

King Ceolwulf's land grants to St Cuthbert and their loss in the ninth century

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SUMMARY

The Historia de Sancto Cuthberto makes retrospective claims to lands granted to St Cuthbert and, in some cases, later taken from the church. Sections 8 and 11 refer to lands granted by King Ceolwulf (729–737) and lost around 860. Retrogressive technique is used to reconstruct the geography of these lands, within the widely accepted models of shire and minster organisation, drawing on post-Conquest feudal records. The circumstances under which these and other estates were taken from the church in the 9th century are discussed. It is argued that Lindisfarne's territorial reach in Northumberland declined from a high point under a partnership between Bishop Ecgred (830–845) and King Eanred (c. 820s–850s) in the 860s in the face of the arrival of the Danish army and the collapse of the Northumbrian state. Some of the place-names of Historia 8 and 11 present problems of identification, where generic elements of the names have proved unstable. Early forms of key names are reviewed and discussed.

PART 1: LAND GRANTS OF THE *HISTORIA DE SANCTO CUTHBERTO*

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INTRODUCTION: CUTHBERT COMMUNITY TEXTS

THE *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* (hereafter called the *Historia* for convenience) is a document compiled within the Community of St Cuthbert in Chester-le-Street or Durham some time between the mid-10th and late-11th centuries.¹ Section 8 records a land grant to St Cuthbert made by King Ceolwulf (AD 729–37) when he resigned the Northumbrian kingship and entered the monastery of Lindisfarne.² At some time in the mid-9th century, King Osberht (died AD 867) alienated the land from the saint (*Historia* Section 10). Consequently, this land did not come through to the community in Chester-le-Street or Durham, and it did not feature as part of North Durham, along with Northhamshire, Islandshire and Bedlingtonshire, which survived as administrative entities up to the time they were incorporated into Northumberland in 1844.³ This is a lost estate, both in the sense that it was lost to the Community of St Cuthbert and in the sense that its geographical extent is not known for certain. The principal aim of Part 1 of this paper is to propose a geographical definition, with associated aims of elucidating elements of its organisational structure and referencing this estate to later secular and ecclesiastical arrangements. The aim of Part 2 is to consider the circumstances of its alienation in the mid-9th century. Part 3 discusses place-names that are problematic in relation to the text under review.

The text in *Historia* 8 refers to Ceolwulf accepting the tonsure, bringing treasure (*thesauro*) with him as he entered the monastery and making this grant:

Et sancto Cuthberto villam nomine Werceworthe cum suis appendiciis dedit. Et hii sunt termini istius villae: ab aqua quae vocatur Lina usque ad Cocwuda, et inde usque ad civitatem que vocatur Brincewele, et a Cocwuda usque ad Hafodsclfe versus orientem, et ab Alna usque in dimidiam viam inter Cocwud et Aln.

The following translation identifies the place-names according to Mawer and generally followed since then.⁴

And he gave to St Cuthbert the vill named Warkworth with its appendages. And these are the bounds of this vill: from the river which is called Lyne as far as Coquet, and thence to the *civitas* that is called Brinkburn, and from Coquet as far as Hauxley towards the east; and from the Aln to the mid-point of the road between Coquet and Aln.

This text has difficulties. We can understand a *villa* as being a vill or a township (equivalent in Northumberland until the 19th century to the civil parish in southern England). Thus, Warkworth is a vill, with dependent villas, its *appendicia*, which are not here named. But the boundary definition that follows creates an ambiguity by stating that all the land within the bounds, down to the River Lyne, some 14 kilometres south of Warkworth, is part of this vill (*istius villae*), whereas what is in fact being described here is a wider estate containing numerous villas. Why Brinkburn is called a *civitas*, and what this means, is considered later in this paper. The most satisfactory way to understand *Cocwud(a)* is that it refers to the River Coquet, even though no actual Latin word for river appears.⁵ *Alna*, likewise, is the River Aln. A boundary definition creates the expectation of a point-to-point progress around a circuit, but this one does not work out in this way. It begins on the river Lyne, but at what point? Elsewhere in the *Historia*,⁶ a boundary circuit can refer to the source of a river, *ab illo loco ubi oritur*, or to its mouth, *ad illum locum ubi cadit in Tweoda* (in the case of a tributary of the river Tweed). In this delineation there is some unspecified position along the River Lyne, from which it proceeds to some unspecified position along the River Coquet, and then the direction is to Brinkburn. This is on the north bank of the Coquet, some 16 kilometres inland from the coast (on a direct west — east measurement). Then back at the Coquet (presumably at Brinkburn?) from where there is a new direction of travel east to Hauxley (the only compass bearing given).⁷ This is at the coast, on the south side of the Coquet estuary, apparently implying a meandering line down-river along the Coquet. Now, suddenly, the reference point jumps to the River Aln, five kilometres north of the Coquet, measured estuary to estuary, again with no particular point specified, from where the progress is to the mid-point of the road between the two rivers. The road is not specified: we discuss the point later; nor does this single point on the road in any way complete a circuit: there is none. It is not possible from this description to draw an outline on a map and so the boundaries of this estate, if they are to be discovered, have to be deduced by other means.

Two other texts originating within the Community of St Cuthbert are relevant to the enquiry. The first is also in the *Historia* (Section 11), recording another grant from King Ceolwulf, this time of four *villae*, named as *Wudacestre, et Hwittingham, et Eadwulfincham, et Ecgwulfincham*. Three of the place-names have evolved unproblematically as Whittingham, Edlingham and Eglingham, inland in Northumberland, towards the edge of the Cheviot hills. *Wudacestre* has not survived as a *-cester* place-name, but it is usually understood to refer to the present-day Woodhorn, on the south side of the Lyne;⁸ this would make it a neighbouring land unit to that under review. The second text is the *Chronica Monasterii Dunelmensis* (hereafter *CMD*), in which the *Historia*'s two separate passages are conflated and both set

within the context of Ceolwulf's entry to the monastery when he donated *thesauros regio et terras Breiesne et Wercuutha cum suis appendiciis, et ecclesiam quam ipse ibi edicaverat, et iiii villas Wudecester, Witingham, Eaduluingham et Egguluingham*. This is consistent with the text of the *Historia* in referring to Warkworth and appendages, but it links with them *Breiesne*, understood to be Brainshaugh, five kilometres south-west of Warkworth, on the north side of the Coquet. *CMD* does not name *Brincewele*; it specifies construction of a church at Warkworth; and there is a variation in terminology, with Brainshaugh and Warkworth with appendages defined as *terras* (lands), whereas the *Historia* uses the term *villa*. The inconsistencies between the names given in the two sources and the flawed boundary delineation of the *Historia* may well be the result of imperfect memory long after these lands had been lost.⁹

TERRITORIAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL STRUCTURES: SHIRES AND MINSTERS

The *Historia's* focus of interest is not on churches themselves, but on the grants of landed estates within which churches were founded and operated. These were the territorial units of extensive lordship known as shires (Old English *scir*) which characteristically comprised the holding of a lord who exercised rights of lordship over people living in outlying dependent settlements across a wide area and who rendered service and revenues to the lord at his centre. Within this system, one's socially recognised position was assured through the inter-connection of service and patronage. Key features are that of dependency and obligation across a wide territory: inhabitants of one place owe service to a centre elsewhere; and that the bonds were personal, between lord and man, and not defined by land units. The characteristic economic and structural expression of the political unit of the shire was what has been called the multiple estate, an extensive and complex unit with inter-connecting hierarchies of settlement.¹⁰ J. E. A. Jolliffe, in a pioneering study, elucidated the institutional elements of the shire, and Sir Edmund Craster, in the first detailed appraisal of the *Historia*, gave attention to the way the term *appendicium* is used: 'Its use implies the grouping of vills around an administrative centre. Such districts ... were known as shires. So the vills named in the *Historia* as dependent on Bedlington went on to form the district called Bedlingtonshire. Each shire had its church: ecclesiastically the shire was a parish, although it must not be supposed that parochial boundaries had as yet become stabilised in the 10th century. Warkworth and Bedlington and Wearmouth are each described as having appendant to them townships that have since been annexed to neighbouring parishes.'¹¹ *Appendicium* indicates a dependency relationship in the shire, as expressed in the *Historia* text under review for Warkworth, *cum suis appendiciis*. Craster offered little by way of geographical definition, but Christopher Morris attempted a mapping of the Lindisfarne landholdings, based on information from the *Historia*, and in his recent edition of the *Historia*, Ted Johnson South showed maps of the estates north and south of the Tyne, using the medieval parishes for boundary definition, and he gave a general account of estate structure with reference to the unit of the vill and the composite estate.¹² Other studies that discuss St Cuthbert lands of the *Historia* within shire structures are: Reverend James Raine's study of the North Durham units of Norhamshire, Islandshire and Bedlingtonshire; Geoffrey Barrow's reconstruction of a shire of Yetholm from the *Historia* 3; Colm O'Brien's identification of a shire around the River Breamish in the Cheviot hills from *Historia* 4, and elucidation of the units of Edlingham, Eglingham and Whittingham from King Ceolwulf's four-estate grant of *Historia* 11;¹³ Brian Roberts on Aucklandshire from *Historia* 32. The lands between the Rivers Tyne and Wear, granted by

King Guthred (*Historia* 13), include the former Wearmouth-Jarrow holdings of the time of Bede, and Roberts has reconstructed this territory, giving cartographic expression to the base-level farming unit of the *familiae* of King Ecgfrith's grants. O'Brien and Max Adams have reviewed evidence from the Lindisfarne and Wearmouth-Jarrow holdings for monastic estate management.¹⁴

For church establishments, John Blair has shown that a binary classification of ecclesiastical sites as either monasteries or parish churches is anachronistic for Anglo-Saxon England. The Latin term *monasterium*, with its Old English derivative *mynster*, was one of broad use, not necessarily implying the monastery of enclosed, contemplative life as understood, for example, from Benedictine or Cistercian houses of the medieval period.¹⁵ Lindisfarne of the 7th and 8th centuries was a religious community under the authority of an abbot; it supported a hermitage on an off-shore island. At the same time, it was the seat of a bishop, and from here, to judge from Bede's accounts of the work of its founder Bishop Aidan and of Cuthbert, it supported priests who provided ministry of preaching and pastoral care widely about the countryside.¹⁶ To speak of a monastery in Northumbria of this time is to imply all of these things. Whether such pastoral care implies an early structure of territorial parishes has been a matter of scholarly debate.¹⁷ Consequently, the question arises as to whether, or to what extent, the large parishes with mother-churches and subsidiary chapels which emerged in the late Anglo-Saxon period had developed from earlier arrangements either in their pastoral provision or in their territorial expression.¹⁸ In Northumberland, where, in general, local township-scale parishes did not develop, these multi-township parishes operated throughout the medieval period and beyond. Certainly the early *monasteria* began to come under stress before the end of the 8th century;¹⁹ certainly they suffered the effects of asset-stripping in the 9th century (the *Historia* records examples of this); but evidence for their complete and wholesale destruction at the hands of Viking raiders or armies is not as compelling as is sometimes assumed. Lindisfarne, above all, maintained some sort of institutional continuity across the troubled times of the 9th century (Symeon's *Libellus* is in part a narrative of this). But neither the *Historia* nor Symeon says whether the community of clerics who tended the uncorrupted body of their saint continued to exercise any pastoral functions from its bases in Chester-le-Street or Durham through churches on lands which had been lost to them.

To understand what is meant in the *Historia* by King Ceolwulf's endowments to Lindisfarne and what is meant by King Osberht stealing the vill of Warkworth (amongst other alienations) takes us into matters of territorial and ecclesiastical structures and into the functioning of the *monasterium*. The following model allows us to frame an analysis of King Ceolwulf's grants.

The early stages in the provision of pastoral care in English kingdoms were organised within the territorial unit of the shire, whose officers the thegns (*praefecti*), endowed with lifetime use of the land and its resources, owed service to the king within a redistributive system of patronage. In granting an estate to one such as Benedict Biscop, who had served as a thegn in King Oswiu's retinue, or to Wilfrid, or to one of the Lindisfarne bishops, whose founders had come to Northumbria at the behest of King Oswald, a king understood and treated the monastic house and its head within the workings of shire lordship. In the minds of the churchmen, however, this was not a lifetime gift to an individual or his kin, but a grant in perpetuity to the church itself, hence Benedict Biscop's concern to win for Wearmouth a statement from the Pope of freedom from external interventions, and hence his concern to exclude his brother in secular life from succession to the abbacy; hence also Wilfrid's highly

dramatised public announcement of the land grants received at the dedication of his church of Ripon.²⁰ In this way, territorial lordship and the organisation and provision of pastoral care coalesced as land was transferred in perpetuity to the church from the stock that had been available to the king in the exercise of patronage. By the 9th century, these large-scale alienations of land from the king's fisc were seen to be problematic and some lands were taken back from the church; the *Historia* reflects this process as it affected St Cuthbert's lands.²¹ The long-term outcome of all of this was that St Cuthbert's community lost territorial lordship of the whole of the Lindisfarne inheritance north of the River Tyne except for the three special cases of the shires of Norham, Island and Bedlington which remained in the lordship of the church of Durham throughout the medieval period. The need for pastoral care did not disappear. But where land had been alienated from the church, this provision was now de-coupled from territorial lordship, and so there is no necessary reason why arrangements for pastoral care between the 9th and 12th centuries should have been the same as that of lordship, nor why there need be consistency of arrangements in these matters between different places; there is no firm documentary evidence on these points. By the 12th century, a network of territorial parishes had emerged which were not co-terminous with single vills (as is often the case with civil and ecclesiastical parishes elsewhere in England), but which comprised multiple vills.²² In cases where parishes and units of medieval lordship do coincide, we can ask whether this is a survival from the time when Lindisfarne had held the territories.

METHODS AND SOURCES

There are no other contemporary or near-contemporary accounts of landholding or church organisation independent of the traditions recorded at Durham in *CMD*, Symeon and the *Historia* and with which to test the territorial and ecclesiastical model outlined above. For Northumberland in general, it is not until the 12th century that historical record gives insight into the organisation and geography of lordship or of ecclesiastical parishes, and so for both the question arises: to what extent can we read back from here to earlier shire arrangements, and did the new feudal and parish structures hold within them fragments of what went before? In the study area here under review, both Warkworth and Woodhorn emerged as medieval parish centres, and there is evidence (reviewed below) that Brinkburn too claimed this status, and Brainshaugh emerged as a chapelry.

The case for applying a retrogressive method, looking back from the known to the unknown, can be developed directly from Jolliffe's study of Northumbrian Institutions which showed that 'in many instances, [early Norman feudalism] was obliged to incorporate Saxon institutions with little modification'.²³ Documents of the 12th and 13th centuries defining the terms of tenures or recording payments made to the Exchequer hold evidence of fragments of older shire systems surviving under new conditions. These were by then squeezed to fit to the mould of feudal tenure under the system of knights' fees, which were in origin military tenures, with service obligations incumbent on the unit of the vill. But in actuality, by this time many services had been commuted to payment of money. Land tenure was organised through the baronies established by Henry I (1100–1135), except for crown lands and other liberties. Surviving fragments include instances of the tenures of thanage and drengage, caught before they were commuted to knight's service, such as the thanage of Hepple, an estate held *in capite* by a tenant-in-chief of the king, or the drengage held by Stephen of Mousen who in 1212 owed service to the king at Bamburgh. Seasonal service obligations

survived, such as that required of Stephen to plough the king's land for one day in Lent and to come with 12 men for three days in the autumn for the harvest, or those of the Bishop of Durham's tenants in Nedderton whose services, including roofing the bishop's hall in Bedlington, were still remembered, though they had by 1183 been commuted to a cash payment. Archaic renders incumbent on the vill were paid, such as the cattle levy of cornage, and metreth, the render of cow and calf, still applying on the Bishop of Durham's estates in 1183.²⁴ Along with the lands held by knight's fee were those held in socage tenure (*socagium*). Soke, in its earliest meaning, is understood as service due to the king, sokeland the land from which the service was due.²⁵ Rights to receive socage service were transferred to the baronies where some of the services survived in attenuated ways into the mid-13th century. The most common of such survivals in Northumberland were obligations on sokelands in ten of the baronies to provide spices, pepper and cumin for the feudal lord: relics of food renders. The provision of sparrowhawks in a number of cases was a relic of the kings' hunts. The hospitality of an annual banquet (*convivium*) due from the three Middletons was a relic of the obligation to provide for the king and his retinue on circuit.²⁶ But in many cases, the service had by this time been commuted to a cash payment. Serjeanties were tenures held on provision of particular services to the king, such as the Serjeanty held at the vill of Brotherwick in 1212 by the king's falconer Gilbert of Havill.²⁷ Rosamond Faith has suggested that many of the serjeanty services may have derived from thanages.²⁸

Such fragments are more readily observed on lands which came through into the holdings of the Durham bishopric of the medieval era and on lands over which the kings retained interests until the 13th century than they are on lands apportioned to the feudal baronies. However, O'Brien showed how sometimes elements of earlier shire structures could be seen in the disposition of the medieval holdings, with examples from former Lindisfarne estates: a parcel of land in the Vesci barony of Alwick, but separate from the rest of the lands and sub-infeudated to the lordship of Redesdale, reveals the outline of a shire in the Cheviot hills around the River Breamish; the pattern of drengage holdings taken in combination with sub-units of the land of the Beanley barony reveals something of the territorial structures in Edlingham, Eglingham and Whittingham.²⁹ The base-level territorial unit that allows connections to be made across time is that of the vill, common both to pre-Conquest shire organisation and to the feudal settlement, which built up the territory of the baronies from already-existing vill. Inter-dependency of vill is a characteristic of shire organisation and this can be expressed by the term *cum suis appendiciis*, as used for Warkworth in the *Historia* passage under review, or *cum membris suis* or *cum pertinenciis suis*, all of which terms feature in feudal record. In Northumberland, the vill as a geographic unit comes through into the post-medieval period as the township, surviving long enough to be mapped on the first edition of the Ordnance Survey sheets at six inches to the mile (*circa* 1860 in this part of England). This gives a basis for mapping the vill for this study. It is impossible to be sure in all detail that boundaries of the 19th century match those of any earlier time,³⁰ but for this study at a scale of multiple vill, the Ordnance Survey mapping allows us to see the overall spatial patterning and some of its internal structuring.³¹ The most informative primary sources are in the *Cartae Baronum*, the record of barons' responses in 1166 to the king's call for statements on their knights' fees, and the records of enquiries into tenures made at the king's behest from time to time during the 13th century and compiled in the *Liber Feudorum* (the Book of Fees).³² The records of inquisitions made in 1242–43 in connection with the Scutage of Gascony are of particular value for this study because they itemise by vill and terms of service not only the

estates of tenants-in-chief, but also of their sub-infeudations, allowing insight into both tenure and territory at two levels of hierarchy. Exchequer records in the Pipe Rolls and the cartularies of religious houses at Brinkburn and Newminster, and other sources add detail. Northumberland is well served for county histories; the Reverend John Hodgson produced seven volumes of a three-part history (1820–1858) and the editors of the volumes of the Northumberland County History (NCH) compiled fifteen volumes (1893–1940).³³

ANALYSIS

1: *Warkworth (Fig. 1)*

The first question is: can we reconcile the *Werceworthe cum suis appendiciis* of the *Historia* to later records? It appears that at least the core of this complex estate had come through into the 12th and 13th centuries. King Henry I, at the time he created the baronies in Northumberland, retained Warkworth in his demesne, and thus it remained until 1157 when Henry II granted to Roger son of Richard the castle and manor of Warkworth *cum omnibus suis pertinenciis*.³⁴ The two expressions, *cum appendiciis* in the Cuthbert Community sources, and *cum pertinenciis* in the king's grant, are equivalents, both referring to a set of dependent villas and indicating the sort of extensive lordship with dependency relationships between villas that characterises the early shire. The dependent villas are specified in accounts rendered to the Exchequer in 1186–87 for a levy on thanes and drengs as Acklington, High Buston and Berling *pertinentibus ad Werkewurda*. In 1242–43, the holdings of the heir of Robert's son John as tenant-in-chief of the barony of Warkworth were listed as *Werekewurth, Aclington et Birling cum Budlisdon Superiore membro suo, et quartem partem de Togisan*.³⁵ Half of High Buston was sub-infeudated to one William, son of Lambert, whose services included care of one dog and one horse; this was, perhaps, a former drengage tenure.³⁶ Birling and High Buston are close to Warkworth on the north side of the River Coquet,³⁷ with Acklington and Togston on the south side. Warkworth itself is at the lowest crossing point of the River Coquet, 2 kilometres from the coast. The focal point of the vill, and the position of the medieval settlement, is within a loop of the river, on its south side, with the church sited at the head of the loop beside the bridging point. The estate of the 12th–13th centuries is a tightly-defined geographic unit with the river running through the middle.

There are hints here that by this time the estate had to some extent already fragmented, with some villas now outside of this lordship. The most obvious sign of this is that the vill of Togston had been split into two parts. The one quarter still pertaining to Warkworth had been held of the king in serjeanty, with responsibilities for taking the king's writs between Warkworth and Bamburgh and for holding at Togston cattle taken as surety for debts due to the king. The serjeanty ceased on Henry II's grant of 1157.³⁸ The three-quarters part separated off was also to support a serjeanty, when King Henry I appointed Ralph fitz Main and his descendants as foresters for Northumberland. In 1200 this serjeanty was commuted to a knight's fee, for which Ralph son of Peter paid 50 marks, and thereafter ten shillings per year for his land in Togston, held as socage of the small barony of Ditchburn.³⁹ The vill of Brotherwick had also been in the king's demesne and Henry I here created another serjeanty for Henry de Hamville as falconer for the king. This was still in place in 1242–43, with Hugo of Hamvill holding the fee; by 1272, it was held on an annual payment of half a mark.⁴⁰ There is evidence that the small township of Gloster Hill, which looks like a piece taken out of the

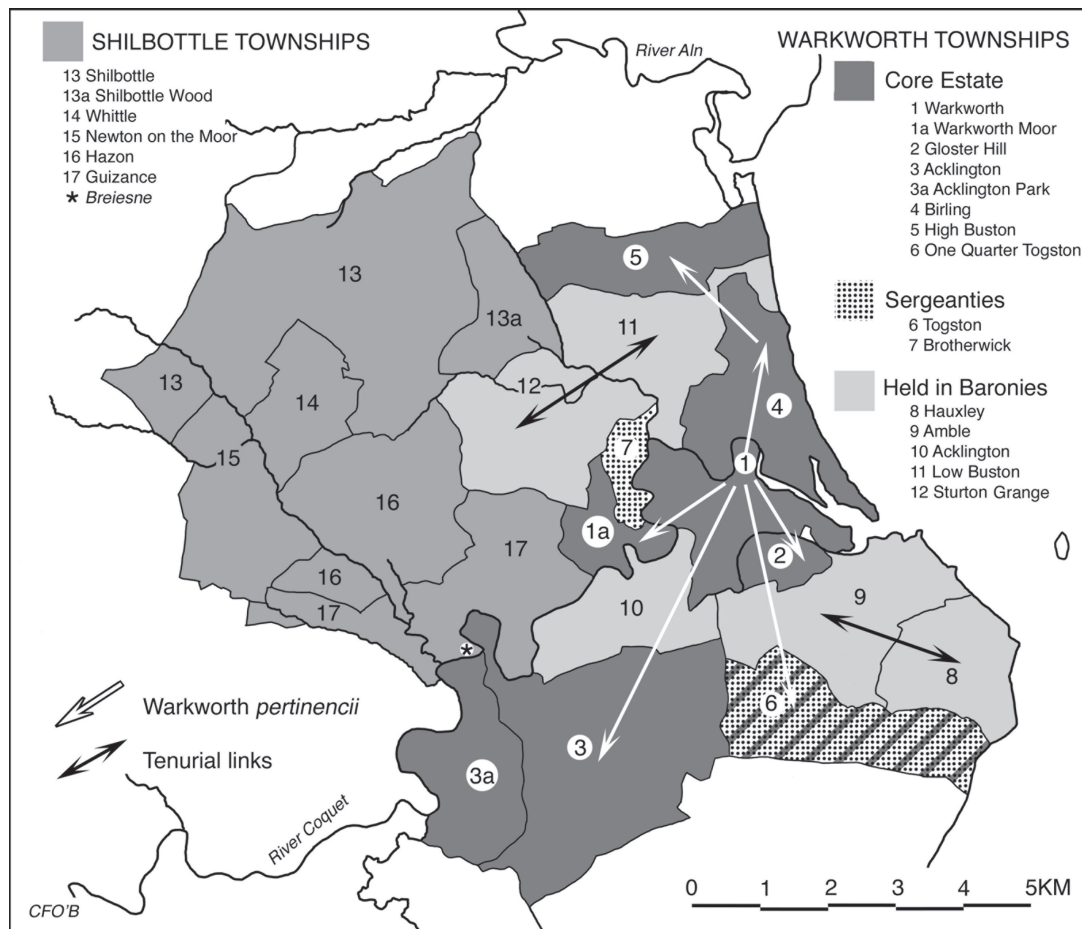


Fig. 1 Territorial reconstruction of *Werceworthe cum suis appendiciis* of *Historia* 8 and *Breisne* of *CMD*, with reference to township and parish boundaries and medieval tenurial links.

south-east edge of Warkworth, was within the Warkworth lordship, for Roger fitz Richard, who died in 1178, granted a salt works here to the Abbot and Convent of Newminster, later confirmed by his son Robert. It became glebe land of the rectory of Warkworth, with which Henry I endowed the newly-founded see of Carlisle in 1132.⁴¹

When the *Historia* records that King Osberht stole (*abstulit*) the vill of Warkworth from St Cuthbert, this is evidence that the church lost territorial lordship, but it is not clear what this meant for the provision of pastoral care.⁴² Wall foundations discovered during building works in 1860 and burials recently discovered beneath the north nave wall of the present parish church at Warkworth and footings beyond it extend the structural history of the building back beyond the 12th century, though how early is not known, and other archaeological evidence survives in the form of a cross-shaft fragment and a grave marker of the 10th–11th centuries.⁴³ Taken together, these pieces of evidence point to Warkworth's continuing role as an ecclesiastical centre after King Osberht's actions. By the time of subsequent surviving

records, Warkworth had emerged as the centre of a parish taking in the whole territory of the Warkworth lordship as we see it defined in the *Liber Feudorum*, along with the former royal demesnes assigned to serjeanties, and another five townships around the edges: Low Buston, Sturton Grange, Amble, Hauxley and Morwick. Among these five, Low Buston we might suppose to be a sub-division of an earlier and larger unit of Buston, from which High Buston was retained in the Warkworth lordship. Low Buston and Sturton Grange were together held within the barony granted to Walter l'Espece with its centre at Wark on Tweed. In 1242–43 Robert de Ros, brother of the tenant-in-chief William, held Low Buston, with half the vill held in socage tenure jointly with Ralph of Buston. Sturton Grange had been granted in the 12th century to the Cistercian monastery of Newminster.⁴⁴ There is a suggestion that these two vills had already been in some way connected in that tenants in Buston had been obliged to grind their grain at the mill at Sturton in the time before it came to Newminster.⁴⁵ South of the Coquet, the townships of Amble, Hauxley and Morwick were also part of Warkworth parish. Amble and Hauxley were held together of the Vesci barony of Alnwick by Tynemouth Priory, from an endowment by Robert de Mowbray.⁴⁶ During the reign of Henry I, the lordship of Morwick was in the hands of William de Merlay, lord of Morpeth, who then granted it to Durham Priory;⁴⁷ perhaps behind this there was some recognition of the former Lindisfarne connection. By 1135, and in unknown circumstances, the vill had passed from the Priory and into the hands of one Ernulph by grant of William de Vesci, lord of Alnwick, of whom it was held jointly with West Chevington (which was outside Warkworth parish). Ernulph declared his holding in 1166, with the information that half of a knight's fee was held of him by a man named David, and in 1242–43 Hugh of Morwick held the two vills by one and a half knights' fees.⁴⁸

The conclusion reached at this first stage of analysis is that the vills in the lordship of Warkworth, along with those held in serjeanty and the five vills in other baronies, together constitute the unit of territory named in the *Historia* as *Werceworthe cum suis appendiciis*, with the boundaries of the ecclesiastical parish preserving those of the original unit of lordship. This implies some continuity of pastoral functions from the time when, in the Lindisfarne estate, pastoral care and territorial lordship were unified. This is a shire territory of the early medieval era;⁴⁹ formed about the estuary and lower reaches of the River Coquet, it is an example of a river estate,⁵⁰ roughly oval in shape, with maximum length of 9 kilometres and a maximum width of 8 kilometres.

2: *Breiesne/Bregesne* (Fig. 1)

The next question is how does *Breiesne/Bregesne* fit with Warkworth? On place-name analysis, this is understood to be Brainshaugh on the north bank of the River Coquet, five kilometres south-west of Warkworth.⁵¹ *CMD* and Symeon associate this place with Warkworth and its appendages, although the *Historia* makes no mention of it; perhaps its compiler thought of it as being part of Warkworth, whereas *CMD*, followed by Symeon, saw it as a separate entity or as a sub-division of the main estate. Brainshaugh is the site of a medieval chapel, though it did not have the status of a vill, but is within Guyzance. There is medieval context for both the lordship and ecclesiastical organisation here, within the Alnwick barony and the parish of Shilbottle. The first known holder of the barony based at Alnwick was Ivo de Vesci, grandfather of William de Vesci to whom King Henry II confirmed in 1154 x 1189 the inheritance of his grandfather and father, and who in the Barons' Charters of 1166

declared 20 knights' fees, amongst them an estate of 2 knights' fees sub-infeudated to William Tison.⁵² Tison's inheritance then came by marriage of William's granddaughter Beneta to William of Hilton. In 1242–43 their grandson Robert held this fee of the Alnwick barony when it comprised Shilbottle, with Newton, Guyzance and Hazon (more recently known as Hazon and Hartlaw), and also Rennington, some five kilometres north-east of Alnwick.⁵³ John Crawford Hodgson suggested that the township of Whittle, not mentioned in the 1242–43 record, was originally part of the lordship of Newton-on-the-Moor: lands in Newton were held by the family of Whittle.⁵⁴ Whittle is an unusually small township, but it would be odd to think of it as a subsidiary element of a new *tun* established on moorland. One might better argue from the line of its township boundaries that it was formed from a sub-division of Shilbottle. Shilbottle Woodhouse is a township of modern origin: at the enclosure of Shilbottle Moor in 1759, an allotment was set aside for Woodhouse, then considered part of Shilbottle. It had been demesne land and was in the 16th century called Shilbottle Park.⁵⁵ With Whittle and Woodhouse townships included, Shilbottle, with an area of some 4000 acres, occupies half the land of the lordship.

As well as being the centre of the lordship, Shilbottle was also the site of the parish church (the present building of 1884 replaced a 12th-century church), with parish and lordship comprising the same vill. Within the parish, the vill of Guyzance was held as a chapelry, with buildings beside the River Coquet at Brainsaugh, granted to the canons of Alnwick Abbey. To complicate matters further, there was also a *capella[e] monialium de Gysyns*, a chapel of nuns said to be founded by Richard Tison.⁵⁶ It might seem that the parish and the sub-infeudated lordship of the Alnwick barony were created together post-Conquest, with the chapel at Brainsaugh in Guyzance then founded as an act of lordly piety. But the Alnwick Abbey Chronicle refers to *Gysyns* and not Shilbottle as the site of the church, and if correct, this would imply a church presence earlier than that at Shilbottle. While, as already observed, this chronicle is not wholly reliable in its early history, on this point it is consistent with the Durham chronicler's (*CMD*) reference to *Breiesne* as an element of Ceolwulf's endowment to Lindisfarne. This would imply that pastoral functions and an establishment of some sort had here survived the 9th-century alienation from Lindisfarne holdings. This leads to the suggestion that at the time of the Conquest there was already a church at Brainsaugh, within Guyzance vill, acting as a subsidiary of the mother-church in Warkworth, that is to say the *Breiesne/Bregesne* of *CMD* and Symeon. The territory pertaining to this church had survived as an intact unit, later identifiable as the estate sub-infeudated within the Alnwick barony to William Tison and his descendants. William moved the ecclesiastical centre of the parish, as it had now become, and established a new church at the vill of Shilbottle, which the *-bottl* name element indicates as the traditional centre of lordship. The identity of the former church of *Breiesne* was acknowledged and maintained with the status of a chapelry within Shilbottle parish with a newly founded chapel under the patronage of Alnwick Abbey.

The second-stage conclusion is that two sub-units of Ceolwulf's grant, *Breiesne/Bregesne* and *Werceworde cum suis appendiciis*, can be identified in the medieval parishes of Shilbottle and Warkworth respectively, and in the sub-infeudated lordship of Shilbottle, coterminous with the parish, and the king's demesne of Warkworth, reconstructed here from the lordship granted to Roger son of Richard, along with the serjeanties and the vills which came to be detached from the main lordship, but remaining within the parish. Taken as a single block of land, this is bounded on the east side by the coast. On the north side, its neighbour is the large mother-parish of Lesbury, with its dependent chapels of Alnmouth, Alnwick and

Houghton;⁵⁷ west is the shire of Felton (further discussed below). Both Lesbury and Felton are likely to be land units of the pre-Conquest period and this gives some confidence in defining the outer edges of Ceolwulf's land grant on both sides of the Coquet. It remains now to bring into the argument *Brincewele* of the *Historia* and the lands reaching south to the River Lyne. We turn first towards the Lyne.

3: 'Lyne Estate' (Fig. 2)

The reconstruction proposed here of the *appendicia* of Warkworth is a group of vills around the River Coquet, with a southern boundary some eight or nine kilometres north of the River Lyne, yet the *Historia* defines the Lyne as the southern boundary. The case for considering the land south of Togston and Acklington onwards to the River Lyne separately from Warkworth and its *appendicia*, despite the *Historia*, is that the pattern of landholdings here from the 12th century is completely different from that of Shilbottle or Warkworth. In the case of Shilbottle, there was stability and unity of both secular and ecclesiastical structure. Warkworth retained a stable core in lordship and emerged as the centre of an ecclesiastical parish; but the vills between here and the River Lyne show extreme fragmentation. Five of the large baronies plus two smaller lordships had interests, and three ecclesiastical parishes were represented, with most of the vills concerned being in Woodhorn parish, a point to be considered in due course. This pattern suggests a near-total breakdown of both top-level territorial lordship and ecclesiastical arrangements in the years following King Osberht's alienation of the land from St Cuthbert's people. For this reason, we might think of this as having been a third subdivision, along with *Breiesne/Bregesne* and Warkworth, of the land granted by King Ceolwulf, each with its own trajectory after the alienation; for convenience, we here refer to this southern part as the 'Lyne estate'.

First, to argue the boundaries of this unit. If the River Lyne is the southern boundary (as per *Historia* 8) this means that it marches with Woodhorn of Ceolfrith's other grant (*Historia* 11), immediately south of the river. Working from east to west, the south boundary vills of the Lyne estate are Cresswell, Ellington, Linton, Ulgham Grange, Tritlington and finally Fenrother at the headwaters of the river. According to the 19th-century mapping of the townships, Ellington, Linton and Tritlington have territory on both sides of the river, and so there are some questions as to reconciling these with earlier definitions of the vills; these are considered below. The east boundary of the shire of Felton defines the western edge of the Lyne estate (as it does with Shilbottle and Warkworth), with West Chevington, Earsdon with Earsdon Forest and Tritlington all adjoining Feltonshire vills. Fenrother township's neighbour, in the extreme south west, is Longhorsley. This is one of a set of vills, along with Wingates, Stanton, Ritton, Long Witton and Netherwitton, forming a single block of land which came into the holdings of the Merlay barony of Morpeth as dowry land on the marriage of Roger de Merlay with Juliana, daughter of Cospatric.⁵⁸ Cospatric's was a native English family, appointed to the serjeanty of Beanley by Henry I, but who had earlier held the earldom of Bamburgh. Thus, Juliana's dowry land can be understood as an estate deriving from the pre-Conquest period, and a separate land unit from that granted to St Cuthbert.⁵⁹ We argue that, except for the unit of *Brincewele* (considered below), with the River Lyne as the southern boundary and the coast on the east side, the north and west edges of the combined Shilbottle and Warkworth parishes and the west edges of the set of vills here called the Lyne estate give the most satisfactory geographical resolution to the problematic boundary description of *Historia* 8.

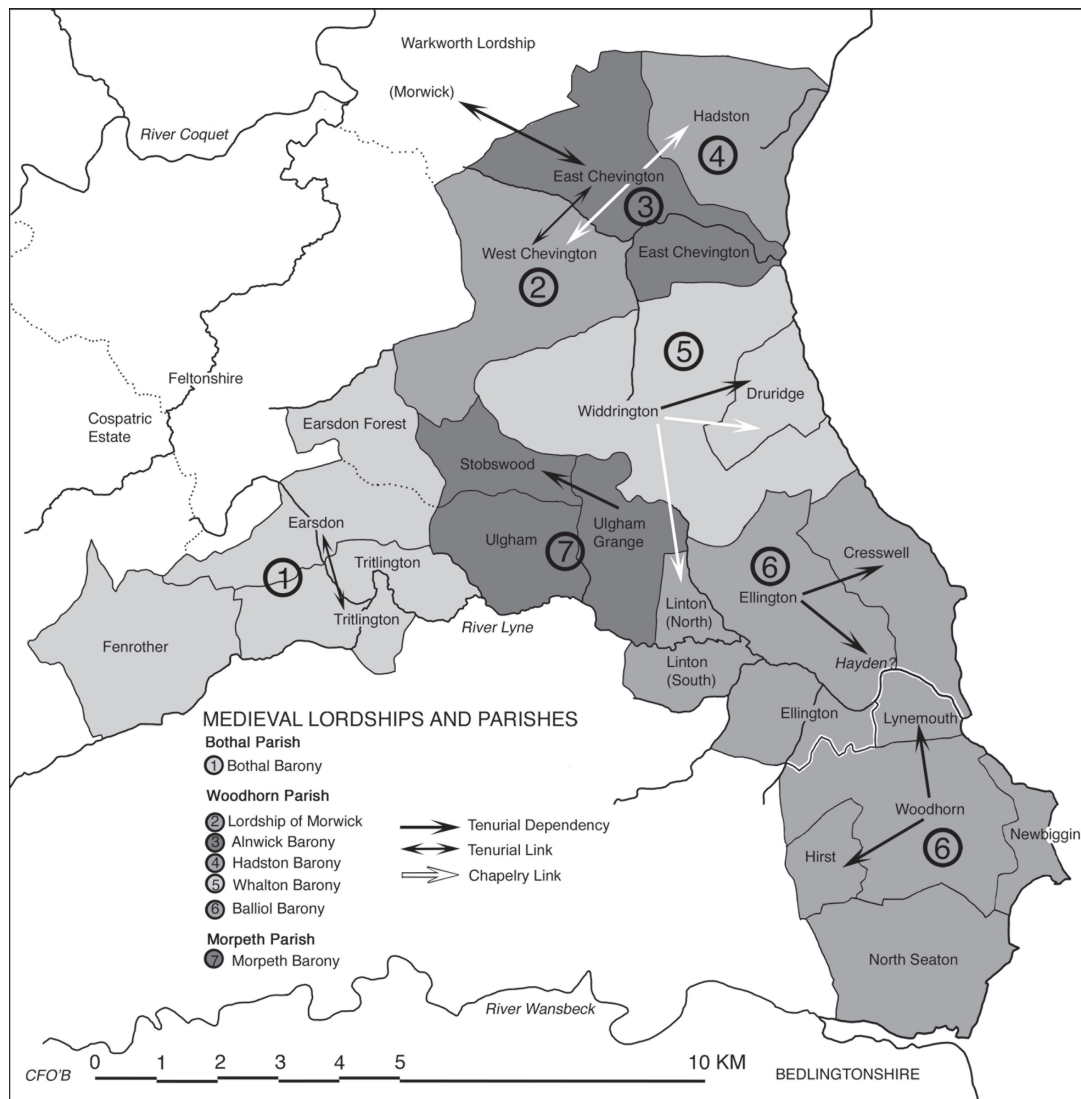


Fig. 2 Territorial reconstruction of the 'Lyne estate' of *Historia* 8 and *Wudacestre* of *Historia* 11, with reference to township and parish boundaries and medieval tenurial links.

Within the fragmented pattern, there are tenurial and ecclesiastical linkages between vills to give some hints of the early structuring of the Lyne estate. Beginning in the north, a Chevington unit has been split across two lordships, East Chevington held with Morwick in the Alnwick barony by the service of one and a half knights' fees, and West Chevington identified in 1242-43 as a single-township barony held by Hugh of Morwick by 1 knight's fee, with a sub-infeudation to William of Bamburgh of one quarter of the vill for one quarter of the knight's fee.⁶⁰ The West Chevington lordship can be traced to about 1135 when its holder Ernulph obtained lordship of Morwick by grant of Willam de Vesci I, holder of the Alnwick

barony; thereafter, he and his descendants styled themselves 'of Morwick'. In 1166 he was granted a moiety (a half) of East Chevington, also in the Alnwick barony; Mautelot of Howick obtained the other moiety.⁶¹ In this way, the three townships were linked at the level of subordinate lordship. The two Chevingtons were linked with Hadston as a common chapelry within Woodhorn parish.⁶² Hadston was held in demesne of a small barony created by Henry I for Ralph of Worcester with five townships widely scattered in the county. In 1236 its holder was Jordan Heron and in 1242-43 William Heron.⁶³ As a wedge in the north-east corner of East Chevington, it looks as though it is a sub-division, carved out of that vill. If so, we can think of the two Chevingtons plus Hadston as having once been a single land unit, with each part developing its own separate identity as time progressed, then separated under the feudal arrangements, but with the former unity still expressed in the status of a chapelry.

South of the Chevingtons, Widdrington was held in 1242-43 of the Whalton barony by Gerard of Widdrington by 1 knight's fee, along with two dependent vills, Druridge and half of Burradon (which lies at some distance, mid-way between the rivers Blyth and Tyne). The subinfeudation can be traced back to about 1155 when Bertram of Widdrington's title was confirmed after an unsuccessful challenge in the baronial court.⁶⁴ In a geographical sense, Druridge looks like a bite taken out of Widdrington: it is surrounded on all sides except the sea shore by Widdrington land; and so again, as with Hadston and East Chevington, we might understand Druridge's status as a vill as being the result of a sub-division of a larger Widdrington vill. This would be consistent with the dependency relationship expressed in the Book of Fees, in which it is defined as being a member (*membrum*) of Widdrington. Widdrington and Druridge, together with Linton constituted a chapelry of Woodhorn parish. Ellington was held in 1242-43 with its members Cresswell and *Hayden* by Adam of Perrington of the Balliol barony by 1 knight's fee.⁶⁵ From its boundary delineation, it looks as though Cresswell too has been carved out of a larger unit, this time Ellington, in a similar way to the cases of Druridge and Hadston; all three take in a length of the sea shore.

Linton is linked to Widdrington and its dependencies as a detached part of the same chapelry, though the vill was held of the Balliol barony, and not Whalton. In 1242-43 it was held by Ada, widow of John son of Robert, recently deceased lord of Warkworth, by right of marriage.⁶⁶ Linton is a small township, and its boundary outline, straddling the River Lyne, suggests that it might have been created from two portions of land carved out from other townships, Ulgham Grange north of the River Lyne and Ulgham on the south side. Ulgham Grange had become associated with Ulgham by the twelfth century as an outlying element of the Merlay barony of Morpeth; by a charter of 1138, Ranulf de Merlay established a grange for the Cistercian abbey of Newminster.⁶⁷ The name of this unit of land before it became a Newminster grange is not known; the inference to be drawn from *Historia* 8 is that in the 8th century it was not linked to Ulgham.⁶⁸ As Merlay holdings, Ulgham and Ulgham Grange were constituted as a detached portion of Morpeth parish, a situation which can hardly have pre-dated the establishment of the barony. John de Greystock, successor to part of the Merlay estates, restored common pasture to Newminster for their animals on 'Stobbiford'. This is Stobswood, later identified as a township in its own right, but presumably pertaining in some way to Ulgham Grange in the 12th century.⁶⁹

In the south-west corner of this strip of land, Earsdon, Tritlington and Fenrother were all vills of the Bothal barony, with Earsdon and Tritlington held in 1242-43 by Peter of Crickleston and his wife Eva by 1 knight's fee, and Fenrother held by Robert of Fenrother in socage on payment of 1 mark.⁷⁰ The three vills formed part of a chapelry of Bothal parish.

The conclusion from the third-stage analysis is that the area here called the 'Lyne estate' was a sub-unit of the Warkworth-centred estate described in *Historia* 8, along with the *Breiesne* sub-unit of *CMD*. Within this area, fragmentation of lordship after the 9th-century alienation from St Cuthbert's holdings was so severe that no core remained as a strong base for building a feudal estate and a piecemeal pattern of holdings emerged. But the groupings of villas at the level of sub-infeudation — Widdrington with its member Druridge, Ellington with its members *Hayden* and Cresswell, the connections between the two Chevingtons, Earsdon and Tritlington held together as a knight's fee — allow the possibility that these were second-tier antecedent structural elements, inherited from the collapsed Lyne estate. Of the 5 *-ington* place-names here (counting the two parts of Chevington), each was allocated to a different barony in the 12th century. Most, though not all, of the villas here were subsumed into Woodhorn parish in the post-Conquest era: why was this so?

4: Woodhorn (Figs. 2 and 4)

The short paragraph of *Historia* 11 is problematic. It occurs out of chronological context, referring back to the 730s and King Ceolwulf after discussion in section 10 of the arrival of the Danish army and the loss of Warkworth and Tillmouth in the 860s. It refers to a grant to St Cuthbert of four villas, *Wudacestre et Hwitingham, et Eadwulfincham, et Ecgwulfincham* (Woodhorn, Whittingham, Edlingham, Eglingham), of which the latter three are inland, with Woodhorn detached from these at the coast. Why this is treated separately from Warkworth and its appendages of Section 8 is not clear: it suggests imperfect memory, whereas *CMD* treated all together as a single item. *Historia* 11 also says that King Ceolwulf granted the villas, that is in the 720s–730s, while Bishop Ecgreg (830–845) consecrated churches in these villas. If this division of effort has any real historical basis, a possible interpretation is that Ceolwulf made four land grants each of limited extent, that is single villas and not extensive estates such as Warkworth and its appendages. A century later, Bishop Ecgreg, acting in concert with King Eanred,⁷¹ established formal ecclesiastical presence over wider territories centred on the four villas, with these territories surviving as the medieval parishes. There is no evidence that Lindisfarne achieved territorial lordship beyond the individual villas.

The *Historia* gives no geographical definition of *Wudacestre*; can we define its extent in the 8th century, if we assume that it refers to Woodhorn and an associated dependent territory? Under medieval lordship, the vill of Woodhorn was held in the Balliol barony, along with two dependent villas Lynemouth and Hirst. Lynemouth and one half of Hirst were sub-infeudated to Robert de Rue, with the other half of Hirst held in socage. Woodhorn remained in demesne, as also were Newbiggin, which had the ecclesiastical status of a chapelry, and Linton, part of the Widdrington chapelry (noted above). Seaton was divided equally between three socage holdings. As noted above, Ellington with its dependencies *Hayden* and Cresswell, all north of the River Lyne, were also in the Balliol barony,⁷² making up an estate on both sides of the River Lyne. All these villas were within the medieval parish of Woodhorn, and their lands bring us southwards to the north bank of the River Wansbeck. South of this river is the parish and shire of Bedlington, one of the three component parts of North Durham,⁷³ and it came into the holdings of St Cuthbert's Community by purchase while Cuthheard was bishop between 901 and 915.⁷⁴ Bedlington parish separates off from the main part of Woodhorn parish the territory of a fourth chapelry, Horton, covering the townships of Horton, Cowpen,

Bebside and East and West Hartford.⁷⁵ This brings us to the south side of the River Blyth and the boundary with the Earsdon chapelry of Tynemouth.

Woodhorn, with its four chapelries, (the Chevingtons with Hadston, Widdrington with Druridge and Linton, Newbiggin and the Horton group) looks like a good example of a mother-church of the late Anglo-Saxon period, out of which the medieval parish developed. However, the extent of the parish poses two questions for understanding Woodhorn of the 8th century: why does Woodhorn's parochial territory extend north of the River Lyne, when the *Historia* associates this land with Warkworth; why does Woodhorn have a detached chapelry south of Bedlington parish?

We are told nothing of when or why Woodhorn was alienated from church lordship, but possibly it occurred in the 860s when the arrival of the Danish army destabilised the Northumbrian kingdom. This is the context for the alienations of church lands by Kings Osberht and Ælle, and *Historia* 12 speaks of a generalised destruction of churches — *ecclesias fregerunt et spoliaverunt* — at the hands of their successors. In the 8th century, the River Lyne formed the north boundary of Woodhorn's land: this is the clear implication of the boundary description of *Werceworthe cum suis appendiciis* in *Historia* 8. If so, the extension of the parish lands north to the Chevingtons has to have been a later development. A possible historical context for this is the extreme break-up of the Lyne estate: both lordship and pastoral care collapsed in circumstances unknown. When some stability was regained and Woodhorn emerged as a mother church, and while there was no strong base of territorial lordship here, Woodhorn took on responsibility for plugging the gap in care over most of this area; chapelries were set up at Chevington and Widdrington. Why the surviving church at Warkworth did not take on this role is probably unknowable. If the argument of this paper is correct, that the Warkworth estate of *Historia* 8 was arranged in three units, we might expect there to have been a church in each, Warkworth and both sub-units, and we have argued the case for one being Brainshaugh. Was there a dependent church in the Lyne sub-unit, and if so where? It is possible that one (or even possibly both) of the later chapelries had a much earlier origin than that for which there is any known evidence. Widdrington stands out as a likely place from a combination of factors: it came through into feudal lordship as a central place with two dependent villas held by one knight's fee;⁷⁶ its central hamlet and chapel occupy a topographically imposing location as a flat-topped knoll rising out of the coastal plain, and with the main roadway between the down-river crossings of the Rivers Lyne and Coquet running just below the chapel site.

Understanding the detached chapelry of Horton depends on understanding the status of Bedlingtonshire before Bishop Cutheard bought the estate early in the 10th century, but this is not known for certain. There are two possibilities. First, that it had been part of Ceolwulf's endowment or of ecclesiastical reorganisation by Bishop Ecgred, and lost later in the 9th century. If so, we might understand Bishop Cutheard's actions as an attempt to claw back some of what the community had once held. In this he was only partially successful, for in Bedlingtonshire he gained a small area as compared with what had been lost, and to achieve even this he could not rely on the patronage of kings, as his 7th- and 8th-century predecessors had done, but had to resort to cash payment. With secure title to this estate, he re-established pastoral care from a church at the estate centre in Bedlington for a territory co-terminous with the shire over which the church now exercised lordship; this pastoral area and shire territory in due course became the parish. At Woodhorn itself, pastoral work of some sort continued or was resumed at the church site,⁷⁷ from where care continued to be provided through the

Horton chapelry at what had been the southern tip of its domain, now detached from Woodhorn by Bedlingtonshire; this continued to be the case when the boundaries of the medieval parishes were confirmed. On this reading, Woodhorn of the 8th century took in a strip of land from the River Lyne southwards all the way to the boundary of Tynemouthshire. The alternative possibility is that Bedlingtonshire had not been part of Ceolwulf's endowment, but was newly-gained territory for St Cuthbert in the 10th century. This would fix the original southern boundary of Woodhorn at the River Wansbeck. But this smaller-estate hypothesis cannot explain how and why the Horton chapelry later came to be attached to Woodhorn and not to its immediate neighbour Bedlington. On balance, it seems more satisfactory to suppose that 8th-century Woodhorn was the larger unit, from the River Lyne to Tynemouthshire.⁷⁸

With St Cuthbert's community then settled in Chester-le-Street, 100 kilometres south of Lindisfarne, and building up landholdings south of the River Tyne, it is perhaps surprising that Bishop Cutheard should have turned his attention to Bedlington. Cambridge's analysis of the *mansiones* held by the St Cuthbert community and the inherited Roman road networks suggests one particular benefit in the form of a stopping place for those travelling on community business.⁷⁹ Certainly they used Bedlington in this way in an emergency in 1069 when, in the face of the Conqueror's advancing army, the Community fled from Durham back to the island of Lindisfarne. On a four-day mid-winter journey they took a route with overnight stops at Jarrow, Bedlington and Tughall,⁸⁰ this suggests they had not lost touch with their original home.⁸¹ This calls into question the idea of widespread destruction expressed by the *Historia* and also by Symeon,⁸² or at least allows the possibility that churches and contacts were re-established after destructive episodes and after territorial lordships had been lost: as already noted, both Warkworth and Woodhorn have sculptural fragments of the 10th–11th centuries. So also Lindisfarne itself, where forty-three fragments of crosses and grave covers are recorded in a date range from the 8th century to the later 10th, and where the parish church of St Mary appears to contain within it the footprint of one of the two original monastic churches.⁸³

5: *Brincewele* (Fig. 3)

Brincewele is the element in the statement of *Historia* 8 most difficult to accommodate in a geographical model of the holdings. On the assumption that this is Brinkburn, it lies eight kilometres further west than any of the vills bordering the River Coquet discussed so far. Johnson South takes the view that the road between the Coquet and the Aln referenced in *Historia* 8 is the Roman road known as the Devil's Causeway which crosses the Coquet one kilometre east of Brinkburn and heads north-west to cross the Aln two kilometres east of Whittingham church and village. This leads him to speculate that the *Historia* 'is laying claim to a huge territory which includes all the viable farmland (ie land below 200 metres) between the rivers Aln and Coquet and extends south of the Coquet as far as the Line'. This is an insightful comment, but its weakness is that it does not attempt to reconcile to anything else we know about other land units. There is no reason to think that large land holdings were set out with reference to any particular contour line, and the Devil's Causeway would bring the western boundary through the pre-Conquest Cospatric estate, later the Merlay dowry land, compromising the integrity of that land unit. Morris's mapping too, as far as can be judged from its small scale, has a similar problem. His is a straight-line boundary from somewhere

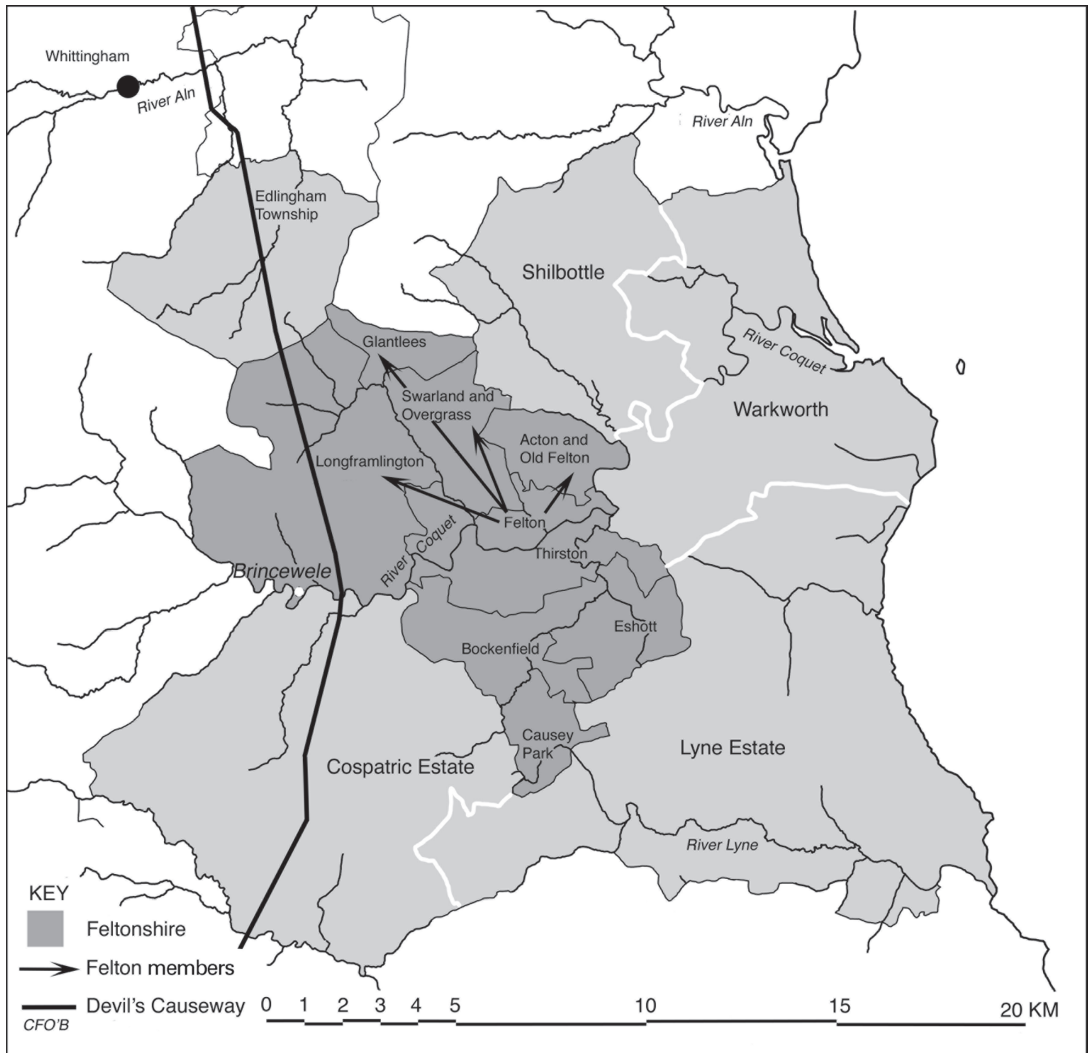


Fig. 3 The shire of Felton, with townships and the Felton members, and with the location of *Brincewele* and the line of Devil's Causeway.

around the headwaters of the River Lyne and on through the Cospatric estate, taking in the vill of Edlingham, though not Eglingham and Whittingham.⁸⁴ We need a more satisfactory definition.

The *Historia* describes *Brincewele* as a *civitas*. This is an unusual designation, with only two others in this text, that is York and Carlisle. In the *Ecclesiastical History*, Bede had used this term to refer to places that had been towns in Roman Britain, and the *Ravenna Cosmography* uses an early form of the word 'Coquet' both for a river and for a *civitas*.⁸⁵ If the *Historia* was picking up on Bede's usage, it is likely that it was referring to the promontory fort occupying the plateau of high ground within the loop of the river on its north side, that is, Ravenna's *civitas* of the Coquet. This would be a strong hint that this prehistoric site was still, or again,

occupied in the Early Medieval era, around the time that Brinkburn came into the Lindisfarne holdings. Within its landscape setting, Brinkburn occupies a position close to three crossings of the River Coquet: first, the Devil's Causeway (already mentioned) one kilometre to the east; second, diverging north-westwards from the Devil's Causeway from a point one kilometre south of the river, is a routeway which Henry MacLauchlan surveyed and named as an Ancient British Trackway, crossing directly on to the east bank of the loop and thence northwards;⁸⁶ third, close to the west side of the loop is a ford. Brinkburn's status, from prehistoric times onwards, may well derive from this concentration of river crossings.

From the naming of *Brincewele* in *Historia* 8 along with Warkworth, it might be inferred that there was a Lindisfarne minster church established here. If so, there is no known textual or archaeological evidence to confirm this. There is, however, a line of argument independent of any Cuthbert-Community sources to support this suggestion and to suggest that the church had survived the losses of the 9th century and continued its work. In the 12th century, a house of Augustinian Canons was founded at the head of the loop, below the promontory fort, endowed by baron William Bertram of Mitford who held the lordship *in capite*.⁸⁷ In England as a whole, 37% of Augustinian houses were founded on already-existing church sites to continue provision of pastoral and parochial functions; this includes the church of Hexham. This does not prove the case for Brinkburn, but the status post-Dissolution makes for a stronger case. J. C. Dickinson identified numerous examples in which a conventual church of the Augustinian Canons was retained for parish use after Dissolution. This, he observed, was not accidental, 'but was demanded by legal rights centuries old, due to the fact that the church in question had been a parish church before being converted to a monastery. This had imposed on the convent which acquired the church the duty to maintain a parish altar.'⁸⁸ This was the case at Hexham and also Brinkburn, where the church continued in use with parochial status after the Dissolution of the religious community.⁸⁹

The main landholdings of the medieval Priory can be traced to the foundation charter, with confirmations by William's son Roger and his son William of lands on the north side of the River Coquet.⁹⁰ It also held land south of the river by grants of Roger de Merlay taken from the dowry land of Juliana.⁹¹ By 1310, the present-day farms of Pauperhaugh and Healey, which had been parts of the founder's grant to Brinkburn, were held in the lordship of Rothbury,⁹² but apart from this, the lands continued to be an identifiable unit into post-Dissolution times as the Low Ward, High Ward and South Side of the chapelry of Brinkburn. The lands of the Bertram foundation grants were at the extreme western edge of one of the three separate blocks of territory of which the Mitford barony was constituted, bordering on the Rothbury lordship, with the Black Burn, a left-bank tributary of the Coquet, as the boundary.

It seems unlikely that the Brinkburn Priory lands are, in any direct way, survivals of territory pertaining to *Brincewele*. The key to unlocking this is probably in the Mitford holdings more widely considered. From spatial patterning, it looks as though the founder's grant to the medieval priory is a corner taken out of a large a large vill of Framlington (now Long Framlington), which was a dependent vill (*membrum*) of Felton. The Mitford holdings in this, the most northerly of their three blocks of land, were listed in 1242-43 as the vill of Felton, with its members Little Felton (now Old Felton), Acton, Swarland, Overgrass, Glantlees, and Framlington, all on the north side of the Coquet, and with Eshott, Bockenfield, Thirston and Causey (now Causey Park) on the south side; together, they constitute an ecclesiastical parish.⁹³ This is a compact block of land, roughly oval in shape, some 13 kilometres north-west to south-east and six to seven kilometres north-east to south-west. Confirmation grants

to Brinkburn Priory of Roger Bertram and his son William II refer to this as Feltonshire.⁹⁴ Assuming that small shires were not being created as land units in the post-Conquest settlement of Northumberland but were inherited units, this is a case of a baronial holding preserving intact an early medieval territorial unit. This allows us now to consider again the road between Coquet and Aln of *Historia* 8 and its mid-way point. There are three possible candidates for this road. First is the road along the coast between Warkworth and Lesbury (now the A1068). Its mid-way point comes within the vill of High Buston, the most northerly of those pertaining to Warkworth, towards its northern boundary. It would suppose some degree of approximation in the measurement for this to be the boundary marker. Second is the Great North Road (A1) between the river crossings at Felton and Alnwick, with a mid-way point within the vill of Shilbottle. It seems unlikely that an estate boundary would split a vill in two. The third candidate is the Devil's Causeway, as Johnson South proposed, where the mid-way point comes at the boundary between the vills of Framlington and Edlingham. If we understand this mid-way point as being simply a marker point on the road, without taking the road itself as a boundary line, as Johnson South seems to be suggesting (above), this is highly likely because it would mark a boundary between the land grant of *Historia* 8 and one of the elements of Ceolwulf's four-unit grant of Section 11. On this reading of the Section 8 boundary description at this point, if the Devil's Causeway is the road between Coquet and Aln and if *Brincewele* is to be understood within the shire model of territorial structures, the evidence of the *Historia* text leads directly to the conclusion that Feltonshire was a Lindisfarne land holding. The parochial centre of the later medieval era was Felton, the shire centre with its dependent vills and the Great North Road's River Coquet crossing point. The geographical relationship here between territorial lordship and the centre for pastoral care seems similar to that proposed above for Shilbottle parish, where there was an ecclesiastical shift from *Breiesne* to the medieval centre of lordship; here in Feltonshire, the former religious centre of *Brincewele* was marked in the 12th century by the Augustinian Priory.

CONCLUSION: KING CEOLWULF'S GRANTS (FIG. 4)

It is now possible to review King Ceolwulf's grants to Lindisfarne in a territorial and landscape context. The endowment, recorded in *Historia* 11, of Woodhorn, Whittingham, Edlingham and Eglingham has always looked odd in that Woodhorn is a detached outlier, whereas the other three, understood as the three parishes, constitute a single block of land, with each part contiguous with the other two.⁹⁵ Woodhorn, defined above as an ecclesiastical territory lying between the River Lyne and the north boundary of the shire and parish of Tynemouth, is now seen to be no longer isolated, but linked to the land units of *Historia* 8, that is the Lyne estate along with the parishes of Warkworth and Shilbottle, with its chapelry of Brainshaugh, as a 30-kilometre long strip of the Northumberland coastal plain. Amongst the resources of this combined entity are the estuaries of the rivers Blyth, Wansbeck, Lyne and Coquet, with their opportunities for fishing, harbouring ships, saltworking,⁹⁶ and exploiting resources of the inter-tidal mudflats. Edlingham, Eglingham and Whittingham are inland estates with woodland resources,⁹⁷ and across the western boundaries of Eglingham and Whittingham they link with the territory of Lindisfarne's upland estate of *Bromic* on the east flank of the Cheviot hills.⁹⁸ Feltonshire, with its focus at *Brincewele* and not hitherto recognised as a Lindisfarne estate, is the link, across the middle reaches of the Coquet valley, between the coastal and the inland estates. It adjoins Edlingham on the north-west, and on its north-east

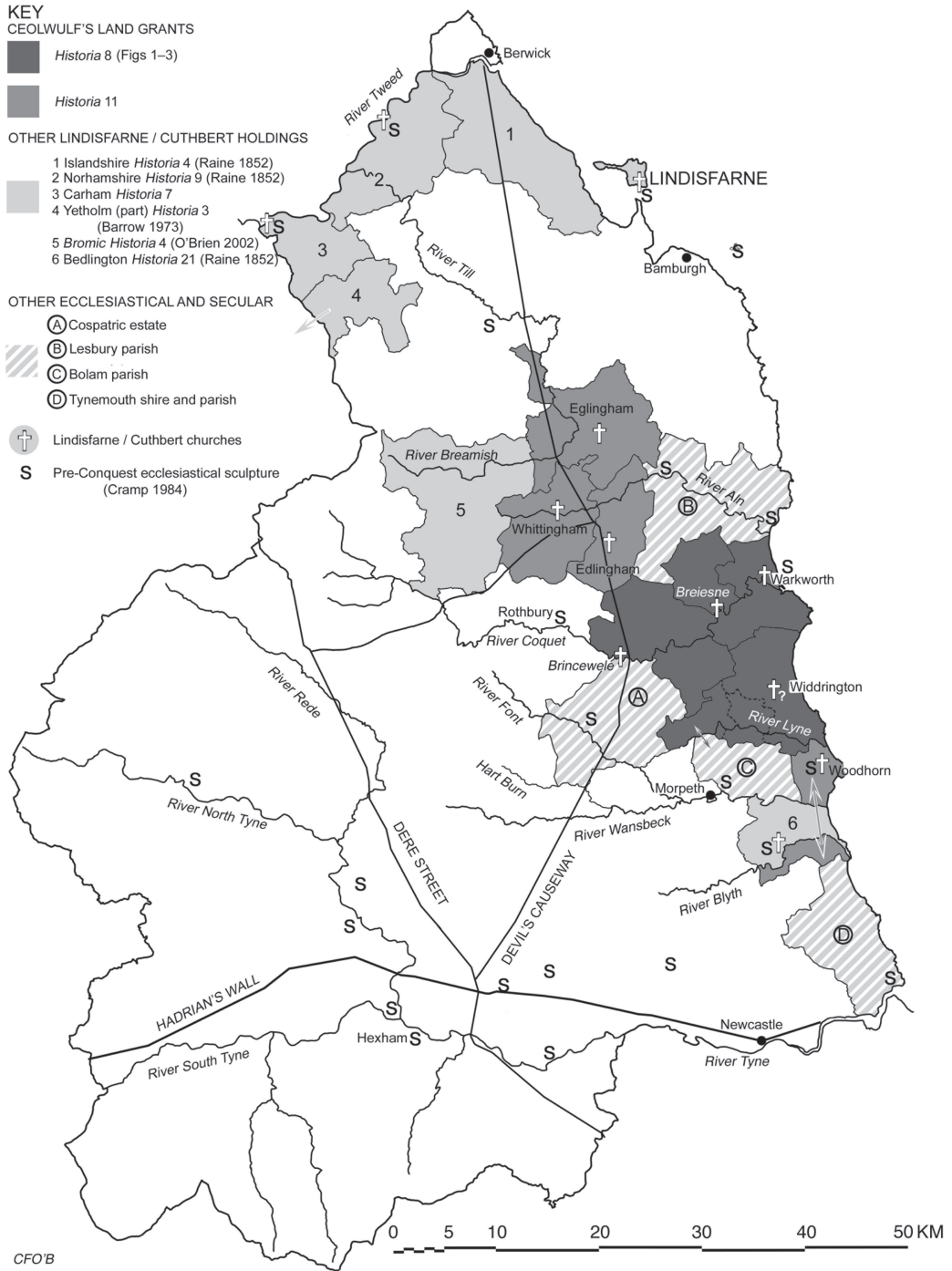


Fig. 4 Cartographic summary of the land units of *Historia* 8 and 11, set within the context of Ceolwulf's land grants, Tyne to Tweed.

and east sides it marches with the units of Shilbottle, Warkworth and Lyne. Thus, King Ceolwulf's initiative, perhaps brought to completion by Bishop Ecgred, created for Lindisfarne a consolidated block of land taking in all the main terrain types in the middle zone of Northumberland and linking to the *Bromic* estate of the Cheviot uplands.

Brian Roberts has shown how the geography of the Northumbrian kingdom was built around a set of cultural corelands, lands long settled by the time the English kingdoms first come into focus. His mapping shows how a number of the known ecclesiastical centres and the sites of stone grave markers and crosses are distributed about the edges of these corelands in such a way as to suggest that the kings who endowed monasteries were deliberately entering into partnership with churchmen as a way of extending and developing the productive capacity of the land through monastic estate management.⁹⁹ King Ceolwulf's lands took in a coastal strip of coreland in between the middle and lower Tyne valley core of Bernicia and a northern core of Bamburgh/*Dinguaroi*, extending it inland. The land unit of *Historia* 8 here called the 'Lyne estate' impinges on the edges of a zone of late-surviving woodland on both sides of the middle reaches of the mid-Coquet valley to which Roberts has assigned the name 'Cocwud', while Feltonshire and Edlingham together take a slice across it.¹⁰⁰ The well-known boundary description of *Historia* 4, [*e*]t hic est Lindisfarnensis terrae terminus ('and this is the boundary of the land of Lindisfarne') defines an extensive set of estates on both sides of the River Tweed; it is evident now that in the 8th century, under the patronage of King Ceolwulf, Lindisfarne acquired another extensive set of estates further south. This is estate planning on a most ambitious scale. In the troubled times of the mid-9th century this grand design collapsed, and not until the time of Henry I, in the early 12th, was such ambition seen again, in the creation of the great baronies. On the face of it, these had little to do with what had gone before; but distinguished scholars before us — Maitland, Jolliffe, Barrow — saw that archaic fragments had survived and showed us how to find them. All that remains to do is to apply their insights and to draw the maps.

PART 2: THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE ALIENATION AND FRAGMENTATION OF MONASTIC ESTATES IN 9TH/10TH-CENTURY NORTHUMBRIA

Max Adams

If the early 8th century saw Lindisfarne's acquisition and consolidation of large swathes of landed territory in Northumbria north of the River Tyne, then the next century was a period of stasis followed, in the middle of the 9th century, by renewed donations, or confirmations thereof, in both Bernicia and Deira and then, in the second half of that century, by a period of alienation and fragmentation. In the *Historia*'s account we leap from Ceolwulf's grants of the Warkworth estate (*Historia* 8) at his abdication in 737, to those made during the episcopate of Ecgred (traditionally 830–845) a hundred years later. *Historia* 9 credits the bishop with gifts of land at Norham on Tweed, with the two villas Jedburgh and Old Jeddart *et quicquid ad eas pertinent*: 'and whatever pertains to them' and at Gainford *et quicquid ad eam pertinent*: 'and whatever pertains to it', and two villas beyond (south of) the Tees: Cliffe with Wycliffe, and Billingham. We might propose, given the bishop's episcopal dates, that the donor was, in fact, the conspicuously long-reigning King Eanred, who ruled for 33 years from perhaps the 820s

to the 850s.¹⁰¹ The same argument might apply to the donations of the misplaced entry in *Historia* 11, credited to Bishop Ecgred and also, anachronistically, to Ceolwulf: Woodhorn, Whittingham, Edlingham and Eglingham, each of which gained a church. In the latter case we might, alternatively, suggest that Eanred was in a position to confirm grants originally made by Ceolwulf, which would be consistent with the record of the *CMD*.

Some ten or twenty years after the Ecgred gifts, the *Historia* describes the theft of estates by two royal rival brothers, Osberht and Ælle, of, respectively: Warkworth and Tillmouth; Billingham; Cliffe and Wycliffe; and Crayke, the latter of which had, if the *Historia* is to be believed, belonged to the community since the reign of Ecgfrith (672–685; *Historia* 5). Osberht and Ælle were punished for their sins by defeat and death at the hands of Ubba, the king of the Frisians, at York in 867. But there is no evidence, as we have seen, that the Warkworth and Woodhorn estates were ever restored to St Cuthbert. Crayke, at least, was back under Lindisfarne control in the 870s, when the community stayed there for four months under the protection of its abbot, Geve (*Historia* 20).¹⁰²

The *Historia* records no further record of 'thefts' of Lindisfarne land until after the Battle of Corbridge in 918 (*Historia* 22); so the temptation to lay territorial alienations from the community directly at the door of Scandinavian entrepreneurs before the beginning of the 10th century is to be resisted. There is no direct evidence, either, that Lindisfarne ceased to function as a community after the first recorded raid in 793,¹⁰³ and the minster at Crayke, close to the Viking fortress at York, evidently survived into at least the 880s (*Historia* 20). If the *Historia's* account, again, is accepted, during Ecgred's episcopate Lindisfarne's ancient wooden church — and the see itself, by implication — were relocated to Norham, and endowed with generous lands in the Tweed valley (*Historia* 9).

If Holy Island was thought to be too vulnerable for the precious relics of St Cuthbert, St Aidan and Kings Oswald and Ceolwulf to remain safe there, they did not have to move far. With the addition of lands at Woodhorn (*Historia* 11) and those south of the Tyne (*Historia* 9), the consolidation of coastal and connective inland estates under Ecgred and his patron King Eanred suggests, rather, a period of successful political activity and stability in the face of Viking raids further south and west, in a period when Francia and Ireland seem to have borne the brunt of the *Scaldingi's* depredations. Direct external intervention in Northumbrian politics on a large scale did not occur before the arrival of the great heathen army, the *mycel hæthen here*, in 865. The move to Norham might, rather, reflect tensions within the community, which seem to have evolved into a serious rift in the 870s.

Eanred's death, traditionally assigned to the 840s on Symeon's internal dating but more recently, in the light of coinage evidence, put back to the following decade,¹⁰⁴ triggered a dynastic conflict in Northumbria. Four years later his son Æthelred II was expelled by the short-lived Rædwulf, who was himself killed by Vikings (according to the much later testimony of Roger of Wendover). Æthelred's reign resumed briefly, but he was 'put to death', according to Symeon.¹⁰⁵ Rule of Northumbria was now disputed between the brothers Osberht and Ælle — perhaps sons of Eanred or of Æthelred. In their respective 'thefts' of lands from the Cuthbert community we may first detect an irrevocable split of the old Northumbrian kingdom into its original components: Osberht seizing the Cuthbert lands in ancient Bernicia (Warkworth and Tillmouth) and Ælle those south of the Tyne (on Teesside and at Crayke). A secure *terminus ante quem* for these alienations is provided by the rival brothers' deaths in 867 during a northern campaign of the *mycel hæthen here*, which had arrived in East Anglia two years earlier. In the aftermath, according to Symeon, the 'Danes' set up one

Ecgberht as a client king north of the River Tyne, while it seems that Archbishop Wulfhere of York (854–?900) became their regent in Deira. In 872 Ecgberht was deposed and Wulfhere went into exile during a brief reunification of the kingdom under Ricsige, before the restoration of Ecgberht and Wulfhere under pressure from the Viking army. In 874, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the Host returned to Northumbria under King Hálfðan, wintered on the River Tyne and 'overran that land'. All available narrative sources describe the destruction of churches and the despoliation of church lands, but without offering any significant detail.

In 875, if one accepts Symeon's questionable dating (*Libellus* 2.6), senior members of the Cuthbert community, Bishop Eardulf and Abbot Eadred of Carlisle, began to deliberate on the future of the community and especially its precious relics. Now began the so-called seven years' wandering (*Historia* 20), during which the community toured its extensive estates carrying the relics with them, culminating in a famous episode, located at the mouth of the River Derwent (at modern Workington) in Cumbria, where the proposed departure of the Community to Ireland was turned back by a miracle. At the end of this period of itinerancy the bishop re-established his see south of the Tyne, at Chester-le-Street, in the ruins of the Roman fort *Concangium* where the Great North Road crosses the River Wear. Cambridge has convincingly argued that Chester-le-Street was already a *mansio* owned by the community, allowing its functionaries a staging post on the long land route between York and Lindisfarne.¹⁰⁶ The date of arrival there has generally been argued to have been 883, from Symeon's testimony.¹⁰⁷ Here the community established a substantial presence, with a major church, sculpture workshop and scriptorium, where the *Historia* was compiled before the final move to Durham in 995.

All subsequent grants to the community recorded by the *Historia* were accumulated south of the River Tyne, with the single exception of Bedlington (see below). The first of these was the territory between Tyne and Wear, donated by the half-Scandinavian Christian slave Guðrøðr or Guthrith, whose bizarre accession to the kingship of Deira in about 885 marks a decisive re-alignment of the Cuthbert community with Deiran/Scandinavian patronage and is generally associated with the establishment of the new see at Chester-le-Street (*Historia* 13)¹⁰⁸ which lies in the lands between the Rivers Tyne and Wear. In retrospect we might speculate that there was a factionalisation of the Cuthbert community that mirrors — perhaps follows — the Bernician/Deiran dynastic fracture of the 860s but which might, conceivably, predate it if we ascribe the move to Norham as its first expression. In the north a Bernician/Ionan party wished to take the relics to Ireland; in the south, a Deiran party believed that its best interests were served by aligning with the kings of York. In the context of the Warkworth estate, 'stolen' by Osberht, the establishment of the see at Chester-le-Street can be read as a partial abandonment of interests north of the River Tyne. That the community had aligned itself with Deiran interests becomes more apparent in the sections of the *Historia* dating from the reign of King Eadweard (the Elder) of Wessex (899–924), when the community itself began to grant substantial estates from its portfolio south of the River Tyne to princely exiles with Deiran interests, seemingly in order to protect its core estates around Chester-le-Street against the dramatic fallout from the expulsion of the Norse Vikings from Dublin in 902.¹⁰⁹ In the late 910s these estates were seized by Rögnvaldr, the king of Viking York, but later recovered.

We can summarise the fortunes of the relevant estates north of the Tyne briefly. Unlike those territories south of the Tyne that would eventually form the core of the County palatine

of Durham, Warkworth and, probably, Woodhorn appear to have been lost to the community after about 860 — that is to say, they were not recovered by Chester-le-Street, although we cannot rule out the possibility that they were retained within a portfolio claimed by the church at Norham. Either Cuthbert had abandoned the Bernician kings, or they had abandoned him. What we might call a rump Cuthbertine community based at Norham continued: in *Historia* 21 Abbot Tilred of Heversham donated lands in what is now County Durham, splitting the gift between Chester-le-Street and Norham and effectively confirming the *de facto* rift.¹¹⁰ In Bernicia a more or less independent kingship continued under Eadwulf, who died in 913, and his son Ealdred (died around 934); but they came under intense pressure not only from the Norse kings of York but also from the expansionist King Constantín mac Áeda of Alba (900–943). A disastrous reverse in battle at Corbridge in 918 precipitated the ultimate decline of the Bernician kingship and by the reign of King Eadred of Wessex (946–955) Northumbria north of the Tyne was ruled under proxy by Osulf, a mere reeve of Bamburgh. His descendants as earls of Northumbria, the Cospatrics, owned what looks like a half-shire estate,¹¹¹ which abutted the Warkworth lands to the south-west, and which retained its integrity as a single unit even after the Conquest; if they had ever held Warkworth or Woodhorn they had lost or sold them.

Estate fragmentation is a strong feature of the 10th century. In the territories held by Scandinavian kings and jarls they became cash-realising assets to be bought, sold, split up and traded. In East Anglia, where the church had been effectively disestablished by the 870s, fragmentation of ancient minster estates was almost total; Yorkshire underwent similar fracturing of large landholdings and here, it is evident, a substantial settlement of veterans and, perhaps, their families, is reflected in a preponderance of Norse place-name elements, especially of the so-called Grimston hybrid type, where an Anglo-Saxon estate centre, a *tun*, came into Norse ownership. North of the Tyne there are conspicuously few Norse place-names. In these circumstances it is reasonable to argue that the weakness of the Bernician dynasty forced it to break up and sell assets.

The concentration of Cuthbertine interests south of the Tyne — reflected, perhaps, in the *Historia's* scribe's poor geographical knowledge of its former estates, attested in the Warkworth boundary description, and of the names of its 9th-century kings — meant that kings at Bamburgh could no longer or would no longer use their political assets to defend lands that were now peripheral to their interests — with the exception of the purchase, under Bishop Cutheard (c. 899–915), of Bedlington (*Historia* 21). We suggest, following the argument of Cambridge referred to above, that Bedlington's purchase along with five dependent villas (in other words, as a half-shire) was specifically designed to provide secure *mansio* accommodation for the community on the journey between Chester-le-Street and Lindisfarne (they stayed there in 1069 during their flight to Holy Island from Durham). What we do not know, and cannot know, is whether the rump community at Norham retained, or regained, Warkworth and Woodhorn. The lands between Tyne and Coquet may, by the 10th century, have been so distant from their shrunken interests as to have passed beyond their ken. The survival of the land unit known as North Durham, comprising Islandshire, Norhamshire and Bedlingtonshire, into the 19th century is a reflection of Norham's loss of all other landed assets north of the Tyne in the intervening centuries. How North Durham was re-acquired by the community is, for the moment, a matter of speculation, but the late 11th-century episcopates of Walcher, de St-Calais and Flambard may provide a context.

PART 3: NOTES ON PLACE-NAMES

Diana Whaley

INTRODUCTION

The following notes are (almost) limited to place-names that present problems of identification relevant to the present paper: the modern Brinkburn, Coquet, Hauxley, Woodhorn and the group of Edlingham, Eglingham and Whittingham. The *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* (*Historia*) is an extremely valuable source for north-eastern place-names, all the more so since, as pointed out by Johnson South,¹¹² it stands in something of a documentary vacuum between Bede in the eighth century and the post-Conquest chronicles. Most of its place-name forms are the earliest available for the name in question, and some are unique. Thus the *Historia* spellings *Brincewele* (presumably Brinkburn), *Hafodscelfe* (possibly Hauxley) and *Wudacestre* (presumably Woodhorn) are all unique (discounting transcriptions) and all have the same or similar first or specific elements as their presumed descendants, but different second or generic elements. Variation and replacement of generics is common in place-names as they develop over the centuries, especially when elements are similar in sound and spelling (as when modern Hauxley results from substitution of *-ley* for *-law*), but more extreme change is quite rare, and its relatively frequent incidence within the small corpus of names in *Historia* is striking. Additionally, the form of the river-name Coquet in *Historia* (*Cocwud-*) is quite unique. The special status of *Historia* makes it impossible to tell whether or not these forms are isolated through an accident of preservation, and whether they are original forms later replaced, legitimate variants, or simply incorrect — the product of writers not wholly familiar with the territory concerned. The place-name histories therefore cannot produce definite identifications, but in the light of the evidence in the present paper the identification with the Coquet is beyond doubt, and those with Brinkburn and Woodhorn almost certain. Hauxley is perhaps the most problematic.¹¹³

BRINKBURN (NU 1198)

(*usque ad ciuitatem que uocatur* 'as far as the civitas called') *Brincewele* c. 1080 (c. 1100 etc.) *Historia*
Brinkeburne 1100x37 (14th) *Brink Cart*
Brynkbourne 1138x72 (14th) *Brink Cart*
Brincaburch c. 1175 (M)
Brenkeborne c. 1157x1205 (14th) *Brink Cart*

Perhaps '(place at) the stream by the edge', from OE **brinc(e)* 'edge, brink' + OE *burna* 'stream, spring'. Spellings of *Brinkeburne*, *Brinkburne* are very numerous (not least in Brinkburn charters), making this the strongest candidate for the original etymology, but the first vowel also appears as *e* and *y*, and the identity of the name's first element is not certain, while the second element is not entirely stable.

It seems likely that the *Historia*'s unique *Brincewele* is indeed Brinkburn (making it the earliest known spelling of this place-name), as it is an important place (*civitas*) on the Coquet, and in a position relative to other places that is compatible with Brinkburn. The element *wella* 'spring, well, stream' could refer to the spring-line on the north-west of the promontory. Alternation of elements as phonologically dissimilar as *wella* and *burna* is unusual but not unparalleled, especially when they are semantically similar. Johnson South suggests that

Brincewele, which he takes as 'Brynca's spring/pool', could have been 'a lost site which presumably lay near Brinkburn ("Brynca's stream")'.¹¹⁴ Meanwhile, *Brincaburch* in the sole ms. of John of Hexham's *Historia* refers unambiguously to the priory at Brinkburn. It could be a secondary variant or error, perhaps influenced by the presence of a large Iron Age promontory fort at Brinkburn, and OE *burh* 'stronghold' and *burna* do alternate elsewhere. It is, however, possible that *Brincaburch* is a genuine form, even the original, especially since the watercourses nearest the site are not of the sort normally named with OE *burna* 'stream'.

Whatever the original second element, the first, specific, element, could be either (a) the OE noun **brinc(e)* 'brink, edge', where the asterisk indicates that the noun is hypothetical, possibly occurring in certain place-names, but not attested in Old English texts; or (b) a rare OE personal name *Brynca*.

In summary, the exact origin of the name Brinkburn is somewhat in doubt, but the location of the *Historia's* *Brincewele* at or near Brinkburn is reasonably certain. Finally, a forerunner of the name Coquet appears as a *civitas* in the late 7th-century *Ravenna Cosmography*, which may be a mistake or a convenience of some kind, but it is not out of the question that the settlement at Brinkburn originally had such a name (see note on Coquet).

COQUET, RIVER

Cocuneda, Cocenneda, Coccímeda 7th (13th/14th) *Rav* (*Civitas*)

Coguneusuron, Coguuensuron, Coguuenseron 7th (13th/14th) *Rav* (*Flumen*)

(*ad*) *Cocwædes*(æ) c. 700 (c. 900) AC (= Coquet Island)

cocuedi (*fluminis*) c. 721 (12th) BPC

(*ad*) *Cocwuda, (a) Cocwuda, (inter) Cocwud (et Alna)* 11th (c. 1100 etc.) *Historia*

Coket 1100x37 (14th) *Brink Cart*

Coqued 1104-8 (M, E)

Possibly 'the red one', from Brittonic *cocc* 'red' + Brittonic suffix *wedd*, while *Historia's* *Cocwuda* (nominative *Cocwudu*) would be OE *cocc* 'male bird' + OE *wudu* 'wood'. The earliest known spellings are those in the late 7th-century compilation the *Ravenna Cosmography*, and they are highly problematic. The mss are late copies; some scholars have read *-uu-* rather than *-un-*, or suggested that *-un-* is an error for *-uu-*; the name is listed as a *civitas*, an important settlement of some kind, as well as a *flumen* 'river'; and the river-name **Coguueu-* or similar seems to have been conflated in the original text with another, perhaps *Isurium*, the North Yorkshire river Ure.¹¹⁵ The underlying *Ravenna* form is probably best reconstructed as **Cocuneda* or **Cocuueda*, this being the spelling of the *civitas* in B, which is possibly the most reliable ms., with support from other mss and from *flumen* spellings. Meanwhile among the texts originating in pre-Conquest Northumbria, *Cocwædes-* appears in the earliest ms. of the *Anonymous Life of St Cuthbert*, which is also the only relevant pre-Conquest ms., and this is supported by readings in other mss of the same work, and by *cocuedi* in Bede's *Prose Life of St Cuthbert*. Thus the consensus of early Northumbrian texts is (normalised) **Cocwed-* and this would favour **Cocuueda* in *Ravenna*, despite the *-un-* spellings there. The appearance of the name in *Ravenna* means that it must be pre-English, and the most plausible and widely accepted interpretation is that it contains Brittonic *cocc* 'red' plus Brittonic *wedd*, which could be a suffix meaning 'appearance' or a noun meaning 'slope'. The etymology is not without problems (the single *-c-* in the spellings is puzzling, and the description 'red' would be most

applicable in the upper reaches of the river) and other solutions involving the god-name Coccidius or the Brittonic noun *coc* 'cuckoo' cannot be ruled out entirely.

The *Historia* spelling *Cocwudu* is important but isolated. It would point to an OE *cocc* 'male bird' (perhaps woodcock) + OE *wudu* (*wuda* in the oblique cases), and this could well have arisen as a popular etymology of a Brittonic river-name motivated by the similarity of the sounds but also by the river's heavily wooded course. Though clearly a river-name in *Historia*, the possibility remains that *Cocwudu* also referred to a forest or forested area. The later development towards the modern spelling Coquet seems to be partly influenced by French.

HAUXLEY, HIGH AND LOW (NU 2703, 2802)

Hafodscelfe, *Hfodscelfe*, *Hafodscefe* (c. 1080 etc.) *Historia*

Haukeslawe 1203 (M)

Hauxley from 1638 (M)

Setting aside the *Historia* form, the numerous medieval spellings show Hauxley to be 'the hawk's hill' or 'Hafoc's hill', from OE *hafoc* 'hawk' or OE personal name *Hafoc* + OE *hlāw* 'hill, mound', with late substitution of *-ley* (from OE *lēah* 'woodland clearing'). *Hlāw* is applied north of an imaginary line between Mersey and Humber to natural hills, though reference to a tumulus or artificial mound, found south of the line,¹¹⁶ cannot be ruled out. The multi-period archaeology uncovered at Low Hauxley in 2013 includes Bronze Age cairns, but this may be coincidental.

Hafodscelfe in the estate bounds in *Historia* 8 has been associated with Hauxley. The identification is mentioned only, and somewhat sceptically, by Mawer among the main place-name dictionaries,¹¹⁷ but it deserves consideration. *Hafod* is an exceptional spelling in OE place-names and could well be an error for *hafoc*/*Hafoc* 'hawk/Hafoc' or possibly the genitive *hafoces*.¹¹⁸ The second element is clearly *scelf* 'level ground',¹¹⁹ which occurs as a generic element in place-names, mainly with personal names as their first, specific element.¹²⁰ However, *scelf* appears to be rare or non-occurring in Northumberland and it is debatable whether the coastal site at Low Hauxley would qualify as a *scelf*. Like many others nearby, it is low-lying and relatively level, and contrasts with High Hauxley to the north and Radcliffe to the west, but it is not notably level. High Hauxley reaches little more than 10m, but is sufficiently shapely to attract a name in *hlāw* 'mound, hill' as well as Beacon Hill. *Hafodscelf* is therefore puzzling both in itself and as a possible antecedent of the name Hauxley. If *Hafodscelf* is Hauxley it has undergone a change of generic element. Reviewing the linguistic and toponymic evidence, then, *Hafodscelf* can be identified with Hauxley, but only with a certain amount of special pleading: *Hafod* must be an error for *Hafoc(es)*, and *scelf* must have been replaced by *hlāw* or its reflex. It seems that no other surviving Northumberland place-name would naturally result from *Hafodscelf*. The main alternative to Hauxley might be Hawkhill, just north of the Aln at NU 2212. This has early spellings of *Hawkehil* c. 1210 and similar, but also *Hawkishill* c. 1226–1253, which could conceivably be a garbled version of an OE *hafoces-scelf*, since confusion of *scelf* and *hyll* 'hill' is already attested by the C13th in names such as Moxhull and Oxhill (both Warwickshire) and Shareshill (Staffordshire), and by the C14th in Minshull (Cheshire). Thus equating *Hafodscelf* with Hawkhill is at least as convincing as equating it with Hauxley, and the main case for Hauxley therefore rests on the relative position of *Hafodscelfe* in the *Historia* bounds.¹²¹

WOODHORN (NZ 2888)

Wudacestre, Uudecestre c. 1080 (c. 1100 etc.) *Historia*

Wodehorne c. 1154x89 *Brink Cart*

Wudehorn 1177x78 (M, E)

Wodehorne and numerous similar medieval spellings point to 'projecting land by or with a wood', from OE *wudu* (genitive singular *wuda*) + OE *horn* 'horn, projecting piece of land, corner'. The most usual sense of *wudu* in place-names is 'a wood, tract of woodland', but 'wood, timber' is believed to be possible, especially when *wudu* is compounded with terms denoting buildings or other structures.¹²² The reference of *horn* could be to land in a river-bend, or to a promontory.¹²³

Wudacestre in *Historia* (and secondarily in Symeon of Durham) is unique and puzzling. It clearly contains the element *cæster/ceaster*, which is commonly used in OE place-names of major Roman towns and cities or, especially in N. England and Scotland, of other ancient fortifications, Roman or British. *Cæster/ceaster* forms compounds with OE nouns denoting an adjacent feature,¹²⁴ including *wudu* in Woodchester (Gloucestershire), the site of a Roman villa, recorded 716–745 (11th); and cf. Woodbrough (Nottinghamshire), Woodbury (Devon) and *Wodeburge* 1287, *Wodeburgh* 1379, forms for the Northumberland Woodburn (all with OE *burh* 'stronghold'). *Wudacestre* is therefore a fully credible place-name as such, but is problematic insofar as it fails to match all the other spelling evidence for Woodhorn, and (to my knowledge) no traces of early defensive structures have been found at Woodhorn. The identification of *Wudacestre* with Woodhorn therefore rests on the common first element *wudu*, on the contextual evidence of the *Historia* and on the lack of other plausible candidates.

EDLINGHAM, EGLINGHAM AND WHITTINGHAM

The *Historia* spellings for three of the four *villae* of Section 11, Edlingham (*Eadwulfincham*, *Eadwulfingham*), Eglingham (*Ecgwulfincham*, *Ecgwulfingham*) and Whittingham (*Hwittingham*, *Hwitincham*, *Bwittingham*), leave no doubt about identification but are potentially of historical interest. They agree across the three mss of the *Historia* except for some variation between *-ingham* and *-incham*, both between and within mss; and ms. L has an erroneous *Bwittingham*. The *Historia* mss are the earliest sources for these names, and they are entirely consistent with the next-earliest sources.¹²⁵ They clearly point to origins in an OE personal name (*Eadwulf*, *Ecgwulf*, *Hwīta* respectively) and to a final OE *hām* 'homestead, settlement', an element often regarded as characteristic of the earlier phases of Anglo-Saxon influence, though not confined to those. The main uncertainty is whether the medial element was originally *-ing*, a suffix which could form place-names such as the hypothetical **Eadwulfinġ/*Ecgwulfinġ/*Hwīting* 'place associated with Eadwulf/Ecgwulf/Hwīta', hence 'homestead at or called **Eadwulfinġ/*Ecgwulfinġ/*Hwīting*'; or whether, on the evidence of occasional medieval spellings in *-inge-* or *-inga-*, the medial element could have been *-inga-*, a genitive plural of a suffix forming group- or folk-names which would give the overall sense 'homestead of the people of Eadwulf/Ecgwulf/Hwīta' (and the same question arises for Bellingham, Chillingham, Ealingham, Ellingham, Eltringham and Ovingham). The *-inga-* explanation is the more traditional one and is applied to many names in *-ingahām* elsewhere, for instance in East Anglia and South-East England, and these are considered to constitute one of the earliest strata of Anglo-Saxon naming. The geographical proximity and parallel names of

Edlingham, Eglingham and Whittingham could possibly suggest some kind of organised division and naming of territory at a quite early stage in the Anglian period in Northumbria.

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NOTES

¹ The text of the *Historia* survives in three manuscripts of the late 11th, the later 12th and the 15th centuries. Two printed editions were issued in the 19th century. First by J. Hodgson Hinde for the Surtees Society in 1868, and then in 1882 Thomas Arnold included a text of the *Historia* in his edition for the Rolls Society of the works of Symeon of Durham. In 2002 Ted Johnson South produced a critical edition, from a review of all three manuscripts, along with a translation and commentary. This supersedes the two 19th-century editions. The date of composition is uncertain. Craster (1954) proposed three stages of compilation of the text between mid-10th and late-11th centuries; Johnson South (2002), while allowing uncertainty, favours 11th-century dates either in one stage, post-1031, or two, post-1016 and post-1031. See 2002, 25–36; and for the manuscripts, see pp. 14–25. McGuigan's view (2015, 9) is that the text as a unity has to date after the reign of King Cnut (1016–1035), and perhaps as late as the Anglo-Norman era. Quotations given in this paper are from the 2002 edition, and translations are by the author.

² St Cuthbert, sometime bishop of Lindisfarne, died in AD 687, but the *Historia* represents grants made to Lindisfarne and its successor establishments in Chester-le-Street (AD 883–995) and Durham (from AD 995) as being made to the saint personally. The term 'Community of St Cuthbert' is by convention used of the ecclesiastical community, in whichever of its centres, which held the saint's body.

³ Raine 1852, vii.

⁴ Mawer 1920. See Diana Whaley's discussion of the place-names in Part 3.

⁵ Johnson South, in his 2002 translation, gives 'Coquetdale', but this seems much too imprecise as a boundary delimiter.

⁶ For example, in the description of the Lindisfarne boundaries, Section 4.

⁷ Diana Whaley discusses linguistic difficulties in equating *Hafodscelfe* with Hauxley and notes that 'the main case for Hauxley therefore rests on the relative position of *Hafodscelfe* in the *Historia* bounds'. See Part 3, p. 00.

⁸ Mawer is guarded on this identification: 'Woodhorn has by some been identified as *Wudecestre'* (1920, 219); See Whaley in Part 3, p. 106, for discussion of the name.

⁹ H. H. E. Craster reconstituted the text of *CMD*, an element of the Red Book of Durham (*Liber Ruber Dunelmensis*), from four sources (1925, 523–529); he determined its date of composition as lying between 1072 and 1083 and identified it as a source for the early 12th-century *Libellus* of Symeon of Durham who, on this point, follows the text of *CMD* rather than that of the *Historia* (though with variations in spelling, with *Bregesne* where *CMD* has *Breiesne*). For the *Libellus*, see the critical edition, with translation and commentary, by David Rollason (2000); pp. xlii–xliv for discussion of date of composition and authorship. Neil McGuigan in a doctoral thesis (2015, 8–27) explores inconsistencies between Cuthbert-Community texts and compares the claims in these with information from other independent sources.

¹⁰ There is a long history of scholarship and development of understanding on this point. Amongst the literature, Jones 1971 and Barrow 1973 are key texts; Faith 1997, 1–14 reviews the concept of 'extensive lordship', drawing a distinction between the *scir* as a political unit and the multiple estate as a unit of ownership and production; O'Brien 2002 applies the ideas to land units in north Northumberland, among them some Lindisfarne holdings; Roberts 2008a, 151–187 discusses the concepts and applies with particular reference to County Durham.

¹¹ Jolliffe 1926; Craster 1954, 191–2.

¹² Morris 1974, 89. While this provides an over-view, the map is at too small a scale for detailed scrutiny and it is difficult to cross-reference this to the geography of villas. Johnson South 2002, 124–129; figs. 2, 3.

¹³ O'Brien's discussion (2002, 56–61) of Edlingham, Eglingham and Whittingham understands them as territorial units within a large shire of Bamburgh. Craster had observed that '[t]here is no supporting evidence that the villas were ever made over to Lindisfarne, but one may accept the tradition that their churches were of early date' (1954, 186). There is no direct evidence of any sort, other than that of the *Historia* and *CMD*, on how matters were organised in the 8th century. The inference from the two texts is surely that the villas were in fact made over to Lindisfarne. The point is discussed further below in relation to Woodhorn.

¹⁴ North Durham: Raine 1852 (and see also the *Boldon Book* of 1183 for the services and payments rendered to the Bishop of Durham from the villas of Northhamshire and Bedlingtonshire); Yetholm: Barrow 1973, 32–35; Breamish *et al.*: O'Brien 2002; Aucklandshire: Roberts 2008a, 172–187; Wearmouth-Jarrow lands: Roberts 2008b; Bede, *Vit Abb* 4 and 7; estate management: O'Brien and Adams 2016.

¹⁵ Blair 2006, 1–3; 135–141.

¹⁶ *BPC* 9; 16; *Hist Eccl* 3. 17.

¹⁷ For debate on the topic see the views of Cambridge and Rollason 1995 and the response by Blair 1995. Blair 2006, 153; 161–2 reviews the debate and presents his own views, as modified by the earlier debate.

¹⁸ Blair 2006, 426–7.

¹⁹ Bede had already noticed early signs of this, with conflicting secular and religious interests and with laymen ruling over monks: *Ecgbert Epist.*

²⁰ External intervention: *Vit Abb* 6; succession: *Vit Abb* 11; Ripon: *Vit Wilf* 17.

²¹ See Adams in Part 2.

²² Two concurrent processes fossilised the development of parishes in Northumberland and acted against the development of single-vill parishes: the appropriation of tithes by the new monasteries of the 12th century, and the development of the principle of primogeniture in the feudal dispensation (Dixon 1984, I, 68).

²³ Jolliffe 1926, 1. He followed where Frederic Seebohm and then F. W. Maitland led. Seebohm, analysing the English village and its open fields, defined his working method as 'proceeding from the known to the unknown' (1883, xiv). Maitland picked up Seebohm's method in his study of tenures in *Domesday Book and Beyond*: 'I have followed the retrogressive method "from the known to the unknown" of which Mr. Seebohm is the apostle.' (1897, v).

²⁴ Thanage of Hepple: *Lib Feud* 1, 203; Stephen of Mousen: *Lib Feud* 1, 205; Nedderton 1183: *Boldon Book*. By the 13th century cornage had been commuted to cash but was still paid into the Exchequer by the baronies under that heading (*Pipe Rolls, passim*); by 1382 (*Hatfield Survey*) metreth had been commuted to cash payment.

²⁵ Barrow 1973, 9–16; Faith 1997, 118–9.

²⁶ *Lib Feud* 2, 1122–1130.

²⁷ *Lib Feud* 1, 204.

²⁸ Faith 1997, 95. Barrow (1973, 47) observes of this confusion of tenures: 'only gradually and imperfectly was the position of thegns and drengs sorted out into the familiar categories of knight's service, serjeanty and free socage'. The inquisition of AD 1210–1212 into knights' service shows something of this confusion in reconciling old and new systems when Earl Patric, baron of Beanley, is said to hold 3 knights' fees in thanage (*Lib Rub* 2, 562).

²⁹ O'Brien, 2002.

³⁰ It is known, for example, that the vill of Sturton Grange grew by accretion as new grants were made to the church (NCH 5, 241–2). The boundary description of a 12th-century charter granted here

to Newminster Abbey (*Newminst Cart*, 197–8), as reconstructed by Leslie Hepple (2004), coincides with the 19th-century mapping for most of the circuit except that its extreme south-east stretch, from the point at which it turns sharply south, follows the western edge of what later became the township of Warkworth Moor. The map (fig. 1) here uses the Ordnance Survey line.

³¹ Much of the foundation work to underpin the case in Northumberland for reading back from township mapping of the 19th century to the pre-Conquest administrative vill was put in place by Piers Dixon in his doctoral thesis of 1984. The earliest cartography available for study is in the form of estate plans of the early 17th century, as landholders began to review their lands in the light of more settled conditions following from the Union of the Crowns in 1603. Thus, these plans give snapshots of the landscape as it was emerging out of the medieval era and beginning to change. From such material, Dixon argued (1984, I, 79–80) that there is a *prima facie* case that the 19th-century boundaries reflect those of the medieval era in about 75% of cases. Most later alterations arose from enclosure of commons and some swapping of lands between estates. The medieval feudal records cited in this paper refer to the vill as an administrative unit, and Dixon established (1984, I, 78–9) that the territorial unit of the vill was usually adopted as the administrative unit, and so the territorial unit can in general be taken as a cartographic expression of the administrative. Dixon further argued (1984, I, 73–4) from a comparison of payments to the Exchequer in 49 Henry III for the archaic render of cornage with the Feudal Aid of 1242–43 that the medieval vills had pre-Conquest origins. Thus cross-temporal connections are established for the administrative units. There are no maps or reliable boundary delineations for the pre-Conquest vills (as discussed above, the boundary narrative of *Historia* 8 is flawed) and so the maps drawn for this study from Ordnance Survey mapping are to be understood as provisional territorial models of the administrative vills of the pre-Conquest shires. These can then be subject to close scrutiny in the field. Where boundaries follow prominent features of the landscape, such as rivers and streams, there is a strong likelihood that they are ancient. See O'Brien 2002 fn 9, 23 and 24 concerning Dixon's arguments.

³² The *Cartae Baronum* is contained in a 13th-century compilation *Liber Ruber de Scaccario* (here abbreviated to *Lib Rub*), published in a printed edition of three volumes in 1897, 'The Red Book of the Exchequer'. The *Liber Feudorum* (*Lib Feud*) is a two-volume compilation made in the Exchequer in 1302, with a printed edition in three volumes (including the index) by the Public Record Office, 1920, 1921, 1930.

³³ For the area under review, by parish, chapelry and township, see Hodgson Part 2, Vol 2 (1832), and with his source materials printed in the three volumes of Part 3 (1820, 1828, 1835); also Northumberland County History Vol 5, 1899 and Vol 7, 1904, both edited by John Crawford Hodgson.

³⁴ This is established from an entry in the sheriff's accounts for Northumberland for 1157–58 of a gift of lands from the king to Roger son of Richard, then in the *Quo Warranto* proceedings of 21 Edward I, at which Robert son of Roger brought forward a charter of Henry II granting Warkworth to Roger son of Richard, Robert's great-great-grandfather. See Hodgson 3. 1, 157. In his declaration of 1166 to the king, Roger acknowledged his service of 1 knight's fee and by 1212, this lordship had passed to his son Robert. 1166: *Lib Rub* 1, 442; 1212: *Lib Feud* 1, 200.

³⁵ 1186–7: *Pipe Roll* 33 Henry II (Hodgson 3. 3, 44); see also *Pipe Rolls* 34 Henry II, 1 Richard I, 2 Richard I. It is likely from these that Warkworth was a thanage estate: a case in point in support of Barrow's observation 'it is probable that most of the baronies in Northumberland were created out of land previously held in thanage; but it is only rarely that evidence for the change survives.' (1973, 11, note 47). 1242–43: *Lib Feud* 2, 1113.

³⁶ *Inquisitio Post Mortem* of Roger son of John (*IPM* 1844, 97–103; NCH 5, 162). On the bishop of Durham's lands, supply of hunting dogs for the bishop's hunt was a drengage service (*Boldon Book*).

³⁷ The line of Warkworth's boundary with Birling and High Buston is now north of the river, taking in the steep north bank and meadow land immediately west of the town. This is the result of an extension to the land of Warkworth Park by Henry, 4th earl, in about 1480 (NCH 5, 112–3). The New Town of Warkworth occupies a rectangle of land on the north-east side of the river loop, splitting off a small portion of Birling. The first reference to the new town is in the 1249 *Inquisitio Post Mortem* of Roger son of John (*IPM* 1844, 97–103; NCH 5, 162). The map (fig. 1) shows the boundary along the river and omits the new town.

³⁸ *Lib Feud* 2, 1149; Hodgson 3. 1, 230; NCH 5, 327.

³⁹ *Pipe Roll* 2 John 1200; Hodgson 3. 3. 73; *Lib Feud* 1, 203; 1, 598; 2, 1120; NCH 5, 326.

⁴⁰ *Lib Feud* 1, 204; 2, 1130; *Rotul Hundred* 2, 17; Hodgson 3. 1, 90–91; NCH 5, 253.

⁴¹ *Newminster Cart*, 211. NCH 5, 262–3.

⁴² Robert de Mowbray, during his tenure of the Northumbrian earldom (1085–1088), assigned the tithes to Tynemouth Priory. NCH 5, 19.

⁴³ The 1860 findings, made 2 feet below the ground surface, were of walls about 4 feet thick interpreted as being the east end of a pre-Norman church (NCH 5, 171). Recent findings: Carlton and Ryder 2014; sculpture: Cramp 1984, 230–1.

⁴⁴ *Newminst Cart*, p. 197; *Lib Feud* 2, 1129; NCH 5, 241.

⁴⁵ Hugh, son of Gregory of Buston, unsuccessfully challenged the Abbey on this point. *Newminst Cart* p. 209; NCH 5, 221.

⁴⁶ *Lib Feud* 2, 1127; NCH 5, 271.

⁴⁷ William died in 1126. Grant confirmed in 1129 by his son Ranulf, and again by Roger, son of Ranulf. (Hodgson 2. 2, 469; 3. 2, 142–3.)

⁴⁸ *Lib Rub* 1, 427; 1, 438; *Lib Feud* 2, 1118; Hodgson 3. 3, 302–3; NCH 5, 345.

⁴⁹ Johnson South (2002, 83) takes the vill of Guyzance (within which *Breiesne/Bregesne* is sited) to be an element of this Warkworth estate; the interpretation presented here differs on this point.

⁵⁰ River estate: Fleming 1998, 46–47.

⁵¹ Mawer 1920, 29, citing Symeon's spelling; Craster had not yet published the text of *CMD*.

⁵² *Lib Rub* 1, 427; *Perc Cart* DCCLIX (pp. 291–2); Hodgson 3. 3, 306. The Alnwick Abbey Chronicle (*Aln Chron*) held that Guisbert Tison, standard bearer at the Battle of Hastings, was granted the Alnwick barony and that he set up a lordship centred at Shilbottle for his younger son Richard. C. H. Harts-horne had called this into question in 1858 (1858, 148–9), yet the Northumberland County History followed the Chronicle (NCH 5, 417). Percy Hedley, in the first volume of 'Northumberland Families' (1968, 198), is robust in rejecting the 'fictitious account' in the Chronicle and in identifying Ivo de Vesci as the first known holder of the barony.

⁵³ *Lib Feud* 2, 1118. By the beginning of the 13th century, a family taking its name from the place held land in Hazon, when Germanus Tison reached an agreement over a wood of 100 acres with Hugh of Heisende (NCH 5, 461).

⁵⁴ NCH 5, 456, fn3.

⁵⁵ NCH 5, 440.

⁵⁶ Later documents conflated the two chapels, but the earliest evidence draws a distinction between them. NCH 5, 477; *Aln Chron*.

⁵⁷ This looks very like the sort of shire parish that Craster described for Corbridge, Warkworth and Bedlington (NCH 10, 57; Craster 1954, 191–2).

⁵⁸ *Newminst Cart*, 268–9.

⁵⁹ O'Brien 2002 considered the Cospatric lands north of the River Coquet.

⁶⁰ East Chevington: *Lib Feud* 2, 1118; West Chevington: *Lib Feud* 2, 1114.

⁶¹ The small township of Bullock's Hall was carved out of West Chevington, but this was not until the 17th century (NCH 5, 393–397) and so for this analysis it is considered as part of West Chevington.

⁶² This chapelry was at some time transferred to Warkworth (NCH 5, 384); Craster in NCH 9, 222 says this was probably before 1174.

⁶³ *Lib Feud* 1, 597; 2, 1112; NCH 5, 406.

⁶⁴ *Lib Feud* 2, 1112; Hodgson 2. 2, 224–9.

⁶⁵ *Lib Feud* 2, 1120–21. *Hayden* has not survived as a place-name. Hodgson suggests that it is Dean House, a farm by a small dene on the north bank of the River Lyne between Ellington and Lynemouth (Hodgson 2. 2, 195). Ellington township takes in some land south of the Lyne. If the boundary description of *Historia* 8 is secure in its definition of the river as the boundary, this must be a later alteration.

⁶⁶ *Lib Feud* 2, 1120, 1129; Hodgson 2. 2, 247.

⁶⁷ Apart from this detached vill of Ulgham, the rest of the vills of the Merlay barony formed a strip of land from the baronial centre at Morpeth south to the River Tyne at Walker (*Lib Feud* 2, 1116). Merlay charter: *Newmist Cart* 122; Hodgson 2. 2, 177.

⁶⁸ The greater part of Ulgham township, along with the village site, lies south of the Lyne; its north-bank extension is not readily explicable. Perhaps it is to be explained in the context of the establishment of the monastic grange.

⁶⁹ Hodgson 2. 2, 179.

⁷⁰ *Lib Feud* 2, 1116–7, 1126. The inclusion here of Fenrother in the 'Lyne estate' rests on its position within the Bothal barony. There is, however, evidence to link it with Horsley in the former Cospatric estate. The *IPM* of Elizabeth Dacre in 1517 records a payment of 13 shillings and 4 pence by the tenants of Fenrother in connection with keeping beasts in Horsley Forest; in 1765 the Duke of Portland (then lord of the manor) paid that sum to have his Fenrother tenants graze their cattle on Horsley Moor (Hodgson 2. 2, 95 and 96). Whether it should be seen as part of Ceolwulf's grant is thus a moot point. A small part of the township of Tritlington lies south of the Lyne. This is at a point where the river suddenly forms a narrow, kilometre-long loop northwards.

⁷¹ See Adams in Part 2 on this point.

⁷² *Lib Feud* 2, 1120, 1129.

⁷³ As noted above: Raine 1852.

⁷⁴ *Historia* 21, where the *appendicia* of Bedlington are named as Nedderton, Twizell, Choppington, Sleekburn and Cambois. The rents and services of this land in 1183 are described in detail in the *Boldon Book*, the customary of the Bishop of Durham's estates.

⁷⁵ Horton, with its members Stiklaw and Hartford, was an isolated portion of the barony of Whalton (*Lib Feud* 2, 1112); Sticklaw is identified as the present-day Stickley Farm, now considered as part of Horton township (Hodgson 2. 2, 263). Cowpen and Bebside were within the Bolam barony (*Lib Feud* 2, 1114).

⁷⁶ It is possible (though not in this case provable) that this fee is a commutation of a former thanage, in common with some other cases of three-vill holdings. See Lomas 1996, 22–5 and O'Brien 2002, 64 on this point.

⁷⁷ A cross shaft of mid-10th – mid-11th century date is evidence of an ecclesiastical presence here within this period (Cramp 1984, 231–2).

⁷⁸ This is the view taken by Craster in NCH 9, 222.

⁷⁹ Cambridge 1989; see also Adams in Part 2.

⁸⁰ *Libellus* 3. 15.

⁸¹ Central to Symeon's argument in the *Libellus* was to show an unbroken tradition of monastic succession from Lindisfarne through to Durham of the early 12th century, where relics of 7th- and 8th-century Northumbrian saints and revivalist-style sculpture proclaimed the roots of the tradition. (Piper 1989, 438–441; Rollason 2003, 247–8).

⁸² *Libellus* 2.6.

⁸³ Crosses and grave covers: Cramp 1984, 194–208; St Mary's church: Blair 1991.

⁸⁴ Johnson South 2002, 82–3; Morris 1974, 89.

⁸⁵ See Whaley in Part 3, pp. 103–104. Campbell 1986. Keynes and Lapidge, in a note on the translation of Asser's *Life of King Alfred*, observe that 'in Celtic-Latin texts, *civitas* is often used to designate a monastery rather than a town or city.' (1983, 261 fn. 175). *CMD* and *Libellus* give no hint that this usage was current within the Cuthbert community. It seems likely that here in the *Historia* it refers to a pre-existing status of *Brincewele*.

⁸⁶ MacLauchlan 1864, 15. The earliest antiquarian accounts of the 19th century regarded this as a Roman road and crossing, a view revived in the 1980s; MacLauchlan, however, thought it belonged to the time of the Priory, despite the 'Ancient British' name. James Anderson reviews the literature on this point in his doctoral thesis of 1991 and refutes the Roman case.

⁸⁷ *Brink Cart* No. 1. The foundation date is not known.

⁸⁸ Robinson 1980, 35; Burton 1994, 47–8; Dickinson, 1968, 65.

⁸⁹ NCH 7, 487. Although in 1891 it was determined that Brinkburn was a chapelry of Felton, in a survey of value and patrons *circa* 1577 Brinkburn is listed as a parish church of the Alnwick Deanery, without incumbent and served by a stipendiary priest (Hodgson 3. 3, xlvi), and in the Ecclesiastical Inquests of 1650 Brinkburn is again referenced as a parish (Hodgson 3. 3, lii). That the Brinkburn canons exercised parochial authority in the medieval period is evidenced in a late 12th-century charter in which it is stated that the mother church of Felton is under the jurisdiction of the Prior and canons (*Brink Cart*, No. 65). Jane Cunningham (1995, II 73) argued there had been an earlier building, presumably a church, on the grounds that the Priory's foundation charter was made and witnessed *super altare Dei et Sancti Petri*.

⁹⁰ *Brink Cart*, Nos. 1, 2, 4.

⁹¹ *Brink Cart*, Nos. 118–121.

⁹² Inquisition post-mortem of Robert son of Roger, listing 6 vaccaries (cow pastures) in Rothbury Forest. The circumstances in which the canons lost this land are not known. (*IPM* 1844, 103–7; *Perc Cart* 275–6, fn 11; NCH 15, 352–3.)

⁹³ *Lib Feud* 2, 1115. Causey Park is not within the ecclesiastical parish as shown in NCH 7, but in a case brought in the court of the Archdeacon of Northumberland in 1221 it was determined that the chapel at Causey belonged to the mother church of Felton (*Brink Cart*, No. 64).

⁹⁴ *Brink Cart*, Nos. 3 and 4.

⁹⁵ O'Brien 2002, 56–61 has analysed these as elements of an extensive shire of Bamburgh. See also NCH 5, 106–228; 14, 359–455, 482–559.

⁹⁶ In the 12th century, Robert fitz Richard granted a saltworking at Gloster Hill on the south side of the Coquet estuary to the Cistercian Abbey of Newminster (*Newminst Cart*, 211).

⁹⁷ O'Brien 2002, 59; Wood 2011, 64; O'Brien and Adams 2016, 23.

⁹⁸ *Et tota terra quae iacet ex utraque parte ipsius fluminis Bromie usque ad illum locum ubi oritur: Historia* Section 4. Discussed in O'Brien 2002, 66–67; O'Brien and Adams 2016, 18–23.

⁹⁹ Roberts 2010, fig. 13.2 in particular; O'Brien and Adams 2016, 23.

¹⁰⁰ Roberts 2015, in particular the map fig. 3, pp. 42–3.

¹⁰¹ Eanred has been assigned regnal dates of c. 810–840 from the chronological sequences of Roger of Wendover and Symeon; but coinage evidence suggests this is ten years or so too early (Grierson and Blackburn 1986, 301). On the general problem of chronologies of 9th-century Northumbrian kings and bishops see Rollason's discussion in *Libellus*, p. 91, n.31.

¹⁰² The dating is over reliant on Symeon's association of the seven years' wandering with the arrival of Halfdan on the Tyne in 875.

¹⁰³ There is, indeed, an increasing body of evidence for continuity on the island (D. Petts, pers. comm.; O'Sullivan and Young 1995).

¹⁰⁴ See note 101 above. Pagan, H. E. 1969, 1–15; Rollason, D. 2004.

¹⁰⁵ *Libellus* 2.5.

¹⁰⁶ Cambridge 1989, 367–386.

¹⁰⁷ Cambridge *op cit*.

¹⁰⁸ Dated dubiously by Symeon to 883 by reference to the depredations of King Halfdan and the 'seven-years' wandering; but, reasonably, associable with the elevation of Guðrøðr to the kingship, independently assigned a *terminus ante quem* in Æthelweard's 10th-century *Chronicon* by the record of his burial in York in 896 (*Chronicon*; Hadley 2006, 41).

¹⁰⁹ Adams 2017, 318ff.

¹¹⁰ Neil McGuigan's PhD thesis casts doubt on the *Historia*'s and Symeon's account of the see and the saint relocating to Chester-le-Street. He believes that Cuthbert remained at Norham until the relocation to Durham. His arguments require detailed consideration elsewhere, but his scepticism about the entire narrative is duly noted. McGuigan 2015.

¹¹¹ The territorial structure reflected in the *Historia* shows a distinct pattern of landholdings comprising 12 contiguous vills (*Historia* 3; *Historia* 22; *Historia* 26; *Historia* 31; *Historia* 32) and once (*Historia* 21) of six vills. Six-vill estates fit into this pattern as 'half-shires' (*Historia* Appendix 2, Johnson South 2002, 125ff).

¹¹² Johnson South 2002, 11–12.

¹¹³ In the notes, early spellings are highly selective. The chief primary sources are listed below (Bibliography 1), while others have been accessed via Mawer 1920 and Ekwall 1960. Datings of Brinkburn charters follow those suggested in Liddy 2004. In dates, '7th(13th)' = 'original text 7th century, ms. copy 13th century'. Other abbreviations used are: (E) = Ekwall 1960; (M) = Mawer 1920; ms., mss = manuscript(s); OE = Old English (English to c. 1100).

¹¹⁴ 2002, 82.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Rivet and Smith 1979, 311, 379–80.

¹¹⁶ Gelling and Cole 2000, 178–9.

¹¹⁷ Mawer 1920, 106, n. 1.

¹¹⁸ As suggested by Mawer, *loc. cit*.

¹¹⁹ Gelling and Cole 2000, 216–8; formerly glossed 'ledge, rock' (Smith 1956, 2, 106).

¹²⁰ A dozen are cited in Smith (1956, 2, 106) and Gelling and Cole (2000, 218).

¹²¹ As discussed above, p. 103.

¹²² Smith 1956, 2, 279.

¹²³ Beacon Point or Newbiggin Point, suggested in Watts 2004, 696, are some 1.5 km from the current Woodhorn church.

¹²⁴ Smith 1956, 1, 87.

¹²⁵ See Mawer 1920 for forms.

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