-names, place name regions and the *-tun/-leah* line in Northumberland. The inset box summarises the evidence for the presence of woodland, *c. 700* to 1086; no attempt has been made here to define the cultural cores of Lancashire.

portions of the landscape and whose formation must embrace the whole period between the collapse of Roman Control and the Norman Conquest.

2. Topographic names are widely spread but unevenly distributed: there are 120 south of the Coquet, rather evenly spread across the good lands, and 111 to the north, outside the area of the Chillingham — Felton ridge (fig. 2). Habitative names are also widely spread, with 131 south of the Coquet and 82 to the north, subject to the same qualification.[91] Of the individual elements we have, names in -*ing* (Birling, north of Warkworth, a single possible case), with names in -*ing(a)ham*, in -*ing(a)tun*, in -*ham*, in -*botl*, in -*wic* and names in -*tun*.

What do these names mean? What is their relative chronology? Can the earliest members of the cohorts be sifted out? Names terminating in -*tun*, generally translated as 'farm' or 'village' (but 'estate' may be a more accurate rendering), are widespread and are generally considered to post-date the end of the seventh century. They are universal throughout Northumberland, being slightly more prevalent south of the Coquet — 44 as against 38 — but they are concentrated more in the south, between the Tyne and the Wansbeck. They characterise a very widespread naming procedure and it is likely that these names epitomise the colonisation of tracts by-passed in the initial stages of take-over, and represent consolidation associated with population increases, the development of new administrative frameworks, increasing social stratification and the rise of diverse types of heritable tenanted estates.[92] Residual to these, and the territories associated with them, were the tracts with surviving woodlands, where distinctive name-forms in -*leah, -feld* and -*wudu* appeared, together with -*worth*, although this latter is generally absent.

Of the remaining terms, much as been written, and here Cameron's two conclusions — based upon national arguments — provide the most succinct summary when he states:

… a comparison of the distribution and situations of these names … seems to suggest that the -*hāms* predate the -*ingas, -inga* names … [and that] though names in -*ingas* must have preceded the formula -*ingahām*, they did not do so as place-names. They were originally group names, transferred to districts and then to places belonging to these groups … [t]he bulk of then belong to the late fifth to seventh centuries.[93]

Nevertheless, names in -*ingas* are considered to postdate the so-called 'immigration phases', represented by the earliest pagan-burials. Formations incorporating the elements -*ing(a)tun*, often represents the genitive plural of a group name, but where there is no hint of a median 'a' the -*ing* is interpreted as a connective particle indicating an association between the person named and the village or estate. This formation is very common and probably post-dates names in -*ingham*, while predating names merely using -*tun*.[94]

PLACE-NAMES AND OLD ENGLISH SETTLEMENT

In the light of these summaries, what can these name formations tell us about Old English settlement throughout Northumberland? The element -*tun*, as noted above, is universal and widespread. Names incorporating the element -*ing(a)tun* are relatively common, with six examples north of the Coquet, and some 22 to the south, a significant variation?[95] In contrast, there are no examples of names with -*ingahām* south of the Coquet — and this excludes (on the basis of current interpretations) Ovingham, Eltringham and Bellingham — but there are five cases to the north, conceivably associated with the break up of the large royal estate

focusing on Bamburgh (see below). The converse is found when names in *-ham* are considered: in the south there are seven examples, while in the north there are two only, both of which are in the extreme west of the settled area, in valleys penetrating the Cheviots. Overall, topographic names are by far the most numerous, but there is no obvious way of sifting out 'early' from 'late' forms, so that individual cases are merely part of the general accumulation that dominates the pattern. One further category of nomenclature is of note, those names incorporating the element *-wic*, with twelve examples appearing south of the Coquet and eleven to the north. Margaret Gelling, following a discussion by Johnson, points out that the word *vicus*, Latin in origin, changed meaning during the four centuries of occupation, and that 'by the fourth century we can be fairly certain that '*vicus*' had come to mean as much or as little as our term 'village'. Gelling traced the use of the place-name form *wīchām* and its use by Old English speakers in southern England. Two threads of argument flow from her conclusions: first, the term *vicus* must have become familiar to German speaking troops, so that it is possible that this term must have been part of vernacular speech and could then have become attached to other nucleated settlements. Second, eventually the term *vicus* became part of Old English in the guise of *-wīc*, in the usage of which it varies from the general, as in 'dwelling', 'hamlet' or 'village', to the more specific, 'a farm', and, when suitably qualified, 'a dairy farm' or 'a barley farm'.[96] Southern Northumberland however, in the vicinity of the Wall, has examples of this suffix, although there are no names in *-wīchām*. We have to ask if the word *vicus* was used by Germanic incomers in the north and, if its absorption in Old English did take place, is it possible to differentiate between usages in any meaningful way?

There is in the county clear evidence for three modes of nomenclature using *-wic*, topographic, economic and personal. Looking first at northern Northumberland, most of settlements incorporating the element have a topographic significance, as in Morwick, Denwick, Howick, Alnwick, Lowick, whilst others are economic, as at Fenwick, Goswick and Cheswick (all in Islandshire). Three names, however, incorporate personal names: Abberwick and Prendwick in the Aln valley, and Elwick, further north near Bamburgh. South of the Coquet, Fenwick, Saltwick and Berwick also reflect economic factors, as may Eachwick, 'the permanent *-wic*'; Nunwick reflects later ownership, as might Prestwick, although neither lie within 'recorded time.'[97] Keepwick, interpreted as the 'trading *-wic*,' is fascinatingly ambiguous, located as it is near the Roman sites at Chesters and Corbridge, whilst Walwick, nearby, and ignored by all place-name scholars, must surely (like the nearby village of Wall) reflect in its name the immediate presence of the great structure itself.[98] Hawick in Kirkharle, is indicative of hedged enclosures and (significantly) lies amid a large number of Iron Age/ Romano-British steadings. Trewick is ambiguous, for the word *treo* can have many implications, from the wholly direct — a living tree used as a place-indicator — to the more subtle, a tree used as a site of meeting and/or ritual.[99] In sharp contrast there are two others, Anick ('Aethelwine's *-wic*'), and Elswick ('Aelfsige's *-wic*'), both set between the Wall line and the River Tyne, and these are possible candidates for 'early' *-wic* settlements of Germanic origin. We should note that the name formation is precisely that adopted when naming Germanic units of the Wall garrison, as in the *numerus Hnaudifridi* at Housesteads. Charles Phythian-Adams, in his study of *The Land of the Cumbrians*, pushes similar arguments further, suggesting that some names in *-ham* in Cumbria could represent advance settlements of *foederati*. In the eastern sector of the Wall we have at Ovingham, the '*-ham* of the sons of Ofa' and Eltringham, the '*-ham* of the sons of Heltor.' These contrast with Newham and Harnham on

the plateau to the south of the Wansbeck, one clearly new, the other preceded by a topo-graphical element.[100] Some form of group identification is surely involved.

In the Old English place-names of the territory between the conjoined Tyne and the southern limit of *Cocwud*, and from the junction of the North Tyne as far east as Ponteland, there is a small but critical sample (including portions of Zones One, Two and Three: fig. 4) that confirms that its topographic names incorporate only a limited number of key terms. These are 'hill and 'spur' (normally indicated by *hoh*), 'valley' (indicated by *denu*), 'cleared land' (indicted by *feld*), 'ford' (obvious enough) and *-wic*, variously qualified with topograph-ical descriptors, personal names and, more rarely, indications of former cultural landscapes. These are pragmatic names, describing the qualities of individual localities and places. All are common in the Old English lexicon and all are common on a national scale; there are no indicators in this assemblage to be specifically linked to an 'early' date but linguistically, as numerous scholars have argued, we are dealing here with the earliest name forms, antedating the more specialist terminology of the habitative names. Stamfordham ('the homestead at the stony ford') is surely indicative of these two phases of development, a name containing a topographic form qualified with a habitative suffix, and an oddity being a parish settlement possessing no township but being the focus of some thirteen townships.

How can this evidence be interpreted? How much weight can be placed upon such 'special' interpretations of local place-names? Two dates may have a degree of reality: between AD 547 and 560 Ida was uniting *Din Guaire* to Bernicia, and by AD 592–615 Æthelfrith was sufficiently securely based to have united his nascent Northumbria (by then termed Bernicia) to Deira. We could term these 'mid-sixth' and 'late sixth or early seventh century', to avoid any spuri-ous precision. In both cases we have kings whose resource base was sufficient in terms of the fighting men it could support to allow not only raiding and plunder but more sustained conquest and tribute taking. Of the details we can know little, but there may be a broad parallel in the accounts of the Scottish highlanders in the middle decades of the eighteenth century and at the end of the seventeenth century.[101] In terms of the mid-sixth and late sixth or early seventh century, we find the same cattle-rearing, cattle-stealing societies, with an arrogant pride in lineage, with bards, and with power, physical polities and rents all fluc-tuating according to the personality of the individual ruler. If it can be accepted that *Din Guaire* and Bernicia were two small polities, one focused around the eastern Wall and the other in the marchlands to the north, one to the north of the Coquet and one to the south, then the place-name evidence does — without doubt — show subtle contrasts between the two; the mixture of topographic and habitative names varies between the two territories. These are lands from which Ida and Æthelfrith established power bases. If the topographic names are indeed as old as the sixth century, then some of them must be concurrent with this activity, a chronology well in accord with the onomastic arguments. In some way these two docu-mented territorial expansions are presences within the bridging data of the place-names seen in figure 4.

Evidence from later sources shows that the Bamburgh estate eventually embraced much of what became northern Northumberland, with an inland ring of peripheral mediatised territories — shires — surrounding this core.[102] Whilst the latest date for occupation of the royal hall at Yeavering provides a *terminus post quem*, this argument must be qualified by the fact that the complex at Milfield has yet to be excavated; nevertheless, a mid-seventh century date for the end of these occupations is probably a safe option. After this, the royal estate was being broken up, and the *-ingahām* names must have been appearing as part of this process,

with the caveat that such great royal estates probably always contained a number of distinct food render units, each focusing upon a royal vill. Thus, to the north of the Coquet we have *Ceofel* at Chillingham, *Ecgwulf* at Eglingham, *Hwita* at Whittingham, *Eadwulf* at Edlingham, and *Ella* at Ellingham; their personal names suggest that these settlements were in origin mediatised royal vills, indeed the named individuals may even have been the reeves of sections of the royal estates.

Whittingham, Edlingham and Eglingham are documented, together with Wudacestre (possibly Woodhorn), and were granted to Cuthbert by King Ceolwulf before he resigned in AD 737. In fact, grants to Cuthbert (AD *c.*634 × 687) were taking place by the middle decades of the seventh century, including those lands Barrow and O'Brien identified as being part of Yetholm, one of the small peripheral mediatised shires noted above.[103] Whilst there is no secure date for the severance of Islandshire and Norhamshire from royal lands, both emerge into history as possession of the Cuthbertine community and are broadly but not precisely documented between *c.* AD 756 and 875. The original grant could have been as early as the middle decades of the seventh century; significantly, neither shire contains any settlements with *-ingahām* names, but the former has no less than three names in *-wic*: Fenwick, Goswick and Cheswick, all using economic terminology.[104] This gives rise to two questions. Were these Old English re-namings of pre-existing settlements, indicating their production capacity, replacing their British names, and did the granting to the church, in the person of St. Cuthbert (AD 634–87), occur before establishment of the type of estate represented by the *-ingahām* names? This chronology seems likely, whilst the first proposition appears to be possible, not least because the *caput* of Islandshire was Fenwick, giving the place a higher status than the place–name — '*vicus* by the fen', or 'the dairy farm in or by the marshland' — might suggest.

In the lands south of the Coquet, Bedlington, and its dependencies — i.e. Nedderton, *Grubbatwistle* (probably two names, one being Twizell), Choppington, Sleekburn and Cambois — were purchased with the money of St. Cuthbert by Bishop Cuthheard between 901 and 915, far too late to be of use in establishing a general onomastic chronology. In terms of the earliest phases of Old English nomenclature this is a landscape of a few names in *-ham*, numerous names in *-ing(a)tun*, with some names in *-wic*. As noted earlier, the fragile documentary record presented by the *Historia Brittonum* suggests this tract was taken over by Ida in the middle decades of the sixth century, when *Din Guaire* (Bamburgh) was united with Bernicia. The useful case of Ovingham — the parish centre — and Ovington broadly implies that the latter is secondary to the former, even if only by a short head.

If this pattern of reasoning is correct, then it is conceivable that the settlements of the northern flank of the conjoined Tyne (Zone One in fig. 4) are worthy of close attention for they may conceal 'early' old English names that bridge the gap between AD 400 and 600. The following points can be made:

- this is generally sloping land, and nearer the Tyne tends to be well-drained, even though the ground is hummocky; deep, loamy soils tend to predominate, a tract good for arable farming.[105]
- settlements in *-wic* lie in this zone and both Anick and Elswick bear indisputably Old English personal names; they could be early, and derive from an Anglicisation of the Latin *vicus*.
- Some settlement names show interesting complexities: the township of East Heddon in the Tyne valley lies adjacent to that of Heddon-on-the-Wall, but while the former means

'heather hill', the latter is more complex. First documented in the Pipe Roll of 1177, it appears as *Hidewine*; Alan Mawer considered it to be pre-English, perhaps Celtic/British. Are we seeing here an Old English modification of the earlier name?

- Horsley offers an interesting possibility: meaning 'horse-pasture', i.e. the genitive plural *horsa + lēah*, the presence of the place-name using *-lēah* in this well-settled area is noteworthy: it stands as an isolated name, and this suggests the persistence of an older usage, paradoxically implying not woodland, but 'meadow, open land, [i.e.] lea'.[106] The Roman fort between these two, the nearest to Horsley, at Rudchester (*Vindobala*), was occupied during the third and fourth centuries by the *cohors prima Frixiagorum*, interpreted as a unit of Frisians, presumably German speakers. This was a 500 strong unit of mixed infantry and cavalry with a need for horse pastures.

- While names in *-ton* (*-tun*) are not generally being considered in this analysis, Welton in Ovingham, *Waltenden*, 'Wealta's valley', adjacent to the Wall line, could — given the documented differences in pronunciation and the uncertainties of scribal transmission — be questioned. Wall and Walwick, Walker, Walbottle and Wallsend all serve to illustrate the presence of the Wall in both the landscape and the mind. Bearl, 'barley hill' and Acomb (East) and Acomb near Corbridge, 'at the oaks', are again all basic Old English topographic names, indicating an embedded vernacular.

- Halton, north of Corbridge, is more complex; it is probably from the Old English *heal-tūn*, and a persistent early 'w' in the spellings might point to the Old English *halig(a)tūn*, 'holy farm'. This name applies to a territory including Halton Shields to the east, and logically, were there a sustained use of Dere Street as a western boundary, the Roman fort at *Onnum*, (Halton Chesters). In fact the fort has been drawn into the adjacent township of Portgate and the parish of St. John Lee, part of Hexhamshire, by a curvilinear eastwards boundary extension. Further, Halton plus Great Whittington and Clarewood — the two latter being up on the plateau — were together a thegnage, held by a royal officer with the duty of carrying royal messages as far north as the Coquet.[107]

- Portgate offers similar intriguing hints: the two elements in the name are both Old English, both imply a gate, with the 'port' prefix being associated with trading. In this there is no absolute certainty, but three things are wholly certain: first, a location athwart Dere Street as it cuts through the Wall; second, the presence of a gate through the Wall at this point, and third, less precise, but none-the-less important, the fact that immediately adjacent is Stagshaw Bank, the traditional site of a stock and hiring fair. Recent finds of Roman material in the fields of Whittington, noted earlier, show that there was certainly activity north of the Wall line at this location. The historic nucleation of Halton lies slightly to the south of the Roman fort, in a sheltered valley. The fort at *Onnum* (Halton Chesters) provided exceptionally easy access to the north of the Wall, one way of regulating the possible Great Whittington camping ground to the north.[108] Keepwick has already been mentioned as a possible early form, linked with trading and part of the Portgate nexus.

Of course, no proof can be offered that Halton, Wall, Welton, Horsley, Anick and Elswick originated in early 'Germanic' clusters associated with the Wall, and were Romano-British settlements which took Old English place-names, but the possibility must at least be entertained. Topographic names appear north of the Wall, indeed throughout the whole of Northumberland (fig. 4) and such names emerged throughout the whole of the Old English period and beyond. There are no certain ways of sifting out any chronological layers, but

Colwell, near Dere Street, a few miles further north, may be another 'early' form; the *cōle-wielle*, 'cool spring', is still running, and must have been a welcome location for cavalry troopers.

A further dimension has to be considered: David Breeze and Nick Hodgson draw attention to the writings of Cassius Dio describing the Roman frontier arrangements on the Danube in the 170s and 180s. There, the Quadi were not granted the rights to markets in case other hostile tribesmen used them as a cover for spying on the Roman military, although frontier trading was broadly encouraged as peace emerged. A neutralised strip, at first ten miles in depth was established, later reduced to five, within which settlement and pasturage was forbidden.[109] The application of a similar policy could well account for the second century depopulation of a zone north of the Wall but, as has been shown here, much of the hiatus probably antedates Roman activity. If, however, there is a grain of truth in the arguments formulated here then we may have to think in terms of three possible stages: (1) some depopulation north of the Wall, perhaps followed by (2) congregación to the south of the Wall line, with the Vallum representing the northern limit of civilian settlement between the conjoined Tyne and the Wall; and (3), a spread of congregación north of the Wall as rules and conditions were gradually relaxed. The relaxation along the Danube appears to have begun only 20 years after the initiation of the frontier policies that Dio describes.

There is nothing in this argument that is negated or supported by the analysis of place-names. There are, however, corollaries: if congregación did indeed take place first in this zone between the Wall and the Tyne, then we have place-names which may reflect early origins. It should be noted that there is no assumption that such a process began as soon as the Wall was built and then ceased a decade or two later; the argument is that a prolonged process was initiated by the building of the Wall, and by the application of settlement policies associated with its presence. Secondly, and even less tangibly, if the Wall line did indeed cut across traditional pasture tracts used by communities located to the south of the Wall, then the military would have ignored such traditional rights … until it became evident that they were economically necessary. It is conceivable that Portgate, a transit point of wider significance, could have been used as a crossing with cattle on their way to the grazings.[110] If correct, this working hypothesis — for it can be no more — leaves us with a group of 'medieval' nucleations south, and eventually north, of the Wall which could originate as part of post second-century Roman re-organisation of settlement, embracing a range of Old English nomenclature, much of it topographic, but extending to other usages.

POETRY, PLACES AND POLITICS

This is not the place to attempt a discussion of the Battle of Catraeth, the theme of the Gododdin; this elegiac poem derived from a raid southwards from a hosting at *Din Edïn* (Edinburgh) by warriors drawn from the north, meeting an army assembled in *inter alia* Yorkshire, and leading to their savage defeat. Koch concludes that the two sides were drawn along dynastic and territorial rather than ethnic and national lines: it was not simply a question of Briton or Pict versus Anglo-Saxon, but a matter infinitely more complex. He accepted a date for the battle of about AD 570, although Dumville opts for AD 540. The Gododdin, with a vastly challenging history of transmission, provides us with a glimpse of the real world of the north in the fifth and sixth centuries. It is one that is technologically simple, economically unsophisticated, but socially and culturally intricate: '[w]e must bear in

mind that there was at the time no political entity which was even approximately coextensive with the ethnolinguistic collectivity of the Britons nor with that of the Anglo-Saxons. In both societies, the primary institutions of political power were chieftain, dynasty, court, and tribe'.[111] Koch translates an *awdl* — a stanza — of a poem called *Marwnad Cunedda* as follows:

> Between the brine and the high ground and the fresh stream water,
> men will quake before [Cunedda], the violent one,
> In Caer Weir and Caer Lywelydd,
> fighting will shake the *ciuitates*
> an encompassing fire, a wave from across the sea …
> His honour was maintained a hundred times before death came to our [stout] door-post,
> The men of Bernicia were led in battle.[112]

He argues that this sees Gododdin's enemies as the fortified towns immediately 'south' of Hadrian's Wall, noting that 'the men of *Bryneich* (Bernicia) seem to be on Cunedda's side, i.e. on the side of the Votadini. He continued, '[if] Bernicia existed as a political entity in the earlier fifth century, it was Gododdin's southern province between the Tweed and Hadrian's Wall, the district close to Romanised Carlisle and the Fort of the Wear', conceivably Chester le Street, both of which were raided by Cunedda. Ida's joining of *Din Guaire* and Bernicia implies a readjustment of local polities as much as a century or so later.[113] We must, Koch argues, consider the possibility that the absence of enemies from Berneich in the Ur-Text of the Gododdin implies that the Angles [*sic*] settled between Hadrian's Wall and the Tweed were as yet peacefully integrated within the bi-ethnic [i.e. British and Germanic] social fabric of the southern Gododdin.[114] There is indeed a line that talks of 'the army of Gododdin and Bernicia (*Breen[e]ych*)'. Koch uses this to argue that the poem must antedate the conquests of Æthelfrith, at first the ruler of Bernicia [*c*.593–605], the creator of a unified Northumbria [605–617] and, according to Bede, the conqueror and the extractor of tribute from many native Britons.[115]

Koch notes that a massive language shift took place between AD 410 and the 790s and summarises the varied ways in which this could have taken place, concluding that 'whether or not, or to what degree, population replacement was the chief agency of that language shift remains to be determined'. He illustrates the depth of the problem when discussing the commander of the host assembling at *Din Edïn* that set a southward course to defeat at Catraeth. *Mynyddawc*, traditionally considered the leader, he dismisses, but finds a new key figure in *Uruei map Golïstan*. This 'son of *Uolstan*' i.e. 'Wulfstan' bears an Old English name and Koch concludes 'The host of *Eidïn* were thus not by-passing Bernicia [in *c*. AD 570] because it was still so weak (as per Jackson) nor did they advance straight to Deira because Bernicia did not yet exist (as per Dumville [and his dating of the battle in AD 540]) … rather the Anglo-Saxons north of the Tees were as yet an influential minority integrated into a predominantly Celtic population (along the lines suggested by Hope-Taylor)'. In this I find no conflict with my own postulations of the 'Germanisation' of the Wall garrisons nor with subsequent immigration.[116]

ENVOI

As has been stressed, the sources from which this discussion has been built essentially relate to a single county, albeit an important one, from which archaeological, documentary and

onomastic evidence is synthesised. In these arguments there can be nothing wholly conclusive, but this essay is an attempt to show that there are the possibilities of complex inter-digitations between the world of the Roman Wall, the successor kingdoms of early Northumbria, and the establishment of the Old English footholds from which this northern kingdom developed. No attempt has been made here to factor in the role of post-Roman war-bands — they remain mere shadows — whose power may have derived from the late-Roman commanders of the Wall forts, but an attempt has been made to frame a transition involving compound threads. Testing the multiple hypotheses offered here presents a challenge.

A final map (fig. 5) changes scale to focus in a different way upon the issues at the heart of this discussion. Benwell lies at the point where settlement (characterised by an Old English place-names) actually touches the Wall. A measure of explanation is superimposed in black
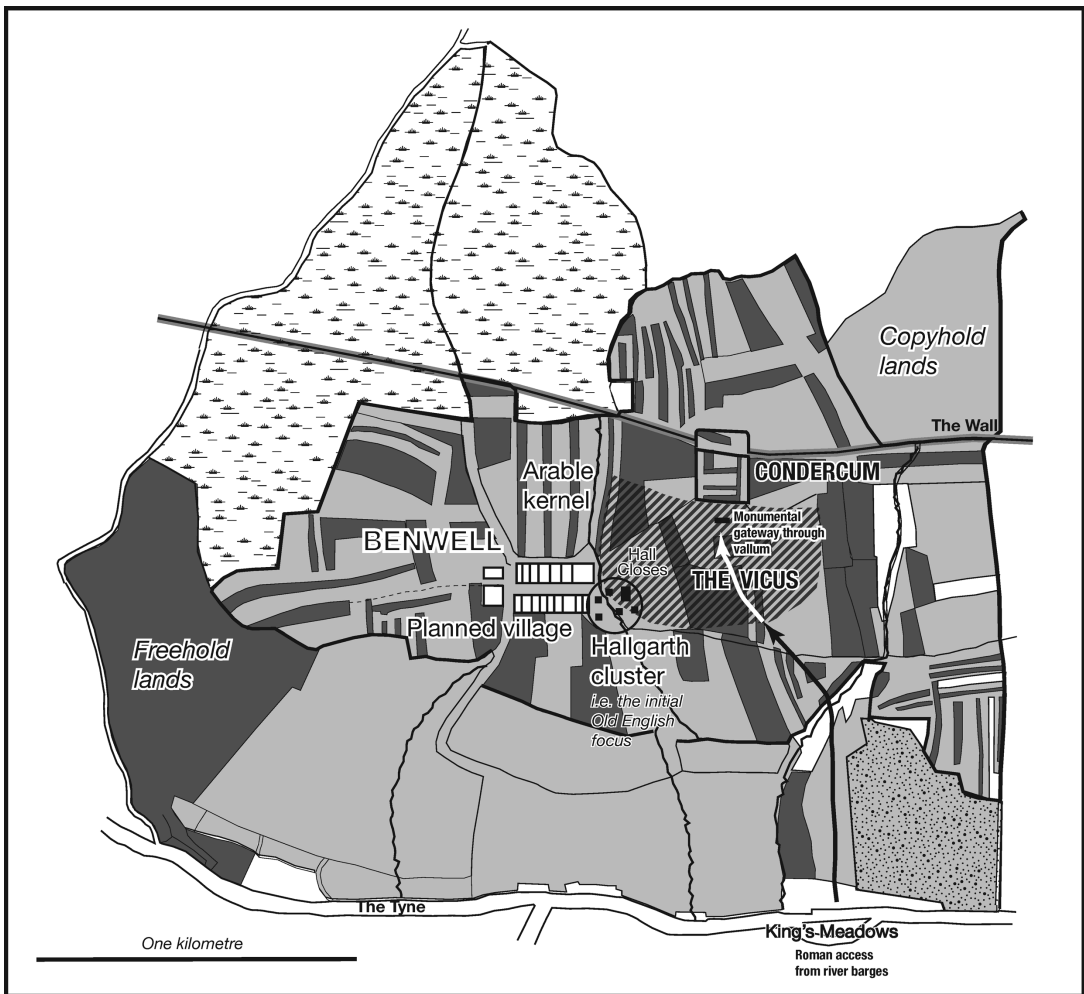
Fig. 5   Benwell analysis, based upon a plan of the manor of Benwell 1637.

upon a 1637 map of the township.[117] The Wall-line is clear, as is the site of the Roman station of *Condercum*, at that date farmed and divided into strips; the otherwise anomalous monumental gateway is shown as a possible ingress point for passengers arriving from barges on the Tyne, whilst the area of the *vicus* is sketched in using the recent English Heritage map of the Wall.[118] The later planned village comprised two elements: a regular two-row plan backed by an arable kernel with long strips, one that — by analogy with my own work and the recent excavations at Shotton — is probably twelfth century in date, although this raises vital questions about the origin of its emplaced tenants.[119] At the eastern end lay the hallgarth, the capital messuage, whose 'Hall Closes' extended over a portion of the former *vicus*. This was the initial settlement focus, and was usually placed on the better land. The place-name Benwell has been explained in terms of either *binnan wealle*, 'within the Wall' or a personal name plus *wielle*, 'X's spring'. Topographically either could be valid, for the Roman fort of *Condercum* certainly spans the Wall, whilst a spring flows near the hallgarth, heading for the Tyne. Perhaps both names are valid and we are glimpsing linguistic adjustment. Here we have it: Roman, Anglo-Saxon and medieval settlement set in a rational relationship and probably entailing sustained usage.[120]

GENERAL NOTE

The maps in this article are not highly polished items; they are research maps, designed to assemble evidence and pose questions. The parish and township boundaries (Kain and Oliver 2001) are simply a guide to the principal data.

NOTES

[1] For instance, Collins 2012; Haarer 2014; a succinct summary of many of the issues is to be found in Dark 1992, and Dark 1994,

[2] I say this while being aware of the remarkable distribution of Crambeck ware in the later fourth and early fifth centuries (Wilson 1989).

[3] e.g. Bidwell 2008; Hodgson 2009; Bidwell and Hodgson 2009; Breeze 2011; Collins and Symonds 2013; Collins and Allason-Jones 2010; Collins and McIntosh 2014. I must thank collectively my colleagues in the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne for support and comments at what is for me a difficult time. I will single out only David Breeze, for gentle induction, Paul Bidwell for extensive comments, Lindsay Allason-Jones and Eric Cambridge and especially Rosemary Cramp. I have tried to square what I think with what they think, but remain completely responsible for the arguments and any errors presented here. Finally, I thank Humphrey Welfare and Roger Fern for their care, patience and support. This was greatly appreciated.

[4] Bradley 1984, 167; Muncaster *et al*. 2014, 77, 130; a cubic metre represents in excess of an Imperial ton of soil, so removing crucial deposits and their fugitive pottery fragments.

[5] Jobey 1966; Burgess 1984; Oswald *et al*. 2006, fig. 4.28; Jobey 1982; Frodsham 2006, fig. 5.4.

[6] Hodgson *et al*. 2012; Proctor 2009.

[7] This information is a necessary adjunct to understanding most archaeological distribution maps: in fine, all storage of archaeological data should be in a format to make possible the addition of such information. 'Contextual mapping' is an archaeological procedure that has been too little explored, but it lies at the heart of the arguments presented in this paper.

[8] Hodgson *et al*. 2012, fig. 100.

[9] These are taken from Ordnance Survey maps of the mid-nineteenth century and, whilst those used on the figures in this paper are by no means definitive, the boundaries, in general, are of substantial antiquity and create a necessary framework for all historical research. Parishes are essentially assemblages of townships (Winchester 1990 and 2000). Roberts 1987, fig. 9.9 examines the '-*tun/-leah* line' in Warwickshire.

[10] *Cocwud* (the name I have finally settled upon rather than *Cocwudu* or *Cocwuda*) was first defined cartographically by using the Old English place-names indicative of woodlands (fig. 4), but an examination of the Brinkburn Cartulary (*Surtees Society*, 90) and the Newminster Cartulary (*Surtees Society*, 66) indicates that wooded tracts were still present to be documented in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. See Johnson South 2002, 49, 49 for the specific reference to *Cocwud(a)*. Often translated as 'Coquetdale', this is plainly wrong, for the 'Coquet wood' embraced the middle valley of the Coquet, and did not spread into the upper portion. All of the place-name interpretations in this paper are based upon Mawer 1920, supplemented by a systematic use of Watts 2004.

[11] Frodsham 2004 and Oswald *et al*. 2006 provide excellent illustrations of this point.

[12] I am including this map because it is 'new', side-stepping previous interpretations, and offers a useful framework for future work. It is a tool, not an icon, and I believe it is a helpful image.

[13] In general, the prehistoric and Roman-British features on the map appear where the villages are not present, indeed — and perhaps it is with the eye of faith — there is, *at the level of the individual township*, a strong mutually exclusivity in the two distributions, but not completely so. Of course, marrying maps done by other scholars and not re-plotting from the original data introduces errors, but my view is that these are not great. In Shotton the medieval core lay 250 m from Anglo-Saxon.

[14] In Cumbria, however, detailed field work in the Kirby Stephen area showed traces of rectangular buildings on what were initially seen as prehistoric/Romano-British sites, suggesting some post-Romano-British occupation, a conclusion confirmed by radio-carbon dates from elsewhere in the region (Roberts 1993).

[15] Carlton and Rushworth 2011, 186–94, where the questions of survival and destruction are discussed.

[16] Heaton = 'high farm'; Heddon = 'heather hill'; Callerton = 'calves hill'; Ingoe = incorporates term for 'hill spur'; Kearsley = personal name = 'clearing'; Harle = personal name + 'clearing'; Matfen = personal name + 'fen'; Fenwick = 'dairy farm in or by marshland'; Halton = 'farm or village by the nook': The Brickfield soil association dominates the area and, when plotted, this corresponds well with the zone lacking traces of Romano-British and pre-Roman Iron Age steadings (fig. 1). These soils are waterlogged for long periods in winter and in wet summers, and they remain only slowly permeable even with modern drainage; as a result, fields are often rush infested. Paradoxically, the speedy runoff of surface water can lead, in dry years, to droughty conditions. Chemically the soils are acid, and are often deficient in phosphorous, and are only moderately fertile. These factors are all exacerbated by the local terrain; slopes improve drainage, as along the flanks of the main valley of the Tyne, but further north and east the Brickfield soils are ameliorated by a fine loam overlying the basal clay, giving rise to the Dunkeswick series where, significantly, steadings are present in some numbers. In practice it would be local wetness that would have been the key pointer for early farmers and, in detail, 'wet' areas must have once been a more visible component of the landscape before the insertion of field drainage systems. Thus, soil quality may indeed have been an inhibiting factor to later prehistoric and Roman-British settlement in this tract immediately north of the Wall.

[17] Carlton and Rushworth 2011; the ridge and furrow of the Bingfield arable is still clearly visible on GoogleEarth. The balance between arable, woodland and open pastures can be seen on the seventeenth-century maps of Horsley and Ovingham (Tolan Smith 1997, Plate 1, and *passim*).

[18] Mapped data based on Fraser 1968. The advantage of accumulating maps as layers in a computer is that the commonplace can be compared with the improbable, creating new and unexpected questions.

[19] A report on my examination of the plough-share is lodged with the museum in York; Roberts 2014, 53.

[20] Frodsham 2004, 43; there is even a significant change in the density of Early Bronze Age finds to the north and south of the river (Burgess, 1984, fig. 8.6). Lindsay Allason-Jones, in Hanson 2009, 218–24, provides a recent penetrating discussion of the archaeological evidences concerning northern boundaries.

[21] A study based upon the mapping of the medieval baronies of the county and the ancient shires from which they were assembled is in progress.

[22] *Book of Fees*, http://books.scholarportal.info/viewdoc.htm?id =45820, pages 242–7, and *ibid.* = 458240, pages 64–72, 291–2, 393, 412–14, 639–42.

[23] One must accept the judgment of this weighty scholarship, but the similarity between *Cocwuda* and *Coccuveda* is striking, indeed only a re-interpretation of the minims is needed to draw them together. But *-wudu* is, by the eighth century, soundly Old English.

[24] Rivet and Smith 1979, 139 and 276–7. Confusion over *Alauna* in the varied texts has inhibited identification with Low Learchild, in the Aln valley, but this seems inherently probable. *Alauna* is ascribed by Ptolemy to the Votadini, even though his siting does not confirm the Learchild identification.

[25] Bowman 2003,16; Watson 1926, 32.

[26] Rivet and Smith 1979, 322–4.

[27] Mawer 1920, 159–60; see also Watts 2004, ref. to Portgate in Devon; for Portgate, see below.

[28] Braudel 1990, 41–57 explains the concept of the 'pays'.

[29] Hodgson 2009, 46–8.

[30] Fraser 1968. The devastations inflicted on Northumberland settlements by Scottish raids, centuries of border warfare, the engrossment of tenancies and, finally, agricultural revolution, effectively mask the morphologies of the settlements of the well-settled landscape in the thirteenth century. Deserted villages abound, and traces do survive in the images on GoogleEarth. I am indebted to Stuart Wrathmell and Piers Dixon for information. This is in stark contrast to the survival of medieval plans in Durham and Cumbria.

[31] The Northumberland Anglo-Saxon settlements at Thirlings and Shotton survive to be explored precisely because they did not sustain post-Anglo-Saxon occupation. The contrast between *site* and *situation* is discussed in Roberts 1996, 33–35, fig. 2.6.

[32] Roberts 1996., 37, 112–4, 120–7; this is a widespread feature of settlement development, usually imposed by a colonial power. The useful term is Spanish.

[33] The same problem is evident in the multiple granaries of South Shields, built to support campaigns into north Britain, and which seem to date from the reign of Severus (AD 193–211); the grain for this campaign had to be imported. By AD 300 eight of the granaries were — after a fire — converted into barrack-blocks, a time when the Tigris Bargemen arrived (Bruce 2006, 118–120).

[34] Hodgson 2014.

[35] The *annona* was a levy of corn devoted to feeding the army, while the *capitus* was a fodder allowance; see Frere 1998, 188. I cannot challenge Paul Bidwell's view that local agriculture had to be supplemented by imports (*pers. comm.*): eventually, however, imports must have ceased, so that whatsoever local grains were available inevitably had to be used, although this was in a context where the numbers in the Wall garrisons declined. In the current argument, I admit my chronology is necessarily provisional. For a discussion of County Durham in this context, see Roberts 2012. Concerning cattle — and the north has long been cattle-rich — these have the advantage that they can walk to the place where they are to be consumed, even if some local 'finishing' — i.e. re-fattening — is then needed, whereas grain must be carried by pack animals, carts or ships, and humans — and, usually a combination of several of these. This was expensive!

[36] This question is discussed, brilliantly, by Ian Haynes (2013, particularly 212–34 and 301–11).

[37] Jackson 1953, 704–5.

[38] Morris 1980, 37. I have yet to create a map showing the location of 'Bernicia' as postulated by varied scholars but the result would be a jig rather than a minuet!

[39] Hood 1978, 41.

[40] *RIB* 1905.

[41] See Thomas 1981, 311–14. A challenging contemporary analysis of the name, *inter alia* useful because its compact bibliography and pithy comments, is to be found in a paper by Andrew Breeze (2009). What dram can a non-philologist contribute? The name Bernicia 'floats' in the documents without secure location; this is a fact to be faced. Andrew Breeze, disconcertingly, fails to comment on Charles Thomas' interpretation of the birthplace of St. Patrick, surely germane to the argument (although he cites the volume concerned); is there any proof that, as he claims, Bamburgh was 'Bernicia's earliest capital'? No one dealing with early 'polities' (a neat blanket word I often use, obfuscating as much as revealing) can doubt that 'we should think of the [name] forms as referring to a people (Bernicians) rather than a territory (Bernicia)'. I note Wilmott's 1997, 231, rejection of

Thomas' argument, but Jackson 1953 (2000), 704–5 saw 'Bernicia' as meaning 'the land of the mountain passes', i.e. in the plural, consistent with its use as a territory name. See also Wilmott 1997, 218 for a material link between Birdoswald and Corbridge.

[42] Andrew Birley (2014) provides a stimulating and perceptive analysis of this extensively excavated site.

[43] Bede, *HE* III, 14; Charles Phythian-Adams (1996, 49–51, 56–75) touches upon the importance of this trans-Pennine link, which carried the power of Bernicia westwards to Carlisle by the later seventh century.

[44] The meaning of *venta* echoes that of *coria*, possibly having Celtic roots, and implying a 'field', perhaps used as a market, conceivably explicable as 'flat hill > flat place > field', giving 'field > market', with a whisper of a 'meeting place' (Rivet and Smith 1979, 262–5, 317–324).

[45] Dumville 1989, 218: this account, based upon long thought and the most intimate knowledge of the sources, is a masterly summary, stimulating because of the thoughtful asides. See also Dumville 1993.

[46] A. Birley 1979, 158.

[47] Allason-Jones 2013, 76–7.

[48] Snape and Bidwell 2002, 262–4; Bruce 2006, 144–8.

[49] Dumville 1993 Essay, III, 3; Wilmott 2001, a useful synopsis of the full excavation report; Enright (2000) is a fascinating exploration of the 'unexplored' in warrior societies. See also Hassell 2003, 44–5; Dumville 1993, 217.

[50] Reuter 1985; Hassall (2003) gives an overview of the whole period.

[51] In addition, I am sceptical that the Wall retained its importance as a political boundary; occupying it gave historic roots, ready-made defences, building stone and, above all, quasi-Roman status; see Dark 1992,117.

[52] Rivet and Smith 1979. 139, 141–2, 220.

[53] In this context by 'mediatisation' I mean the granting of land to an individual or corporation such that they were permitted to intercept the royal revenues due from the lands for their own support. Jolliffe (1926) provides a classic discussion. For a wider context, see Barnwell and Roberts 2011.

[54] Snape and Bidwell 2002, 251–62. The comment demands more: the bridge, earlier in date than the fort (built by AD 213), must be considered. Once the bridge was built it is hard to conceive of no road going north from this crossing. How far could sea-going vessels penetrate up-river? What Roman wharfage was available above the bridge? At Benwell (fig. 5 below)? Could lighters regularly reach Corbridge, even if only in times of high water? Where was the Stanegate continuation east of Corbridge? What *necessitated* the new fort? What informal development preceded it? Was the fort at Washing Well associated with a higher crossing than Newcastle, perhaps near Benwell and King's Meadows?

[55] Eaton (2000) documents the use of Roman stonework in medieval Britain.

[56] Walker 1976: this excellent study ought to be more widely known. He writes as a trained lawyer. The original study, of the twelfth-century customary laws of Newcastle, is lodged in the University Library at Cambridge.

[57] Fraser 1968, 79, 181.

[58] Craster 1914, 55 ff.

[59] Hodgson (1902, 181) 181, records two precious references to 'Bywellshire.'

[60] R. Collins 2012, 161–9 is an important synoptic contribution, providing a context to the present discussion.

[61] There is an error in John Morris's complex referencing system in this matter (Morris 1973, 68, 214, 573;). Morris (1995) records that the name *Garbaniaun* appears in the Harlian MSS as, List X (p. 46) the third son of Ceneu, the son of Coel Hen: see Cunliffe Shaw 1973, 139–40, who equates it with Germanianus and comments that it is derived from St. Germanus. This latter unconventional, un-cited, undervalued study is exciting because it is a good read; its detailed references are, when explored, correct. The style has much in common with that of John Morris; telling a story with bold if overstated confidence.

[62] Phythian-Adams 1996. 51–2.

[63] Significantly his queen is named by the *Historia Brittonum* as *Bearnoch*, whilst the second king named in the king list after Woden is *Beornoc*. Neither is listed in Jackson's detailed analysis of the name 'Bernicia' but it could be that we have here deep echoes of the same name.

[64] cf. Keegan 1979, 312, 545.

[65] I have deliberately adopted the term 'boss'; there are anthropological parallels, but I do have in mind Mark Twain's anarchic *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court!*

[66] Walter Ong's work reminds us that while standard English has a vocabulary of more than one and a half million words, oral dialects typically have a few thousand only, and in such societies skills are transmitted by small groups in face-to-face teaching, observing, listening, and then copying; see Aldhouse-Green 2005, 83. The post-Roman decline in literacy implies a return to — in general — an oral society, in which the pace of change was significantly slowed. Formulaic patterns of thought became the norm, nowhere better seen than in Beowulf! These preserved and grounded culture and knowledge. The same arguments could apply to practical skills, in smithing, in carpentry, in building and in potting. In a nutshell, the Roman army expanded and *taught* men, and the decline in army markets and army skills impacted upon the whole of northern society. A discussion by Carol van Driel-Murray of the role of women, surely deeply relevant, is to be found in Brandl, 2008, 82–91.

[67] Haynes 2013, 129; *castris*, 'born in the camp' is revealing. The work of David Hey (2000, 77, 177–8) reminds us of the way in which *one* successful family, originating at a single locus, fortuitously well-fed and lucky enough to provide a succession of survivors, could have an impact upon a local region.

[68] Barnwell and Roberts, 2011, 25–128.

[69] Thus *Segedunum* with Tynemouthshire, *Pons Aelii* and *Condercum*, with a putative *Monkchestershire*; *Vindobala* with the putative Walbottle/Newburnshire and Ovinghamshire, and *Onnum* and Corbridge, *Coria*, associated with Hexhamshire, Bywellshire and a putative *Cobrigshire*. Here there is no space to venture into the questions of burials and Christianity on the Wall; what is remarkable is the concentration of known Anglo-Saxon churches and sculptural remains in the tract between the North Sea and the North Tyne. Chronologically they inevitably post-date the post-Roman to Anglo-Saxon transition phases (Dark 1992. 115).

[70] Michael Roper, *in* Kirby 1974, 169–71.

[71] Bidwell 2010; the passage quoted is on pp. 131–2.

[72] There is an extraordinarily complex pattern of township fragments found to the west of the site of *Coria*. Some two hundred or so metres to the north of this is a curiously shaped outlier of the township of St. John Lee, known by the mid-nineteenth century as Bishop Rigg. Mentioned in the *Black Book of Hexham* in 1379 as *Bisschopprek* (Britnell *et al.* 2011, 37), this is inexplicable, but one can only wonder, as the 2010 English Heritage map of the Wall hints, that there were yet more Roman remains to be quarried at this location, and that this 'island' of 'Hexhamshire in Corbridge' represents deliberate provision for the construction of Wilfrid's abbey.

[73] I have seen a Polish example of a great timber bridge, a mile in length, spanning the Vistula. Massive logs formed cutwaters to deflect ice-floes. Carpentry can achieve much. None of us think 'in wood' sufficiently (cf. Higham and Barker 1992).

[74] Wood 2008.

[75] Barnwell 1992.

[76] Cunliffe 1988, 137–144, 147–9; Pryor 2004, 295–9, 420–3; Gift exchange, trade, and distribution were involved, but Cunliffe 2001, figs. 6.27, 7.21, 7.23, 7.34 and 8.11 are indicative of the exchange networks involved. See also Van de Noort 2011.

[77] Oppenheimer 2006, 267–92.

[78] Oppenheimer 2006, fig. 7.1a; when this map is set against the regiments of the Roman army levied in Lower Germany, the Morini, Menapii, Frisiavones, Nervii, Tungri, Vangiones and the Lingones appear in the army of northern Britain. With the exception of the last, all are likely to have been speakers of a Germanic dialect. Salway (1967, 17–8) shows that one fifth of the people with identifiable nationality in inscriptions from the Wall were of Germanic origin. The role of slaving as a cultural and military pressure point is unresolved; McCormick (2002, 729–77). provides a weighty and thought-provoking contribution; obtaining, moving and selling this merchandise was

invariably profitable. Corbridge (appearing as *Corbric*) was in a satirical poem, possibly created between 1015 x 1024, identified as a slave market; see Pelteret 1980, 108–9.

[79] Cunliffe 1988. 294–7; Wood 2007 105–130, 114.

[80] Ward Perkins 2005, 87–104.

[81] Ward-Perkins 2005. 117: Millett 1992, 212–30; ; Casey 1994, 48–51; Dark 1996, 63–5. The list of British products attested between the fifth and the seventh century is fascinating, but omits the most valuable of all — slaves. Swift (2000) presents a thought-provoking study of fourth- and fifth-century small artefacts in the Roman West. Although she admits to the vast and frustrating problem of the close dating of this material (pp. 116–7), geographical perceptions and maps are fundamental to her work (p. 21). Faulkner (2014) recognises three phases: (1) Imperial collapse and peasant revolt, c. AD 375–425; (2) Peasant subsistence economy, *c*. AD 400–525; (3) An age of warlords, *c*. AD 425–550.

[82] Pentz *et al.* (2000) take a multinational view of this complex transition period; TeBrake 1985, 96–103, 117–32.

[83] Dark 1994.

[84] Bede *HE*: I, 34; expansion and conquest [592–616]; battle of Degsastan [Dawston Rigg in Liddesdale?], against Aedan, king of the Irish [Dalriada], Æthelfrith victorious; II, 2 Raiding Chester (*Legacæstir, Caerlegion*) [200–250 miles from base]; slaughter of monks of Bangor (and Brocmail a 'guard' turned his back on the monks he was to defend [an Irish name]); II, 12 Killed in battle with Rædwald on River Idle [near Bawtry]; Edwin succeeded to throne.

[85] Nicolaisen 1976.

[86] Coates *et al*. 2000.

[87] Thomas 1981.

[88] Bammesburger and Wollman 1990; Hines 1997; Higham 2007: all contain extensive and detailed discussions of the issues.

[89] Bassett 1989.

[90] Coates *et al*. 2000, 385.

[91] The figures, possibly not completely precise, are certainly of the correct order of magnitude.

[92] Cox 1976; Cameron 1996. Bylund 1960 provides a view of the random factors that can underlie the development of a complex settlement pattern.

[93] Cameron 1996, 70–71.

[94] Cameron 1996, 69, 148.

[95] Felkington and Berrington, containing the suffix *-dun*, are topographic not habitative names, even though the first incorporates a personal name.

[96] Smith 1956; Gelling 1978, 63–86.

[97] That is to say, no known church body had ownership.

[98] Chopwell south of the Tyne, 'the spring where commerce takes place' (Watts 2004,137) has the same fascinating ambiguity as Keepwick, hinting perhaps of ancient trading places. Saltwick may be similar, while Walwick, Fenwick and Eachwick — the latter 'the permanent wic' -may be locational. Perhaps feral ponies were sold at Chopwell; they were present in the woodland in the twelfth century.

[99] Watts 2004, 162, 628, Coventry, and Trimdon,

[100] Phythian-Adams 1996, 53.

[101] Prebble 1996, 32–53; Prebble 1966, 15–76.

[102] I have plotted data from Fraser 1968; see also O'Brien 2002.

[103] Johnson South 2002, 49 (Section 8) and 51 (Section 11); Barrow 1973, 7–68; ; O'Brien 2002.

[104] Johnson South 2002, 43 (Section 3) and 51 (Section 11); substantially, the Northumberland components of these early grants involve the break up of the great royal estate focusing on Bamburgh. In a footnote to *Historia Sancto Cuthberto*, 79 (*HSC* 4), note 21, Ted Johnson South (2002) lists the component vills of both Norhamshire and Islandshire from Boldon Book. The *HSC* records that King Ecgfrith (*c*. AD 670–85) gave Carham, 'and whatever pertains to it' to St. Cuthbert' [49 (Section 7].

[105] Stamp 1946, 421–86, figs 24, 25, 32; *Soil Map of England and Wales* (1983), Sheet 1, Legend, 542, 541u and r, 561a, 713g.

[106] Smith 1956, Part II, 18.

[107] Fraser 1968. 90, 43, 89.

[108] There is a curious absence of marching camps at this location, where every Roman army advancing up this key routeway must have regularly passed into the barbarian wildernesses beyond. This trading locus may emerge as one of the key sites in the region. The rectangular site (75 m by 65 m) beside Dere Street, some 600 m to the south of Portgate, was examined by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England in the 1970s but it lacked the diagnostic features that would have allowed it to be classified as Roman camp (Humphrey Welfare, *pers comm.*).

[109] Breeze 2011, 30–31: Hodgson *et al*. 2012, 216–17.

[110] From west to east this would include Wall, Acomb, Anick, Sandhoe, Halton, Aydon, Styford, Bywell, Welton, Horsley, Heddon on the Wall, Wylam, and Walbottle. There is a solid topographic foundation in most of these names; they are concise and to-the-point, while even those incorporating the 'later' elements *-tun* and *-leah* exhibit interpretational questions would could hint that they are precursor usages. Later Old English place-names were undoubtedly intruded into the distribution.

[111] Koch 1997, xli; xx.

[112] Koch, 1997, xxxvi-xxxvii: the 'wave from across the sea' is interesting and easy to ignore? Are we in the realm of coastal signal towers here?

[113] Koch 1997, xxxix; xcvi.

[114] Koch 1997, xxxviii.

[115] Bede, *HE*, I, 34: its possible sixth-century context is discussed in *Beyond the Gododdin* edited by Alex Woolf (2013). Philip Dunshea, in 'The Meaning of Catraeth: A revised early context for Y-Gododdin,' may be thought to have delivered a fatal blow in the debate, but other contributors would surely disagree for he focuses on the Y-Gododdin and not the Ur-text. Thomas Clancey's contribution, 'The Kingdoms of the North: Poetry, Places, Politics' is a solidly grounded review of many issues. The debate is technically complex and often infinitely subtle. More recent analysis is to be found in T. M. Charles-Edwards 2013, 343–6 and 381–7. Jackson 1953, 701–5 discusses the variations in the spelling of Bernicia. I am indebted to Eric Cambridge for comment here.

[116] Koch 1997 xliii, xliv, xlviii. Wells (1999) considers in depth the interactions between Rome and the barbarian peoples of continental Europe.

[117] Dodds 1930, 215.

[118] *An Archaeological Map of Hadrian's Wall* (English Heritage 2010)

[119] Roberts, 2008, 88–121; Roberts 2006; Muncaster *et al.* 2014.

[120] Dark (1992. 119) where sixth-century Anglo-Saxon metalwork and glass are recorded from near the fort.

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