as early as 1015–16.[54] She would therefore assign the stone to 1035 at the very latest, possibly to the first quarter of the eleventh century. This dating seems reasonable enough but from a historical point of view it is equally possible that *Þjalfi* did not die in Knut's service but had been granted land by him or money to buy land in reward for this and that he had settled in Norfolk at the place that came to be known as Thelveton. We cannot, of course, be certain that the *Þjalfi* of Thelveton had served with Knut but his name is almost certainly of Swedish origin and service as a mercenary with Knut is probably the best explanation for his presence in England.

It will now have become clear that some of my conclusions about Scandinavian settlement in East Anglia unfortunately remain rather preliminary. It seems reasonable, however, to assume that some at least of the names must have been coined in the Viking period proper. I am inclined to believe that this is true of the Scandinavian hundred-names, as pointed out by Karl Inge Sandred,[55] of all the *bý*s, the *þorp*s with Scandinavian specifics, the Scandinavian topographical names, most of the names in *-tūn* whose specifics are Scandinavian nouns or adjectives and probably those whose specifics are rare or archaic Scandinavian personal names or anglicised forms of such names, although all the personal names can have been inherited down through generations so that the place-names containing them may in some cases be purely English formations. Other names of comparatively late coinage may be those containing the names of Scandinavian followers of Knut or his sons in the first half of the eleventh century. Some names of frequent occurrence such as Pockthorpe may be analogical formations of an even later date. It is my hope that with a final effort of will I shall be able to publish a reasoned summary of the evidence for Scandinavian settlement in East Anglia before the new millennium is very old.

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[54] S. Horn Fuglesang, 'Swedish runestones of the eleventh century: ornament and dating', in *Runeninschriften als Quellen interdisziplinärer Forschung*, edited by K. Düwel (Berlin and New York, 1998), pp. 197–218 (p. 201).

[55] K. I. Sandred, 'Viking administration in the Danelaw: a look at Scandinavian and English hundred-names in Norfolk', in *The Twelfth Viking Congress*, edited by B. Ambrosiani and H. Clarke (Stockholm, 1994), pp. 269–76.

Names on the Edge: Hills and Boundaries

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Quite often we look at place-names within territorial areas because this gives a recognisable unity to the work. In this paper it is hoped to demonstrate that valuable insights may also be obtained by looking at names 'on the edge'. The research arose as a consequence of an earlier paper given to the Society for Name Studies at its Annual Conference at Leicester some years ago, when the identification of places listed in a boundary perambulation of 1307, together with other names listed in monastic charters over a hundred years earlier, was discussed. The area in question was the medieval chase of Burton-in-Lonsdale in north west England.[1] As usual with most studies of this kind, the research raised further questions, one of which was the identity of the pre-cursor of Burton Chase, and the second, and closely allied, problem of assessing the significance of certain 'early' place-names used in the perambulation.

At the time I was moving towards the conclusion that the geographical unit delimited was probably part of a pre-Conquest lordship which was similar to but not identical in size and constitution to the wapentake of Ewcross (Maps 1 and 2). This administrative unit was recorded for the first time in 1219,[2] but is unlikely to have been a new creation at this date.[3] It can be seen that the southern part of the wapentake was co-terminus with Burton Chase, with the northern portion made up of the townships of Sedbergh, Garsdale and Dent—part of the Honor of Burton-in-Lonsdale, but outwith Burton Chase. The greater part of the circumference of the boundary of the Chase follows natural features,

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[1] A summary of this paper was published in *Nomina*, 15 (1991/92), 69–73, with full details of the research appearing in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 66 (1994), 91–105.

[2] A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, 8 vols, English Place-Name Society, 30–37 (Cambridge, 1961–63), VI, 217.

[3] A. J. L. Winchester, *Discovering Parish Boundaries* (Princes Risborough, 1990), p. 66.

often streams and watersheds. The boundary points themselves are often indicated by tumuli or cairns, some of which would appear to be prehistoric in origin. For example, at the site of the *Pike of Gragret'* there is a Bronze Age cist, whilst at *Great Harlow* and at *The Queen of the Fairies Chair* there are barrows. This extensive use of prehistoric features to mark the boundary would seem to suggest that much of the boundary line is almost certainly pre-Norman in date and may well be of great antiquity.[4]

There were two exceptions to this general pattern of 'prehistoric markers'. The first is the short section from 'Littlewath below Ravencros'' to 'Old Wennington and the river Greta' where the Chase boundary followed the Roman road.[5] The second is a section in the north of the boundary—from Gragareth 'through Ulfstokwold and the boundaries of Dent to Cirkstanes'. The line departs both abruptly and unexpectedly from the Ewcross wapentake boundary, and, indeed the later West Riding boundary, to take a somewhat arbitrary course to the east to the summit ridge of Whernside. Evidence survives, albeit circumstantial, which suggests both the approximate dates at which these two boundary alignments may have been fixed, and the reasons for such changes.

It is relatively easy to establish both when and why the area of Sedbergh, Dent and Garsdale, an integral part of the Honor of Burton, was placed outside the area of the later Chase. The ecclesiastical parish of Sedbergh (which included Dent and Garsdale) appears to have been the subject of a royal grant to the ecclesiastical foundation of Ripon in the late seventh century. Eddius Stephanus, a Kentish monk who accompanied Bishop Wilfrid to Northumbria and became part of the Community at Ripon, tells of the dedication of the church there.[6] At this ceremony, Wilfrid apparently read out a list of the lands which Ecgfrith, king of Northumbria, and Ælfwine his brother, king of Deira, had presented to him 'for the good of their souls'. This list includes a reference to the lands *in regione Dunutinga*—apparently just part of a

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[4] *Medieval Settlement*, edited by P. H. Sawyer (London, 1976), pp. 2–87.

[5] I. D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain*, 3rd edn (London, 1973), p. 380.

[6] *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, edited by B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 36–37.

larger territorial unit. Dr Williams has suggested that this *regione Dunutinga* was in Rheged, a British kingdom,[7] which possibly had its centre either at Carlisle or in the Eden valley, but which probably embraced much of the western side of the Pennines as far south as the Ribble estuary.[8] This kingdom had been attacked by Ecgfrith, and it seems likely that the lands he gave, including **part** of the *regione Dunutinga* (the area granted being generally accepted as being somewhere in the locality of Dent[9]) were those he had recently gained through conflict,[10] lands which had their consecrated places 'which the British clergy deserted when fleeing from the hostile sword wielded by the warriors of our own nation [Northumbria]'.[11]

This grant of part of the territory of the *Dunutingas* would have required the creation of at least a nominal boundary between this new ecclesiastical holding and the rest of what had become effectively a Northumbrian royal estate. The name *Cirkstanes* 'church stones' might well indicate that stone 'markers' were deliberately set up to mark the southern boundary of Bishop Wilfrid's lands.[12] This would suggest that

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[7] A. Williams *et al.*, *A Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain: England, Scotland and Wales, c.500—c.1050* (London, 1991), p. 122.

[8] N. J. Higham and G. D. B. Jones, *The Carvetii* (Stroud, 1985), pp. 133–35.

[9] B. Cox, 'The place-names of the earliest English records', *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*, 8 (1975–76), 12–66 (p. 65).

[10] N. Brooks notes that 'English kings were … encouraged to pillage British churches and to use the confiscated properties to enrich and endow English monasteries'. He also suggests a racialist policy in the seventh and eighth centuries by Northumbria and other kingdoms 'which had a frontier with the Britons where new conquests could be made and punitive tributes exacted' ('Historical Introduction', in *The Making of England. Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture AD 600–900*, edited by L. Webster and J. Backhouse [London, 1991], pp. 9–14 [pp. 12–14]).

[11] Williams *et al.*, *A Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain*, p. 122.

[12] Winchester, *Discovering Parish Boundaries*, pp. 41–44. Part of the boundary, from the 'Piked How[e] of Cravenhaleswath' to the top of Blea Moor and beyond, is clearly marked by a line of stone cairns. The ones from the site of the 'Howe' to the top of Blea Moor are referred to as 'Christain Way Foot' 'Christain Way' and 'Christain Way Top'. In his discussion of the bounds of Dent referred to in a Commission dated 1592, Smith suggests the personal name

the boundaries of Dent would need no detailed statement in 1307, as they were virtually identical to those laid out in the late seventh century, and had been recognised throughout the area for at least 600 years.

To demonstrate that the section of the western boundary of the Chase which follows the Roman road differs from that of an earlier territorial unit is rather more difficult. It does seem likely that the boundary of an earlier territorial unit may have extended down the Wenning to the Lune, with the 1307 'Roman road' section being fixed at a much later date. Ecclesiastical evidence would seem to support this, for when the Archbishop of York visited Lonsdale Deanery in 1377, the places mentioned on the eastern bank of the Lune were *Hornby* (in Melling parish) and *Tateham* (both in Lancashire), together with *Benetham* and *Thornton* (both in Yorkshire).[13] (See Map 3.)

Settlement names like Tatham ('*Tata*'s farmstead'[14]) are now taken to indicate the probable take-over and re-naming of already established settlements rather than new settlements created in virgin territory.[15] If this was indeed the case here, it suggests the annexing and re-settlement of the western end of the territory by 'Northumbrian' (?) in-comers down the Lune valley,[16] possibly as a 'buffer zone' against any incursions from Ireland. Dr Williams notes 'the warriors of Rheged seem to have taken refuge in Ireland ... an assault against Ireland was launched in 684, and was bitterly condemned by Bede'.[17] This could both explain and possibly date the re-alignment of the old boundary from its earlier line down the Wenning to the Lune to a later one which left the Wenning at

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Christian with *mea*: the dialect term for pasture (*PN WRY*, VI, 260). Certainly the area would have been important upland grazings held by a Christian community, even in the eighth century, so the two interpretations do not necessarily conflict.

[13] *The Archdeaconry of Richmond in the Eighteenth Century*, edited by L. A. S. Butler, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series 146 (1990), p. 148.

[14] E. Ekwall, *The Place-Names of Lancashire* (Manchester, 1922), p. 183.

[15] M. Gelling, *Signposts to the Past. Place-Names and the History of England*, 2nd edn (Chichester, 1978), pp. 182–83.

[16] The Eden-Lune valleys would have been an obvious routeway from the eastern side of the Pennines.

[17] Williams *et al.*, *A Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain*, p. 122.

Littlewath and continued via the Roman road to Ravencros',[18] Old Wennington and the river Greta.

However, it seems likely that this section of the north-western part of the boundary also finished at the Lune, rather than on the Greta, just below the medieval *caput* of Burton-in-Lonsdale, where Cant Beck and its affluent Blind Cant are found close to the 1307 boundary. The stream names might be thought significant, for one of the natural features named in the north-eastern section of the boundary is Pen-y-ghent. This name is made up of two British place-name elements, *pen* 'top, head, edge, end' and **cant [caint]* 'boundary',[19] which would suggest that this 1307 boundary point was recognised as such several centuries earlier, when British was still the language of the local people. That the identical **cant* element is used in Cant Beck and Blind Cant[20] suggests that these streams, too, may have been an integral part of the early territorial boundary.

Cant Beck acts as part of the boundary between the Lancashire townships of Leck and Ireby. Again it is probably significant that the latter can be shown to have been detached from Thornton-in-Lonsdale (Yorkshire) in the pre-Conquest period, and, presumably detached from the old territorial unit at that time, the boundary being realigned at the period when Scandinavian immigrants (some possibly via Ireland) were moving into the area.[21] Despite this early severance, it still remains part of Thornton-in-Lonsdale ecclesiastical parish—a further demonstration of the longevity of early ecclesiastical allegiances in the area.

From Ireby, Cant Beck, with its affluent, Blind Cant, flows through the middle of the township of Tunstall. It should be noted that, in addition to several closes alongside the stream in Tunstall which contain

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[18] 'Ravencros' appears to have been located at SD634708.

[19] I am grateful to Professor Gwynedd Pierce, University of Cardiff, and Dr Oliver Padel, Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, University of Cambridge, for help with the 'Pen-y-Ghent' and the **cant* names.

[20] Ekwall, *The Place-Names of Lancashire*, p. 166, suggests *blind* as 'dark, obscure'. I am grateful to Dr Hywel Wyn Owen and John Wilkinson for a preferable alternative: Welsh *blaen* 'edge, end, source of river'.

[21] G. Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West* (Copenhagen, 1985), pp. 17 and 337.

the element *cant in their field names, there is also one, immediately adjacent to Cant Beck, which is called *mere syke*,[22] indicating that the 'British' boundary line continued in use into the Anglo-Saxon period, with the Old English element *(ge)mǣre* 'boundary'[23] being used alongside the British *cant. Where there are no such field names it is not easy to postulate the original line of the boundary, for Cant Beck has apparently been diverted at some time in the past to feed the castle moat at Thurland (which Ekwall suggests is identical with the *Thorolfland* in Wennington,[24] three acres of which was granted to Cockersand Abbey in 1247).[25] From the moat Cant Beck flows to join the river Greta just upstream of its confluence with the Lune. Given this place-name evidence, it seems likely that the lands of the *regione Dunutinga*, the northern half of which being the area granted to Bishop Wilfrid, once extended as far west as the Lune, its north-western boundary being marked by Cant beck and Douugill (British *dubo* 'black')—the latter a major section in the 1307 boundary perambulation.

This association of the element *cant with what is probably a pre-seventh century territory is important. Dr Padel states that the element is 'obscure, perhaps "district, region" or "edge, border", or possibly "host, throng, troop".'[26] The examples of *cant so far discussed—Cant Beck, Blind Cant and Pen-y-ghent—would seem to support the second interpretation of 'edge, border'. Obviously this sample is too small to enable more general conclusions to be reached. However, there are other survivals of this element in place-names which are applied to geographical locations which are also 'on the edge'. Cant, in Cornwall, certainly fits this pattern, lying as it does on the northern bank of the Camel estuary, which is part of the southern border of Trigg Hundred. There are other more northerly examples too. One of these, Cant

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[22] Lancashire Record Office, DRB1/34.

[23] *PN WRY*, VII, 222.

[24] Ekwall, *The Place-Names of Lancashire*, p. 183.

[25] *The Chartulary of Cockersand Abbey, Vol. 3 Part 1*, edited by W. Farrer, Chetham Society, n.s. 56 (1905), 903.

[26] O. J. Padel, *Cornish Place-Name Elements*, English Place-Name Society, 56/57 (Nottingham, 1985), pp. 37–38.

Clough, east of Burnley, with its headwaters at Harestones,[27] is on the boundary of what would have been Blackburnshire in the pre-Conquest period, and Morley Wapentake in the West Riding. This association of *cant with an early boundary is confirmed by Mereclough, close to the lower reaches of Cant Clough, and Stiperden, again on the Blackburnshire/Morley Wapentake boundary, being seen by Smith as possibly a valley marked by boundary posts.[28] This boundary also has a Nant Wood, with Old Welsh *nant* 'valley, brook' being one of the 'boundary' elements in the early Charters of Llandaff discussed by Jon Coe at the Society's Conference in Sheffield in 1999.

Other occurrences of *cant so far identified as possibly coming into the category of 'edge, border' names are in southern Scotland. The Cant Hills, north-west of Shotts, and Carcant in Heriot parish (Midlothian), this last either 'hill-fort of the circle' or 'of the border, edge'.[29] That Carcant is on the edge of Lothian, and is not too far from the boundary of Stow parish might be thought to support the second interpretation. Professor Nicolaisen discusses the *pen* element used in Pennygant in his chapter on Pictish and Cumbric names, but does not offer anything for the second element, and indeed, in the context of the particular discussion, there was no reason for him to do so.[30] It would seem likely though that the name is identical to Pen-y-ghent in Yorkshire, and is used in the same way—'the head/top of the boundary'. The Scottish hill is not

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[27] *PN WRY*, VII, 201, attributes this name to OE *hār* 'hoar, grey, boundary'. However, strong arguments against the traditional interpretation of *hār* as 'boundary' are presented by P. Kitson, 'Quantifying qualifiers in Anglo-Saxon charter boundaries', *Folia Linguistica Historica*, 14 (1993), 29–82 (pp. 37–40). The most recent discussion of the term is by C. P. Biggam, *Grey in Old English. An Interdisciplinary Semantic Study* (London, 1998), pp. 231–33.

[28] The interpretation given in *PN WRY*, III, 178, for Stiperden is '"Valley where posts or props were obtained" or "one marked by posts" (perhaps as boundary marks, since Stiperden forms part of the Lancashire boundary)'.

[29] John Wilkinson kindly pointed me in the direction of these *cant references, and notes that 'Stow itself is a repository of Old Welsh names' (personal communication, 27.4.99).

[30] W. F. H. Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names. Their Study and Significance* (London, 1976), p. 165.

so imposing as the Yorkshire example, but its geographical position at the head of Hermitage Water, within 'spitting distance' of the Roxburghshire boundary, certainly fits.

The area has another name with a parallel in Yorkshire: Din Fell. W. J. Watson suggests this is a Welsh cognate of the Gaelic *dun* 'a fort'.[31] It has not been possible to establish whether there is any archaeological evidence for this designation, but Din Fell is certainly visible over a wide area and has the appearance of a 'central place and control centre' in the district—a prehistoric precursor of Hermitage Castle, perhaps? The Yorkshire parallel is to be found in the seventh-century district name of *Dunutinga* mentioned earlier. Professor Cox suggests that the district name is 'a group-name with the first el[ement] possibly a British word corresponding to O[ld] Ir[ish] *dind* 'hill', *v.* **-ingas**' (denoting a group or association of people).[32] He notes that *dunutinga* is 'uniquely an uncompounded gen[itive] pl[ural],' suggesting that the name does not fit the usual Anglo-Saxon pattern of 'group names'.[33] As with most exceptions, this is probably very significant, particularly as a British/Old Irish element is involved. The name would appear to mean something like 'the people of the Hill'—obviously some very significant hill, which needed no qualifier to identify it.

It seems likely that 'The Hill' was Ingleborough. This certainly dominates the whole area, still has the remains of a prehistoric hill-fort on its summit, and sits in the middle of the suggested territory of the *Regio Dunutinga*, the northern part of which was granted to Bishop Wilfrid in the late seventh century. The identification would appear to be supported by Dr Liam Mac Mathúna, who notes that Old Irish *dind*, suggested by Cox as a cognate for this British group name, spanned a whole range of meanings—'"height, hill" and "fortified hill, walled or fortified town; stead, notable place", etc.'[34]—descriptions which could well be applied to Ingleborough.

[31] W. J. Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh and London, 1926; repr. 1993), pp. 371–72.
[32] Cox, 'The place-names of the earliest English records', pp. 39–40.
[33] *ibid.*, p. 65.
[34] L. Mac Mathúna, 'The topographical vocabulary of Irish: patterns and implications', *Ainm*, 4 (1989-90), 144–64 (p. 152).

Indeed, the Old English place-name Ingleborough 'a fortification near or on the hill called *Ing* or *Ingel*' appears to have a similar meaning.[35] Other place-name evidence would support this, for a detailed statement of the bounds of a monastic estate[36] begins '*a supercilio montis de Ingeburg usque ad Spechscaflade*'. *Spechscaf* is explained as 'speech staff'—possibly a post where speeches were made.[37] From the top of the mountain the summit ridge of Ingleborough slopes down relatively easily to the north-west, and, just above the place where Meregill (the *lade*) issues, is an inlier of limestone on the top of which is a single large dark-coloured Silurian erratic which might have marked the actual location of the post.

Although the 'speech-staff' on Ingleborough is not recorded until the early thirteenth century, it seems unlikely that its origins were post-1066, for there are interesting parallels with early inauguration ceremonies in the Isle of Man, Ireland and the Hebrides. Basil Megaw notes that in the Isle of Man 'it was at "The Hill" ... that the recognition of the heir-apparent took place' and where 'the installation of the king's deputy (now lieutenant-governor), is still marked by the presentation of the staff of government'.[38]

Such practices would again fit in with Dr Mac Mathúna's notes on the use of the term *dind*. The hill-fort on Ingleborough was probably the 'central place' for a sept of the Brigantes. Archaeological evidence for

[35] Smith, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, VI, 242, discusses the various suggestions regarding this place-name which is one of a 'series of difficult p[lace-]n[ame]s'. See also M. Gelling, *The Place-Names of Berkshire*, 3 vols, English Place-Name Society, 49–51 (Cambridge, 1973–76), I, 309, s.n. *Inkpen*.
[36] See M. C. Higham, 'Souterscales—a Furness Abbey estate in Lonsdale', in *Names, Places and People. An Onomastic Miscellany in Memory of John McNeal Dodgson*, edited by A. R. Rumble and A. D. Mills (Stamford, 1997), pp. 131–43.
[37] *PN WRY*, VI, 248.
[38] B. Megaw, 'Norseman and native in the Kingdom of the Isles: a re-assessment of the Manx evidence', in *Man and Environment in the Isle of Man, Part ii*, edited by P. Davey, *British Archaeological Reports*, British Series 54, ii (1978), 276–314 (p. 287).

many native settlements locally indicates the extent of the territory which supported the local aristocracy whose *caput* was on Ingleborough's summit. There is even what might be considered to be an example of *dinnshenchas* or place-name lore of the Irish native learned tradition, for the hill of Ingleborough is alleged to be the site of Venutius' last stand. He was the husband of Cartimandua, a queen of the Brigantes. She became a client ruler under the Romans, threw out her husband in favour of his standard-bearer, and then betrayed Venutius to her Roman allies. Casual finds also support the idea that there were people of status in the locality at this time, with a bronze mirror handle being found in a bog in Ingleton (a votive offering?), bronze escutcheons from a bucket(?) found at Burrow with Burrow on the Lune, and a bronze cauldron from Crummockdale.[39]
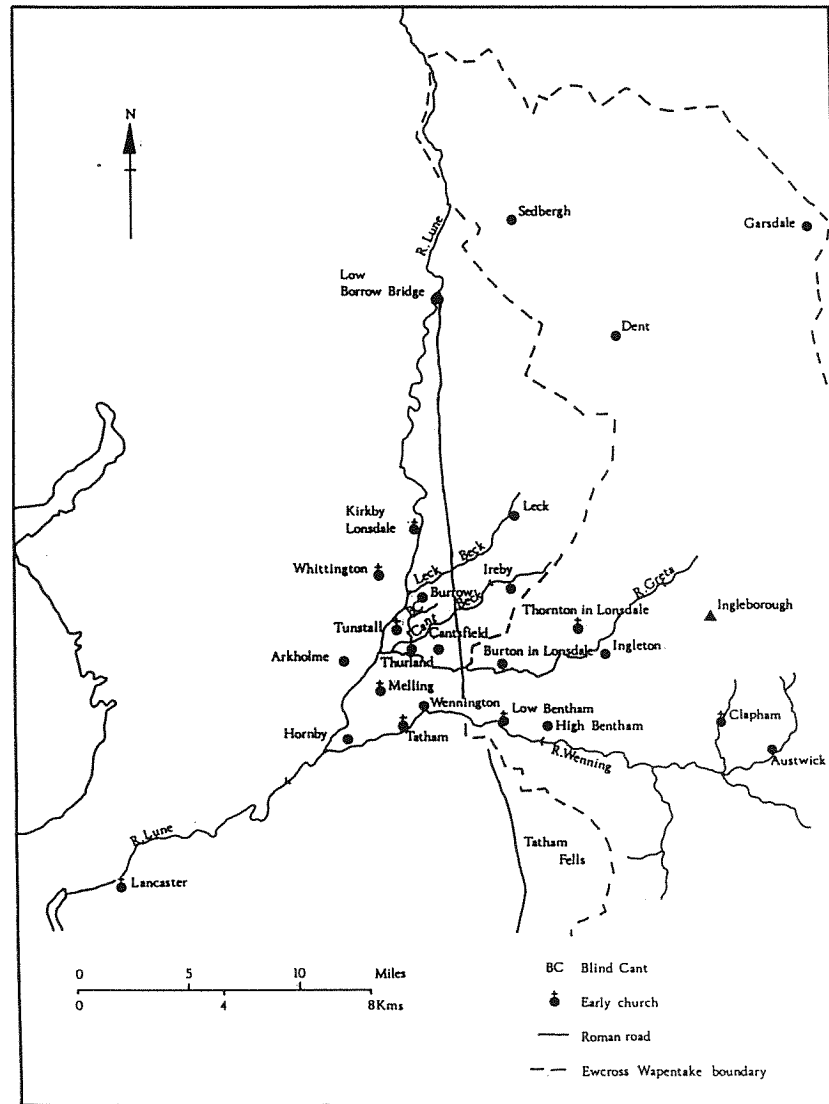
There is no evidence to suggest that this native population disappeared after the Romans left. Eddius Stephanus mentions the British priests who fled from the *regio Dunutinga* and other adjacent areas in the late seventh century. They were presumably ministering to a British population for, as Professor Brooks notes, when 'the Northumbrians extended their kingdom ... westwards across the Pennines to the Irish sea' they brought under their sphere of influence 'large areas where English rule and settlement was only a thin aristocratic veneer'.[40] British place-name survivals such as Crina, Crummock, Dowlas and Pant (this name surviving as a hamlet name in Austwick and as field names in Ingleton) are still found within a territory which apparently had a British name cognate with the Old Irish *dind* in the late seventh century. That British names also survive on its edge—the rivers Lune, Douugill, Cant Beck and Blind Cant, together with Pen-y-ghent—must be significant, and demonstrates that a study of names on territory boundaries can be worthwhile.

This study provides evidence for **cant* being used in the sense of 'border, edge', not only in the context of a documented sub-Roman territory in Yorkshire but also in Cornwall, Lancashire and in Scotland. Like most research, however, it raises questions. For example, a cursory look at the survival of the *pen* element in hill-names in various parts of the country outside Wales seems to suggest an association with early boundaries which would repay further study, and the Old English *ing/ingel* names, as seen in Inkpen (Berkshire) and indeed Ingleborough and Ingleton, could equally be the subject of further attention.

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[39] M. Macgregor, *Early Celtic Art in North Britain*, Vol. 2 (Leicester, 1976), item nos 269 (mirror handle), 313 (Burrow escutcheons) and 310 (cauldron).
[40] Brooks, 'Historical introduction', p. 12.

Map 1. Ewcross Wapentake (reprinted by permission from A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, Part 6, English Place-Name Society, 35 [Cambridge, 1961])

Map 2. The 1307 boundary of Burton-in-Lonsdale Chase

Map 3. Location of Lune valley place-names discussed in the text

New Light from Old Wicks:
The Progeny of Latin *vicus*

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OE *wīc* and its Relatives
The aim of this article is to explore and establish the meaning of the Old English (OE) word *wīc* in its lexical use and in its use as a place-name element in England. The word is shared with several other West Germanic languages and their naming-systems. It may be compared with Old Frisian *wîk* (f.), Old Saxon (in the epic known as the *Heliand*) *wîk* (m.), Middle Low German *wîk* (n., f.), Middle High German *wîch* (m.). In Old English the word is originally neuter, but presumably because of the general resemblance of the neuter plural to the feminine singular, and because *wīc* often appears in the plural, it is sometimes treated as feminine—a feature shared with the coastal continental languages, as can be seen.

Vicus
These words are generally believed to have been borrowed on the Continent from Latin *vicus* /wi:kus/ (see e.g. Frings 1932: 87); Frings (1942: 222) notes the contiguity of the entire continental Germanic-speaking area where they are found with the Romance-speaking areas to the west. *Vicus* has several strands in its sense-development. It may be contrasted with *urbs* 'town'; *Eranam .... quae fuit non vici instar sed urbis* (Cicero); *Phrygia .... pluribus vicis quam urbibus frequens* (Curtius) '... Erana, which was not like a *vicus* but an *urbs*'; 'Phrygia, stocked with many *vici* rather than *urbes*'. It is well known that the larger urban units were known as *urbs*, *municipium*, *oppidum* or *civitas* according to their administrative status and/or conformation, so we can infer that *vicus* was applied to a group of dwellings smaller than a town. It could be applied to a free-standing place like Hostilia (modern Ostiglia) on the river Po, or to a division of a town with some social or administrative cohesion: *spatium urbis in regiones vicosque divisit* (Suetonius) 'he divided the area of the town into *regiones* and *vici*',