III

The Early Medieval Shires of Yeavering, Breamish and Bamburgh

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SUMMARY

*I*n *the early medieval era, land was organised in extensive territories which have been called 'shires' or 'multiple estates'; these began to break up in the late Anglo-Saxon period. The argument is here advanced that, with the vill or township as the principal unit of analysis, post-conquest records of tenure and taxation can be used to elucidate aspects of early medieval shire organisation. Elements of the former shire of Bamburgh are discussed and a geographical definition is proposed for a lost shire, Gefrinshire, centred on Yeavering, with some consideration given to estate structures in both shires. A connection is observed between a Lindisfarne estate around the River Breamish and later township groupings which number amongst the Ten Towns of Coquetdale, a land unit which, it is argued, preserves another early medieval shire, here named Bromic.*

INTRODUCTION: YETHOLM AND SHIRES

William Camden recognised four hundred years ago that Yeuerin, or Yeavering as we now call it, was the place which Bede knew as *Ad Gefrin*.[1] Yet as recently as 1949, the precise location of the *villa regia* of Bede's account was a matter of speculation. In that year, when A. H. A. Hogg published his incorrect suggestion, J. K. St. Joseph photographed the crop-marks of the *villa* for the first time but at first misunderstood what he had recorded.[2] Thanks to the subsequent excavations of Brian Hope-Taylor, the timber buildings whose foundations were made evident in this way now epitomise the architecture of early medieval kingship.[3]

How are we to understand this *villa regia*? Bede is systematic in his terminology for places, as Campbell has shown; and Alcock has argued that, by considering the writings of Bede and others along with the evidence of archaeology, we can discern units of a dynamic social and economic system which maintained kingship.[4] The *villa* is the centre of an estate; the *villa regia* a king's estate. King Edwin would ride about his estates with officers in attendance and stand-ards carried before him, conducting his busi-ness;[5] while Ecgfrith and his queen Iurmenburh were said to go about in style, celebrating and feasting.[6] A king and queen must eat and they must be hospitable to their followers. The rev-enues to support this provision came, in this proto-state, not as money but on the hoof, as food-renders and tribute; a king needs his estates.

The challenge is to find the estate of which *Ad Gefrin* is the centre. Bede is no guide to this, nor is there any other early written record such as that which survives for the lands of St. Cuthbert.[7] Archaeological distribution maps of burial or settlement show the foci but not the geography of the wider territories. There is some merit in looking at the archaeology of earlier periods and projecting forward from that;[8] but for this present analysis I am taking the opposite approach and applying a retro-spective method, reading back from medieval material and drawing in particular on records of taxation and tenure of the twelfth and thir-teenth centuries.

An estate implies structure in geography and in organisation. I begin with one structure, the parish of Kirknewton (fig. 1), as it had emerged in the post-conquest era, with its constituent townships, of which Yeavering is one. It takes
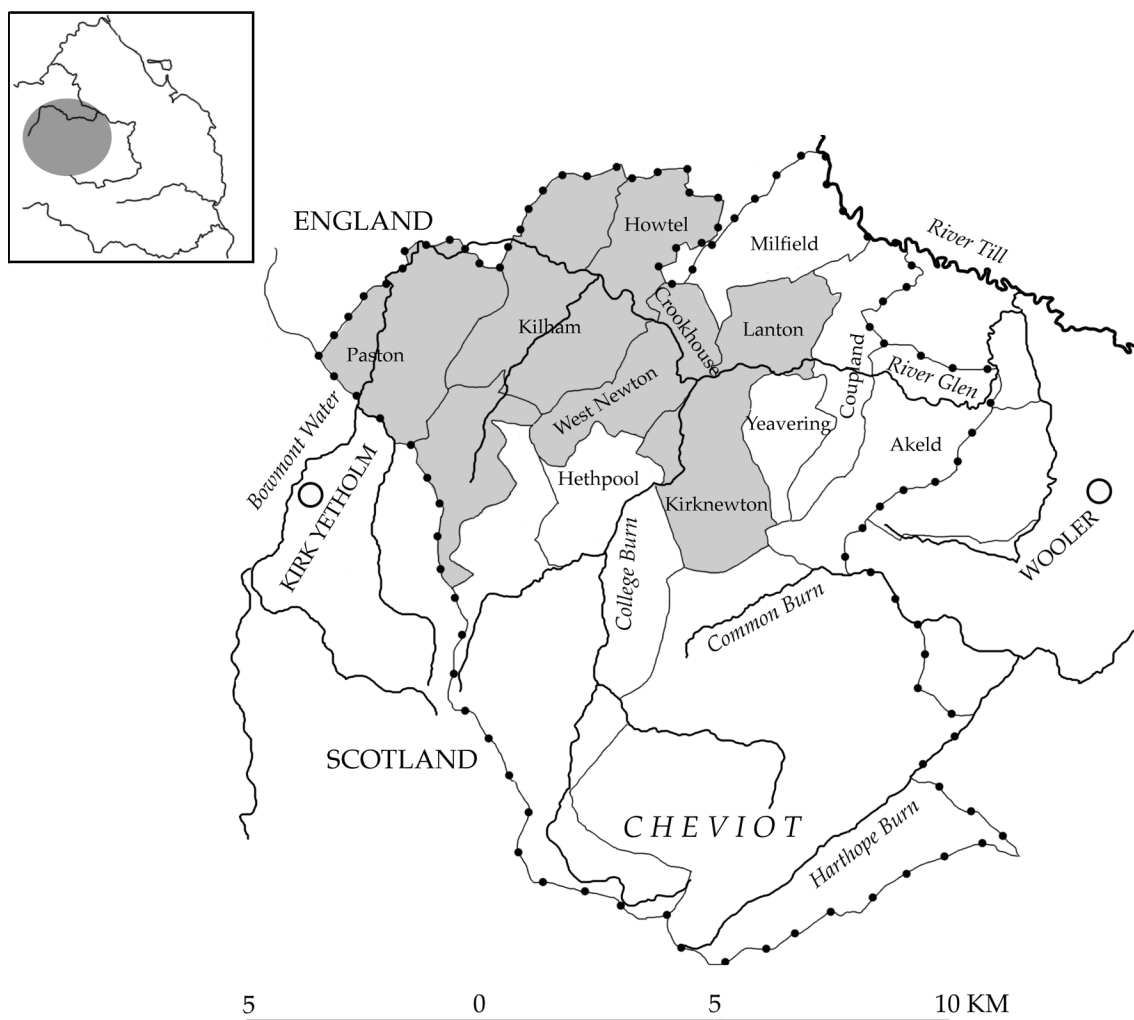
Fig. 1   Townships in Kirknewton parish. Land of the Roos barony is shaded.

in the Cheviot massif and the north edge of the range, up to and across the River Glen, reaching out to the Milfield plain in the north-east and to the Scottish border on the west.[9]

Two observations about this unit of land are pertinent to the enquiry. First, that the name suggests that its church (there is only one and it is known to be there by the twelfth century[10]) is in a new town. Second, that the record of tenants-in-chief for 1242–43 shows that this land was divided between the two baronies of Wark, the Roos barony, and Wooler, the Muschamp barony.[11] The writer of the *Northumberland County History* did not understand why Baron Roos had sub-infeudated a number of townships in Kirknewton to one Walter Corbett.[12] Geoffrey Barrow explained.[13] Not only did Corbett hold lands of the Roos barony, he also held of David King of Scots the lordship of Yetholm in Roxburghshire. This gave him interests in Shotton, Colwell and Kirk and West Newton in Northumberland because

these were lands which formerly pertained to the vill of Yetholm as elements of a larger estate or shire of twelve vills which King Oswiu granted to St. Cuthbert in the mid-seventh century. By the thirteenth century, this shire of Yetholm had been lost to Lindisfarne-Durham and had been split in two by the Anglo-Scottish border, with the Corbett tenures left as a residue of the former unified entity.

So the parish of Kirknewton is not a land unit of the early medieval era. It results from a re-organising consequent on the break-up of the old shire of Yetholm and the establishment of the border which placed its principal church, Kirk Yetholm, in Scotland. The new land unit, whether it gained a new church in the new town or whether a pre-existing church was given a new parochial status, brought together the English fragments of Yetholmshire and land lying to the east. Then, under the feudal settlement of Henry I, the residue of the former shire went to the Wark barony. The Muschamps of Wooler picked up the rest; and this included the township of Yeavering, on the edge of the Muschamp lands.

Professor Barrow's proposal of a seventh-century shire of Yetholm places two possible markers for Yeavering. First, a boundary for Yeavering's territory where it marches with Yetholm. Second, a connection between pre- and post-conquest land units in the Roos-Yetholm linkage and the Corbetts. This supports the idea that records of the twelfth or thirteenth century can give evidence of pre-conquest territorial organisation.

Pioneering studies by F. W. Maitland and J. E. A. Jolliffe of the institutional structures of the pre-Norman state have been further developed by Barrow and by Glanville Jones who have formulated the idea of the 'shire' or 'multiple estate' as the principal unit of land organisation of the early medieval era.[14] Though the concept has not been without its critics,[15] there is a broad consensus that in this period land was worked in extensive estates, each diverse in natural resources and extending over areas of up to 300 square kilometres or more. Jones' term 'multiple estate' indicates the over-arching administration across a number of smaller units. Late Anglo-Saxon England saw a break-up of these estates in a shift from a large-terrain to a small-terrain system of land organisation. The 'shires', which are familiar in northern England, such as Islandshire or Hexhamshire can be seen as individual or groups of multiple estates. Barrow characterised the shire as comprising: a lord's holding, that is residence and demesne lands, which is distinct from tenants' holdings; and a constellation of outlying townships or single farms whose inhabitants were not involved in demesne cultivation throughout the year, but who brought to the shire centre their revenues in kind or coin and performed seasonal work on request. The key point here is the idea of dependency or obligation across a wide territory: inhabitants of one place owe service to a centre elsewhere.

The administrative machinery of the Norman state did not completely clear this away. Fragments from the break-up of old estates survived and these can be detected as anomalies within the institutional arrangements of the feudal systems. Among the survivals are: the offices of thane and dreng; taxes which replaced former tributes in kind such as cornage and metreth; service tributes such as waiting or truncage; connections of dependency between places indicated by socage or by a formula such as *cum appendiciis suis* after the name of a place.

Such is the essence of the argument.[16] Thus Jones reconstructed the multiple estates which made up Burghshire in North Yorkshire from the Domesday geography of berewicks and sokelands and related these to landholdings of Bishop Wilfrid in the seventh century.[17] Similarities in the character of estates in both northern England and Wales led Jones to follow Jolliffe in suggesting that these systems originated before the period of Anglo-Saxon settlement.[18] Barrow showed that shire organisation existed widely across both England and Scotland.[19] In St. Cuthbert's lands, some of the shires survived into well-documented eras.[20] The question for our particular study area comes over the lands which never belonged to, or were not retained by, Cuthbert's Community: what evidence is there for shire organisation here?

Yetholm gives one part of the answer: the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* records a shire lost to the Saint before it was otherwise documented. Sir Edmund Craster had recognised that the phrase *cum appendiciis suis* in the *Historia*, implied a grouping of vills around an administrative centre and that such groupings comprised shires.[21] The vill is common to both the early medieval shire and the feudal barony;[22] and Piers Dixon, by comparing the cornage dues paid by the baronies with the lands which they held in chief, elegantly made the case that the distribution of vills in northern Northumberland in the thirteenth century is similar to that of the pre-conquest era.[23] Thus the vill, or township, can be used as the principal unit for analysis.[24]

With the bones of the argument in place, I propose first to apply the multiple estate or shire model to Bamburgh. Here if anywhere, at the centre of the Bernician kingdom and where the Crown retained interests into the post-conquest era, we should expect a large estate or group of estates in the king's hands. Then I can work back to Yeavering-*Gefrin*.

BAMBURGH

In 1236 William son of Avenell held a carucate of land in Bamburgh in the right of his wife Beatrice by the exercise of a sergeanty in the bailey of Bamburghshire.[25] There was still some memory of a shire of Bamburgh as late as the mid-sixteenth century when its extent was defined as being 'from Warenbrigs to the waters of Aill'; that is a bridge over the Waren Burn in the north to the River Aln in the south. The author of Volume 1 of the *Northumberland County History* in 1893 drew on this for the idea that the old shire was co-terminous with Bamburgh Ward, taking in the parishes of Bamburgh, Eglingham, Ellingham, Embleton, Howick, Long Houghton and Lesbury[26] (fig. 2).

According to a survey of the Bamburgh lordship in 1575, the towns of Bewick, Ditchburn, Eslington, Yetlington, the three Middletons, Mousen and Beadnell all paid annual rents to the castle, 'which rents be commonly called dringage' (fig. 3).[27] This is drengage, the tenure of a dreng. Both thanes and drengs held land in the pre-Norman state by ministerial tenure, that is by obligation of service to the king; the dreng, with a lesser status than the thane, was likely to perform agricultural rather than military service.[28]

By 1575 the obligations had been commuted to money payments; but in the first half of the thirteenth century the service element had not yet been lost. In 1212 Stephen of Mousen held his land of the king in drengage. He paid a rent of 30 shillings and other money payments but he was also under the obligation of truncage, that is carriage of timber, to Bamburgh Castle. To discharge his service of waiting he had on one day in Lent to bring his plough to the king's land; and for three days in the autumn he had come with 12 men for the harvesting. He was also obliged to go with the king's sergeants for the distraint of the king's debts.[29] His successor Henry in 1236 had similar obligations; no bailiff duties are specified, but he had to provide 12 wagons to carry grain on one day in the autumn.[30] Thomas of Beadnell, contemporary with both Stephen and Henry, held his drengage on similar terms.[31] Stephen's contemporary Alan of Eslington did truncage and the customs that pertain to drengage.[32] His successor, John, rendered the same service, which included truncage, as William of Callaly, another of the king's drengs.[33]

The drengage holdings in this part of Northumberland, which were identified as such in records of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, are: Beadnell and Mousen in Bamburgh parish; Beanley, Ditchburn, Eglingham and Bewick in Eglingham parish; the three Middletons with Roddam in Ilderton parish; in Whittingham parish Callaly and Yetlington together, Eslington, and a conglomerate of Whittingham, Thrunton, Barton and half of Glanton; and Lemmington in Edlingham parish (fig. 3). The drengs of Beadnell, Mousen, the Middletons and Roddam, Callaly and Yetlington, and Eslington all provided truncage to Bamburgh Castle. The service of waiting was required from the Middletons, Beadnell and

Fig. 2   Bamburghshire and the parish boundaries.

DRENGAGES
1 Beadnall
2 Mousen
3 Beanley
4 Ditchburn
5 Eglingham
6 Bewick
7 Three Middletons
7a Roddam
8 Callaly and Yetlington
9 Eslington
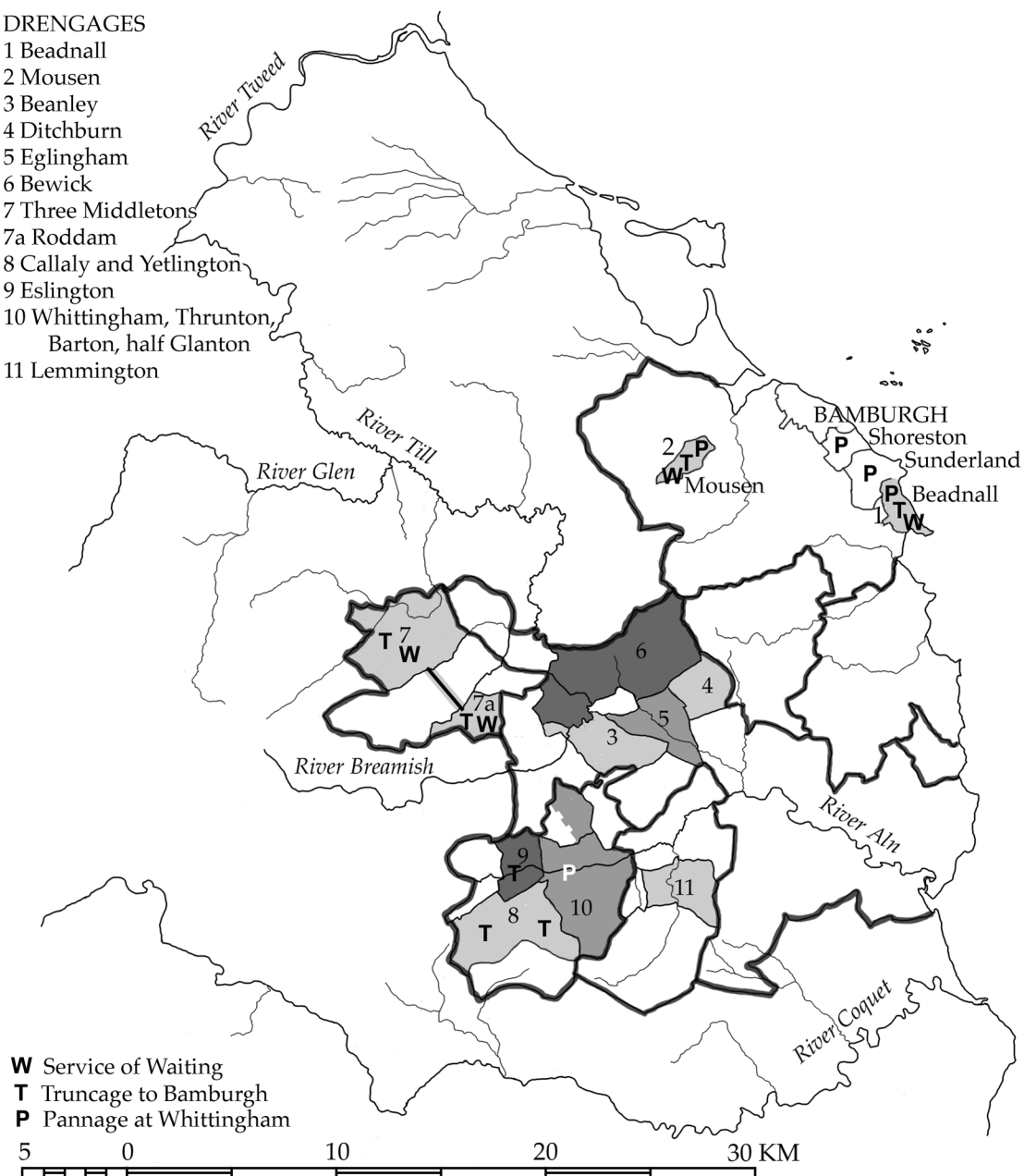10 Whittingham, Thrunton,
      Barton, half Glanton
11 Lemmington

River Tweed

BAMBURGH

Shoreston

Sunderland

Beadnall

River Till

River Glen

2
Mousen

River Aln

River Breamish

7
7a

3

4

5

6

9

P

10

11

8

River Coquet

W Service of Waiting
T Truncage to Bamburgh
P Pannage at Whittingham

5   0   10   20   30 KM

Fig. 3   Drengages and service tenures in Bamburghshire.

Mousen.[34] Cornage payments, a levy on cattle, were made throughout the area.[35]

The network of connections, that is the dependencies revealed by the drengage holdings and the services of truncage and waiting, is not an expression of parochial structure; nor is it defined by the landholdings of the time of Henry I. These are fragments of the earlier large-terrain structure of the shire. Its extent is 30 km south-west from Bamburgh; from the coast to the vale of Whittingham and to the east flank of the Cheviot hills around the Middletons. Varied terrain implies a wide range of resources brought together under the organisation of the shire. No doubt the Cheviots offered summer grazing and, on the evidence of truncage, woodland resources. Whittingham's woodland was used in two ways; for not only did its wood go to Bamburgh, but the coastal townships of Mousen, Shoreston, Sunderland and Beadnell all exercised rights of pannage here.[36]

So much for offices and services. How are landholdings within the shire to be detected? The baronial estates of the medieval era are largely a creation of Henry I after 1100 but the lands of the Sergeanty of Beanley, one of Henry's creations, may provide a window into an earlier period. Until it was forfeited and handed to the Percies in 1335, the sergeanty and its lands belonged to the family of Gospatric, the native English house which held the hereditary earldom of Northumberland in the late Anglo-Saxon era.[37] At first sight, there is little sense in the geography of the Beanley estate, with five disconnected blocks of land within Bamburghshire and another around and south of the Coquet (fig. 4).

Henry I's original charter does not survive, but a charter of confirmation of 1135 shows that the landholding was formed from three pre-existing estates.[38] First, the lands of Liulf son of Uchtred comprising the three Middletons with the detached block of Roddam, held in drengage tenure. Second, the block of six townships in Eglingham parish which Henry had given to Hamo and which had previously belonged to Winnoc the Hunter: Beanley, Brandon, Branton, Harehope, Hedgeley and Titlington. Third, the land of Gospatric's uncle Edmund. This is not clearly defined in the record but it presumably includes the socage land of Shipley[39] in Eglingham parish and a separate block in Edlingham parish of Edlingham, Lemmington and Learchild. Gospatric also held, not as tenant-in-chief but of Tynemouth Priory, the drengage land of Bewick, Eglingham and East Lilburn which had belonged in the late eleventh century to Archill Morel.[40]

If Liulf son of Uchtred was indeed an ancestor of the eponymous Ilderton family,[41] then perhaps the two estates evident in that parish in thirteenth-century records were formed from the break-up of a single holding. If we add the Beanley estates to the three drengages in Whittingham parish, then six blocks of land account for almost the whole of the three contiguous parishes of Edlingham, Eglingham and Whittingham. King Ceolwulf granted these three named vills to St. Cuthbert, and this must have been before or at the time he resigned the throne and entered the monastery of Lindisfarne in the year 737.[42] This looks like the grant of a multiple estate, to use Jones' terminology, the outlines of which have become fossilised in the boundaries of the three medieval parishes. The Beanley lands and the drengages may be seen as fragments surviving from the break-up of that estate after it was alienated (at a date unknown) from the Saint's holdings.[43]

The shire moor, an area of permanent common pasture, such as Shildon Moor, near Corbridge and the shire moor of Tynemouth, is recognised as an essential, and possibly primitive, aspect of shire organisation.[44] Beanley seems to have provided this resource for Bamburghshire, for when the extensive common of its moor was enclosed in 1769, claims to rights of inter-common pasture were made not only on behalf of the Duke of Northumberland, but also by tenants in Crawley, Titlington and Eglingham.[45]

This analysis of Bamburghshire suggests both complex hierarchy and fluidity of structures. The shire itself, perhaps an unusually large unit of land of 530 square kilometres, apparently encompasses a number of sub-units,
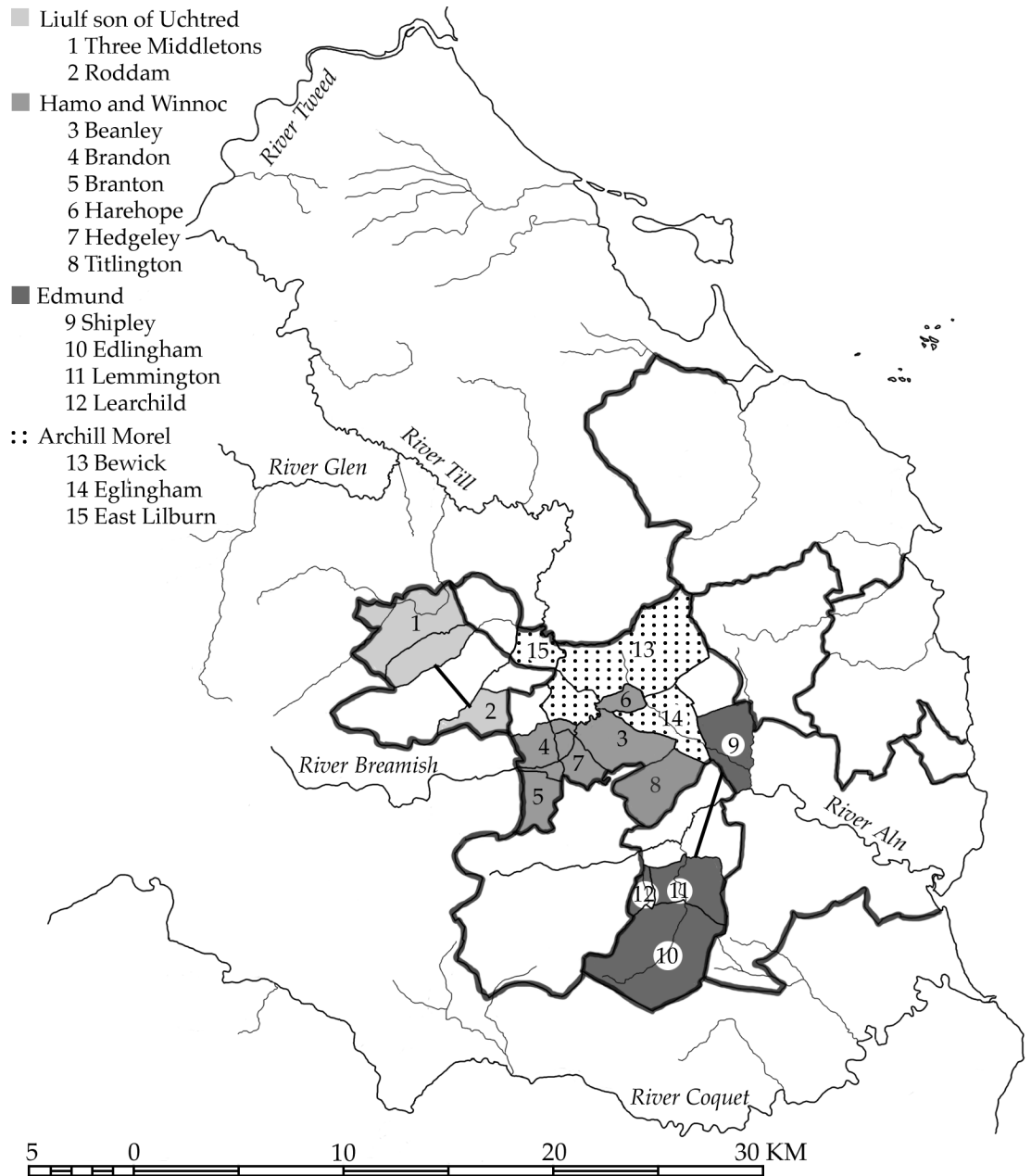
Liulf son of Uchtred
    1 Three Middletons
    2 Roddam
Hamo and Winnoc
    3 Beanley
    4 Brandon
    5 Branton
    6 Harehope
    7 Hedgeley
    8 Titlington
Edmund
    9 Shipley
    10 Edlingham
    11 Lemmington
    12 Learchild
:: Archill Morel
    13 Bewick
    14 Eglingham
    15 East Lilburn

River Tweed

River Glen

River Till

River Breamish

River Aln

River Coquet

5   0   10   20   30 KM

Fig. 4   Beanley estates in Bamburghshire.

which in the medieval era appear as parishes, each of which, in its eighth-century state, could be regarded as a multiple estate. In the cases of Edlingham, Eglingham and Whittingham, these were alienated from the king's holdings in the eighth century by grant to the church. That the three are contiguous suggests that there may have been an intermediate level of organisation and that for Bamburghshire the multiple estate model should encompass a three-level hierarchy. The argument for the shire as an over-arching unit of administration rests on the geographical extent of the service obligations. In this respect, Bamburgh, as here proposed, look similar in structure to Burghshire, as elucidated by Jones.[46] This shire encompassed the estates of Ripon, Aldburgh and Knaresborough which showed interdependencies through socage holdings, while Knaresborough itself contained the interdependent estates of Kirkby and Hunsingore at a lower level of hierarchy.

Overall, fission was the general tendency of estate structure during the early medieval era in the long-term process of change from large to small-terrain units. Perhaps grants of land to the church from the seventh century stimulated this process.[47] Yet, as Jones acknowledged,[48] fluidity of organisation also allows for the refusion of detached units into new groupings or back into old ones. Thus, in Bamburghshire, the three estates granted to the church in the eighth century were by the twelfth, and probably earlier, again operating within the service framework of the shire. How early estate and shire organisations were formed is not possible to assess from the written records which refer to the seventh and eighth centuries; but the changes evident at that time suggest that the shire of Bamburgh, as we can recognise it, may itself be a survival from an earlier grouping of shires which formed the territorial basis of kingdom and kingship and which also encompassed Islandshire, Yetholmshire and others which were then alienated to the church.

Before moving on from Bamburghshire, I note in passing that the geographical definitions which are cited in the *Northumberland County History* need to be revised.[49] The sixteenth-century definition with the Aln as the southern boundary of the shire excludes most of Whittingham and Edlingham parishes; and to equate the Shire with the Ward is to omit the whole of both of these parishes.

GEFRIN

The shire of Bamburgh leads, in a roundabout way, back to Yeavering. The north-west limits of Bamburghshire follow the edges of the townships of Middleton, Lilburn, Bewick, Osberwick, Warenton and Detchant. Continuing anti-clockwise around the compass, we can put in place Islandshire and Norhamshire,[50] those units of land which reach back to the beginnings of Lindisfarne in the seventh century, and finally round to the Roos estates and the edge of Yetholmshire. A block of land has now taken shape as the hole left in the middle when everything else is in place. This, I suggest, is the *territorium* of Yeavering: Gefrinshire (fig. 5).

As geography, this is a classic case of what has been called a 'concave' territory or a 'river estate',[51] that is a block of land with a river at its centre and its edges reaching up to watersheds. Its extent is about 265 square kilometres if we leave out of account the main massif of Cheviot.[52] The three shires of Yetholm, *Gefrin* and Bamburgh wrap around the north and east sides of Cheviot. How, or if, the high hill country was allocated in the early medieval era is not clear; perhaps it was a resource shared by several shires, an inter-shire moor.

The central, unifying feature is the River Till as it flows north in a deep valley which narrows towards Chatton, before turning sharp west and cutting a gorge at Clavering, and then breaking out on to the Milfield Basin, and on northwards to the gorge at Etal. By Clavering the river splits the ridge of higher ground of the Weetwood and Doddington Moors along the middle of the shire. This carries the Devil's Causeway, the Roman road. The west-facing crags on the scarp at Belford Moor, by St. Cuthbert's Cave, and the Kyloe Hills, define its eastern boundary with Islandshire. Gefrinshire, as here proposed, is geographically coherent (fig. 6).
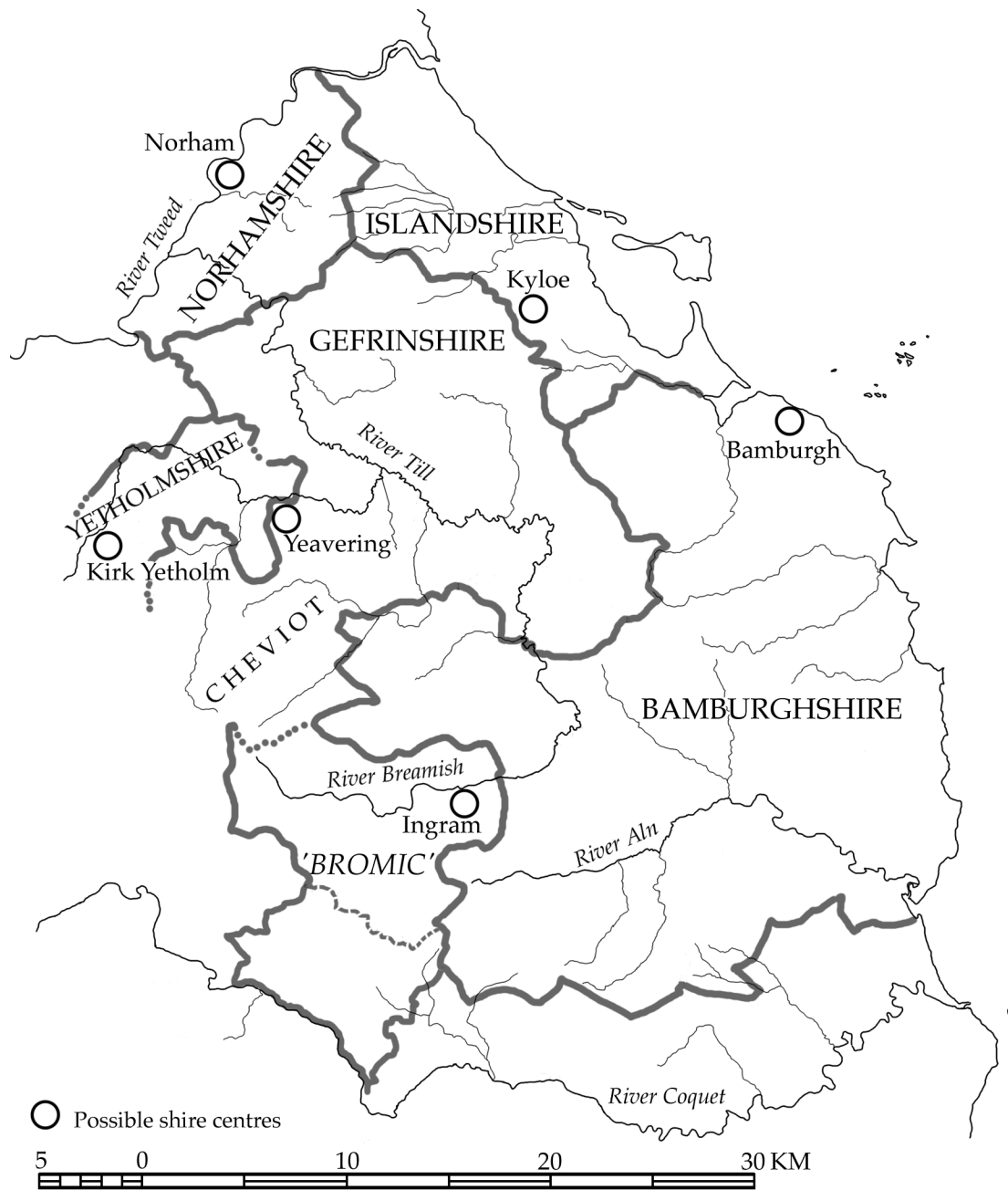
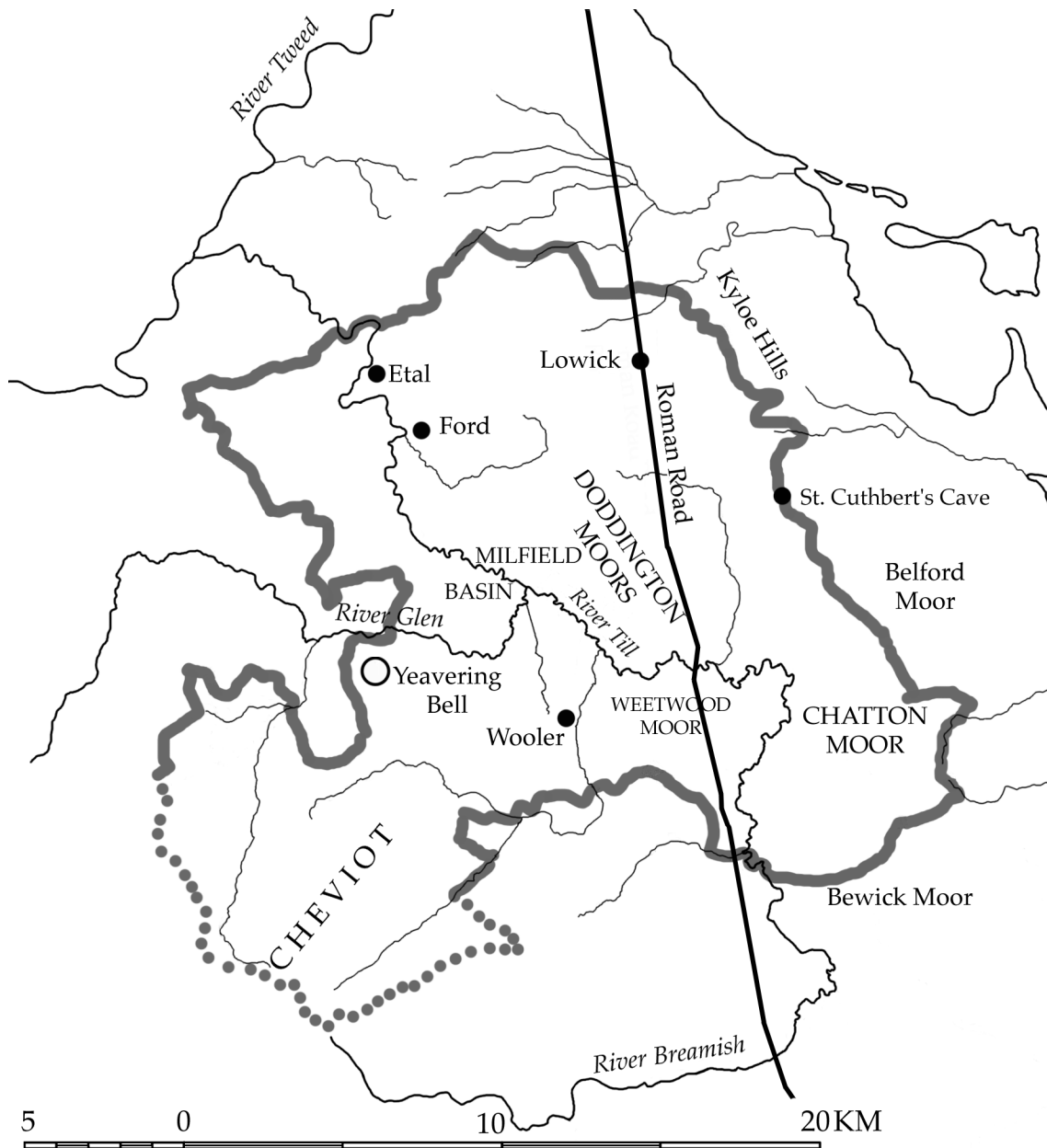*Fig. 5   Shire boundaries in north Northumberland. Possible shire centres are indicated with a circle.*

Fig. 6   Gefrinshire – topographical map.

The land comprises the whole of the parishes of Chatton, Ford and Chillingham[53] and the chapelry of Lowick, along with the parts of Kirknewton parish which I have already discussed; also the small, single-township parishes of Wooler, Fenton and Branxton which look as though they have been detached from Chatton and Ford. The Vesci barony held most of Chatton and Chillingham as a single block of land, separate from other parts of its estate; the rest is Muschamp land.

Evidence of the internal organisation and structure of the shire before the reign of Henry I is harder to come by than for Bamburgh: we have here to contend with the feudal imprint of the two large tenants-in-chief. It is known, for example, that in 1187–88 Thomas of Muschamp paid 9l – 13s and William de Vesci 24l – 18s – 4d in a levy on thanes and drengs.[54] To what places these payments applied, whether within or outside of *Gefrin*, is not specified in the accounts of the Pipe Rolls. Nevertheless, there are some pointers. Within the Muschamp barony, the three townships of Akeld, Coupland and Yeavering were held together as one Knight's Fee (fig. 7).[55] Richard Lomas has made the persuasive suggestion that this fee looks like an old thanage,[56] that is to say, that the estate is an old unit of land, despite a change in its holder's title from thane to knight. A thane was needed at the centre, governing the estate for the king and keeping the halls in good order for his visits.[57] The *Praefectus* Osfrith who commanded the king's *urbs* of *Broninis*, and who was charged with the thankless task of confining Bishop Wilfrid to prison, was one such officer; so also, Tydlin at *Dynbaer*, equally ineffective in holding the bishop prisoner.[58]

If Lomas is right, we can now identify not only the shire as a whole, but also its chief estate. What of *Maelmin* (Milfield), Yeavering's successor as the *villa regia*?[59] There is no mention of this township in the record of the Feudal Aids of 1242–43: nothing after Bede's throw-away line until 1512; and nothing to indicate whether this was Roos or Muschamp land.[60] I am assuming that *Maelmin*/Milfield is

within Gefrinshire, and subsequently the Muschamp barony, and not Yetholmshire-Roos land. I take Bede's account to mean that the administrative centre was moved to another estate within the shire. This prompts some speculation about the location of the chief place after the seventh century. Bede's *Maelmin* is securely identified as a cropmark site,[61] though how long it remained in use is not known. By the twelfth century, Wooler was the head of the barony, with parochial and borough status and a castle. It would be useful to know whether this was a consequence of the first Baron Muschamp picking that site, or whether he chose it because it already had primacy. Two tenth/eleventh-century stone-cross fragments discovered in Wooler might hint at the latter.[62]

Lomas suggests that two other former thanages lie behind the Muschamp Knight's Fees of Ford, Crookham, Kimmerston and one quarter of Hethpool in one case, and Humbleton, Detchant and half Elwick in the second.[63] Perhaps the first of these indicates the chief place after *Maelmin*; or else a subdivision of the shire which became fossilised as the parish of Ford. Whichever the case, there is surely a hint that a high status pre-conquest site is to be discovered somewhere near to the River Till in Ford or Crookham. The linking of coastal properties in Detchant and Elwick with an upland one in Humbleton would sit well within the multiple estate model and would well serve a system of transhumance. But if this is a relic of a pre-conquest estate, it crosses the boundary which I have proposed between Gefrinshire and Islandshire. This particular linkage could, despite Lomas' suggestion, be a Muschamp creation.[64] Yet Humbleton, alone of the townships in Chatton parish, is outside the Vesci barony, so former status as a thanage could lie behind this anomaly; and, as with *Gefrin*, it is also the site of a hillfort. Fenton's odd position as a single-township parish (before it was merged with Wooler) adds support to Lomas's thought that a former drengage lies behind the Knight's Fee for this one township.[65] Two drengage holdings are recorded in Hetherslaw in the mid-thirteenth century.[66] In the Vesci estates within Chatton parish there are two

1 Akeld
2 Coupland
3 Yeavering
4 Ford
5 Crookham
6 Kimmerston
7 Hethpool
8 Humbleton
9 Detchant
10 Elwick
11 Fenton
12 Heatherslaw
13 Doddington
14 Weetwood
15 Nesbitt
16 Fowberry
17 Coldmartin
18 Haselrigg

River Tweed

River Till

LOWICK

FORD

Milfield

YETHOLM

Ewart

CHATTON

CHILLINGHAM
T

WOOLER

CHEVIOT

River Breamish

Estate Links
T Drengage of Trickley
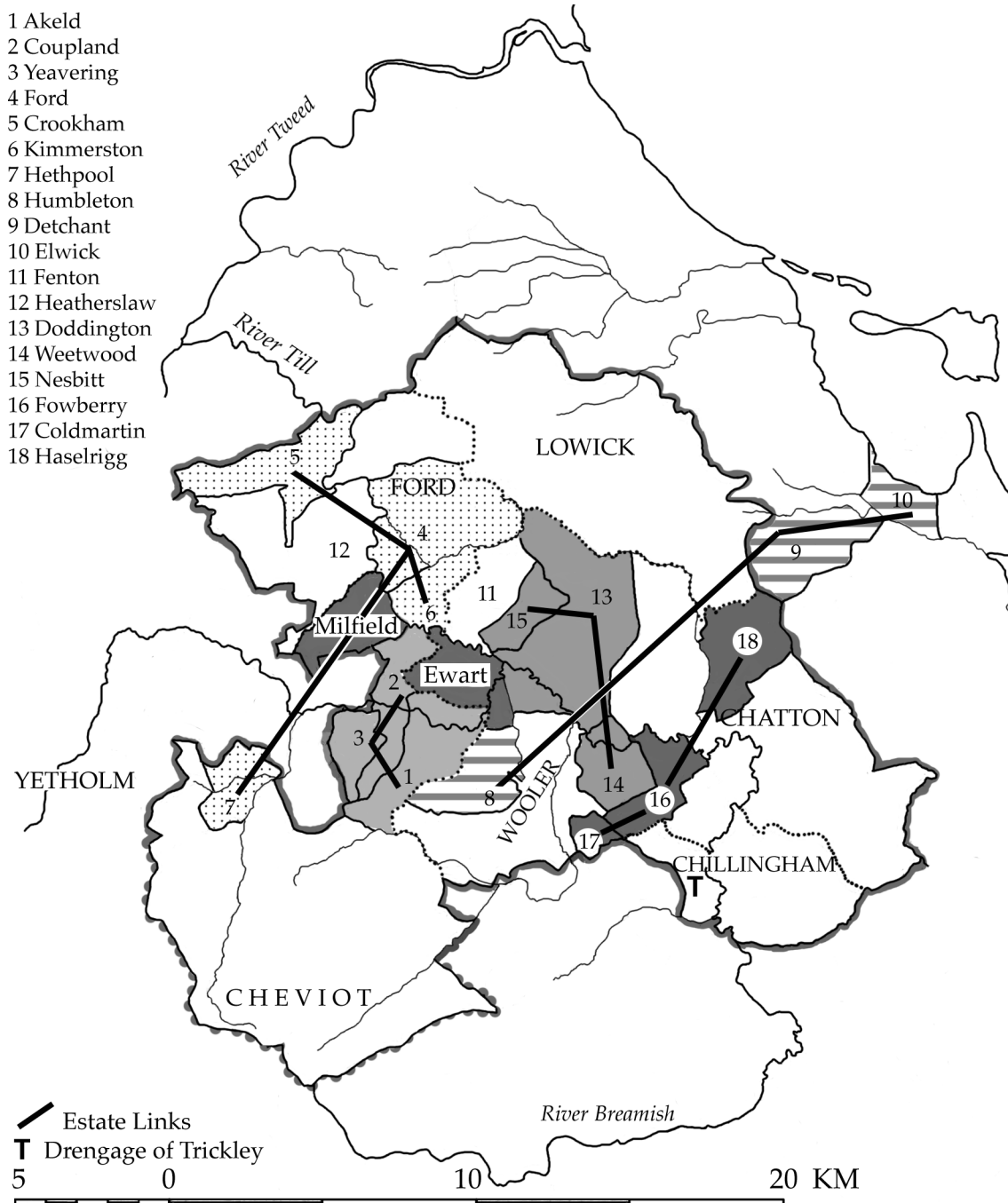5   0   10   20 KM

Fig. 7   Gefrinshire – estate structures. Lines indicate documented links suggesting former thanages.

cases of a Knight's Fee of three townships, Doddington, Weetwood and Nesbit as one; the other, Fowberry, Coldmartin and Haselrigg.[67] Perhaps thanages lie behind these also; while Trickley in Chillingham parish was held in drenage as part of the Muschamp barony.[68]

It is not at present possible to determine when those stretches of the River Till and Humbleton Burn which form the north and east bounds of the township of Ewart were first acknowledged as estate boundaries; but on its west and most of its south side, Ewart marches with Akeld and Coupland. So if the argument for a seventh-century, or earlier, origin for the unit of Akeld, Coupland and Yeavering holds good and if an assumption is made *a priori* that rivers or other prominent topographical features could be amongst the oldest and longest-lasting boundary markers, then it may be argued that the township of Ewart preserves the outline of a land unit co-eval with the suggested thanage estate centred on *Gefrin*. This would give a context for the excavated settlement of Thirlings, in the middle of the township, where a pooled mean of radiocarbon dates from building foundation timbers calibrates within the range AD 539–599.[69] The idea of Thirlings as being within the orbit of dependency of Yeavering, acting as a supplier of agricultural produce to the shire centre, still stands, even allowing for the suggestion I have recently made that Building C might have had a cult use.[70] The sense in which I now want to modify what Roger Miket and I wrote some time ago is to make it firmer. The township of Ewart preserves an early estate and the settlement of Thirlings the estate centre; and if the fenced compounds towards the middle containing Buildings A and P constitute the principal holding or household in the settlement,[71] then Building A belongs to a man whom Bede might have called a *comes*, or in his native speech, a *gesith*.[72] Archaeological remains of early medieval settlements in Bernicia are few[73] and it has been difficult to assess whether Thirlings is, in any sense, typical. Its architecture is known to be part of a tradition which is widespread in England;[74] now, perhaps, we can see it as a Bernician type-site of a centre of

minor lordship, or, as it came to be called, drengage. So between Thirlings on the one hand and Yeavering, Milfield or Sprouston[75] on the other there is an archaeological and architectural differentiation between the states of minor lordship and the shire centre. Distinguishing features include the palisaded enclosures at the shire centres and the scale of the buildings; Yeavering A4 has a floor area almost four times that of Thirlings A.[76]

Hethpool, tucked in part-way up the College Valley and further into the interior of the hill-land than Akeld or Yeavering, had the most complex tenurial structure of all the townships in the proposed shire of *Gefrin*. The Muschamp tenant-in-chief retained little in his own hands. In 1242–43 Odinel Ford held one quarter as part of the Knight's Fee, possible former thanage, which I have already discussed. One Thomas of Hethpool held two bovates in socage tenure, while half of the land was divided between Ralph and Patrick in socage or drenage tenures.[77] This complexity is before the division of the Muschamp inheritance between three heiresses in 1250. If these tenures do reflect the former shire, they hint that Hethpool might have served as a point of entry to summer grazing and hunting lands on the high hills of Cheviot, in which Ford-Crookham, and possibly other estates with lowland centres, established outposts in order to gain access.

Under a system, such as Charles-Edwards has described,[78] in which the king and household came to their food rather than the food to the king, *Gefrin* and its shire must have formed a part of this royal circuit with periodic visits from the court. Perhaps Paulinus had 36 days available to him for preaching in 627 because this duration represented the *feorm* of the shire, annual provisioning of the royal household for 36 days. If so, this might imply that in the early-seventh century this shire contributed some 10% of this state revenue.

BROMIC

I have referred to the hapless *Praefectus* Osfrith of *Broninis*. The location of this *urbs* is

unknown, but there are several suggestions, the most recent being Durham. Glanville Jones thought Kyloe, though Leslie Alcock was not persuaded of this. Geoffrey Barrow suggested a lost shire located by the River Breamish, perhaps around the comital demesne of Hedgeley or Beanley.[79] A shire of Breamish makes good sense, whether or not this is *Broninis*, since the Lindisfarne territory included 'all the land which lies on either side of the River Breamish (*Bromic*) up to its source'.[80] In my analysis, Hedgeley and Beanley look to Bamburgh; I would place the shire of Breamish further upstream, west of Brandon and Branton, where the hills begin to crowd in on the river. For a shire centre, Ingram, which in 1242–43 was linked with its members Reaveley ('the reeve's clearing') and Hartside,[81] and which has a similar sort of siting in relation to the hill fort on Brough Law as *Ad Gefrin* has to Yeavering Bell, is a strong candidate.[82] Ingram and its members as recorded in the thirteenth century (the southern boundary is represented by a broken line on fig. 5) would fit the description of the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*. This is probably not the whole shire, but its principal estate. Under medieval administration, Ingram and Reaveley numbered among the Ten Towns of Coquetdale and this unit looks like a shire, which I shall call *Bromic*, which survived intact into the twelfth century to be handed over as a single block of land to the Vesci barony and then sub-infeudated *en bloc* to the Umfraville Lords of Redesdale.[83]

A case is now building up to suggest that the geographical disposition of the baronial estates created by Henry I in this area was determined, at least in part, by pre-existing estate and shire structures.[84] The state of Kirknewton as a parish divided between two baronies is possibly explained by reference to the lost shire of Yetholm; the scattered blocks of the Sergeanty of Beanley were assembled from earlier holdings, themselves fragments from an eighth century estate; Ingram with *membris suis* belonged to St. Cuthbert; the detached western block of Vesci land, the Ten Towns, may be a direct survival of a shire of *Bromic*; Gefrinshire

is divided between Muschamp and Vesci, while Durham and Roos holdings do not impinge.[85]

As for Kyloe, even if this is not *Broninis*, there is a good case to argue for an early estate centre here, prominently sited close to the position of a hill fort. For this township was held in thanage along with Berrington and Low Lynn.[86] Here, perhaps, was the *caput* of the estate which King Oswald gave for the founding of Lindisfarne in 635. Bishop Aidan, who had come from Iona, found the island a more suitable location for the monastery itself.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, I return to *Gefrin* and to the shire centre, to ponder its beginnings in its ending. Bede gives no hint as to why it was abandoned; nor does the archaeological record. It outlived the two fire episodes. Perhaps the move was a forced one, a consequence of disease.[87] Yet the Milfield plain offered more space than the narrow valley half way up the River Glen and is more central to axes of communication. But the reasons need not have been wholly pragmatic. Rosemary Cramp has suggested something more fundamental, that as the early medieval kingship became more established and more confident in itself, it had less need of the traditional centre of leadership and cult for its validity.[88] This, I am sure, reaches to the heart of the matter. It is hardly possible to look at the *villa regia* at the foot of the hill without reference to the prehistoric fortification around the twin peaks of Yeavering Bell or without speculating on the nature of a native state of *Bernaccia*, 'the land of the mountain passes', around the catchment of Tweed.[89] Richard Bradley's idea of the creation of continuity shows how an early medieval elite could, through use of the monumental and funerary architecture already at this place, appropriate a sense of deep ancestral time here embedded to create a social context for the *villa regia*.[90]

I have argued that behind the structures of tenure, taxation and territory which are evident in feudal records we can discern something of early medieval land units in ways that take us

beyond the few centres of settlement known to archaeological research; and by invoking the shire, or multiple estate, as an organising model I have proposed geographical definitions and some aspects of the structures of the now-lost shires of Bamburgh, *Bromic* and *Gefrin*. How far back in time can these models be pursued? The comments of Cramp and Bradley lead almost inevitably to the thought that the most interesting questions of all are how and out of what did the territorial and social structures of early medieval kingship emerge. I think of the day in the year 627 on which that multi-cultural party led by King Edwin the Deiran, with Aethelburh his half-Kentish, half-French queen and her Italian chaplain Paulinus, rode into the Bernician *villa regia Ad Gefrin*. Did they really understand what they had come to; did they look up at the looming twin peaks of the hill; and were they a little in awe of this place? But these are other questions to be explored on other occasions.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I read an earlier version of this paper to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne in July 2001. Richard Bailey, Geoffrey Barrow, Constance Fraser and Clive Waddington have been generous with their advice in response to that text; Paul Frodsham and David Passmore have given me access to results of their work in progress; and Constance Fraser has been patient throughout in answering my questions on feudal records. This study has grown from an examination of evidence for Bamburghshire carried out in a small-group tutorial at the Centre for Lifelong Learning, Newcastle University. The members of that group helped me to bring my thoughts into focus: Bill Arbuckle, Dave Davison, Donal Donnelly-Wood, Maureen Lazzari, David Miller, John Scott. To all here named I offer my thanks.

NOTES
[For abbreviations see Bibliography]

[1] For Bede's account of events in AD 627 at *Ad Gefrin* see *HE* ii, 14. Camden 1610, 815.

[2] Hogg (1949) suggested an earthwork by Old Yeavering, in Kirknewton township, a little to the west of the cropmark site, as the location of the *villa regia*; while in the first publication of the air survey findings, Knowles and St. Joseph (1952, 271–2) thought that both the Yeavering and the Milfield cropmarks (the latter first recorded in 1948) might be from early monasteries.

[3] Hope-Taylor 1977.

[4] Campbell 1986; Alcock 1988.

[5] *HE* ii, 16.

[6] *VW* §39.

[7] *HSC*.

[8] The juxtaposition of the large hill fort on the summit of Yeavering Bell and the *villa regia* at its foot points in that direction. Clive Waddington's recent doctoral thesis (published as Waddington 1999) invokes a concept of extensive territory around the Milfield Basin in the neolithic era.

[9] The township and parish boundaries shown on the maps with this paper are those of *NCH* which follow nineteenth-century Ordnance Survey mapping. Piers Dixon (1984, I, 79–80) argued in his doctoral study of the northern half of Northumberland that there is a *prima facie* case that the boundaries of the nineteenth century are identical to those of the thirteenth century in about 75% of cases. The enclosure of common land and some exchanges between landed estates in the post-medieval era account for most of the changes between the two dates.

[10] *NCH* 11, (1922) 117–27.

[11] *BF* ii, 1119–20.

[12] *NCH* 11 (1922), 117–285 for the townships of Kirknewton parish.

[13] Barrow (1973, 32–35) draws on *HSC* §3. See also Craster 1954, 180.

[14] Maitland 1897; Jolliffe 1926. Key papers which have influenced more recent studies are Barrow 1969 and 1973 and Jones 1971 and 1976a. Though working independently of each other and using different terminology (Barrow uses 'shire'; Jones 'multiple estate'), they nevertheless reached similar conclusions about territorial organisation. Craster had previously elucidated some aspects of the shire in his 1954 study of the patrimony of St. Cuthbert. Barrow (1973) reviews the work of Maitland, Stenton and Jolliffe, while Kapelle (1979) discusses Stenton and Jolliffe in considering the social structures of the Anglo-Norman state in northern England.

[15] Gregson 1985 is critical of Jones' ideas; and see Jones 1985 for a response. Fleming 1998 again reviews the multiple estate model and the Gregson –

Jones debate as part of a wider exploration of the idea of large-terrain systems of organisation, drawing on work such as Hooke's studies of the Hwicce in the English west midlands.

[16] The literature on estates is extensive. Particular studies of territorial structures within Northumbria include: Roberts 1977 on Aucklandshire; Morris 1977 on Lindisfarne holdings; Clack and Gill 1980 on western Durham; Wood 1996 on Craven; Proudfoot and Aliga-Kelly 1997 on south-east Scotland; Johnson South on the estates of the Cuthbert Community in his 2002 edition of *HSC*.

[17] Jones 1971, 254–62; 1979, 29–34.

[18] Jones 1971, 254 and Jolliffe 1926, 2. But see Kapelle (1979, 51) for a dissenting view.

[19] Barrow 1973.

[20] Raine 1852 is the classic study for Islandshire, Norhamshire and Bedlingtonshire.

[21] Craster 1954, 191–2.

[22] As Jolliffe recognised (1926, 3–4).

[23] Dixon (1984, I, 73–4) used the cornage payments of 49 Henry III (see *Pipe Roll*) and the Feudal Aid of 1242–43 (see *BF* ii, 1117ff.). The argument is that cornage, as a survival of a pre-feudal due, was levied on the vills which existed in the pre-conquest shires and for which the baronies, established under the feudal settlement of Henry I, became liable. Given a standard cornage rate of 14d. per vill, the single, compounded total paid by each barony should, when divided by 14, equal the number of vills for which payment was made. Dixon showed that the numbers usually correspond reasonably well with the holdings *in capite* as given in 1242–43. A discrepancy in the Vesci payments can be explained by suggesting that the Ten Towns of Coquetdale, which were sub-infeudated to the Lordship of Redesdale, were exempted. (The Ten Towns are discussed later in this paper.) For County Durham, Fraser (1955) has made a similar sort of argument, showing that the gilly-corn paid in 1430 derives from assessments made pre-1200. Gospatric's payment to Tynemouth Priory for Archill Morel's lands in Beanley and Eglingham of twenty solidi or, in default of cash, 7 cattle each worth 6 solidi looks like a survival of a cattle render from which the cornage payment developed. See *Hist Dunelm Tres* Appendix xxxviii, note.

[24] See Dixon (1984, I, 78–9) for the argument that the territorial unit of the vill was usually adopted as the administrative vill. There are no contemporary boundary definitions for the pre-conquest vills: see note 9 above for medieval boundaries. As a working assumption, and in the absence of extensive field-based studies, I am projecting medieval township boundaries back into the pre-conquest era for the maps in this paper. Where boundaries follow prominent topographical features such a connection seems inherently likely. The western boundary of Islandshire in Kyloe, Buckton, Fenwick, Detchant and Belford townships, which follows a prominent scarp between Kyloe and Belford Moor and which borders on Lowick and Holburn at the foot of the scarp, is a case in point. A useful field observation from within the present study area concerns the boundary between Milfield and Kimmerston townships (Passmore *et al* forthcoming). North of the Redscar bridge this follows a now-silted palaeochannel of the River Till and not its current course. An early stage of the silting is dated within the range AD 1035–1285 by a calibrated radiocarbon determination. This gives a *terminus ante quem* for the cutting off of that channel and, before that, for its designation as a boundary. I am grateful to Dr. David Passmore for permission to cite this date in advance of the publication of his work.

[25] *BF* i, 598.

[26] *NCH* 1, (1893) 2–3.

[27] *NCH* 1, (1893) 152–4.

[28] Barrow 1973, 27. By the thirteenth century, there was some confusion in the records as between thanes and drengs. Thus, in 1212 Callaly is said to be held in thanage (*BF* i, 204) but in 1236 it is drengage (*BF* i, 598); and in consecutive Pipe Rolls (*Pipe Roll* 5 and 6 Richard I), Alan of Eslington is said to hold first by thanage and then by drengage .

[29] *BF* i, 205. Constance Fraser suggests (*pers comm*) that structural timbers were being carried to Bamburgh; *contra NCH* 14, (1935) 227 which suggests logs.

[30] *BF* i, 599.

[31] *BF* i, 205, 599.

[32] *BF* i, 205.

[33] *BF* i, 205, 206.

[34] Principal sources for the townships concerned are: **Beadnell:** *BF* i, 205, 599; *Pipe Roll* 23 Henry II, 33 Henry II, 5 John, 6 John; see also Hedley 1968, 265–6. **Beanley:** *BF* i, 598; ii, 1122; see also *NCH* 7, (1904), 56–7. **Bewick and Eglingham:** *Hist Dunelm Tres* p. lv, note to Appendix xxxviii; *Pipe Roll* 3 John. **Callaly and Yetlington:** *BF* i, 204–5, 598; *Pipe Roll* 7 Henry II, 23 Henry II, 33 Henry II, 34 Henry II, 1 Richard I, 2 Richard I, 6 John; *CCR* I, 31 Henry III, 321; *IPM* 45 Henry III, No. 499. **Ditchburn:** *BF* i, 203, 598. **Eslington:** *BF* i, 205, 599; *Pipe Roll* 7 Henry II, 23 Henry II, 33 Henry II, 34 Henry II, 1 Richard I, 2 Richard I, 5 John, 6 John; *CCR* I, 31 Henry III, 321; *IPM* 49 Henry III, No. 609; see also Hedley 1968, 262–4. **Lemmington:** *BF* i,

598; ii, 1122; see also *NCH* 7, (1904), 56–7.
Middletons and Roddam: *BF* i, 200, 598; ii, 1122;
Pipe Roll 3 John. **Mousen:** *BF* i, 205, 599; *Pipe Roll*
23 Henry II, 5 John, 6 John; *Assize Roll* 7 Edward I,
355; See also Hedley 1968, 264–5. **Whittingham,
Thrunton, Barton and half Glanton:** *BF* i, 203, 598;
Pipe Roll 7 Henry II, 5 John, 6 John; see also Hedley
1968, 261–2. King Edward I commuted the Bam-
burgh truncage to an annual payment of ten shillings
in 1280 (*CCR* II, 9 Edward I, 247).

[35] See *Pipe Roll* Henry II *passim*.

[36] *NCH* 1, (1893) 324; *Assize Roll*, 7 Edward I, 335;
Hodgson 1832, 91–2.

[37] For the Beanley estates and the House of Gos-
patric, see Greenwell in *NCH* 7, (1904) 14–106; also
Hedley 1968, 235–241. For the forfeit of the estates
to the Percies, see *Perc Chart* 302–3.

[38] *Perc Chart* 333. See also Hodgson 1922.

[39] *BF* ii, 1122. See also Hodgson 1923.

[40] *Hist Dunelm Tres* p. lv; *Pipe Roll* 3 John; *Perc
Chart* 302–3.

[41] *NCH* 7, (1904), 41, note 1; Hedley 1968, 236.

[42] *HSC* §11; Craster 1954, 185–6. The fabric of
Whittingham church has the remains of an Anglo-
Saxon tower, partly demolished in 1840 and a
fragment of an eighth-century cross-shaft was found
near the church in Edlingham (Cramp 1984, 170–1).

[43] Warkworth, another of Ceolwulf's gifts to St.
Cuthbert, broke up in a similar sort of way. The
estate of Warkworth *cum suis appendiciis*, as granted,
stretched from the River Lyne in the south to mid-
way between the Coquet and Aln in the north and
to Brinkburn in the west (*HSC* §8). King Osbert
took this from the Community in the ninth century
(*HSC* §10). In the accounts for thanage and dreng-
age of 33 Henry II (*Pipe Roll*), payment is noted for
Warkworth with Acklington, Birling and High Bus-
ton *'pertinentibus ad Werkewurda'*, the core of the
former estate, from which the outer lands had by
then become detached. By 1242–43, this core, with
Warkworth at its centre and also with one quarter
part of Togston, was held as a small barony by the
heirs of John son of Robert by one Knight's Fee.
(*BF* ii, 1113).

[44] See Jolliffe 1926, 12; Barrow 1973, 50–52.

[45] Hodgson 1922, 74; and *ibid* 68–70 for the text of
a survey of 1612 which includes a description of the
common.

[46] See note 17. Burghshire has an area of more than
1200 square kilometres, of which some 30% is
upland terrain.

[47] Here again, Bamburghshire is comparable with
Burghshire where Bishop Wilfrid's monastery of

Ripon received land within the shire around the
mid-seventh century. See Jones, as note 17.

[48] Jones 1971, 262; 1979, 32.

[49] *NCH* 1, (1893) 1–3. This was written long before
Jolliffe (1926) began the elucidation of Northumbr-
ian institutions. It confuses the issue by drawing on
both the medieval Ward of Bamburgh and the
arrangement of border service in the sixteenth
century, which do not fully correspond one with
another, in the definition of the shire.

[50] Raine 1852.

[51] Concave territory, see Fleming 1998, 49; and
ibid. 46–47 for a brief review of the idea of the river
estate as proposed by W.G. Hoskins and others.

[52] Cheviot was part of the Muschamp estate in the
medieval era and was within Kirknewton parish.

[53] This is counter to the statement of *NCH* 1,
(1893), 2: 'Thus Chillingham is stated to be situated
in Bamburghshire'. There is no certainty on the
matter; but I have already shown (note 49 above)
that *NCH* is confused in its definition of the shire of
Bamburgh and that the records of border service, on
which the Chillingham identification depends, do
not accurately reflect the pre-conquest shire. I am
inclined to associate Chillingham with Chatton, and
hence the shire of *Gefrin*, because, like Chatton, it is
Vesci and Muschamp land. The idea that the
detached northern block of the Vesci estate (all but
two townships in Chillingham and Chatton) is
contained within a single shire accords with the
hypothesis which I have proposed (see main text) of
a degree of correspondence between shire structure
and baronial holdings.

[54] *Pipe Roll* 33 Henry II.

[55] *BF* ii, 1119.

[56] Lomas 1996, 22–5. There is evidence of a similar
process of conversion within the Beanley estates,
where drengage tenures in Beanley, Lemmington
and Long Witton were all turned into a free feudal
service (see *NCH* 7 (1904) 56–7). The taxes levied
on thanes and drengs in the later twelfth century
could have given the incentive for the change.

[57] Barrow 1973, 54: 'In Scotia as further south
thane and shire go together. Shires need thanes.' See
also note 72 below.

[58] Osfrith: *VW* §36. Tydlin: *VW* §38.

[59] *HE* ii, 16.

[60] *NCH* 11, (1922) 243 notes that the southern
boundary of the township is suspiciously straight
and suggests that its land may formerly have
belonged in part to Lanton and Coupland, or (243,
footnote 3) that the township might have been
known as Akeld Strother in medieval times. Dixon
(1984, II, 437) suggests that the township was

formed from a division of Lanton at the end of the fifteenth century.

[61] Hope-Taylor (1977, fig. 7) published a sketch plan of the cropmarks recorded by J. K. St. Joseph. This is superseded by Tim Gates' 1:2500 scale mapping, see Gates and O'Brien 1988, fig. 1. For a recent discussion of the place name see Breeze 2001.

[62] Cramp 1984, 232–3.

[63] Lomas, as note 56; also *BF* ii, 1119.

[64] Or perhaps there is another, higher level of organisation working across the shire boundaries. The formula of three townships equals a thanage looks suspiciously neat; but the well-known case in southern Northumberland of Halton, Clarewood and Great Whittington lends credibility (*BF* i, 205, 598).

[65] Lomas, as note 56.

[66] *IPM* 39 Henry III, No. 341 – Isabel, daughter of Odinel Ford.

[67] *BF* ii, 1118.

[68] *BF* ii, 1129.

[69] O'Brien and Miket 1991. C14 dates are cited therein on p. 88.

[70] O'Brien 2000.

[71] O'Brien and Miket 1991, 89.

[72] There is no straightforward correspondence between the English terms of the twelfth – thirteenth centuries and the Latin of the eighth. 'Dreng' is not first recorded until about AD 1000 (*OED*). In *HE*, *comes* is the term for a landowner: e.g. iv, 10 the wife of a *comes quidam* is cured of blindness; iv, 22 Imma is captured and brought before a *comes* of the king; John of Beverley dedicates churches for the *comites* Puch, v. 4 and Addi, v, 5. The first English translation of *HE* renders these as *gesith*. Loyn (1955) showed that *gesith* was used in two senses in the eighth century, meaning both personal retainer and holder of land. From about AD 900, *thegn* comes to replace *gesith* in both senses; but the first translation of *HE* uses *thegn* in different ways, for the Latin terms *miles* and *minister*. So, Imma, iv, 22 (as above), injured in battle, is a *miles*, while Cædmon, iv, 24, has a *minister* to assist him. The thane who holds a shire by a ministerial tenure, as understood by Barrow (1969, 10–11; 1973), draws not only on the former sense of *comes-gesith*, as Loyn showed, but also on the executive and administrative functions of *praefecti* such as Osfrith and Tydlin in *VW* (cited above, note 58) and Blaecca of Lincoln (*HE* ii, 16) whose title is given as 'reeve' in the first English translation. Campbell (1986, 107) has suggested that this translation understates the wide authority of the *praefectus* who '*may* have been more like a "sub-king" than a "reeve"'. How, then, should we relate these terms to the occupants of the archaeological sites? If *praefectus* is the appropriate term for the king's officer in his estate at Yeavering or Milfield, then his neighbour at Thirlings would be a *comes-gesith*; and had this lesser lordship survived here into the thirteenth century, its holders would then perhaps have been on a par with Stephen and his successor Henry, the drengs of Mousen, who had their own bondmen (see *IPM* Henry III, 672 – Henry of Mousen).

[73] New Bewick, some 16 km. south-east of Thirlings, can be placed on the list. See Gates and O'Brien 1988.

[74] James, Marshall and Millett (1984) use the Thirlings buildings to help characterise an early medieval building tradition.

[75] Sprouston, like Milfield, is known from crop-marks. See Smith 1991.

[76] The floor area of Yeavering A4 is 283 square metres and Thirlings A is 74 square metres. A similar sort of distinction between shire centre and place of minor lordship might be indicated in Mercia as between Tamworth and Catholme.

[77] *BF* ii, 1119, 1129; also *IPM* 39 Henry III – Isabel, daughter of Odinel Ford.

[78] Charles-Edwards 1989, 28–33.

[79] For Durham, see Breeze 1999; Kyloe, see Jones 1976b, 64–6 and, for a critique of this interpretation, Alcock 1988, 6–7; Hedgeley-Beanley, see Barrow 1973, 66.

[80] *HSC* §4.

[81] *BF* ii, 1117.

[82] Paul Frodsham informs me that in a small excavation in July 2001 south of the parish church in Ingram he observed no early medieval material. Until there is more extensive investigation in Ingram, I do not think this negative finding is conclusive evidence against my suggestion. I am indebted to Paul Frodsham for discussion on this point.

[83] *BF* ii, 1118; *Perc Chart* 244–5; *NCH* 14 (1935), 472. The term 'Ten Towns of Coquetdale' is misleading, referring as it does to a block of land which takes in the south-east flank of the Cheviot hills between the north bank of the River Coquet and the valley of the River Breamish. The towns are Alwinton, Biddleston, Burradon, Sharperton, Netherton, Farnham, Fawdon, Clennell, Chirmundesden and Ingram.

[84] Richard Lomas (1996, 16) is perhaps over-cautious in saying that the question of how the estate of each barony was put together and why some were widely scattered 'cannot at present be answered'. Geoffrey Barrow had earlier written (1973, 11, note

47) 'it is probable that most of the baronies in Northumberland were created out of land previously held in thanage; but it is only rarely that evidence for the change survives'.

[85] See note 53 above for the application of this hypothesis to Chillingham.

[86] Raine 1852, 192 and 207–8. A fragment of a pre-conquest stone cross suggests that Kyloe was an ecclesiastical centre before the Durham Priory founded a chapel here in 1145 (Lomas 1996, 112). Jones (1976b, 64–6) analyses the medieval estate structure of Islandshire.

[87] I owe this suggestion to Professor Geoffrey Barrow.

[88] Cramp 1983, 275. Clive Waddington develops this point in a forthcoming paper, referring to new ideologies in the Bernician state once it had come under the influence of Iona.

[89] Jackson 1953, 701–5; Thomas 1971, 17.

[90] Bradley 1987.

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Abbreviations:

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BF *Liber Foedorum: the Book of Fees. Part i, 1192–1242; Part ii, 1243–1293*, London, 1920, 1923.

CCR *Calendar of the Charter Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office. Volume I, Henry III 1226–1257; Volume II, Henry III-Edward I, AD 1257–1300.* London, 1903, 1906.

HE Colgrave, B. and Mynors, R. A. B. (eds.) 1969 *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Oxford.

Hist Dunelm Tres Raine, J. (ed.), 1839 *Historiae Dunelmensis Ecclesiae Scriptores Tres* [SS 88], Durham.

HSC Johnson South, T. (ed.) 2002 *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* [Anglo-Saxon Texts 3], Cambridge.

IPM *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem,* 1, *Henry III*, London, 1904.

NCH *Northumberland County History*, Vols 1–15, 1893–1940, Newcastle upon Tyne.

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