

Map 5. Place-names in northern Fife associated with previous methods of the organization of settlement and land use.

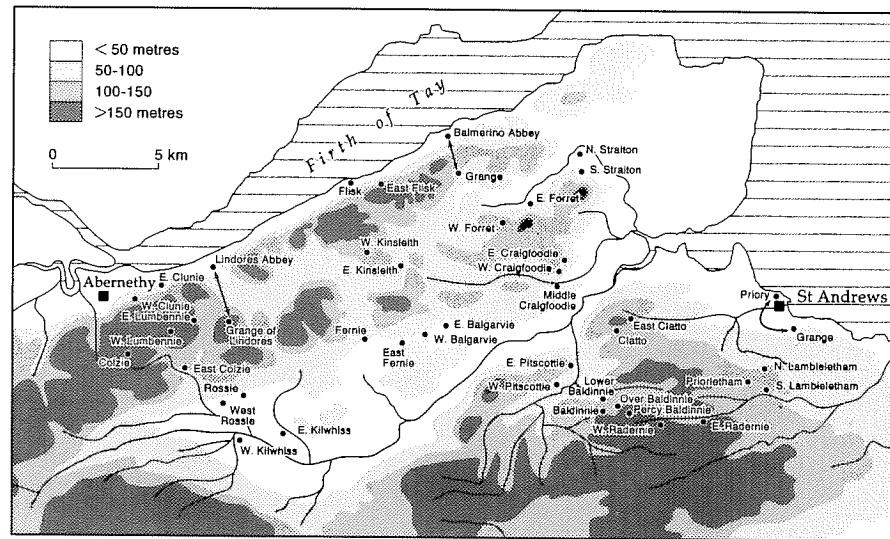
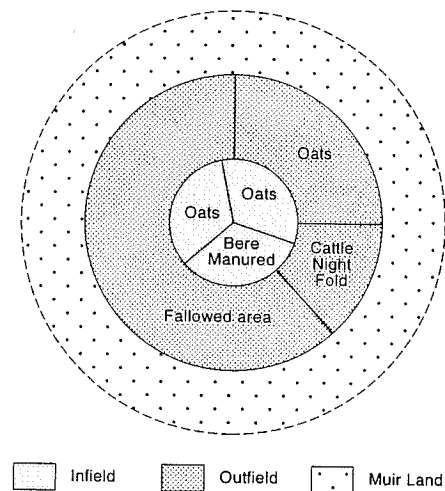


Figure 1. The land-use units of a pre-Improver Period fermtoun.



## Late *-by* Names in the Eden Valley, Cumberland

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IN 1950 the editors of the English Place-Name Society's survey of Cumberland drew attention to a group of names in *-bý* which were likely to postdate the conquest of the district by William Rufus in 1092. In two cases there was precise documentary support for linking settlements with datable individuals: thus, Gamblesby and Glassonby are associated with the *terram que fuit Gamel filii Berne et terram illam que fuit Glassam filii Brictrici drengorum meorum* mentioned in a plea of 1201 but referring to the time of Henry I.<sup>1</sup> In all other cases the evidence is less direct, consisting of the occurrence, as place-name specifics combined with the generic *-bý*, of personal names of distinctive types, either of Continental origin or else likely to have been current west of the Pennines during the first half of the twelfth century.

There are broadly two types of place-name involved:

- (1) ones in which the personal name figuring as specific is of a type rare in pre-Conquest England, that is, of French, Breton, Flemish, or other Continental derivation: e.g., *Botcherby* with OFr *Bochard* < CG *Burghard*; *Harraby* with OFr *Henri* < CG *Heimrik*; *Upperby* with OFr *Hubert* < CG *Hugbert*; *Tarraby* with OFr *Terri* < CG *Theodrik*; *Aglionby* with OFr *Agyllun* (c.1176 the vill was held by Laurence son of Agyllun); *Ponsonby* with OFr *Punsun*; *Robberby* with OFr *Robert* < CG *Hrodbert*; *Johnby* with Biblical *Johannes*, rare in pre-Conquest England; *Wiggonby* with Breton *Wigan* or *Wigayn*; *Ellonby* and *Allerby* both with Breton *Alein*; *Lamonby* with *Lambin*, a short-form of CG *Lambert* < *Landbert*, a name popular in Flanders; and *Rickerby* with OFr *Ricard* < CG *Rikhard*.<sup>2</sup>
- (2) ones containing personal names of other origins reflecting the eleventh- and twelfth-century mix of the local population, that is, ones of Old English, Irish, Gaelic, or Anglo-Scandinavian origin: e.g., *Melmerby* with Old Celtic *Mael-Muire*, *Mael-Maire*; *Maughonby* with OWelsh *Merchiaun* or OBret *Merchion*; *Dolphenby* with Scand *Dolgfinnr*, a name widely current in northern England, and indeed found in an eleventh- or twelfth-century runic inscription in Carlisle cathedral; *Corby* with OIr *Corc(c)*; *Scotby* 'by of the Scots', the specific being the gen.pl. of Scand *Skotar*; *Motherby* with Scand *Mothir* fem.; *Lazonby* 'by of the freedmen' with Scand *leysingr* or, less likely, 'by of a man called Leysing', for the name was frequent in twelfth-century Cumberland, thus, Orm son of Leysing; *Wormanby*, perhaps 'Wilmær's' or 'Winemær's by'; *Oughterby* with OE *Ūthræd*;

*Ousby* with Scand *Ulf*; *Farmanby* with Scand *Farmaðr* or, alternatively, perhaps the gen.pl. of the common noun *farmaðr* 'merchant'.<sup>3</sup>

Clearly, there is a problem of defining precisely which place-names are indisputably late and which, such as *Ousby* 'Ulf's by', could date from an earlier generation of name formation. Some of these names—e.g., *Allonby*, *Ellonby*, *Etterby*, *Aglionby*, *Farmanby* and *Rickerby* (also *Willow Holm*, which probably derives from the name of one 'Guerrri the Fleming')—contain personal names which appear in the Pipe Rolls of the seventy years or so after 1130 or in other documents of that period, although it must, of course, be borne in mind, first, that such names had mostly become current in England somewhat earlier than that and often remained so for some time, and secondly, that in any case the same individuals need not always be involved.<sup>4</sup> Taking the evidence as a whole, however, the editors of *The Place-Names of Cumberland* saw grounds for arguing that within the whole county there are over two dozen names which are indisputably of late-eleventh- or twelfth-century origin. Their importance is twofold: first, they involve formation with a generic, *-by*, which is normally an indication of a Scandinavian presence; secondly, they may tell us something of the process of immigration into this frontier region. When the distribution of these names is plotted, some are widely scattered throughout Cumberland, but three clear concentrations appear, and these are the subject of this discussion. The first group lies, literally, in a ring around Carlisle and, indeed, with an eye of faith there is even a second ring; the second group forms a cluster north of the Eamont-Eden confluence, with a third, much smaller concentration further west on the edge of the Lake District proper—to the north-west of Greystoke Castle. These are shown in Figure 1, which isolates those names which may reasonably be seen as 'late' from the general pattern recorded by the place-name survey for Cumberland.

Any interpretation of these names must begin with the context established by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* entry for 1092:

'On þisum geare se cyng Willelm mid mycelre fyrde ferde norð to Cardeol, 7 þa burh geædstaþelede 7 þone castel arerde; 7 Dolfín ut adraf þe æror þær þes landes weold 7 þone castel mid his mannan gesette; 7 syððan hider suð gewænde 7 mycele mænige cyrlisces folces mid wifan 7 mid orfe þyder sænde, þær to wunigenne þet land to tilianne.'<sup>5</sup>

The names identified above must, as the editors of *The Place-Names of Cumberland* point out, relate to an influx of immigrants in a classic frontier situation in which a ruler conquers a district and creates a context within which colonization by his subjects can take

place. His policy is then implemented on the ground by diverse opportunist individuals. This paper seeks to raise some questions concerning how to interpret this evidence for the Norman colonization of Cumberland by linking place-names with the evidence of the landscape. In a final section, the arguments presented here will be related to the ongoing debate amongst place-name scholars.

First, we should be careful of assuming that personal names are a sure guide to the bearer's origin. Thus in the record of 1201 cited above, while *Gamel* is of Scandinavian origin, *Bern* could be either from OE *Beorn* or from ON *Björn*, while *Glassan* (*Glassam* being a scribal error) is an Old Irish name yet its bearer's father was called *Brictric* <OE *Beorhtric*. However, this observation does not negate the general conclusion that the place-names concerned are late formations, commemorating persons of diverse origins. As a group they have something to tell us about colonization.

A second problem is strategic: Carlisle, controlling several river crossings and backed by the fertile Solway Plain, is a key fortress, to be taken or by-passed by any invaders from further north. By 1130 a castle had also been established at Appleby, and by the later twelfth century massive stone keeps had been constructed at Brougham, Appleby and Brough, to secure a vital communication link *viâ* the Pass of Stainmore and thence *viâ* Bowes to Richmond.<sup>6</sup> Why is made clear by Jordan Fantosme's verse chronicle, where the destruction of the wooden tower at Brough by fire in 1173x4 is described.<sup>7</sup> The fundamental Norman base lay at Carlisle, and there is sufficient evidence to suggest how this was initially secured. In a regrettably brief discussion of the early medieval topography Bruce Jones has demonstrated that twelfth-century Carlisle was probably divided into what may be called 'quarters'; the *vicus Hibernicorum*, the *vicus Francorum*, a Flemish quarter, and, important for this argument, a *vicus Bocharidi* and a *vicus Ricardi*; the two men involved also gave their names to city gates.<sup>8</sup> The heterogeneity of the urban population is clear. Jones also cites a document of about 1200 which is concerned with a toft in a suburb of Carlisle that lay outside the walls but 'in the Flemish quarter' beyond the river Caldew—perhaps in the vicinity of Willow Holm? This was subject to a gavel rent for a free burgage, normally a type of socage tenure and at a later date specifically linked to urban privilege. The Pipe Roll entry for 1130 shows that the city walls were then under construction. Kapelle asserts that the tenurial structure of Cumberland was the work of Ranulf Meschin, active on the Crown's behalf between about 1106 and 1120, and after 1120 the work of Henry I.<sup>9</sup> An administrator who established the frontier baronies of

Burgh by Sands and Liddle is likely enough to have been the man on whose orders Norman control over the 'land of Carlisle' was consolidated and organized, although Meschin's other duties in the period 1106-1120 (he was justiciar of Lincolnshire and appears witnessing royal documents throughout southern England) must have ensured that comparatively little of his time was spent in the north. Be this as it may, there are sufficient links between the internal structure of the town and the ring of village names to suggest a direct link: thus, the forms *Rickerby* and *Botcherby* imply that these 'gate-wardens', Richard and Bochard, had men settled in extra-mural agricultural settlements.<sup>10</sup> The Etard of Etterby appears in the Pipe Roll for 1130, in a retrospective reference placing the development somewhat earlier, and we can assume that he and Hubert of Upperby, Henry of Harraby, Terri of Tarraby and perhaps Agyllun of Aglionby were also possessors of urban holdings. This pattern is logical in the context of a military frontier: farmers settled upon the land were a necessary part of the fighting force, consolidating what mailed knights had won. One can only speculate that in the new tenures we have the origins of some at least of the features of what eventually became Border tenure.<sup>11</sup> Given the limited evidence and the remote period, the picture is a remarkably tidy one, but there are questions here touching a third problem.

The approach represented in this discussion is that not of a place-name scholar but of one interested in settlements and village plans. Two, and only two, of the villages in the ring around Carlisle retained very regular layouts right into the nineteenth century. However, these are not likely to be first-generation survivors for two reasons; first, all settlements in proximity to Carlisle must surely have suffered repeated wastings, from the invasion of William the Lion in 1174 onwards;<sup>12</sup> secondly, for what it is worth, experience derived from the examination of thousands of village plans, leads to the strong suspicion that the visible plans are 'too regular' simply to represent early survivals and must be later remodellings. Nevertheless, one can argue that we have around Carlisle the sites of a series of immediately post-1092 plantations, albeit now much-altered. These points touch a third and quite crucial problem, the link between place-names and on-ground settlement realities, which is part of broader questions concerning settlement morphology in Cumberland and indeed research at a national scale. All that can be summarized here are certain key points to form a foundation for discussion of the remaining two concentrations of late *-by* names.

When one examines the shapes of village plans throughout the

whole Eden Valley using late-nineteenth-century six-inch Ordnance Survey maps, it is clear that the area is dominated by regular or part-regular layouts, often with the farmsteads placed at the head of long field strips, 'strip tofts' (over 385 yards [350 m.] in length), whose lateral boundaries sweep in without interruption to the toft-head line along the village street (Fig.2). While similar plans are found elsewhere, they are significantly different from the more regular, tighter, more formalized plans with 'short tofts' (generally, less than 110 yards [100 m.] in length) found, for example, in Durham, although some plans of this latter type do appear scattered throughout Cumberland and in Westmorland south-east of the Eamont-Eden confluence. Limited documentation and a careful use of the evidence of a few dated church fabrics suggests that not only are the present plans derived directly from the early-seventeenth-century antecedents, but some can be shown to have been present before the middle years of the twelfth century.<sup>13</sup> For instance, at Kirkbampton the Norman church is situated squarely on the street frontage of one of the 'strip tofts': these are either earlier than, or contemporary with, the church. Furthermore, and this cannot be sufficiently emphasized, while individual plans can rarely be closely documented the repetition of distinctive plan elements, absent from Durham or Warwickshire or Somerset, points to regionally distinctive underlying causal factors.

Furthermore, many of these plans, particularly along the western side of the Eden Valley, incorporate into their field boundaries massive rounded Shap Granite boulders spread over the region by ice movement. These are weighty and distinctive, and their presence in field boundaries of identical plan-types also modelled in softer materials helps to confirm the general antiquity of the whole set. The boulders are not easily moved, even by modern methods, and once in place tend to remain. While no settlement system is ever the result of a single factor and the through-time trajectories of individual places can be vastly complex, the overall distinctive and repetitive regularity seen in many Cumberland and Westmorland village plans points towards a measure of common origin. The roots of this must surely lie in the post-1092 colonization. Even if later devastations encouraged replanning, and this is likely, then this would, as in vernacular architecture, have involved an expression of local habits and attitudes, with the destroyed older settlements forming substructural features affecting the layout of any reconstructions.

This introduces a fourth problem: colonization is an easy word to use, but what did it really mean? It involved the imposition of

a new military aristocracy over an existing peasantry; but, if the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is to be believed, it also involved either the take-over of existing arable and meadow resources by peasant immigrants or the actual breaking of new land. In late-eleventh- or twelfth-century Cumberland there must have been a mixture of these two activities, for newly arrived colonists needed to survive until a first harvest. Let us be clear: the *Chronicle* entry for 1092 suggests that colonization by immigration brought some groups of peasants, with their household goods and stock and their children, to a new and uncertain future in an unknown environment. There is at this moment no evidence to suggest the numbers involved. Sometimes individuals must have migrated, but more often, if we believe the *Chronicle*, families or small groups of families must have been involved, trekking to the frontier. The first winters must have been cruel. Continental evidence shows that a useful intermediary rôle could be played by a *locator*, usually a landlord's agent, whose task was to prepare a site and then find migrants. For him there were the rewards of a larger holding and sometimes a local lordship, while as inducements he could offer the incomers new opportunities, tax concessions, and often relative personal freedom: in this context the case of Lazonby—possibly meaning 'vill of the freed men'—would have a place. It is arguable that the men whose personal names appear in this group of place-names were initially *locatores*, agents, rather than village overlords.

Of course, not all of the newcomers need have been peasants. A frontier draws a variety of talents: soldiers, who may eventually marry and settle, traders, merchants, churchmen, smiths, and a variety of camp-followers, reinforcing the heterogeneity of the immigrant population. We cannot exclude the possibility that some of those who acted as *locatores* and acquired lordships along the new frontier actually transferred families from other estates in their hands. This may have been one way in which local linguistic groupings, perhaps even long-established ones, were for a time reinforced, until they were blurred by centuries of intermarriage and the emergence of a distinctive local dialect. The fact that these settlements acquired names ending in *-by* is surely a pointer to the fact that the new colonists were mixing within an established local population for whom a Scandinavianized dialect was normal, for in both Pembrokeshire and Scotland the generic *-tūn* was more usual in twelfth-century plantations.<sup>14</sup>

To return to the links between place-names and settlement morphology: a comparison of the linguistic groupings on the place-name map with the map of rural-settlement forms makes it

clear that place-names cannot be directly or simply correlated with distinctive sets of village-plan types. In other words, in common with other types of place-name, the late *-by* names are associated with a variety of plan-types. However, concentrating upon the group found north-east of the Eamont-Eden confluence, we have to do two things: explain why they might be there and see if an examination of their plans can push the argument further. The road northwards from Appleby to Carlisle was the Roman road. This route is shown on the early-fourteenth-century Gough map, and at the Eamont crossing it passes somewhat westwards, through Brougham, to go through the Forest of Inglewood. Brougham seems to have been a late-twelfth-century fortress, built after William the Lion's invasion of 1174, when he took Appleby and Brough, apparently with the help of Flemish mercenaries.<sup>15</sup> However, Gamblesby and Glassonby were evidently established a generation earlier, and the strategic explanation of this group of planted settlements is that, as Gilsland to the north was not taken from the local ruler Gille son of Buet until after 1156,<sup>16</sup> a southward thrust to the east of the Eden, by-passing Carlisle *viâ* an inland route or even using the upland green ways, would certainly be detectable and might even be initially contained by local settlers in the Melmerby-Gamblesby-Glassonby area.

The settlements of this group fall into two distinctive categories. First, there are big villages, based upon large rather irregular rows often with greens and with large strip tofts, i.e., long rather broad field strips, normally over 385 yards (350 m.) in length, often being as much as 660 yards (600 m.) or three furlongs. These are large, successful settlements, for example, Melmerby, Gamblesby, Glassonby, and Lazonby, and often contain morphological evidence for several phases of growth.<sup>17</sup> Second, a number of the late *-by* names are now attached to single large farmsteads, as is the case with Robberby, Farmanby, Maughanby and Dolphenby. None of these locations has been specifically listed as a deserted village, but some of the farmsteads they carry are sufficiently large to conceal traces of earlier small hamlet or village plans. Maughanby, today one farmstead, was clearly a small hamlet in the recent past, and slight earthworks, seen only under the unsuitable conditions of high-summer crop-growth, may indicate the presence of a former row of tofts; near Dolphenby there are the earthwork remains of half a dozen or so splendid longhouses, apparently fronting a rather large but irregular former green; Farmanby, judging by the site and surrounding field structure, was never more than a single farmstead, while Robberby, today a large farmstead, still preserves its ambiguity. Investigations by the author in Pembrokeshire suggest that planned



hamlet and village layouts could be rather small.<sup>18</sup>

One pointer towards an explanation of the marked morphological differences among these settlements, from successful large villages to single farmsteads, may lie in decisions taken by the *locator*. The Glassonby/Gamblesby reference shows that Glassan and Gamel were the king's drengs, and the imposition of cornage-paying status in the reign of Henry I (if this is what is happening, for interpretations differ) may reflect no more than the imposition, or perhaps even a re-imposition, of this general and ancient tax upon the newly established villages. The services due from a Durham drengage vill, later called Newbigging, are illuminating: Guy de Redworth holds a new vill and 'provides 12 men for one day or one man for 12 days in the autumn for mowing'.<sup>19</sup> In this case, the dreng clearly had a choice, to perform any work-service for the lord himself or with family labour, or to stock the land with tenants who could provide the services. In either case he had, as Jolliffe repeatedly emphasizes, a responsibility to his lord.<sup>20</sup> This choice may account for the sharp differences in on-ground morphology seen in the successors of these early-twelfth-century foundations: in some cases villages were planted, in others the lands were kept in hand, perhaps with a few small ministerial holdings to support labourers for a large demesne farmstead.

The hint given above concerning the re-imposition of an older tax must be justified: Glassonby, Maughanby, Robberby and Gamblesby (along with Hunsonby, Winskill and Little Selkeld) lie within the parish of Addingham, and this latter name must be one of the most ancient Anglian settlement ones in the region. The settlement site has now disappeared, destroyed by the Eden, but it is clear that the late *-bý* settlements were being planted, under royal control, within Addingham's territory;<sup>21</sup> and that place surely had once paid ancient dues, perhaps including cornage. As has been suggested already, newly planted settlements would at first have had problems in paying taxes, and for this reason we must expect traces of concessions in respect both of royal taxation and of labour services. The rôle of the dreng as *locator* is a question raised by these arguments, but is too large a topic to be treated here. Clearly, in these few specific cases, unlike Durham, there is no evidence from which to argue directly that the visible plans do reflect settlements laid out during the early twelfth century, but this seems likely. In the great 'strip tofts', often, as at Great Asby and Maulds Meaburn, incorporating Shap Granite boulders in the boundaries, is to be seen a type of colonizing plan based upon a very large and once intensively cultivated foothold furlong. At

Gamblesby the on-ground evidence of lynchets clearly demonstrates that these great strips were indeed ploughed as a unit. This is a problem demanding further field study, for six hundred and fifty or so yards is three times the normal furlong length, yet the curving side boundaries suggest the influence of the plough. Are we seeing the result of great landbreaking ploughs, perhaps using very large teams of oxen?

However, this is to ignore the question of antecedent land use on the site, of Anglo-Scandinavian, Roman or prehistoric date. That Addingham was an Anglian centre of some importance is shown by the survival of a pre-Scandinavian sculptured cross-shaft. The present church site was reputedly moved from an earlier one near the Eden. Why then, and under whose aegis, were the sculptures also transferred? Hunsonby, the name of which perhaps means 'dog-keeper's by' may also date from the early twelfth century, for dog- or hound-keeping was one of the recognized, but not universal, duties of drengage.<sup>22</sup> The name *Winskill* incorporates the Scandinavian element *-skáli*, normally associated with later sheilings. The conclusion is clear: we need not infer 'Scandinavian' settlement in this parish before about 1100, for all of the 'Scandinavian' place-names could conceivably have been generated after this date. Such a conclusion must raise questions concerning the dating of the well-known hog-back with end beasts.<sup>23</sup> Of course, and this point must be admitted, there is no way of proving that an earlier generation of Scandinavian names was not remodelled, but the Gamblesby/Glassanby reference cited at the beginning of this paper poses a powerful question mark.

The third small group of late *-bý* names occupies a distinctive geographical location amid the foothills of the Lake District massif. Three of the place-names are unambiguously late, involving the post-Conquest personal names *John*, *Lambin* and *Alein*, while a fourth is more ambiguous, incorporating the Scandinavian name *Mothir*: all the villages—Johnby, Lamonby, Ellonby and Motherby—are rather long street or street-green ones. Even today in these settlements a feeling of moor-edge peripherality persists and, while clearly visible earthworks tell of a decline in the number of working farmsteads, these layouts have always been long well-spaced generous ones, where land was poor but plentiful. Newbiggin, another morphologically similar late-comer in this zone, is nearly a mile (1.5 km.) long. Strategically, these villages form a screen to the north of the focus of the Greystoke Barony around Greystoke and Dacre.

The preceding argument has tended to gloss over a difficult and fundamental morphological question. If ancient plans do survive

centuries of use, including even destruction and rebuilding, what does in fact survive? Most of the standing buildings will have been constructed during the past two hundred years; indeed, in east Cumberland this even applies to most of the churches, where substantial Victorian reconstructions took place, although it is equally clear that these were often the replacements of decayed Norman buildings. It is likely that the essential orientation of the basic row compartments of many surviving plans is often an ancient feature, and the details of many of the present field and toft boundaries will reflect earlier lines. The early-seventeenth-century Howard of Narworth estate-plans show such links very clearly.<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, in practice, the relationship between, say, a twelfth-century plan and a mid-nineteenth-century one, can best be appreciated by using the archaeological idea of a 'skeuomorph'. This term would be applied to a pot based upon a gourd and whose shape and decoration clearly reflect this fact but which is not a gourd, any more than an early-twentieth-century railway carriage modelled upon a nineteenth-century road carriage is either a road carriage or nineteenth-century in date! Both owe the detail of their shapes to older antecedent ancestral types. This is equally true of the village plans and only through this filter do we glimpse older layouts.

This discussion has reached limited conclusions and raised some questions. It has proved possible to postulate links between place-names, settlement history, and village-plan morphology. In methodological terms a tentative attempt has been made to handle the four separate chronologies necessary for the study of settlement evolution: i.e., those of (1) place-names, (2) rents, renders and tenures, (3) the visible elements of settlement morphology, and (4) relative and absolute dating.<sup>24</sup> Because the Eden Valley is becoming a well-studied zone, this discussion allows scholars in other fields to evaluate the arguments presented.<sup>26</sup> In spite of changes wrought by later devastations and developments, it appears that the period of peace sustained in the Eden Valley between about 1100 and 1135<sup>27</sup> was important in establishing settlement morphologies which are still detectable in the modern landscape. There is nothing in these arguments fundamentally at discord with Barrow's conclusions concerning the structure of eleventh- and twelfth-century Northumbrian society, although the identification of the named individuals—by implication drengs—as *locatores*, does raise larger questions.<sup>28</sup>

However, reference must be made to a broader context provided by the ongoing debate between Gillian Fellows-Jensen and John Insley: this hinges on whether *-by* remained in use as a name-

forming element in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries or whether the 'Continental' personal names were grafted upon an older generation of Scandinavian names.<sup>29</sup> The analysis presented here—by a geographer, not a place-name scholar—appears to favour the former position. Nevertheless, village generation may often involve a process of aggregating a local population at one location to maximize productive capacities as well as *in situ* growth from a pre-existing focus. A nucleated village is not merely an overgrown kinship hamlet: it can embody a concentration of families who may be, initially at least, wholly unrelated. The generation of Anglo-Scandinavian settlers present in late-eleventh-century Cumberland and Westmorland would have been drawn into the emergent new order of the twelfth century in diverse ways, some appearing in the ranks of the nobility, others blending with the heterogeneous mix of the local population. Their 'settlements', of whatever form, no doubt suffered a similar fate: some survived, others were adapted, and others deserted and eventually destroyed: a context, perhaps, in which to place no less than four cases of the name *Aldby* < \*ald-by 'the old settlement'.<sup>30</sup>

The distinction between 'dating' a place-name and 'dating' an historical settlement form is fundamental to the questions raised by this paper. All that can really be said of the Eden Valley is that, in the early twelfth century, 'X's *by*' was a way of identifying a particular group of settlements and that settlements so named may, by virtue of their association with the Norman base at Carlisle, be reasonably interpretable as deliberate plantations. It should be appreciated that regular plans do appear in other contexts and, to state the matter simply, there is unambiguous evidence that a distinctive and recognizable layer of these has been imposed upon the landscapes of Cumberland and Westmorland. In this, however it is interpreted, the field evidence is wholly unambiguous. It is important to emphasize that the physical character of settlement has varied spatially and temporally, and the fundamental question of how the regional settlement system changed from one based upon enclosed homesteads to one largely based upon nucleated villages has yet to be solved.<sup>31</sup> Thus, the physical evidence for the former, the curvilinear enclosures of rural 'native' British sites, survives most clearly on lands peripheral to the former townfield lands of the historic villages, begging the question of what landscapes were destroyed by the vigorous establishment of the nucleated settlements and their arable fields. More work is undoubtedly required and much depends upon defining the period of time during which the genesis of villages was taking place.<sup>32</sup> At the present moment the

author tends to see village genesis as a post-1092 feature of the Eden Valley. Nevertheless, the complexity of the problems demands that an interdisciplinary approach be applied to this splendid and distinctive region.

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<sup>1</sup> A.M. Armstrong *et alii*, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, 3 pts continuously paginated, EPNS XX-XXII (Cambridge, 1950-51), xxxi-xxxiii, 192; G. Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West* (Copenhagen, 1985) [hereafter SSNNW]; *VCH Cumb.*, 313 n.2.

<sup>2</sup> Botcherby, *PNCumb.*, 42, 47, and *SSNNW*, 27; Harraby, *PNCumb.*, 43-4, and *SSNNW*, 32; Upperby, *PNCumb.*, 44, and *SSNNW*, 42; Tarraby, *PNCumb.*, 110-11, and *SSNNW*, 41; Aglionby, *PNCumb.*, 158, and *SSNNW*, 25; Ponsonby, *PNCumb.*, 426-7 and *SSNNW*, 38; Robberby, *PNCumb.*, 208, and *SSNNW*, 39; Johnby, *PNCumb.*, 197, and *SSNNW*, 33; Wiggonby, *PNCumb.*, 120, and *SSNNW*, 43; Ellonby, *PNCumb.*, 240, and *SSNNW*, 25; Lamonby, *PNCumb.*, 240-1, and *SSNNW*, 34-5; Rickerby, *PNCumb.*, 48, 110, and *SSNNW*, 39 *et seq.*; Farmanby, *PNCumb.*, 208, and *SSNNW*, 30.

<sup>3</sup> Corby, *PNCumb.*, 161, and *SSNNW*, 27; Scotby, *PNCumb.*, 163, and *SSNNW*, 39; Motherby, *PNCumb.*, 198, and *SSNNW*, 36; Lazonby, *PNCumb.*, 219, and *SSNNW*, 35; Wormanby, *PNCumb.*, 128, and *SSNNW*, 43; Oughterby, *PNCumb.*, 143, and *SSNNW*, 37; Ousby, *PNCumb.*, 228, and *SSNNW*, 37. This is not an exhaustive list, being concentrated on settlements in the Eden Valley, but a name such as *Flimby* 'by of the Flemings' (*PNCumb.*, 286, and *SSNNW*, 30) is relevant to the argument.

<sup>4</sup> *PNCumb.*, xxxiii.

<sup>5</sup> C. Clark, ed., *The Peterborough Chronicle 1070-1154*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1970), 19 and notes on 80. A translation may be found in, for instance, D.C. Douglas and G.W. Greenaway, eds, *English Historical Documents 1042-1189*, 2nd edn (London, 1981), 176-7 ('In this year King William with a great army went north to Carlisle, and restored the city and erected the castle, and drove out Dolfin who had ruled the country, and garrisoned the castle with his men, and then came here to the south, and sent many peasant people there with their wives and cattle to live there to cultivate the land').

<sup>6</sup> J. Beeler, *Warfare in England, 1066-1189* (New York, 1966), 418; D. Renn, *Norman Castles in Britain* (London, 1968, repr. 1973), 90, 118, 120.

<sup>7</sup> 'Chronique de la guerre entre les Anglois et les Ecossois en 1173 et 1174', in R. Howlett, ed., *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard II*, III (London, 1886), 202-377, at lines 1481-93.

<sup>8</sup> P.A.G. Clack and P. Gosling, *Archaeology in the North* (London, 1976), 180-85; *PNCumb.*, 46-9.

<sup>9</sup> W.E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North* (London, 1979), 212.

<sup>10</sup> *PNCumb.*, 42, 47-9, 110.

<sup>11</sup> J.E.A. Jolliffe, 'Northumbrian institutions', *EHR* CLXI (1926), 1-42; R. Reid, 'Barony and thanage'; *ibidem* CXXXVIII (1920), 187-91; E. Kerridge, *Agrarian Problems in the Sixteenth Century and After* (London, 1969), 43-5.

<sup>12</sup> A. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987), fig.12.

<sup>13</sup> B.K. Roberts, *The Making of the English Village* (London, 1987), figs.3.12, 4.10, 9.4 and 10.4; *idem*, 'Norman village plantations and long strip fields in Northern England', *Geografiska Annaler* LXX B (1988), 169-78.

<sup>14</sup> Roberts, *English Village*, fig.10.4.

<sup>15</sup> Fantosme, 'Chronique', lines 1481-98.

<sup>16</sup> Kapelle, *Norman Conquest*, 200.

<sup>17</sup> For example, there is no reason to assume that Melmerby was laid out as a whole, indeed sectoral growth seems more likely, while a careful examination of the plan of Gamblesby points to growth by the accretion of toft compartments, or blocks of tofts (Roberts, *English Village*, figs.4.10, 9.3.).

<sup>18</sup> Roberts, *English Village*, fig.10.4.

<sup>19</sup> *VCH Cumb.* I, 313 n.2; D. Austin, ed., *Boldon Book* (Chichester, 1982), 69.

<sup>20</sup> Jolliffe, 'Northumbrian institutions', *passim*.

<sup>21</sup> *PNCumb.*, 193; *VCH Cumb.* I, 361-2.

<sup>22</sup> Jolliffe, 'Northumbrian institutions', 15-22.

<sup>23</sup> R. Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture* (London, 1980), 85-100, 223, 240, 263.

<sup>24</sup> Roberts, *English Village*, fig.3.12.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*, fig.1.5.

<sup>26</sup> J.R. Baldwin and I.D. Whyte, *The Scandinavians in Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1985); N. Higham, *The Northern Counties to AD 1000* (London, 1986).

<sup>27</sup> Kapelle, *Norman Conquest*, 197.

<sup>28</sup> G.W.S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots* (London, 1973), 7-68, establishes a fundamental broader context; see also *idem*, 'The pattern of lordship and feudal settlement in Cumbria', *Journal of Medieval History* I (1975), 117-38.

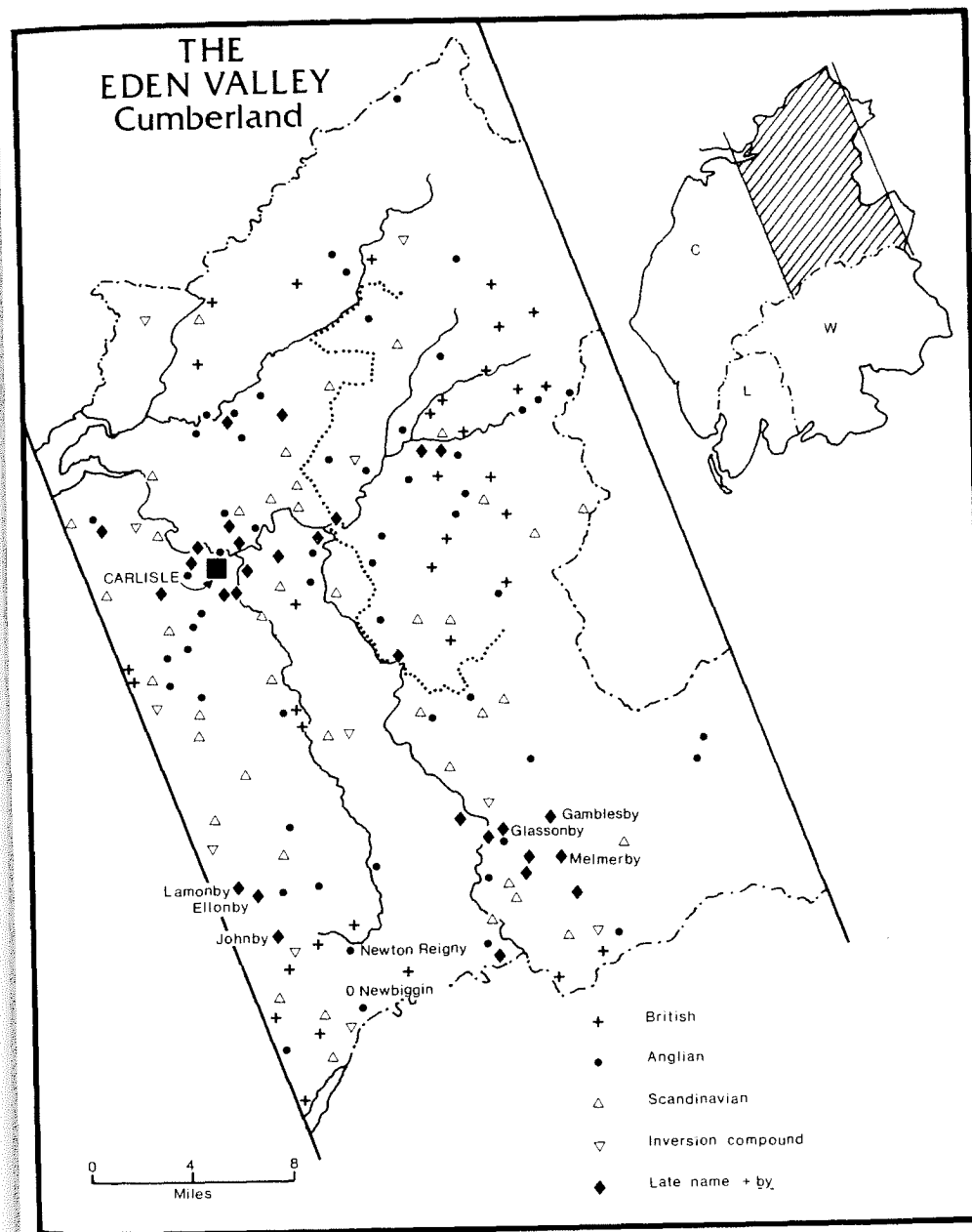
<sup>29</sup> G. Fellows-Jensen, 'Place-names and settlements: some problems of dating as exemplified by place-names in -bý', *ante* VIII (1984), 29-39; J. Insley, 'Toponymy and settlement in the North-West' [review-article based upon Fellows-Jensen, *SSNNW*] *ante* X (1986), 169-76.

<sup>30</sup> *SSNNW*, 25.

<sup>31</sup> Higham, *The Northern Counties*, fig.5.1; B.K. Roberts, 'Nucleation and dispersion: distribution maps as a research tool', in M. Aston *et alii*, eds,

*The Rural Settlements of Medieval England* (Oxford, 1989).

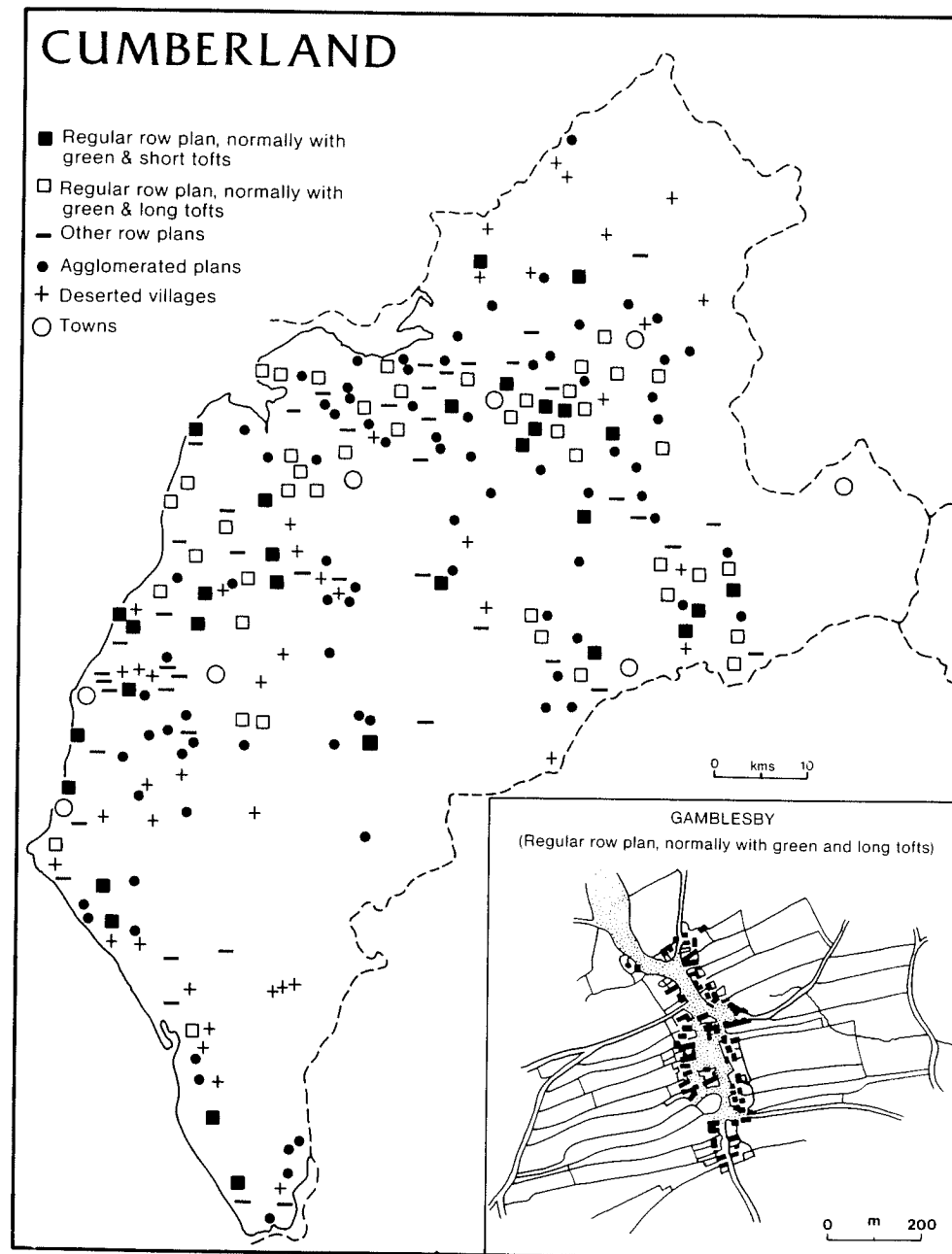
<sup>32</sup> Brief comment is needed here: let us suppose there are 100 planned settlements; if the plantations (or re-modellings) all took place within one year, then we have a very different circumstance from more gradual creation over a decade or a century. Indeed, the temporal pattern of plantations found within the decade or the century could range from a wholly even distribution, to a normal distribution, or to a wholly skewed distribution. The fact that it is virtually impossible to date sufficient settlement plans to obtain a clear temporal view in no way negates the need to ask questions concerning the chronology of foundation. A further complication is to be found in the likely presence of refoundations after devastation. In brief, settlement plans can be seen as part of vernacular architecture, and exhibit the same complexity as building styles.





## Scandinavians in Southern Scotland?

Gillian Fellows-Jensen



IN her recent book on *Scandinavian Scotland* Barbara Crawford has attempted to give a graphic presentation of the settlement situation in Scotland in the Viking period by demarcating four major regions where Scandinavian place-names occur (Map 1).<sup>1</sup> Region 1, with place-names of almost exclusively Norse origin, embraces Shetland, Orkney and north-east Caithness. Region 2, with place-names of mixed Gaelic and Norse character, embraces northern and western mainland Scotland and the Hebrides. Region 3, with place-names of Gaelic, Norse and Danish origin, embraces south-west Scotland (Galloway and Dumfriesshire) and Man. Region 4, south-east Scotland, is marked by scattered place-names of Scandinavian character. While I would quibble with details of the shading on this map and certainly do not feel that north-east Caithness is in the same class as Shetland and Orkney with respect to the density of Scandinavian place-names, I would accept that the division into four regions makes a reasonable starting-point for discussion. The region to which I want to pay particular attention in the present paper is Crawford's Region 4, which she refers to as south-east Scotland, although I shall extend its boundaries westwards all the way to the Firth of Clyde and refer to it for convenience as the Central Lowlands.

Unfortunately, it is difficult for an outside observer to discuss Scottish place-names because of the lack of accessible scholarly treatments of the material from most regions.<sup>2</sup> Reliance on the forms appearing on the Ordnance Survey maps can all too often lead the unwary astray: a cautionary example is provided by the name *Crombie* in Fife, which is listed in the Ordnance Survey map of *Britain before the Norman Conquest*<sup>3</sup> as a Scottish place-name in *-bý* but some of whose recorded forms show it to be a Gaelic name *\*Crombaidh*, a derivative of the adjective *crom* 'bent'.<sup>4</sup> Some names have been included on the strength of forms recorded in the Register of the Great Seal of Scotland<sup>5</sup> or of their inclusion by W.F.H. Nicolaisen in his discussions of the element *-bý* in Scottish place-names.<sup>6</sup> My attention has been drawn to other relevant names by Barbara Crawford and by Geoffrey Barrow, and I am grateful to them both for generously supplying me with information and to the School of Scottish Studies of the University of Edinburgh for allowing me access to the files of the Scottish Place-Name Survey.