SCANDINAVIAN SETTLEMENT-NAMES IN COUNTY DURHAM

Victor Watts

I. INTRODUCTION

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

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

The Laud Chronicle records that Jarrow (Donemath) was looted the following year, though not without severe loss to the attackers. Excavation has revealed that both Jarrow and Monkwearmouth were destroyed by fire and it is hard not to associate this discovery with the events of 794. Roger of Wendover records further attacks on Tynemouth and Hartness in 800.

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

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

Scholarly opinion has generally placed the southern boundary of what remained as English Northumbria – the ancient Bernicia ruled by ealdormen in Bamburgh – on the river Tees: the region in which he planted his men corresponded generally with the modern county of York. It was not until the
Oppressed the country-folk with sore and intolerable tribute ... Önlaðpal, who, however detestable Scula's conduct might be, possessed a different tract (viz. from Eden to the river Wear) and at last, going on from less to more, proceeded to such a height of insolence as to seize on the very glebe land of the Bishopric ... He treated the Bishop, who wished to save a sinner more than to recover his possession, with the utmost contempt, and uttered the most profane blasphemies against St Cuthbert. "Why do you threaten me," he said, "with your dead man? I swear by the power of my Gods I will be a fearful enemy, both to this dead man and to all of you." The sigusi vinctus nodus had now arrived: St Cuthbert thus braved and threatened, exerted his miraculous powers and just as the caiff was entering the church to pillage the holy shrines, nailed him by both feet to the threshold. After suffering extreme torture, he confessed the power and sanctity of St Cuthbert, and expired. The rest of the Pagans, and Scula amongst them, terrified with so notable an example, fled to their ships, and left the possessions of the Church free for evermore.\[18\]

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

II. NAME-TYPES AND FORMS

A. Grimston-hybrid names (see Map I)

This type of name, in which a Scandinavian personal name is compounded with OE tīn 'an enclosure, a farmstead, a village', has traditionally been interpreted as marking a pre-existing English village 'acquired by a Danish owner at the time when the Great Army of the Danes divided out the land which it had chosen for settlement'.\[20\] In the Midlands such names are characteristically situated on excellent land in areas where by names are absent. In Durham there are ten possible recorded Grimston hybrids. Nafferton, which might contain the ON pers.n. Náttjari, has no early forms and must be discarded, as must Nelson 'Niel's tīn' (ON pers.n. Niðli), which takes its name from a known owner, Nigelius, steward to Robert Bras II c.1194. Claxton may be purely English. Assuming that Swainston is a genuine hybrid and not compounded with OE Þwæn (with
later ME spelling of ai for a, this leaves seven instances, Amerston, Blakeston, Ingleton, Sheraton, Swainston, Thrislington and Throston. Three contain compound personal names (*Eymundr, Ingeld, Thurstane*), one an uncompound name (*Svein*), two bynames (*Bleikr, and the very rare Skarfja*), and one a secondary formation (*Thor* or *Thorir*). Most of these personal names are recorded independently in both West and East Scandinavian sources, but *Eymundr* and *Bleikr* seem to be more frequent in West Scandinavia. The phonology of *Thurstane* with -ur- for -or- may indicate ODan origin, but this criterion is no longer regarded as a reliable test of linguistic origin. *Svein* was still in common use in the post-Conquest period and *Thurstane* was the commonest pers.n. of Scandinavian origin in Normandy.

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BLAKESTON HALL (NZ 4123), *Blaikes-, Bleccestona* 1127 DEC. ON pers.n. *Bleikr* (SPN 57).
CLAXTON (NZ 4728), *Clachestona* 1091x1092 FPD. OE pers.n. *Clacc* or ON pers.n. *Clakr* (SPN 172-3, PNDB 305).
INGLETON (NZ 1720), *Ingelun* (c.1040) 12th c. HSC. ODan pers.n. *Ingeld*, ON Ingialdr (SPN 151, PNDB 297).
NAFFERTON (NZ 2438). No early forms. Cf. Nafferton Nb (NZ 0565), Nafferton 1182 Pipe, Nafferton 1236 BF; and Nafferton YE (TA 0359), Nafferton 1086 GB, Nafferton 1180x1190 YCh. ON pers.n. *Nautari* (SPN 201) or p.n. OE *Næt-ford* 'ford for cattle'.
NELSON (NZ 4735), *Nelesunde* c.1196 Finc. ON pers.n. *Njåll*. The reference is to Nigellus, steward of Robert Brus II, to whom the estate was granted some time before 1194. The estate was subsequently donated to Finchale Abbey and thereafter bore the name of its last secular holder.
SWAINSTON (NZ 4028-4129), *Swynestona* 1351 BM. ON pers.n. *Sveinr*. ME spellings of ai for a occur from the second half of the 14th cent.: OE pers.n. *Swin* is, therefore, an alternative possibility. 26
THROSTON (NZ 4933), *Throstun* c.1300 Hatf. ON pers.n. *Thorir* or *Thorir* or (more likely) Anglo-Scand *Thor*, an extremely popular shortened form for compound names in Thor- (SPN 295, 307; PNDB 390; SNNY 241-2 and n.51).

B. Carlton-type hybrid names (see Map 1)
There is only one occurrence of this type in Durham, Carlton (NZ 3921). However, the earliest recorded spelling, *Carlestone* 1109, seems to point to an OE
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gen. pl. ceorlana rather than ON karla.

The Name

Carlton (NZ 3921), Carletune 1109 R.R.A.N. OE ceorl, g.pl. *ceorlana, dat. *ceorlana, ‘the peasants’ village’. OE ceorl was subsequently replaced with ON karl.

C. Place-names in by (see Map II)

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

There is only one by with an appellative as its specific, Raby, which may contain the animal name ræ ‘a roe-deer’ with the significance ‘deer-park’ as has been proposed for West Derby La.

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

The Names

Aislaby (NZ 4012), Aslakeby 12th c. Finc (p). ON pers.n. Aslákr (SPN 33).

Follingsby (NZ 3160), Foleteby (1144x1152), Foleteby (1144x1152) c. 1225 Dec, Folletteby, by 1154x1166 FP to 1203 Reg, Foleteby c.1260 Spec (p), Folete, Folocrby 1339 IPM to 1368 Halm (p), Foleteby 1400 IPM, 1418 Lang, 1471 IPM, Foloce, Follonsby 15th c. Lang, 1649 PS, 1750 Svaby, Falingesby 1595 Cr. A difficult name which may be compared with Fulleby Li (TF 2973), Fulkby 1086 GDB (once corrected from Fulledebi), Fulletheby, by 1153x1162 1490, 1175x1181, Folkeby (e.H2) 13th c., for both of which, together with Fonaby Li (TA 1003) and Fulleby Li (TF 0979) Ekwall (DEPN 183) suggested that the first element was a Scand. appellative *full-nautar ‘one who has a full share’. The forms for both Follingby and Fulleby, however, do not support this explanation. For the latter, Gillian Fellows-Jensen tentatively proposes that the first el. is an older English p.n. whose first el. is full ‘full, dirty’ or full ‘full’ and the second OE (gellet(e) ‘conduit for water, stream’. For the Durham name I suggest that...
the first el. is the OE fr. byn. Folet, a diminutive of OE fol 'foolish' which may occur in the 1339 form. The later nasalized form may be due to the influence of the alternative diminutive forms folian, folian. The Folet family held land in Kent in the medieval period but the name has not been otherwise traced in Durham.

KILLERBY (NZ 1919), Culaerby (1091x1092) 12th c. FPD. Kywerby (1183) 14th c. BB. ON pers.n. Kylver < *Kylfrith. ODan *Kylfrith, apparently influenced by OE culvert 'a freedman'. Possibly an Anglo-Scand formation.

SPN 171, PND 215.

ORNSEY HILL (NZ 1648), Ormsby 1408 NBDu. Ornesby 1675 GD. ON pers.n. Orme, a common name in both Norway and Denmark and in DB. If this place is named after theOrm recorded as the tenant of 8% acres in an assart in BB then this is a 12th cent. formation. SPN 204, PND 357.

RAFY (NZ 1221), Rafy (c.1040) 11th c. HSC. Possibly ON rd2 'a roe-deer', or ON rd2 'a boundary'. The origin of Rafy may have been as a hunting lodge for the shire of Stanmore. Alternatively it may have lain on an earlier lost boundary between the estate of Gainsborough and the shire of Auckland.

RAysi (NZ 3435), Racebi 1183 GD. From the 12th cent. donor, Race Engaine, of a carucate of land here to Sherburn Hospital.

RUMBY HILL (NZ 1734), 1647 PS, probably the same as Raceby (1382 HSC). On pers.n. Röthmünder (SPN 221).

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

SELACY HALL (NZ 1518), Selaby 1317 Cl. Selaby (1183) 14th c. BB. On pers.n. *Sælbi, or OE *sælea 'a willow copse'. The pers.n. occurs as Salis 12th c. (LVD, PND 353). Although not recorded in ON it would be a parallel formation to ON Sæfari (SPN 284). However, it might be of English origin, from OE sälla 'a seafarer, sailor, pirate'. All the examples of this name, except GDB Salute (Hants NF 3, 5), which is clearly English and Sæle, Sædle, Sælde 1087x1098, Bury St Edmunds, are 12th cent. This is probably, therefore, a late formed p.n.

TANTORIE (NZ 1758), no early forms.

ULNAH (NZ 2217), Vuueni c.1115 Newm. On pers.n. Ulfin < Ulfluthinn (NP 168), not recorded in SPN or PND. Alternatively the pers.n. might go back to OE Wifflæginn which occurs once in GDB in Sussex in the form Wifon (PND 421).

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Names

(i) thorpe
FULTHORPE (NZ 4042), Fulthrop 12th c. Finc (p). OE fel (or ON ful), 'dirty thorpe'.

LITTLE THORPE (NZ 4242), Thorpe c.1040) 11th c. HSC, Thorp (1183) 14th c. BB. 'Outlying farm (of Eastington').

THORPE BULMER (NZ 4535), Thorpe, Nesethib Thorp 1243 Ass, Thorpebulmer 1312 RPd. 'Outlying farm of Nesbitth once held by de Bulmer family'.

THORPE THEWLES (NZ 3929), Thorpy c.1170 RD, Thorpy Thewles 1265 Finc. 'Outlying farm of (of Grindon). Thewles is probably a manorial addition, cf. the surname Thewless (Reaney, Origin 258).

THRELTHORP, inst in Castle Eden (NZ 4237), Threlthorp c.1170 FPD. Serf's farm. ON thrill.

(ii) toft
BURN TOFT (NZ 4328), Browntoft (1183) 14th c. (p). 'Building plot, or homestead, on the brow of a hill'. ON brum. For this explanation, rather than OE brum 'brown', ON brumni placed by burning' or ON brunni 'a stream', see JEPNS XIV, 32-6.

TOFT HILL (NZ 1528), Les tofes de baronia 1382 Haf. 'House-sites of the barony of Evenwood'. A diagnostic for a lost village site.

TOFTS FARM (NZ 4427), Tofts 1728 Huld.

(iii) salterg
CATTERICK MOSS (NY 9936), Katericksaltere 1311 FPD, Caryk 1382 Haf, 'Salterg at Catterick'. Catterick is probably a compound of OE caet 'a wild cat' and *ric 'a narrow strip of land, a narrow road'; 'narrow road frequented by wildcats'. The reference is to a salt-hole in marshy land.

CROOK'S ALTAR (NY 9140), no early forms but probably for Crook Salter, 'salt-shieling at a bend or nook in the hill, OE cróc, salt-erg.

(iv) sætr
CAUSEWAY SIKE (NY 9029), Kaueseate c.1160x1183 Riev. 'Càfa's fold or farm'. OE pers.n. Cafa (Redin 88), set or ON sætr; later interpreted as from OFr caucie 'a causeway'.

CAUSEY (NZ 2055), Caldesete 13th c. Spec. 'Cold fold or farm'. OE cæl, set, or ON sætr; later remodelled as preceding name.

GIBSIDE (NZ 1758), Gypsethe c.1269 Rav (p). Probably 'Gypsi's fold or farm', OE pers.n. *Gypsi, set or ON sætr. On topographical grounds the first element might, however, be the rare OE *gipis 'a gap', referring to one of the dunes that run down to the r. Derwent at this point, or even to the sudden widening of the Derwent valley itself.

HOLMSTONE HALL. (NZ 2049), Holnesset (1183) 14th c. BB. 'Holy fold'. OE hollegn, set or ON sætr.

SIMONSEIDE (NZ 3463), Simondesete (1189x1199) 14th c. Reg. 'Simon's fold or farm'. OFr pers.n. Simund, OE set or ON sætr.

E. Scandinavian topographical habitative names (see Map IV)

Very few purely Scandinavian topographical habituation names occur in Durham.

(i) Generics connected with water

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

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

carr 'brushwood', fen, marsh' and mire 'bog, swamp, marsh' occur frequently, but again all the early recorded instances bar one are hybrid compounds no doubt dating from the ME period when ON kjarr and myrr had been adopted as loans.

The one exception is apparently Waskerley where kjarr is compounded with ODan wæl 'bundle of brushwood, brushwood path over marshy ground'.

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

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

(ii) Generics denoting hills, valleys, etc.

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

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

ODan klint 'a rocky cliff' occurs once as a simplex in an early form, but this
word became dialect clint 'a hard rock projecting on the side of a hill or river bank' and can be cited only in the most general sense as a Scand diagnostic.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ON hegnning 'enclosed land' occurs once, in Haining.

(iv) Generics denoting miscellaneous features

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

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

The Names

CLINTS WOOD (NZ 0038), Les Clynes 1382 Haf. ODan klint 'a rocky cliff'; COPELAND HOUSE (NZ 1626), Copeland (c.1040) 11th c. HSC. ON kaupa-land 'purchased land'; CRINGLE DIKES (NZ 1833), Cryngeldyke 1382 Haf. 'Circular ditch', ON
kringle, ðíki.
CROOK (NZ 1635), le Croke iuxta Braundance 1378 IPM. "Secluded corner of land (of the parish of Brancepeth)." OE *croc or ON krókr.
CROOKBANK (NZ 1856), Crook (1286) 14th c. Bek, Crookbank 1628 IPM. OE *croc or ON krókr, ME banke 'a hill'.
CROOK HALL (NZ 1250), Croc 1153x1195 Rav, Crokhowth 1382 Hatf. 'Hill-spur by the secluded nook of land'. OE *croc or ON krókr, OE bôth.
CROOK HALL (NZ 2743), le Croke iuxta Danelm 1346 Finc. Crockhall' 1463 Spec. 'Hill by the bend (in the r. Wear)'. OE *croc or ON krókr.
CROOKTON (lost NZ 2344), Crukton' (1183) 14th c. BB. 'Farm, enclosure in a bend (of the r. Browney).' OE *croc or ON krókr, tūn.
DYANCE (NZ 1917), Diances 1207 FPD. 'Marshes'. Old Dan dyandi 'a marsh'.
ETTERS GILL (NY 8830-8928), Etheridgec e c.1175 Rev. 'Ether's ravine'. On pers.n. Ettri (SPN 76), gill, bekker. This pers.n. also occurs in Ethershorpe YN 104, Esterhosp 1086 GBD. Alternatively the pers.n. might be Edred from OE Eadhrif (PND 233), or Æthelhifr (ib. 186).
FLASS HALL (NZ 2042), Flasket (1291) 14th c. Bek. 'Swamp'. Old Dan flask.
GAUNLESS RIVER (NZ 0224-2130), Gaunelgæs c.1185 Scm1. 'Profitless one'.
On gagnlaus 'gainless'. Not strictly a habitat name, but implies interest in the exploitation of the river.
HAINING (NZ 3551), Le Hayminge 1309 Halm. On beginn 'enclosed land'.
HARGILL (NZ 1532), Hargill 1647 PS. ON gil 'a ravine'. First el. uncertain.
HARMIKE (NZ 0517), Hermyre 1310 Surtees. ON myrr 'a bog'. First el. uncertain.
HURBUCK (NZ 1348), Hurstbuk 1284 Bek, Hurtebuck 1303 RPD. Uncertain. Mawer suggested ON hurtharbak 'space behind the door' and compared the Norwegian p.n. Hurlubakk and Hurubakk.
SADBERGE (NZ 3416), Satberga c.1150 Finc, Sedberige c.1170 RD. ON set-berg 'a flat-topped hill'. Sadberge was the centre of the only Durham wapentake purchased from the Crown in 1189.
SNAIGILL (NY 9526), Snailegæs c.1180 Rev. On pers.n. Snel, Snjalir (SPN 287), gil. There are a few instances of this as a WScand by.n., but there was also a native English pers.n. Snel (Redin 25). In either case the name is derived from an adjective meaning 'quick, active, prompt'.
STIRWITCH (lost NY 9827), Stirworth 1576 Saxton, Stastrick Kitchin 17th c. First element unexplained, second element ON wîthr 'a wood'. The evidence, however, is late and unreliable and it is just possible that there is confusion with the name Stirtoft YN.
STOOPERDALE (NZ 2716), Stooopersdale 1745 Had. Possibly ON stölpì pillar, a post, or stölpar. The evidence, however, is extremely late.
WASKERLEY (NZ 0545), Wascurrpe c.1280 FPD. This has been explained as a compound of ON vaskjarr 'wet marsh' and OE hop 'valley'.
Gillian Fellows-Jensen, however, suggests Old Dan want 'bundle of brushwood, path over a marshy area made by laying such bundles' and compares Vadskergård in Jutland, Vasekar (1385x1411) 1450 DS 17.40.
WESTHOLME HALL (NZ 1317), Westholme 1563 Wills. ON holmr. The first element could be English or Scand.

F. Scandinavianized and hybrid names (see Map V)

54 names are grouped here as examples of names which betray partial Scand influence. The majority are names which originally denoted topographical features and only ten are originally habitative names. They include both names which in their earliest recorded forms are either hybrid compounds of an English element with a Scand element or vice versa, and English names whose phonology
has been modified according to the phonological patterns characteristic of the Scand languages. Some of the latter category are recorded in the first instance in an English form and only their later spellings illustrate the process of Scand sound substitution.

(i) Replacement of an OE word or sound by a related Scand one
We have instances of OE eorl replaced by ON karl (Carlton, Carlbury), stān by steinn (Staindrop, three examples of Stanton), hwammen by holmr (Broomy Holm), cyning by ODæn kunung (Coniscliff), scir by skîr (Skerningham), thâc by thak (Thackymers), wulf by ylfr (Ushaw, Wolviston), brycg by brygger (Aldin Grange, Waldridge and minor names), and brycg by bryggia (Foulbring). In street names there are numerous instances of ON gata, some of which are cases of substitution for OE geat, although again gata was a widely accepted early loan into ME.


(ii) Replacement of an OE element by a Scand word with the same or similar meaning
I have noticed only one instance of this phenomenon where OE denu ‘valley’ has been replaced by Scand dal (Tursdale). Spellings of the name Hartlepool show a significant reformation which seems to have been influenced by the ON genitive singular inflexional ending -ar.

(iii) Replacement of a British word by an unrelated one of similar sound
This occurs in the name Auckland where the PrW compound name *Alĭ-clîf ‘cliff on the r. Clyde’ was remodelled successively as if a name in ODæn klînt ‘cliff’ and then as if ON auka-land ‘additional land’.

(iv) Hybrid names whose generic is Scandinavian
The twenty names in this category are with one exception (garth) exclusively topographical, and include banke (1), bekkır (1), bryggia (1), gill (2), bogg (1), holmr (3), kjarr (1), krâk (3), and myfr (6). All of these elements became naturalized loans into ME and many of these names must be regarded as late coinages.

(v) Hybrid names whose generic is English
There are nine hybrid names whose generic is English. The Scandinavian specifics are bifaɪr (1), dreng (1), hæstr (1), bogg (2), holmr (1), fri (1), kjarr (1), and rabb (1). There are, in addition, eight, possibly nine, hybrid names with pers.n. of Scand origin as the first element, viz. Brandr (Branchepeth), Brîðr (Brotherlee), Garpr (Carp Shield), Krôk (Croxdale), Gellir (Gelfield), Ulkîl (North Biddick, Ouston), Skîlî (School Aycliffe), and Tûrly (Tursdale).

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

(vi) An originally Scand p.n. is partially anglicised
There is only one instance in Durham, in which [sk] is replaced by [f] (Sheraton).

(vii) Place-names containing bigging
There are five examples of this ME formation from the Scand loan-word byggia ‘to build’. It is found once as a simplex and four times compounded with ME newe ‘new’.

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

The Names

ALDIN GRANGE (NZ 2442), Aldingrig 1170 Finc, Aldingrange 1580 Survey. ‘Ridge called or at *Alding, the place associated with Alda’. OE pers.n. Alda (Redin 48). -Ing. brycg partly replaced by ON bygger.

BISHOP, ST HELEN’S, WEST) AUCKLAND (NZ 2130), Alcit (c.1040) 11th c. HSC, alktin c.1190 FPD, Auckland 1259 Wills. PrW *alt-clîf ‘hill overlooking the r. *Clyde’ subsequently reformed under the influence of ODæn klînt ‘cliff’ and again ON auka-land ‘additional land’.

BIGGIN (NZ 1845), Biggengy 1418 Lang. ME bigging ‘a building’ from ON byggia ‘to build’.

BLAYDON (NZ 1863), Bladon 1340 RPD. ‘Cheerless hill’. ON blâfr ‘blue, livid, cheerless, cold’. OE dûn ‘a hill’.


BROOMY HOLM (NZ 2350), Bromymhôle 1326 IPM, Bromenymholme 1382 Hauf. OE brômig, *brôming ‘a place where broum grows’, hwammen ‘a book, a small valley’ remodelled under the influence of ON bolmir even though this element is impossible in the topography of the place.

BROTHELREE (NY 9237), Brothelreshale 1457 NBD. Either ‘shieling at or called Brother’s clearing’, ON pers.n. Brîðr (SPN 63), OE leah, ME schele ‘a hut, a shieling’ or ‘shieling at the clearing held by or of a brother’, OE
by ON steinn. Here, again, it has been suggested that stein might be a direct development of OE *stāning independent of ON steinn. 39

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

THACKMÝERS (NZ 4137), Thacmere c.1175 FPD. 'Pool where reeds for thatching are cut'. OE thēc, mere substituted by ON thak, myrr.

TURSDALE (NZ 2937), Trilles-, Trillesdene c.1165 FPD. 'Thrylli's' or 'thrall's valley'. ON pers.n. *Thrylli, or þræll, OE denu later replaced by dalr. For the rare pers.n., cf. SPN 318 and Thirby YN, Trillesbia 1187 DEPN. Stenton 41 included it in his list of pers.nn. not otherwise found in England indicating the intensity of the Danish settlement of 876.

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

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

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

III. THE DISTRIBUTION OF SETTLEMENTS WITH SCANDINAVIAN OR SCANDINAVIANIZED NAMES

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

It is clear from this document that by the middle of the ninth century well established multiple estate structures existed west of Dere Street, the N.-S. Roman road (Margary no. 8c,d) that bisects the county and very roughly marks the boundary between upland and lowland Durham, centred on Chester-le-Street, Auckland and Gainford. From these cores, exploitation of the natural resources of the upland landscape during the pre- and post-Viking period and on into the twelfth century is illustrated by the proliferation of lēah and other woodland terms in the west half of the county. 43 The pressures upon upland Durham can only mean that the 'fat lands' of the Wear and Tees basins were already well exploited at this time. We know all too little about possible shire structures in these eastern portions of the county, although multiple estates certainly existed there, e.g. the royal one centred on South Wearmouth. It may be presumed that the processes of estate fissure began much earlier in the east and have done much to obscure more archaic arrangements. What may also be reasonably assumed is that at the time of the Viking arrival all the available land resources of eastern Durham were already exhaustively exploited, and that the map of English habitation names in Durham – the names in hām, worth, wic, burh, and above all in tūn – accurately reflects this situation. 44 The evidence of place-names is reinforced by the presence of pre-Viking architecture or sculpture at up to a dozen places to the east of Dere Street. 45

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

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

Other hybrid names and Scandinavianized names

Hybrid names and Scandinavianized names of types (ii) – (iii) are distributed in two main areas. One group stretches in an arc from Gate Castles near Egglestone in the Upper Tides Valley along a narrow band of land never more than three miles north of the river as far as Carlsby, and thence north-east to the line of Grimston-hybrids from Redmarshall to the coast. The other group lies to the north-west of Chester-le-Street from Ouston in the north to Waldrigde in the south.

The names in by

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

Scandinavian habitative names other than those in by

The five thorp names relate nicely to the coastal group, Fulfthorp and Thorne Thewlyes lying between Blakeston and Scalby. Thorp Bulmer near Sheraton, with two examples reaching north towards Easington at Thruthorp and Little Thorp. The only other early habitative name, Burn Toft, lying close to Swainton and Amersham, also fits this pattern. No other certain examples in this category have turned up in the Middle Tides group or elsewhere in the county.

Sheeting names

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

Five names with ME spellings in -set(e) are best regarded as OE or ME compositions with OE (ge)set.46 Causeway Sike NY 9029, Kau sete c.1180 'Caf's fold'; Causey NZ 2055, Caldesete 13th c. 'cold fold'; Gibside NZ 1758, Gypeseth c.1269 'Gyp's fold'; Holmside Hall NZ 2049, Holnesset (1183) 14th
In the absence of direct evidence of this kind for national origins scholars have turned to various kinds of linguistic test, lexical and phonological. However, many of the lexical or phonological criteria formerly held to be significant have been called into question. Thorp 'dependent secondary settlement', for instance, is no longer admitted as a Danish test word, although it still holds its place as the characteristically Danish habitative generic. Dyance in the Middle Tees Valley contains Old Dan *dyandi* 'a swamp, a marsh'; ModDan *dyndi*; and Old Dan *flaske*, or ME *flaske* derived from it, occurs in the name Flaske. On the other hand the parables to *hurtharbak*, if this is the correct explanation of Burbuck, are all in Norway or Iceland, as are those for the p.n. type *setberg* seen in Sadbberge. The absence of this p.n. type from Denmark, however, may, as Gillian Fellows-Jensen points out, simply reflect the fact that the Danish landscape is not particularly hilly. There is certainly no linguistic objection to the appearance of this formation in an area of Danish settlement.

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

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

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

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

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

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

V. DATING THE NAMES OF THE SETTLEMENT

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

A. Linguistic Dating

(i) Phonological Evidence

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

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

Nasal assimilation took place in OWSand c.850,54 but was not generally carried through in ODan. Such forms as do occur in Durham with assimilation are found in minor names not treated here and are poorly documented. There is some incidence of them in Upper Teesdale.

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

(ii) Morphological Evidence

Genitive forms of the pers.n. show no trace of ON -ar. The -er- and -re-spellings of Hartlepool are interesting (*Hertepol, *re- c.1170-1521, Hertpelo c.1200 etc.) in the light of the form of the p.n. in Morkinskina, Hiartarr poll 'pool of the stag'. At first sight they appear to preserve ON gen.sin. -ar. In Behd, Hartlepool is called *Hersteu 'stag island' - *Insula Cervi as he glosses it himself – with an unusual ONb reinflected form of OE ðg 'an island'. The
addition of pol to this name might be expected to have produced ME *Heretpol, a spelling which does indeed occur in the thirteenth century. But it is extremely difficult to believe that this could have been reformed with the ON gen.sg. inflexional ending -ar in the absence of a Norse speaking population and of this there is no other evidence. Indeed, the publication of the minor names of Stockton Ward in the first volume of the Place-Names of Durham will demonstrate their overwhelmingly English character. Ekwall explains the -el-re- spellings as analogical formations on the model of the district name Hartness, Heorternesse (c.1040) 11th c., from OE *Heorte-hernes 'the district subject to the jurisdiction of Hart'.

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

(iii) Lexical Evidence

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

Firstly, nine out of the ten names have pers.n. specifics and, of these nine, seven are Scand. On the other hand, the literature on the seven Scand pers.n. does suggest that two of them may well be Anglo-Scandinavian and therefore late coinages (Kilvert, *Sélithi) and another two, one compounded with the name of a twelfth century benefactor of Sherburn Hospital, and the other with an OFr by.n. (Raisby, Follingsby), clearly post-date the Norman Conquest. The rarity of appellative specifics reflects the same circumstances posited for the Yorkshire by names, but the dating evidence clearly points to a continuation of such activities into the post-Viking period.

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

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

B. Non-linguistic Dating

(i) Documentary Evidence

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

There is, however, one pre-Conquest record of invaluable worth, the eleventh-century compilation known as the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto which lists the landholdings of, and donations to and grants by, the Community of St Cuthbert from its beginning to c.1040. Raby and Ingleton are mentioned in this document in a grant of 1031. Sheraton is included in the grant to Ragnar's followers and Little Thorpe also appears. Coniscliffe is mentioned in a grant of
1003x1016, but still in its un-Scandinavianized form Cingescliffe, and so too Stainton and Staindrop still appear with Stan-, not Stein-, spellings. The earliest Stein-, Stein-, Stain- spellings recorded for Staindrop are 1129, for Stainton 1243, and for Stainton-le-Street 1200. Thereafter the earliest documented names are Claxton, which may not be Scand at all, and Killerby, both of which occur in a twelfth-century copy of a charter of William I dated 1091x1092.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Well drained lowland soils</th>
<th>Land with some limitations</th>
<th>Upland grazing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English habitative names</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grimston-hybrids</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thorpe</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scandinavianized names</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Scand names</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Scand names</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In percentage terms this is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>English habitative names</th>
<th>All Scandinavian names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In percentage terms this is:</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In other words, although there is some difference in the proportion of settlement names on the best soils, it is by no means startling. And when you look at the map it is not easy to make clear distinctions, at this scale, between the sites of...
the Scandinavian names and those of the English ones. It is perhaps significant that not a single Grimston-hybrid occupies a site on the best soil. It is also clear that there were large tracts of land, e.g. in Harness and around Darlington, which were simply not available for Scandinavian settlement.

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

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

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

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

(v) Fiscal Evidence

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

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

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

(v) Administrative Evidence

(a) Wards, wapentakes and other large administrative areas

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

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

(b) Parishes and townships

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

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

1. Name-types of medieval parishes in Durham

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PrW</th>
<th>hám</th>
<th>-ingtun</th>
<th>tun</th>
<th>ceaster</th>
<th>worth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

2. Name-types of townships and other rural clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Township</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>OE topographical</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PrW</td>
<td>hám</td>
<td>6 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ingtun</td>
<td>5 3</td>
<td>wudu 3 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tun</td>
<td>53 14</td>
<td>other wood names 2 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceaster</td>
<td>2 2</td>
<td>Grimston-hybrid 5 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>worth</td>
<td>9 9</td>
<td>karl-tun 1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burh</td>
<td>2 1</td>
<td>byg 3 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ntw tun</td>
<td>4 4</td>
<td>thorp 2 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mortun</td>
<td>4 2</td>
<td>other Scand 1 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other OE</td>
<td>21 9</td>
<td>hybrids 3 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bigging 4 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

3. Distribution of generics as between parishes and chapellries based on the data in Hadcock’s map of medieval Durham

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parishes</th>
<th>Chapels</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PrW</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceaster</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hām</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūn</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>worth</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wic</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burh</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hās</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cot</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cet</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other OE</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE topographical</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lēnah</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wado</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grimston-hybrid</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>byy</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scand</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hybrid</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biging</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Lost vills
The theory that lost vills – unsuccessful settlements, deserted medieval villages – were secondary settlements, established late in poor and unsuccessful sites has been regarded as established fact. But, of course, the factors governing desertion must have been manifold – enclosure, plague, devastation during the harrying of the North in 1070 by William the Conqueror, climatic change rendering settlements on heavy clay land unsuitable etc. Dr Roberts’s Checklist provides three categories of unsuccessful settlement: shrunken, deserted, and possibly deserted (S, D, 7D). The name-types for these settlements in County Durham are tabulated in the following table.

Once again there is a clear distinction between the incidence of desertion or shrinkage between English-named and Scand-named settlements. 14% of all English-named settlements are deserted settlements (16% of habitable names, 13% of topographical names) compared with 31% of all Scand-named settlements. In particular, of OE tūn names twelve (or 18%) are deserted settlements and seven (10%) are shrunken (together 28%). Of the Grimston-hybrids five (or 55%) are deserted settlements and one shrunken (together 67%). The high failure rate among the Grimston-hybrids sets them apart from the English tūn names and...
strengthens further the view that they are late secondary settlements in poor situations, rather than ancient English vills taken over.

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

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

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

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

The problem is parallel to that of Scand p.n. elements. Just as the latter were frequently borrowed into native English dialects and cannot be used uncritically as diagnostics for the presence of Scand settlers, only for the general linguistic impact of Scand settlement, so too features of Scand artistic taste are likely to have become fashionable among patrons wealthy enough to be able to commission sculpture, whatever their racial origins or affinities.

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>British names</th>
<th>Auckland, Egglescliffe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tun</td>
<td>Seham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other OE names</td>
<td>Escombe, Hart, Hartlepoo, Hurworth, Jarrow, Monkwearmouth, Staindrop</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of these names are of sites where, on either historical or onomastic grounds, it is held that Anglian settlements were early established. At four of them, Egglescliffe, Hart, Jarrow and Monkwearmouth, sculptural activity continued into the Viking period.
2. Sites where only Viking-period (i.e. after 900) sculpture has been found

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ceaster</th>
<th>Chester-le-Street</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ham</td>
<td>Billingham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tun</td>
<td>Darlington, Great Stainton, Haughton-le-Skerne, Norton, Winston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other OE names</td>
<td>Aycliffe, Coniscliffe, Dinsdale, Gainford, Hart, Stockburn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hybrid names</td>
<td>Durham</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

### Scandinavian Settlement-names

**VI. CONCLUSION**

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

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

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

Elsewhere in the county, to the west of Chester-le-Street, which has instances of Anglo-Scand sculpture, there is a cluster of Scandinavianized names and a single by. However, like the two isolated names in by at Follingsby and Raisby which are clear post-1066 formations, this example too is in all probability very late.
Finally, in the far west of the county, certainly in Upper Teesdale, and in all probability in Upper Weardale too, there is evidence of infiltration over the Pennine passes of settlers of Irish-Norwegian origin.

UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

NOTES

The present article is an expanded version of a paper originally presented on 29th March 1987 at the XIXth Annual Study Conference organized by the Council for Name Studies held at the University of Nottingham. Its publication has been made possible by a gift to the University of Cambridge in memory of Dorothy Coke, Skjæret, 1951. For abbreviations, see below, n. 25.

2 ASC(E), ibid. 57.
3 Cf. R. Cramp, Excavations at the Saxon monastic sites of Wearmouth and Jarrow, Medieval Archaeology XIII (1969), 21-66, esp. 25.
6 Fryde et al., ibid.; Whitelock, English Historical Documents, nos. 199-200.
7 Whitelock, ibid. no. 4, s.a.
8 The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, op. cit. 72.
9 Ibid. 74.
13 A Companion to Old and Middle English Studies (London, 1982), 121.
14 The Northern Counties to AD 1000 (London, 1986), 309.
16 E.g. a 9th cent. grant of the Gainford estate included all the land between the Wear and the Tees, between Dere Street and the mountains in the west, and south of the Tees three miles to the east and six miles to the west: Historia de Sancto Cuthberto, 9, cited in D. Morris, ‘Northumbria and the Viking settlement’, Archaeologia Aeliana, 5th series V (1977), 93.
17 Scandinavian Settlement Names in Yorkshire (SSNY) (Copenhagen, 1972).
18 Ideally the p.n.n. of Co. Durham should be taken together with those of Northumberland. However, as virtually no new work has been done on Northumberland since Sir Alan Mawer’s The Place-Names of Durham and Northumberland (NydU, Cambridge, 1921), it seemed best to confine the present account to an area where there have been new findings.
22 Only one instance is recorded in WScand sources and that was the name of a Dane. It was also the name of one of the Danish jarls killed in 911, ASChron (D) in Garmonsway, op.cit. 97.
23 SPN, 57, 77.
24 SPN, LXXV § 28.
25 SPN, 276, 313.
26 The material is drawn from the author’s card index of p.n. spellings for Co. Durham. The following abbreviations are used:
(a) Manuscript Sources
CB Halmote Court Books of the diocese of Durham in the Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic, University of Durham.
Ct Miscellaneous Charters in the Muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Durham (DCD).
DRA DCD Deaneary Rental Accounts.
Finc DCD Finchale Charters.
Lang Bishop Langley’s Survey, PRO.
Reg Regale, DCD Royal Charters.
Spec Speciales, DCD Special Charters.

(b) Printed Sources
ASC See above, n. 1.
Ass Assige Rolls in Miscellanea II, Surtees Society CXXXVII (1916).
BB Boldon Book, ed. D. Austin (Chichester, 1982).
Bek Records of Anon Bek, ed. C. M. Fraser, Surtees Society CLXII (1953).
CalRotChart Calendar of Charter Rolls (1903-)..
DAR Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham, Surtees Society XCIX (1898) etc.
DB Domesday Book, ed. A. Farley (2 vols, London, 1783); see also GDB, below.
DEC Durham Episcopal Charters 1071-1152, Surtees Society CLXIX (1968).
DST Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres, Surtees Society IX (1839).
Finc Finchale Charters, Surtees Society VI (1837).
FF Feet of Fines.
Gdb Great Domesday Book (vol. 1 of DB, above).
Gdor Vita S. Godrici, Surtees Society XX (1847).
Gusib Cartularium Prioratus de Gyoeburn, Surtees Society LXXXVI (1889), LXXXIX (1894).
Halm Haldma Prioratus Dunelmensis, Surtees Society LXXII (1889).
Hart Bishop Hatfield’s Survey, Surtees Society XXXII (1857).
HSC Historia de S. Cuthberto, Surtees Society LI (1868).
IPM Inquisitions post mortem.
LVD Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis, Surtees Society CXXVI (1923).
67. R. Girvan, Angelsaksisch Handboek (Haarlem, 1931) § 26 Anm. Cf. However, I. Dahl, Substantival Inflection in Early Old English (Lund, 1938), 100-1.
68. Studies on English Place- and Personal Names (Lund, 1931), 75-8. The modern form may be ascribed to the dissolutive change r > r > r > l reinforced by the pattern of the French definite article in names like Chester-le-Street, a type much in vogue in the 13th cent.
69. SNNW, 326 and references cited there.
70. Ibid.
71. Ibid. 329.
72. SPN, 276-82, 313-17.
73. SNNY, 241-2 and references in n. 51.
75. J. Bailey, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Durham (London, 1810), frontispiece map. Cf. ibid. p. 9 'deep yellow tenacious dry fertile loams'.
76. Ibid. and p. 8, 'strong fertile clayey loam which produces good crops of wheat, beans, clover and rich old grazing pastures'.
77. Ibid. and p. 8, 'poor, stubborn, unfertile clay which produces miserable crops of corn; and when suffered to remain in grass, produces a herbage that scarcely any kind of stock will eat, unless compelled by hunger'.
78. See the map in Part 47 of the Report of the Land Utilisation Survey, County Durham, by Ada Temple (London, 1941), p. 212, fig. 9, here reproduced as Map VII.
79. Ibid. 229. In this connection the p.n. Barforth YN, across the Tees from Gainford, is noteworthy: it is Bereford c.130, 'ford where corn or barley is carried'.
81. BB: Hatif.
82. Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis, ed W. Greenwell, Surtees Society LVIII (1872).
83. The average villein-holding of twenty villas with OE topographical names in BB is 463 acres. The average villein-holding of fifteen villas with OE habitation names is 524 acres (ranging from 780 acres in one hdm and 770 in three -ingtins to 195 in one of the Newtons). The villein-holding of Killery was 360 acres: it is the only by with some claim perhaps to be an Anglo-Saxon settlement taken over by Norse settlers and renamed.
84. BB, 66-7.
86. SNNW, 384 ff.
88. Archaeologia Aeliana, 4th series, XVI (1939).
91. For the criticism, see R. N. Bailey, Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England (London, 1980), 210-11.
92. Ibid. 213-14.
93. Morris, 'Viking and native', 229 ff.
95. Ibid. 81a, 'Gainford consistently reflects styles which are more popular further south'.
97. Morris, 'Viking and native', 234.
98. Ibid. 231.
99. Ibid. 258, 166.
100. Morris, 'Viking and native', 233.
101. Cf. Morris, 'Viking and native', 227: 'It is what might be termed 'historical probability' rather than linguistic argument that tends toward an association with Ragnald's takeover of 914/918 rather than Halfdan's of 876'.