LORE AND LANGUAGE

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V. E. WATTS

MEDIEVAL FISHERIES IN THE WEAR, TYNE AND TWEED: THE PLACE-NAME EVIDENCE

I am grateful to Alan MacDonald for having allowed me an opportunity to discuss a rather curious subclass of English place-names at the Cork conference which was largely and properly devoted to name studies in Ireland. If this paper seemed as a result to be something of a fringe event, my excuse for offering it was the existence of a rich body of comparative material in Ireland known to me from a series of papers by A. E. J. Wightman on which an Irish audience would be able to comment at first hand.

The names I deal with have come to notice in the course of preparing the EPNS volumes for County Durham. The first instances I came across were in a forged confirmation of the possessions of Durham abbey purporting to belong to the year 1093, but actually written a hundred years later, which includes a list of eight fisheries on the north bank of the Tyne, twenty-one on the south bank and ten on the Wear. The list, which gives a good idea of the curious nature of these names and of the etymological puzzles which they can present, is as follows:

- Bondeniare, Walleslaire, TVwordeslaire, Holmeslaire, Theoctinoge, Smitheslaire, Racheire, TVwordeslaire...

The second element generally represents OE year 'a weir, a yair'. Yair is defined in Jameson's Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language as an enclosure commonly of a semi-circular form built of stones or constructed of stakes and wattle, stretching into a tide way, for the purpose of retarding fish when the tide ebbs.

Since my first encounter with this type of name I have collected over 200 instances of medieval and early modern fishery names from the three north-eastern rivers which I hope to give a full account of in other places. Here I summarise the findings of an analysis of the material.

The classic shape of a river fishery name in north-east England is a compound of two elements. The first may be an adjective, Pulilare 'dirty yair' (OE ðilh) a noun uninflected, Londeaire 'land yair' (OE lond, a noun inflected in the genitive case, Prestelare 'priests' yair' (OE þrost, g.pl. þrolest), a personal name. Vchredeslaire 'Uthred's yair'; or a place-name, Walleslaire which lay in Wallend and which I take to be a shortened form for 'Wallsend yair'.

The second element (the generic): this describes the nature of the fishery, a term which, not to become entangled in the niceties of legal definition, is used here in two main senses: (a) the legal right of fishing certain waters, the stretch of water within which the right is exercisable; and (b) a place at which fish are caught, a fishing engine, a fish-weir.
The elements which relate to the first of these two senses are as follows.

bat, a term confined to the 'Tweed, dial. bat 'a heap of stones on which nets are drawn up where the river bank is too steep'; Baliff's Bat 1661, Crow's Bat 1849, Davie's Bat 1661.

OE fléo(e) 'an estuary, the tidal part of a river, an arm of the sea, an arm or earlier channel of a river, a stream'; Carefle n.d. (perhaps referring to the Carr Rock in the Tweed), Heitfet par 1128 (14th c.) 'eel stream' (OE fléfl, Hallowflet n.d. a variant of Hallowfetl, see below), Munkflet n.d. 'monks' fishery' (OE munuc, g.p.l. muneca), Neuffet n.d., Warffile n.d.

OE hol 'a hole, a hollow, a deep place in a river': Clayhole 1690, Dent's Hole 1863 (in the Tyne and named after a local family in the 17th century), Le Holle 1539 (also in the Tyne, possibly the same fishery), Hob's Hole 1760.

OE loh 'a louche, a lake, a pool', a Northumbrian word cognate with W loch; Blackaugh 1344.

OE pol 'a pool, a pool in a river'; Buresfurdels pal 14th c., Dav Law Poole 1671, Hoekmanpoil 1312 (a fishery at Durham in a loop of the Wear, from the surname Holkan 'one who dwells in a hole of the river'), piscaria de Pol 1210 (the best known medieval fishery in the Tweed), Le Pulyare 1307 (originally full' yare in Pole 1126 (14th c.), Stan Pol 1128 (14th c.).

ME shot, another term confined to the Tweed and Scotland, 'a place where nets are shot'; Bull Shot 1344, Buteshote 1327 x 1377 (instances which anticipate the earliest occurrence of this word in OED before more than a century).

OE steel 'a place for catching fish', ModE dial. 'a place in a river provided with arrangements for spreading salmon nets' OED, also 'a barrier placed across a river' EDD, described in the 18th century as 'deep ponds, pools and ditches in the river where Salmon haunting are taken in nets spread beneath them'; Abulc 1212 (pers. n. Abba), Adhe 1212 (pers. n. Abhe), Alcthelstelle 1124 x 1153 (OE ald'old'), Crabwater Stell 1562, Elstille 1604, Hallowstaw (earlier Haliwey stelle 1099 x 1122, OE hál weygar 'of the saints or monks (sc. of the Lindisfarne community)'); Heystel 1627, Outwaterstel 1562, Sandstell 1409 (piscaria de Sandi), Tweemowth Stell 1561, The Wily stell 1671, Wilkalewaste n.d., piscaria de Woodhurststel 1124 x 1153 (place-name Woodhorn), Yarrow Stell 1562 (place-name Yarrow). An OE 'ing' derivative of this element, *stealling 'a fishery', lies behind the modern Co Durham place-name Stella on Tyne, Stellinglci 1144 wood or clear (OE) leah called or at *Stelling, or 'near the fishery'.

OE stream 'a river, a stretch of water'; Berwickstreame 1165 x 1214 (the place-name Berwick), Folkstreame 14th c. (possibly OE all'foul', dirty'), Orret streame 1344. Possibly here belongs the Scottish place-name Coldstream.

OE water 'a stretch of water'; Broad Water Fishing 1562 (earlier just Bradice 1327 x 1377), Crabwater 1327 x 1377 (OE crabbia 'a crab, a crayfish'), Hunewater 1327 x 1377 (pers. n. Hunde or OE hund 'a hound'), Turmwater 1344 (OE *trum 'circular, round'), Quitham Drawwater 1344, from Whitcham on the Tyne, contains ME drawwater 'a stretch of water for drawing' (cf. OED s.v. draw y. 3 'to draw net through or along a river for fish', firstly recorded in this sense c. 1440).

ME wele 'a spring, a deep place in a river.' As Peter McClure pointe out to me, this latter sense is more appropriate to OE welle, wel 'a deep pool' than to OE wela, the two words are confused in the Cheshire place-name Thelwall, Del welle 923, Thelewella 12th c., and it is probable that the same replace-

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ment of the rare element by the common one has occurred in the material cited above although there are no comparably early spellings; piscaria de Blankwell 1237 x 1226, Crowwell (marked in the courses in the first edition 6'OS, Cromwell 1128 (14th c.) 'well in the river bend', OE *crumbe 'a bend', or 'crooked fishery', OE crumb 'crooked'), Sandwelle 1195, Shipwell (Scopwell 1124 x 1153, OES chap, ONB scap 'a sheep'), Peddl or Pedwell in the Tweed (Paddwelle) c. 1190, ?OE *padde 'a toad' or pers.n. Padde, is described by Reginald of Durham as a place infatuate altitudinis into which a certain schoolboy threw the key of Norham Church in the hope of evading lessons in the school which was conducted there in the time of the bishop and saventie magistro. He had not, however, reckoned with Norham's much incensed tutelary saint, Cuthbert, who arranged for the key to be found in the mouth of a salmon mirr maguntudinis which was caught next day in the nets of the local fishermen. 6

As this study shows, this, and the other elements listed above, imply a station in which the main implement of fishing was the net. One end would be fixed at the shore while the other was taken out in a boat, rowed round in a half circle and brought to land again so entrapping a quantity of fish. A graphic description of this technique on the Tyne at Dent's Hole about 1800 is given in R. J. Charlton's Newcastle Town (London 1885), p. 342. Stellets are recorded at Stanpil and elsewhere c. 1300, drawertes at Derwent 'mother' 1128. Woodhornstal is specifically said to be piscandum cum retibus in Hugh de Baliff's confirmation of Bernard's right of the fishery, temp. David I, and Scopwell is described as a tractum duorum retum.

The second sense of fishery, a fish-weir, is almost exclusively expressed by the element *gearm which may in fact be of Celtic origin. 7 It certainly is not the common Germanic word which is weir, OER weir, related to OER warten 'obstruct' etc. It occurs as a simplex in the place-name Yarm on the Tees, Yarm 1036 (for *Yarma), representing OE d.pl. gearam (*the place) at the fish-weirs. 8 A possible exception is the fishery name Halwelwerstam 1128 (14th c.) on the south bank of the Tyne in Whickham and belonging to the bishop of Durham. The source is a late and unreliable copy of a list of Tyne fisheries and this may, therefore, be a bad spelling of stem. If genuine, however, it is perhaps an instance of an OE *steyn, *stem 'a dam' cognate with ON steinn 'to stem, stop, dam up, esp. a stream', OE foresmnenn 'to hinder', MLow, OHG steinn 'to stem, dam up', a word which is otherwise only recorded much later in English. 9

Two other elements occur in final position.

OE belg 'bag, sack, belly' occurs in Sceberell 1195, a difficult name and like many others recorded only. I am inclined to suggest that belly is used here in a semi-technical sense of the inner cavity of the weir itself. The name would mean 'clean belly' and stand in contrast to weirs which were not scoured clean by the tide, the 'foul-yairs' where debris and dirt accumulated or where it was difficult to remove dead fish. It may, however, be a nickname, which seems to be the origin of several other names such as Catesverhe c. 1147 'Cat's are', Dripsplit 1288 'dry pants' and Letherhouse 1128 (14th c.) (OE leñere-hose 'a leather covering for the leg, a garter') which may allude to working conditions at the weirs. 10

OE sceala, ME schel 'a hut, a fisherman's hut', the origin of the p.n.s. North and South Shields, occurs in Haugh-. Hugh Shell 17th c. (OE hæil 'water-meadow
or hö́r 'spur of land' and Toulshill 1344 (OE 'tollere' 'one who pulls a net' from OE *tolian, ME tollen 'drag, draw, pull').

The first elements (the specifics): these fall into five groups classified loosely as descriptive elements, technical terms, place-names, indicators of ownership or tenure, and unexplained.

1. The first element is descriptive

OE bygd, ME beat 'busy'; Best 1128 (14th c.).
OE col 'cold'; Cole 12th c.
OE flège 'fly', perhaps alluding to infestation by midges; le Pleyeare 1346, Fle 1387.
OE gréne 'green'; Grenvye 1128 (14th c.).
OE hund 'hound'; Hundwater 1327 x 1377.
OE hungry, hungor 'hungry'; Hungereyre 1244; Hungre yare 1128 (14th c.), two different yairs, which suggests a p.n. type, either 'greedy yair, yair which gobbles up fish' or, parallel to the use of hunger in field names, alluding to scanty catches and small profit. The hunger of one of these yairs seems to be illustrated by its citation in a 13th century inquisition for having been extended beyond its legal limits by no less than 42 fathoms. 10

OFr. ME pas 'a passage across a river'; Paissye 1539.
OE tit 'a teat, a small hill'; Tit(e) 1327 x 1377.

A further group of adjectives allude to size, depth or position:

OE brád, ON broðr; four examples, Bradeliare 1195; Brader c. 1147; Bradavere c. 1150; Bradewer 1262. The precise meaning of broad in these four words is unknown although the general sense is clear. The complementary type *small-'yair 'narrow yair' is not on record, but there is one example of

OE lytel 'little'; Lutt(e) yare 14th c.

A further possibility is

OE *cort 'short'; Courtyar 1439. However, cort, curt in p.n.s is problematic. The adj. *cort is thought to occur in Courtenwell K (Curton 1348) in contrastive opposition to the nearby Langton. 11 Alternative explanations might be OFr court 'a manor', OE pers.n. *Curta, *Corta, as in Courtenhall PNN 1457-9 (Courtenque 1086, Courcalzela c. 1110), Courban PNN 1086, Courborne 1343, etc., or the OE element *cort(e), *cort(e) of unknown meaning occurring in the undated Anglo-Saxon boundary description from Kent (Sawyer 1564; KCD 1363) fram sandhilen and sande to sare vic: fra sare vic to sare cortan and swa andilancs to Subexan.

If M. Löfftenberg is right 12 in suggesting the sense 'huddle' or 'fence' for this word (which he derives from PrGmc *kurtza- cognate with *kratza-, the source of OE craet (wickerwork cart), MDu kratte 'geflochten Matte, Wagenkorb,' OHG krezzo 'Korb' etc., all ultimately from the IE root *gur- 'to turn, twist, plain') we have exactly the right sense to refer not to size but to the interwoven hurdle structure typical of medieval and later weirs. 13

OE depe 'deep'; two examples, Dyph(e) yar 1128 (14th c.), Depe 1279; Dear yar' 1128 (14th c.). The ya and ea spellings are noteworthy and if significant may be a reflection in a late copy of the OE unrounding of the second element of

2. The first element is a technical term

Four elements allude to artificial channels in which fish are taken.

OE dic 'a ditch, an excavated trench, an artificial water-course'; Dykes yar' 1128 (14th c.), Dyke yare 14th c. Similarly, Abingdon Abbey gardener's account for 1450/1 records the purchase of 'weels for catching fish in the ditch of the coney.' 14

OE greip, ModE dial. grip 'a ditch, a trench, a drain'; Gump (sic) 1128 (14th c.). Grip 14th c. I am, however, attracted to the idea, since the element geir does not appear in the two recorded forms of this name, that this is really a nickname alluding to the fish-trap's function of 'gripping' its prey. There is no doubt that other inanimate objects besides weapons were named in this way in the Middle Ages; in 1128 at the yars at Wiston in the Tyne, for instance,

Finally, an important contrasting set are the yair names compounded with ût, útwerd or útwares on the one hand, and lond on the other.

OE ût 'outer'; two examples, Ûth' yar' 1128 (14th c.), Viiare 1195, Ûtvaregaar 1195; Ûth' yar' 1128 (14th c.), Viiare 1195. (The third form appears to show an interesting diminutive form in -ing).

OE útwerd 'outer'; again two examples, Ûthwaet' yar' 1128 (14th c.), Vworseiare 1195; Ûthward yar' 1195. (The 1128 form may be a mistake or a variant form, cf. Oxwater Stell in the Tweed).

OE útwares 'outer' (with g.s. - es in adverbial use); two examples, Vthwadesyar 1128 (14th c.); Vwvadesyar 1128 (14th c.).

OE lond 'land'; Landeyyar 1128 (14th c.). A 'land-yair' is one situated adjacent to the shore, possibly in an artificial channel, an 'out-yair' one situated entirely in the course of the river and not attached to the bank at all. A spectacular example of an out-yair was seen by members of the Bangor conference last year in the Menai Straits. It is a former episcopal yair, still operational, on Ynys Gorad Coch, first recorded in 1590. The remains of a land-yair on the Anglesey side are also visible at low water at the same place. 15

One interesting but puzzling detail is the description in a 14th century lease of one of the Tyne out-yairs as the sectaror of another yair called le Staneryare. The meaning of the term is unknown; CL sectaror means 'attendant, adherent, follower.' In some way, therefore, the out-yair at Jarrow seems to have been subsidiary to the Staneryare. Possibly it is to be associated with another yair-name whose meaning is clear but significance unknown, Helpereyre 1344 (ME helpere 'helper'). We are perhaps dealing with a system by which one yair directed fish towards another. 16

OE stimmer 'stony place' probably refers to an artificial island created by the digging of a channel parallel to the river. 17 Unfortunately owing to the industrialization of the Tyne shore and the extensive dredging since the middle of last century all traces of any such features have long since disappeared.

Another pair of adjectives describe conditions at the yair.

OE fil 'foul, dirty'; three examples, full' yare in Pole 1128 (14th c.), Pulière 1195; Pull yar' 1128 (14th c.), Pulière 1195; Poult 1298.

OE *hreetg from OE hret 'seem'; Dode (sic), 1126 (14th c.), Dodi, Rute 1279, Rutys 1344.

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two seine nets were called Tol and Pul.

OE (ge)laeg 'a water course'; ModE dial. look 'a water-course, a channel, a fenland drainage channel', Drydale 1195 (OE drygę 'dry'). This word is also used of a stretch of water in which traps are set in Severn fisheries.19

OE Fr sewere 'a channel to carry off overflow from a fishpond'; Suor 1195, Suere 1279, Suor 14th c. This is a difficult name, misread by a 19th-century editor as Snor, but readers of the ME poem Havelok the Dane will remember that the good fisherman Critin, eponymous hero-founder of Grimstey, got his nets in the sewere, the drainage channels in the fens near Grimstey.20 This name is attested by two centuries by that noted by M. Lidwen, Contributions to ME Lexicography and Etymology (Lund 1946), 87.

These names are to be compared with the descriptive phrase guica piscaria applied to another Tyne weir (Fethioure 1195, cuisadum Coicie piscarie vocate Pedihare 1325) which I take to be a Latinization of OE *gote, ME gote 'a water-course, a channel, a stream'. A lost name le Gote occurs in WRY in 1392, again probably referring to a fishery.21

A further group of protothemen alludes to the kind of device actually used in the weir to trap the fish.

OE cype 'a coop, a basket' esp. 'a wickerwork basket for catching fish' occurs in two NE place-names, Cowpen Bewley (Billingham), Cupum 12th c., and Cowpen (Blyth), Cupum 12th c., both d.pl. formations meaning '(the place) at the fish-traps'.

OE cype 'a kipe, an osier basket for catching fish', an *-mutation by form of *cype, occurs in Keiper (Durham), Kypeler 12th c., and Little Keiper (RYton). Kepesere 1613, both with OE gear, 'aire with kipes.'

OE hacc 'a hatch, a grating, a sluice-gate'; Hachesiare 1195 'hatch with harps or called Hatches'. A Hatch Weir is recorded on the Severn in 1835. Della Hooke (Anglo-Saxon Landscapes of the West Midlands, British Archaeological Reports 95, 1981, 270) discusses the OE term haccuor or hackle, which was 'a barrier or fence of wattle set across the current to produce an eddy in which fish could be caught in a boat'. The usual northern form is hake: a common weir serving the corn and fulling mills of Thorp Arch which once stretched across the r. Warfe contained hecks for catching fish, and le Samonhebke 'the salmon traps' are recorded on the Severn in the 15th century.22 N. dial. heck, recorded from the 13th century, is still used in various technical or semi-technical senses.23 Such names as Wodeheche and Stananheche24 suggest that such structures could be made of wood or stone.

OE hemung 'that which encloses, an enclosure, a dam'; Hemmunges yer 12th c., le Hemmyngeyr 1438-9. Formally the first element here might be the ON pers.n. Hemming, but an OE ing substantive related to OE hemman 'stop up, close' ans hamm 'an enclosure' may well have existed. For the variation between forms with and without inflexional -es, cf. dge above.

OE sneke 'a trap, a snare'; Sneegare 1403. For this difficult name I suggest an earlier form of the aphonetic variant snek of ModOE skeg 'a short stump standing out from the trunk, a trunk or branch of a tree imbedded in the bottom of a river, an impediment, an obstacle'. Several members of the rich series of idiomorphic formations on the root *sneke/*sneko are associated with the idea of trapping (e.g. snickle 17th c. 'a snare or gin, esp. for pig', sniggle 17th c. 'a book for el-catchings', sneg 15th c. 'a snare, a trap') and

most recently Dodgson has proposed ME *sneche 'a trap, a snare, a catch' for the first element of the lost Cheshire stream name le Snechenbroch c. 1290.

OE wile 'a weir, a basket' occurs in another d.pl. place-name Wylam on Tyne, Wyllum 12th c., (the place) at the fish traps.' The etymology of this word is disputed; OED s.v. wile regards it as a reduced form of OE wilge 'a willy, an osier basket' while A. H. Smith explained it as a concrete use of OE wil 'a wile, a trick' for some kind of contrivance or trap and referred to the cognate ON vil (from *völ), also used to mean 'a device for catching fish.' 25 An 18th-century account (Bradley's Family Dictionary, quoted in OED) describes a wile as 'made of osier twigs... supported by arches or hoops that go round and are ever diminishing. Its mouth is somewhat broad but the other end terminates in a point. It's so contrived that when the fish are got in they cannot get out of it again because of the osier twigs which are advanced on the inside to the place where the hoops are and which stop the passage, leaving but a small opening there.' This is almost a perfect description of the eel-traps illustrated in the Luttrell Psalter, 27 and of the narrow separable funnel which terminates the broad open end or kipe of the modern punts or potters used in Severn fisheries to this day. The weels were either secured to the bottom of the stream or mill-race, as in the Luttrell Psalter where no weir is shown, or fastened in the rowomes or spaces of the sluices of the weir itself.26

There is one compound in gear with a technical meaning:

OE obba-gear, of which there are four examples; Heberetae 12th c., Le Ebbye 1370; Ebyare 1382; Hebyare 1128 (14th c.). These examples antedate by 300 years the OE compound ebbing-weg 'a weir for trapping fish at ebb tide.' According to A. E. J. Watt the normal kind of ebb-marine weir in Ireland is precisely of this kind, viz. a V-shaped weir with a gap at the point where salmon may be caught in nets when they move downstream in the ebb tide. The fact that four yairs on the Wear and Tyne are specifically marked out by their nomenclature as of this type suggests that they were exceptional in these rivers and that weirs were normally constructed sodat fishing could take place during the flood.29

3. The first element refers to tenure

What is remarkable in those cases where the first element is a personal name is the overwhelmingly Anglo-Saxon character of the names; AETha or AEThhe Abstelle 12th c.; AEWulf, Esselevar yer 1128 (14th c.); Eorda, Berde yer 1128 (14th c.); Ealdcoer, Alcherles yer 1128 (14th c.); Ell, Elistell 17th c.; Eofein, Runneles 1195; Oun, Ommesse 1382; Padda (Pedwell); Ethred, Hutteredes yer 1128 (14th c.). The other two instances are either ON (if Hemminges yer does not contain OE hemming) or OE Mehtild, Meid yer 1128 (14th c.). The following surnames or occupational names occur: Hokman 'one who dwells in a bend or hook of a river', Hokmanpol 1312; Holman 'one who dwells in a hollow or near the deep place in a stream', Holmanes 1327 x 1377; Hunne, Humwater 1327 x 1377; Potter, Pottershebheres c. 1160; Smith, Smipes yer 1128 (14th c.).

Other elements alluding to tenure are:

OE bonds, g.pl. bondaes; three instances, Bondenelare 1195 (Felling); Bonda yer

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Conclusion

The main impression one derives is that many of these names are of great antiquity. There is a high proportion of hypothetical or unexplained elements in the material, much of which was clearly obscure already to the medieval scribes who copied it. Where personal names occur they are overwhelmingly Anglo-Saxon in character. There is further some hint of early territorial organizational units which may anadate the Anglo-Saxon period. All this points to a very early exploitation of the fishing resources of these three northern rivers which should hardly occasion surprise when we reflect on the importance of fish as an item of the medieval diet, especially in the monastic communities which dominated so much of Northumbria.

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NOTES

1. 'Irish fishing weirs' I. Jnl. of the Royal Soc. of Antiquaries of Ireland 76 (1946), 176-194; 'Irish fishing weirs II' ibid. 88 (1948), 1-4; 'Irish Monastic fisheries' Cork Hist. & Arch. Jnl. 9, 47-56; 'Some Ancient Irish Salmon Fishing Weirs' Industrial Archaeology 3 (1946), 153-60; 'The Ancient Sprat Fishing Weirs in the South of Ireland' ibid. 6 (1969), 254-60, and numerous other papers.


4. Ekwall, ERN 158-9 s.v. 'flot': he cites from Blakeney in NF a fishery called Bradefelt 1284 under the sense 'an arm of the sea, a creek.'

5. PNC II. 138.


8. F. Holthausen, Aktenländes etymolog. Wörterbuch (Heidelberg 1934) s.v. suggests that it is a loan from W germ. 'harder, enclosure.'

9. OED stem sb. 3, cites quotations of 1701 'the Stem or Stones laid together in the form of a Wall' in a river in Orkney, and 1766 Act. 16. Geo. III c. 36 § 1 'The six several Stems or Stations for taking Fish within the said Bay of Saint Ives.'

10. Three Early Assize Rolls for the County of Northumberland, Surtees Society 88 (1890), 355.

The tenth-century fish weir at Colwick Hall N. was of similar construction. It consisted of two rows of oak posts set 60–70 cm apart in a truncated V pointing downstream with a long and short arm joined by a centre-piece 8 m long. The posts were interlaced with wattle and brushwood of beech, hawthorn and alder, the brushwood in bundles bound round with knotted wattles'. Della Hooke, AS Landscapes, 271 referring to P. M. Losco-Bradley and C. R. Salisbury, 'A Medieval Fish Weir at Colwick, Nottinghamshire', Trans. Thornton Soc., 83 (1979), 15–22.

30. This form illustrates the difficulty some scribes had with the spelling of the element *pear*; for a parallel instance see OED s.v. *pair*, first quotation.


32. History of Northumberland VIII. 207ff; Jolliffe loc. cit. 24; Bede, HE IV. 18, HA VII.

33. Cf. the ancient name of the inhabitants of the patrimony of St. Cuthbert, later Co. Durham. Halliwere[s]folc 12th c., 'the saints' people', or more probably, 'the saint's, St. Cuthbert's people', be saint people or Cuthbert folk as the 15th c. Life of St. Cuthbert puts it.

34. Beiträge zur Namenforschung, n.f. 2 (1967), 348.


36. It is tempting to see a trace in this name of W. gorad 'a weir' but in view of the overwhelmingly English character of these fishery names this is probably wrong.