

Locating *Ingetlingum* and *Suthgedling*: Gilling West and Gilling East

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Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* relates that a conflict between King Oswiu of the Bernicians (r. 642–670) and King Oswine of the Deirans (r. 644–651) resulted in the foundation of a religious community at a place called *Ingetlingum*. According to Bede, Oswiu and Oswine gathered their forces for a stand off. Oswine marshalled his men at *Wilfaresdūn*, ten miles north-west of Catterick. However, he realised that his forces were outmatched. After disbanding them, he sought refuge in the house of a faithful follower at *Ingetlingum*. His faith was misplaced; his follower betrayed him to Oswiu, who had him murdered. To atone for this crime, Oswiu founded a religious community at *Ingetlingum* under the control of an Abbot called Trumhere.¹

Cynefrith, brother of Ceolfrid of Jarrow, and their kinsman Tunberht were later Abbots of the community.²

Bede places *Wilfaresdūn* ten miles north-west of Catterick (North Yorks) (Fig. 1 for all places mentioned). *Wilfaresdūn* itself has not been securely located, but it may be Kirby Hill (NY). Kirby Hill lies roughly ten miles north-west of Catterick, in the ancient ecclesiastical parish of Kirby Ravensworth. Nearby East Dalton fields, also in the parish of Kirby Ravensworth, had a medieval chapel dedicated to St Wolfray: this dedication may represent the later development of a cult from the

¹ Bede, *H(istoria) E(cclesiastica)*, iii.14 and iii.24, ed. C. Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, 2 vols (1896), I, 154–57.

² Anon., *Sermo*, cc. 2–3, ed. Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae*, I, 388–89.

place-name *Wilfaresdūn*.³ *Gedling is the linguistic root of the place-name *Ingetlingum*. *Gedling is also probably the root of the place-name Gilling West (NY) and the present village lies some seven miles north-west of Catterick.⁴ It has generally been assumed, therefore, that *Ingetlingum* was at Gilling West.⁵ Nevertheless, the case for Gilling West has been assumed rather than established. Two recent publications have challenged this assumption. Richard Morris and Ian Wood have acknowledged the potential case for locating *Ingetlingum* at Gilling West, but have constructed a plausible case for Gilling East as an alternative.⁶

Further complications are introduced by the anonymous *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* [HSC]. The HSC claims that King Ecgfrith of the Bernicians and Deirans granted to St Cuthbert the territory of Cartmel (Cumberland) and a vill called *Suthgedluit* or *Suthgedling*. Cuthbert is said to have placed these acquisitions under

³ *The Victoria County History of the County of York: North Riding*, ed. W. Page, I (1914), 97.

⁴ A.H. Smith, *Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, E(nglish) P(lace)-N(ame) S(ociety) 5 (Cambridge, 1928), 288–89; V. Watts, *The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 250.

⁵ Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae*, II, 164, 482; B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 257, 293; D.H. Farmer, *The Age of Bede* (1998), pp. 31, 213; J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History: A Historical Commentary* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 74, 107, 123; R. Morris, *Churches in the Landscape* (1989), pp. 111, 125, 134, 145, 455; J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 85n., 144, 187n., 315; S. Foot, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England c.600–900* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 84, 187, 214, 317. A minor exception to this consensus was the suggestion that *Ingetlingum* was at Collingham (West Yorks): *VCH Yorks: North Riding*, I, 71–84, followed by Smith, *Place-Names of the North Riding*, pp. 288–89. However, there is no etymological connection: A.H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, EPNS 30–37 (Cambridge, 1961–63), IV, 174–75.

⁶ R. Morris, *Journeys from Jarrow: Jarrow Lecture 2004* (Jarrow, 2008), pp. 21–23; I.N. Wood, 'Monasteries and the Geography of Power in the Age of Bede', *Northern History*, XLV (1) (2008), 17–18.

the control of an Abbot called Cyneferth.⁷ *Gedling is probably the root of the place-name *Suthgedluit/Suthgedling*. Thomas Arnold's edition of the *Historia* suggested that Cuthbert's vill should be located close to Cartmel, perhaps at Yealand (Lancashire).⁸ Arnold's suggestion has rarely been endorsed and the early forms of the place-name Yealand make this unlikely.⁹ Sir Edmund Craster associated Cynefrith, Abbot of *Ingetlingum*, with the Cyneferth who controlled *Suthgedluit/Suthgedling*: he proposed that these two references were to the same foundation.¹⁰ Christopher Morris considered this unlikely, but offered no alternative.¹¹ Michael Roper and Ted Johnson South have remained ambivalent, noting the possibility of a connection between *Ingetlingum* and *Suthgedluit/Suthgedling*, but considering the identification uncertain.¹²

What follows will revisit the evidence and propose a new solution. Placing Bede's passages on *Ingetlingum* within his broader narrative conventions suggests that *Ingetlingum* was indeed at Gilling West. Close consideration of the *HSC* passage on *Suthgedling* within the context of the rest of the work suggests that when the

⁷ *H(istoria) de S(ancto) C(uthberto)*, c.6, ed. and trans. T. Johnson South, *Anglo-Saxon Texts 3* (Cambridge, 2002), 48–49.

⁸ *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, ed. T. Arnold, *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores* 75 (1882–85), I, 200, note 'c'.

⁹ E. Ekwall, *The Place-Names of Lancashire* (Manchester, 1922), pp. 188–89; M. Gelling and A. Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names* (Stamford, 2000), p. 282; Watts, *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 710. The early forms *Jalont*, *Yaland*, and *Hielande* suggest either O(ld) E(nglish) *Hēaland*, 'high land', or OE *Ēaland*, 'land by the stream', and the topography makes 'high land' most likely.

¹⁰ E. Craster, 'The Patrimony of St Cuthbert', *English Historical Review*, LXIX (1954), 182.

¹¹ C. D. Morris, 'Northumbria and the Viking Settlement: The Evidence for Landholding', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series, V (1977), 91.

¹² M. Roper, 'Wilfrid's Landholdings in Northumbria', in *Saint Wilfrid at Hexham*, ed. D.P. Kirby (Newcastle, 1974), pp. 61–62, 64, 76–77 n. 21; *HSC*, c.6, pp. 48–49, notes at 81–82.

author wrote about *Suthgedling* he was thinking of Gilling East. Providing more precise arguments for the location of these sites in turn produces a different perspective on the relationship between power and the topography of religious patronage in the foundation of the religious community at *Ingetlingum*.

Locating *Ingetlingum*

Bede relates that King Oswiu of the Bernicians could not live at peace with King Oswine of the Deirans, so the two Kings raised forces to fight one another. Oswine realised that his men were outmatched, so he determined to dismiss them and wait for better times.

Therefore he sent back the army that he had collected, and he ordered each individual to return home from that place which is called *Wilfaresdūn*, that is *Mons Uilfari*, and is almost ten miles from the village of Catterick to the north west; and he himself diverted (*divertit*) with a most faithful *miles*, named Tondhere, to hide in the house of Hunuald *comes*, whom he also considered his friend. But alas, it was very much otherwise; for he was betrayed by the same comes to Oswiu, who killed him along with the aforementioned soldier, in a death detested by everyone, by means of his *praefectus* Æthelwine. This was done on the 20th of September, in the ninth year of his reign, in the place which is called *Ingetlingum*; where, afterwards, a religious community was constructed in atonement for this crime, in which they were bound to offer

prayers daily to the Lord for the redemption of the souls of each of these two kings, both he who was murdered and he who ordered the murder.¹³

Later, Bede reveals a little more about the circumstances of the foundation of this community. King Oswiu was married to Eanflæd, who was a relative of King Oswine: she therefore prompted Oswiu to grant the site at *Ingetlingum* to another of her relatives called Trumhere for the construction of the monastery.¹⁴ The anonymous *Sermo* on Ceolfrid supplies further information. Cynefrith, a brother of Ceolfrid, was a later Abbot of *Ingetlingum*. Cynefrith handed over the abbacy to another relative named Tunberht and set out on pilgrimage to Ireland. While Tunberht was Abbot, Ceolfrid himself entered *Ingetlingum* as a novice. Soon after this Cynefrith died in a plague. Tunberht, Ceolfrid and some of the other brothers left to join the religious community at Ripon.¹⁵

Together these two sources establish a relatively precise chronology for the foundation and early history of *Ingetlingum*. *Ingetlingum* was founded soon after King Oswiu's murder of King Oswine in 651.¹⁶ Trumhere presumably remained

¹³ *HE*, iii.14: Remisit ergo exercitum quem congregaverat, ac singulos domum redire praecepit a loco qui vocatur Uilfaresdun, id est Mons Uilfari, et est a vico Cataractone x ferme milibus passuum contra solstitialem occasum secretus; divertitque ipse cum uno tantum milite sibi fidissimo, nomine Tondheri, celandus in domum comitis Hunualdi, quem etiam ipsum sibi amicissimum autumabat. Sed heu! pro dolor! longe aliter erat; nam ab eodem comite proditum eum Osuii cum praefato ipsius milite per praefectum suum Ediluinum detestanda omnibus morte interfecit. Quod factum est die tertia decima kalendarum Septembrium, anno regni eius non, in loco qui dicitur Ingetlingum; ubi postmodum castigandi huius facinoris gratia monasterium constructum est, in quo pro utriusque regis, et occisi videlicet et eius qui occidere iussit, animae redemptione cotidie Domino preces offerri deberent. The translation is my own.

¹⁴ *HE*, iii.24.

¹⁵ *Sermo*, cc.2–3.

¹⁶ *HE*, v.24.

Abbot for some time after *Ingetlingum* was founded; however, he was elected Bishop of the Mercians in 658x659, by which time he had probably handed over the abbacy to someone else.¹⁷ Cynefrith, brother of Ceolfrid, ruled *Ingetlingum* just prior to Ceolfrid's entry into the community at the age of eighteen; this must have been before c. 660, since Ceolfrid was ordained priest some nine years later, at the age of twenty-seven, in 669.¹⁸ Therefore it is possible that Trumhere handed rule of the community directly to Cynefrith as his successor. Cynefrith committed the community to the care of their cousin Tunberht and left for Ireland. Sometime soon after this, Cynefrith died in a plague; this may have been the plague of 664.¹⁹ Tunberht, Ceolfrid and 'not a few brothers' (*non paucis e fratribus eius monasterii*) left to join the community at Ripon: unfortunately, this phrasing is not sufficiently precise to tell us whether *Ingetlingum* continued to function as a religious community or was abandoned.

If the sources provide clear detail on the foundation and early history of *Ingetlingum*, they are less clear about its location. Bede's narrative requires close attention. He gives us a location for *Wilfaresdūn*, ten miles north-west of Catterick. He then says that Oswine diverted (*divertit*) to *Ingetlingum*, where he was murdered

¹⁷ *HE*, iii.21, establishes that Trumhere became Bishop in the time of King Wulfhere of Mercia; iii.24, establishes that three years after the death of King Penda of Mercia, Wulfhere was raised to the throne; v.24, establishes that Penda died in 655. Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae*, II, xx–xxi; F.M. Powicke and E.B. Fryde, *Handbook of British Chronology*, Royal Historical Society Guides, 3rd edn (1986), p. 242.

¹⁸ *Sermo*, c.3 establishes that Bishop Wilfrid ordained Ceolfrid as a priest when he was twenty-seven years old; Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, cc.22–23, ed. Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae*, I, 386–87, establishes that Ceolfrid was a priest for forty-seven years and died aged seventy-four in 716. Thus he was born in 642 and ordained in 669.

¹⁹ *HE*, v.24; J.R. Maddicott, 'Plague in Seventh-Century England', *Past and Present*, CLVI (1997), 11–14, for an excellent discussion of this in relation to *Ingetlingum*.

and the religious community was founded. The verb *diverto* was generally used in the sense of ‘divert’ or ‘turn aside’.²⁰ Unfortunately, Bede’s usage is imprecise.²¹ A quotation from Adamnán included in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* shows that Bede was aware that *diverto* could be used to convey movement over a short distance.²² Indeed, Bede employed *diverto* in this way on three occasions to describe the activities of Aidan and Putta over restricted distances.²³ Yet on six other occasions he employed *diverto* to describe travel over longer distances.²⁴ Clearly Bede

²⁰ R.E. Latham, *Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources* (1965), p. 153.

²¹ P.F. Jones, *A Concordance to the Historia Ecclesiastica of Bede* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), p. 150, ‘diverto’, has been employed to check Bede’s usage.

²² *HE*, v.16, ed. Plummer, I, 317, lines 18–20: ‘... primum de locis sanctis pro condicione platearum divertendum est ad ecclesiam Constantinianam’ [The first place to be diverted to, as the layout of the streets demands, is the church of Constantine].

²³ *HE*, iii.5, ed. Plummer, I, 136, lines 1–5: ‘quatinus, ubicumque aliquos vel divites vel pauperes incedens aspexisset, confestim ad hos divertens vel ad fidei suscipiendae sacramentum, si infideles essent, invitaret’ [in order that, as he (Aidan) walked along, if he saw anyone, whether rich or poor, he might immediately divert to them and, if they were unbelievers, invite them to receive the mystery of the faith . . .]; *HE*, iii.17, ed. Plummer, I, 159, lines 25–28: ‘In hac enim habens ecclesiam et cubiculum, saepius ibidem diverti ac manere, atque inde ad praedicandum circumquaque exire consueerat . . .’ [Here he (Aidan) had a church and a cell, where he would frequently divert and stay, and yet he was accustomed to travel about from there in the neighbourhood preaching]; *HE*, iv.12, ed. Plummer, I, 228, lines 20–22: ‘... sed in illa solum ecclesia Deo serviens, et ubicumque rogabatur, ad docenda ecclesiae carmina divertens’ [So he (Putta) served God in this church and, wherever he was asked, he diverted teaching church music].

²⁴ *HE*, iii.28, ed. Plummer, I, 195, lines 8–9: ‘Unde deverterunt ad provinciam Occidentalium Saxonum . . .’ [From there (Kent) they diverted to the kingdom of the West Saxons . . .]; *HE*, iv.12, ed. Plummer, I, 228, lines 12–15, Putta travelling from Kent to Mercia: ‘Quod ille ubi conperiit, ecclesiam videlicet suam rebus ablatis omnibus depopulatam, divertit ad Sexuulfum Merciorum antistitem . . .’ [When Putta found that his church was destroyed and all its contents removed, he diverted to Sexwulf, bishop of the Mercians . . .]; *HE*, iv.13, ed. Plummer, I, 230, lines 5–6: Wilfrid returned from Rome: ‘... siquidem divertens ad provinciam Australium Saxonum . . .’ [. . . so he diverted to the kingdom of the South Saxons ...]; *HE*, iv.18, ed. Plummer, I, 242, lines 22–26, on John the precentor’s journey from Rome: ‘Nam et benigno

intended to convey that Oswine had left *Wilfaresdūn* and diverted or turned aside to *Ingetlingum*, but his language gives no indication of the distance between the two. However, placing this passage within the context of Bede's narrative conventions reveals important information about the location, status and organisation of the *Ingetlingum* estate and community.

Bede included precise details about the distance necessary to travel to a place on six other occasions in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. He generally included distances for ecclesiastical sites, because they were sites central to mission or were locations that testified to the virtue of an individual. The location of the Antonine Wall is a partial exception to this rule, because Bede identifies a defensive structure; nevertheless, it is located with reference to an ecclesiastical site.²⁵ Rochester (Kent) is located twenty-four miles west of Canterbury and it was a significant place in Bede's narrative of the Kentish mission.²⁶ *Ad Murum*, a royal estate on Hadrian's Wall, is located at twelve miles from the east coast and it was a significant place for the Northumbrian missions to the Mercians and the East Saxons.²⁷ The religious community at Whitby (NY) is stated as lying thirteen miles from its daughter house

ecclesiae illius hospitio, cum Britanniam iret, exceptus est rogatusque multum a fratribus, ut Romam revertens illo itinere veniret, atque ad eam diverteret ecclesiam . . . [For when he was on his way to Britain, he had been liberally entertained by the church in that place (Tours) and it followed that he had been earnestly asked by the brothers to take that road on his return to Rome and to divert to the same church]; *HE*, iv.23, ed. Plummer, I, 255, lines 4–5: '*. . . et inde cum rediens Britanniam adisset, divertit ad provinciam Huiciorum . . .*' [After his (Oftfor's) return to Britain he diverted to the kingdom of the Hwicce]; *HE*, v.10, ed. Plummer, I, 299, lines 5–7, on Willibrord arriving on the Continent: '*Qui cum illo advenissent, erant autem numero duodecim, divertentes ad Pippinum ducem Francorum . . .*' [When they arrived, twelve in number, they diverted to visit Pippin, duke of the Franks . . .].

²⁵ *HE*, i.12.

²⁶ *HE*, ii.3.

²⁷ *HE*, iii.21–22.

at Hackness (East Yorks), a distance that serves to emphasise the miraculous nature of a vision of Saint Hild and demonstrate her sanctity.²⁸ Cuthbert's hermitage on Farne Island (Northumberland) is located in the Ocean, about nine miles from Lindisfarne (Nth), demonstrating his ascetic credentials.²⁹ Bishop John of Hexham (Nth) had a retreat to which he retired while he was Bishop, mixing contemplation and action: the distance from Hexham — one-and-a-half miles — is testimony to this activity and provides a setting for a miracle he performed.³⁰

Based on these parallels, Bede probably specified the location of *Wilfaresdūn* because it provided information about the location of an ecclesiastical site which was either central to mission or testified to the virtue of an individual. The location of *Wilfaresdūn* therefore probably provides evidence for the general location of *Ingetlingum* with its religious community; the proximity of the muster point to the community served to reinforce the idea that Oswiu founded the community in atonement for the murder. Bede presented Oswiu as a positive moral exemplar, but in doing so he worked hard to rescue Oswiu from his actions in murdering Oswine: he emphasised that Oswine's humility had prompted Bishop Aidan to prophesy his early death; he emphasised the role of Oswine's faithless official; and he emphasised that Oswiu founded the community to pray for their souls.³¹

²⁸ *HE*, iv.23.

²⁹ *HE*, iv.27.

³⁰ *HE*, v.2. Compare *HE*, iv.3, on Chad's retreat near Lichfield. H.P.R. Finberg, 'The Archangel Michael in Britain', *Millénaire Monastique du Mont Saint-Michel* (1971), III, 459–60, suggests locations for these retreats, placing John of Beverley's at St Michael's church in the parish of Warden, two miles from Hexham, below a prehistoric hill fort.

³¹ *HE*, iii.14 and iii.24.

Bede's description of *Ingetlingum* also includes important indications about the status and organisation of the estate on which the community was founded. *Ingetlingum* was apparently a royal estate on loan to a royal official; following the murder, Oswiu revoked the loan and re-granted the estate to Trumhere.³² To judge from Bede's usage, place-names of the type *Ingetlingum* referred to wider territorial units, probably royal villas with surrounding territories of obligation known as *regiones* or *provinciae*.³³ Sometimes monasteries were founded on these territorial units and were named from the unit itself, such as *Inberecingum* or Barking.³⁴ Elsewhere Oswiu granted quite limited portions of land for the foundation of religious communities, such as ten hides, but the grants may well have been ten hides within such a territory.³⁵ In many cases, a reciprocal relationship developed whereby the monastery was expected to provide pastoral care for the whole territory in return for rights and obligations from the constituent settlements.³⁶ An excellent example of this is Wootton Wawen (Warwickshire) and its surrounding territory. An early-eighth-century charter records the foundation of a religious community at Wootton on twenty hides of land in the *regio* of the *Stoppingas*. The

³² R.P. Abels, *Lordship and Military Obligation in Anglo-Saxon England* (1988), pp. 28–30, for discussion of the context of royal loans to warriors and officials.

³³ *HE*, iii.21, in regione quae vocatur Infeppingum; *HE*, iv.6–10, Inberecingum; *HE*, v.12, Incuneningum. Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae*, II, 103–04; J. Campbell, 'Bede's reges and principes', in idem, *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* (1986), pp. 85–98; and idem, 'Bede's words for places', in *ibid.*, pp. 108–13; S. Bassett, 'In Search of the Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms', in *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, ed. idem (1989), pp. 3–27; R. Faith, *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship* (1997), pp. 1–13, is the best recent summary of such territories of obligation.

³⁴ *HE*, iv.6–10.

³⁵ *HE*, iii.24, for example, where Oswiu gave twelve grants of ten hides each for the foundation of religious communities.

³⁶ Blair, *Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, pp. 153–60.

place-name *Stoppingas* may mean ‘the people of the bucket-shaped hollow’, perhaps referring to the river basin of the River Alne. Wootton Wawen church controlled a mother parish co-extensive with the river basin of the River Alne. Presumably, then, there was a pre-existing *regio* based on the river basin: the community was founded on twenty hides of land within the *regio* and it developed a reciprocal pastoral relationship with the inhabitants of the *regio*.³⁷

Putting all this information together, *Ingetlingum* is most likely to have been at Gilling West (Fig. 2). *Gedling was probably the root of the place-names *Ingetlingum* and Gilling West.³⁸ *Wilfaresdūn* was ten miles north-west of Catterick, while Gilling West is about seven miles north-west of Catterick. They are sufficiently close for Bede’s information about the location of *Wilfaresdūn* to serve as reinforcement for his claim that Oswiu founded *Ingetlingum* to atone for Oswine’s murder. The three miles between them is nevertheless enough to warrant Bede’s use of the verb *diverto*, ‘divert’ or ‘turn aside’, to describe Oswine’s movement to *Ingetlingum*. Stone sculpture survives at Gilling West and it has been dated on art-historical grounds to the ninth century: this testifies to an early ecclesiastical presence.³⁹ Evidence from the eleventh century is also consistent with the idea that Gilling West was an early royal vill controlling a wider territory of obligation that

³⁷ Bassett, in idem, *Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, pp. 18–20; idem, ‘Boundaries of Knowledge: Mapping the Land Units of Late Anglo-Saxon and Norman England’, in *People and Space in the Middle Ages, 300–1300*, ed. W. Davies, G. Halsall and A. Reynolds (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 115–42.

³⁸ Smith, *Place-Names of the North Riding*, pp. 288–89; Watts, *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 250.

³⁹ *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, ed. J. Lang (Oxford, 2001), pp. 113–18: Gilling West 3 and Gilling West 9.

was on loan to a royal official and was used for the foundation of a religious community that served that territory.

Domesday Book (1086x1088) reveals that Gilling West was held TRE by Earl Edwin and TRW by Count Alan: it was valued TRE at £56, TRW at £4 and was an extensive soke estate.⁴⁰ Royal patronage in late Anglo-Saxon England seems to have included royal land set aside as loanland for royal officials — either whole estates or portions of estates.⁴¹ Royal dues and renders were regularly levied at rates based on multiples of £8: where an estate was valued at a multiple of £8 TRE, such as £56, but was in the hands of an earl, it is likely to be a royal estate on loan to the earl — Gilling West is a prime example.⁴² Soke estates consisted of a central manor controlling outlying ‘berewicks’ and ‘sokelands’. ‘Berewicks’ were detached portions of demesne land.⁴³ ‘Sokelands’ were portions of land from which the lord of the central manor had the right to collect judicial fines and/or extract obligations of service.⁴⁴ Soke rights are considered to be privatised relics of the early system of royal villis with surrounding territories that owed obligations of service.⁴⁵ Of course,

⁴⁰ Great Domesday Book, fol. 309r.

⁴¹ S. Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 141–51; S. Baxter and J. Blair, ‘Land Tenure and Royal Patronage in the Early English Kingdom: A Model and a Case Study’, *Anglo-Norman Studies*, XXVIII (2005), 19–46, for an analysis of the exceptional evidence from Bampton, Oxfordshire.

⁴² Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, pp. 142, 144, n. 84, which lists Gilling West as one such estate.

⁴³ F.M. Stenton, ‘Types of Manorial Structure in the Northern Danelaw’, in *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History*, ed. P. Vinogradoff (Oxford, 1910), II, 1–14, for the distinction between ‘berewicks’ and ‘sokelands’.

⁴⁴ Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, p. 210 n. 40 for the historiography on this issue, pp. 210–11, 257–59 for a summary of ‘soke’ as a phenomenon.

⁴⁵ F.W. Maitland, ‘Northumbrian Tenures’, *EHR*, V (1890), 625–32, and J. Jolliffe, ‘Northumbrian Institutions’, *EHR*, XLI (1926), 1–42, noted the similarity between

because soke was a jurisdictional right, soke estates could be reconstituted or created *de novo*: not all soke estates are direct survivals from royal vills with surrounding territories of obligation.⁴⁶ However, in some cases the central settlement of a soke estate includes a church controlling a mother parish roughly coterminous with that estate. In these cases, it seems likely that the estate and mother parish reflect the outlines of early Anglo-Saxon territories of obligation.⁴⁷ Gilling West church controlled a mother parish roughly coterminous with the soke estate.⁴⁸ *Ingetlingum* was apparently a royal centre controlling a wider territory of obligation, which was loaned to a royal official and then granted for the foundation of a religious community. Gilling West was apparently a royal centre controlling a wider territory of obligation, which was on loan to an earl in the eleventh century; its mother parish is likely to be a relic of the relationship between an early religious community and the territory of obligation within which it was founded.

the small shires of southern Scotland and Northumbria, the soke estates of the Danelaw, and the lathes of Kent, proposing that they all derived from early territories of obligation. G.W.S. Barrow, 'Northern English Society in the Early Middle Ages', *NH*, IV (1969), 1–28, and idem, *The Kingdom of the Scots: Government, Church and Society from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Century* (1973), for more recent discussions of the Scottish and Northumbrian evidence.

⁴⁶ C. Hart, *The Danelaw* (1992), pp. 231–80; D.M. Hadley, 'Multiple Estates and the Origins of the Manorial Structure of the Northern Danelaw', *Journal of Historical Geography*, XXII(1) (1996), 3–15; idem, *The Northern Danelaw: Its Social Structure c.800–1100* (2000), pp. 122–48.

⁴⁷ Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, pp. 131–33; T. Pickles, 'The Church in Anglo-Saxon Yorkshire: Minsters in the Danelaw' (unpub. D.Phil. thesis, 2 vols, Oxford Univ. 2005), I, 73–84.

⁴⁸ Pickles, thesis, I, 73–77, and II, 346–51, Appendix 3. The soke estate is revealed in Domesday Book. The mother- parish has been reconstructed using the *VCH* along with R. J.P. Kain and R.R. Oliver, *Historic Parishes of England and Wales: An Electronic Map of Boundaries before 1850 with a Gazetteer and Metadata* (Colchester, 2001).

Of course, it remains just possible that Ingetlingum was at Gilling East (Fig. 3), but the case for this is weak in comparison. *Gedling was probably the root of the place-name Gilling East too, so it is certainly possible that Bede was referring to this place.⁴⁹ Stone sculpture survives at Gilling East, which has been dated on art-historical grounds to the eighth century: again, this testifies to an early ecclesiastical presence.⁵⁰ *Wilfaresdūn*, however, was ten miles north-west of Catterick, whereas Gilling East is about twenty-five miles south-east of Catterick. Why did Bede specify the location of *Wilfaresdūn* if *Ingetlingum* was at Gilling East and located so far away? It has been pointed out that Oswine might have aimed to travel a significant distance from *Wilfaresdūn* and might have sought refuge at Gilling East because it lay in the heartland of the kingdom of the Deirans; it has also been pointed out that this area was a particular focus for the foundation of religious communities.⁵¹ Such arguments are plausible and important, but offer no conclusive reason to relocate Ingetlingum to Gilling East. Evidence from the eleventh century and later is also much harder to reconcile with the idea that Gilling East was an early royal vill controlling a territory of obligation that was used for the foundation of a religious community. Domesday Book (1086x1088) records two holdings of limited size at Gilling East: four carucates of land, held TRE by Orm and TRW by Ralph de Mortimer;⁵² and four carucates of land, held TRE by Bark and TRW by Hugh

⁴⁹ Smith, *Place-Names of the North Riding*, pp. 53, 64; Watts, *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 250.

⁵⁰ *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, Volume III: Eastern Yorkshire*, ed. J. Lang (Oxford, 1991), p. 133.

⁵¹ Wood, *NH*, XLV, 17; Morris, *Journeys from Jarrow*, p. 21.

⁵² Great Domesday Book, fol. 325v; presumably the same four carucates referred to in the Clamores, fol. 380v.

FitzBaldric.⁵³ Indeed, it reveals that in the eleventh century two other major soke estates centred on Hovingham and Kirkby Moorside dominated the Vale of Pickering.⁵⁴ Gilling East parish church does not seem to have been a mother church controlling multiple parishes.⁵⁵ The survival of the place-name Gillamoor might hint that Gilling East had once controlled a wider territory, but it is equally possible that Gilling East simply had rights over an outlying patch of moorland.⁵⁶ All this makes it much more likely that Ingetlingum was at Gilling West than Gilling East.

Locating *Suthgedling*

Chapter six of the *HSC* states:

After St Cuthbert raised a boy from the dead at the vill that is called *Exanforda*, King Ecgrith gave to him the territory of Cartmel and all the Britons with it, and the vill that is called *Suthgedluit/ Suthgedling* and whatever pertains to it. The good abbot Cyneferth son of Cyging wisely governed all of these committed to him by St Cuthbert just as he wished.⁵⁷

⁵³ Great Domesday Book, fol. 327v.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Pickles, thesis, I, 73–77, and II, 346–51, Appendix 3.

⁵⁶ Watts, *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 250.

⁵⁷ Postquam vero sanctus Cuthbertus suscitavit puerum a mortuis in villa quae vocatur Exanforda, dedit ei rex Ecgrith terram quae vocatur Cartmel et omnes Britanni cum eo, et villam illam quae vocatur Suthgedluit/ Suthgedling et quicquid ad eam pertinet. Hec omnia sibi a sancto Cuthberto commissa, bonus abbas Cineferth filius Cygings sapienter ordinavit, sicut voluit. The translation is my own. Johnson South, *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, proposes ‘King Ecgrith and all the Britons with him, gave [Cuthbert] the territory of Carlisle and the vill that is called Suthgedling . . .’, but my translation seems to make more sense of the original Latin word order.

Placed in the context of the rest of the work, this passage can be used to establish what the author believed about *Suthgedling/Suthgedluit* when he was writing in the tenth or eleventh century.⁵⁸

Since it is claimed that King Ecgfrith (r. 670–85) made the grant and since it follows the description of Cuthbert's consecration in 685, the author apparently thought that the grant was made in 685.⁵⁹ Unfortunately, there is confusion between the manuscripts over the spelling of the place-name: the two earlier manuscripts record the spelling as *Suthgedluit*, while the latest and least reliable corrects this to *Suthgedling*.⁶⁰ Generally, however, the later correction has been preferred, since it makes more linguistic sense: *Suthgedling* will be preferred here too.⁶¹ Because this passage includes a grant at Cartmel (Cu), it has been suggested that the author thought *Suthgedling* should be in close proximity to Cartmel.⁶² However, this idea should be abandoned. Wilfrid was granted widely dispersed lands in single grants in

⁵⁸ Craster, *EHR*, LXIX, 177–78, 199, proposed three stages of composition: an original core composed c. 945, a series of cartulary entries added c. 1000–31, and two mid- to late-eleventh-century interpolations. Johnson South, *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, pp. 12–35, acknowledges some of the virtues of this model, but prefers the idea that the text was composed as a single work in the mid to late eleventh century.

⁵⁹ S. Wood, 'Bede's Northumbrian Dates Again', *EHR*, XCVIII (387) (1983), 280–96, for the dating of Ecgfrith's reign; Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae*, II, xxv, for the date of Cuthbert's consecration.

⁶⁰ Bodleian Library, MS 596, fols 203–06 (mid to late eleventh century) and Cambridge University Library, MS Ff. I. 27, pp. 95–202 (late twelfth century) both have *Suthgedluit*; Lincoln's Inn Library, Hales MS 114, fols 153–59 (early fifteenth century) has *Suthgedling*.

⁶¹ Craster, *EHR*, LXIX, 182; Johnson South, *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, pp. 81–82, has *Suthgedling* in the translation, but notes the doubt.

⁶² Arnold, *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, I, 200, note 'c'; Morris, *AA* 5, V, 91; Johnson South, *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, pp. 81–82.

the seventh century.⁶³ Further entries in the *HSC* record grants with no territorial or geographical connection. Because this passage relates that *Suthgedling* was placed under the control of an abbot, it has been stated that it was a religious community, but it remains equally possible that the author thought Cyneferth was abbot of another community and simply had jurisdiction over an estate at *Suthgedling*. The entry does suggest that the author thought that *Suthgedling* was a relatively small, compact estate. Within this passage, the author contrasts *terra* at Cartmel with a *villa* at *Suthgedling*. Throughout the rest of the text, the author is remarkably consistent in the language he uses to describe estates and testing his terminology against other sources for the structure of the estates mentioned suggests that he was accurate in the distinctions that he made.⁶⁴ *Terra*, often with *appendicia*, is used for many places, to denote that they are *villae* with dependent or subordinate settlements like the *regiones* or *provinciae* discussed above.⁶⁵ *Villa . . . et quicquid ad eam pertinet* seems to mean a small, compact estate that served as the central settlement in a parish.⁶⁶

Two aspects of this narrative raise the possibility that the author of the *HSC* was thinking of *Ingetlingum* when he wrote about *Suthgedling*. First, *Gedling is

⁶³ Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi*, cc.8, 17.

⁶⁴ Craster, *EHR*, LXIX, 191–92; Morris, *AA* 5, V, 93; Johnson South, *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, pp. 124–29, Appendix 2, on estate structure, with useful maps to illustrate this point.

⁶⁵ *HSC*, c.3, *terra* in the Bowmont valley; c.4, widespread *terra* around Lindisfarne; c.5, *terra* at York; c.13, all the *terra* between the Tyne and the Wear; c.9, Norham with *appendicia*, later known as Norhamshire; c.21, Bedlington with a list of its *appendicia*, later known as Bedlingtonshire; c.22, Billingham and *appendicia*; c.26, West Wearmouth with a list of its *appendicia*.

⁶⁶ *HSC*, c.7, Carham; c.9, Gainford, Cliffe, Wycliffe; c.10 Warkworth and Tillmouth; c.11, ?Woodhorn, Whittingham, Edlingham, Eglingham; c.21, Sedgefield, West Eden and Twillingaton.

likely to be the common root of the place-names *Ingetlingum* and *Suthgedling*. Secondly, Cynefrith, brother of Ceolfrid and Abbot of *Ingetlingum* might be the person described by the *HSC* as Cyneferth, son of Cygings, the Abbot given control over *Suthgedling*. Nevertheless, the connection is uncertain and four distinct possibilities remain. First, the author was thinking of *Ingetlingum* and Cynefrith when he wrote of *Suthgedling* and Cyneferth, son of Cygings, but he was confused about the chronology: Cynefrith ruled *Ingetlingum* prior to c. 660 and probably died in the plague of 664, but the *HSC* claims that the grant to Cuthbert took place in 685. Secondly, the author was thinking of *Ingetlingum*, but was thinking of a different person also called Cyneferth and his chronology is correct: *Ingetlingum* no doubt shrank substantially with the exodus to Ripon and the estate could have reverted to royal control in time to be re-granted to Cuthbert in 685. Thirdly, the author was thinking of *Ingetlingum*, but was erroneously associating a different place with a known community and one of its earliest abbots. Fourthly, the author was not thinking about *Ingetlingum* or Cynefrith when he wrote about *Suthgedling*, but instead was thinking about a different person and a different place altogether.

Based on the details in this passage, then, the author of the *HSC* believed that *Suthgedling* was a place whose name derived from the root *Gedling, which was granted to St Cuthbert in 685 and formed the centre of a small compact estate and parish in the tenth or eleventh century. When writing, he may or may not have been thinking of *Ingetlingum*. Keeping all this in mind, it is possible to consider the likely locations.

Suthgedling might have been Yetlington (Nth) (Fig. 1). Either *Gedling or *Gematela may be the root of the place-name Yetlington.⁶⁷ The ancient parish of Whittingham, of which Yetlington was a member, is one of the places claimed as a later grant to the St Cuthbert community;⁶⁸ this demonstrates that the author believed they held land in this region. Yet it also probably rules out the idea that *Suthgedling* was at Yetlington: the other places described as *villa . . . et quicquid ad eam pertinet* were parochial centres. Putting together the uncertainty over the root of the name, the absence of any evidence for the early significance of this site and its role as a subordinate settlement within a parish, it seems unlikely that Yetlington was the place that the author of the *HSC* was thinking about.

Of course, it is possible that the author was thinking of Gilling West (Fig. 2). *Gedling is the root of the place-name Gilling West. A minor problem is presented by the affix *suth*, but this can be overcome. Gilling West was the centre of a major soke estate in the eleventh century and the parish church was the mother church for a roughly coterminous mother parish. Above it has been noted that the soke estate and parish probably represent the privatised relic of an early territory of obligation. Gilling West lies in the southern part of the soke estate, so it is possible that the focal settlement of the territory was known as *Suthgedling*. Indeed, the author may have been claiming that Ecgrith granted to Cuthbert the religious community at *Ingetlingum*, which was probably at Gilling West. Further entries in the *HSC* claim that Cuthbert received a vill at Wycliffe (NY), where there was also land which

⁶⁷ A. Mawer, *The Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham* (Cambridge, 1920), pp. 221–22; Watts, *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 711.

⁶⁸ *HSC*, c.11.

formed part of the Gilling West soke estate in the eleventh century;⁶⁹ this demonstrates that the author believed the community held land in the same area. However, it seems unlikely that when the author wrote about *Suthgedling* he was thinking of Gilling West. Gilling West was the focus of a soke estate in the eleventh century and the focus of a coterminous mother parish. Elsewhere the author of the *HSC* employed the term *terra with appendicia* to denote centres controlling similar territories.

The best solution is that when the author described *Suthgedling* he was thinking of Gilling East (Fig. 3). After all, *Gedling was certainly the root of the place-name Gilling East.⁷⁰ Gilling East parish church preserves a fragment of stone sculpture dated to the eighth century.⁷¹ In the eleventh century there were two compact estates at Gilling East and the settlement formed the head of a parish.⁷² *Ingetlingum* and/or Gilling West may have been distinguished from *Suthgedling* at Gilling East by applying the affix *suth* to the latter, because it lay around thirty miles to the south-east — just as the suffixes west and east have been used to distinguish them more recently.⁷³ Finally, there was an early religious community at nearby Crayke that the author of the *HSC* claimed St Cuthbert had founded in the seventh century and the community had subsequently travelled to in the disturbed years of

⁶⁹ Ibid., cc.9–10.

⁷⁰ Watts, *Cambridge Dictionary of Place-Names*, p. 250.

⁷¹ *Corpus III*, ed. Lang, 133.

⁷² Great Domesday Book, fols 325v, 327v, 380v.

⁷³ Smith, *Place-Names of the North Riding*, p. 53: by 1308 Gilling East was known as *Gillingaridale*, i.e. Gilling in Ryedale, while by 1300 Gilling West had acquired the suffix west.

the ninth century.⁷⁴ Crayke was certainly a Durham estate in the eleventh century and remained a peculiar jurisdiction under the control of the bishops of Durham.⁷⁵ It is possible that Cuthbert had indeed received an estate at Gilling East in the seventh century, which might serve as the context for the surviving eighth-century sculpture; or it may be that the estate had passed in and out of Durham hands at some subsequent time before the eleventh century. However, these possibilities are beyond proof.

Conclusions

Detailed reconsideration of the narratives in Bede and the *HSC* suggests that the religious community called *Ingetlingum* should be located at Gilling West but that the estate called *Suthgedling* should be located at Gilling East. Apart from the

⁷⁴ Alcuin, *The Bishops, Kings and Saints of the Church of York*, ed. and trans. P. Godman, Oxford Medieval Texts (1982), pp. 108–09, for a hermit at Crayke; *Corpus VI*, ed. Lang, 88, for two fragments of stone sculpture at Crayke dated to the late eighth century; *HSC*, cc.5, 10, 20 and Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de Exordio atque Procursu istius hoc est Dunelmensis Ecclesie*, ed. and trans. D. Rollason, Oxford Medieval Texts (2000), pp. 46–47, for the claims about connections between Cuthbert, his community and Crayke; P. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, Royal Historical Society Guides (1968), no. 66, is a forged diploma purporting to record the grant by King Ecgrith to St Cuthbert of Carlisle and Crayke with surrounding circuits of miles; P. Chaplais, 'Who Introduced Charters into England? The Case for Augustine', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, III(10) (1969), 537–38, and P. Wormald, *Bede and the Conversion of England: The Charter Evidence: Jarrow Lecture 1984* (Jarrow, 1984), pp. 17, 31, n. 47, make the case that a genuine seventh-century diploma with a circuit of miles formula served as the basis for this forgery; K.A. Adams, 'Monastery and Village at Crayke, North Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, LXII (1990), 29–50, and J. Kaner, 'Crayke and its Boundaries', in *Yorkshire Boundaries*, ed. H.E.J. Le Patourel, M.H. Long and M.F. Pickles (Leeds, 1993), pp. 103–11, observe that Crayke is surrounded by concentric boundaries that might reflect such a grant.

⁷⁵ Great Domesday Book, fols 304v, 381r; F. Barlow, *Durham Jurisdictional Peculiars* (1950), for the Durham jurisdictions in Yorkshire, including Crayke.

intrinsic value of providing more secure identifications for two religious sites, this solution has important implications for our understanding of the relationship between power and the topography of religious patronage in the kingdom of the Deirans. Richard Morris and Ian Wood have emphasised the reciprocal relationship between power and the topography of religious patronage; in particular they have drawn attention to the significance of the Tyne valley and the Vale of Pickering as strategically important sub-regions that were foci for unusually dense concentrations of religious communities. Indeed, it was in considering the density of religious patronage in the Vale of Pickering that they proposed the relocation of *Ingetlingum* from Gilling West to Gilling East. Here it is essential to note that the present paper accepts both their broader arguments about the relationship between power and the topography of religious patronage, and their particular analysis of the significance of the Vale of Pickering. Replacing *Ingetlingum* at Gilling West does not undermine the density of religious foundations in the Vale of Pickering: the eighth-century sculpture at Gilling East testifies to an early ecclesiastical presence and the placing of *Suthgedling* at Gilling East raises the possibility that the Community of St Cuthbert at one time owned an estate at Gilling East. Furthermore, the replacing of *Ingetlingum* at Gilling West confirms and clarifies the relationship between power and the topography of religious patronage in the foundation of this community.

When *Ingetlingum* was founded c. 651, Oswiu's control over the Deirans was limited. Oswiu succeeded to the throne c. 642 and may initially have ruled both the Bernicians and the Deirans. But from c. 644–651 Oswine ruled the Deirans and it

remains unclear whether he was independent or a sub-ruler. Oswiu's murder of Oswine in 651 seems likely to be an attempt to reassert authority over the Deirans.⁷⁶ Prior to the foundation of *Ingetlingum* in c. 651 there is no recorded monastery in the territories of the Deirans. Establishing *Ingetlingum* was a revolutionary act by an outsider seeking to exert authority over the Deirans and hoping to forge unity between the two peoples. The location of *Ingetlingum* at Gilling West reflects this political reality. Warfare in early Anglo-Saxon England often occurred in proximity to political boundaries, focused on strategic sites with ancient associations: Oswine probably mustered his men at *Wilfaresdūn* because it was close to the political boundary between the Bernicians and Deirans, strategic and well known.⁷⁷ For Oswiu, founding a religious community at Gilling West served a series of political functions. After murdering Oswine, he faced the prospect of paying a wergeld to Oswine's relatives or provoking a feud: founding the religious community and granting it to a relative of Oswine seems likely to have served as an

⁷⁶ *HE*, iii.14. Oswiu acceded in c. 642, because Bede tells us that 644 was the second year of his reign. Oswine probably became ruler of the Deirans in 644, because Bede tells us that he ruled for seven years and died in the ninth year of Oswiu's reign, i.e. 651.

⁷⁷ P. Hunter-Blair, 'The Boundary between Bernicia and Deira', in *Anglo-Saxon Northumbria*, ed. M. Lapidge and P. Hunter-Blair (1984), pp. 46–59, for persuasive arguments that the Tees was the boundary between the Bernicians and the Deirans, accepted here. For examples of battles between Northumbrians and Mercians on the border between the two kingdoms, see: Bede, *HE*, ii.13, Idle; ii.20, *Hæthefelth*; iii.24, *Winwæd*; iv.21 (19), Trent. G. Halsall, 'Anthropology and the Study of Pre-Conquest Warfare and Society: The Ritual War in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Weapons and Warfare in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. S. C. Hawkes (Oxford, 1989), pp. 165–67, for comments on battle locations.

equivalent to the wergeld.⁷⁸ At the same time this compromise was an ingenious way to encourage political unity. Granting land formerly at the disposal of rulers of the Deirans for the foundation of a religious community was a strategy to add permanency to his redistribution of authority after conquest. Granting land to a Deiran which lay on the border of the territory between the Bernicians and the Deirans and which was of extremely high strategic value was a signal of trust between the two peoples: Gilling West, its soke estate and its mother parish dominate the junction between three Roman roads, leading south into the Vale of York, north to the Bernicians and west over the Pennines into British territories.⁷⁹ Taking the opportunity presented by these events provided a way for an outsider to introduce monasticism into a subject territory, but at the periphery rather than the heart of that territory; indeed, given the circumstances, it may only have been acceptable at a peripheral location.

⁷⁸ *HE*, iii.14, iii.24; D. Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 121–23 for the connection between wergeld payments and religious foundations.

⁷⁹ I. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain*, 3rd edn (1973), p. 132, nos 8b–c and 82, presented on Fig. 3.