



## JOURNAL OF THE ENGLISH PLACE-NAME SOCIETY

Volume 5 (1973)

ISSN 1351–3095

---

### The significance of the distribution of English place-names in *hām* in the Midlands and East Anglia

Barrie Cox (pp. 15–73)

---

This article is from the *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*, an annual peer-reviewed journal issued free to members of the Society. The *Journal* welcomes contributions of articles and notes on subjects of relevance to English place-names.

The English Place-Name Society (EPNS) was established in 1923 to conduct a county-by-county survey of the place-names of England. To date, the Survey has produced more than 90 volumes. Almost all English counties have been surveyed, at least in part, and work to complete the Survey is ongoing. The Survey is used by researchers, academics, and those interested in the origins, meaning, and significance of English place-names.

The research work and the publication of the Survey are financed by the annual subscriptions of members of the Society, with the help of grants from the Arts and Humanities Research Council and the British Academy. Since the progress and success of the Survey depend largely upon the strength of the membership, the Society always welcomes new members, both personal and institutional.

In return for the annual subscription, members receive free of charge the current issue of the *Journal* as well as the volume of the Survey allocated to that year's subscription. They are entitled to order, in addition, any available volume of the Survey at a concessionary price. Associate Members pay a reduced subscription, for which they receive the *Journal*.

Annual subscription prices (correct as of August 2022):

**Within the UK**

£40 (full)

£15 (associate)

**Outside the UK**

£45 (full)\*

£18 (associate\*)

\*increased prices reflect increased postage cost.

For further details or to join the Society, please contact:

Mrs Christine Hickling  
English Place-Name Society  
School of English  
The University of Nottingham  
NG7 2RD

Tel: 0115 951 5919  
Email: [name-studies@nottingham.ac.uk](mailto:name-studies@nottingham.ac.uk)

## ABBREVIATIONS OF COUNTIES AND EPNS COUNTY SURVEYS

Co	Cornwall
Ha	Hampshire
He	Herefordshire
K	Kent
La	Lancashire
Nb	Northumberland
Sf	Suffolk
So	Somerset
Wt	Isle of Wight
CPNE	<i>Cornish Place-Name Elements.</i>
EPNE	<i>English Place-Name Elements, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN BdHu	<i>The Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire.</i>
PN Brk	<i>The Place-Names of Berkshire, Parts 1, 2 and 3.</i>
PN Bu	<i>The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire.</i>
PN Ca	<i>The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely.</i>
PN Ch	<i>The Place-Names of Cheshire, Parts 1–5.</i>
PN Cu	<i>The Place-Names of Cumberland, Parts 1, 2 and 3.</i>
PN D	<i>The Place-Names of Devon, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN Db	<i>The Place-Names of Derbyshire, Parts 1, 2 and 3.</i>
PN Do	<i>The Place-Names of Dorset, Parts 1–4.</i>
PN Du	<i>The Place-Names of County Durham, Part 1.</i>
PN Ess	<i>The Place-Names of Essex.</i>
PN ERY	<i>The Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York.</i>
PN Gl	<i>The Place-Names of Gloucestershire, Parts 1–4.</i>
PN Hrt	<i>The Place-Names of Hertfordshire.</i>
PN Le	<i>The Place-Names of Leicestershire, Parts 1–7.</i>
PN Li	<i>The Place-Names of Lincolnshire, Parts 1–7.</i>
PN Mx	<i>The Place-Names of Middlesex (apart from the City of London).</i>
PN Nf	<i>The Place-Names of Norfolk, Parts 1–3.</i>
PN Nt	<i>The Place-Names of Nottinghamshire.</i>
PN NRY	<i>The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire.</i>
PN Nth	<i>The Place-Names of Northamptonshire.</i>
PN O	<i>The Place-Names of Oxfordshire, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN R	<i>The Place-Names of Rutland.</i>
PN Sa	<i>The Place-Names of Shropshire, Parts 1–9.</i>
PN Sr	<i>The Place-Names of Surrey.</i>
PN St	<i>The Place-Names of Staffordshire, Part 1.</i>
PN Sx	<i>The Place-Names of Sussex, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN W	<i>The Place-Names of Wiltshire.</i>
PN Wa	<i>The Place-Names of Warwickshire.</i>
PN We	<i>The Place-Names of Westmorland, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN Wo	<i>The Place-Names of Worcestershire.</i>
PN WRY	<i>The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Parts 1–8.</i>



## THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF ENGLISH PLACE-NAMES IN *-HĀM* IN THE MIDLANDS AND EAST ANGLIA

The purpose of this essay is to demonstrate how place-names containing the OE element *hām* 'a village, a collection of dwellings' are closely related in their distribution to the system of Roman roads and ancient trackways in the Midlands and East Anglia. It also points to the close relationship of many *hām* sites to those of major and minor Romano-British settlements and villas. It suggests that this pattern of distribution indicates that place-names in *-hām* belong to the period of the pagan Anglo-Saxons.<sup>1</sup> Further, it suggests that names in *-ingahām* occur in historical sequence later than the *hām* phase but in general earlier than other names in *-ingas*, *-inga-*.<sup>2</sup>

The OE element *hām* has long been accepted as early for the following reasons: (a) it is commonly compounded with OE personal names of the monothematic type which are demonstrably older as a class than dithematic (and hypocoristic) personal names; (b) it is found in compounds of which the other elements seem to be old (such as *beorg* and *dūn* but not *hyll*, *burna* but not *brōc*); (c) it never enters post-Conquest place-names combined with OFr personal names as do *bȳ* and *tūn*; and particularly (d) it is found compounded with group-names of the *-ingas* type.

It was Eilert Ekwall in his *English Place-Names in -Ing*, (Lund 1923) who emphasized the importance of place-names whose final element is *-ingas*, a suffix denoting groups or associations of people. In the second edition of his study (Lund 1962) he maintained his original position which claims that 'at the time of the Anglo-Saxon invasion and perhaps for some time afterwards it was usual to designate the people of a village or district by a collective name often formed with the

<sup>1</sup> For the purpose of this article, the pagan Anglo-Saxon period in the Midlands and East Anglia will be taken as roughly A.D. 400-650. Myres argues that the great cremation cemeteries in the region were coming into use towards the end of the fourth century which suggests settled Anglo-Saxon communities by about 400. See J. N. L. Myres, *Anglo-Saxon Pottery and the Settlement of England* (Oxford, 1969), p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> Place-names referred to as the *-ingas*, *-inga-* type will be taken as excluding the compound *-inga-hām*.

suffix *-ingas*, which frequently became the name of a village or district or entered into its name'. He adds, 'Since there is good reason to assign a great age to place-names in *-ingas*, it is a reasonable theory that these names on the whole date back from the times of the Anglo-Saxon migration to Britain and even that they arose as a consequence of that event. If this is right, names in *-ingas* throw some light on the nature of the early Anglo-Saxon colonization'.<sup>3</sup> Ekwall's theory was developed by A. H. Smith who argued that only place-names in *-ingas* and its genitive plural *-inga-* are relevant to the earliest phases of settlement of the pagan Anglo-Saxons.<sup>4</sup>

As already mentioned, the element *hām* has long been thought to be early partly because it appears in the compound *-ingahām*, that is to say compounded with *-inga-*, the genitive plural of the group-name-forming suffix *-ingas*, a type which traditionally was considered to belong to the time of the Anglo-Saxon migration to Britain. However, place-names in *-ingas*, *-inga-* have recently been shown to be later than was once supposed.

As early as 1935 J. N. L. Myres in an article entitled 'Britain in the Dark Ages' observed the possibility of place-names in *-ingas* representing a phase *later* than that of the pagan Anglo-Saxon burials.<sup>5</sup> He noted especially the lack of coincidence of the distribution of pagan burial sites and that of *-ingas* names in Sussex. Myres' early doubts on the traditional interpretation of the nature of place-names in *-ingas* have been justified by J. McN. Dodgson.<sup>6</sup> Limiting himself to a detailed analysis of the distribution of pagan Anglo-Saxon burial sites and place-names in *-ingas*, *-inga-* in the south-east of the country, Dodgson argues convincingly that such names belong in general to the period *after* that of the latest pagan burial sites. He qualifies 'pagan burial' as 'a convenient term to describe the various modes of burial known to Anglo-Saxon archaeology which were in use from the 5th to the early 8th century, even though some of them must have been the burial grounds of Christian

<sup>3</sup> Eilert Ekwall, *English Place-Names in -Ing*, 2nd ed. (Lund, 1962), p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 282-303 and 'Place-names and the Anglo-Saxon settlement' (Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture, 1956), *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 42, 67-88.

<sup>5</sup> *Antiquity* 9 (1935), 459.

<sup>6</sup> John McNeal Dodgson, 'The Significance of the Distribution of the English Place-Name in *-ingas*, *-inga-* in South-east England', *Medieval Archaeology* 10 (1966), 1-29.



communities'.<sup>7</sup> He suggests a sixth century date for the beginning of the *-ingas* phase in place-names in the south-east but points out that 'the conditions of south-east England cannot be assumed for other regions'.<sup>8</sup> Names in *-ingas*, *-inga-* in the south-east then are to be thought of as belonging largely to the post-pagan Anglo-Saxon period, to an age which Dodgson defines as that of colonization rather than of immigration, to a period when the English were expanding away from their early settlement sites and developing lands which had been less desirable to their immigrant forebears.

A recent study of the place-names of Leicestershire and Rutland demonstrates that the sequence of immigration and colonization indicated by the distribution of pagan burial sites and *-ingas*, *-inga-* names in the south-eastern counties is classically reflected in these midland counties.<sup>9</sup> This would suggest that the conditions which applied in the south-east applied in the Midlands also.<sup>10</sup> In Leicestershire the pagan cemeteries are to be found near the most important Romano-British sites. Immediately outside the walls of *Ratae Corit-anorum* (the cantonal capital where Leicester now stands) are the cemeteries at East Gate and Westcotes and only a little further off those at Rowley Fields, Glen Parva, Oadby and Thurmaston (all beside the principal Roman roads).<sup>11</sup> Apart from the Leicester group, the pagan burials are distributed mainly on the western uplands of High Leicestershire in the eastern half of the county. In the south and south-east, the cemetery at Medbourne is close to the Romano-British settlement there while the burial site at Shawell is beside the Roman station of *Tripontium* on Watling Street. Pagan Anglo-Saxon burials in Leicestershire are in general associated with Roman settlements and lines of communication (Fig. 1).

The names in *-ingas*, *-inga-* have an entirely different distribution from that of the pagan burial sites. Peatling (Magna and Parva), the lost *Lilinge*, Bringham, Horninghold, Kilworth, Loddington, Saddington, Skeffington, Theddingworth

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>9</sup> B. H. Cox, *The Place-Names of Leicestershire and Rutland*, Ph.D. thesis (University of Nottingham, 1971), pp. 36-8.

<sup>10</sup> This sequence appears in the other counties discussed in this article. See also J. Kuurman, *An Examination of the -ingas, -inga- Place-Names in the East Midlands*, M.A. thesis (The Free University, Amsterdam, 1971).

<sup>11</sup> The Thurmaston cemetery has produced very early pottery of c. A.D. 400 associated with *foederati*. Myres *Anglo-Saxon Pottery*, pp. 76-7, 82.

and Tur Langton lie on the uplands of High Leicestershire and the Lutterworth Upland to the south and south-east of the central spread of the pagan burials. They represent movement away from the areas of primary Anglo-Saxon settlement and indicate the gradual colonization of virgin lands.

In Rutland (with the exception of Empingham near Ermine Street, a village with a known pagan cemetery) the pattern is similar to that of Leicestershire, with Whissendine and Uppingham situated in the high forested land in the west of the county away from the Roman roads and from the pagan burial sites which are distributed in the eastern two-thirds of the county (Fig. 1).

As their distribution suggests the names in *-ingas*, *-inga-* in Leicestershire and Rutland appear largely later than the period of pagan Anglo-Saxon burial. But significantly, whereas names in *-ingas*, *-inga-* are in general well away from the Roman road system, villages with names in *hām* are almost without exception sited not more than three miles from these roads (Fig. 1). This pattern is to be seen repeated, with minor variations according to special circumstances, throughout the counties of the Midlands and East Anglia.<sup>12</sup> Such a pattern cannot be fortuitous. It suggests that these sites were settled from the Roman roads at a time when *hām* as a place-name-giving formula was in vogue, the earliest possibly under the aegis of Roman or regional sub-Roman government (with the introduction of *foederati* to protect townships and lines of communication) and that such settlement continued throughout the years of migration and the later pagan period to the time when names in *-ingahām* were introduced. Place-names in *-ingahām* appear to represent the beginning of the English expansion away from the areas of early settlement, an expansion illustrated by the distribution of names of the *-ingas*, *-inga-* type. As will be seen, a large proportion of villages with names in *-ingahām* occupy positions in relationship to Roman roads similar to those of villages with names in *hām*. This implies that names in *-ingahām* may well be the earliest of the *-ingas*, *-inga-* phase, but that

<sup>12</sup> Dr Margaret Gelling has already noticed the distribution of the compound *wīc-hām* in its close relationship to Roman roads throughout England. She concludes that the initial theme *wīc* in this appellative may well mean 'Roman *vīcus*' and also points to the close association of place-names in *wīc-hām* with Roman sites. See Margaret Gelling, 'English Place-Names derived from the compound *wīc-hām*', *Medieval Archaeology* 11 (1967), 87-104. In the present essay, names in *wīc-hām* have been included with the type element + *hām* in the Appendix (pp. 50-61).



they come towards the end of the period when names in *hām* were given to habitation sites.<sup>13</sup>

On each county map (Figs. 1-11), the known sites of burials of the Anglo-Saxon pagan period have been plotted. Whereas the obvious non-relationship between names in *-ingas*, *-inga-* and the burials can be seen to be significant, lack of relationship between *hām* and pagan burials in a particular county does not invalidate the hypothesis that place-names in *hām* are very early. Our knowledge of burial sites is a matter of chance. It is to be expected, for example, that many sites should survive in what is now marginal land such as that of the Derbyshire Peak and the Breckland of East Anglia. That fewer survive, say, in the Trent Valley is most probably due to intensive cultivation of this area through the centuries. But as will be seen, *hām* is often closely associated with pagan burials, particularly in Norfolk and Suffolk, where the incidence of *hām* is higher than in the midland counties.

A problem to be kept in mind when considering possible examples of *hām* is the fusion in Middle English of spellings for OE *hām* with those of OE *hamm* 'land in a river-bend, a river-meadow, dry ground in a marsh'. Unless spellings in *-hamme*, *-homme* or *-hom* survive, the only way to recognise the presence of *hamm* is by a study of the topography. For example, a series of possible names in *hamm* is to be found in the great loops of the Bedfordshire Ouse even though the Roman road Margary 170 runs close by, suggesting the alternative of names

<sup>13</sup> It is possible that some of these names in *-ingahām* are the result of refashioning earlier *hām* names. For example an OE *\*Stræthām* 'hām on or near a Roman road' may have been remodelled as *\*Folcingahām* 'hām of Folca's people' at a time when place-names in *-ingas*, *-inga-* were being formed as a result of the development of the idea of a group-leader and allegiance to him, i.e. the concept of the *comitatus*. We know very little of such processes of renaming. A possible example may be that of Donnington in Gloucestershire. In its earliest form in a charter of 779, the settlement appears as *Dunnestreatun*, an OE *Dunnan Strættūn* 'tūn on the Roman road and belonging to Dunna (or Dunne)'. In the boundaries of the charter are also mentioned *Dunnen dic*, *Dunnes sleade* and *Dunnencumbe*. The settlement would appear originally to have been called *Strættūn*. This became the property of one *Dunna*. In time the old name was replaced by Donnington (*Dunnington* 1176), either a construction in *-inga-*, hence 'tūn of Dunna's people' or one in *-ing-*<sup>4</sup> 'tūn associated with Dunna'.

It is safest to assume that names in *-ingahām* were given to new settlements and to be guided by their distribution which indicates that they generally preceded names in *-ingas*, *-inga-*. Such a conclusion is supported by the distribution of *hām*, *-ingahām* and *-ingas*, *-inga-* in Lincolnshire where it is possible to define areas in which each of these place-name types is grouped. Villages there in *hām* occupy land taken initially, *-ingahām* sites show a tendency to move away from areas of early settlement, while *-ingas*, *-inga-* names are situated in what must have been difficult land to bring into cultivation (v. pp. 22-6).

I am indebted to Dr Margaret Gelling for drawing the Donnington example to my attention.



in *hām*.<sup>14</sup> Where there is significant doubt about the presence of *hām* or *hamm* in a particular place-name, this will be indicated in the discussion of the county under consideration.

An illuminating county with which to begin an analysis of the distribution of *hām* is Cambridgeshire (Fig. 2).<sup>15</sup> At the end of the Roman period, the fens were much more extensive than at present and covered the northern half of the county, except for islands of higher ground such as the Isle of Ely. A narrow corridor of chalk downland running from north-east to south-west was the only land suitable for early settlement. To its south, east and west lay heavy oak forest.<sup>16</sup> Along this chalk corridor and close to the Icknield Way from north-east to south-west lie Chippenham, Fordham, Swaffham, Bottisham, Wilbraham and Teversham.<sup>17</sup> Lining the Roman road Margary 24 are Babraham, Hildersham, Balsham, Barham and Wickham. The road Margary 23b runs north-east into the fenland. At the edge of the fens lies Cottenham, less than two miles from the road. Four more *hām* settlements are sited on the Isle of Ely which once lay in fenland, namely Stretham (OE *stræt-hām* 'hām on a Roman road'), Haddenham, Chettisham and Downham. To the east of this road on spurs of dry land jutting out into fen are Soham and Isleham.<sup>18</sup>

It is noteworthy that many of these *hāms* lie along roads to the east and north of *Durolipons* (Cambridge), suggesting that some of them may originally have been villages of *foederati* giving protection to the Roman town from attack from the coast. Significant perhaps is the siting of Swaffham on the Cambridge side of Devil's Dyke. This defensive earthwork, which in the period of the heptarchy protected the kingdom of East Anglia from attacks along the chalk corridor from the south-west, in its earliest period of construction defended the territory to the south-west against penetration from the north-east. Swaffham 'the *hām* of the Swabians' has every indication of being very early. The place-name was formed before such

<sup>14</sup> Roman roads will be referred to by the distinguishing numbers given to them in I. D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain*, 2 vols. (London, 1955-7).

<sup>15</sup> Meres and river courses shown on this map as far as possible represent their positions in the early Anglo-Saxon period.

<sup>16</sup> See also C. Fox, *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* (Cambridge, 1923), Map V.

<sup>17</sup> Anglo-Saxon pottery of the period c. 360-410 was found at Little Wilbraham. Myres, *Anglo-Saxon Pottery*, p. 77.

<sup>18</sup> Both Soham and Isleham possibly have *hamm* rather than *hām* as second element.

a minority group as the Swabians had lost its identity. Their presence here hints at their settlement as *foederati* at some date between c. A.D. 360 and 450. Similarly the Norfolk Swaffham appears strategically sited between the important Peddars Way (Margary 33b) and Icknield Way (Margary 333) which together lay on the main corridor from the Wash into the interior via the Cambridgeshire upland.<sup>19</sup>

Several of the Cambridgeshire *hāms* are directly associated with Roman sites. There is a villa at Swaffham Prior. Barham is beside a Romano-British cemetery and a villa. Great Wilbraham is the site of a Romano-British settlement. West Wickham is a mile from the Romano-British settlement at Horseheath. In addition, miscellaneous Roman finds are known from Babraham, Bottisham, Chippenham, Cottenham, Downham, Fordham, Haddenham, Hildesham, Isleham and Soham. Barsham, Chippenham, Downham, Hildersham, Newnham, Soham and Wilbraham are all directly associated with Anglo-Saxon pagan burial grounds.

Two of the five Cambridgeshire place-names in *-ingahām* lie within the areas of *hām* settlements. These are Badlingham, two miles to the north of Icknield Way and the lost *Nidingham* (in Girton and with an associated pagan Anglo-Saxon cemetery). Dullingham and the southerly Willingham are both south-east of Icknield Way and suggest an area of virgin land being brought under cultivation. Even so, Dullingham is on a branch of the ancient trackway. The northerly Willingham is four miles from Margary 24 and at the edge of the fens, but an important hoard of Roman pewter has been found here which implies that some woodland in this area had been cleared for cultivation at a time prior to the Anglo-Saxon settlement.

There are no place-names in *-ingas* in the county. All are of the type *-inga-* plus a final element (other than *hām*). These *-inga-* sites are clearly unrelated to the *hāms*. Apart from Newnham (probably a later example), the *hāms* lie east of a line drawn north-south through Cambridge. The *-inga-* sites lie west of that line. They show movement away from the area of pagan Anglo-Saxon burials and *hām* settlement. Those in the north of the county are far out on the fen islands as for example Wimblington, Hinton (Hall) and Brangehill (Drove). Sites such as Madingley (OE *lēah* 'woodland'), Arrington and

<sup>19</sup> See below, p. 38 and Fig. 10.



Shingay indicate later penetration of oak forest to the west of Cambridge.<sup>20</sup>

The temporal sequence indicated by the Cambridgeshire distributions is as follows: (a) *hām* along Roman roads, in areas of pagan Anglo-Saxon burial sites, often associated with them and also with important Romano-British sites; (b) *-ingahām* occasionally associated with *hām* and Roman roads, but moving away from areas of pagan burial sites and into forested land; (c) *-inga-* dissociated from areas of *hām* and pagan burials and sited on land unadopted by early settlers.

As in Cambridgeshire, the fenlands of Lincolnshire (Fig. 3) were extensive at the beginning of the Anglo-Saxon period and unsuitable for early settlement. As well as the land bordering the Wash, the coastline south from Grimsby was shallow and waterlogged. The county has two belts of high ground. Running due south from Winteringham on the Humber to the proximity of Stamford is a narrow oolite ridge, the Lincoln Edge, which carries the Roman Ermine Street (Margary 2c, 2d). This high ground becomes more extensive south of Grantham where it broadens to meet the uplands of north-east Leicestershire and of Rutland. The other region of high ground is the chalk of the Lincolnshire Wolds between Ermine Street and the coastal marshes. On these two corridors of high land and beside the Roman roads the Lincolnshire villages with names in *hām* are found.<sup>21</sup>

Immediately to the south of *Causennae* (Ancaster), Margary 26 branches to the Romano-British settlement at Bourne. Beside this road are Barholm, Witham on the Hill, Edenham and Irnham. Close to the Romano-British settlement at Sleaford on Margary 262 are Cold Mareham and Roxholm, with Bloxholm a little further north. Grantham is at the heart of an important group of pagan Anglo-Saxon burial sites and two miles from Ermine Street. Further north and again two miles from this road is Leadenham. Surrounding the *colonia* at Lincoln are Hykeham, Nettleham and Reepham. Dunholme,

<sup>20</sup> Development of Anglo-Saxon settlement by Domesday shows by contrast extensive penetration of this oak forest. See Fox, *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, Map V.

<sup>21</sup> It is in these areas where *hām* is found that the earliest Germanic materials in the county have been discovered. Late military metalwork associated with *foederati* is known from Saltersford (Grantham) and Sleaford on the southern upland. In this southern region also is found Romano-Saxon pottery at Ancaster and Anglo-Saxon pottery of Myres' period c. 360-410 at Ancaster, Lovedon Hill, Sleaford and Stamford. From the Wolds pottery of the same period is known from South Elkington, South Ferriby, Fonaby, Nettleton and West Keal.

Ingham, Glentham and Cleatham lie beside Ermine Street as it stretches north from Lincoln to the Romano-British settlement site at Staniwells. To the east of Gainsborough, Heapham and Pilham are on a small area of higher ground between the Trent and Ermine Street.

Along the highest stretch of the Wolds a trackway (Margary 270) runs south from the Romano-British site at South Ferriby as far as that at Horncastle. Stretches of this road, particularly in the north, evidence straightening in the Roman period. Beside this road are Elsham in the north and *Wykeham* (Nettleton parish), a lost hamlet two and a half miles south of Caistor;<sup>22</sup> and one and a half miles from the point at which Margary 270 is crossed by Margary 272 is East Wykeham. At the southern end of this route Greetham is two miles from the Romano-British site near Hagworthingham, three from that at Horncastle and on an ancient trackway which ran south from Margary 27. Crossing Margary 27 on its way to the coast was Margary 273. Haugham is on high ground a mile and a half from this road.

A second ancient trackway ran roughly parallel to Margary 270 south-east from Barton on Humber to near Ulceby, yet nearer to the coast. It is lined with pagan burial sites. Both Waltham and Covenham are less than three miles from this route.

There are twenty-five examples of place-names in *hām* in the county. But in great contrast to their numbers in Cambridgeshire there are twenty-eight certain examples of names in *-ingahām* suggesting that Lincolnshire was proportionally less densely occupied in the earliest phases of Anglo-Saxon settlement. Twenty-two of these twenty-eight instances of *-ingahām* are less than three miles from Roman roads and ancient trackways. Their distribution, however, is significant. They do not in general occur in those areas where we find *hām*. For example, a spread of names in *-ingahām* occupies the area to the north and north-west of Staniwells between Ermine Street, the Trent and the Humber and indicates the later settlement of low-lying ground.<sup>23</sup> Burringham, Frodingham and Messingham appear

<sup>22</sup> The pagan cemetery at Nettleton has produced Anglo-Saxon pottery of the period c. 360-410. See Myres, *Anglo-Saxon Pottery*, p. 77. A mile to the south was a substantial Roman building, probably a villa since it has a tessellated pavement. See *Archaeological Journal* 91 (1934), 164.

<sup>23</sup> The large group of place-names in *-ingahām* north-west of Lincoln is continued beyond the Trent into north Nottinghamshire, where we find Beckingham and Walkeringham. There was a Roman bridge across the river (on Margary 28) at *Segelocum* (Littleborough) giving access to this area.



from their sites in this area to be later than Winteringham (a Roman station on the Humber), Grayingham, Waddingham, Fillingham and Cameringham which line Ermine Street.

A similar area where names in *-ingahām* are associated with Roman roads but occupy an area dissociated from *hām* is to the south-east of Ancaster. In general these sites line Margary 260 and 262. Very close to this route are Threekingham, Sempringham and Folkingham. Helpringham is three miles to its east.<sup>24</sup> The general picture of *-ingahām* in Lincolnshire is that it occurs at the end of the *hām* phase of name-giving; it often occupies sites in similar relationship to the Roman roads as *hām* but also moves out into more difficult country.

Villages with names in *hām* are commonly associated with Roman sites and material finds.<sup>25</sup> The area around Grantham, for example, was intensively occupied in the Roman period. As well as a Roman coin hoard from Grantham itself, within a four miles radius of the town are the Roman cemeteries at Belton and Harlaxton, the villas at Great Ponton, Denton, North Stoke and Woolsthorpe and the Roman site at Saltersford. Most of the other *hām* sites in this group on the southern high land have associated Roman finds. From Keisby, one mile from Irnham comes a Roman bas-relief. Edenham is situated close to the Romano-British settlement at Bourne and from Grimsthorpe a mile to the north of the *hām* come Roman coins. Miscellaneous Roman finds are known from Aunby, neighbouring Witham on the Hill, whilst within two miles of Barholm, Greatford and Langtoft have produced abundant Roman coins and pottery. Further north, beside Margary 262, Bloxholm is one mile from the villa site near Ashby de la Launde. Cold Mareham and Roxholm are both two miles from the Romano-British settlement at Sleaford. Cold Mareham has a closely associated Anglo-Saxon pagan cemetery to its north.

Apart from the lost *Wykeham* mentioned above with its nearby villa, other *hāms* on the Wolds in close association with Roman sites are Elsham in the north, Greetham and

<sup>24</sup> A third group of place-names in *-ingahām* surrounds the site of *Crococolana* (Brough) which is on the Fosse Way just over the Nottinghamshire boundary. This area contains in Lincolnshire Bassingham and Beckingham and in Nottinghamshire Collingham.

<sup>25</sup> A convenient gazetteer of Roman antiquities in Lincolnshire is to be found in C. W. Phillips, 'The Present State of Archaeology in Lincolnshire', *Archaeological Journal* 91 (1934), 97-187.



Haugham. Elsham is near to the Romano-British settlement at Melton Ross. Roman pottery is also known from neighbouring Barnetby le Wold. A mile from Greetham, Ashby Puerorum has produced Romano-British pottery and a Roman cremation burial. On Ermine Street, north of Lincoln, Cleatham was settled near the major Romano-British site at Staniwells. An Anglo-Saxon pagan burial ground has been discovered at Cleatham.

Examples such as these cited suggest that villages in *hām* were settled in areas exploited in the Roman period. The pattern is that for Cambridgeshire. An interesting phenomenon which indicates that villages with names in *-ingahām* are early in the colonization phase is their coincidence in six instances with Roman sites. Four of these six instances occur in land outside the areas of earlier *hām* settlement. In the north Winteringham occupies the site of the Roman station on the Humber. Messingham is on a Romano-British site. South-west of Lincoln, Bassingham is two miles from the villa at Norton Disney. From Threkingham between Sleaford and Bourne come Roman coins and pottery. The remaining two *-ingahām* villages which are directly associated with Roman remains, Cherry Willingham and Hagworthingham, share their proximity to them with villages in *hām*. Thus on the Wolds, the Roman site north of Hagworthingham is only two miles from Greetham. Cherry Willingham to the east of Lincoln has produced Roman pottery but also is only one mile from Reepham.

The main body of names in *-ingas*, *-inga-* occurs in the south-east of the county, in the fenland surrounding the Wash. There are no pagan Anglo-Saxon burial sites in this area. Here are Horbling, Quadring, Spalding, Steeping, Stenning (Hall) and Scrane End, Donington and Rippingale. Indeed in the south of the county a temporal sequence (a) *hām*, (b) *-ingahām*, (c) *-ingas*, *-inga-* appears in almost diagrammatic simplicity. On the high ground from Stamford to Lincoln are the early *hām* sites. To their east on lower ground, between Bourne and Metherringham is a belt of later *-ingahām* sites. To the east of these and spreading into the inhospitable fens are still later settlements with names in *-ingas*, *-inga-*. A second important group of *-ingas*, *-inga-* place-names lies north-east and east of Lincoln in low-lying woodland between the Lincoln Edge and the Wolds. Here are Barlings, Beckering, Minting, Edlington, Lissington and Torrington. Their unfavourable

situations reflect those of the fenland group. The sole *-ingas*, *-inga-* name situated near Lincoln, Washingborough, has as its prototheme OE *wæsse* 'a wet place, a marsh'.

The Fosse Way (Margary 5f) passes through the south-east corner of Nottinghamshire (Fig. 4). To its north-west, beyond River Trent and covering much of the county lay the heavy oak woodland of Sherwood Forest. Beside the Fosse Way and a mile from the important Roman town of *Margidunum* (Castle Hill) is Bingham.<sup>26</sup> Flintham is a little further north, only a mile from the road and between *Margidunum* and the next major Roman site of *Ad Pontem* (East Stoke). From the Fosse Way at *Margidunum* a branch road led down to the Trent. Across the river at this point is Lowdham. A Roman villa has recently been excavated at Epperstone one and a half miles north-west of Lowdham. The branch road from the Fosse most probably continued beyond the Trent at least as far as the villa site and may well have joined the ancient trackway which followed what is now the line of the A614 road.<sup>27</sup>

In the south-west of the county is Gotham. This is less than a mile from the Roman villa in Barton in Fabis parish. From *Derventio* (Littlechester) in Derbyshire, Margary 182 ran to the Trent at Sawley. Beyond the Trent its course is unknown, but it clearly led to the important Roman site of *Vernemetum* (Willoughby on the Wolds) on the Fosse Way. Gotham is close to the probable line of this road.

In the north of the county are four more sites which appear to have names in *hām*. They are Askham, Markham, Dunham and Marnham.<sup>28</sup> These lie west of the river and between eight and ten miles from the Roman road Margary 28a, which crossed the Trent at the Roman station of *Segelocum*, now Littleborough. They are situated in an area which was exploited during the Roman period. Markham and Askham lie on the eastern slopes of the belt of high ground which borders the Trent Valley and runs south from the Roman road at Wheatley. This no doubt carried a minor trackway which may have led to the Roman bridge at Cromwell on Margary 590. Markham

<sup>26</sup> This may possibly be a name in *-ingahām*.

<sup>27</sup> The pagan Anglo-Saxon inhumation at Oxtun would suggest that the road led from the river past Lowdham and Epperstone to join the trackway on the high ground north of Oxtun.

<sup>28</sup> Marnham and Dunham on the west bank of River Trent may possibly be place-names in *hamm*. Muskham further south certainly is.



is only one mile from the Roman villa at Tuxford. At Askham, a Roman burial and Roman silver and copper coins indicate the exploitation of this site before the settlement of the Anglo-Saxons. Dunham and Marnham are beside the Trent. A mile from Dunham are the Roman buildings and burial at Ragnall. It is possible that all these four villages were settled later in the *hām* phase since they are much further from known Roman roads and trackways than is usual for names in *hām* elsewhere in the Midlands and East Anglia. But of course early settlement of a desirable area via the Trent is not to be overlooked. Possibly it attracted settlers from the neighbouring Lincoln region.

There are five *-ingahām* sites in the county. Collingham and Hoveringham are close to Roman roads. Both are on desirable gravels. In the south, Nottingham is beyond the rivers Trent and Leen far from the Fosse Way. It was evidently settled via the Trent. In the north, Beckingham and Walkeringham lie in woodland well away from the road Margary 28a in an area where names in *-inga-* occur. Littleborough was once *Tiouulfingacaestir*. Gringley and Finningley as the final element (OE *lēah* 'woodland') in each case indicates were in wooded country. Beckingham and Walkeringham are no doubt later than Collingham and Hoveringham on their gravels beside the Trent.<sup>29</sup> They appear to belong to the *-ingahām* spread of north-west Lincolnshire east of the river.

Of the other *-ingas*, *-inga-* names, Edingley (again OE *lēah*) and Gedling point to similar movement into difficult country. In the south, Costock and Hickling both indicate the penetration of woodland below the Leicestershire Wolds. Meering beside the Trent is in an unfavourable position. It lies between the river and a lake known as the Fleet, formed by an ancient bend of the river. The site is often badly flooded.

In Nottinghamshire, the pattern of development of settlement is not as clear cut as for the counties so far discussed because of the position of Askham, Markham, Dunham and Marnham. However, the other *hām* sites are all within a mile of the Roman roads and trackways. Of the eight apparent *hāms* in the county, Gotham, Lowdham and Markham are approximately one mile from Roman villas; Bingham is one mile from *Margidunum*; Dunham is one mile from the Roman

<sup>29</sup> Walkeringham's prototheme is a dithematic personal name which suggests that it belongs to a later phase of the *-ingahām* period.

buildings at Ragnall. Both Flintham and Askham have produced evidence of Roman occupation. Only Marnham is unassociated with major Roman sites or finds. As we have seen, it is on the banks of River Trent and may well be a name in *hamm*.

The evidence for Nottinghamshire, therefore, shows *hām* in direct association with Roman roads and Roman settlements. Of the *-ingahāms*, three are demonstrably in country less favourable to the earliest settlement, but two are in situations similar to villages with names in *hām*. Names in *-ingas*, *-inga-* suggest the later penetration of wooded country. The pattern for Nottinghamshire indicates that names in *-ingahām* come at the end of the *hām* phase and at the beginning of that of *-ingas*, *-inga-*.

The cantonal capital of the Coritani, *Ratae Coritanorum* (Leicester), is at the centre of modern Leicestershire (Fig. 1). It was well served by roads radiating from it. Beside these roads are the *hām* sites. The Roman road Margary 58a across the Leicestershire Wolds joins Ermine Street to Fosse Way. Lining this road are Waltham, Wycomb (OE *wīc-hām*) — both a mile from the substantial Romano-British settlement site near Goadby Marwood — and the lost *Whenham* east of Ab Kettleby. Forming the north-east boundary of the county is the minor road (Margary 58o) now known as Sewstern Lane. On the southern slopes of the high ground along which it runs is Wymondham. A Roman villa is situated in the village.

From Margary 58a a trackway used in the Roman period led south across River Wreake at Melton Mowbray and branched south-west towards Leicester.<sup>30</sup> Beside this route and at the heart of a spread of pagan burial sites is Keyham. Gartree Road (Margary 57a) runs south from Leicester past the Romano-British settlement and villa site at Medbourne. A mile from this road and two from the Medbourne settlement is Welham. Nearer Leicester, about a mile to the north of the road is the lost *Coldham* in Illston on the Hill parish. Surviving forms for *Coldham* are late but its position on high ground overlooking the road is typical of early *hām* sites.

In Domesday Book, the lost *Legham* is mentioned under Leicester itself. Although omitted from Fig. 1 since its position

<sup>30</sup> A very early Anglo-Saxon pot from Melton has its closest continental parallels in the half century before 400. Myres points out that the type is associated with settlement of Germanic *laeti* on Roman frontiers on the Continent over the years around 400. Myres, *Anglo-Saxon Pottery*, p. 74.



cannot be accurately plotted, its presence at the hub of the road system and close to the Roman township places it within the pattern of *hām* which we see emerging.

In the west of the county are three more villages in *hām*. Higham is on a superb upland site a mile from Watling Street (Margary 1g). Goatham is on heathland three miles from Margary 57b which joined *Ratae* and *Manduessedum* (Mancetter) on Watling Street. The heath reaches from the north to the Roman road here. Measham is in the extreme west of the county, only two miles from Stretton en le Field (OE *stræt-tūn* 'tūn by or on a Roman road'). A section of paved road found at Moira may well be Roman and would thus indicate a lost road from *Manduessedum* to *Derventio* (Littlechester) north of Derby. Measham obviously conforms to the *hām* pattern.<sup>31</sup>

Of the eleven settlements with names in *hām* in Leicestershire, five have direct or close association with Roman sites or finds of Roman material. From Higham, four miles from *Manduessedum*, an urn of Roman silver coins is known. Wymondham is the site of a villa. Waltham, Wycomb and Welham are within two miles of substantial Romano-British settlements.

As already pointed out in the introductory discussion, place-names in the county in *-ingas*, *-inga-* are south, south-east and east of the main area of pagan Anglo-Saxon burials. They show late land-taking in heavy woodland. As a group, they bear no relationship to the Roman road system and to the distribution of names in *hām*.

Rutland (Fig. 1) has every appearance of being extensively settled very early in the Anglo-Saxon period. Its principal Roman road is Ermine Street (Margary 2c) which passes through the eastern corner of the county. From this branches Sewstern Lane (Margary 580). Two miles from Ermine Street is Clipsham. This is a villa site. From it have come Romano-Saxon ware and late military metalwork of the type associated with Germanic *foederati*. Beside Sewstern Lane and two miles south-east of the Romano-British settlement at Thistleton is Greetham on its gravel spread. A Roman kiln and pottery have been discovered here. Two other sites possibly have names in *hām*, Luffenham and Langham. North Luffenham's Anglo-

<sup>31</sup> The inhospitable west of Leicestershire was in general developed late in the Anglo-Saxon period. That three *hām* sites close to Roman roads should exist in this area suggests their deliberate creation within the Roman or sub-Roman period with the express purpose of policing of the routes by federate settlers.



Saxon cemetery has produced late military metalwork of the *foederati* and pottery similar to the very early type found at Dorchester on Thames and associated with the *Kriegergräber* there. In the west of the county, Langham is beside Ranksborough Hill where there may have been a Romano-British settlement. An important Roman bronze statuette representing Jupiter or Neptune has been found here. Oakham is most likely a name in *hām*. The town is set on a tongue of land formed by the arms of two streams and it lies in the Vale of Catmose (OE *mos* 'a bog, a swamp'). Although nowadays this contains the most fertile land in the county, it must at the time of the Anglo-Saxon settlements have been unattractive to the earliest farmers. Oakham has therefore been omitted from Fig. 1.

There are two names in *-ingahām* in Rutland. Empingham is three miles from Ermine Street and has a pagan Anglo-Saxon cemetery. Uppingham is beyond the spread of pagan cemeteries in the woodland of the south-west of the county. However, from the immediate vicinity of the town has come a vessel containing six hundred Roman silver coins and a coin of Arcadius (383-408). That Roman antiquities are found as far west as Uppingham and Langham and that material associated with *foederati* should come from an inland site such as North Luffenham suggests that the light soils of the eastern part of the county were exploited early. This would account for names in *hām* and *-ingahām* so far inland.<sup>32</sup>

The only *-inga-* site is that of Whissendine in the north-west, situated in a valley below the inhospitable heights of the county boundary there. It appears to represent expansion from the pagan Anglo-Saxon area of the Wreake Valley in Leicestershire. There are no place-names in *-ingas* in the county.

The evidence for Leicestershire and Rutland shows in general the *hām* sites close to Roman roads and closely associated with Roman villas, settlement sites and other material remains. The *-ingahām* sites also appear to be early. Place-names in *-ingas*, *-inga-* are away from Roman roads, names in *hām* and pagan Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.

<sup>32</sup> Finds from the important Roman township of Great Casterton also suggest the very early presence of Germanic *foederati*. The recently discovered cemetery there is immediately north of its walls. It contained both Roman and Anglo-Saxon burials. The villa at Great Casterton has produced two examples of Romano-Saxon ware, one of which was apparently copied directly from common types of large Saxon *Buckelurnen*. Myres, *Anglo-Saxon Pottery*, p. 67.

There are six *hām* sites in Northamptonshire and the Soke of Peterborough (Fig. 5), three in the south-west in the area of *Lactodorum* (Towcester). Cold Higham is directly beside Watling Street (Margary 1f). At *Lactodorum*, the Roman road Margary 160a branched almost due south. Wappenham is four miles from this road and the walled settlement; Syresham is three miles from the road. Further north on Watling Street is the Roman site of *Bannaventa* (Whilton Lodge). Newnham, surrounded by pagan Anglo-Saxon burials, is four miles from the Romano-British settlement and three from the road. It is unlikely, however, that *Bannaventa* caused the siting of Newnham. This example of the place-name can be grouped with Kings Newnham and Newnham Paddox over the Warwickshire boundary, suggesting settlement of virgin territory later in the pagan Anglo-Saxon period.

To the north-east of Towcester is the Roman township of Irchester. Three miles to the north-east of Irchester and one mile from the road (Margary 570) which connected the town to *Durobrivae* (Water Newton) is Higham Ferrers. Substantial Roman buildings are known near Stanwick, two miles away. The only other *hām* site is in the Soke of Peterborough. This is Marholm, a mile from the Old Fen Road (Margary 25) and in the important Roman complex surrounding *Durobrivae* and the Castor potteries.

Iseham, some four miles south of the Romano-British settlement at Kettering is a typical *hamm* site; although one would expect a road to have joined Irchester to the Roman site at Kettering and running to the east of River Ise (thus Iseham as a *hām* would comply with the pattern of *hām* in the Midlands), it has been omitted from Fig. 5.

There are three *-ingahām* names in the county. Cottingham and neighbouring Rockingham are both beside Gartree Road (Margary 57a) which runs into the north of the county from Leicester. Less than two miles from Cottingham, substantial Roman buildings are known beside the road. The lost *Elingham* was in Rushden about two miles from Margary 570.

The *-ingas*, *-inga-* sites are in general away from the Roman roads. They indicate movement from the easily available land of early settlement. In the far south is Farthinghoe. A principal area of names in *-ingas*, *-inga-* is in the centre of the county where we find Billing, Kettering, Irthlingborough, Kislingbury and Wellingborough. A second group is in the north-east; this



consists of Wittering, Benefield, Fotheringay and Hemington. With the exception of the last, these villages lie in Rockingham Forest. Hemington was also in woodland and is situated just over the county boundary from the Giddings of north Huntingdonshire.

Names in *hām* are beside the Roman roads and are in this county all associated with important Roman sites. Names in *-ingahām* are also beside the Roman roads. Those in *-ingas*, *-inga-* are in more difficult country and generally away from the roads. As a group, they are clearly later than *hām*. The place-names in *-ingahām* again appear to belong to a time very early in the *-ingas*, *-inga-* phase.

There are only four names in *hām* in Huntingdonshire (Fig. 6), Barham, Bluntisham, Grafham and Somersham. Both Barham and Grafham are situated on hill-tops but the latter is some distance from the road system. Even so, Roman artefacts have been found here. Barham is two miles from Margary 57a. Bluntisham and Somersham were settled on an 'island' of open land at the edge of what was fenland, yet names in *-inga-* separate them from the Roman town of *Durovigutum* (Godmanchester). Good land must have been scarce in the county at the time of the earliest English settlements. The small area around Bluntisham and Somersham was well exploited in the Roman period. There are two Romano-British settlement sites at Somersham as well as a Romano-British cemetery and villa. An urn with late Roman coins and a large hoard of a thousand Constantinian coins have also been discovered here. There is a Romano-British settlement site at Colne, one mile from Bluntisham, as well as a Romano-British cemetery. Coins dating up to the late fourth century and an important bronze and silver statuette have been found in the village of Bluntisham itself. From the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Somersham, a very early urn akin to examples found in Schleswig and Hanover also suggests the early date of this *hām*.

There is only one *-ingahām* in Huntingdonshire — Wintringham, which is one mile from Margary 22 and south of Godmanchester. Place-names in *-inga-* are grouped around Godmanchester itself; Hemingford, Hinchbrook and Needingworth occur in what must have been densely wooded country. The local hundred is the Hurstingstone Hundred. This gets its name from a stone at which the *Hyrstingas* 'the woodland dwellers'

met.<sup>33</sup> In the north of the county, Gidding (Great, Little and Steeple) and Washingley (OE *lēah* 'woodland') were also settled in woodland.

The place-name evidence clearly shows that the county was not a desirable area early in the Anglo-Saxon settlement. Of the four *hām* sites, Bluntisham and Somersham occur in a small region of open land at the edge of the fens, well-exploited in the Roman period but at some distance from the road system.<sup>34</sup> Barham was settled on a hill-top beside the important *Via Devana* joining *Ratae* to *Durolipons* but Grafham, although showing signs of Romano-British exploitation, is well away from the road system. The solitary *-ingahām* is closely associated with a group of pagan Anglo-Saxon burial sites, while names in *-ingas*, *-inga-* occur away from the pagan burials and in difficult country. Wintringham appears to be the earliest of the *-ingas*, *-inga-* names in the county.

The River Ouse runs through the northern half of Bedfordshire (Fig. 6) in a series of great loops. In these great bends of the river lie Biddenham, Bromham, Clapham, Felmersham and Pavenham. With the exception perhaps of Clapham, all seem typical *hamm* sites.<sup>35</sup> However, it is possible that *hām* is present in some of these examples. The Roman road Margary 170 from Ircchester passed within two miles of each village. Two miles from Felmersham substantial Roman buildings are known. A mile from Bromham they also occur. The many finds from Biddenham suggest a small Romano-British settlement there. In the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Kempston two miles south of Biddenham Romano-Saxon pottery has been found. The cemetery has also produced Anglo-Saxon ware of Myres' 'Phase of Transition' (410-450) as has that at Harrold, two miles west of Felmersham. Clearly Anglo-Saxon settlement was very early in an area exploited in the Roman period. Without earlier spellings for these place-names, however, *hām* cannot be separated from *hamm* in the group.

Three miles east of Biddenham is Newnham, a mile from the Roman buildings known at Bedford. It is probable that Margary 170 joined up with the branch road Margary 222 from Biggles-

<sup>33</sup> Now known as the Abbot's Chair and situated to the south of Old Hurst. *Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire*, English Place-Name Society 3 (1926), 203-4.

<sup>34</sup> See Fox, *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, Map IV.

<sup>35</sup> See Margaret Gelling, 'The element *hamm* in English Place-Names: a Topographical Investigation', *Namn och Bygd* 48 (1960), 143-4.



wade to Old Warden. Newnham would be about one mile from such a route. The remaining possible *hām* in the north of the county is Blunham, two miles from Margary 22 and one and a half from the major Romano-British settlement at Sandy. This also may well be a *hamm* site.<sup>36</sup>

Southwards from the winding valley of the Ouse with its Roman road, villas, settlement sites and Anglo-Saxon pagan cemeteries lies a large group of names in *-ingas*, *-inga-*. It spreads across what was heavy woodland, devoid of Roman roads and pagan Anglo-Saxon burial sites, as far as the high ground of the Dunstable Downs where appears the second important group of pagan burial sites in the county. This *-ingas*, *-inga-* group contains Wootton Pillinge, Kitchen End, Worthy End, Harlington, Lidlington, Shillington, Toddington and Steppingley. These names clearly represent colonization during the post-pagan era from the areas of primary settlement to the north and south.

There are two *hām* sites on the upland of the south. Higham Gobion is two miles from Icknield Way. Roman buildings and Romano-British pottery have been found here. Studham is two miles from Watling Street, three from Icknield Way and four from the Roman station of *Durocobrivae* (Dunstable). It is situated on the south scarp of the highest ridge of the Dunstable Downs and could be very early indeed.

*Durocobrivae* was sited at the crossing of two great Roman routes. Watling Street joined Dover, London and the north-west. Icknield Way ran from the Wash to the region of Bath in the south-west. The town was thus at the geographical centre of the civil area of Roman Britain, the region most desirable to the land-hungry Saxons. On the chalk Downs above it is Studham (OE *stōd-hām* 'hām where horses are bred'). It is possible to see this site as an important one for the mounted cavalry of the Germanic *foederati*. Were new mounts originally bred for them here at a point so strategically important for lowland defence? The open downland would have been entirely suitable for the breeding and training of horses. Indeed, military metalwork associated with the *foederati* has been found in an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Luton, three miles from *Durocobrivae*.

<sup>36</sup> Clapham, Felmersham and Pavenham are sited on Oolite, Biddenham, Bromham and Newnham on Cornbrash; in both cases this cretaceous material made desirable sites for early settlement. Only Blunham on Oxford Clay appears to be in a less desirable position.



A possible parallel to Studham is Stadhampton near Dorchester on Thames. In this name *-ton* is a very late addition. The early forms are *Stod(e)ham*. If this is OE *stōd-hām* 'hām where horses are bred' rather than OE *stōd-hamm* 'river-meadow where horses are kept' we have a perfect match for Studham. Stadhampton is on the divide of alluvium and limestone near River Thame. It lies in the angle formed by Icknield Way and the north-south road from Silchester through Dorchester on Thames and two miles from the latter town. As so often near *hām* settlements there is a villa site one mile away in Little Milton. Dorchester with its *Kriegergräber* is the type-site for late military metalwork of the *foederati*. Myres even suggests a political frontier during the period 410-450 along the Berkshire bank of the upper Thames and centred in the Silchester-Dorchester area.<sup>37</sup> For such a strongpoint, a stud of horses for the cavalry units of the *foederati* would have been essential.

The Bedfordshire names in *hām* (including the doubtful examples on the Ouse) fall in the regions of the pagan burials and are associated with Roman roads and habitation sites. Names in *-ingas*, *-inga-* are generally dissociated from these. Place-names in *hām* are again clearly earlier than those in *-ingas*, *-inga-* and manifestly belong to the pagan period. If the series of villages within the great loops of the Ouse indeed bear names in *hamm* (with the exception of Newnham which is most probably later), there are no early names in *hām* between the Dunstable Downs and the region around Godmanchester. It could then well be argued that such virgin territory once separated peoples who became known as Angles and who spread from the north and east from those later known as Saxons who moved up-country from the Thames Valley.

Place-names in *hām* are rare in Warwickshire (Fig. 7). All three certain examples are names in Newnham. Kings Newnham and Newnham Paddox are each one mile from Fosse Way (Margary 5d) in the east of the county and represent Anglian settlement from the north. In the south-west there is another Newnham three miles from the Roman town of Alcester. This example may reflect settlement from the south-west by Saxon Hwicce. Southam, four miles to the east of Fosse Way, is most probably a name in *hamm*. It lies in a deep bend of a tributary of River Itchen.

<sup>37</sup> Myres, *Anglo-Saxon Pottery*, p. 89.

There are two *-ingahām* names in the county, Birmingham in the north-west lies beside Ryknild Street (Margary 18b) and Hunningham beside the Fosse Way in the east. Both names probably represent Anglian expansion from the north.

Names in *-ingas*, *-inga-* are also few but generally show gradual clearance of the Forest of Arden. Fillongley (OE *lēah* 'woodland') and Wiggins Hill in Sutton Coldfield are in its northern reaches. In the south-west, the lost *Stopping* was in the area of Wootton Wawen and was in the southern bounds of the forest. East of Fosse Way, Birdingbury lies outside the area of the group of pagan burial sites east of Hunningham. The few *-ingas*, *-inga-* sites suggest that movement into more difficult country which their distribution has indicated in the other counties so far discussed.

It is probably significant that the Warwickshire names in *hām* are 'new hām'. Movement into the county seems to have been fairly late in the pagan period. Although Kings Newnham and Newnham Paddox are close to the Fosse Way, they are both on poor ground not normally associated with the earliest Anglo-Saxon habitation sites. The former, however, has produced Samian ware which indicates some sort of occupation there prior to that of the English.

As in Warwickshire to its south, in Derbyshire (Fig. 8) names in *hām* are rare. The two certain examples are both very close to Roman roads. In the east in Higham beside Ryknild Street (Margary 18d). In the west is Needham which overlooks Margary 71a. It is sited in the area of surviving late pagan burials. A third doubtful example is Clownholm beside the Roman town of Rocester. It is, however, in a bend of River Dove and may well be a name in *hamm*. There are no names in *-ingahām* in the county and only one name in *-inga-* survives. This is Totley (OE *lēah* 'woodland') on the northern boundary and unassociated with the area of pagan burials.

Staffordshire (Fig. 9) is the westernmost county of this survey. It contains only one possible name in *hām* — Trentham beside River Trent. This village is three miles from the Roman road Margary 181 but its riverside setting indicates the strong probability of its being a name in *hamm*. The isolated burial at Barlaston suggests that this small area was settled late in the pagan period as the inhumation is similar in date to the graves in the Peak District.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>38</sup> See Andrey Ozanne, 'The Peak Dwellers', *Medieval Archaeology* 6-7 (1962-3), 41-7.



There is only one name in *-ingahām*. This is Pattingham in the south-west which is situated several miles from any known Roman road. Margary 191 must have passed within four or five miles of the settlement, however, although its exact route is not yet known from four miles south of *Pennocrucium* (Penkridge). Doubtlessly it led to *Salinae* (Droitwich). The two names in *-inga-* are also to be found in the south of the county. These are Essington and Edingale. Edingale represents Mercian expansion from River Trent. Essington is on the high land of Cannock Chase. Both Pattingham and Essington are in an area devoid of pagan burial sites.

It seems clear that apart from in the extreme south-east, settlement in the county did not begin until the end of the pagan period. This explains the absence of names in *hām* which we associate with the period c.400-650.

In Norfolk (Fig. 10), place-names in *hām* are common. There are seventy examples (plus seven more possible). Names in *-ingahām* are also common. Forty-eight instances have survived. Those in *-ingas*, *-inga-* are fewer. Only thirty-one examples are known. If, as is becoming clear, place-names in *hām* are indeed early, that they should be ubiquitous in this county is to be expected. It was a region open to settlement from the sea and would have borne the brunt of waves of free immigrants. It is known also to have been a region where *foederati* were present.<sup>39</sup>

Despite early extensive settlement and despite the fact that our knowledge of roads east of Peddars Way is fragmentary, the pattern of *hām* in relation to the Roman road system remains clear. The principal routes in the county were Peddars Way (Margary 33b) (with Icknield Way (Margary 333)) and Margary 38. Peddars Way and Icknield Way provided a route to the interior from the coast around Hunstanton on the Wash to Thetford in the south. These eastern shores of the Wash offered safe landing and ease of entry to the migrants. Names in *hām* line this route and are rarely sited more than two miles from the road and ancient trackway. Thus from the north we find such villages as Thornham, Heacham, Snettisham, Bircham and eleven more *hāms* (principally lining Peddars

<sup>39</sup> Late military metalwork has been discovered at Caistor-by-Norwich and Croxton, Romano-Saxon pottery at Brundall, Brancaster, Caistor-by-Norwich, Caister-by-Yarmouth and West Acre and Anglo-Saxon pottery of Myres' period c. 360-410 at Brundall, Caister-by-Yarmouth, Caistor-by-Norwich, Castle Acre, Illington, Marksall, North Elmham and Thetford.

Way) south to Brettenham beside the Romano-British settlement there.

Swaffham ('*hām* of the Swabians') occupies a strategic point on high ground at the crossing of this major corridor and the east-west road (Margary 38) from the coast beyond Smallburgh to the important complex at Water Newton in Huntingdonshire. As in Cambridgeshire we find a Swaffham in a strategic position to defend routes into the interior of the civil area of Roman Britain. Again the inference seems that we have in Swaffham a settlement which originated with Swabian *foederati*.

West of Swaffham, Margary 38 becomes the Old Fen Road (Margary 25) beyond Downham Market. Grouped on raised ground amid what was once fenland to the north, west and south are eight sites in *hām*, including Downham itself (OE *dūn-hām* '*hām* on a hill'). None of these is more than two miles from the Roman road. The area was easily accessible both from the coast near Hunstanton and from River Ouse.

A secondary route from the northern coastline ran from near Holkham to join Peddars Way near Pickenham. Villages with names in *hām* line this road. Thus we find from the north Holkham, Burnham, Barsham, Fakenham, Raynham, Weasenham, Litcham and Dunham. Most of these sites are less than two miles from the road.

Margary 38 runs a little north of Swaffham eastwards in the direction of the east coast. It also is lined with place-names in *hām*. From Dunham at the intersection of Margary 39 and 38 we have Mileham, Elmham, Foulsham, Sparham, Reepham, Marsham and Stalham (beyond Smallburgh). What happened to this road east of Smallburgh we do not know. But clearly there was a coast road which connected the major Saxon Shore sites of *Gariannonum* (Burgh Castle) and Caister-by-Yarmouth with the fort of *Branodunum* (Brancaaster). The names Bodham Street, Crossdale Street and Paston Street (OE *stræt* 'a Roman road') record its course over a twelve miles stretch in the north-east. Across the north of the county from west to east Warham, Binham, Langham, Bodham, Beckham and Gresham once lined this road. From Paston Street, the road may have swung inland to Smallburgh. On the approaches from the north-west to the Roman port at Caister and sited on areas of raised ground in the region of what is now the Broads are Potter Heigham, Ludham and Runham near Caister.



Three more groups of names in *hām* are to be found, all in the south-east quarter of the county. The first circles the complex of roads around the Romano-British settlement at Brettenham. Drove Road (Margary 332) runs from west to east. Shropham and Hargham lie beside it. Margary 37 runs north-east from Thetford. Bridgham, Quidenham, Buckenham, Banham and Tibenham are all within two miles of this road. Garboldisham and Lopham lie beside Margary 331. Further east, Margary 35 stretches from the south-east past Needham to join Pye Road (Margary 3d) near Pulham. The third group is that surrounding Stone Street (Margary 36) which runs generally north-east to *Venta Icenorum* (Caistor-by-Norwich). Hedenham is immediately beside this road. Mundham and Shotesham are in typical relationship to it.<sup>40</sup> Lakenham, Earlham and Heigham are on the Yare and Wensum a little to the north of *Venta*. They may have been settled by way of River Yare. So may the doubtful Buckenham lower down the river and close to a Roman site at Cantley.

Bradenham and Shipdham are both a little further from a Roman road than is usual with names in *hām*. However, both villages lie on attractive sites on the high ground which spreads eastward from the Margary 33b/38 crossroads. They are not to be discounted as examples of *hām*. Bradenham is only two miles from the villa at Holme Hale. Waxham on the east coast is in an unusual position for a name in *hām*. It contains a dithematic personal name as its initial theme and would thus appear to have been settled late in the *hām* phase. The site is nicely raised above the shore.

Names in *-ingahām* are in general grouped away from the areas in which names in *hām* are most densely distributed. They quite obviously indicate later movement away from the Roman road system into land less easily available than that occupied by the settlers who took the *hām* sites. As has been seen in other counties, some *-ingahām* sites lie beside the roads. Dersingham, Massingham and Cressingham beside Margary 33b and 333 are typical of these. However, whereas they are situated in the west in the region of high ground, the main body of names in *-ingahām* is in the eastern half of the county in less readily accessible areas.

<sup>40</sup> Earsham, although less than two miles from this road and having a pagan Anglo-Saxon cemetery, lies in a great bend of River Waveney and may be a name in *hamm*. It does, however, give its name to the local hundred and this suggests that it was an important site.

The two principal groups of names in *-ingahām* are first to the west and east of Norwich towards the centre of the county and secondly in a broad belt inland from Wells-next-the-Sea in the north, eastwards to the Broads. In the former area, such places as Hingham, Hardingham, Wrampingham, Honingham, Burlingham and Raveningham are well away from the road system (and even important waterways) and clearly are later than the *hāms*. In the north, Hindringham, Bringham, Barningham, Itteringham, Erpingham and Felmingham are all inland sites also. A third group in the south-east which contains Raveningham, Ditchingham, Ellingham and Gillingham extends into Suffolk. The very density of names in *-ingahām* in Norfolk points to settlement in most parts of the county by the close of the pagan Anglo-Saxon period.

We have seen that the distribution of *hām* in Norfolk indicates that it occurs early in the Anglo-Saxon settlement. But in addition, villages with names in *hām* are frequently directly associated with Roman sites.<sup>41</sup> Villas are known at Aylesham (this site is sometimes known as Marsham), Lopham and Snettisham. Congham and Pulham are each one mile from a villa, Bodham, Bradenham, Flitcham and Pickenham two miles. Romano-British settlements are known at Binham, Brettenham, Dunham, Heacham, Langham, Needham, Snettisham, Swaffham, Warham and Wereham. Romano-British cemeteries pointing to undiscovered settlement sites have been found at Bridgham, Burnham, North Elmham, Hedenham and Heigham. From Mileham comes the well-known silver dish, while Old Buckenham, Saham and Stalham have all produced Roman pottery. Saham is only one mile from the Roman buildings at Ashill. Late coin hoards are known from Fakenham and Fincham.

Of the earliest Anglo-Saxon materials, pottery of Myres' c.360-410 phase comes from North Elmham and that of his 410-450 period from Shropham. Not only this, but the direct association of villages with names in *hām* and pagan Anglo-Saxon burials is significant. Brettenham, Old Buckenham, Burnham, North Elmham, Hargham, Heigham, Holkham, Quidenham, Shropham, Snettisham, Swaffham, Thornham, Weasenham and Wereham all have known burial grounds which

<sup>41</sup> A recent gazetteer of Roman sites in Norfolk is provided in R. R. Clarke, 'Roman Norfolk since Haverfield: a Survey of Discovery from 1901', *Norfolk Archaeology* 30 (1950), 141 ff.



are to be related directly to them. These are in the western half of the county which seems to have been the main region of earliest settlement.<sup>42</sup> Some villages in *-ingahām* also have associated pagan burials but fewer than those in *hām*. They are Dersingham, Ellingham, Great Ellingham, Earl Framingham, Itteringham, Shingham and Walsingham. This is to be expected if we take *-ingahām* to bridge the change from pagan to Christian East Anglia. Only Gissing and Snoring provide names in *-ingas* associated with pagan burial sites.

Villages with names in *-ingas*, *-inga-* are comparatively fewer than those in *hām* and those in *-ingahām*. Where they appear, they suggest later settlement than villages with names in *hām* and *-ingahām*. Names in *-inga-* seem to be the latest of all. A group, for example, appears in the poor fenlands around King's Lynn where we find Babingley, Wormegay, Terrington, Wallington and Watlington. Names in *-ingas* are more numerous than those in *-inga-* but lie in areas peripheral to those occupied by groups of names in *hām* and *-ingahām*. For example, in the centre of the county, Bittering, Wendling, Scarning, Elsing, Hockering and Swathing form a group separating names in *hām* to their north-west from names in *-ingahām* to their south-east. There is another group in low-lying land in the Broads, namely Honing, Palling, Hickling and Horning. Blickling and Thurning are situated between the spread of *hām* along Margary 38 and that of names in *-ingahām* in the north-east of the county. Occasionally, *-ingas* names lie beside the Roman roads. Harling, Larling and Bittering are examples of such, but in this respect they cannot compare with the incidence in that position of names in *-ingahām*.

In Norfolk, the distributions of these various types of place-name are as follows: (a) *hām* beside the Roman roads, on higher ground and on light soils in areas easily accessible by road and river; (b) *-ingahām* sometimes beside the roads but generally spreading away from them and breaking new territory; (c) *-ingas*, *-inga-* in areas peripheral to more desirable land and often sited on low-lying ground such as in the fens south of the Wash and in that from the Broads to the sea.

In Suffolk (Fig. 11) Icknield Way (Margary 333), which turns south-west at Thetford, runs along the chalk through Newmarket and so along to the open corridor so significant in the

<sup>42</sup> See below pp. 46-7.

early settlement of Cambridgeshire. The group of names in *hām* which clusters to the east and north-east of Newmarket continues the Cambridgeshire series of *hām*. On the chalk itself are Tuddenham, Cavenham, Ingham, Barnham, Needham Street and Freckenham. South of the road and on higher ground are Higham, Saxham, Dalham and Denham. In the north-west, Santon Downham is also on the Icknield corridor and a half mile from Drove Road (Margary 332) which crosses both Icknield Way and Peddars Way (Margary 33b) at right angles. Peddars Way joins Margary 33a north of Ixworth. Fakenham, Pakenham, Rougham, Welnetham and Lavenham line this road. Margary 330 runs south-east from the Romano-British settlement at Ixworth to join Margary 34a south of Hitcham. Langham, Felsham, Brettenham and Hitcham are all within two miles of this road while Wattisham and Willisham are both close to Margary 34a on its way to *Combretovium* (Baylham House). Running roughly north-south through the county is the important Pye Road (Margary 3c/3d) joining *Venta Icenorum* to *Camulodunum* (Colchester). Along this road are to be found Wortham, Thornham, Wickham Street, Mendlesham and Stonham.<sup>43</sup> At its southern end are Hintlesham, Chattisham, Layham, Wenham, Brantham and Higham. Langham, just over the county boundary, continues the series into Essex. Clustered around *Combretovium* itself are Needham Market, Coddensham, Barham, Baylham, Blakenham, Somersham and Akenham.

Margary 34b led north-east from *Combretovium* to the lost *Sitomagus* (possibly Dunwich) near the coast. Debenham, Soham, Rendham and Darsham are closely associated with this route. A little to the south, but following generally the same direction, was Margary 340. Loudham, Wickham Market, Rendlesham, Parham, Farnham and Saxmundham are all within three miles of it. Margary 36 (from *Venta Icenorum*) possibly led to *Sitomagus* also. Barsham, Redisham, Elmham and Henham line its known route. A lost coast road from *Gariannonum* to *Sitomagus* is indicated by the place-name Hulver Street. This accounts for Gisleham and Wrentham in the north-east of the county where settlement direct from the sea would have been difficult.

<sup>43</sup> A branch road from Margary 3d must have run east past Denham (nr. Eye) as the place-names Brome Street and Cross Street indicate (both from OE *stræt* 'a Roman road').



The Saxon Shore fort of Walton Castle lies on the promontory formed by the estuaries of Rivers Deben and Orwell. Falkenham, Bucklesham, Martlesham and Tuddenham lie along this promontory. They were settled either by way of a road which must once have joined Burgh Castle to the known road system (perhaps at *Combretovium*) or directly from the sea by way of the inlets of the Deben and Orwell. The latter certainly appears to be the case with Shottisham. The south-eastern sites apart, as in the other counties discussed we see that the villages of Suffolk with names in *hām* line Roman roads and represent early settlement. In the south-east, the rivers Orwell, Deben and Alde also played an important role as routes of access in the initial stages of immigration.

Archaeological evidence is again strongly in support of the antiquity of *hām*.<sup>44</sup> At Baylham, of course, is the important *Combretovium* with 'ts group of associated *hāms*. At Coddensham, Hitcham, Santon Downham and Stonham are Romano-British settlement sites. At Ingham, Pakenham and Stonham Romano-British cemeteries have been discovered. Pakenham and Rougham are the sites of villas. The Romano-British settlement at Stoke Ash is directly associated with Thornham and Wickham Street. The Roman buildings at Capel St. Mary are only a mile from Wenham. Romano-British dwelling sites are known at Brettenham, Wattisham and Welnetham while the Roman pottery, glassware and coins from Lavenham probably indicate an undiscovered villa there. Roman pottery indicating occupation sites has been found at Barnham, Blakenham, Mendham and Stonham. Late coin hoards are known from Freckenham and Tuddenham. Important miscellaneous finds, including statuary and burials come from Akenham and Martlesham. Pagan Anglo-Saxon burial sites in direct association with villages in *hām* are significant as for Norfolk. At Akenham, Barham, Barsham, Coddensham, Fakenham, Fornham, Freckenham, Gisleham, Langham, Rendlesham, Tuddenham, Wickham Market and Wortham pagan graves have been discovered. Anglo-Saxon pottery of Myres' Phase of Transition (410-450) has been found at Ingham. Traces of Anglo-Saxon occupation of Roman sites have come to light at Cavenham and Fakenham.

<sup>44</sup> The most recent gazetteer of Roman sites and finds in the county is in I. E. Moore, 'Roman Suffolk', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* 24 (1949), 163-81.

In Suffolk, names in *-ingahām* are proportionally much fewer than in Norfolk. They lie in general close to Roman roads. The main distribution of *hām* in the county is in the south-east where entrance from the sea was possible. Names in *-ingahām* are distributed principally in the north-east quarter of Suffolk where a coastal landing and penetration inland was difficult. In two cases we see names in *-ingahām* grouped together, implying the extension of settlement into a new region during the *-ingahām* phase. One instance is in the territory to the north-east of *Combretoivium*: here are Helmingham, Crettingham, Letheringham, Framlingham and Badlingham. The other is in the extreme north-east where Mettingham, Worlingham and Willingham extend into Suffolk the Norfolk *-ingahām* group beyond River Waveney north of Beccles and Bungay. The comparative paucity of names in *-ingahām* and their distribution suggests that there was little formation of new settlements in Suffolk in the sixth and seventh centuries when such a place-naming formula seems to have been in vogue. Indeed, the Romano-British cemetery at Helmingham and that at Icklingham with its villa may indicate that desirable land cultivated during the Roman period lay waste for the taking until the time this phase began.<sup>45</sup> Apart from Icklingham, only Finningham possesses a known pagan Anglo-Saxon burial ground.

In Suffolk, names in *-ingas*, *-inga-* occur principally in a broad belt running south-west to north-east across the county. The scatter in the south-west is mainly in the forested claylands towards Essex. Here are Cowlinge, Shimpling, Milden, Poslingford and Waldingfield. The *-ingas*, *-inga-* names spread north-east by way of Gedding, Barking, Creeting and Gipping into a second concentration in the main *-ingahām* region. Redlingfield, Bedingfield (both OE *feld* 'open country'), Worlingworth and Tannington are at the centre of the triangle formed by the roads Margary 3d, 34b and 35. Here names in *hām* and *-ingahām* lie beside the roads. The names in *-inga-* show movement away from the roads, in this case, into unoccupied open country. This open land extended north-east of Margary 35 where we find Huntingfield (again OE *feld*). In the north-east Herringfleet

<sup>45</sup> Romano-Saxon ware and late military metalwork associated with *foederati* come from Icklingham. In addition, there is a pagan Anglo-Saxon cemetery here. Possibly we have in this case a renamed *hām*. The site is less than two miles from Icknield Way and associated with the important group of *hām* sites discussed early in this section dealing with Suffolk.



in the marshes and Kessingland above the windswept shingle beaches were both unattractive sites.

The Suffolk names in *-ingas*, *-inga-* separate names in *hām* into two main groups. First there are those *hāms* in the north-west of the county lining Icknield Way and settled on the chalk and higher ground immediately to its south. The earliest free settlement in this region may have come both by way of the Roman road system from the Wash and via River Lark. This area of the county was certainly settled from the north. The second main distribution is in the south-east indicating Germanic reinforcement from the sea by way of the estuaries of the Orwell, Deben and Alde. Once the English had arrived here, either as *foederati* or as free settlers penetrating along these rivers, expansion during the pagan period seems to have been by way of the road system. In both the north-west and south-east of Suffolk the names in *hām* occupy those areas where the pagan cemeteries are concentrated. As in the other eastern counties previously discussed, they appear to represent habitation sites dating from the migration perhaps to the close of the heathen era. Names in *-ingahām* occur both in areas of *hām* settlement and in those of *-ingas*, *-inga-*, but only Icklingham and Finningham can be associated with pagan burials. Names in *-ingas*, *-inga-* indicate expansion away from the two main areas of early settlement and thus form the broad belt separating the names in *hām* of the north-west from those of the south-east.

In the area under survey place-names in *hām* occur most frequently in the easternmost counties, namely in Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire. Further inland, apart from in eastern Leicestershire, Rutland and eastern Nottinghamshire, this place-name type rapidly becomes rare. Staffordshire contains no sure examples and Derbyshire only two while the three certain instances in Warwickshire are all names in 'new *hām*' which probably represent late movement into difficult territory (Fig. 12). The preponderance of names in *hām* in the eastern counties indicates the early nature of the place-name type. These areas must have borne the brunt of successive waves of free immigrants. It should not, however, necessarily be assumed that the instances in the midland counties (names in Newnham excepted) are all later than the earliest examples in the east and that all must have been

settled as the Anglo-Saxon conquest advanced westwards. Indeed, it is possible that midland names in *hām* are very early. Those in Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire and Northamptonshire are by and large very close indeed to the Roman roads. It is possible to see some of the midland *hāms* as original settlements of federate Anglo-Saxons, especially villages called *Higham* which are almost without exception overlooking the roads. If this is justified, *hām* may generally have fallen into disuse in the Midlands and East Anglia well before the end of the pagan period. Otherwise one would have expected a denser westward distribution.<sup>46</sup>

There are 217 certain examples of *hām* in the thirteen counties discussed. Of these, 109 (plus 27 more possible) are of the type element + *hām*; 79 (plus 20 possible) have the early monothematic personal name as their initial theme. The later hypocoristic personal name (3 plus 3 more possible) and dithematic personal name (10 plus 1 more possible) are comparatively rare as first themes. The distribution of these types in Norfolk and Lincolnshire hints that as a class, place-names compounded of element + *hām* may be earlier than those with monothematic personal name + *hām* (and thus possibly represent the earliest English habitation site name-type). In Norfolk, for example, they line Peddars Way (Margary 33b) and occupy both the northern seaboard and the region of higher ground south of the Wash. Western Norfolk most probably received the earliest free immigrants into the county. The chalk corridor on which stand Peddars Way and Icknield Way led from what were the safest havens of the Norfolk

<sup>46</sup> The seventh century seems to mark the end of new place-names in *hām*. The latest examples appear in the north and north-west. The compound *cirice-hām* 'hām with a church' is rare: only two examples survive, both Scandinavianized to Kirkham, one in the East Riding of Yorkshire, the other near Blackpool in Lancashire. That *cirice* is compounded with *hām* so rarely suggests that *hām* was declining as a name-giving theme at the beginning of the Christian era (contrast the common occurrence of the later *Kirkby*). The Lancashire Kirkham is hardly an earlier name in *hām* restyled as a *cirice-hām*. The date of the Anglo-Saxon settlement of this area is uncertain. We know that as early as c. 613 Æthelfrith of Bernicia defeated the Welsh near Chester. Eddius in his *Life of St. Wilfrid* recounts how Wilfred at the dedication ceremony of the new church at Ripon between 671 and 678 read out a list of its endowed estates, among them lands near the Ribble. A rough date for the Lancashire Kirkham would appear to be mid seventh century. Hexham in Northumberland is called *Hagustaldes ea* 'the hagustald's stream' in 681, *Hagustaldes ham* 'the hagustald's hām' in 685, both forms recorded in the Laud Chronicle. Although the latter form eventually dominated, the two styles in all probability existed side by side for some years previous to 681. Hexham appears to be the latest safely attributable place-name in *hām* in England. The conservative use of *hām* in Northumbria and its parallel late appearance in Lancashire support the theory of Northumbrian conquest of the territory west of the Pennines and north of the Ribble rather than Mercian.



coastline. Its soils were those most desirable to early farmers. The island of high ground south of the Wash was the first good land reached by way of the Ouse. We must see early settlement in Norfolk generally as coming via the Wash rather than from the inhospitable eastern coastline. Lincolnshire was probably penetrated via the Humber. Its interior was protected by coastal marshes except at the Humber estuary. The most readily accessible and desirable land was that of the Lincolnshire Wolds. It is on the chalk of this upland region easily reached along the Roman road and trackway from the Humber around South Ferriby and Barton on Humber that in general names compounded of element + *hām* are situated. A small group surrounding the *colonia* at Lincoln may also be very early as well as the two instances beside Ermine Street between Owmbly and Winteringham. If the place-name type element + *hām* is indeed the earliest, its great preponderance (70%) in the *hāms* of the midland counties would support the early date already suggested for *hām* in this region.<sup>47</sup>

OE *hām* frequently appears compounded with a first theme indicating a raised site. Thus OE *hēah* 'high' is present in Hougham L, Higham Bd, Db, Lei, Nth (2), Sf (2), Henham Sf, OE *beorg* 'a hill' in Barham C, Hu, Sf, Barholm L and OE *dūn* 'a hill' in Downham C, Nf, Sf, Dunham Nf. Such uplands would have afforded a combination of dry sites, easily cleared overgrowth, good visibility and defensible positions to immigrants.

The name *Newnham* appears to signify a settlement late in the *hām* phase. We see the name appearing in Warwickshire three times as the only certain instances of *hām* in the county. In Northamptonshire, *Newnham* is the westernmost of the *hāms* there and may be associated with the Warwickshire Kings *Newnham* and *Newnham Paddox* in representing later movement into a forested area. If *Newnham* as a name is relatively late this would help to explain a *Newnham* so close to *Durolipons* (Cambridge) with the earlier settlements in *hām* originally in a protective role to the north and east of the Roman town.

The evidence of distribution of *-ingahām*, its significant association with Roman roads, Romano-British sites and pagan Anglo-Saxon burials (15 instances) indicate that as a type it

<sup>47</sup> This percentage excludes the five midland examples of *Newnham*.

belongs to the very beginning of the *-ingas*, *-inga-* period. Indeed, its distribution suggests that, in general, settlements bearing this type of name are *earlier* than those having names in *-ingas*. This is difficult to accept at first sight. Logically one would suppose names in *-ingas* to have preceded place-names formed from its genitive plural *-inga-* + *hām*. In fact they did so; but not as place-names. Names in *-ingas* were originally group-names transferred to *districts* belonging to groups of people rather than names given to their habitation sites.<sup>48</sup> Names in *-ingahām* would have been given to habitation sites early in the period when the group-name formula developed and when *hām* was the traditional designation of such a settlement. We must then suppose the gradual disuse of the archaic habitation site term and thus of the *-ingahām* formula also. The transference of a district name to a habitation site within it would seem to demand both the passage of time and, perhaps, the nucleation of a village within the district in question. Villages with names in *-ingas* thus may well have acquired them at a later period than those with names in *-ingahām* although group-names in *-ingas* preceded place-names in *-ingahām*. An illuminating example is that of Shimpling in Norfolk, one mile from Margary 3d. The earliest forms show variation between a name in *-ingahām* and one in *-ingas*.<sup>49</sup> It is probable that the original place-name was \**Scimpelingahām* 'the *hām* of Scimpel's people'; the name once given to the area in which the village is situated eventually replaced the *-ingahām* place-name, perhaps by analogy with neighbouring Gissing.

Of the III names in *-ingahām* in our area, all but five (plus seven more possible) have a personal name as a prototheme. While the large majority of these personal names are of the early monothematic type, a significant proportion (eighteen plus ten more possible) is of the later hypocoristic and dithe-matic types. It is interesting to note that in Norfolk and Lincolnshire these appear occasionally in small groups, suggesting regions of expansion later in the *-ingahām* phase. Thus in north-east Norfolk we find Trimmingham, Gimingham and Lessingham lining the windswept coast while Erpingham and Felmingham lie a little further inland west of North Walsham.

<sup>48</sup> For example, an eighth-century charter relating to Wootton Wawen in Warwickshire states that it was situated in *regione quae antiquitus nominatur Stoppingas*. See *Cartularium Saxonicum*, ed. W. G. de G. Birch, 3 vols. (London, 1885-93), no. 157.

<sup>49</sup> *Simplingham* c. 1035, *Simplingaham* 1086, *Scimplingeham* c. 1095 vary with *Simplinga* 1086, *Scimplinge* c. 1095.



A group of three, Burlingham, Surlingham and Whitlingham is east of Norwich. In Lincolnshire, a similar group comprising of Metheringham, Leasingham, Helpringham and Threekingham lies around Sleaford.

Archaeology is demonstrating the presence of Germanic peoples in Britain well before the close of the fourth century. They came originally both as military mercenaries and as federate settlers whose service was paid for by the land they farmed. It is to be supposed that even those settlements of Anglo-Saxons begun under the aegis of sub-Roman regional government would soon have acquired English names. Now that place-names in *-ingas*, *-inga-* have been shown to belong largely to the post-pagan period of Anglo-Saxon England, we are left without the habitation site names of some three hundred years during which the Anglo-Saxon peoples arrived, continued to establish settlements and to give them names. This paper has attempted to isolate one such place-name type of the Anglo-Saxons belonging to the years *c.* A.D. 400-650. The distribution of names in *hām* in relation to Roman roads, villas and settlements, to cemeteries both Romano-British and pagan Anglo-Saxon and to the most readily accessible and desirable lands points to the conclusion that places with names in *hām* represent settlements of this period. Names in *-ingahām*, because of their use of this ancient habitation term plus the genitive plural of the later group-name-forming suffix *-ingas* and because of their distribution in relation to Roman roads, to pagan Anglo-Saxon cemeteries and to names in *hām* and *-ingas*, *-inga-*, appear to belong to a time fairly late in the pagan period. They are probably of the sixth and seventh centuries when the colonization of less easily accessible territories appears to have got underway.

## APPENDIX

Place-Names in *-hām* and *-ingahām* in the Midlands and East Anglia.

The following is intended as a gazetteer of the place-names in *-hām* and *-ingahām* included on the distribution maps (Figs. 1-12). For names which are no longer those of major settlements, the names of the parish in which they are situated is given in brackets. After each place-name, the nature of the basic element is cited. National Grid references for lost settlements are approximated to their supposed sites. For each place-name a bibliography is given for further reference.

Abbreviations used in this gazetteer are as follows:

BdPN	W. W. Skeat, <i>The Place-Names of Bedfordshire</i> , Cambridge Antiquarian Society 41 (Cambridge, 1906).
DEPN	E. Ekwall, <i>The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names</i> , 4th ed. (Oxford, 1960).
el.	element.
EPNS	Publications of the English Place-Name Society.
HuPN	W. W. Skeat, <i>The Place-Names of Huntingdonshire</i> , Cambridge Antiquarian Society 10 (Cambridge, 1902).
NtPN	H. Mutschmann, <i>The Place-Names of Nottinghamshire</i> , (Cambridge, 1913).
pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	monothematic personal name.
pers.n. <sup>2</sup>	hypocoristic personal name
pers.n. <sup>3</sup>	dithematic personal name.
PNBdHu	<i>The Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire</i> , EPNS 3 (1926).
PNC	<i>The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely</i> , EPNS 19 (1943).
PNDb	<i>The Place-Names of Derbyshire</i> , EPNS 27, 28, 29 (1959).
PNESf	M. C. Baron, <i>A Study of the Place-Names of East Suffolk</i> , M.A. thesis (University of Sheffield, 1952).
PN -Ing	E. Ekwall, <i>English Place-Names in -Ing</i> , 2nd ed. (Lund, 1962).
PNKest	L. W. H. Payling, <i>The Place-Names of Kesteven</i> , M.A. thesis (University of Leeds, 1936).
PNLeiR	B. H. Cox, <i>The Place-Names of Leicestershire and Rutland</i> , Ph.D. thesis (University of Nottingham, 1971).
PNNt	<i>The Place-Names of Nottinghamshire</i> , EPNS 17 (1940).
PNNth	<i>The Place-Names of Northamptonshire</i> , EPNS 10 (1933).
PNSf	W. W. Skeat, <i>The Place-Names of Suffolk</i> , Cambridge Antiquarian Society (Cambridge, 1913).
PNSt	W. H. Duignan, <i>Notes on Staffordshire Place-Names</i> , (London, 1902).
PNWa	<i>The Place-Names of Warwickshire</i> , EPNS 13 (1936).



## CAMBRIDGESHIRE

*-hām*

BABRAHAM pers.n. <sup>3</sup>	TL/5150	PNC, 110, DEPN
BALSHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TL/5850	PNC, 114, DEPN
BARHAM (Linton) el.	TL/5746	PNC, 109, DEPN
BOTTISHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TL/5460	PNC, 129, DEPN
CHETTISHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TL/5484	PNC, 217, DEPN
(el. possible)		
CHIPPENHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TL/6669	PNC, 189, DEPN
COTTENHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TL/4567	PNC, 149, DEPN
DOWNHAM el.	TL/5284	PNC, 224, DEPN
FORDHAM el.	TL/6270	PNC, 191, DEPN
HADDENHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TL/4675	PNC, 231, DEPN
HILDERSHAM pers.n. <sup>3</sup>	TL/5448	PNC, 107, DEPN
ISLEHAM pers.n. <sup>2</sup>	TL/6474	PNC, 192, DEPN; ? <i>hamm</i>
NEWNHAM el.	TL/4457	PNC, 43, DEPN
SOHAM el.	TL/5973	PNC, 196, DEPN; ? <i>hamm</i>
STRETHAM el.	TL/5174	PNC, 237, DEPN
SWAFFHAM el.	TL/5764	PNC, 133, DEPN
TEVERSHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TL/4958	PNC, 146, DEPN
WICKHAM el.	TL/6149	PNC, 112, DEPN; <i>wīc-hām</i>
WILBRAHAM pers.n. <sup>3</sup>	TL/5457	PNC, 137, DEPN

*-ingahām*

BADLINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TL/6468	PN-Ing, 128, PNC, 190, DEPN
DULLINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TL/6257	PN-Ing, 128, PNC, 118, DEPN
NIDINGHAM (lost, Girton) ? pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TL/4261	PN-Ing, 129
WILLINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TL/6353	PN-Ing, 129, PNC, 117, DEPN
WILLINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TL/4070	PN-Ing, 129, PNC, 173, DEPN

## LINCOLNSHIRE

*-hām*

BARHOLM el.	TF/0810	PNKest, 203, DEPN
BLOXHOLM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TF/0653	PNKest, 122, DEPN
CLEATHAM el.	SE/9300	DEPN
COVENHAM el.	TF/3394	DEPN
DUNHOLME pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TF/0379	DEPN
EDENHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TF/0622	PNKest, 88, DEPN
ELSHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TA/0312	DEPN
GLENTHAM el.	TF/0090	DEPN
GRANTHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SK/9135	PNKest, 247, DEPN
or el.		
GREETHAM el.	TF/3070	DEPN
HAUGHAM el.	TF/3381	DEPN
HEAPHAM el.	SK/8788	DEPN
HYKEHAM el.	SK/9466	PNKest, 145, DEPN
INGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SK/9483	DEPN
IRNHAM pers.n. <sup>2</sup>	TF/0226	PNKest, 94, DEPN

LEADENHAM pers.n. <sup>2</sup> or el.	SK/9552	PNKest, 196, DEPN
COLD MAREHAM (Burton Pedwardine) el.	TF/0843	PNKest, 22
NETTLEHAM el.	TF/0075	DEPN
PILHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SK/8693	DEPN
REEPHAM el.	TF/0373	DEPN
ROXHOLM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TF/0649	PNKest, 130, DEPN
WALTHAM el.	TA/2603	DEPN
WITHAM ON THE HILL pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TF/0516	PNKest, 105, DEPN
WYKEHAM (Nettleton) el.	TF/1197	<i>wīc-hām</i>
EAST WYKEHAM el.	TF/2288	DEPN; <i>wīc-hām</i>
<i>-ingahām</i>		
ALVINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup> or pers.n. <sup>3</sup>	TF/3691	PN-Ing, 143, DEPN
BASSINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SK/9159	PN-Ing, 143, PNKest, 138, DEPN
BASSINGHAM (Scremby) pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TF/4467	PN-Ing, 141
BECKINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SK/8753	PN-Ing, 141, PNKest, 181, DEPN
BURRINGHAM el.	SE/8409	PN-Ing, 143, DEPN
CAMMERINGHAM el. or pers.n. <sup>2</sup>	SK/9482	PN-Ing, 143, DEPN
CORRINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SK/8791	PN-Ing, 143, DEPN
FILLINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SK/9485	PN-Ing, 143, DEPN
FOLKINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TF/0733	PN-Ing, 141, PNKest, 50, DEPN
FRODINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SE/8510	PN-Ing, 144, DEPN
GRAYINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SK/9396	PN-Ing, 144, DEPN
HAGWORTHINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TF/3469	PN-Ing, 144, DEPN
HAMERINGHAM el.	TF/3067	PN-Ing, 144, DEPN
HELPRINGHAM pers.n. <sup>3</sup>	TF/1340	PN-Ing, 141, PNKest, 30, DEPN
HOLDINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TF/0647	PN-Ing, 141, PNKest, 134, DEPN
IMMINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TA/1714	PN-Ing, 145, DEPN
KILLINGHOLME pers.n. <sup>3</sup>	TA/1416	DEPN; possibly a final element <i>hām</i> Scandinavianised to <i>holmr</i> ; otherwise, <i>-inga-</i>
LEASINGHAM pers.n. <sup>3</sup>	TF/0548	PN-Ing, 142, PNKest, 129, DEPN
LOBINGEHAM (lost, Killingholme) pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TA/1317	PN-Ing, 145
MESSINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SE/8904	PN-Ing, 145, DEPN
METHERINGHAM pers.n. <sup>3</sup>	TF/0661	PN-Ing, 142, PNKest, 170, DEPN
SEMPRINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TF/1032	PN-Ing, 142, PNKest, 65, DEPN
THREEKINGHAM ? pers.n. <sup>1</sup> or pers.n. <sup>2</sup>	TF/0836	PN-Ing, 142, PNKest, 70, DEPN



WADDINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SK/9896	PN-Ing, 145, DEPN
WILLINGHAM BY STOW pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SK/8784	PN-Ing, 146, DEPN
CHERRY WILLING- HAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TF/0272	PN-Ing, 145, DEPN
NORTH WILLING- HAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TF/1688	PN-Ing, 146, DEPN
SOUTH WILLING- HAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TF/1983	PN-Ing, 145, DEPN
WINTERINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SE/9322	PN-Ing, 146, DEPN

## NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

<i>-hām</i>		
ASKHAM el.	SK/7374	PNNT, 44, NtPN, 3, DEPN
BINGHAM ? el. or pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SK/7039	PNNT, 220, NtPN, 16, DEPN; ? <i>-ingahām</i>
DUNHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SK/8174	PNNT, 48, NtPN, 43, DEPN; ? <i>hamm</i>
FLINTHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SK/7444	PNNT, 224, NtPN, 52, DEPN
GOTHAM el.	SK/5330	PNNT, 247, NtPN, 57, DEPN
LOWDHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SK/6646	PNNT, 171, NtPN, 84, DEPN
MARKHAM el.	SK/7373	PNNT, 55, NtPN, 89, DEPN
MARNHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SK/8070	PNNT, 189, NtPN, 89, DEPN; ? <i>hamm</i>

<i>-ingahām</i>		
BECKINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SK/7790	PN-Ing, 148, PNNT, 25, NtPN, 12, DEPN
COLLINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SK/8361	PN-Ing, 148, PNNT, 203, NtPN, 36, DEPN
HOVERINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SK/6946	PN-Ing, 148, PNNT, 169, NtPN, 70, DEPN
NOTTINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SK/5740	PN-Ing, 148, PNNT, 13, NtPN, 99, DEPN
WALKERINGHAM pers.n. <sup>3</sup>	SK/7692	PN-Ing, 149, PNNT, 41, NtPN, 145, DEPN

## LEICESTERSHIRE

<i>-hām</i>		
COLDHAM (lost, Illston) el.	SP/7199	PNLeiR, 223
GOATHAM el.	SK/4204	PNLeiR, 525, DEPN
HIGHAM el.	SP/3895	PNLeiR, 499, DEPN
KEYHAM el. (pers.n. <sup>1</sup> possible)	SK/6706	PNLeiR, 307, DEPN
LEGHAM (lost, Leicester) ? el.	SK/5804	PNLeiR, 132; not plotted on Fig. 1.

MEASHAM el.	SK/3312	PNLeiR, 562, DEPN
WALTHAM el.	SK/8025	PNLeiR, 196, DEPN
WELHAM ? pers.n. <sup>1</sup> or el.	SP/7692	PNLeiR, 263, DEPN
WHENHAM (lost, Ab Kettleby) ? el.	SK/7723	PNLeiR, 171
WYCOMB el.	SK/7724	PNLeiR, 185, DEPN; <i>wīc-hām</i>
WYMONDHAM pers.n. <sup>3</sup>	SK/8418	PNLeiR, 199, DEPN, PN-Ing, 147 Ekwall suggests this is a name in <i>-ingahām</i>

## RUTLAND

*-hām*

CLIPSHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SK/9615	PNLeiR, 689, DEPN
GREETHAM el.	SK/9214	PNLeiR, 654, DEPN
LANGHAM el.	SK/8411	PNLeiR, 692, DEPN; ? <i>hamm</i>
LUFFENHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SK/9303	PNLeiR, 702, DEPN; ? <i>hamm</i>

*-ingahām*

EMPINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SK/9408	PN-Ing, 147, PNLeiR, 665, DEPN
UPPINGHAM el.	SP/8699	PN-Ing, 147, PNLeiR, 682, DEPN

## NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

*-hām*

COLD HIGHAM el.	SP/6653	PNNth, 91, DEPN
HIGHAM FERRERS el.	SP/9568	PNNth, 191, DEPN
MARHOLM el.	TF/1402	PNNth, 237, DEPN
NEWNHAM el.	SP/5759	PNNth, 26, DEPN
SYRESHAM pers.n. <sup>3</sup>	SP/6241	PNNth, 59, DEPN
WAPPENHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SP/6245	PNNth, 62, DEPN

*-ingahām*

COTTINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SP/8490	PN-Ing, 146, PNNth, 163, DEPN
ELINGHAM (lost, Rushden) pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SP/9566	PN-Ing, 147
ROCKINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SP/8691	PN-Ing, 147, PNNth, 171, DEPN

## HUNTINGDONSHIRE

*-hām*

BARHAM el.	TL/1375	PNBdHu, 233, HuPN, 327, DEPN
BLUNTISHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TL/3674	PNBdHu, 204, HuPN, 327, DEPN
GRAFHAM el.	TL/1668	PNBdHu, 241, HuPN, 328, DEPN
SOMERSHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup> (el. possible)	TL/3677	PNBdHu, 222, HuPN, 328, DEPN

*-ingahām*

WINTERINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TL/1959	PN-Ing, 146, PNBdHu, 265, DEPN
--------------------------------------	---------	-----------------------------------



BEDFORDSHIRE

-hām

BIDDENHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TL/0249	PNBdHu, 26, BdPN, 25, DEPN; ? <i>hamm</i>
BLUNHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TL/1551	PNBdHu, 88, BdPN, 25, DEPN; ? <i>hamm</i>
BROMHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup> (el. possible)	TL/0051	PNBdHu, 28, BdPN, 25, DEPN; ? <i>hamm</i>
CLAPHAM ? el.	TL/0252	PNBdHu, 22, BdPN, 25, DEPN; ? <i>hamm</i>
FELMERSHAM pers.n. <sup>3</sup>	SP/9957	PNBdHu, 31, BdPN, 26, DEPN; ? <i>hamm</i>
HIGHAM el.	TL/1032	PNBdHu, 153, BdPN, 26, DEPN
NEWNHAM el.	TL/0649	PNBdHu, 60, DEPN
PAVENHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SP/9955	PNBdHu, 36, BdPN, 26, DEPN; ? <i>hamm</i>
STUDHAM el.	TL/0115	PNBdHu, 132, BdPN, 26, DEPN

WARWICKSHIRE

-hām

NEWNHAM el.	SP/1260	PNWa, 197, DEPN
KINGS NEWNHAM el.	SP/4577	PNWa, 116, DEPN
NEWNHAM PADDOX el.	SP/4683	PNWa, 113, DEPN
SOUTHAM el.	SP/4162	PNWa, 144, DEPN; probably <i>hamm</i>

-ingahām

BIRMINGHAM pers.n. <sup>3</sup>	SP/0786	PN-Ing, 128, PNWa, 34, DEPN
HUNNINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SP/3768	PN-Ing, 128, PNWa, 133, DEPN

DERBYSHIRE

-hām

CLOWNHOLM ? el.	SK/1239	PNDb, 585; ? <i>hamm</i>
HIGHAM el.	SK/3958	PNDb, 229, DEPN
NEEDHAM el.	SK/1165	PNDb, 366, DEPN

STAFFORDSHIRE

-hām

TRENTAM river n.	SJ/8741	PNSt, 156, DEPN; probably <i>hamm</i>
------------------	---------	--

-ingahām

PATTINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	SO/8299	PN-Ing, 150, PNSt, 114, DEPN
---------------------------------	---------	------------------------------

NORFOLK<sup>50</sup>

<sup>50</sup> A large collection of unpublished Norfolk material gathered by the late O. K. Schram is housed in the English Place-Name Survey room in the University of Nottingham.

*-hām*

AYLSHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TG/1926	DEPN
BANHAM el.	TM/0687	DEPN
BARSHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TF/9033	DEPN
BECKHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TG/1539	DEPN
BINHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TF/9839	DEPN
BIRCHAM el.	TF/7632	DEPN
BODHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TG/1240	DEPN
BRADENHAM el.	TF/9208	DEPN; ? <i>hamm</i>
BRETtenham	TL/9383	DEPN
pers.n. <sup>1</sup> or pers.n. <sup>2</sup>		
BRIDGHAM el.	TL/9585	DEPN
BUCKENHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TG/3505	DEPN; ? <i>hamm</i>
OLD BUCKENHAM	TM/0691	DEPN
pers.n. <sup>1</sup>		
BURNHAM el.	TF/8442	DEPN
CONGHAM ? el.	TF/7123	DEPN
CRIMPLESHAM	TF/6503	DEPN
pers.n. <sup>1</sup>		
DEOPHAM el.	TG/0500	DEPN
DILHAM el.	TG/3325	DEPN; ? <i>hamm</i>
DOWNHAM el.	TF/6103	DEPN
DUNHAM el.	TF/8714	DEPN
EARLHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TG/1908	DEPN
ELMHAM el.	TF/9820	DEPN
FAKENHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TF/9189	DEPN
FINCHAM el.	TF/6806	DEPN
FLITCHAM el.	TF/7226	DEPN
FORDHAM el.	TF/6199	DEPN
FOULSHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TG/0324	DEPN
FRANSHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TF/8913	DEPN
FRETtenham pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TG/2417	DEPN
GARBOLDISHAM	TM/0081	DEPN
pers.n. <sup>3</sup>		
GRESHAM el.	TG/1638	DEPN
HARGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/0191	DEPN
HEACHAM el.	TF/6737	DEPN
HEDENHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/3193	DEPN
HEIGHAM el.	TG/2109	DEPN
POTTER HEIGHAM el.	TG/4119	DEPN
HOCKHAM el.	TL/9592	DEPN
(pers.n. <sup>1</sup> possible)		
HOLKHAM el.	TF/8943	DEPN
INGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TG/3825	DEPN
LAKENHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TG/2306	DEPN
LANGHAM el.	TG/0041	DEPN
LEXHAM ? el. or	TF/8417	DEPN
pers.n. <sup>1</sup>		



LITCHAM el.	TF/8817	DEPN
LOPHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/0382	DEPN
LUDHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TG/3818	DEPN
MARHAM el.	TF/7009	DEPN
MARSHAM el.	TG/1924	DEPN
MARTHAM el.	TG/4518	DEPN; ? <i>hamm</i>
MILEHAM el.	TF/9119	DEPN
MUNDHAM pers.n. <sup>2</sup>	TM/3297	DEPN
NEEDHAM el.	TM/2281	DEPN
PICKENHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TF/8606	DEPN
PULHAM el.	TM/1986	DEPN
QUIDENHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/0287	DEPN
RAYNHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TF/8725	DEPN
REEPHAM el.	TG/1023	DEPN
ROUGHAM el.	TF/8320	DEPN
RUDHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TF/8127	DEPN
RUNHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TG/4611	DEPN
(el. possible)		
SAHAM el.	TF/8902	DEPN
SHIPDHAM ? el.	TF/9507	DEPN; ? <i>hamm</i>
SHOTESHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/2498	DEPN
SHOULDHAM el.	TF/6708	DEPN
SHROPHAM ? el.	TL/9893	DEPN
SNETTISHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TF/6834	DEPN
SPARHAM el.	TG/0719	DEPN
STALHAM el.	TG/3725	DEPN
SWAFFHAM el.	TF/8108	DEPN
THORNHAM el.	TF/7343	DEPN
TIBENHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/1389	DEPN
TUDDENHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TG/0714	DEPN; ? <i>hamm</i>
NORTH WALSHAM	TG/2830	DEPN; ? <i>hamm</i>
pers.n. <sup>1</sup>		
WARHAM el.	TF/9442	DEPN
WAXHAM pers.n. <sup>3</sup>	TG/4326	DEPN
(el. possible)		
WEASENHAM	TF/8521	DEPN
? pers.n. <sup>1</sup>		
WEREHAM ? el.	TF/6801	DEPN
WIMBOTSHAM pers.n. <sup>3</sup>	TF/6104	DEPN
WRETHAM el.	TL/9190	DEPN
<i>-ingahām</i>		
ANTINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TG/2533	PN-Ing, 132, DEPN
BANNINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TG/2129	PN-Ing, 132, DEPN
BARNINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TG/1333	PN-Ing, 132, DEPN
BEDINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/3191	PN-Ing, 132, DEPN
BESSINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TG/1636	PN-Ing, 132, DEPN
BRESSINGHAM	TM/0780	PN-Ing, 133, DEPN
pers.n. <sup>1</sup>		
BRININGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TG/0334	PN-Ing, 133, DEPN
BURLINGHAM ?	TG/3807	PN-Ing, 133, DEPN
pers.n. <sup>2</sup> or pers.n. <sup>1</sup>		

CRESSINGHAM	TF/8501	PN-Ing, 133, DEPN
pers.n. <sup>1</sup> (el. possible)		
DERSINGHAM pers.n. <sup>3</sup>	TF/6830	PN-Ing, 134, DEPN
DITCHINGHAM ? el.	TM/3391	PN-Ing, 134, DEPN
or pers.n. <sup>1</sup>		
ELLINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/3592	PN-Ing, 134, DEPN
GREAT ELLINGHAM	TM/0196	PN-Ing, 134, DEPN
pers.n. <sup>1</sup>		
ERPINGHAM pers.n. <sup>2</sup>	TG/1831	PN-Ing, 134, DEPN
(pers.n. <sup>1</sup> possible)		
FELMINGHAM pers.n. <sup>2</sup>	TG/2429	PN-Ing, 134, DEPN
(pers.n. <sup>1</sup> possible)		
FRAMINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TG/2702	PN-Ing, 135, DEPN
GILLINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/4191	PN-Ing, 135, DEPN
GIMINGHAM pers.n. <sup>2</sup>	TG/2837	PN-Ing, 135, DEPN
HARDINGHAM	TG/0403	PN-Ing, 135, DEPN
pers.n. <sup>3</sup> (pers.n. <sup>2</sup> possible)		
HASSINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TG/3705	PN-Ing, 135, DEPN
HECKINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/3798	PN-Ing, 135, DEPN
HELMINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TG/1117	PN-Ing, 135, DEPN
HEVINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TG/1921	PN-Ing, 136, DEPN
HINDRINGHAM el.	TF/9836	PN-Ing, 136, DEPN
HINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TG/0202	PN-Ing, 136, DEPN
(el. possible)		
HONINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TG/1011	PN-Ing, 136, DEPN
ITTERINGHAM	TG/1430	PN-Ing, 136, DEPN
pers.n. <sup>1</sup> (el. possible)		
KENNINGHAM	TM/1900	PN-Ing, 137, DEPN
(Mulbarton) pers.n. <sup>1</sup>		
KETTERINGHAM	TG/1603	PN-Ing, 137, DEPN
pers.n. <sup>2</sup>		
LESSINGHAM pers.n. <sup>3</sup>	TG/3928	PN-Ing, 137, DEPN
LONGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TF/9415	PN-Ing, 137, DEPN
MASSINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TF/7923	PN-Ing, 137, DEPN
RAVENINGHAM	TM/3996	PN-Ing, 137, DEPN
pers.n. <sup>1</sup>		
SAXLINGHAM	TG/0239	PN-Ing, 138, DEPN
? pers.n. <sup>1</sup> or pers.n. <sup>3</sup>		
SAXLINGHAM	TM/2297	PN-Ing, 138, DEPN
NETHERGATE		
? pers.n. <sup>1</sup> or pers.n. <sup>3</sup>		
SHERINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TG/1441	PN-Ing, 138, DEPN
SHIMPLING pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/1583	PN-Ing, 61, DEPN; earliest forms in <i>-ingahām</i>
SHINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TF/7605	PN-Ing, 138, DEPN
SURLINGHAM pers.n. <sup>2</sup>	TG/3106	PN-Ing, 138, DEPN
(el. possible)		
TRIMINGHAM pers.n. <sup>2</sup>	TG/2738	PN-Ing, 139, DEPN
WALSINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TF/9437	PN-Ing, 139, DEPN
WALSINGHAM (lost, East Carleton) pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TG/1701	PN-Ing, 139, DEPN



WELLINGHAM el.	TF/8722	PN-Ing, 139, DEPN
WHITLINGHAM	TG/2807	PN-Ing, 139, DEPN
pers.n. <sup>2</sup>		
WITCHINGHAM	TG/1020	PN-Ing, 140, DEPN
pers.n. <sup>2</sup>		
WRAMPLINGHAM	TG/1106	PN-Ing, 140, DEPN
pers.n. <sup>1</sup>		
WRENINGHAM	TM/1598	PN-Ing, 140, DEPN
pers.n. <sup>1</sup>		
WYMONDHAM pers.n. <sup>3</sup>	TG/1001	PN-Ing, 140, DEPN

## SUFFOLK

*-hām*

AKENHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/1448	PNSf, 48, PNESf, 89, DEPN
ALDHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/0444	PNSf, 48, DEPN
(el. possible)		
BARHAM el.	TM/1451	PNSf, 48, PNESf, 91, DEPN
BARNHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TL/8779	PNSf, 48, DEPN
BARSHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/3989	PNSf, 49, PNESf, 20, DEPN
BAYLHAM el.	TM/1051	PNSf, 49, PNESf, 92, DEPN
BLAKENHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/1150	PNSf, 49, PNESf, 93, DEPN
BRANTHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/1134	PNSf, 49, PNESf, 108, DEPN
BRETENHAM	TL/9653	PNSf, 49, DEPN
pers.n. <sup>1</sup> or pers.n. <sup>2</sup>		
BUCKLESHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/2441	PNSf, 49, PNESf, 160, DEPN
CAVENHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TL/7669	PNSf, 50, DEPN
CHATTISHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/0942	PNSf, 50, PNESf, 109, DEPN
CODDENHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/1354	PNSf, 50, PNESf, 95, DEPN
DALHAM el.	TL/7261	PNSf, 50, DEPN
DARSHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/4169	PNSf, 50, PNESf, 35, DEPN
DEBENHAM el.	TM/1763	PNSf, 51, PNESf, 137, DEPN
DENHAM (nr. Eye) el.	TM/1974	PNSf, 51, DEPN
DENHAM (nr. Bury) el.	TL/7561	PNSf, 51, DEPN
SANTON DOWNHAM	TL/8187	PNSf, 51, DEPN
el.		
ELMHAM el.	TM/3482	PNSf, 52, PNESf, 23, DEPN
FAKENHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TL/9076	PNSf, 52, DEPN
FALKENHAM ?	TM/2938	PNSf, 52, PNESf, 161, DEPN
pers.n. <sup>1</sup>		
FARNHAM el.	TM/3660	PNSf, 52, PNESf, 121, DEPN
FELSHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TL/9457	PNSf, 52, DEPN
FORNHAM el.	TL/4467	PNSf, 53, DEPN; ? <i>hamm</i>
FRECKENHAM	TL/6672	PNSf, 53, DEPN
pers.n. <sup>1</sup>		
GISLEHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/5188	PNSf, 53, PNESf, 12, DEPN
GLEMHAM ? el.	TM/3461	PNSf, 54, PNESf, 122, DEPN
HENHAM el.	TM/4477	PNSf, 54, PNESf, 38, DEPN
HIGHAM el.	TL/7565	DEPN
HIGHAM el.	TM/0335	PNSf, 54, PNESf, 112, DEPN
HINTLESHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/0943	PNSf, 55, PNESf, 112, DEPN

HITCHAM el.	TL/9851	PNSf, 55, DEPN
INGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TL/8570	PNSf, 55, DEPN
LANGHAM el.	TL/9769	PNSf, 56, DEPN
LAVENHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TL/9949	PNSf, 56, DEPN
LAYHAM el.	TM/0340	PNSf, 56, DEPN
LOUDHAM (Pettistree) pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/3054	PNESf, 155, DEPN
MARTLESHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup> (el. possible)	TM/2547	PNSf, 57, PNESf, 144, DEPN
MENDHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/2782	PNSf, 57, PNESf, 60, DEPN
MENDLESHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/1065	PNSf, 57, PNESf, 72, DEPN
NEEDHAM (Yaxley) el.	TM/1274	DEPN
NEEDHAM MARKET el.	TM/0855	PNSf, 58, PNESf, 99, DEPN
NEEDHAM STREET el.	TL/7165	DEPN
PAKENHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TL/9267	PNSf, 58, DEPN
PARHAM el.	TM/3060	PNSf, 58, PNESf, 123, DEPN
REDISHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/4084	PNSf, 58, PNESf, 26, DEPN
RENDHAM el.	TM/3588	PNSf, 58, DEPN
RENDLESHAM pers.n. <sup>2</sup>	TM/3352	PNSf, 59, PNESf, 135, DEPN
ROUGHAM el.	TL/9061	PNSf, 59, DEPN
SAXHAM el.	TL/7963	PNSf, 59, DEPN
SAXMUNDHAM pers.n. <sup>3</sup>	TM/3863	PNSf, 59, PNESf, 124, DEPN
SHOTTISHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/3144	PNSf, 59, PNESf, 156, DEPN
SOHAM el.	TM/2165	PNSf, 60, DEPN
SOMERSHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/0848	PNSf, 60, PNESf, 101, DEPN
STONHAM el.	TM/1359	PNSf, 60, PNESf, 102, DEPN
SYLEHAM el.	TM/2178	PNSf, 61, PNESf, 62, DEPN
THORNHAM el.	TM/1070	PNSf, 61, PNESf, 77, DEPN
TUDDENHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TL/7371	PNSf, 61, DEPN
TUDDENHAM ST: MARTIN pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/1948	PNSf, 61, PNESf, 147, DEPN
WALSHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/0071	PNSf, 62, DEPN
WATTISHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/0151	PNSf, 62, DEPN
WELNETHAM ? el.	TL/8758	PNSf, 63, DEPN
WENHAM el.	TM/0738	PNSf, 62, PNESf, 116, DEPN
WICKHAM MARKET el.	TM/3055	PNSf, 63, PNESf, 159, DEPN; <i>wīc-hām</i>
WICKHAM STREET el.	TM/0869	DEPN; <i>wīc-hām</i>
WILLISHAM pers.n. <sup>3</sup>	TM/0750	PNSf, 64, PNESf, 105, DEPN
WITNESHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/1850	PNSf, 64, PNESf, 148, DEPN
WORTHAM el.	TM/0877	PNSf, 65, PNESf, 80, DEPN
WRENTHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/4982	PNSf, 65, PNESf, 51, DEPN
<i>-ingahām</i>		
ALDRINGHAM pers.n. <sup>3</sup>	TM/4461	PN-Ing, 129, PNSf, 48, PNESf, 30, DEPN



BADINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/3067	PN-Ing, 129, PNSf, 48, PNESf, 54, DEPN
BARNINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TL/9676	PN-Ing, 129, PNSf, 49, DEPN
BENNINGHAM (Occold) pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/1570	PN-Ing, 129, PNESf, 73
CRETINGHAM el.	TM/2260	PN-Ing, 129, PNSf, 50, PNESf, 130, DEPN
FINNINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/0669	PN-Ing, 130, PNSf, 53, PNESf, 70, DEPN
FRAMLINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/2863	PN-Ing, 130, PNSf, 53, PNESf, 131, DEPN
GISLINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/0771	PN-Ing, 130, PNSf, 54, PNESf, 71, DEPN
HELMINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/1856	PN-Ing, 130, PNSf, 54, PNESf, 97, DEPN
HEVENINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/3372	PN-Ing, 130, PNSf, 54, PNESf, 39, DEPN
ICKLINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TL/7772	PN-Ing, 130, PNSf, 55, DEPN
LEATHERINGHAM pers.n. <sup>3</sup> or el.	TM/2757	PN-Ing, 131, PNSf, 56, PNESf, 133, DEPN
METTINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/3689	PN-Ing, 131, PNSf, 57, PNESf, 26, DEPN
WILLINGHAM pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/4486	PN-Ing, 131, PNSf, 64, PNESf, 29, DEPN
WITTINGHAM (Fressingfield) pers.n. <sup>1</sup>	TM/2777	PN-Ing, 131, PNESf, 57
WORLINGHAM ? pers.n. <sup>1</sup> or pers.n. <sup>2</sup>	TM/4489	PN-Ing, 132, PNSf, 65, PNESf, 29, DEPN

BARRIE COX

## SYMBOLS USED IN FIGS. I-II

Place-name in:—

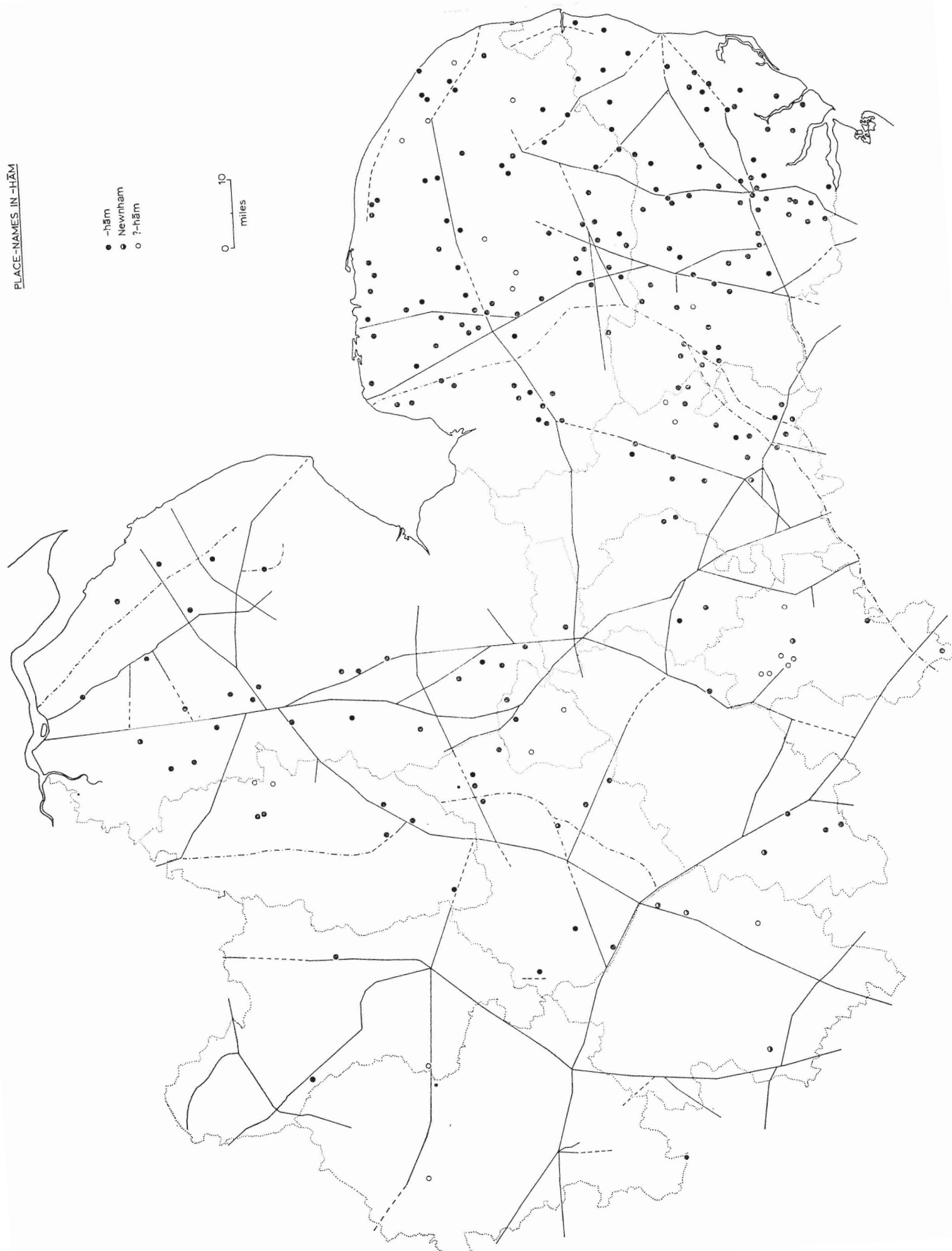
■	element- <i>hām</i>
▣	pers. name- <i>hām</i>
▤	Newnham
□	?- <i>hām</i>
▲	element- <i>ingahām</i>
▴	pers. name- <i>ingahām</i>
△	?- <i>ingahām</i>
●	- <i>ingas</i>
⊙	- <i>inga-</i>
S	<i>stræt</i>
.....	Ancient trackways
——	Roman roads
⊙	Roman settlements
	Anglo-Saxon pagan burial sites



PLACE-NAMES IN -HĀM

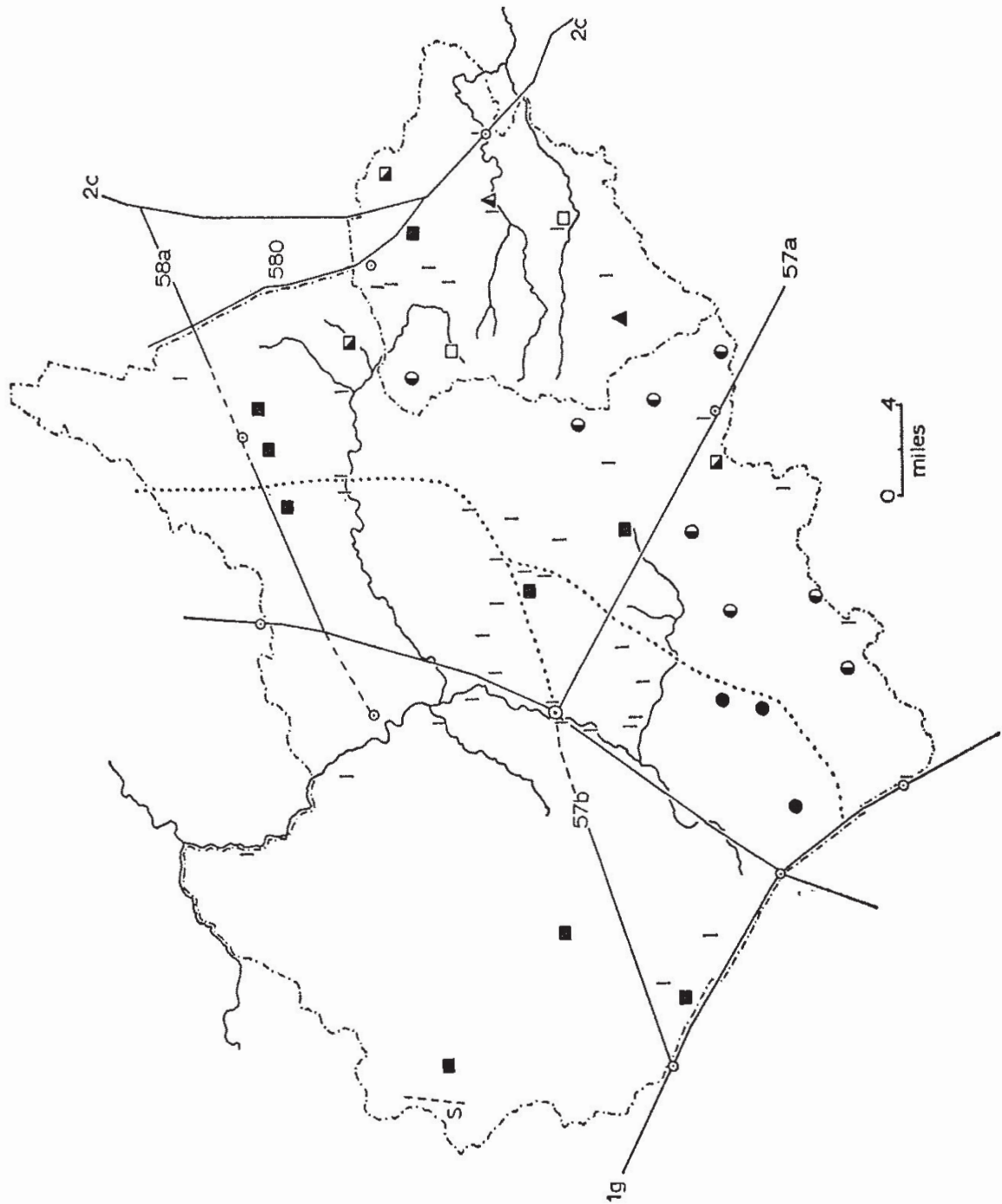
- -hām
- Newnham
- ?-hām

0 10  
miles

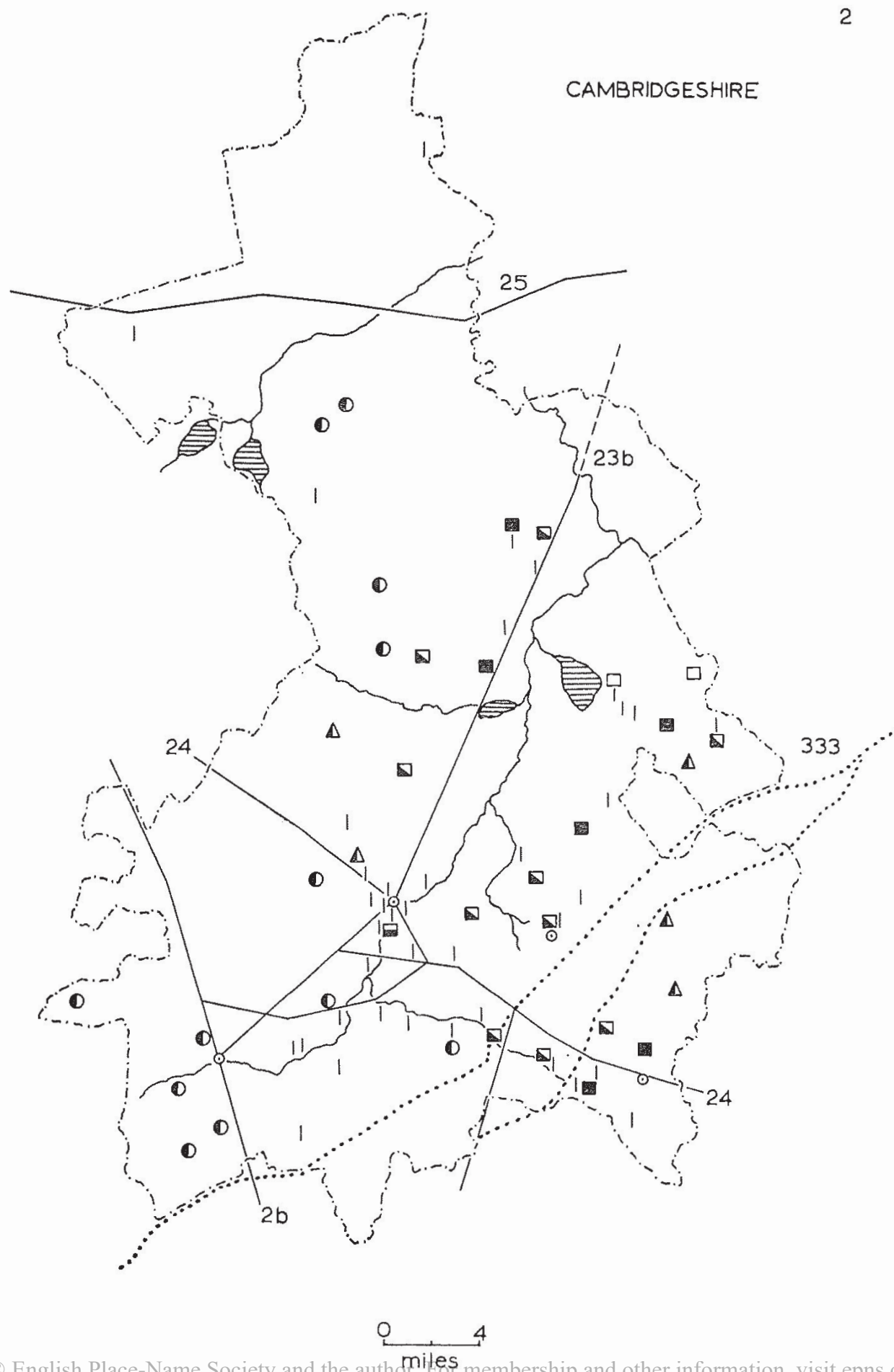


1

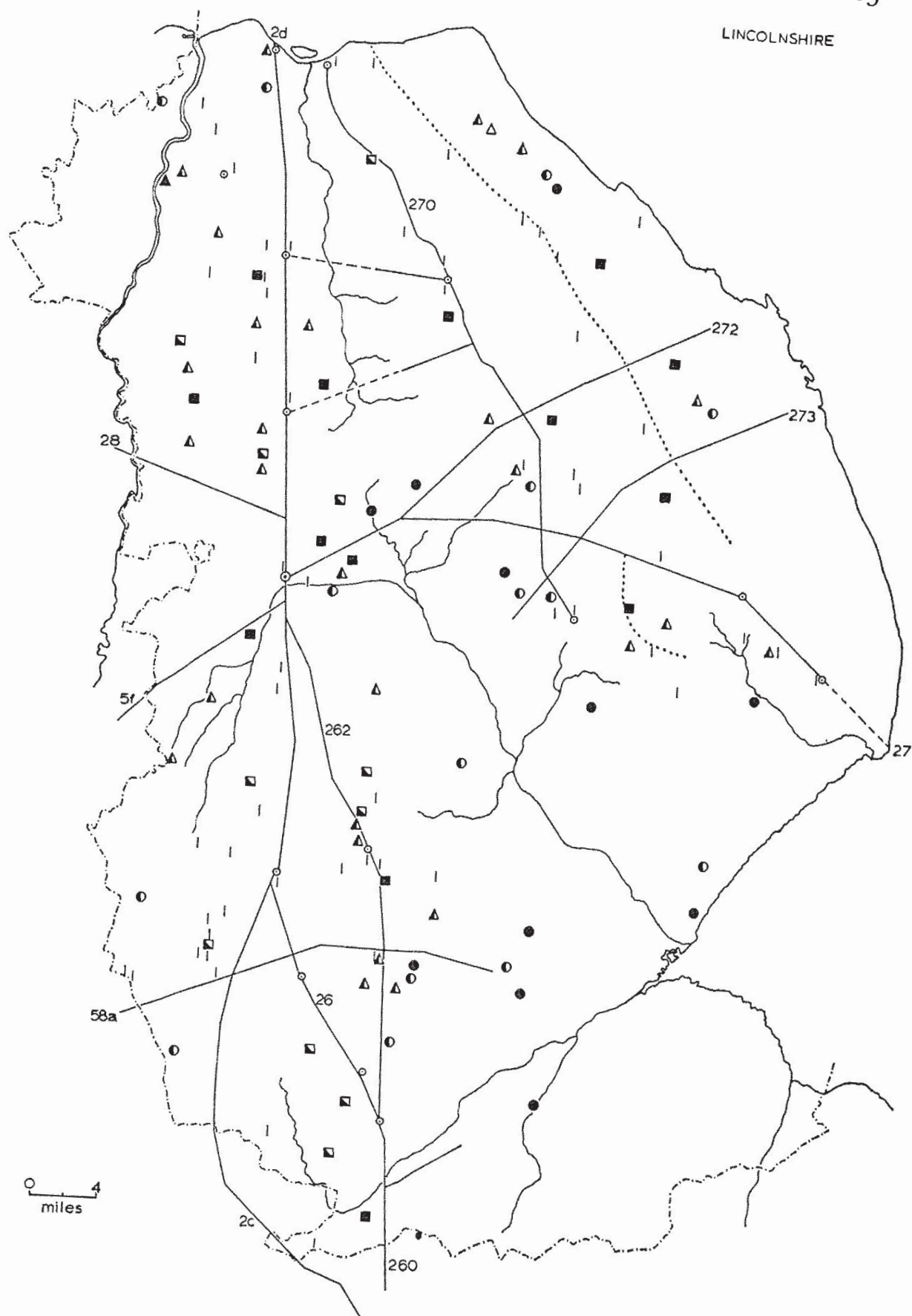
LEICESTERSHIRE AND RUTLAND



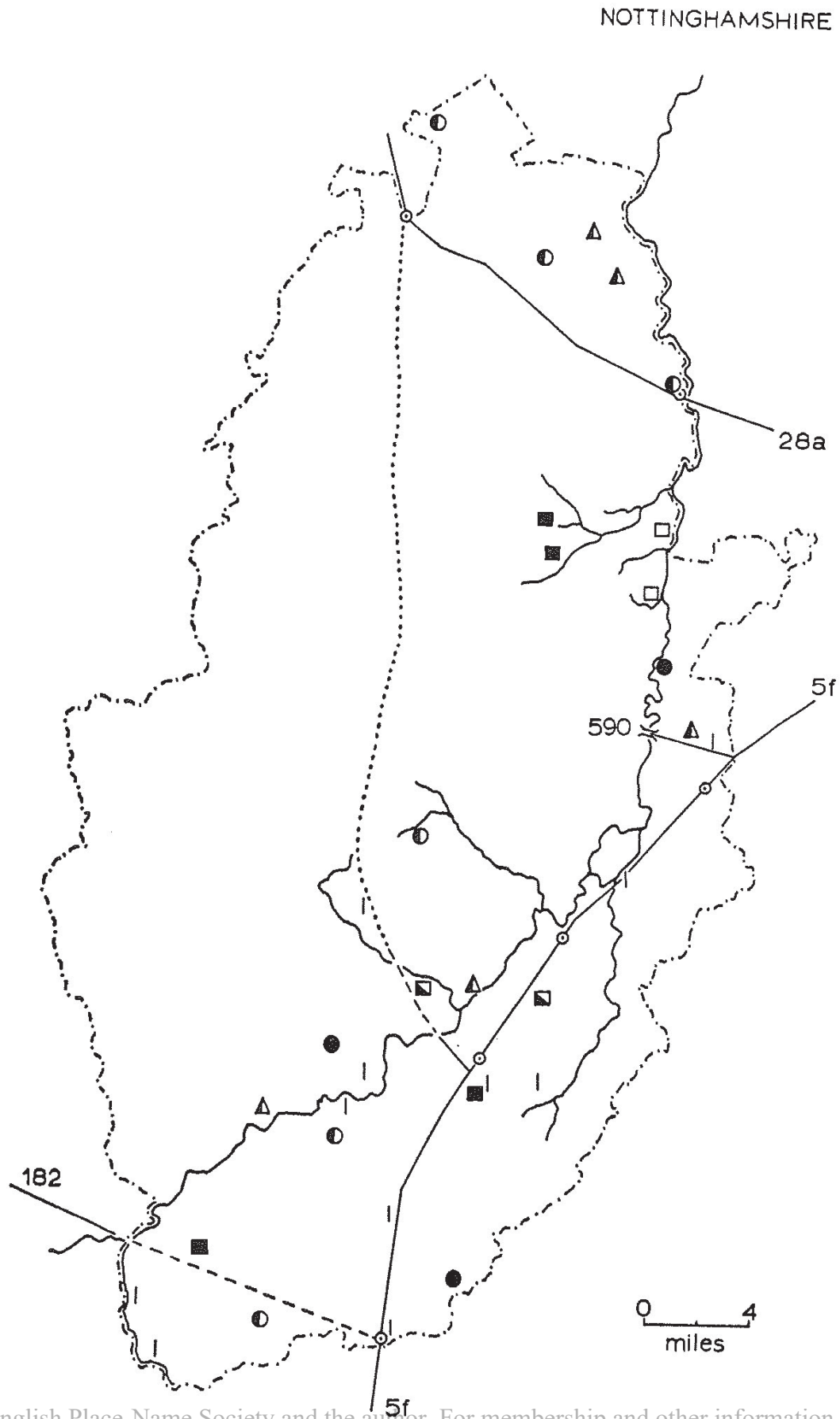




LINCOLNSHIRE

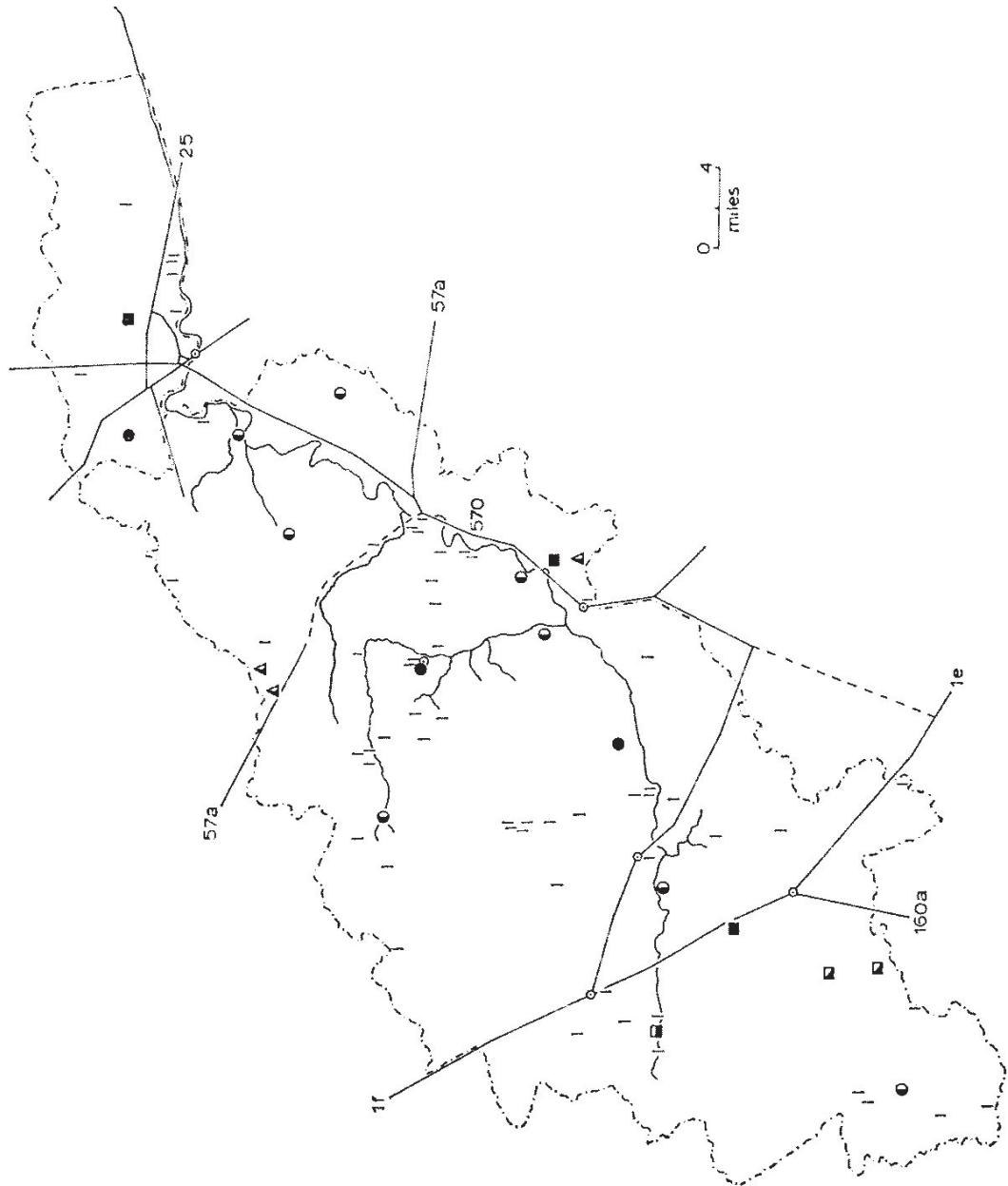






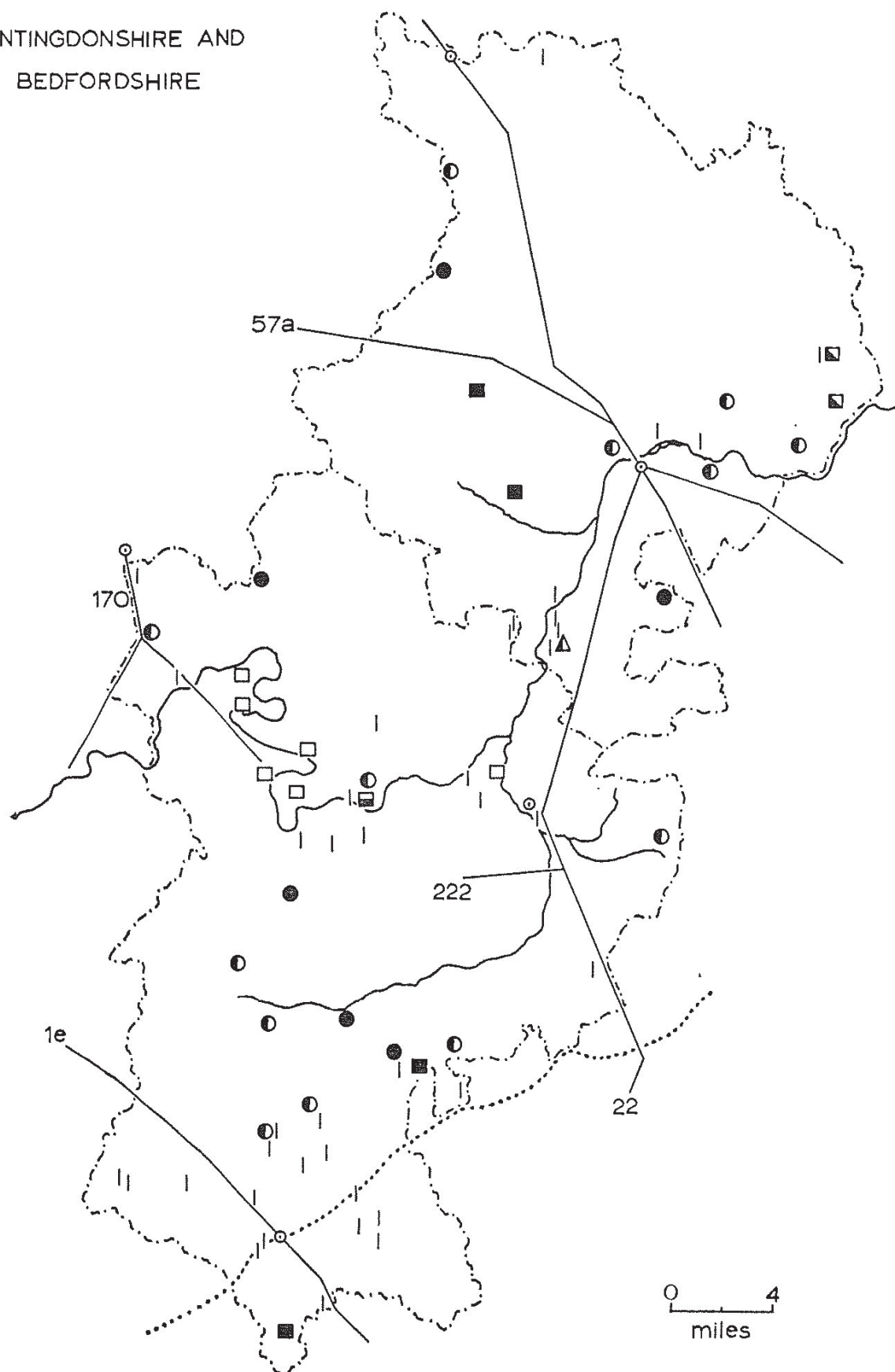
5

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE AND THE SOKE  
OF PETERBOROUGH

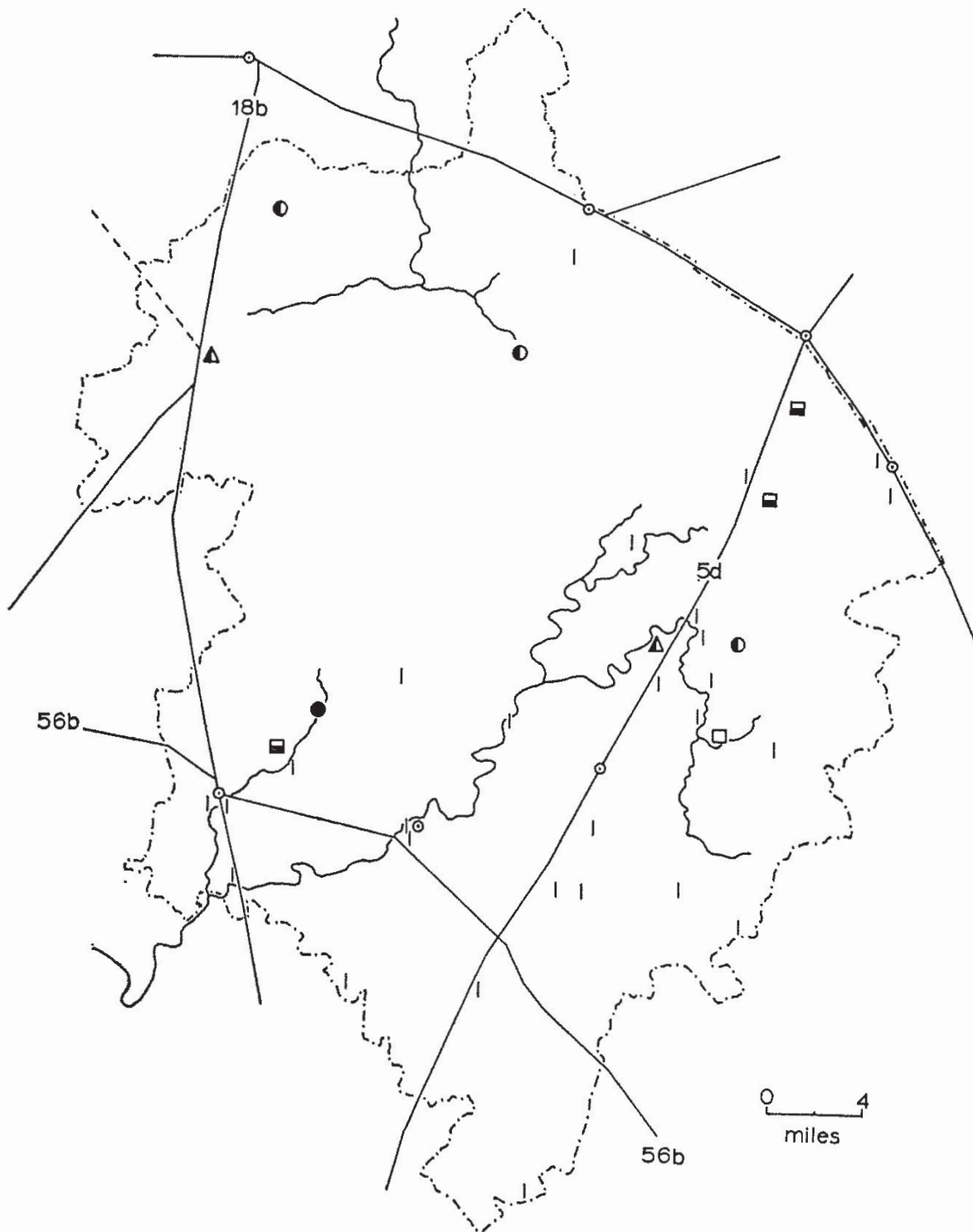




HUNTINGDONSHIRE AND  
BEDFORDSHIRE

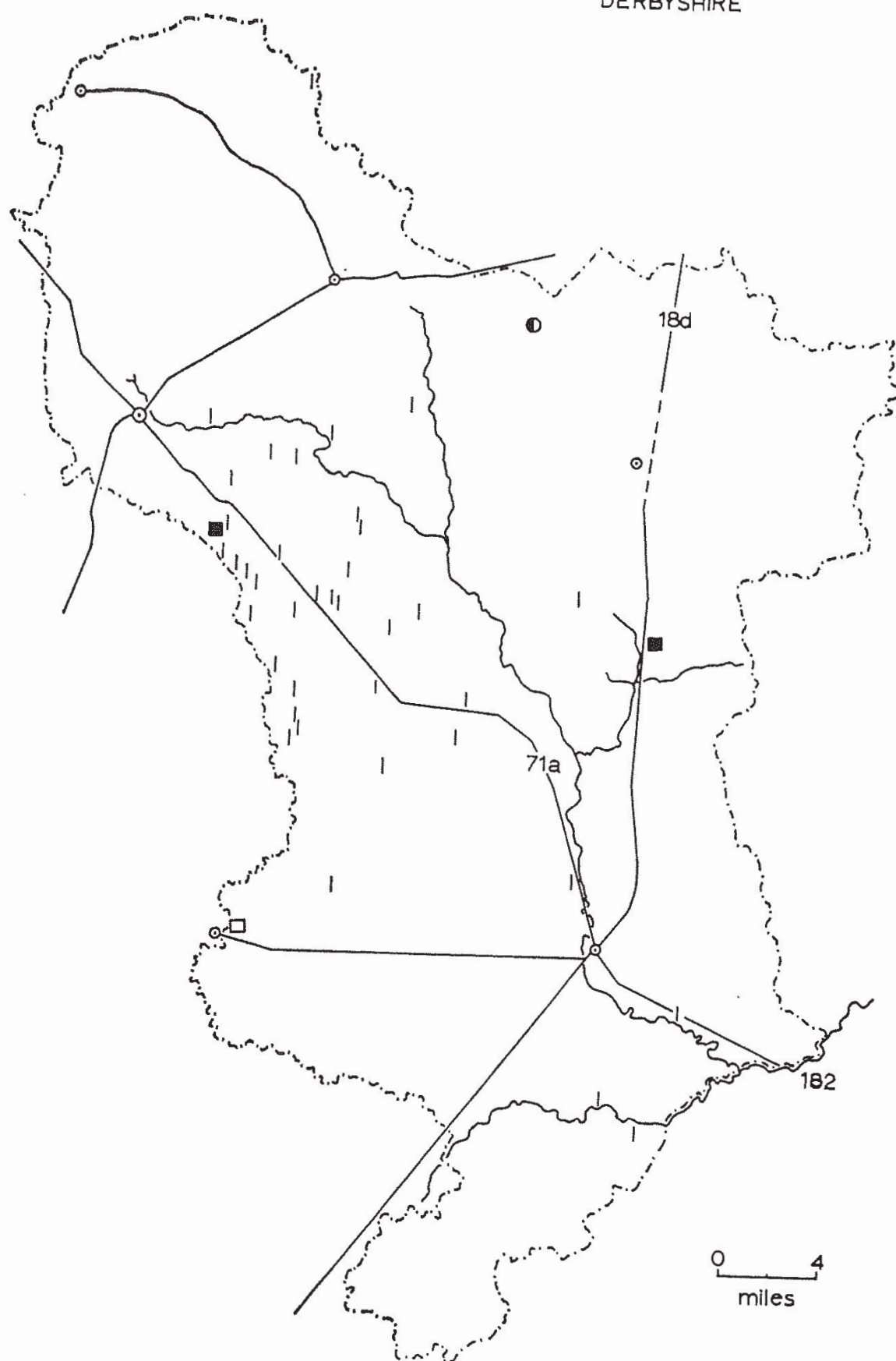


WARWICKSHIRE

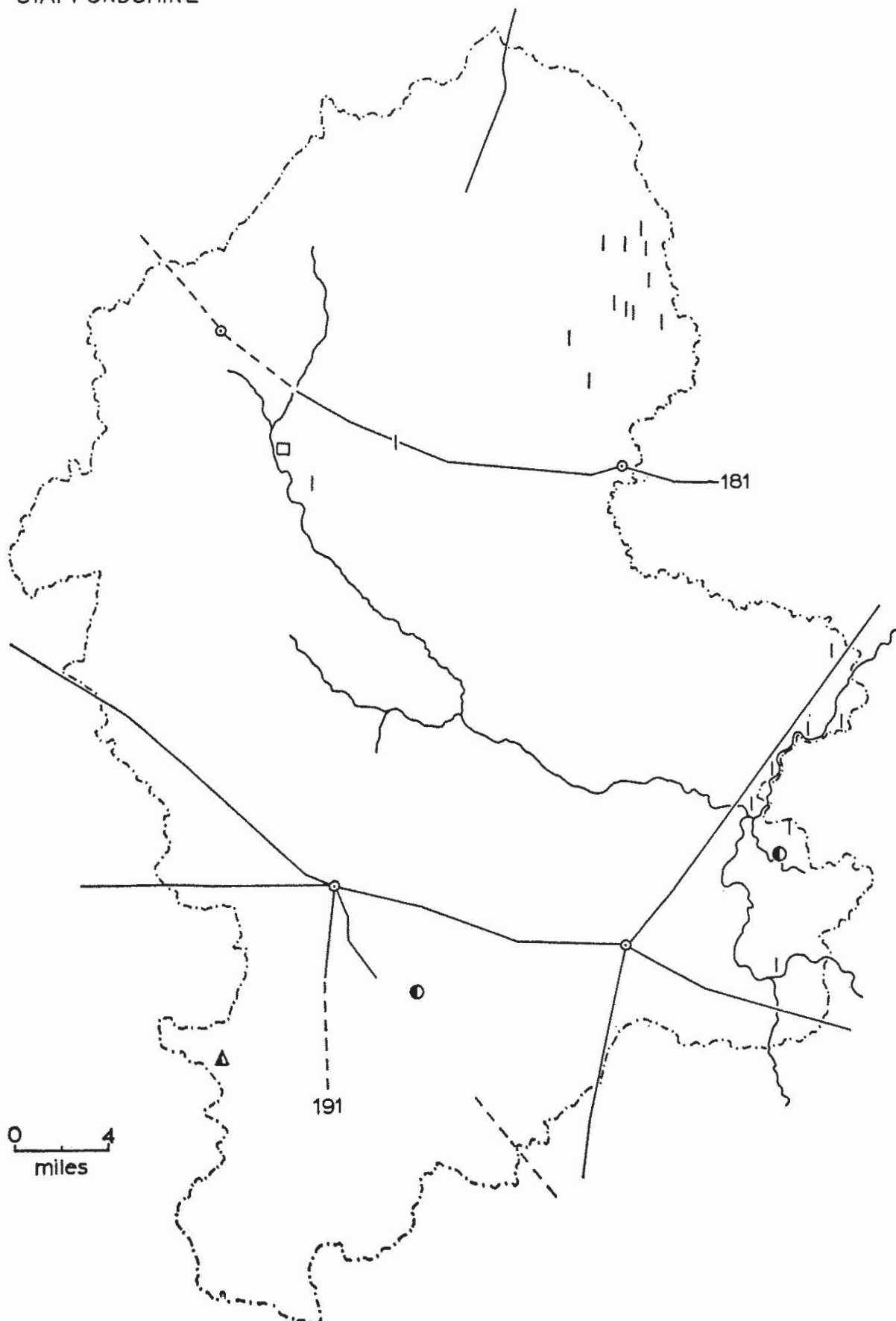




## DERBYSHIRE



STAFFORDSHIRE





## NORFOLK

