

Victor Watts

I. INTRODUCTION

The first record of Scandinavian activity in the North-East of England is the notable entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the year 793:

'In this year terrible portents appeared over Northumbria and miserably frightened the inhabitants: these were exceptional flashes of lightning and fiery dragons were seen flying in the air ... In the same year on 8 January the harrying of the heathen miserably destroyed God's church in Lindisfarne by rapine and slaughter'.¹

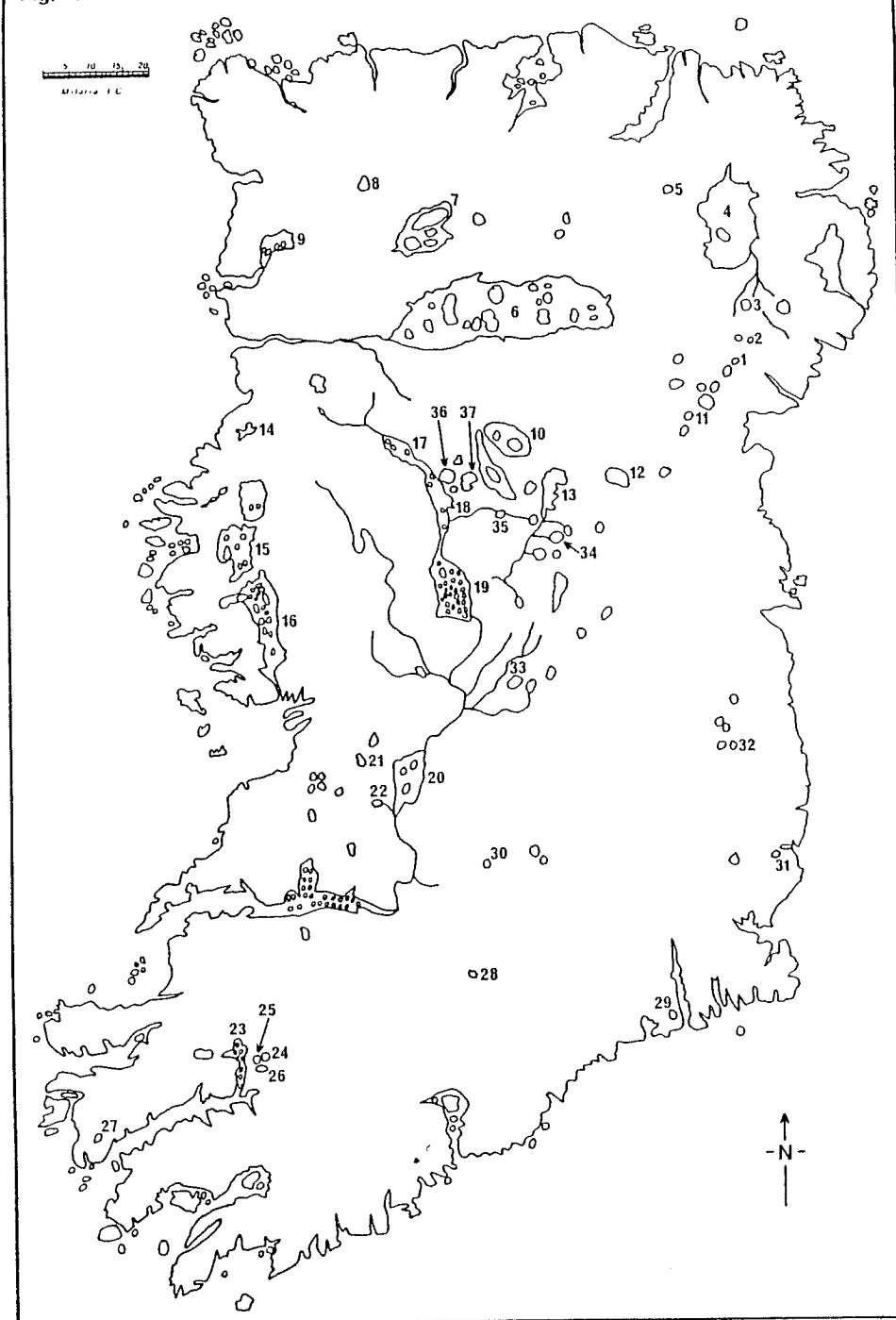
The Laud Chronicle records that Jarrow (*Donemuth*) was looted the following year, though not without severe loss to the attackers.² Excavation has revealed that both Jarrow and Monkwearmouth were destroyed by fire and it is hard not to associate this discovery with the events of 794.³ Roger of Wendover records further attacks on Tynemouth and Hartness in 800.^{3a}

To these inroads which took Norsemen from the Norwegian fjords to the Western Isles, Man, Dublin, and elsewhere, the communities along the north-east coast of England were in no position to offer concerted resistance. King Æthelred of Northumbria was killed by his own court on 18 (or 19) April 796,⁴ and his successor reigned for a mere 27 days.⁵

Apart from the isolated mention of the slaying of an otherwise unknown Northumbrian King Rædwulf by a heathen army in 844,⁶ subsequent incursions into Northumbria are not documented until the arrival in 865 of the 'Great Army', led by the Danes Ivar the Boneless, Ubbe and Halfdan. The fall of York in November 866, and the virtual elimination of the fighting stock of the North in its streets the following March, was a momentous event marking the end of sporadic raiding and the inception of conquest proper: henceforth Deira was to be a Danish territory. In 874 a break-away army under Halfdan moved north to winter on the river Tyne and spent the following summer campaigning against the Picts and the Strathclyde Welsh.⁷ The following year, 876, in the laconic words of the Chronicle: 'Halfdan shared out the lands of Northumbria and they were engaged in ploughing and making a living for themselves'.⁸

Scholarly opinion has generally placed the southern boundary of what remained as English Northumbria – the ancient Bernicia ruled by ealdormen in Bamburgh – on the river Tees: 'the region in which he planted his men corresponded generally with the modern county of York ... It was not until the

Fig. 1 THE LAKE-NAMES OF IRELAND



tenth century that there was any considerable Scandinavian immigration into the county north of the Tees' (Stenton 1947);⁹ 'The area apportioned was approximately that of modern Yorkshire' (Gwyn Jones 1968);¹⁰ '... settled down to permanent homes in what ... corresponded broadly with modern Yorkshire' (Hunter Blair 1977);¹¹ 'North of the Tees, as far as the Firth of Forth, the country was governed by English ealdormenn' (A.C. Partridge 1982);¹² but very recently Nick Higham in his impressive and scholarly volume in the Longman Regional History of England has argued that land north of the Tees was included in the share-out.¹³ To be sure, the modern county of Durham seems often to have been regarded as something of a no-man's land between Tyne and Tees,¹⁴ yet the latter river was clearly not always the barrier we sometimes think. Indeed, doubts have long since been raised about its role as boundary between Bernicia and Deira.¹⁵

In the absence of detailed documentary records of Scandinavian settlement in England it is traditional to turn to the evidence of place-names, amongst other sources, to see what light can be thrown on its extent, density and nature. For Yorkshire this has already been authoritatively done by Gillian Fellow-Jensen.¹⁶ This present paper, originally given at the XIXth Annual Study Conference organized by the Council for Name Studies in March 1987, was conceived as an appendix to her monograph and as a more systematic review of the Scandinavian place-names of Durham than has hitherto been presented. It deals with the Scandinavian names of the ancient Palatinate of Durham, the lands between Tyne and Tees, and is based on the materials collected for the English Place-Name Society's forthcoming volumes on County Durham.¹⁷

The events of the 870s, however, do not exhaust the documentary evidence for Scandinavian activity in Durham. Between 913 and 915 a marauding raider descended upon the coast of Northumberland and conducted a successful campaign against the combined forces of Constantine, king of the Scots, and Ealdred, the ealdorman of Bernicia, which he defeated at the first battle of Corbridge, and again, after an interval in Ireland, at the same place in 918. This was the Ragnald who in the following year took York and established the short-lived, and much troubled, Norse-Irish kingdom of York-Dublin. Simeon of Durham, following an eleventh-century compilation documenting the growth of the endowments of the Community of St Cuthbert, the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, records that, after seizing the land of St Cuthbert, Ragnald, in Surtees's pleasing version,

'gave the towns to two of his captains, of whom one was named Scula (ON *Skúli*) and the other Onlafbal (ON *Ólafr Ballr*). Scula, obtaining dominion from the town which is named *Jodene* (viz. Castle Eden) even to Billingham,

oppressed the country-folk with sore and intolerable tribute ... Onlafbal, who, however detestable Scula's conduct might be, possessed a different tract (viz. from Eden to the river Wear) and at last, going on from less to more, proceeded to such a height of insolence as to seize on the very glebe land of the Bishoprick ... He treated the Bishop, who wished to save a sinner more than to recover his possession, with the utmost contempt, and uttered the most profane blasphemies against St Cuthbert. "Why do you threaten me," he said, "with your dead man? I swear by the power of my Gods I will be a fearful enemy, both to this dead man and to all of you". The *dignus vindice nodus* had now arrived: St Cuthbert thus braved and threatened, exerted his miraculous powers and just as the caitiff was entering the church to pillage the holy shrines, nailed him by both feet to the threshold. After suffering extreme torture, he confessed the power and sanctity of St Cuthbert, and expired. The rest of the Pagans, and Scula amongst them, terrified with so notable an example, fled to their ships, and left the possessions of the Church free for evermore'.¹⁸

Setting aside Simeon's embellishments to enhance the local tutelary saint, it is interesting to note that the Community was indeed able to repossess and grant the very estates concerned in this story during the episcopates of Cutheard (d.915) and Tilred (d.927). Thus although Ragnald's followers obtained temporary possession of an enormous block of land in east Durham, Scandinavian settlement north of the Tees has always seemed to me predominantly a thin and insignificant affair compared with what happened south of the river in Yorkshire. It was for this reason and in the context of the then received opinion that I suggested in 1976 that the few Grimston-hybrid names in Durham, markedly different in character from the typical Grimston-hybrid in areas further south, might belong rather to the events of the early tenth century than to those of the later ninth.¹⁹

II. NAME-TYPES AND FORMS

A. Grimston-hybrid names (see Map I)

This type of name, in which a Scandinavian personal name is compounded with OE *tūn* 'an enclosure, a farmstead, a village', has traditionally been interpreted as marking a pre-existing English village 'acquired by a Danish owner at the time when the Great Army of the Danes divided out the land which it had chosen for settlement'.²⁰ In the Midlands such names are characteristically situated on excellent land in areas where *bý* names are absent. In Durham there are ten possible recorded Grimston hybrids. Nafferton, which might contain the ON pers.n. *Náttfari*, has no early forms and must be discarded, as must Nelson 'Niel's *tūn*' (ON pers.n. *Njall*), which takes its name from a known owner, Nigellus, steward to Robert Brus II c.1194. Claxton may be purely English. Assuming that Swainston is a genuine hybrid and not compounded with OE **Swān* (with

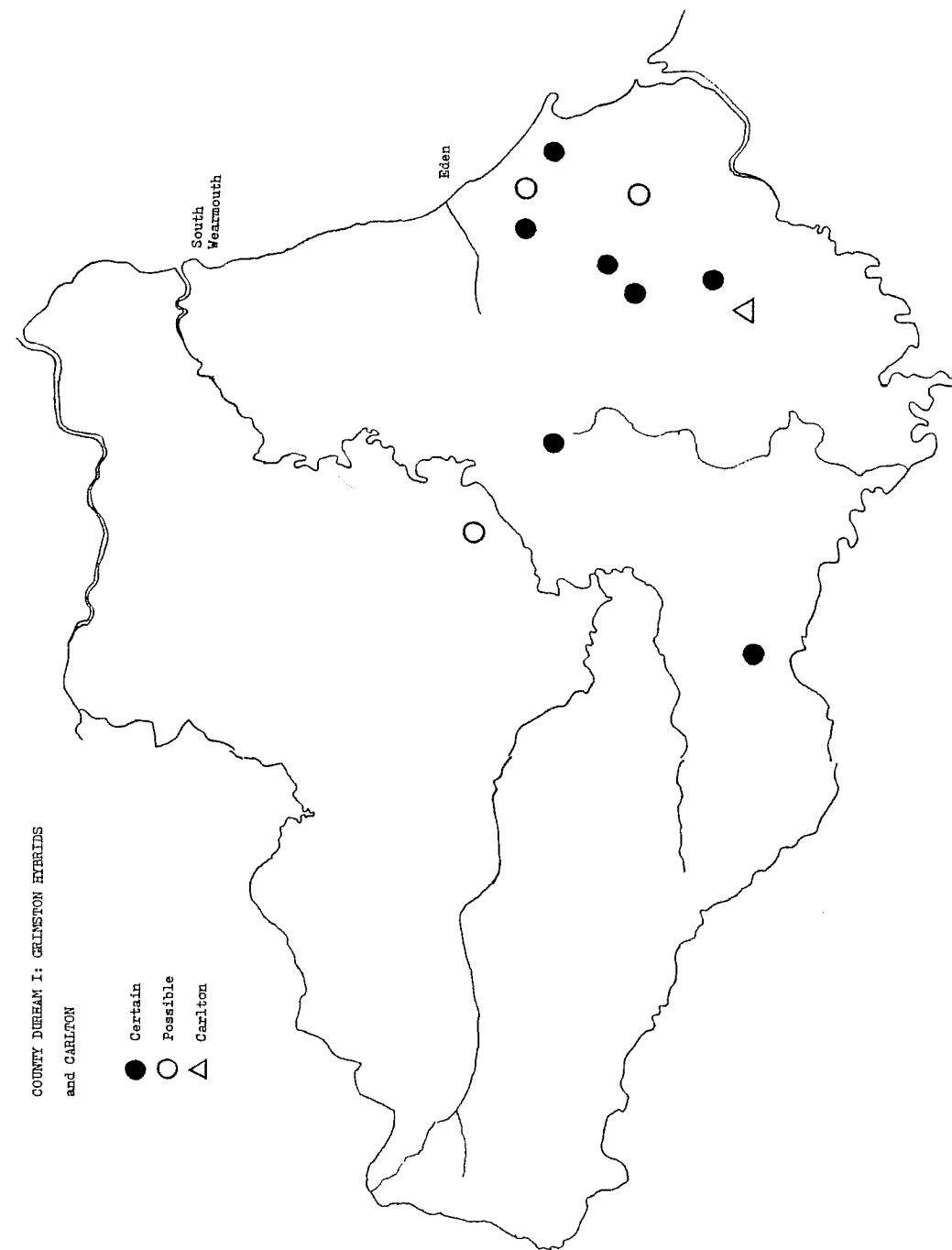
later ME spelling of *ai* for *ā*), this leaves seven instances, Amerston, Blakeston, Ingleton, Sheraton, Swainston, Thrislington and Throston. Three contain compound personal names (*Eymundr*, *Ingeld*, *Thursteinn*), one an uncompounded name (*Sveinn*), two bynames (*Bleikr*, and the very rare *Skurfa* 21), and one a secondary formation (*Thór* or *Thórir*). Most of these personal names are recorded independently in both West and East Scandinavian sources, but *Eymundr* and *Bleikr* seem to be more frequent in West Scandinavia.²² The phonology of *Thursteinn* with *-ur-* for *-or-* may indicate ODan origin, but this criterion is no longer regarded as a reliable test of linguistic origin.²³ *Sveinn* was still in common use in the post-Conquest period and *Thursteinn* was the commonest pers.n. of Scandinavian origin in Normandy.²⁴

*The Names*²⁵

- AMERSTON (NZ 4230), *Aimundestun* c.1225 *Spec.* ON pers.n. *Eymundr* (SPN 77).
 BLAKESTON HALL (NZ 4123), *Blaikes-*, *Blechestona* 1127 DEC. ON pers.n. *Bleikr* (SPN 57).
 CLAXTON (NZ 4728), *Clachestona* 1091x1092 FPD. OE pers.n. **Clacc* or ON pers.n. *Klakk* (SPN 172-3, *PNDB* 305).
 INGLETON (NZ 1720), *Ingeltun* (c.1040) 12th c. HSC. ODan pers.n. *Ingeld*, ON *Ingialdr* (SPN 151, *PNDB* 297).
 NAFFERTON (NZ 2438). No early forms. Cf. Nafferton Nb (NZ 0565), *Nafferton* 1182 Pipe, *Natfertun* 1236 BF; and Nafferton YE (TA 0559), *Nadfartone* 1086 GDB, *Natfertun* 1180x1190 YCh. ON pers.n. *Náttfari* (SPN 201) or p.n. OE **Nēat-ford* 'ford for cattle'.
 NELSON (NZ 4735), *Nelestune* c.1196 *Finc.* ON pers.n. *Njáll*. The reference is to Nigellus, steward of Robert Brus II, to whom the estate was granted some time before 1194. The estate was subsequently donated to Finchale Abbey and thereafter bore the name of its last secular holder.
 SHERATON (NZ 4435), *Scurufatun* (c.1040) 12th c. HSC, *Schurueton'* c.1200 FPD (p). ON pers.n. *Skurfa* (SPN 254).
 SWAINSTON (NZ 4028-4129), *Swayneston* 1351 BM. ON pers.n. *Sveinn*. ME spellings of *ai* for *ā* occur from the second half of the 14th cent.: OE pers.n. **Swān* is, therefore, an alternative possibility.²⁶
 THRISSLINGTON (NZ 3033), *Tursteineston'* c.1190 *Spec* (p). ON pers.n. *Thursteinn* (SPN 313), ODan *Thursten* (SPN LXXV, *PNDB* 396).
 THROSTON (NZ 4933), *Thoreston* c.1300 Hatf. ON pers.n. *Thórr* or *Thórir* or (more likely) Anglo-Scand *Thór*, an extremely popular shortened form for compound names in *Thór-* (SPN 295, 307; *PNDB* 390; SSNY 241-2 and n.51).

B. Carlton-type hybrid names (see Map I)

There is only one occurrence of this type in Durham, Carlton (NZ 3921). However, the earliest recorded spelling, *Carlentune* 1109, seems to point to an OE



gen. pl. *ceorlena* rather than ON *karla*.²⁷

The Name

CARLTON (NZ 3921), *Carlentune* 1109 RRAN. OE *ceorl*, g.pl. **ceorlena*, *tūn*, 'the peasants' village'. OE *ceorl* was subsequently replaced with ON *karl*.

C. Place-names in *bý* (see Map II)

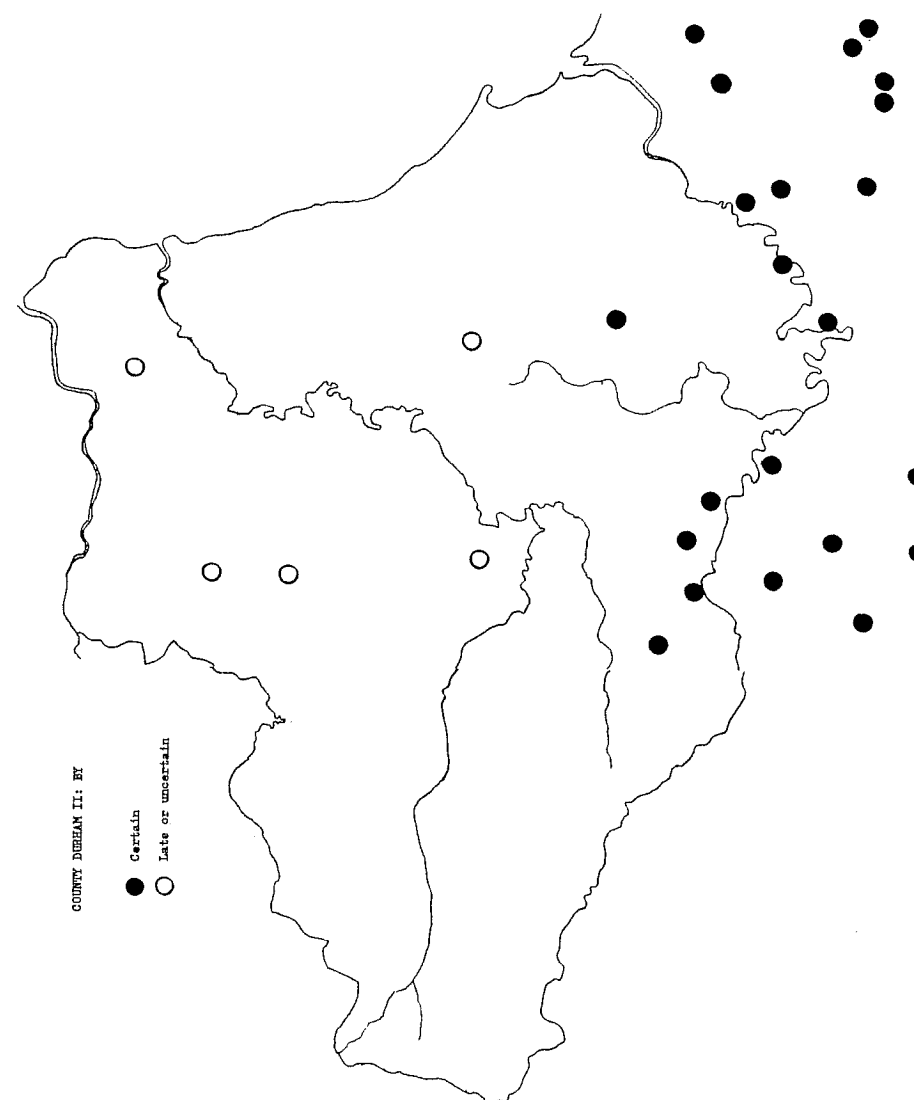
There are ten names in *bý* in Durham recorded before 1500. The specifics of six, possibly seven, are Scand pers.n., of which three are common in the whole of Scandinavia in the Viking period (*Áslákr*, *Ormr*, and *Skalli*, originally a byname). One, *Róthmundr*, is mainly evidenced in Norway and Iceland; one, *Kilvert*, is probably an Anglo-Scandinavian formation; and another may be a Scandinavianized form of an OE pers.n., *Ulfuen* (possibly representing OE *Wulfhūn*), rather than ON *Ulfhethinn*. Selaby may contain another unrecorded pers.n., **Sæliði*, although Ekwall (*DEPN* 411) preferred to see Selaby as an example of a hybrid formation on OE *selet* 'a willow copse'. Two of the *býs* are compounded with post-Conquest pers.n., Raisby and Follingsby, the former certainly, since it is named after a known donor of land to the leper hospital at Sherburn, *Race Engaine*, the other probably.

There is only one *bý* with an appellative as its specific, Raby, which may contain the animal name *rá* 'a roe-deer' with the significance 'deer-park' as has been proposed for West Derby La.²⁸

Although this sample is too small for statistically significant deductions to be made, it is interesting that the Durham *býs* relate more closely to the situation in Yorkshire where of 210 *bý*-names nearly 60% have a pers.n. as specific of which 90% are Scandinavian²⁹ compared with the situation in the North-West where the percentage of appellative specifics varies between 29% (Cumberland) and 82% (Lancashire).³⁰

The Names

AISLABY (NZ 4012), *Aslakebi* 12th c. Finc (p). ON pers.n. *Áslákr* (SPN 33).
 FOLLINGSBY (NZ 3160), *Fol(et)esbi* 1144x1152, *Foletesby* (1144x1152) c.1225 DEC, *Folet(t)ebi*, -by 1154x1166 FPD to 1203 Reg, *Foletby* c.1260 Spec (p), *Foles-*, *Folaceby* 1339 IPM to 1368 Halm (p), *Folanceby* 1400 IPM, 1418 Lang, 1471 IPM, *Folonce-*, *Follonsby* 15th c. Lang, 1649 PS, 1750 Swaby, *Folingesbys* 1595 Ct. A difficult name which may be compared with Fulletby Li (TF 2973), *Fvllobi* 1086 GDB (once corrected from *Fvlnodebi*), *Fulletebi*, -by (1153x1162) 1409, 1175x1181, *Foletteby* (e.H2) 13th c., for both of which, together with Fonaby Li (TA 1003) and Fulnetby Li (TF 0979) Ekwall (*DEPN* 183) suggested that the first element was a Scand. appellative **full-nautr* 'one who has a full share'. The forms for both Follingsby and Fulletby, however, do not support this explanation. For the latter, Gillian Fellows-Jensen tentatively proposes that the first el. is an older English p.n. whose first el. is *fūl* 'foul, dirty' or full 'full' and the second OE (*ge*)*læt*(e) 'conduit for water, stream'.³¹ For the Durham name I suggest that



the first el. is the OFr by.n. *Folet*, a diminutive of OFr *fol* 'foolish' which may occur in the 1339 form. The later nasalized form may be due to the influence of the alternative diminutive forms *folant*, *folain*. The *Folet* family held land in Kent in the medieval period but the name has not been otherwise traced in Durham.

KILLERBY (NZ 1919), *Culuerdebi* (1091x1092) 12th c. FPD, *Kylwerby* (1183) 14th c. BB. ON pers.n. *Kilvert* < **Ketilfrithr*, ODan **Ketilfrith*, apparently influenced by OFr *culvert* 'a freedman'. Possibly an Anglo-Scand formation. SPN 171, *PÑDB* 215.

ORNSBY HILL (NZ 1648), *Ormysby* 1408 NbDu, *Ornesby* 1675 GD. ON pers.n. *Ormr*, a common name in both Norway and Denmark and in DB. If this place is named after the Orm recorded as the tenant of 8½ acres in an assart in BB then this is a 12th cent. formation. SPN 204, *PÑDB* 337.

RABY (NZ 1221), *Raby* (c.1040) 11th c. HSC. Possibly ON *rá*¹ 'a roe-deer', or ON *rá*² 'a boundary'. The origin of Raby may have been as a hunting lodge for the shire of Staindrop. Alternatively it may have lain on an earlier lost boundary between the estate of Gainford and the shire of Auckland.

RAISBY (NZ 3435), *Racebi* 1183 GD². From the 12th cent. donor, *Race* Engaine, of a carucate of land here to Sherburn Hopital.

RUMBY HILL (NZ 1734), 1647 PS, probably the same as *Romun(d)by* 1382 Hatf. ON pers.n. *Róthmundr* (SPN 221).

SCALBY, the lost name of a *campus* in Foxton (NZ 3624), *Scalby* late 13th c. GD. ON pers.n. *Skalli*, or appellative *skalli* 'bald', used of a bare hill. SPN 244, *SSNY* 36.

SELABY HALL (NZ 1518), *Seletby* 1317 Cl, *Seleby* (1183) 14th c. BB. ON pers.n. **Sælithi*, or OE **selet* 'a willow copse'. The pers.n. occurs as *Salithi* 12th c. (LVD, *PÑDB* 353). Although not recorded in ON it would be a parallel formation to ON *Sæfari* (SPN 284). However, it might be of English origin, from OE *sælida* 'a seafarer, sailor, pirate'. All the examples of this name, except GDB *Salide* (Hants NF 3, 5), which is clearly English, and *Selyde*, *Selide* 1087x1098, Bury St Edmunds, are 12th cent. This is probably, therefore, a late formed p.n.

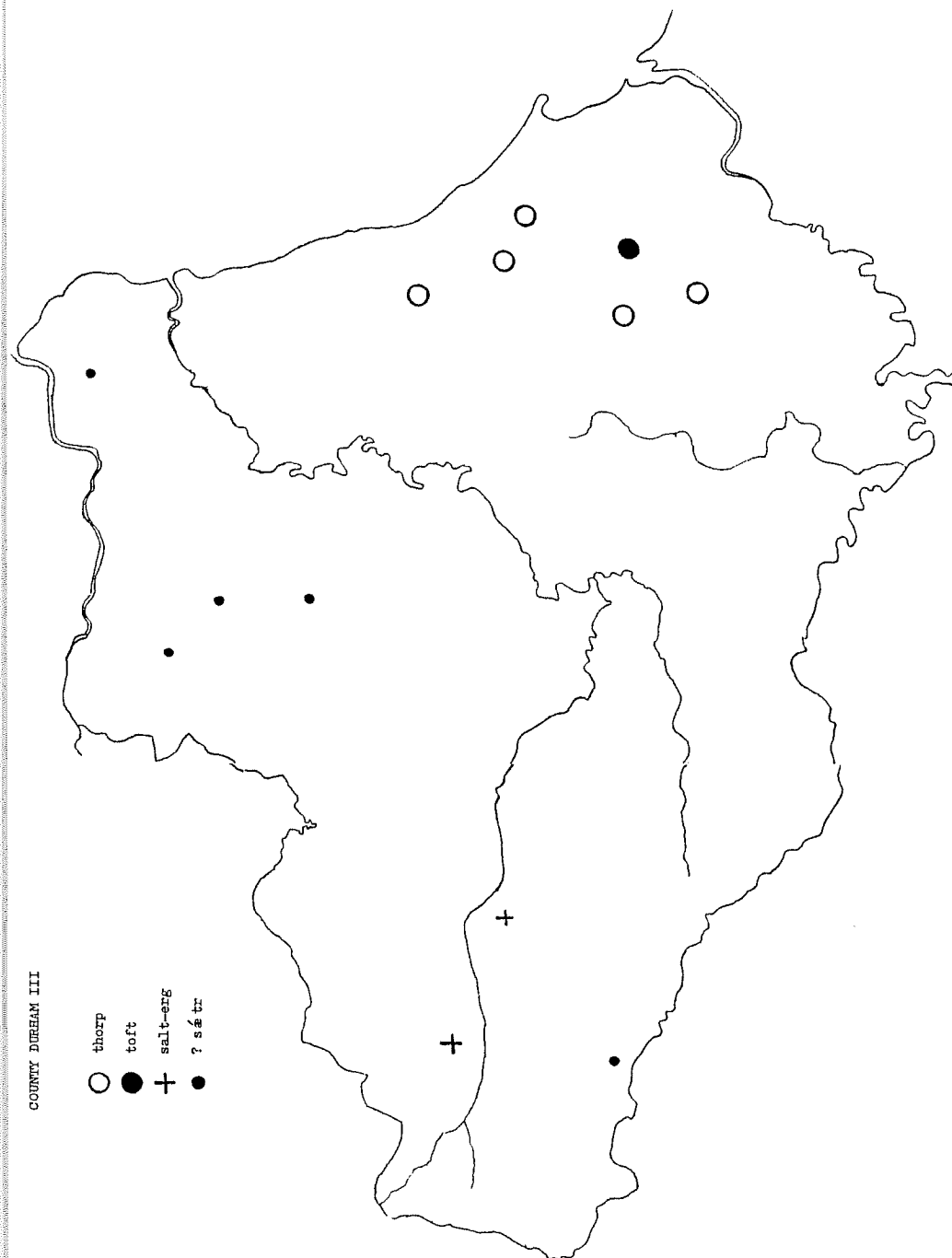
TANTOBIE (NZ 1754), no early forms.

ULNABY (NZ 2217), *Vluenebi* c.1115 Newm. ON pers.n. *Ulfuen* < *Ulfhethinn* (NP 168), not recorded in SPN or *PÑDB*. Alternatively the pers.n. might go back to OE *Wulfhūn* which occurs once in GDB in Sussex in the form *Vifon* (*PÑDB* 421).

D. Scandinavian habitative names other than those in bý (see Map III)

As in SSNNW, III, 'habitative' is here understood to mean a name originally denoting some structure or structures used for habitation, shelter or storage by man or animal. The most frequent element after bý is usually *thorp*, but *thorp* names are infrequent in Durham and only five instances are recorded before c.1500. Only one is compounded with an ON specific, the lost *Threlthorp*, with ON *thræll* 'a thrall, a serf, a slave'. Two are compounded with OE specifics, *fūl* 'dirty' in Fulthorp, and *lytel* 'little' in Little Thorpe, and two are simplex with manorial additions, Thorp Bulmer and Thorpe Thewles.

There are no instances of *kirkja* 'church' in Co. Durham, although the word has influenced the forms of Kirk Merrington (NZ 2631), *Mærintun* c.1123 DEC, *Est-*, *Kirke Merington* 1296 Halm, 'estate associated with *Mæra*'.



toft 'building plot, curtilage' occurs six or more times, but only one, Burntoft, is a purely Scandinavian name. All the other instances (Toft Hill NZ 1528, Tofts NZ 1721, NZ 2334, NZ 5128, and Tofts Farm NZ 4427) are late formations with this word naturalized into ME in the sense of 'foundations, abandoned habitation site, deserted village'.

garthr 'enclosure' also occurs quite frequently, but this word too was early naturalized into ME and was widely used as the term for the croft attached to a village toft.³² There are no instances recorded earlier than Newton Garths (NZ 3562), *Newtona iuxta Boldonam* (1183) 14th c. BB, *Newton Garthes next Boldon* 1512 IPM, 'tofts at Newton near Boldon', and Lintzgarth (NZ 9242), *Lintz-, Linsgarth* 1647 PS, 'enclosure at Lintz', and as a diagnostic for Scand settlement in Du it is useless.

Finally there are two possible instances of ærgi 'a shieling' in the compound salterg as in Salterg Cu, SSNNW 67. The occurrence of sætr in Causey, Gibside and Simonside is questionable.

The Names

(i) thorp

FULTHORPE (NZ 4042), *Fultorp* 12th c. Finc (p). OE fūl (or ON fúll), 'dirty thorp'.
 LITTLE THORPE (NZ 4242), *Thorep* (c.1040) 11th c. HSC, *Thorp'* (1183) 14th c. BB. 'Outlying farm (of Easington)'.
 THORP BULMER (NZ 4535), *Thorpe, Nesebite Thorp* 1243 Ass, *Thorpebulmer* 1312 RPD. 'Outlying farm (of Nesbitt) once held by the de Bulmer family'.
 THORPE THEWLES (NZ 3929), *Thorp* c.1170 RD, *Thorpp' Thewles* 1265 Finc. 'Outlying farm (of Grindon)'. *Thewles* is probably a manorial addition, cf. the surname *Thewless* (Reaney, *Origin* 258).
 THRELTHORP, lost in Castle Eden (NZ 4237), *Threlthorp* c.1170 FPD. 'Serf's farm'. ON thræll.

(ii) toft

BURN TOFT (NZ 4328), *Brountoft* (1183) 14th c. (p). 'Building plot, or homestead, on the brow of a hill'. ON brún. For this explanation, rather than OE brún 'brown', ON bruni 'place cleared by burning' or ON brunnr 'a stream', see *JEPNS* XIV, 32-6.
 TOFT HILL (NZ 1528), *Les toftes de baronia* 1382 Hatf. 'House-sites of the barony of Evenwood'. A diagnostic for a lost village site.
 TOFTS FARM (NZ 4427), *Tofts* 1728 Hud.

(iii) salterg

CATTERICK MOSS (NY 9936), *Katericksaltere* 1311 FPD, *Catryk* 1382 Hatf. 'Salterg at Catterick'. Catterick is probably a compound of OE cætt 'a wild cat' and *ric 'a narrow strip of land, a narrow road'; 'narrow road frequented by wildcats'. The reference is to a salt-hole in marshy land.
 CROOK'S ALTAR (NY 9140), no early forms but probably for Crook Salter, 'salt-shieling at a bend or nook in the hill', OE crōc, salt-erg.

(iv) sætr

CAUSEWAY SIKE (NY 9029), *Kauesete* c.1160x1183 Riev. 'Cāfa's fold or

farm'. OE pers.n. *Cāfa* (Redin 88), set or ON sætr; later interpreted as from OFr *caucie* 'a causeway'.
 CAUSEY (NZ 2055), *Caldesete* 13th c. *Spec.* 'Cold fold or farm'. OE cald, set, or ON sætr; later remodelled as preceding name.
 GIBSIDE (NZ 1758), *Gypsethe* c.1269 Rav (p). Probably 'Gyppi's fold or farm', OE pers.n. **Gyppi*, set or ON sætr. On topographical grounds the first element might, however, be the rare OE *gip(s) 'a gap', referring to one of the denes that run down to the r. Derwent at this point, or even to the sudden widening of the Derwent valley itself.
 HOLMSIDE HALL (NZ 2049), *Holneset* (1183) 14th c. BB. 'Holly fold'. OE holegn, set or ON sætr.
 SIMONSIDE (NZ 3463), *Simondesete* (1189x1199) 14th c. *Reg.* 'Simon's fold or farm'. OFr pers.n. *Simund*, OE set or ON sætr.

E. Scandinavian topographical habitative names (see Map IV)

Very few purely Scandinavian topographical habitation names occur in Durham.

(i) Generics connected with water

'Beck' occurs in many stream names in Co. Durham, but the original term was OE burna. Names such as Linburn Beck clearly show that beck is a later adoption into the local dialect. There are no purely Scandinavian beck names.

Crook occurs four times as a simplex name, but this is more likely to reflect an OE *crōc than ON krōkr. The lost name *Crookton* could be purely English, a Scandinavian-English hybrid, or purely Scandinavian.

carr 'brushwood', fen, marsh' and mire 'bog, swamp, marsh' occur frequently, but again all the early recorded instances bar one are hybrid compounds no doubt dating from the ME period when ON kjarr and mýrr had been adopted as loans. The one exception is apparently Waskerley where kjarr is compounded with ODan wasi 'bundle of brushwood, brushwood path over marshy ground'.

'Holm' occurs frequently in Co. Durham, especially in minor names, where it represents the ME loan from ON holmr. There is only one instance of a possibly purely Scandinavian compound, Westholme.

ODan dyandi 'a swamp, a marsh', occurs once as a simplex name, in Dyance, as also does ODan flask 'swampy grassland, shallow water, a pool'. The latter, however, was adopted into the local dialect as a loan word, appearing, for example in the minor name *Milburn' Flash* 1382 Hatf in Durham City, now Flass Vale.

(ii) Generics denoting hills, valleys, etc.

berg occurs once, in the compound set-berg at Sadberge.

fell 'a hill' occurs frequently, especially in the mountains in the west, but there is no early evidence for the occurrence of the element in Co. Durham.

ODan klint 'a rocky cliff' occurs once as a simplex in an early form, but this

word became dialect *clint* 'a hard rock projecting on the side of a hill or river bank' and can be cited only in the most general sense as a Scand diagnostic.

dalr may occur in a purely Scand compound in *Stooperdale*, but the evidence is extremely late.

gil 'a cleft, a ravine' occurs in several early names in the west of the county, compounded with a Scand pers.n. in *Ettersgill* and *Snaisgill*.

(iii) Generics denoting woods, trees, vegetation, etc.

lundr 'a grove' occurs in a number of minor names in the county but there is no early evidence.

vithr 'a wood' occurs in the lost p.n. *Stirtwith* which is probably a purely Scand compound.

hogg 'felling of trees' appears only compounded with house; there is no instance at all of *thveit* 'a clearing'.

land appears once, as the second el. of a compound appellative rather than as a p.n. generic proper, in *Copeland*.

ON *hegning* 'enclosed land' occurs once, in *Haining*.

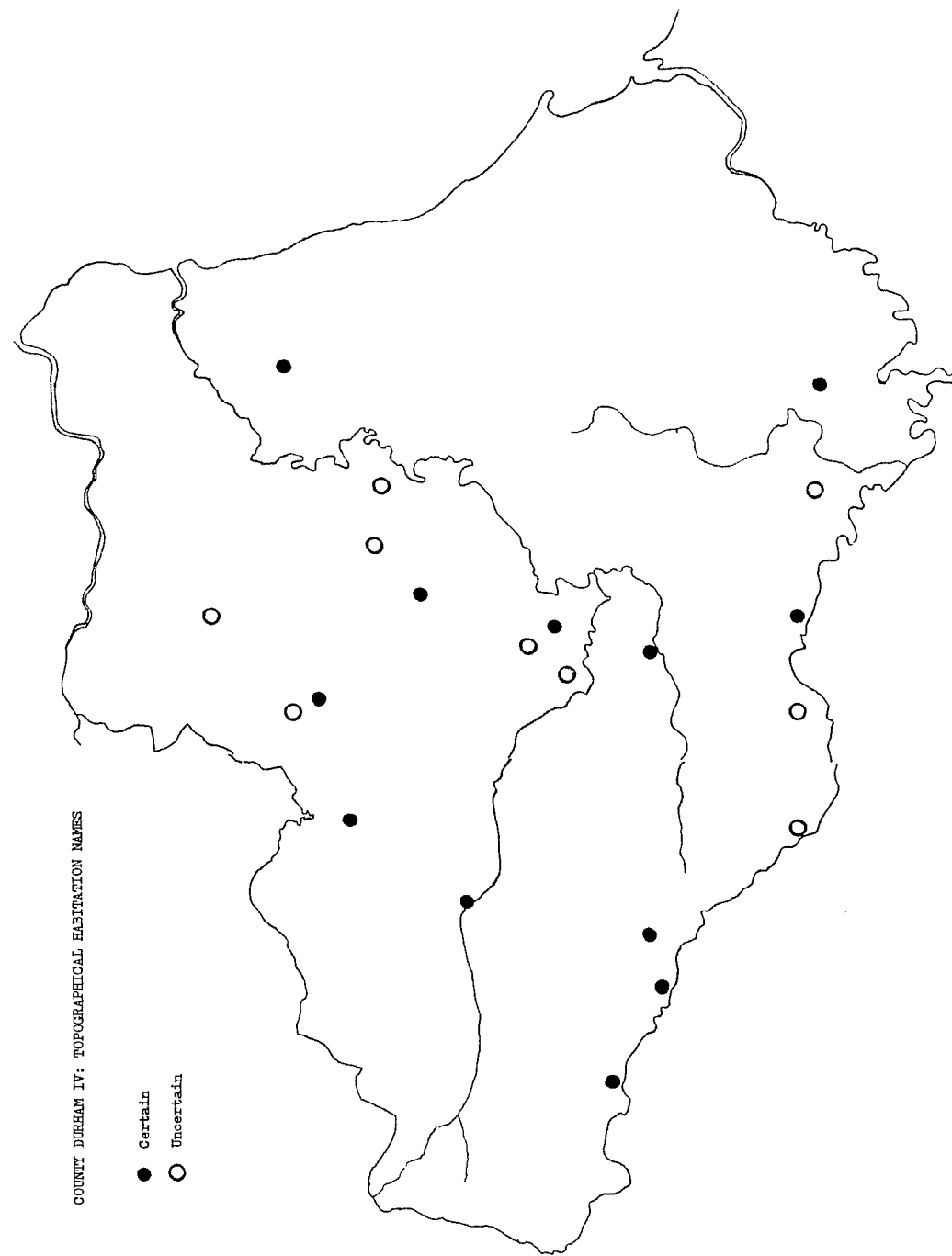
(iv) Generics denoting miscellaneous features

diki 'a dyke' occurs once with the appellative specific *kringla* 'a circle' in *Cringle Dykes*, and ON *hurtharbak* 'space behind the door' has been suggested for *Hurbuck*.

A number of these appellative names have exact or close parallels in Scandinavia, e.g. *Krok*, *Hurðarbak*, *Hurdabak*, *Setberg* (Norway), *Króktún* (Iceland), *Hegningen*, *Vadskærgård* (Denmark), *Vasakärr* (Sweden). On the other hand, the occurrence of simplex names with the Fr definite article, e.g. *les Clyntes*, *le Croke*, *le Hayninge*, etc., suggests that the names were still regarded as appellative descriptions rather than as names proper at the date of the recorded forms. This inevitably casts doubt on their value as diagnostics for Scand settlement since we clearly have to do with items which became loan words in ME. In this category Mawer included *car* or *ker*, *carl*, *clints*, *crook*, *haining*, *hagg*, *felling*, *flat*, *stain* and *wham*.³³

The Names

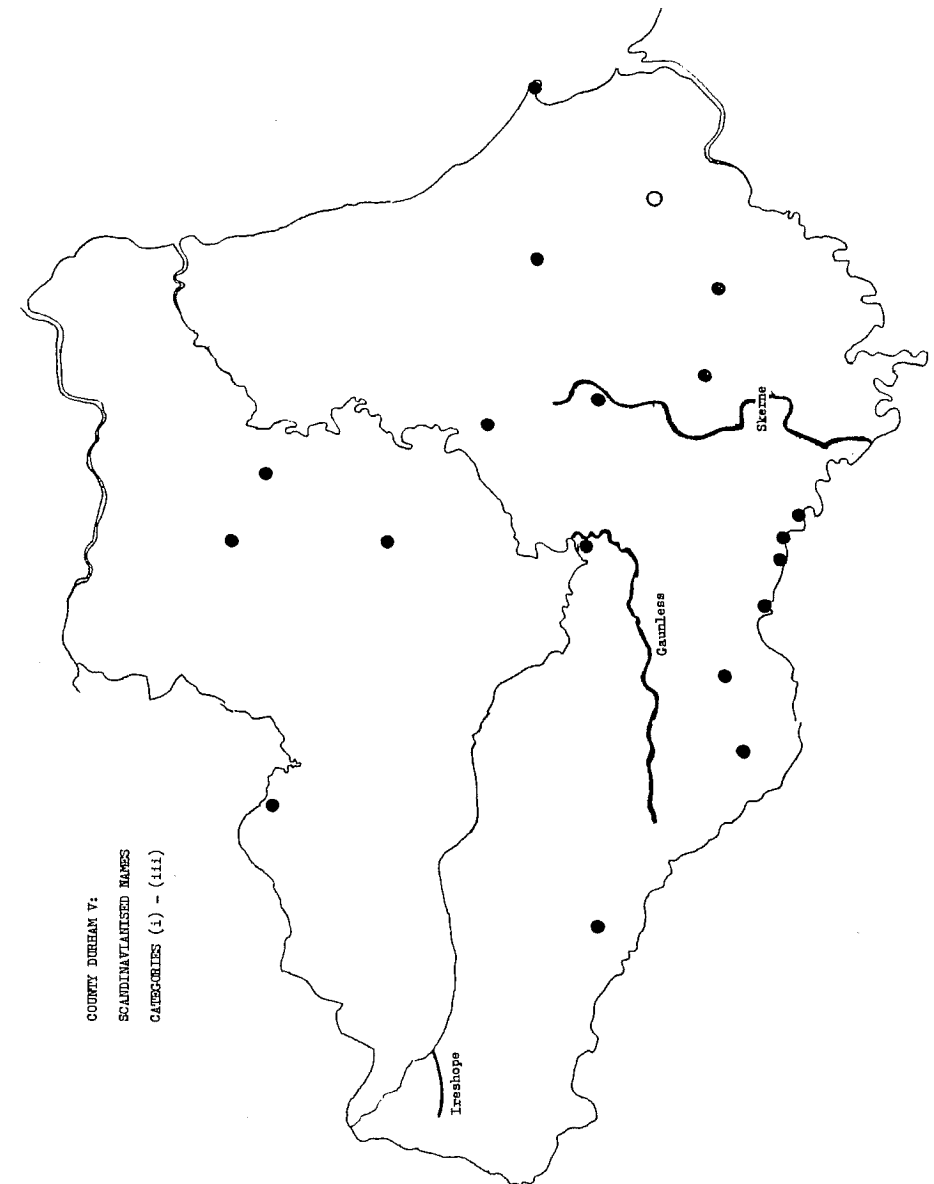
CLINTS WOOD (NZ 0038), *Les Clyntes* 1382 Hatf. ODan *klint* 'a rocky cliff'.
 COPELAND HOUSE (NZ 1626), *Copland* (c.1040) 11th c. HSC. ON *kaupa-land* 'purchased land'.
 CRINGLE DIKES (NZ 1833), *Cryngeldyke* 1382 Hatf. 'Circular ditch', ON



- kringla, dŕki.
CROOK (NZ 1635), *le Croke iuxta Brauncepeth* 1378 IPM. 'Secluded corner of land (of the parish of Brancepeth)'. OE *crōc or ON krókr.
CROOKBANK (NZ 1856), *Crok* (1286) 14th c. Bek, *Crokebanke* 1628 IPM. OE *crōc or ON krókr, ME banke 'a hill'.
CROOK HALL (NZ 1250), *Croc* 1153x1195 Rav, *Crokhoug* 1382 Hatf. 'Hill-spur by the secluded nook of land'. OE *crōc or ON krókr, OE hōh.
CROOK HALL (NZ 2743), *le Croke iuxta Dunelm* 1346 Finc, *Crokehall* 1463 Spec. 'Hall by the bend (in the r. Wear)'. OE *crōc or ON krókr.
CROOKTON (lost NZ 2344), *Crukton* (1183) 14th c. BB. 'Farm, enclosure in a bend (of the r. Browney)'. OE *crōc or ON krókr, tūn.
DYANCE (NZ 1917), *Diendes* 1207 FPD. 'Marshes'. ODan dyandi 'a marsh'.
ETTERS GILL (NY 8830-8928), *Ethresgilebec* c.1175 Riev. 'Eitri's ravine'. ON pers.n. *Eitri* (SPN 76), *gil*, *bekkr*. This pers.n. also occurs in Etersthorpe YN 104, *Eterstorp* 1086 GDB. Alternatively the pers.n. might be *Edred* from OE *Eadræd* (PNDB 233), or *Æthelræd* (*ib.* 186).
FLASS HALL (NZ 2042), *Flaskes* (1291) 14th c. Bek. 'Swamps'. ODan flask.
GAUNLESS RIVER (NZ 0224-2130), *Gauhenles* c.1185 Scam¹. 'Profitless one'. ON *gagnlauss* 'gainless'. Not strictly a habitation name, but implies interest in the exploitation of the river.
HAINING (NZ 3551), *Le Hayninge* 1309 Halm. ON *hegning* 'enclosed land'.
HARGILL (NZ 1532), *Hargill* 1647 PS. ON *gil* 'a ravine'. First el. uncertain.
HARMIRE (NZ 0517), *Hermyre* 1310 Surtees. ON *mýrr* 'a bog'. First el. uncertain.
HURBUCK (NZ 1348), *Hurtbuk* 1284 Bek, *Hurthebuck* 1303 RPD. Uncertain. Mawer suggested ON *hurtharbak* 'space behind the door' and compared the Norwegian p.n. *Hurðarbak* and *Hurdabak*.³⁴
SADBERGE (NZ 3416), *Satberga* c.1150 Finc, *Sedberuie* c.1170 RD. ON *set-berg* 'a flat-topped hill'. Sadberge was the centre of the only Durham wapentake purchased from the Crown in 1189.
SNAISGILL (NY 9526), *Snelesgil* c.1180 Riev. ON pers.n. *Snel*, *Snjalr* (SPN 257), *gil*. There are a few instances of this as a WScand by.n., but there was also a native English pers.n. *Snel* (Redin 25). In either case the name is derived from an adjective meaning 'quick, active, prompt'.
STIRTWITH (lost NY 9827), *Stirtwith* 1576 Saxton, *Stratwick* Kitchin 17th c. First element unexplained, second element ON *vithr* 'a wood'. The evidence, however, is late and unreliable and it is just possible that there is confusion with the name Startforth YN.
STOOPERDALE (NZ 2716), *Stooperdales* 1745 Hud. Possibly ON *stólpi* 'pillar, a post', pl. *stólpar*. The evidence, however, is extremely late.
WASKERLEY (NZ 0545), *Wascroppe* c.1280 FPD. This has been explained as a compound of ON *váskjarr* 'wet marsh' and OE *hop* 'valley'.³⁴ Gillian Fellows-Jensen, however, suggests ODan *wasi* 'bundle of brushwood, path over a marshy area made by laying such bundles' and compares *Vadskærgård* in Jutland, *Vasekær* (1385x1411) 1450 DS 17.40.³⁵
WESTHOLME HALL (NZ 1317), *Westholme* 1563 Wills. ON *holmr*. The first element could be English or Scand.

F. Scandinavianized and hybrid names (see Map V)

54 names are grouped here as examples of names which betray partial Scand influence. The majority are names which originally denoted topographical features and only ten are originally habitative names. They include both names which in their earliest recorded forms are either hybrid compounds of an English element with a Scand element or vice versa, and English names whose phonology



has been modified according to the phonological patterns characteristic of the Scand languages. Some of the latter category are recorded in the first instance in an English form and only their later spellings illustrate the process of Scand sound substitution.

(i) Replacement of an OE word or sound by a related Scand one

We have instances of OE *ceorl* replaced by ON *karl* (Carlton, Carlbury), *stān* by *steinn* (Staindrop, three examples of Stainton), *hwamm* by *holmr* (Broomy Holm), *cyning* by ODan *kunung* (Coniscliff), *scīr* by *skīrr* (Skerningham), *thæc* by *thak* (Thackmyers), *wulf* by *ulfr* (Ushaw, Wolviston), *hrycg* by *hryggr* (Aldin Grange, Waldridge and minor names), and *brycg* by *bryggja* (Foulbrig). In street names there are numerous instances of ON *gata*, some of which are cases of substitution for OE *geat*, although again *gata* was a widely accepted early loan into ME.

[f] is replaced by [sk] in *busc* 'a bush', and *sceaga* 'a copse', and [j] by [g] in *gegn* 'direct' (Huller Bush, Ushaw, Gainford).

(ii) Replacement of an OE element by a Scand word with the same or similar meaning

I have noticed only one instance of this phenomenon where OE *denu* 'valley' has been replaced by Scand *dalr* (Tursdale). Spellings of the name Hartlepool show a significant reformation which seems to have been influenced by the ON genitive singular inflexional ending *-ar*.

(iii) Replacement of a British word by an unrelated one of similar sound

This occurs in the name Auckland where the PrW compound name **Alt-clūd* 'cliff on the r. Clyde' was remodelled successively as if a name in ODan *klint* 'cliff' and then as if ON *auka-land* 'additional land'.

(iv) Hybrid names whose generic is Scandinavian

The twenty names in this category are with one exception (*garthr*) exclusively topographical, and include *banke* (1), *bekkr* (1), *bryggja* (1), *gill* (2), *hogg* (1), *holmr* (3), *kjarr* (1), *krokr* (3), and *mýrr* (6). All of these elements became naturalized loans into ME and many of these names must be regarded as late coinages.

(v) Hybrid names whose generic is English

There are nine hybrid names whose generic is English. The Scandinavian specifics are *blá(r)* (1), *dreng* (1), *hestr* (1), *hogg* (2), *holmr* (1), *Íri* (1), *kjarr* (1),

and *nabbi* (1). There are, in addition, eight, possibly nine, hybrid names with pers.n. of Scand origin as the first element, viz. *Brandr* (Brancepeth), *Bróthir* (Brotherlee), *Garpr* (Carp Shield), *Krókr* (Croxdale), *Gellir* (Gellsfield), *Ulkill* (North Biddick, Ouston), *Skáli* (School Aycliffe), and *Thrylli* (Tursdale).

Finally there are two classes of names whose recorded forms seem to reflect post-Viking activity.

(vi) An originally Scand p.n. is partially anglicised

There is only one instance in Durham, in which [sk] is replaced by [f] (Sheraton).

(vii) Place-names containing bigging

There are five examples of this ME formation from the Scand loan-word *byggja* 'to build'. It is found once as a simplex and four times compounded with ME *newe* 'new'.

In *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West* Gillian Fellows-Jensen suggested that names of the type illustrated by groups (i) – (iii) seem likely to have been borne by older settlements taken over and partly re-named by the Vikings. She also suggested that name-types of groups (iv) and (v) could well be late formations dating from the period when 'the bearing of a Scand pers.n. and the employment of topographical vocabulary of Scand origin did not necessarily indicate Scandinavian descent'.³⁶ Types (vi) and (vii) are clearly post-Viking.

The Names

ALDIN GRANGE (NZ 2442), *Aldingrig* 1170 Finc, *Aldingrange* 1580 Survey. Ridge

called or at **Alding*, the place associated with Alda'. OE pers.n. *Alda* (Redin 48), -ing, *hrycg* partly replaced by ON *hryggr*.

(BISHOP, ST HELEN'S, WEST) AUCKLAND (NZ 2130), *Alclit* (c.1040) 11th c. HSC, *alklint* c.1190 FPD, *Auckland* 1259 Wills. PrW **alt-clūd* 'hill overlooking the r. *Clyde' subsequently reformed under the influence of ODan *klint* 'cliff' and again ON *auka-land* 'additional land'.

BIGGIN (NZ 1845), *Biggyng* 1418 Lang. ME *bigging* 'a building' from ON *byggja* 'to build'.

BLAYDON (NZ 1863), *Bladon* 1340 RPD. 'Cheerless hill'. ON *blá(r)* 'blue, livid, cheerless, cold', OE *dūn* 'a hill'.

BRANCEPETH (NZ 2237), *Brantespeth* c.1170 RD. 'Brand's Roman road or peth'. ON pers.n. *Brandr* (SPN 62), OE *pæth*.

BROOMY HOLM (NZ 2350), *Bromywhome* 1326 IPM, *Bromemyngholme* 1382 Hatf. OE *brōmig*, **brōming* 'a place where broom grows', *hwamm* 'a nook, a small valley' remodelled under the influence of ON *holmr* even though this el. is impossible in the topography of the place.

BROTHERLEE (NY 9237), *Brotherleshele* 1457 NbDu. Either 'shieling at or called Brothir's clearing', ON pers.n. *Bróthir* (SPN 65), OE *lēah*, ME *schele* 'a hut, a shieling'; or 'shieling at the clearing held by or of a brother', OE

- bróthor.
BUTTERBY (NZ 2737), *Beutroue* c.1230 *Spec*, *Beautreby* 1510 IPM. OFr beau-trové 'beautiful find' remodelled under the influence of ON bý and butter
CARLBURY (NZ 2115), *Carlebir'* 1220 FF. 'The peasants' fort'. OE ceorl (gen.pl. ceorla), burh (dat.sg. byrig), remodelled under influence of ON karl.
CARLTON (NZ 3921), *Carlentune* 1109 RRAN. 'The peasants' settlement'. OE ceorl (gen.pl. *ceorlena), tūn, remodelled under the influence of ON karl.
CARP SHIELD (NZ 0447), *Garpschele* 1339 DAR. 'Garp's shieling'. OWScand pers.n. *Garpr*, a by.n. from ON *garpr* 'a bold, dauntless man', ME *schele* 'a hut, a shieling'.
CARR HOUSE (NZ 2644), *Carhouse* 1580 Surv. ON *kjarr*, ME *ker* 'a marsh'.
CONISCLIFFE (NZ 2215, 2413), (*æt*) *Cininges clife* s.a. 778 ASC(E), *Cingcesclife* (c.1040) 11th c. HSC, *Cunscliue* 1203 CatRotChart. 'The king's hill'. OE *cyning*, *clif* remodelled under the influence of ODan *kunung*.
COPPY CROOK (NZ 2026), *Copecrokes* 1409 IPM. 'Embanked bends (of the r. Gaunless)'. OE *copped*, ON *krókr*, or OE **crōc*.
CRAWCROOK (NZ 1363), *Crawcrok* (1183) 14th c. BB. 'Nook of land frequented by crows'. OE *crāwe*, ON *krókr* or OE **crōc*.
CROOK HILL (NZ 1663), *Middlecrooke Hill* 1647 PS. ON *krókr* or OE **crōc*.
CROXDALE (NZ 2737), *Crokestail* c.1190 Godr. 'Krok's tail of land', ON pers.n. *Krókr* (SPN 181), OE *tægl*; or 'tail of land in the bend (of Tursdale Beck or the r. Wear)', ON *krókr* or OE **crōc*.
DAY GILL (NZ 1226), *Da-*, *Deggill* 1647 PS. OE *dā* 'a doe' or ME *dey* 'a dairy', ON *gil* 'a ravine'.
DERWENT CROOK (NZ 2560), *Dernecroke* (1286) 14th c. Bek. 'Secret, hidden crook of land'. OE *derne*, **crōc* or ON *krókr*.
DURHAM (NZ 2742), *Dunholm* c.1000 Saints, *Dureaume* (c.1195) 13th c. Béroul. 'Hill island'. OE *dūn*, ON *holmr*.
EDDY'S BRIDGE (NZ 0350), *Edisbrig* 1446 DST, *Edebrig* 1565 Wills. 'Ead's bridge'. OE pers.n. *Ead*, a shortened form of a name like *Eadgar* etc. (Mawer cites a spelling *Edyedsbridge* c.1570 Eccl which suggests an alternative first el., the fem.pers.n. *Edith*, OE *Eadgyth*, *NbDu* 71), OE *brycg* influenced by ON *bryggja*.
FITCHES (NZ 1430), *Fychewache* 1382 Hatf (read *-wathe*), *Fycchewath* 1393 IPM. 'Ford where vetches grow'. ME *ficche* 'vetch', ON *vath* 'a ford'.
FOULBRIDGE HOUSE (NZ 2154), *Foulebrigg* 1403 IPM. 'Dirty bridge', or 'bridge where birds gather'. OE *fūl* 'dirty' or *fugol* 'a bird', *brycg* influenced by ON *bryggja*.
GAINFORD (NZ 1716), *Geg(e)n-*, *Geagenforda* (c.1040) 11th c. HSC. 'Direct ford'. OE *gegn*, *ford*. OE *gegn* should normally give ME *yein*, *yain*; ON *gegn* gives ME *gein*, *gain*.
GATE CASTLES (NY 9527), *Gaitecastel* c.1180 Riev. 'Goats' castle'. A fanciful name for a site on a steep slope. OE *gāt* 'a goat', gen.pl. *gāta*, influenced by ON *geit*, OFr *castel*.
GELLSFIELD (NZ 2059), *Gellesfeld* 1444 35th Report. ON pers.n. *Gellir* (which also occurs in Gelliswick, Dyfed (SM 8805)),³⁷ OE *feld*.
HAG HOUSE (NZ 2746), *Hagghouse* 1564 VCH. 'House(s) near or in a clearing'. ON *hogg*, earlier **haggu-*, 'a clearing', OE *hūs*.
HAG HOUSE, (NZ 2043), *Haghouse* 1505 IPM. 'House(s) near or in a clearing'. As preceding.
HARE HOLME (NZ 2142), *Hareholm* late 13th c. NCD (p). ON *holmr* 'an island', first el. uncertain, possibly OE *hara* 'a hare'.
HARROW BANK (NY 9539), *Harewanke* 1382 Hatf. 'Hill with a heathen temple'. OE *h(e)arg*, ODan, ME *banke*.

- HARTLEPOOL** (NZ 5223), *Herterpol* c.1170 FPD, *Hiartar poll* (c.1170) 13th c. Morkinskinna, *Hertrepol* freq. 1200-1521, *Hertelpole* 1200 FF. 'Pool or inlet at Hart island'. The original form of this name is likely to have been **Herte-pol* 'Hart island pool' in which *Herte* is the ME reflex of Bede's *Heruteu* 'stag island' referring to the peninsula on which Hartlepool subsequently developed. It has been argued that **Herte-pol* was remodelled under the influence of the name of the district centred on Hart, *Herternes* 1123x1128 Guisb, with OE *hernes* 'a jurisdiction'. This seems at least to have been reinforced by ON *hjärtar*, the gen.sing. of *hjártr* (cf. Carter Fell Cu, *Herter fel* c.1210 'hart's fell', ON *hjärtar fjall*) as in the Morkinskinna form.³⁸
HOWLMIRES (NZ 2447), *Howlemires* 1632 IPM. 'Bogs in a hollow'. OE *hol* 'a hollow' ON *mýrr*.
IRESHOPEBURN (NY 8436-8638), *Ishoppburn* 1647 PS, *Ireshopeburne* 1685 DCD. 'Stream of the valley of the Irishman'. ON *Iri* 'an Irishman', a Norwegian from Ireland, OE *hop*, *burna*. If this explanation is correct the allusion seems to be to a Viking who had been in Ireland and entered Upper Weardale from the west. But the forms are too late for certainty.
MOSS MIRE (NZ 0021), *le Est Mossemire* before 1268 Surtees. OE *mos* 'a bog', ON *mýrr*.
NABLE HILL (NZ 3031), *Nabhill* 1337 IPM. ON *nabbi*, ME **nabbe* 'a projecting peak, a knoll, a hill'.
NORTH BIDDICK (NZ 3054), *Bedyk' Vkilli* (1183) 14th c. BB. 'Ulkill's Biddick'. ON pers.n. *Ulfketill* (SPN 325). This pers.n. is found very frequently both pre- and post-Conquest, *PNUDB* 399.
NUNSTANTON (NZ 3129), *Staynton supra Schyrnam* c.1190 FPD. 'Stony settlement'. OE *stān* influenced by ON *steinn*, *tūn*.
OUSTON (NZ 2554), *Vkilstan* 1244x1249 *Spec*. 'Ulkill's boundary stone'. ON pers.n. *Ulkill* from *Ulfketill* (SPN 325-7), OE *stān*.
PADDOCK MYRE (NZ 1523), *Paddokmyre* 1491 IPM. ME *paddock* 'a frog', ON *mýrr*.
REDMIRE GILL (NZ 0223), *Readmire* 1637 Surtees. Probably 'bog where reeds are cut', OE *hrēod* 'a reed', ON *mýrr*.
REDMIRES (NZ 0839), *le Redmire* 1382 Hatf. As preceding name.
SALT HOLME (NZ 5023), *le Holm* 1276 Ct (p), *Saltholme* 1627x1628 *DRA*. 'Meadow by the shore where salt is boiled'. OE *s(e)alt*, ON *holmr*.
SCHOOL AYCLIFFE (NZ 2523), *Sculacl* (1183) 14th c. BB. 'Scula's division of Aycliffe'. ON pers.n. *Skūli* (SPN 254). The Skūli of this name has been identified with the Scula mentioned above (Introduction); but the name was fairly common (*PNUDB* 366).
SKERNE (NZ 3634-2810), *Schyrnam* c.1190 FPD, *Skyrne* 1361 IPM. 'The clear river'. OE **Scīran-ēa* 'the water of the **Scīre*, the bright one', reformed with substitution of ON /sk/ for OE /ʃ/. *ERN* 367-8.
SKERNINGHAM (NZ 3018), *Skirningheim* early 12th c. SD. 'Homestead of the people who live by the r. Skerne'. Probably originally OE **Scīrningahām* with substitution of /sk/ for /ʃ/ as in Skerne, and ON *heim* for OE *hām*.
SOUR MYRES (lost near NZ 1263), *Sower Myres* 1647 PS. OE *sūr* 'sour', ON *mýrr*.
STAINDROP (NZ 1220), *Standropa* (c.1040) 11th c. HSC, *Stæin-*, *Steindrop* 1129 Reg. 'Stony valley'. OE *stāner*, *hop*, reformed under the influence of ON *steinn*. Gillian Fellows-Jensen has, however, suggested that in this name and in *Staner Yare* (below) OE *stāner* might have developed forms in *Stæin-* independently of ON *steinn*.³⁹
STANTON (NZ 0718), *Stantun* (c.1040) 11th c. HSC, *Stainton*. 'Farm, village on stony ground'. OE *stān*, *tūn*, with substitution of ON *steinn*.
STANTON LE STREET (NZ 3322), *Staninctona* 1092 FPD, *Steintone* 1200 FF. 'Farm, village in the stony place'. OE **stāning* 'stony place', *tūn*, influenced

by ON *steinn*. Here, again, it has been suggested that *stein* might be a direct development of OE **stāning* independent of ON *steinn*.³⁹

STANER YARE the name of a lost fishing station on the Tyne. *Stanre yar'* 1128 (1303), *Steinreiare* 1195. OE *stāner* 'stony' influenced by ON *steinn*, gear 'a fishing weir'.⁴⁰

THACKMYERS (NZ 4137), *Thacmere* c.1175 FPD. 'Pool where reeds for thatching are cut'. OE *thæc*, *mere* substituted by ON *thak*, *mýrr*.

TURSDALE (NZ 2937), *Trelles-*, *Trillesdene* c.1165 FPD. 'Thrylli's' or 'thrall's valley'. ON pers.n. **Thrylli*, or *þræll*, OE denu later replaced by *dalr*. For the rare pers.n., cf. SPN 318 and Thirlby YN, *Trillesbia* 1187 *DEPN*. Stenton⁴¹ included it in his list of pers.nn. not otherwise found in England indicating the intensity of the Danish settlement of 876.

USHAW (NZ 2143), *Vlueskahe* c.1190 Finc, *Ulueschawe* 1382 Hatf. 'Wolves' wood'. Probably OE **wulfa-sceaga* influenced by ON *ulfr* and *skoegr*, but the first element may be ON pers.n. *Ulfr* (SPN 321).

WALDRIDGE (NZ 2550), *Walrigge* (1286) 14th c. Bek. First element uncertain, second element OE *hrycg* replaced by ON *hryggr*.

WOLVISTON (NZ 4525), *Oluestona* (1091x1092) 12th c. FPD, *Wlfestuna* 1114x1128 DEC, *Wolviston* 1296 Halm, *Willeston'* 1287 *Spec*. 'Wulf's farm'. OE pers.n. *Wulf*, *tūn*. Some of the early spellings seem to suggest loss of initial *W-* under the influence of ON *ulfr*.

III. THE DISTRIBUTION OF SETTLEMENTS WITH SCANDINAVIAN OR SCANDINAVIANIZED NAMES

Having surveyed the material it is appropriate to consider the distribution of settlements with Scand or Scandinavianized names in Co. Durham against the pattern of settlements already in existence before the arrival of the first Vikings. In Durham, as in the NW., however, it is difficult to be precise about such matters. A good deal is known about the political and religious history of Northumbria in the pre-Viking era, but documentary evidence for the detail of Anglo-Saxon settlement in the region is scanty. There are almost no pre-1066 charters for Co. Durham and, apart from Bede, who gives us the names only for the ecclesiastical centres at Gateshead, Monkwearmouth / Jarrow and Hartlepool, and for Chester-le-Street, the main source of information is a mid-eleventh-century compilation detailing the land benefactions to the community of St Cuthbert known as the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*.⁴²

It is clear from this document that by the middle of the ninth century well established multiple estate structures existed west of Dere Street, the N.-S. Roman road (Margary no. 8c,d) that bisects the county and very roughly marks the boundary between upland and lowland Durham, centred on Chester-le-Street, Auckland and Gainford. From these cores, exploitation of the natural resources of the upland landscape during the pre- and post-Viking period and on into the

twelfth century is illustrated by the proliferation of *lēah* and other woodland terms in the west half of the county.⁴³ The pressures upon upland Durham can only mean that the 'fat lands' of the Wear and Tees basins were already well exploited at this time. We know all too little about possible *shire* structures in these eastern portions of the county, although multiple estates certainly existed there, e.g. the royal one centred on South Wearmouth. It may be presumed that the processes of estate fissure began much earlier in the east and have done much to obscure more archaic arrangements. What may also be reasonably assumed is that at the time of the Viking arrival all the available land resources of eastern Durham were already exhaustively exploited, and that the map of English habitation names in Durham – the names in *hām*, *worth*, *wīc*, *burh*, and above all in *tūn* – accurately reflects this situation.⁴⁴ The evidence of place-names is reinforced by the presence of pre-Viking architecture or sculpture at up to a dozen places to the east of Dere Street.⁴⁵

The following table shows the distribution of selected OE generics east and west of the line of Dere Street as defined by National Grid N.-S. line 20.

	West of Grid Line 20	East of Grid Line 20
A. <u>Habitation generics</u>		
Primitive Welsh	0	2
hām (including -ingahām)	1	6
tūn (including -ingtūn)	13	64
worth	1	16
wīc	3	6
burh/byrig	0	3
nīwatūn	1	5
hūs	1	5
cot	0	3
other OE habitative generics	10	11
TOTAL	30	121
B. <u>Topographical generics</u>		
lēah 'a clearing'	47	18
hop 'a valley'	19	3
hlāw 'a hill'	12	8
ford 'a ford'	7	8
wudu 'a wood'	6	1
feld 'open country'	5	10
wella 'a spring'	5	10
dūn 'a hill'	4	20
denu 'a valley'	4	10
land 'land'	4	0
burna 'a stream'	3	6
hōh 'a hill spur'	3	7
hyll 'a hill'	2	2
sceaga 'a small wood'	1	1
hēafod 'a headland'	1	1
ēg 'an island'	0	1
hyrst 'a wooded hillock'	0	1
other OE topographical generics	16	36
TOTAL	139	143
TOTAL A + B	169	264

The distribution of the hybrid names in tūn

The hybrid names in tūn are found, with one exception in the Middle Tees Valley, exclusively in the far south-east in a triangle between Ferryhill, Redmarshall and Crimdon Beck on the coast. They are located fairly randomly among the English habitation names, and the pattern fits either a situation of English villis taken over by Scandinavian overlords, or of infilling between existing settlements.

Other hybrid names and Scandinavianized names

Hybrid names and Scandinavianized names of types (i) – (iii) are distributed in two main areas. One group stretches in an arc from Gate Castles near Egglestone in the Upper Tees Valley along a narrow band of land never more than three miles

north of the river as far as Carlbury, and thence north-east to the line of Grimston-hybrids from Redmarshall to the coast. The other group lies to the north-west of Chester-le-Street from Ouston in the north to Waldrige in the south.

The names in bý

The distribution of the names in bý is rather irregular. Four examples relate nicely to the series of Scandinavianized names in the Middle Tees Valley between Staindrop and Piercebridge, and the sequence is balanced and continued by bý names along the river on the Yorkshire side at Eppleby, Cleasby, Girsby and Thornaby, with an isolated Durham example north of the river. The lost *Scalby* near Foxton relates to the small group of coastal Grimston-hybrids, while the more isolated Raisby and Follingsby may be discounted as being post-Conquest formations. The outlying examples at Rumby Hill and Ornsby Hill are only recorded very late (1382 and 1408 respectively) and may also be post-Conquest formations. Ornsby, however, does lie close to the group of names showing Scandinavianization to the west of Chester-le-Street.

Scandinavian habitative names other than those in bý

The five *thorp* names relate nicely to the coastal group, Fulthorp and Thorpe Thewles lying between Blakeston and *Scalby*, Thorp Bulmer near Sheraton, with two examples reaching north towards Easington at *Threlthorp* and Little Thorp. The only other early habitative name, Burn Toft, lying close to Swainston and Amerston, also fits this pattern. No other certain examples in this category have turned up in the Middle Tees group or elsewhere in the county.

Shieling names

The fifteen shieling names of Co. Durham all lie west of the Dere Street line mentioned above. Their generics are exclusively English in origin, compounded with OE *scēla, ME schele 'a hut'. In two cases pers.nn. of ON origin seem to occur: Brotherlee NY 9237, *Brotherleshele* 1457 (*Brothir*), and Carp Shield NZ 0447, *Garpschele* 1339 (*Garpr*); but they are recorded late and most likely belong to category (v), hybrids which are acknowledged to be largely post-1066 formations.

Five names with ME spellings in *-set(e)* are best regarded as OE or ME compositions with OE (ge)set:⁴⁶ Causeway Sike NY 9029, *Kauesete* c.1180 'Cafa's fold'; Causey NZ 2055, *Caldesete* 13th c. 'cold fold'; *Gibside* NZ 1758, *Gypesethe* c.1269 'Gyppi's fold'; *Holmside Hall* NZ 2049, *Holneset* (1183) 14th

'holly fold'; *Simonside* NZ 3463, *Simondesete* (1189x1199) 14th c. 'Sigemund or Simund's fold'.

In the Pennine Uplands in the far west of the county two instances of salt-erg 'a salt-shieling' seem to occur, one recorded late: *Katericksaltere* 1311, which must have lain on Catterick Moss near NY 9936, and Crook's Altar NY 9140, for which no early forms are on record but which I take to be *Crook Salter, 'salt-shieling at a bend or nook in the hill'.

Scandinavian topographical names

As we have seen, very few Scandinavian topographical habitative names occur in Durham. Many possible instances can only be regarded as ME formations and it seems safe to map no more than Copeland, Cringle Dykes, Dyance, Ethers Gill, Hurbuck, Sadberge, Snaisgill, Stirtwith and Waskerley. Copeland, which lies just south of the only Scandinavian named river in the county, the Gaunless (*Gauhenles* c.1185, from ON **gagnlauss* 'unprofitable one') has caused much comment. It has been argued⁴⁷ that Gaunless is a Norse renaming of a river originally called *Clyde*.⁴⁸ This river seems to have formed a boundary between two ancient *shires*. It seems likely that the name Copeland commemorates a purchase by the Auckland shire at some time before c.995, the date of the grant in which the name first occurs, of territory south of the river and originally part of the shire of Staindrop.⁴⁹ At any rate, this name and Dyance belong nicely to the Middle Tees group. Further east, Sadberge was the *caput* of the only wapentake in the county with a separate jurisdiction until its purchase by Bishop Hugh du Puiset from Richard I in 1189.⁵⁰

The other names in this category lie in the west of the county in the upper reaches of Weardale and Teesdale. Such westward expansion marks perhaps the adventurous energies of individual Vikings from the richer territories of the east, or, as we shall see, possible expansion over the Pennine passes from Cumbria.

IV. THE NATIONALITY OF THE SCANDINAVIAN SETTLERS

There are no names in the Durham corpus which refer to *Northmenn* or *Danir*. The one possible instance of reference to nationality is Iri 'an Irishman, a Norwegian settler from Ireland' in the late hybrid formation Ireshope in Upper Weardale. This name and other evidence from the upper reaches of both Weardale and Teesdale seem to testify to some infiltration of Norwegian Vikings

from Ireland over the High Pennine passes from Cumbria.

In the absence of direct evidence of this kind for national origins scholars have turned to various kinds of linguistic test, lexical and phonological. However, many of the lexical or phonological criteria formerly held to be significant have been called into question. Thorp 'dependent secondary settlement', for instance, is no longer admitted as a Danish test word,⁵¹ although *bý* still holds its place as the characteristically Danish habitative generic. Dyance in the Middle Tees Valley contains ODan *dyandi* 'a swamp, a marsh', ModDan *dynd*; and ODan *flask*, or ME *flasshe* derived from it, occurs in the name Flass. On the other hand the parallels to *hurtharbak*, if this is the correct explanation of Hurbuck, are all in Norway or Iceland,⁵² as are those for the p.n. type *setberg* seen in Sadberge.⁵³ The absence of this p.n. type from Denmark, however, may, as Gillian Fellows-Jensen points out, simply reflect the fact that the Danish landscape is not particularly hilly. There is certainly no linguistic objection to the appearance of this formation in an area of Danish settlement.

In Upper Weardale and Upper Teesdale there are four or five instances of OWScand *gil* 'a ravine', a deep narrow valley with a stream'. This element does not occur in ODan, again no doubt because this kind of topographical feature was absent from the Danish landscape. The distribution of *gil* in Durham lends support to the suggestion of infiltration of settlers from the western side of the Pennines into the two upper dales. It could be argued that the presence of a scatter of *gil* names in the west of the county, some of which are clearly hybrids and in all probability post-Conquest formations, shows no more than acquaintance with naming practice west of the Pennines. But this cannot be the whole picture since two of the Teesdale names are pure Scand formations with Scand pers.nn. as first element. Some occurrence might, however, have been expected of the two shieling elements which have been looked upon as of Norwegian origin, *skáli* 'a shieling, a hut' and *sætr* 'a shieling', but, as already noted, these elements have not been found in the county so far.

It has been thought possible to obtain some insight into the nationality of Scandinavian settlers by examining the personal name specifics of p.nn. in search of exclusively or typically West or East Norse appellations, but this technique, too, must be treated with caution. Only in the very earliest coined names would a straight name - nationality correlation be justified. Thereafter intermarriage and fashion are likely to have obscured this correlation so that Danish names will have become borne by men and women of Norwegian descent and vice versa, and Scandinavian names of either linguistic affiliation by men and women of English

origin.

With these caveats in mind we do seem to find one or two examples of names which are characteristically Norwegian (*Eymundr* and *Snjallr* in Amerston and Snaisgill), including one in the Upper Tees Valley compounded with OWScand *gil* where Norwegian penetration has already been suggested, and a handful which might point to Danish origins (*Bróthir*, *Náttfari*, *Skurfa*, *Thrylli*, *Thursteinn* and *Ukill* in Brotherlee, Nafferton, Sheraton, Tursdale, Thrislington and Ouston). In each case, however, there is considerable uncertainty, and no safe conclusions can be drawn from such fugitive evidence alone. In one instance, School Aycliffe, it is not unreasonable to suppose that we have preserved the name of Scula, one of the two named followers of Ragnald to whom estates were given in the early tenth century.⁵⁴ This represents ON *Skúli*, an original byname found fairly frequently in Iceland and also in Norway.⁵⁵

Among the phonological criteria has been cited the contrast between p.n. containing forms such as *banke* and *klint* without ON nasal assimilation, and those containing forms like *brekka*, *slakki* and *brattr* (from **brinkōn*, **slankan*, **branta-*) with nasal assimilation, the former being regarded as evidence of settlement by Danes, the latter by Norwegians.⁵⁶ The most authoritative view now seems to be that the assimilation in OWScand was only just beginning at the time of the first Norwegian settlements.⁵⁷ Unassimilated forms – the only forms occurring in Durham except for a few minor names coined with ME loan words – can no longer, therefore, be used as Danish diagnostics. The predominance of unassimilated forms in Durham and elsewhere must reflect the fact that names were coined and loan-words loaned before the assimilation had been completed.⁵⁸

Finally, although the p.n. Coniscliffe, pronounced /kanskli/, originally OE **Cininges clife*, appears to have been reformed on the model of ODan *kunung* rather than ON *konungr*, it is noteworthy that both Coniston and Conishead in Lancashire (in an area) thought primarily to have been settled by Vikings of WScand origin have the same phonological pattern as Coniscliffe except for the later Standard English centralization and lowering of /u/ to /ʌ/, viz. /kunistn, kunized/.⁵⁹

In sum, it seems hazardous to build theories of geographical origin of the Scandinavian settlers on lexical and phonological criteria in place-names. Nevertheless, it seems consonant with what we may safely deduce to believe that the settlement in the Middle Tees area where the *bý* names predominate was primarily Danish and that some penetration of settlers of WScand origin into Upper Teesdale and Upper Weardale also took place.

V. DATING THE NAMES OF THE SETTLEMENT

The various techniques for establishing the dates of names and of settlements and of establishing their status have been the subject of much discussion for more than two decades now. In this last section of my paper I again follow the procedures and pattern in the monographs of Gillian Fellows-Jensen.⁶⁰

A. Linguistic Dating

(i) Phonological Evidence

EScand *au* was monophthongized to *ǫ* from the tenth century onwards, after the time when the Danes began to settle in England. The diphthongal spelling is regularly preserved in English sources.⁶¹ The form *Copland* for ON *kaupa-land* cannot, however, be taken as an instance of monophthongization because there is evidence that, in words borrowed from Old Norse into Old English, sound substitution of *o* for *au* took place. e.g. *oran* 'money' from ON *aurar*.⁶²

The diphthong *ei* remains in Blakeston and Swainston (represented by *ai* and *ay* in early spellings) and has not been subject to the EScand monophthongization which began about 900: these names were probably coined, therefore, before this date. The development *ei* > *e* in Etters Gill is probably due to AN monophthongization in this name rather than to the ODan development.⁶³

Nasal assimilation took place in OWScand c.850,⁶⁴ but was not generally carried through in ODan.⁶⁵ Such forms as do occur in Durham with assimilation are found in minor names not treated here and are poorly documented. There is some incidence of them in Upper Teesdale.

In common with p.n. in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire the pers.n. el. *-ketill* in Durham p.n. occurs only in the contracted form *-kill* with raising of *e* to *i*. Such forms are common from DB onwards, but it has been suggested that both contracted and uncontracted forms existed side by side in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire from c.875 onwards.⁶⁶

(ii) Morphological Evidence

Genitive forms of the pers.n. show no trace of ON *-ar*. The *-er-* and *-re-* spellings of Hartlepool are interesting (*Herterpol*, *-re-* c.1170-1521, *Hertelpole* c.1200 etc.) in the light of the form of the p.n. in *Morkinskinna*, *Hiartar poll* 'pool of the stag'. At first sight they appear to preserve ON gen.sing. *-ar*. In Bede, Hartlepool is called *Heruteu* 'stag island' – *Insula Cervi* as he glosses it himself – with an unusual ONb reinflected form of OE *ēg* 'an island'.⁶⁷ The

addition of *pol* to this name might be expected to have produced ME *Hertepol*, a spelling which does indeed occur in the thirteenth century. But it is extremely difficult to believe that this could have been reformed with the ON gen.sg. inflexional ending *-ar* in the absence of a Norse speaking population and of this there is no other evidence. Indeed, the publication of the minor names of Stockton Ward in the first volume of the *Place-Names of Durham* will demonstrate their overwhelmingly English character. Ekwall explained the *-er/-re-* spellings as analogical formations on the model of the district name Hartness, *Heorternesse* (c.1040) 11th c., from OE **Heorte-hērnes* '(the district subject to) the jurisdiction of Hart'.⁶⁸

It has been thought that an ON plural ending *-ar* may have survived in the name Stoopdale (ON *stólpar*, pl. of *stólpi* 'a pillar, a post'), but the documentary evidence for this name is too late for this to be other than speculation.

(iii) Lexical Evidence

As is well known, it is a feature of the *bý* and *thorp* names of eastern England that they are predominantly compounded with pers.nn. as specifics. It has been argued that the explanation of this feature is that these names reflect a situation in which settlements were changing hands or being detached from estate centres so that a large number of new names were needed in a short period.⁶⁹ 42% of the *bý* names of Yorkshire are compounded with Scand pers.n. specifics.⁷⁰ This situation contrasts sharply with that in the NW. where only 9% of the *bý* names contain Scand pers.n. specifics, with a correspondingly higher percentage of compositions with appellative specifics. Further, of the pers.n. specifics in the Yorkshire names in *bý*, 83% are Scand, while only 27% of those in the NW. are similarly compounded. Moreover, 85% of the appellative specifics in the NW. are of Scand origin, suggesting that they were being coined at a time when the Scand language was still being spoken in the NW. 54% of the NW. pers.n. specifics are of Continental Germanic origin which suggests that they were still being coined after the Norman Conquest.⁷¹ The number of *bý* names in Durham is too small for the use of percentages, yet a comparison with both Yorkshire and the NW. can be made.

Firstly, nine out of the ten names have pers.n. specifics and, of these nine, seven are Scand. On the other hand, the literature on the seven Scand pers.nn. does suggest that two of them may well be Anglo-Scandinavian and therefore late coinages (*Kilvert*, **Sálihithi*) and another two, one compounded with the name of a twelfth century benefactor of Sherburn Hospital, and the other with an OFr *by.n.* (*Raisby*, *Follingsby*), clearly post-date the Norman Conquest. The rarity of

appellative specifics reflects the same circumstances posited for the Yorkshire *bý* names, but the dating evidence clearly points to a continuation of such activities into the post-Viking period.

Extending consideration to the pers.n. specifics of the Grimston-hybrids confirms this pattern. *Sveinn* was one of the commonest pers.nn. not only in Scandinavia but also in Normandy and England. A p.n. compounded with it could easily be a post-Conquest formation, as could Thrislington which contains *Thorsteinn*, the most common name of Scandinavian origin in Normandy. Many of the *Turstan / Turstin* names recorded in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are likely to have been persons of Norman descent.⁷² The name Nelson must be twelfth century because, like Raisby, it is named from a known twelfth century individual (who was steward to Robert Brus II before 1194). Finally *Thor* in Throston belongs to a type which became increasingly popular between the migration period and the Viking period and is probably an Anglo-Scandinavian pers.n.⁷³

The evidence of this section, therefore, points to two conclusions. The compositional characteristics of the names in *bý* (almost exclusively with pers.nn.) and the virtual absence of Scand appellative specifics or of traces of Scand inflexional endings lend no support to any notion that Scandinavian speech was ever a living thing north of the Tees. On the other hand, the occurrence in composition with *bý* and *tūn* of pers.nn. which might well be or are certainly Anglo-Scandinavian or Anglo-Norman suggests that a not insignificant part of this name-giving took place in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

B. Non-linguistic Dating

(i) Documentary Evidence

Durham suffers under the same disadvantage where documentary evidence is concerned as the NW. There is no DB survey for the county and the earliest episcopal survey, *Boldon Buke*, dates from 1183. As for the NW., the evidence drawn on for this paper is primarily twelfth-century and later up to 1500.

There is, however, one pre-Conquest record of invaluable worth, the eleventh-century compilation known as the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* which lists the landholdings of, and donations to and grants by, the Community of St Cuthbert from its beginning to c.1040. Raby and Ingleton are mentioned in this document in a grant of 1031. Sheraton is included in the grant to Ragnald's followers and Little Thorpe also appears. Coniscliffe is mentioned in a grant of

1003x1016, but still in its un-Scandinavianized form *Cingesclife*, and so too Stainton and Staindrop still appear with *Stan-*, not *Stain-*, spellings. The earliest *Stæin-*, *Stein-*, *Stain-* spellings recorded for Staindrop are 1129, for Stainton 1243, and for Stainton-le-Street 1200. Thereafter the earliest documented names are Claxton, which may not be Scand at all, and Killerby, both of which occur in a twelfth-century copy of a charter of William I dated 1091x1092.

(ii) Historical Evidence

This has already been outlined in the Introduction (I, above).

(iii) Topographical and Geological Evidence (see Maps VI and VII)

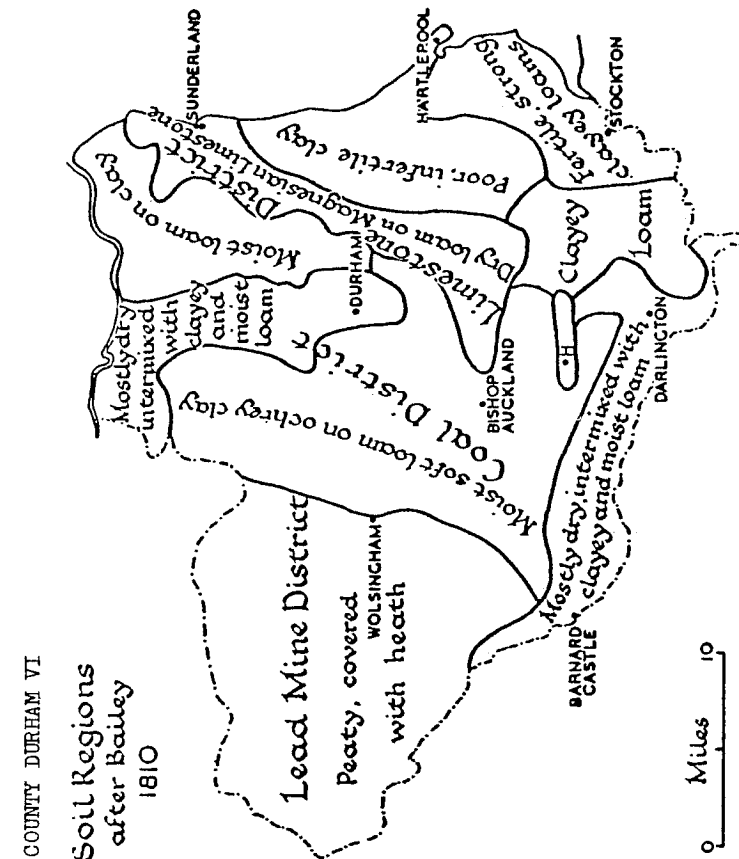
As is well known, topographical and geological methods of dating settlements rely on the attempts to correlate names and name-types with the suitability – and availability – of sites for settlement in periods when the quality of land for subsistence farming was of crucial importance. As is well known too, caveats and refinements have been entered since this method was first developed.⁷⁴ Rather, therefore, than plotting the Scand elements in Durham against inadequate or misleading drift geology maps it seems preferable to show a map delineating different qualities of soil with the distribution of habitative names of English and Scand origin across them. Within the bounds of the historical county of Durham some 156 names are plotted including 27 which occur on what is now unclassified urban or industrial land. For the rest the distribution is as follows:

	<u>Well drained lowland soils</u>	<u>Land with some limitations</u>	<u>Upland grazing</u>
English habitative names	21	58	2
Grimston-hybrids	0	6	0
by	3	5	0
thorp	1	5	0
Scandinavianized names	5	12	0
Other Scand names	0	9	2
All Scand names	9	37	2

In percentage terms this is:

English habitative names	26%	72%
All Scandinavian names	19%	77%

In other words, although there is some difference in the proportion of settlement names on the best soils, it is by no means startling. And when you look at the map it is not easy to make clear distinctions, at this scale, between the sites of



(from The Land of Britain. The Report of the Land Utilisation Survey of Britain ed. L. Dudley Stamp, Part 47. County Durham, London 1941, fig.5 p.203)

the Scandinavian names and those of the English ones. It is perhaps significant that not a single Grimston-hybrid occupies a site on the best soil. It is also clear that there were large tracts of land, e.g. in Hartness and around Darlington, which were simply not available for Scandinavian settlement.

Close inspection, however, does reveal, I think, one primary area for settlement, the Middle Tees Valley from Barnard Castle to Coniscliffe. Bailey in 1810 described the soils of this whole tract of land as 'mostly dry intermixed with clayey and moist loam'.⁷⁵ This area, together with Hartness, described as 'fertile, strong, clayey loams',⁷⁶ were two of the best agricultural areas of the whole county. To the north along the coast, where the main group of Grimston-hybrids lie, the soil is 'poor, infertile clay'.⁷⁷

The maps of the chief crops of County Durham in 1934 are revealing, particularly that of the barley crop which shows a very distinct concentration of this crop in an area stretching from Gainford to Darlington.⁷⁸ The report described the Middle Tees Valley as:

'as a whole, good, mixed farming land with a high proportion of arable. The rich light loams carry some of the finest grassland in the county and the light soils suit barley which only in this part of Co. Durham, especially in a semi-circular area around Piercebridge, attains any real importance. Wheat is also prominent, whilst some of the best grassland can fatten cattle without the help of concentrate'.⁷⁹

There can be no doubt that this was the area of prime attraction to Scandinavian settlers moving north up the Vale of York. It is the area above all in Durham characterized by names in *bý* and English names Scandinavianized. Grimston-hybrids are hardly represented.

(iv) Fiscal Evidence

It is believed that some indication of the antiquity of a settlement can be deduced from fiscal evidence on the assumption that there is a significant correlation between the age of a settlement and its value, i.e. that a settlement with a high valuation is likely to be older than one with a low valuation. This, however, is a questionable proposition. The valuation of any settlement will depend on its prosperity and success, and prosperity and success will depend on more variables than simply antiquity. The original selection of sites is likely to have been at least partly a matter of trial and error. Sites, moreover, were not fixed, and a whole host of now largely irrecoverable factors are likely to have affected success or failure.⁸⁰ What might be revealing, however, would be the coincidence of characteristically high or low valuations with any particular place-name type.

A prerequisite for such an examination is the availability of a comprehensive



(from *The Land of Britain. The Report of The Land Utilisation Survey of Britain* ed. L. Dudley Stamp, Part 47. County Durham, London 1941, fig.9 p.212)

survey of the assessments of all the settlements in the area concerned. For Yorkshire this was provided by DB, but no equivalent document is available for Durham. What we do possess are partial surveys, of the bishop's estates on the one hand, and of the Durham Priory estates on the other. The earliest of the surveys of the bishop's estates is *Boldon Buke* of 1183 followed by Bishop Hatfield's survey of 1382.⁸¹ For the priory's estates we have to wait until a feudary of 1430.⁸² It is clearly not possible to compare like with like and this class of evidence is of very limited use. It is not pursued further on this occasion.⁸³

It has also been suggested that the kind of dues which settlements owe may indicate their relative age. In Cumbria the ancient due of cornage has been used as an index of antiquity. The same due was widely levied in Durham throughout the episcopal estates. Unfortunately the evidence is patchy again, but it is noteworthy that Killerby, the one *bý* recorded by *Boldon Buke*, was subject to this due.⁸⁴ Of all the *býs* in the Middle Tees Valley it is the one most likely to have been an English village taken over and renamed.

(v) Administrative Evidence

(a) Wards, wapentakes and other large administrative areas

Durham was divided for administrative purposes into wards in the Middle Ages, centred on Chester-le-Street, Easington, Stockton and Darlington. Within Stockton Ward there was also a unique wapentake, the wapentake of Sadberge purchased by Bishop Hugh du Puiset from Richard I in 1189.

Episcopal manors were grouped into *shires*, some of which were of very considerable antiquity and may have been organized estates even before the Anglo-Saxon takeover. There were shires centred on Auckland, Billingham, Darlington, Hart (*Heorternesse* (c.1040) 11th c. the *hērnas* of Hart), Heighington, Quarrington, South Wearmouth and Staindrop, and possibly on Old Durham and Sedgfield too. The land endowments of the Monkwearmouth / Jarrow monastery in the NE. of the county were also organized on similar lines to form the shire of *Werhal*. All these names, except that of the wapentake, are English or PrW (Auckland, *Alclit* (c.1040) 11th c. 'the cliff on the r. *Clyde', PrW **alt-clīd*). This clearly implies that only one small area of the county was sufficiently Scandinavianized to bear a name of ON origin. Unfortunately the precise boundaries of this wapentake are uncertain, but it seems to have included land around the king's manor of Sadberge itself, Hart and Hartlepool and the barony of Gainford, but not the ancient Anglian episcopal estates centred on Stockton, Darlington and Heighington.⁸⁵

(b) Parishes and townships

It is argued that the kind of settlement which achieved parochial status is likely to have been a major administrative centre, one of the larger and more prosperous settlements, and that vills that were large and prosperous are those most likely to have been early settlements and to have been in existence longer than poorer and lesser settlements which may mark movement outwards from the primary centres. Gillian Fellows-Jensen has drawn attention to some of the possible fallacies in this argument and to the many variable factors which must raise doubts about the application of parish status as a diagnostic of early settlement.⁸⁶

The parish organization of Durham is reasonably well known from the twelfth century and I have analysed the name-types of all the settlements which became parishes and townships as listed in Dr Brian Roberts's *Check-list of Rural Clusters in Co. Durham*.⁸⁷

1. Name-types of medieval parishes in Durham

PrW	2	burh	1
hām	6	wīc	1
-ingtūn	4	OE topographical	21
tūn	12	lēah	0
ceaster	2	other OE el.	3
worth	2	OE/Scand hybrid	1
		topographical	

The only Scand name to acquire parish status is the hybrid topographical name Durham itself. Four OE parish names underwent Scandinavianization (Coniscliffe, Gainford, Great Stainton, Staindrop).

2. Name-types of townships and other rural clusters

	Township	Other		Township	Other
PrW	6	1	OE topographical	94	32
hām	7	1	lēah	20	15
-ingtūn	5	3	wudu	3	1
tūn	53	14	other wood names	2	0
ceaster	2	2	Grimston-hybrid	5	4
worth	9	9	karlatūn	1	0
burh	2	1	bý	3	3
nīwatūn	4	4	thorp	2	2
mōrtūn	4	2	other Scand	1	2
other OE	21	9	hybrids	3	1
			bigging	4	1

There is a marked difference between the number of English names with township

status and the number of Scand names acquiring the same status: 71% of all English names have township status, only 56% of the Scand names. 70% of OE *tūn* names are townships compared with only five out of the nine Grimston-hybrids.

3. *Distribution of generics as between parishes and chapelries based on the data in Hadcock's map of medieval Durham*⁸⁸

	Parishes	Chapels	Total
PrW	3	1	4
ceaster	3	0	3
hām	6	1	7
tūn	19	18	37
worth	3	6	9
wīc	2	3	5
burh	1	1	2
hūs	0	2	2
cot	0	2	2
set	0	2	2
other OE	2	4	6
OE topographical	21	40	61
lēah	0	17	17
wudu	0	3	3
Grimston-hybrid	0	3	3
bý	0	2	2
Scand	0	1	1
hybrid	1	0	1
bigging	0	1	1

(c) Lost villis

The theory that lost villis – unsuccessful settlements, deserted medieval villages – were secondary settlements, established late in poor and unsuccessful sites has been regarded as established fact. But, of course, the factors governing desertion must have been manifold – enclosure, plague, devastation during the harrying of the North in 1070 by William the Conqueror, climatic change rendering settlements on heavy clay land unviable etc. Dr Roberts's *Checklist*⁸⁷ provides three categories of unsuccessful settlement: shrunken, deserted, and possibly deserted (S, D, ?D). The name-types for these settlements in County Durham are tabulated in the following table.

	Total no.	S	D	?D	S+D as % of total no.	S+D+?D
PrW	7	0	1	1	14	29
hām	8	0	0	1	0	13
-ingtūn	8	0	0	1	0	13
tūn	67	7	12	3	28	33
ceaster	4	0	0	1	–	–
worth	18	1	3	7	22	61
burh	3	1	1	1	–	–
nīwatūn	8	1	2	3	38	75
mōrtūn	6	1	1	2	33	67
nīwahūs	1	0	1	0	–	–
cot	2	1	0	0	–	–
other OE	18	2	2	7	22	61
OE topographical	126	10	15	23	20	38
lēah	35	3	5	9	23	49
wudu	4	0	2	0	–	–
other wood names	2	0	0	1	–	–
TOTAL OE HABITATIVE	125	12	20	19	25	42
TOTAL OE TOPOGRAPHICAL	167	13	22	33	21	41
TOTAL OE	310	27	44	59	23	42
Grimston-hybrids	9	1	5	1	67	78
karlatūn	1	0	0	0	–	–
bý	7	2	2	1	57	71
thorp	5	0	1	3	20	80
other Scand	3	1	1	1	–	–
hybrids	4	1	0	1	–	–
bigging	5	0	3	1	–	–
TOTAL SCAND	29	5	9	7	48	72
ALL NAMES	346	32	54	67	25	45

Once again there is a clear distinction between the incidence of desertion or shrinkage between English-named and Scand-named settlements. 14% of all English-named settlements are deserted settlements (16% of habitative names, 13% of topographical names) compared with 31% of all Scand-named settlements. In particular, of OE *tūn* names twelve (or 18%) are deserted settlements and seven (10%) are shrunken settlements (together 28%). Of the Grimston-hybrids five (or 55%) are deserted settlements and one shrunken (together 67%). The high failure rate among the Grimston-hybrids sets them apart from the English *tūn* names and

strengthens further the view that they are late secondary settlements in poor situations, rather than ancient English vills taken over.

(vi) Archaeological Evidence

Archaeological evidence rarely provides a precise dating for settlement. It can be used to supplement the picture derived from the p.n. evidence and it can also reveal the presence of Viking settlement or of Viking artistic influence and taste in places whose names are not Scand or Scandinavianized.

(a) Burials

Only one pagan Viking burial site has been found in the Tees valley, and that not in Co. Durham but at Kildale in N. Yorkshire at NZ 6009, five miles east of Stokesley and remote from the area of present interest.⁸⁹

(b) Settlement sites

Very little is known in general about the actual settlement sites of the Scandinavians in Northumbria as a whole outside York, not least, perhaps, because many such sites have continued in use as farming settlements. In fact it has been on the upland margins where settlements have been more vulnerable to desertion that most information has been gleaned. One site, at Simy Folds (NY 8827), very close to Ethers Gill, has been provisionally identified as a Viking-period farmstead.⁹⁰

(c) Carved stone sculpture

Some scholars have used the evidence of Anglo-Scand stone carving to supplement and refine p.n. evidence. In particular it has been argued that the presence of Scand sculptural monuments in settlements which retained their English names illustrates the practice of the new Viking overlords taking over the best existing sites as their first acts of appropriation, and that such a conjunction – English p.n. plus Anglo-Scand sculpture – supplements the evidence of the Grimston-hybrids as a device for identifying the primary areas of Scand settlement. It is, however, now perceived that such an interpretation of this conjunction relies on the mistaken assumption that Scand art styles necessarily imply a Scand patron.⁹¹

The problem is parallel to that of Scand p.n. elements. Just as the latter were frequently borrowed into native English dialects and cannot be used uncritically as diagnostics for the presence of Scand settlers, only for the general linguistic impact of Scand settlement, so too features of Scand artistic taste are likely to

have become fashionable among patrons wealthy enough to be able to commission sculpture, whatever their racial origins or affinities.

Professor Bailey stresses that most Anglian sculpture is found in a monastic context and that monastic houses tend to be in areas made attractive to settlement because of the quality of the land which provided the wealth of both monastic and secular communities. Viking-period sculpture is found in the same context of soil-based wealth able to support the office of patronage. For these reasons, therefore, the distribution of Viking-age sculpture generally extends the pattern of the distribution of Anglian sculpture. It cannot be used uncritically to establish either the date or the incidence of Scand settlement, but the presence of sculptural remains can reasonably be expected to reflect the economic success of a settlement.⁹²

In the Tees valley there are some 170 fragments from 33 sites datable to the Viking period, of which about twenty pieces have ornament stylistically related to Scand traditions.⁹³ This seems to indicate that the general impact of Viking settlement in this area was one of revitalization of the native tradition of stone carving, some notable monuments combining features of both Scand and native style.

The distribution of Anglian and Anglo-Scand sculptural fragments in Durham is shown in the two following tables.⁹⁴

1. *Sites where Anglian-period sculpture (i.e. pre-900) has been found*

British names	Auckland, Eggescliffe
hām	Seaham
tūn	Dalton-le-Dale
Other OE names	Escombe, Hart, Hartlepool, Hurworth, Jarrow, Monkwearmouth, Staindrop

Most of these names are of sites where, on either historical or onomastic grounds, it is held that Anglian settlements were early established. At four of them, Eggescliffe, Hart, Jarrow and Monkwearmouth, sculptural activity continued into the Viking period.

2. Sites where only Viking-period (i.e. after 900) sculpture has been found

ceaster	Chester-le-Street
hām	Billingham
tūn	Darlington, Great Stainton, Haughton-le-Skerne, Norton, Winston
Other OE names	Aycliffe, Coniscliffe, Dinsdale, Gainford, Hart, Sockburn
Hybrid names	Durham

With the exception of the city of Durham, most of these sites are, again, partly on historical grounds, but also on onomastic grounds, regarded as early and prosperous settlements. There is a striking correspondence between sites with Anglo-Scand sculpture and the main area of Scand settlement already established, the Middle Tees Valley, and the artistic affinities of this art is with the sculptural traditions south of the Tees in Yorkshire.⁹⁵ Sculpture is also found further to the east in places with purely English or earlier names – Darlington, Haughton, Sockburn, Dinsdale, Eggescliffe – the latter a site which, if it has a genuine eccles name, seems to show continuity of Christian occupation from the very earliest times.⁹⁶ A nearby bý, Aislaby, is a dependent settlement of Eggescliffe.

In an extended discussion of the significance of this type of sculpture, Mr Christopher Morris has argued that it implies a secular patronage and, in the celebrated case of Middleton in N. Yorkshire, a patron of Scandinavian stock or extraction.⁹⁷ Sockburn is the one site north of the Tees which is closely comparable to Middleton in the dominant secularity of its Viking-age sculpture.⁹⁸ A monastic site in pre-Viking times with a purely Anglo-Saxon name (*Soccabyrig* ASC(E) s.a.780, *Socceburg* (c.1040) 12th c., *Sockburn* c.1130, 'Socca's burh), it was donated to the community of St Cuthbert along with Girsby on the south bank of the Tees and two villas near Sedgfield by one *Snaculf filius Cytel* c.1003x1016. These are the ON pers.nn. *Snækolfr*, common in saga but rare in the real world, and the extremely common *Kerill*, Anglicized as *Cytel*.⁹⁹ It begins to appear likely that Sockburn, like Middleton, was one of those English villages of primary attraction which were taken over by Viking overlords without change of name. Significantly only one of the names listed above contains a Scand p.n. element – the hybrid Durham itself – although several of the names have undergone Scandinavian influence on their phonology (Stainton, Coniscliffe, Gainford) and Haughton lies on the r. Skerne which shows Scand substitution of [sk] for English [f].

VI. CONCLUSION

As might have been expected, this study has confirmed in general the conclusions previously drawn about the incidence of Scand settlement in Co. Durham. The combination of Scandinavianized English names, names in bý, and the concentration of Anglo-Scandinavian sculptural remains in the Middle and Lower Tees Valley shows an arc of settlement in some density extending two to three miles north of the river from Yorkshire. Here, if anywhere, it seems possible that we may see traces of activity connected with the events of 876, although this cannot be proved. Scandinavian overlordship, as opposed to settlement, was probably established as far as the Scand-named river Gaunless where, before the end of the tenth century, the peaceful exchange of land is commemorated in the name Copeland. In fact, no less than three of the great estate centres, Gainford, Staindrop and Auckland, show evidence of Scandinavianization in their names.

Even so, there remain areas along the Tees where all trace of Scand or Scandinavianized p.nn. is absent – notably around Darlington and around Hartlepool. The influx of population such as it was outside the Middle Tees Valley seems to have been one of infilling of Scandinavians between and around the native population in English-named villas. The two processes, Scandinavian overlordship of the estate organizations and settlement both in and around pre-existing villages, must have led to the cultural and political mixing reflected in the Anglo-Scandinavian art throughout the deep south of the county.¹⁰⁰

Towards the coast is the area of the Grimston-hybrids. The insignificance of these settlements on the wet heavy clays and their high rate of failure place them on the margin of Scand settlement. Of the two tracts of coastal land distributed by Ragnald c.914, the northern bloc from Eden to Wearmouth does not contribute a single example of a Scand settlement name of any type. While it is clearly impossible to be sure about the date of the Grimston-hybrids in Durham, they do seem to be distinct in kind from the Scand nomenclature of the Middle Tees Valley, and I find it hard to regard them as belonging to the same period.¹⁰¹

Elsewhere in the county, to the west of Chester-le-Street, which has instances of Anglo-Scand sculpture, there is a cluster of Scandinavianized names and a single bý. However, like the two isolated names in bý at Follingsby and Raisby which are clear post-1066 formations, this example too is in all probability very late.

Finally, in the far west of the county, certainly in Upper Teesdale, and in all probability in Upper Weardale too, there is evidence of infiltration over the Pennine passes of settlers of Irish-Norwegian origin.

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NOTES

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¹ ASC(E) in *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, translated by G. N. Garmonsway (London, 1953), 55-7.

² ASC(E), *ibid.* 57.

³ Cf. R. Cramp, 'Excavations at the Saxon monastic sites of Wearmouth and Jarrow', *Medieval Archaeology* XIII (1969), 21-66, esp. 25.

^{3*} D. Whitelock (ed.), *English Historical Documents*, I, c.500-1042 (2nd edn, London, 1979), no. 4, s.a.

⁴ E. B. Fryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy, *Handbook of British Chronology* (3rd edn, London, 1986), 19.

⁵ Fryde *et al.*, *ibid.*; Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, nos. 199-200.

⁶ Whitelock, *ibid.* no. 4, s.a.

⁷ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *op.cit.* 72.

⁸ *Ibid.* 74.

⁹ *Anglo-Saxon England* (2nd edn), 250.

¹⁰ *A History of the Vikings* (London, 1968), 221.

¹¹ *Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England* (2nd edn, Cambridge, 1977), 73 and map p.77.

¹² *A Companion to Old and Middle English Studies* (London, 1982), 121.

¹³ *The Northern Counties to AD 1000* (London, 1986), 309.

¹⁴ E.g. Reginald of Durham, *Life of St Oswald* cited by P. H. Blair, 'The boundary between Bernicia and Deira', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series XXVII (1949), 50.

¹⁵ E.g. a 9th cent. grant of the Gainford estate included all the land between the Wear and the Tees, between Dere Street and the mountains in the west, and *south of the Tees three miles to the east and six miles to the west: Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, 9, cited in C. D. Morris, 'Northumbria and the Viking settlement', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series V (1977), 93.

¹⁶ *Scandinavian Settlement Names in Yorkshire (SSNY)* (Copenhagen, 1972).

¹⁷ Ideally the p.n.n. of Co. Durham should be taken together with those of Northumberland. However, as virtually no new work has been done on Northumberland since Sir Alan Mawer's *The Place-Names of Durham and Northumberland (NbDu)* (Cambridge, 1921), it seemed best to confine the present account to an area where there have been new findings.

¹⁸ Robert Surtees, *History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, I, (London, 1816), ii, 40 (after Simeon of Durham, *Historia Ecclesiae Dunelmensis* II, 16).

¹⁹ *Medieval Settlement*, ed. P. H. Sawyer (London, 1976), 216.

²⁰ Sir Frank Stenton, quoted in Kenneth Cameron, 'The significance of English

place-names', *Proceedings of the British Academy* LXII (1976), 19.

²¹ Only one instance is recorded in WScand sources and that was the name of a Dane. It was also the name of one of the Danish jarls killed in 911, *ASChron* (D) in Garmonsway, *op.cit.* 97.

²² SPN, 57, 77.

²³ SPN, LXXV § 28.

²⁴ *The material*, 276, 313.

²⁵ The material is drawn from the author's card index of p.n. spellings for Co. Durham. The following abbreviations are used:

(a) *Manuscript Sources*

CB	Halmote Court Books of the diocese of Durham in the Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic, University of Durham.
Ct	Miscellaneous Charters in the Muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Durham (DCD).
DRA	DCD Deanery Rental Accounts.
Fin	DCD Finchale Charters.
Lang	Bishop Langley's Survey, PRO.
Reg	Regales, DCD Royal Charters.
Spec	Speciales, DCD Special Charters.

(b) *Printed Sources*

Béroul	Béroul, <i>The Romance of Tristan</i> , ed. A. Ewart (Oxford, 1939-70).
ASC	See above, n. 1.
Ass	Assize Rolls in <i>Miscellanea</i> II, Surtees Society CXXXVII (1916).
BB	<i>Baldon Book</i> , ed. D. Austin (Chichester, 1982).
Bek	<i>Records of Anthony Bek</i> ..., ed. C. M. Fraser, Surtees Society CLXII (1953).
CalRotChart	<i>Calendar of Charter Rolls</i> (1903-).
DAR	<i>Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham</i> , Surtees Society XCIX (1898) etc.
DB	<i>Domesday Book</i> , ed. A. Farley (2 vols, London, 1783); see also GDB, below.
DEC	<i>Durham Episcopal Charters 1071-1152</i> , Surtees Society CLXXIX (1968).
DST	<i>Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres</i> , Surtees Society IX (1839).
Fin	<i>Finchale Charters</i> , Surtees Society VI (1837).
FF	Feet of Fines.
GD	<i>The Greenwell Deeds, Archaeologia Aeliana</i> , 4th series, III (1927).
GD ²	'A second calendar of Greenwell Deeds', <i>Archaeologia Aeliana</i> , 4th series, VII (1930), 81-114.
GDB	Great Domesday Book (vol. 1 of DB, above).
Godr	<i>Vita S. Godrici</i> , Surtees Society XX (1847).
Guish	<i>Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburn</i> , Surtees Society LXXXVI (1889), LXXXIX (1894).
Halm	<i>Halmota Prioratus Dunelmensis</i> , Surtees Society LXXXII (1889).
Hatf	<i>Bishop Hatfield's Survey</i> , Surtees Society XXXII (1857).
HSC	<i>Historia de Sancto Cuthberto</i> , Surtees Society LI (1868).
Hud	<i>Durham Recusants' Estates 1717-1778</i> , ed. C. R. Hudleston, Surtees Society CLXXXIII (1971), CLXXXV (1972).
IPM	<i>Inquisitiones post mortem</i> .
Kitchin	Thomas Kitchin, <i>An Accurate Map of the County Palatine of Durham</i> (London, 1763).
LVD	<i>Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis</i> , Surtees Society CXXXVI (1923).
NCD	<i>North Country Deeds</i> in <i>Miscellanea</i> II, Surtees Society CXXXVII (1916).

- Pipe Pipe Rolls.
 PS *Parliamentary Surveys of the Bishopric of Durham*, ed. D. A. Kirby, Surtees Society CLXXXIII (1971), CLXXXV (1972).
 Rav E. H. Bell, 'Calendar of deeds given to the society by the Earl of Ravensworth', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, XVI (1939), 43-70.
 Riev *Rievaulx Cartulary*, Surtees Society, LXXXIII, (1889).
 RD *Reginaldi Monachi Dunelmensis Libellus*, Surtees Society I (1835).
 RPD *Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense*, 4 vols, Rolls Series LXII (London, 1873-8).
 RRAN *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066-1154*, ed. H. W. C. Davis *et al.*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1913-69).
 Scam² G. V. Scammel, 'Seven charters for the familia of Hugh du Puiset', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, XXXIV (1956).
 SD Symeon of Durham, *Historia Ecclesiae Dunelmensis* and *Historia Regum*, Rolls Series LXXV (London, 1882-5), Surtees Society LI.
 Swaby W. P. Swaby, *A Short History ... of Hilton Castle in the County of Durham* (Sunderland, 1884).
 35th Report *35th Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of Records*.
 Wills *Wills and Inventories ...*, Surtees Society II (1835), XXXVIII (1860), CXII (1906), CXLII (1929).
 YCh *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. W. Farrer, C. T. Clay (Edinburgh, 1914 ff).

(c) Other Abbreviations [besides those standard to *NOMINA*]

- Cu Cumberland.
 DS *Danmarks Stednavne* I ff. (Copenhagen, 1922 ff.).
 ERN E. Ekwall, *English River Names* (Oxford, 1928).
 Margary I. D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain* (rev. edn. London, 1967).
 Nb Northumberland.
 NbDu A. Mawer, *The Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham*, (Cambridge, 1920).
 NP E. Björkman, *Nordische Personennamen in England* (Halle, 1910).
 La Lancashire.
 Li Lincolnshire.
 PNDB O. von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book* (Uppsala, 1937).
 Reaney P. H. Reaney, *The Origin of English Surnames* (London, 1967).
 Origin
 Redin M. Redin, *Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English* (Uppsala, 1919).
 SPN G. Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire* (Copenhagen, 1968).
 SSNEM G. Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the East Midlands* (Copenhagen, 1978).
 SSNNW G. Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West* (Copenhagen, 1985).
 SSNY G. Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in Yorkshire* (Copenhagen, 1972).
 YE The East Riding of Yorkshire.
 YN The North Riding of Yorkshire.

- by.n. byname
 el. element
 freq. frequenter
 ONb Old Northumbrian
 (p) place-name form preserved in a personal name

- ²⁶ R. Jordan, *Handbuch der mittel-englischen Grammatik* (Heidelberg, 1934), 36.
²⁷ Cf. SSNNW, Carleton, Amounderness, p.186.
²⁸ SSNNW, 18.
²⁹ SSNY, 9.
³⁰ SSNNW, 20.
³¹ SSNEM, 47.
³² B. K. Roberts, *Village Plans* (Shire Archaeology, 1982), 7-8.
³³ NbDu, xxii.
³⁴ NbDu, s.n.
³⁵ Private communication.
³⁶ SSNNW, 199.
³⁷ B. G. Charles, *Non-Celtic Place-Names in Wales* (London, 1938), 141.
³⁸ SSNNW; *PNCumb.*, II, 437.
³⁹ Private communication.
⁴⁰ 'Some Northumbrian Fishery Names II', *Durham Archaeological Journal* II (1986), 58, no. 63.
⁴¹ *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd ed., 250, n. 1
⁴² Ed. J. H. Hinde, *Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanea*, Surtees Society LI (1868). Cf. Sir E. Craster, 'The Patrimony of St Cuthbert', *EHR* LXIX (1954), 177-99; C. D. Morris, 'Northumbria and the Viking Settlement: the evidence for land holding', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series, V (1977), 90-4; and V. E. Watts, 'The earliest Anglian names in Durham', *ante* II (1978), 30-3.
⁴³ P. G. A. Clack and B. H. Gill, 'The land divisions of Co. Durham in the early medieval period', unpublished paper; cf. fig. 10.5 in P. H. Sawyer, ed., *English Medieval Settlement*, (London, 1979), 131.
⁴⁴ *Ibid.* fig. 10.4 (p.130).
⁴⁵ See below p.55.
⁴⁶ *EPN*, II, 120.
⁴⁷ M. Gelling *et al.*, *The Names of Towns and Cities in Britain* (London, 1970), 53, s.n. Bishop Auckland.
⁴⁸ Identical in meaning with the r. Clyde in Scotland, *Clota* in Tacitus, from **Clouta* 'the clean one', *ERN*, 82.
⁴⁹ B. K. Roberts, *The Green Villages of Co. Durham* (Durham, 1977), 15.
⁵⁰ See C. M. Fraser, K. Emsley, 'Durham and the wapentake of Sadberge', *Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland*, II (1970), 71.
⁵¹ SSNNW, 309.
⁵² NbDu, 121.
⁵³ SSNY, 192.
⁵⁴ See above, pp.18-19.
⁵⁵ SPN, 254.
⁵⁶ Cf. SSNNW, 316 ff.
⁵⁷ E. Kolb, 'The Scandinavian loanwords in English and the date of the West-Norse change mp>pp, nt>tt, nk>kk', *English Studies* L (1969), 129-40.
⁵⁸ Kolb's dating is not, however, without its difficulties. See discussion in SSNNW, 316-18.
⁵⁹ SSNNW, 186, 223.
⁶⁰ SSNNW, 322 ff.
⁶¹ SPN, § 45-7.
⁶² *Ibid.* § 47.
⁶³ *Ibid.* LXXIX, § 50.
⁶⁴ L. Moberg, *Om de nordiska nasalassimilationerna mp>pp, nt>tt, nk>kk med särskild hänsyn till svenskan* (Uppsala, 1944), 205.
⁶⁵ P. Skautrup, *Det danske Sprogs Historie* I (Copenhagen, 1944), 50.
⁶⁶ SPN, LXXXII, CV.

⁶⁷ R. Girvan, *Angelsaksisch Handboek* (Haarlem, 1931) § 26 Aanm. Cf. However, I. Dahl, *Substantival Inflexion in Early Old English* (Lund, 1938), 100-1.

⁶⁸ *Studies on English Place- and Personal Names* (Lund, 1931), 75-8. The modern form may be ascribed to the dissimilatory change *r - r > r - l* reinforced by the pattern of the French definite article in names like Chester-le-Street, a type much in vogue in the 15th cent.

⁶⁹ SSNNW, 328 and references cited there.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid. 329.

⁷² SPN, 276-82, 313-17.

⁷³ SSNY, 241-2 and references in n. 51.

⁷⁴ V. E. Watts, 'The earliest Anglian names in Durham', *ante* II (1978), 32-3; B.

K. Roberts, 'Site and situation: a discussion', *ibid.* 34-7.

⁷⁵ J. Bailey, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Durham* (London, 1810), frontispiece map. Cf. *ibid.* p. 9 'deep mellow tenacious dry fertile loams'.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* and p. 8, 'strong fertile clayey loam which produces good crops of wheat, beans, clover and rich old grazing pastures'.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* and p. 8, 'poor, stubborn, unfertile clay which produces miserable crops of corn; and when suffered to remain in grass, produces a herbage that scarcely any kind of stock will eat, unless compelled by hunger'.

⁷⁸ See the map in Part 47 of the *Report of the Land Utilisation Survey, County Durham*, by Ada Temple (London, 1941), p. 212, fig. 9, here reproduced as Map VII.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 229. In this connection the p.n. Barforth YN, across the Tees from Gainford, is noteworthy: it is *Bereford* c.1130, 'ford where corn or *barley* is carried'.

⁸⁰ Cf. B. K. Roberts, *ante* II (1978), 35.

⁸¹ BB; Hatf.

⁸² *Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis*, ed W. Greenwell, Surtees Society LVIII (1872).

⁸³ The average villein-holding of twenty vills with OE topographical names in BB is 463 acres. The average villein-holding of fifteen vills with OE habitation names is 524 acres (ranging from 780 acres in one *hām* and 770 in three *-ingtūns* to 195 in one of the *Newtons*). The villein-holding of Killerby was 360 acres: it is the one *bý* with some claim perhaps to be an Anglo-Saxon settlement taken over by Norse settlers and renamed.

⁸⁴ BB, 66-7.

⁸⁵ C. M. Fraser and K. Emsley, 'The wapentake of Sadberge', 71-2.

⁸⁶ SSNNW, 384 ff.

⁸⁷ B. K. Roberts, D. Austin, *A Preliminary Check-List of Rural Clusters in Co. Durham* (Durham, 1975).

⁸⁸ *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, XVI (1939).

⁸⁹ C. D. Morris, 'Viking and native in Northern England: a case study', *Proceedings of the 8th Viking Congress* (Odense, 1981), 234.

⁹⁰ D. Coggins, K. J. Fairless, C. E. Batey, 'Simy Folds: an early medieval settlement site in Upper Teesdale', *Medieval Archaeology* XXVII (1983), 1-26.

⁹¹ For the criticism, see R. N. Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England* (London, 1980), 210-11.

⁹² *Ibid.* 213-14.

⁹³ Morris, 'Viking and native', 229 ff.

⁹⁴ The source of information is R. Cramp, *The British Academy Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England*, I, *Durham and Northumberland* (London, 1984).

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 81a, 'Gainford consistently reflects styles which are more popular further south'.

⁹⁶ K. Cameron, 'Eccles in English place-names', *Christianity in Britain 300-700* ed. M. W. Barley and R. P. C. Hanson (Leicester, 1968), 87-92.

⁹⁷ Morris, 'Viking and native', 234.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 231.

⁹⁹ SPN, 258, 166.

¹⁰⁰ Morris, 'Viking and native', 233.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Morris, 'Viking and native', 227: 'It is what might be termed "historical probability" rather than linguistic argument that tends toward an association with Ragnald's takeover of 914/918 rather than Halfdan's of 876'.